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Aude Etrillard

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A CRITICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH TO LANGUAGE PRACTICES IN LIFESTYLE MIGRATIONS

Introduction

This chapter proposes the critical analysis of language practices as an approach to the dialectics linking global capitalism with everyday social practices, in the context of British migration in Central Brittany (France). After introducing a critical sociolinguistic perspective and the conceptualisation of lifestyle migration as a fetishism, I will rely on an ethnographic study of the interactions among local people and British migrants in Central Brittany to discuss the complexity and variety of sometimes conflicting positionings regarding languages in the field studied.

Although languages are major concerns raised in the narratives of both migrants and local populations in many cases of lifestyle and other privileged forms of migration, this aspect has often been considered as a contingency or as a subtheme to the analysis of the migrants' trajectories. Joining Torkington in reaffirming language and discourse as fundamental aspects of privilege (Torkington this volume and 2013; Etrillard forthcoming), I advocate a critical sociolinguistic perspective on interactions and language practices as a means to reveal transversal aspects of lifestyle migrations and to document the phenomenon as a local manifestation of globalisation, linking everyday practices and agency to global stakes and structures.

A critical sociolinguistic approach

The analysis of language-society relationships has resulted in multiple concepts and tools, in fields such as psychology, sociology, anthropology and linguistics, which sometimes overlap or sometimes contradict each other. This diversity has led the word sociolinguistics to be versatile, and similar research processes to be called different things in different places (see Heller 2008, 504-5). Therefore, I will take a few words to clarify what is meant by a critical sociolinguistic approach here.

Sociolinguistic perspectives consider the strategic use by individuals of a wide range of linguistic and discursive practices throughout the diversity of their sociocultural experiences. Besides this, it is generally considered that languages are not objective and stable forms, but are politically constructed as such in social organisation processes. The recognition, (de)legitimisation, institutionalisation, transgression or reproduction of linguistic norms and labelling is embedded in the process of social organisation and in the emergence of space-based identities and cultures (Blanchet 2000; Bourdieu 1982; Heller 2011). Therefore, with a critical angle, language practices as symbolic and material resources are both products and tools of social hierarchy, community and identity. In this chapter I will focus on two aspects of sociolinguistic work: interactions as the times and spaces of socialisation mediated by linguistic and discursive practices; and linguistic

ideologies (the categorisation, definition and evaluation of sociolinguistic practices) as revealing the conditions and complexities of social relationships in and across communities.

A critical and ethnographic perspective on interactions and linguistic ideologies enables the analysis of the positionings and trajectories of socially situated individuals and communities in the political-economic context of global capitalism. Critical sociolinguistics therefore questions language as "a terrain that enables struggles over ownership, resources and legitimacy" (Del Percio and Duchêne 2011, 44). Here, some of my influences become visible, as ethno-sociolinguistics (Blanchet 2000), linguistic anthropology (Duranti 2006) and critical sociolinguistics (Heller 2011) will inform my study of inter-individual or group interactions and discourse practices, with a materialist (Harvey 1989) and complex (Morin 2005) perspective whereby local practices and global contexts are considered to be dialectically formed rather than as distinct levels.

Sociolinguistics, necessarily focusing on relations (between individuals, between groups and institutions), is a useful tool to question and analyse the places and times of the global-local dialectics. As Heller (2011, 10) puts it:

> the power of an ethnographic sociolinguistics is precisely its ability to follow social processes across time and space, and to see how agency and structure engage each other under specific political and economic conditions.

The research presented here is therefore an attempt to contribute to the research field of lifestyle migration, by linking practices to broader global and political structures and by analysing the entanglement of the migrants' experience with that of the locals. Here, the inclusion of the locals' perspective is considered as essential to grasp the complex and relative notion of privilege in lifestyle migration contexts (Croucher 2012).

The fieldwork for this study took place between December 2010 and July 2012. It consisted of the observation of associations' activities, informal conversations, 15 semi-directed interviews and focus groups with migrants and locals, the analysis of 51 threads of discussion forums hosted by a website for British expatriates living in Brittany, and the compilation of a variety of written and multimedia documents. This fieldwork was fuelled by my personal familiarity and on-going connections with the area.

Lifestyle migration and the fetishism of commodity

Following this critical perspective, I started problematising the migrants' quest for a "better" lifestyle as a fetish. Calling upon David Harvey (1989, 100) in a critical reading of the concept of lifestyle (Giddens 1991, 9) sheds a materialist light on it. The late modern concern for the elaboration of a lifestyle seems mainly to rely on consumption choices, and the commodification process of social and cultural practice. The Marxist concept of commodity fetishism allows us to envisage the process by which consumption and economic exchanges conceal social— and more specifically power—relationships. This concealment is an essential process in the development of capitalism, which allows it to be ultimately perceived as a natural, unquestioned or unseen structure for social order. Thinking of "lifestyle migration" (Benson and O'Reilly 2009) as a fetish reveals the socio-economic dynamics of this type of migration, and the social hierarchy of spaces and populations. It implies commodity exchanges (consumption of entertainment, cultural

and media products, real estate products, bank products, services, local products and the like) that conceal social relations and processes (competitiveness of territories, folklorisation, identity-making and belonging, mobility, attractiveness, economical power and the like) behind the surfaces of the myths of places and their populations, such as the rural idyll (Barou and Prado 1995; Benson 2011). Consequently, I would draw on David Harvey (1989, 344) to interpret these recent and increasingly documented global privileged migrations as illustrations of the expansion of market logics to the area of social and cultural practices, being commodified as consumption choices, in a dialectical relation with the expansion of both tourism and the housing market. It is apparent in the migrants' narratives that tourism and real estate advertising, along with mass cultural products, have contributed to shape this desire for mobility, when the facilitation of capital and population flows (Castells 1996) enabled the globalisation of the housing markets. Most of the British respondents in my research have been pondering the desire for mobility in the light of economic strategies of profit making, evaluation of places, and the potential privilege they can benefit from in these places. They are economically active, mostly as consumers (of houses, of media, entertainment and services, of DIY stores, for example) but also as producers and sellers of commodities targeting mostly fellow British consumers (such as housekeeping, building and administrative services, British shops, pubs and restaurants, B&Bs, crafts and so on). Rather than an ontological change in the building of the self as Giddens (1991) argues, I will therefore consider the preoccupation for lifestyle choices as the direct means and effects of the expansion of markets.

British migration in rural Brittany

Brittany is a northwestern region of France where one migrant out of six is British. The British population has been continuously growing since 1988, reaching 14,000 in 2010 (INSEE 2012), making it by far the largest foreign population in the region. Yet this figure is likely to be an underestimation of the British population in the area, as the numerous second homers and "five-month per year" residents are not included. The British in Brittany mainly settle after buying properties in two areas: St Malo-Dinan (north-east coast) and central Brittany (Barou and Prado 1995). It is in the latter region, also called 'interior Brittany', that my research is located. The area is characterised by a rural landscape and economy, and has faced major crises since the post-WWII rural exodus. This exodus has made the settlement of British individuals seeking the rural idyll in small villages even more striking. Although rumours might have emphasised the phenomenon (e.g. talk about villages with a majority of British residents), the inward migration that started in the late 1980s has certainly made a huge impact on those territories.

Recently, some "pays"[1] have experienced a positive demographic growth for the first time since the 1950s, following the arrivals of the British and some neo-rural French. Although the housing market dramatically slowed down in 2005 when the house prices rose severely (Cellule Economique de Bretagne 2012), and again in 2007 after the saturation of the real estate market in the UK (Bone and O'Reilly 2011), since then the reselling of houses has accounted for most of the transactions involving foreigners in Brittany, and the market has returned to the situation of the 1990s. It is very likely that we will never witness again such a peak as that of 2004, but the region still seems to be relatively attractive when the economic conditions enable investment on this side of the Channel, as the slight increase in real estate transactions in 2010 might indicate.

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[1] Institutional areas of France, consisting of strategic gatherings of towns sharing common socioeconomic interests.

The image of a territory tucked away from modernity and seeped in the authentic traditions of the past (Bertho 1980) has grown. The interior of Brittany comprises 25 per cent of the region's land area, but it only houses 9.6 per cent of its population. The average wage is 9 per cent lower than the regional average, due to a higher proportion of retirees and to the concentration of higher incomes in the cities. Service providing companies are the most numerous, but the biggest employers are food-processing industries and hospitals. Farmers are becoming fewer. On the other hand, tourism, the new appeal to a neo-rural population and second homers, and the growing British microeconomic network seem to be identified by the locals as new paths to economic growth and as ways to step into the global economy (Conseils de développement des Pays de Pontivy et de Centre- Bretagne 2008; Conseil Régional de Bretagne 2007).

In this context, the analysis of the dynamics of the linguistic practices in the area will inform us of the conditions of the relationships between migrants and the local population, and of the socio-economic evolution of Central Brittany. In France, a dominant monolingual ideology tends to institutionally delegitimise regional and migration languages (Blanchet 2007), thus instrumentally constraining their speakers. But in this particular case of migration, blurring the frontier with tourism, bringing a supranational language into the area and settling where regional languages are still practiced by native speakers, an interesting perspective is offered to question linguistic ideologies and their reflections in daily practices.

Speaking English, boosting the local economy

One of the most striking observations that can be made in the field is the number of English-speaking services that public and private institutions have started providing. Typically, Fabrice,[2] one of the research respondents, is a public healthcare counsellor for elderly and disabled people who can provide personalised counselling in English. Hélène, a French woman from the area, has created her own administrative support company for foreigners, and has been hired by local administrations and associations to provide orientation in English. Julien is an administrative agent in a small town who also communicates in English with the English- speakers of the village. His town has even organised a welcome ceremony with an English translator providing basic information regarding the local laws and rites. Barou and Prado (1995) also note that local real estate agents and notaries have also been communicating in English when advertising or during transactions, providing an extra service to the English speaking population.

Many other examples can be given, but one of the most striking is a guide to settling in the area, specifically designed for the British population, published by the Council of the Côtes d'Armor. Although the guidebook is bilingual, it is designed to be readable by exclusively English-speakers. This document is very illustrative of the local dynamics for three reasons. First, it is an attempt without precedent for this institution to reach out to any specific migrant population in its native language. The British population is certainly the most numerous of migrant populations in the départment, yet they are not the only one. A second important element to underline regarding this document is that we can see how the British population is oriented inside the local economy. For instance, some sections aim at guiding newcomers through French construction laws and companies, or hiring home-help. Most importantly, one will find guidelines on how to open

[2] Names have been changed to protect anonymity

B&Bs and guesthouses, and how to start home-services companies or other small businesses. This initiative comes from the empirical observation that many British migrants want to create small businesses (and have often struggled in the process), yet this booklet also shows that they are encouraged to do so by local institutions. Many local politicians underline the economic renewal that has followed the arrival of this new population. As one Mayor puts it:

> S'y'avait pas eu les Anglais, y'aurait beaucoup de villages qui seraient morts en Bretagne.
>
> *[If it wasn't for the English, many villages would have died in Brittany].*

At a time when rumours of a massive exodus of British migrants can be heard everywhere, there is increasing anxiety that such a renewal will brutally deflate. Hence there is now a great deal of effort to reach out to the population and foster a ground-rooted link between the British population and these places.

The third important fact about the booklet is that it was created by and on the initiative of a local, French-British association, "with the aim of helping 'newcomers' to settle into their new life in Brittany".[3] Without stating it officially, the association is mainly designed to help British newcomers[4] by providing, once again, English speaking services and orientation through the French administrative system, but also offering French classes and a French-English conversation club to its members, and hosting an English library and a radio show in English broadcast by two local associative radios. The association quickly became one of the main socialising spaces for British migrants (along with online community forums). It seems to act as an interface with local communities and institutions. It was started in 2003 following the great wave of British arrivals by a British woman who arrived in France at the end of the 1960s, and who retired in Central Brittany with her husband, a lawyer and native of the region. As the president of the association, she has become quite influential in the area, strongly involved in heritage restorations and local development projects. This influence is sometimes controverted by some locals, but is generally supported by local politicians and community. It seems that the creation of the association has enabled her to share valued socio-cultural and linguistic resources with thousands of British migrants in the area, and by doing so has also reinforced a high social position and leading influence in the local community. The association has had a growing impact on local decisions regarding local social and economic activities, as local government has relied on the British social network to develop the area. For instance, the English language resources, and the connections with British migrants, second-homers and tourists that the association provides, have led to the relocation of a small local tourist office in the building of the association and its management by a British part-time employee of the association. Even though the decision has been criticised by some locals, it is also consistent with a regional effort to develop the use of the English language to welcome foreign, notably British, tourists in tourist offices.

Providing English-speaking customer services has also been set as a priority for local businesses. Some supermarkets and construction material stores have offered training in English to their employees, also adapting their products to British consumption habits. It seems that this trend is also the consequence of a demand expressed by some British migrants. Hélène, the French-English administrative helper, showed me a series of questions that have been addressed to her regarding the French social security system. One of them asks:

> There is now a large number of UK people in France. Is it possible that in the important matter of health care more English translations of medical documents could be made available? (We are paying customers!)

English speaking practices seem to be justified here by the great number of English-speakers, the critical importance of healthcare matters and customer service. This latter justification can be particularly disconcerting for a local healthcare provider, as patients are not yet totally considered as consumers, and healthcare providers rarely consider customer services to be part of their caring duties. Later in the interview, Hélène stated that she often hears this type of demand, and it can be found indeed on the online discussion forum for British living in Brittany that I have been monitoring. However, we can also read many counter-reactions from British who are outraged by these points of views, as I will explore below. But it is apparent that many British migrants are conscious of their (sometimes overestimated) economic power and the hope they kindle in the area. This "valued resident" status, as a forum user puts it, and their consumption power therefore erases their "migrant" status as incompatible ethos, and legitimises their presence in rural Brittany. Coherently, it leads local politics to target the satisfaction of the migrants as they experience these localities.

There would also be much to say about the new efforts to create communication strategies for tourism in Brittany aiming at building a strongly identified image of the region as attractive and authentic through the commodification and fetishisms of culture and language. But what is important to emphasise here is that local institutions in Brittany are very much conscious of facing the internationalisation of competition in various economic areas, including residential tourism. The building of a hosting and welcoming strategy, notably by the use of English language, plays an important part in the project of making the region attractive. There is more than a hint that the British migrants' linguistic and social capital is used to foster attractiveness. Who else than British residents can convince other British people that Brittany is worth visiting and living in? Indeed the president of the association mentioned above and other British migrants have recently contributed to the Brittany Tourism website in a series of videos to explain why they are so fond of the places they are living in and explicitly inviting others to "come and join us".[5][3] These videos are only displayed on the English version of the website. It is also worth noting that they are the only inhabitants of Brittany who get the floor on the English version of the website.

The strong presence and visibility of English practices in the area seem to be directly related to economic interests, and as it is the consequence of the consideration of British migrants as consumers to be satisfied and as producers developing economic activity, this is illustrative of the fetishism of lifestyle migration. English services are new commodities that are supposed to help the production of more commodities. This "virtuous" circle seems to be particularly aimed at by the local public services, and is revealing of the social privilege that the British migrants benefit from compared to other types of migrants who are not perceived as economic boosters.

However, rather than such an institutional and official recognition of English-speaking practices, which would conflict with the strong monolingual ideology of the French state, what seems to be more commonly found in the field studied is a rather discreet co-opting in favour of it in inter-individual interactions and local initiatives as a welcoming sign, and thus not officially in

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[3] See, for instance, http://www.brittanytourism.com/discover-brittany/nature/the- lanvaux-and-malestroit-moors

contradiction with the one- country-one-language policy.

Besides, the very assessment of the English language as a valuable resource for local people is an important factor that also helps migrants to benefit from this privilege. The flourishing of French-English conversation clubs in the area is a very illustrative example of this evaluation, where a "linguistic exchange" between French and English puts these two languages on a par. Another example is the recognition in local schools, by many teachers and pupils' parents, of the linguistic resources that the British pupils bring. Though British children go through similar emotional, social and cultural difficulties as other migrant children, the legitimacy and value of their native language is likely to be a socio-cultural advantage, compared to other migrants.

Rites, interactions, norms and monolingual ideologies

Yet it would be an inaccurate account to picture the British migrants as consumers who are not mindful of local cultural and linguistic rites, or locals as being ready to make English the interactional language by default. In fact, the insistence on "making the effort" to speak French is a strong common feature in the narratives of both locals and migrants.

The monolingual ideology in France fuels discourses on national identity and is instrumental in putting migrants at the periphery of a mythicized French homogeneous centre into which they are expected to "integrate". Foreign and ethnic communities are seen as suspect and as challenges to national unity. Migrants are expected to show a commitment to local identity. Many British migrants express similar opinions regarding what they are expected to do as newcomers and by showing willingness to "fit in" (as many British respondents say), notably through language practices. In their discourses, this theme is often elaborated in parallel with a banal nationalist ideology (Piller 2011) conditioning the legitimacy of migrants to settle in a country with regard to their ability to speak the national language. In an effort to be consistent with the expectations they might have regarding migrants in Britain, the French language is seen as the first step to "integration" and as a legitimate expectation of "host" communities for most of my respondents and many forum users. As this typical post shows:

> I think it goes without saying, the problem is too many folk say they can't do it.... I understand its not easy but I remember all too well when I was in a shop etc when an Asian for example started talking in their own language I thought it was terrible. Why should we expect the French to be more accepting.
> I think in most cases it simply people being lazy, plus when you speak and understand you are able to get involved in things around you.... Like Greengirl says Get Trying [Posted on 15/07/2012 at 08:09]

Speaking the hosts' language then becomes a moral duty for newcomers. Of course, this type of narrative usually receives contrasting replies and while many British support this point of view, some develop other arguments in favour of English practices (as legitimate in critical situations such as health matters, as a customer service practice, as a sign of openness to the Other and sometimes as the acceptance that not all British migrants want or need to be fully included in the local community, etc.). However, most agree on the fact that it is worth giving learning French a try. In fact, in some situations, the simple fact of trying, and expressing some commitment to the French language seems to be enough to engage in a respectful interaction with the locals.

Benson (2010) found in her ethnography of British migrants in the Lot that learning and speaking French was not the only way to socialise with locals and that it does not actually guarantee the

befriending of more local people than British. My analyses would tend to concur with these observations, as an intense social life in the area is generally also linked to the desire for migrants to engage in associative or political activities. Although the maintaining and improvement of fluency in French is logically linked to the ability for migrants to make a few relatively close French friends, that might ultimately become a network of friends, the first friendships are mostly facilitated by a previous knowledge of French, or more rarely a very specific hobby or professional activity that requires networking in the area. However, paradoxically, my observations are not so different from those made by Torkington (this volume): the English language remains in practice the primary language of communication for many British migrants. One of the hypotheses I am currently exploring would be that the lack of French is both connected to the status of the English language in the world and to the advertising and mediatisation of a rural France almost emptied of its inhabitants, or giving unrealistic accounts of the local social life. Here again, Torkington (this volume) explores these questions and provides a summary of the various justifications for not learning the local language in the Algarve (Portugal) that is very similar to the narratives of the participants in my research.

From the locals' perspective, it seems that two trends prevail in reaction to the non-French speaking British migrants. Many of the respondents declare themselves to feel sorry and sad for not being able to interact and share, and seeing some migrants being isolated by their lack of French in remote areas. This is the case for most of the native respondents I interviewed.

> Nadine: ben c'est sûr que c'est gênant/ mais bon il faut/ il faut accepter ça comme ça hein/tu vois ce que dit Jean/ quand il a des problèmes pour démarrer sa tondeuse il fait un signe à Molly/qui est une anglaise/qui ne parle pas français non plus/alors il lui fait signe/ elle voit bien qu'il peut pas démarrer sa tondeuse/ parce qu'il est âgé/et elle elle vient/hop elle lui démarre sa tondeuse/salut salut on boit le coup on boit le coup/et voilà.
>
> Nicolas: ouais et on communique pas.
>
> Nadine: c'est comme ça/ c'est c'est pénible quoi.
>
> *[Nadine: Of course it is annoying but you have to, you have to accept it as it is. See what Jean says, when he has trouble starting his mower, he waves at Molly, who is English, and who does not speak French either. So he waves at her, she sees he can't start it, because he is old, so she comes, and 'hop' she starts his mower. (mimicking Jean and Molly) « Hello », « hello », « let's have a drink », « let's have a drink » and then that's it.*
>
> *Nicolas: And they don't communicate.*
>
> *Nadine: It's like that. And it is annoying!]*

Yet this relative indulgence might not be the most common reaction in the area. It is apparent that the natives who took part in the research were really interested in looking for a way to increase social cohesion in their localities, and were rather careful not to antagonise the British who cannot or will not speak French. But in fact, as shown in Nadine's first utterance above, there is clear ambivalence on the subject.

Indeed, many locals are offended by the lack of knowledge of the French language and don't understand why some migrants have arrived without having learnt any words of French. It is often considered as a lack of interest and respect for the local social environment. The Breton rural area has, of course, its social and communication rites and norms. Spending some time chatting when meeting during shopping about the weather, health, gardening strategies or local gossip, exchanging vegetables and fruit from the garden, helping neighbours in property

maintenance chores, being an active member of local associations, improvising (or accepting) an invitation to drink a coffee or an aperitif are some of many rites that give rhythm to the daily social life, and that will require some linguistic knowledge, as well as the willingness to socialise. This social life can in fact be more intense than many British migrants expected. For instance, Patrick, a British respondent, explained to me during an informal encounter that he was willing to disengage from some of the community projects he was involved in to have more time for himself. Here, James, who became a town councillor, also explains that his life is more intense than he expected originally:

> Aude : pourquoi est-ce vous avez décidé de de venir ici? (...)
>
> James : Eumh moi et Sandra aussi on était très très très euh.. On fait beaucoup beaucoup dans la communauté en Angleterre/ouais/et c'est c'est c'est pour ça que on a dit : "si on déménage très loin / c'est c'est fini"/on sera tranquille ouais/oui/ .. Mais (rires) (fait non de la tête)(rires)
>
> Aude : bah oui/ au final vous r'commencez ici (rires)/ d'accord/ c'était trop en fait/ vous aviez trop de choses à faire/
>
> James : Je je je ne peux pas rien ne rien faire/
>
> *[Aude: why did you decide to come here ?(...)*
>
> *James : erh Sandra and I were very very erh. We did a lot for the community in England.yes.and that's why we said : "if we move away we are done (with this)"we would rest, yes.yes. But... (laughing) (shaking his head)(laughing*
>
> *Aude: /right/ in the end it's the same here/ alright/ so it was too much/ you had too many things to do.*
>
> *James: I cannot do nothing]*

On the other hand, it is apparent that some did not come for such an active social life and would rather keep away from these activities to enjoy the quietness of an empty rural landscape. The cultural variations regarding the level of social engagement expected from the migrants in rural Brittany lead to some frustrations in the locals' narratives.

The fragmentation of common social spaces, often constituted around townships or hamlets, into individualised spaces is something that is feared. As Marius, a native Breton, says: "I regret that people live close to each other but do not know each other anymore." Drawing on Ferbrache's proposal (2011) to understand this type of migration in the light of Castells (1996) and Ong's (1999) work, I would argue that the transnationalisation of these localities into spaces of flow is seen as a threat to local identity, hence this illustrative complaint formulated by a local: "soon we will not feel at home anymore". I would also argue that two reasons actually lead to these types of narratives. First, the buying of properties by outsiders, and particularly second-homers, be they "Parisians" or British, is seen as a fragmentation and transformation of social space. Such a property will no longer be passed on inside the community, and its commodification disbands the sense of belonging and the history of the family attached to it.[6][4] Secondly, the visibility of the English language, in market places, in institutions and in daily life, materialises the globalisation process of the localities and their entering the spaces of flows via new exchange practices.

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[4] In rural Brittany, a person is traditionally strongly identified to the land s/he owns, to the point that the name of the hamlet a person is living in can be used as a metonym of the person's name

At this point, I take the opportunity to refine some perspectives that have been expressed above. I have shown that the practice of English can be motivated for the sake of the localities' development in a context of global economy. But I have also found that many of the locals who have the resources to speak English to their new neighbours, do so in order to maintain a sense of social proximity. Although most of these individuals do it also to encourage the newcomers in the process of learning and connecting more, they have a strong desire to maintain the cohesion of the community, and tend to try and break the symbolic "linguistic barrier" that is perceived as a fragmentation of the social space. Hence the figure of the mediator that I have found embodied by bilingual French or British individuals in many townships. Such people are charged by the communities with concentrating information, translating it and circulating it amongst the communities. Logically, it was the status of many of the respondents I met, as I was looking for points of contacts between migrants and locals. Some had been officially endowed with this status, as town councillors or administrative agents, and some became mediators in a more informal way, mostly through associative activities.

Finally, it is worth noting that the two regional languages are barely considered as entering the equation in either Britons' or Bretons' perspectives. Gallo, the local Roman language, remains particularly undefined by the British, sometimes not differentiated at all from Celtic Breton, and often considered as a substandard dialect of French.[7][5] Locals do not seem to feel the need to initiate the migrants into these linguistic practices; neither do they expect them to show interest in them. However, learning to use some basic (and supposedly commonly used) words of Celtic Breton can be very much appreciated as a recognition of the specificity of the territory compared to France as a whole (Etrillard forthcoming).

Towards an analysis of the local populations' agencies and linguistic ideologies

In this chapter I have only explored the tip of some general sociolinguistic aspects of the locals/migrants relations in my fieldwork. However, I hope this glimpse has shown how efficient the critical sociolinguistic framework might be in linking global phenomena with everyday localised practices associated with this type of migration. By not being confined to the question "who says and speaks what?", but more importantly trying to answer the question "why?", critical sociolinguistics grounds social practices and linguistic ideologies in their cultural, socio-economic and political contexts.

Not perceived as migrants, the British "expatriates" enjoy specific privileges, including the use of their native English language, from the real estate transactions to the everyday interactions with the locals who can speak a few words or have more substantial conversations in English. When most migrant populations would only find "legitimate" places to speak their native language within the ethnic communities themselves, British migrants benefit from a wider sociolinguistic space. This is partly due to the economic prestige and power that the population have in the localities, but also to a local willingness to be well positioned in the market as a place where the "good life" is possible. However, the sympathy that the migrants get from the locals still depends on their level of French, and/or their apparent willingness to learn it, as it is a way to maintain the social link of space-based community, and not to transfigure the social space into a fragmented

[5] The Gallo language is currently the object of new legitimating and protecting policies, and is not commonly regarded as a 'proper' language even by many of its speakers.

place sucked up into transnational flows. The sense of cohesion and belonging still seems to be achieved by the continuity of interaction rites that show a sense of sharing a common territory. Therefore, the tension between maintaining local authenticity and stepping into the "glocal" economy is particularly visible through linguistic matters, and reveals the stakes of globalisation in the area. The question that is left to us might be: does a migrant that is perceived as a consumer, in other words a tourist, need to socialise with the host communities? It seems that migrants can offer different replies to this question, individually negotiating what is socially acceptable.

With an ethnographic angle on some sociolinguistic practices it also became apparent that British migration to rural Brittany is not only a top- down phenomenon, but is also organised by the hosts and maintained through both individual and institutional practices. The documentation of institutional policies in the existing literature tends to converge towards this argument, such as for instance the creation of visas that encourage specific populations to settle and are orientated towards particular economic activities (Benson and O'Reilly 2009; Croucher 2012), or the international agreements regarding social benefits that some countries decide to maintain or not (Sriskandarajah and Drew 2006). Some more individual initiatives have in fact been an aspect of the seminal works of Hoggart and Buller (1992 and 1994) and Barou and Prado (1995), who looked into the organisation by locals of the housing market. But since then, the role of hosting communities and institutions in lifestyle migration destinations have not yet been systematically explored and integrated into the definitions of these migrations. These definitions are mostly aimed at giving as accurate a profile as possible of the migrants, however versatile they might be. This is probably explained by the fact that the local populations have rarely been the focus of interests of research on lifestyle migration, despite the fact that they could be essential agents of the migration flows. As an invitation to explore this question on other localities of privilege migration, I therefore suggest the hypothesis that the locals' participation in welcoming and advertising strategies could be a common and defining characteristic of lifestyle migrations.

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