# An invading army without a spirit of adventure: Media representations of the British in France

## Um exército invasor sem espírito de aventura: Representações nos *media* dos britânicos em França

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## Abstract

This paper forms part of a wider study of migrant identity within the context of British lifestyle migration to south-west France.  Using an integrated methodology of corpus linguistics and discourse analysis (Appraisal), the research is situated within its wider social context by examining how British migration to France is represented within the UK media.  The analysis reveals common keywords and patterns of language use that carry negative evaluation with respect to the British, their settlement patterns and behaviour.  Lifestyle migration is presented on different levels, with writers distinguishing between a recent and more generalised phenomenon of migration and more established migrants who are represented as having more cultural capital. Readers are positioned to make sociocultural conditioned inferences about the behaviour of the more recent migrants, which also offers a resource for writers to self-identify against such stereotypes.

**Keywords:** lifestyle migration; British migration; corpus linguistics; Appraisal; media discourse.

## Resumo

Este artigo é parte de uma investigação sobre identidade dos migrantes no contexto da "lifestyle migration" britânica para o sudoeste de França. Com uma metodologia integrada de linguística de *corpora* e análise de discurso (linguagem avaliativa), o estudo foca o contexto social mais alargado e analisa a forma como os migrantes britânicos em França são representados nos *media* britânicos. A análise revela palavras-chave e padrões de linguagem com avaliação negativa no que respeita aos britânicos, às suas práticas de migração e comportamento. A "lifestyle migration" é apresentada em níveis distintos, pois os jornalistas distinguem entre o fenómeno de migração mais recente e generalizado e os migrantes já instalados, cuja representação apresenta maior capital cultural. Os leitores são posicionados de forma a construir inferências socioculturalmente condicionadas sobre o comportamento dos migrantes mais recentes, o que também permite aos escritores identificarem-se em oposição a estes estereótipos.

**Palavras-chave:** "lifestyle migration"; migração britânica; linguística de corpora; linguagem avaliativa; discurso dos *media*.

## 1. Introduction

Few can have failed to notice the active promotion of the search for a better life abroad within today's media. From broadsheet articles evaluating the most popular countries for British emigration, the marketing of foreign property amid images of 'lifestyle' (*French Property News*), and television programmes such as *A Place in the Sun* that follow prospective emigrants in their search for a property and a 'better way of life', destinations for lifestyle migration are socially constructed within the media. Interpretations of what constitutes a better lifestyle are the "visible role models" that help reify a narrative of self-identity (Giddens, 1991: 81) and all too often, lifestyle migration is promoted in a way that presents it as relatively unproblematic; for those with the means, initiative and the ability to assess the available opportunities, it appears to be an accessible and desirable alternative to a stressful and unfulfilling life, across all social classes.

The existing literature relating to British lifestyle migrants has noted a common theme of migrants seeking to construct a "positive self-representation as successful migrants in control of life-choices" (Torkington, 2012: 88). Benson's ethnographies of British settlers in the Lot *département* indicated that claims to authenticity and understanding of rural France were the marker by which migrants judged the relative success of their lives, including against others (Benson, 2009, 2011b). Benson suggests that such claims to a particular kind of local identity were often a response to other more stereotypical representations, as a way to affirm "this is what we are not" (Benson, 2009: 126). It appears that these claims of distinction derive from ideologies of how the British should live in France; however, moving beyond local discourse, to what extent are such identity constructions situated within a broader ideology about the behaviour of British expatriates? This paper examines the role of prevailing (media) discourses and their contribution towards a socially constructed lifestyle migration for the British in France. Other studies of migrant discourse have shown a local reflection of global arguments (Del-Teso-Craviotto, 2009), prompting speculation on the nature of the interactions between local and global discourse and the role of the latter in maintaining value judgements.

## 2. Theoretical and methodological focus

The study uses an integrative balance of corpus linguistics and discourse analysis to gain an overall picture of how the British in France are represented in the media. Such combined approaches are increasingly used to examine the presentation of migrant groups in newspaper discourse, particularly representations of refugees and asylum seekers (Baker and McEnery, 2005; Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008); for a useful overview of combining corpus linguistics with discourse analysis, see Baker *et al* (2008).

Starting from statistically significant keywords and lexical patterning highlighted by corpus-driven methods, analysis of a specialised corpus can reveal underlying ideologies.  The reader may not be consciously aware of patterns of association, but examination of keywords and how they collocate can reveal underlying semantic roles and associated ideology that is promulgated with cumulative use.  While this paper uses *semantic prosody* to refer to evaluative aspects or the writer's stance seen at word level, as in *the British invasion,* I use the term *discourse prosody* (Stubbs, 2001) to emphasise the idea of coherence across discourses, with evaluative meaning not necessarily derived from adjacent lexis but due to association over time, as may be seen across a corpus of texts. We might, for example, consider that the phrase *Brits in France* is neutral, carrying no overt evaluation, but if it regularly occurs alongside negative evaluations, it may begin, in some contexts, to extend the evaluation back to the originally neutral word/phrase across discourses.

While the corpus analysis will highlight larger scale patterns across the media discourse, it cannot fully take account of the sociocultural context of the data, including wider social attitudes towards the topic (Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008).  A corpus-based analysis directs the researcher towards any frequent or unexpected linguistic patterns, which can then inform a more critical discourse analysis: what Baker *et al* term a "methodological synergy" (2008: 274). In this paper, a more detailed analysis of textual extracts has been made using the Appraisal framework (Martin and White, 2007) in order to examine how particular aspects of lifestyle migration are evaluated to serve the writers' interests.

## 2.1 Building a media corpus of lifestyle migration

The first step towards examining the representation of lifestyle migration in the media was the building of a corpus of media texts.  A search was made for articles published in English language news between 2004 and 2011, in order to yield a relatively current corpus that covered the period before and during the global economic downturn.  The search terms [British OR Brits OR Britons] AND [expats OR expatriates OR migrants] were used initially. In order to narrow the focus to articles where the main topic was lifestyle migration in France, further searches were made within these results using narrower search terms such as Brits AND France AND expats (274 articles), "British expats" (141 articles) and "British residents" (28 articles). These articles were examined individually. Anything with a focus on sport, economics, politics or general articles about property hotspots in Europe was disregarded, as were articles published outside the UK. The final 69 articles, totalling over 410,000 words, were selected for having content loosely focused on the context of British nationals who were living in France. These articles included some news features but many had been published in sections such as Property and Cash, or were regular diary features by British writers living in France.

A second reference corpus was obtained in order to have access to normative patterns of language use for comparison. The British National Corpus (BNC) represents a cross-section of current British English, mostly written but including some spoken, and it offers a point of comparison for the frequency list produced from the media texts.  Comparing the two corpora using WordSmith software enabled a list of keywords to be drawn up in relation to the media corpus, i.e. those words which occur in the specialised corpus more frequently than we would expect compared with more general use (Baker, 2006).

## 2.2 A methodology for analysing the representation of lifestyle migration

The Appraisal framework (Martin and White, 2007) helps to capture how evaluative meanings are constructed in texts, and its attention to norms of behaviour

and social value is particularly relevant within a study that investigates underlying ideologies about migrant behaviour. The framework developed from the Systemic Functional Linguistic paradigm (see Halliday, 1994) to explore the interpersonal function of resources, by focusing on the ways in which the speaker's/writer's intersubjective stance may be analysed through their attitudinal evaluations. Some of the more covert evaluations are interesting because of the different ways in which they position the reader towards what is being expressed; for example, assumptions of reader compliancy with a lack of alternative positions may naturalise the evaluations, as illustrated in Figure 6 (below), where the inappropriateness of British customs is presented as a commonsensical world view.

Appraisal is conceptualised as three intersecting domains of 'engagement', 'graduation' and 'attitude'. Particularly relevant for this analysis is the latter, with its dimension of *judgement*; this investigates the kind of assessments made by writers with reference to culturally-determined value systems, or norms of behaviour within lifestyle migration. One sub-category of judgement considers assessments of *social sanction*, or the extent to which rules of behaviour have been upheld or breached. A further category of *social esteem*, a judgement of a person's regard within society, can be analysed to see how the British are assessed in terms of *capacity* or capability, their possession of social and cultural capital and the extent to which migrant behaviour is appraised according to how they are categorised.

The second relevant dimension is that of *affect,* which assesses the language used to convey emotions. Bartlett (2014) uses four categories of emotion: *un/happiness, in/security, dis/satisfaction* and *dis/inclination*. Analysis of *affect* may reveal how British migrants are portrayed according to different emotional states or responses, particularly with respect to the decision to migrate. For example, analysis of *affect* was used by Torkington (2011) to explain how Algarve migrants used positive affect alignment with Portugal and negative alignment with the UK.

### 3. Analysing lifestyle migration within the media corpus

WordSmith software was used to compute a list of keywords that occurred more frequently than expected in the lifestyle migration corpus, with p set at > 0.000001 and removal of common grammatical words and proper names relating to authors or local people, plus the joining of simple plurals such as *expat/s*. Only keywords with a minimum frequency of seven occurrences, and seen across a minimum of seven texts, were included.  This resulted in a list of 162 keywords which occurred more frequently in the corpus in comparison with the BNC.   While the presence of many words such as *property, life* and *Brits* as keywords was not unexpected, the corpus offers a way to examine common associations among keywords (collocates) and the use of evaluative nouns such as *invasion* and *ghetto*.

### 3.1 Being British

Nouns and adjectives such as *British, Britons, English* etc. were naturally high in the keyword ranking since the corpus was obtained using these as search terms. However, a concordance search highlighted some interesting patterns of use.  One noticeable pattern was in the phrase *of British*, where words occurring to the left mostly showed quantification of some kind.  Non-numeric quantification included *lots of, multitude, thousands, hordes,* as well as more abstract conceptualisations of the British as a *phenomenon, wave, influx* or having an *impact.*

WordSmith also highlighted patterns of collocates with the word *British.* Discounting the verb form *are*, the five most frequent nouns to follow *British* were *people, expats, residents, invasion, migrants,* although the latter was not seen across sufficient texts to be included in the keyword list.  The relative frequency of *expat/s* (below) demonstrates that this word is frequently used to reference the British, although there is a belief that the British themselves dislike it and avoid it (Benson, M., personal communication).  Also worthy of investigation is the collocation of *British + invasion* across five texts (see below).

**Figure 1: Concordance of *British* – examples**

| | |
|---|---|
| 239 | , the Correze, welcoming the impact of British buyers on the value of their |
| 240 | and demand an end to the influx of British homebuyers. That hardly |
| 241 | myth than fact. Certainly the influx of British is noticeable. In my small |
| 242 | . He added: "It's true there are a lot of British people, but we have always got |
| 243 | the country you're in, but a lot of British people aren't doing that at all,' |
| 244 | not be too cynical. There are lots of British people who have bought property |
| 245 | their pensions paid in sterling, lots of British people living here have lost 25 |
| 246 | is not shared by the vast majority of British expats who make up roughly a |
| 247 | because I am right. The majority of British people in France are living |
| 248 | also the end of an era for a multitude of British ex-pats. Hoping to find their own |
| 249 | saw a significant rise in the number of British buyers after Ryanair launched its |
| 250 | quickly realised that the huge number of British people now settled permanently |
| 251 | is down in part to the vast number of British people looking for a place in the |

The corpus revealed a contrast between the use of *British* and *Brits.* The more frequent collocates to the left of *British* were common grammatical words (*the, of, a, are, by, for*), reflecting its use as an adjective. In contrast, collocates to the left of *Brits* included more specific determination, as they included *many* (10), and also *other* (12 occurrences)*,* with half of the latter being overtly negative in characterising the *other Brits:*

1. *"I didn't come to France to hang out with other Brits" attitude…*
2. *FIND A RUSTIC RETREAT AWAY FROM OTHER BRITS*
3. *There were other Brits around, of course, but they were all very expat types.*
4. *… many other Brits are suckered into buying similarly unsuitable properties*
5. *…they came in such numbers that they've ended up with precisely what many had hoped to leave behind - other Brits.*
6. *Several work as cowboy tradesmen, helping other Brits carry out their house renovations without having to stoop to that ugly business of speaking French.*

Yet *other* was rarely seen before *British* and only when the latter was used as an adjective, for example *other British-owned bars*. What was also interesting about *Brits* was how it was used in clusters. The 3-word cluster *Brits in France* (8) suggests a pattern with the noun phrase used to reference the phenomenon of the British migration to France. These examples included a couple of positive references, such as the Brits in France being resilient, yet it was frequently seen within negative narratives, as in *Wake up call for Brits in France* and *But the adventurous spirit of the Brits in France has its limit.* The phrase was also seen in narratives where the conclusion was

not positive for the British, such as tales about the British being *suckered* into buying unsuitable properties. While this is not a strong indication of negative semantic prosody, it can nevertheless be argued that *Brits in France* is not an entirely neutral construction.

### 3.2 A swelling army of migrants

A conceptual grouping of keyword nouns relating to being a migrant was made, in order to explore any patterns across the different terms. Keyness ranking is the relative position of the word in order of keyword strength; the higher the ranking, the lower the number. Frequency is the number of occurrences of the keyword in the corpus; figures in square brackets denote individual figures where keyword variants were combined. The final column shows how many of the 69 articles the word occurred in.

**Figure 2: Keywords associated with being a migrant**

| Keyword | Keyness | Keyness ranking in list of 162 keywords | Frequency | Number of articles seen in |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Expat, expatriate, Expats, expatriates | 1601 | 5 | 184 [40, 13, 117, 14] | 30, 11, 51, 11 |
| residents | 158 | 38 | 42 | 26 |
| foreigners | 97 | 58 | 20 | 11 |
| invasion | 70 | 81 | 20 | 16 |

We have seen that 'expat' and related forms are the most common collective noun/adjective used in the corpus to describe the British in France. While the majority of usage is straightforwardly as an adjective, e.g. *expat neighbour, expat cricket club*, some interesting usage indicated that the word was associated with a conceptualisation of the *expat* as a particular type or types:

1. *There were other Brits around, of course, but they were all very expat types.*
2. *…the expat cricket club as a good place to hunt for more, shall we say, traditional expat views.*
3. *The kind of expat you become will depend mainly on the company you choose to keep.*

A suggestion of categorisation is thus emerging but it is as yet undefined. Examination of other collective nouns which collocate with *British* explores this a little further. Although the word *migrants* did not make it into the final refined keyword list, it is worth looking at its usage, especially in comparison with other lexis. For example, there were clear differences between the use of *residents* and *migrants*. The word *residents* was mostly seen in phrases that evoked permanence, established residency, and complaints about the new arrivals: *the longer-established British residents who feel most threatened by the "new" British invasion of "Dordogneshire" and its borders.* In contrast, the nine examples referring to British *migrants* were associated with more recent activity:

1. *a wave of younger British migrants to the French south-west;*
2. *causing the new British migrants to scatter over a wider area;*
3. *there are signs that younger British migrants are trying hard to integrate with the locals;*
4. *a swelling army of migrants and second-homers is heading across the Channel.*

This is suggestive of categorisation where *migrants* are *younger* and *new* and associated with continuing migratory activity as they are *heading, trying hard* or *finding it hard to integrate, scatter[ing]*, as well as being conceptualised in mass terms: *a swelling army, a deluge, a wave.* These examples may not be representative of a pattern across the discourse of lifestyle migration, but what they do indicate is that the word *migrant* in the corpus is used to represent more recent 'waves' of British, along with conceptualisations of the size of the phenomenon.

One particular text showed a clear attempt by the writer (Lichfield, 2004) to categorise and make distinctions between older and more recent migration using these terms. Lichfield's article offers a particularly rich example of collective identity representations in terms of social categorisation, including reference to an out-group within the title itself: *Find a rustic retreat away from other Brits*. He describes his own region in northern France as one where the lower concentrations of British incomers

are not only "welcome, but prized" in contrast to the south-west of France. This enabled him to construct identity in terms of articulating what he is not – a strategy seen not only within the literature of lifestyle migration (Benson, 2011a) but also familiar within the discourse of refugee migration (Baker and McEnery, 2005: 222).

Conceptualising migration as *invasion* is not new, particularly within discourse relating to economic or refugee migration, where analysts have discussed the conceptualisation of refugees 'as invaders' (Baker and McEnery, 2005). Admittedly the use of *invasion* in relation to the British in France may evoke historical events, including military invasions from both sides, and it could therefore be somewhat tongue in cheek. Nevertheless, it has a fairly strong collocation with *British* here, and repeated usage without any evaluation may "lead people to accept without question" (Hunston, 2002: 119) the idea of a large scale incursion of British property seekers with its connotations of a relentless, out of control mass force. It is, of course, difficult to argue that such usage is motivated by underlying cognitive metaphor of an invasion. However, consider that a British expat bemoaning cultural isolation would never say *I'm looking forward to an invasion of Brits*, whereas it is just possible that they might *look forward to an influx of Brits*. We can therefore see that the association between *British + invasion* is not neutral.

Moreover, 'invasion' presents the British as a mass noun rather than individuals. This obscures their personal agency, as they are presented as a generalised phenomenon rather than specific social actors who are making individual decisions. However, not all of the 20 examples are used in pejorative contexts, and some relate to the economic downturn and a decline in British visitors; for example, number 3 relates to a French couple bemoaning the lack of British bookings for their gite. Nevertheless, besides the semantic prosody of an association of large-scale incursion, there is clearly some pejorative usage when viewed in context: "vitriolic" complaints from the locals about the British who *don't integrate properly, and they mess up the local economy* (no. 4); *It's English suburbia gone badly wrong* (no. 10). Mixed messages were given in one text (nos. 10, 15), where the writer started by reporting anti-British demonstrations in Brittany and then, while claiming it unfair for expats to complain about yet another Ryanair flight route, added the aside: *Gosh, imagine Brummie mummies in the local supermarché, buying ketchup to put on their magret*.

**Figure 3: Concordance of *invasion***

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | battle strategy for this bloodless invasion. Feel no guilt, question nothing. |
| 2 | prices started rising steeply. The British invasion had started. In the past four |
| 3 | , too, are worrying that the British invasion is in retreat. Retired primary |
| 4 | about what they describe as the British 'invasion'. The complaints were common: |
| 5 | earnestly debate the British invasion. The talk in local cafes about |
| 6 | welcoming. You might think the British invasion would have the opposite effect, |
| 7 | reveal the true extent of the new British invasion: a resident population of 100, |
| 8 | most threatened by the "new" British invasion of "Dordogneshire" and its |
| 9 | the past five years. The modern British invasion has been halted, or at any rate |
| 10 | what some there are calling a British 'invasion' became a talking point this |
| 11 | from France have fled a very English invasion Village England from the Fifties |
| 12 | the latest symbol of the English invasion: a £2.5m luxury golf complex |
| 13 | countryside hosts a new English invasion The last time the English |
| 14 | to say that our area had seen 'a foreign invasion' and was suffering as a result. |
| 15 | trip is troubled by news of anger over invasion of the English Last month a |
| 16 | from the front line of a British property invasion Down in the Pays Basque, the |
| 17 | all." Guillon has seen at first hand the invasion of many towns and villages by |
| 18 | C'estl a folie The invasion plot thickens - and so does the |
| 19 | yesterday staged a mass protest at the invasion of Britons, who they claim are |
| 20 | The French have actually taken this invasion of Brits and their traditions |

### 3.3 A half-baked dream

The inspiration of the French rural idyll was seen across the corpus, sometimes with reference to England as it was in former decades (usually the 1950s or the 1930s), but the references were also used to contrast the imagined life with reality, from a need to protect the rural idyll from new developments, to the suggestion that *British expats could be destroying an idyllic French paradise*. The latter example was in a Daily Mail article (Rawstorne, 2008) which referenced *British interlopers* and their foods sold in Eymet, and it quotes a "renowned French academic" who blames a *surge in benefit fraud and binge-drinking* on the British.

Similar contrastive patterns were seen with the word *dream*. While it was certainly seen across positive narratives, e.g. *a dream of a childhood, our dream home in France*, the word was frequently used to introduce the reasons for lifestyle migration before developing into a more negative narrative that referred to *harsh truths, wake up call for Brits, the dream is now over* and *a half-baked dream.* There

were three examples of the dream *turning sour*, and two examples of the dream *turning into a nightmare.* Although the corpus did not highlight an overall negative lexis association for *dream* (semantic prosody), I would nevertheless argue that there is an overall discourse prosody that the British are uninformed in their decision to migrate. Words such as *dream* and *idyll* are so often used to show the *distortion between dreams and reality* that the cumulative effect is of a feeling that the British act on impulse without thinking through the decision to migrate.

### 3.4 In the ghetto

Perhaps surprising is the use of the word *ghetto,* a subjective category of settlement traditionally used to describe isolated minorities forced into particular areas, and therefore not a straightforward choice when describing the relatively affluent British migrant who has chosen to follow a 'dream' of a better way of life. 'Ghetto' originated in 16th century Venice with Jewish segregation, but more recently became associated with poor ethnic minority neighbourhoods in the USA (O'Reilly, 2000). O'Reilly discusses similar popular representations of the British on the Costa del Sol, citing four articles in the press of 1993. Although it could be argued that in Spain it is related to the *urbanizaciones*, or purpose built tourist/residential developments, O'Reilly nevertheless argues that this ignores the multiethnic character of such settlements, obscuring the mechanisms of community networking. So while the term does not appear to reflect the racial segregation and isolation implied by its historical usage, it perhaps evokes more symbolic boundaries, which serve to define people (of different nationalities) who have lifestyle migration in common (O'Reilly, 2000: 118).

Of the instances below, only example 10 is positive, in terms of "most British try to integrate and don't hide themselves…". But if no actual British ghettos are named, (and even in Spain, O'Reilly argued against the existence of a singularly British 'ghetto'), can we be sure of the intended meaning in the other twelve? O'Halloran and Coffin (2004) suggest looking for dynamic experiential meaning associated with a word in order to locate any pattern of imbued meaning. Examples 3, 5 and 6 seem to mirror socialising limited to one's own compatriots, with examples 9 and 12 reflecting a belief that the British do not make links with the French, and example 8 inferring that a

'ghetto newspaper' would not include any French news or views.  This association is recycled in comparisons with a different kind of 'other', with reference to the ghettos of Algerians (line 11) and Arabs (line 13) *in the city suburbs*.  This seems to portray the British as a more rural counterpart of urban monolingual segregation.

**Figure 4: Concordance of *ghetto***

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | find it less easy to become part of a ghettoised English-speaking group. |
| 2 | with too many other expats as joining a ghetto doesn't count as genuinely living |
| 3 | tried very hard not to fall into a British ghetto - we have French friends, too. |
| 4 | branded her as belonging to the "British ghetto". Sad, but it wasn't the first time |
| 5 | group as I call them live in British ghettos, surrounded by British mates, |
| 6 | people remain stuck in this cosy ghetto, watching repeats of Little Britain |
| 7 | he says. "If you are outside an English ghetto, you have to depend on locals to |
| 8 | way. This will not be an expatriate ghetto paper. TheFrenchPaper's second |
| 9 | do themselves no favours. "They form ghettos and buy isolated properties. It's |
| 10 | and don't hide themselves in golfing ghettos. If you really want to avoid other |
| 11 | the British to the Algerians, gathering in ghettoes in the city suburbs. In some |
| 12 | are complaining that the British live in ghettos, overload the health service and |
| 13 | them speaks French. They stay in their ghettoes, just like Arabs in the city |

The variant spelling of *ghettoes* was not in the keyword list but has been included here as it is clearly the same keyword.

Therefore, the semantics of the word 'ghetto' do appear to vary according to context, and where there is little dynamic meaning in context, as in example 7, it leaves the reader to make an assumption.  While some of these examples are clearly pejorative, it is difficult to extract a firm sense of meaning beyond a vague sense of ethnic clustering, rather than actual racial segregation.  It can perhaps be seen as a conceptual metaphor that is stronger than the underlying meaning that it represents. In this way it is similar to the metaphor of *invasion,* which carries negative connotations of taking over without actually being an invasion.

Nevertheless, the use of the word across ten articles is likely to reflect or trigger a cultural stereotype (Stubbs, 2001).  While the reader may not agree with the reported voices of "some [people]" in examples 11 and 12, in other cases the existence of ghettos is presented in a more taken-for-granted way, as seen in the stated inconvenience of having one's rental property situated *outside an English ghetto,* or *branded as belonging to the English ghetto.*  Such references present the clustering of

the British as more factual, or 'given', than if the writers had described the settlements as "like ghettos".  By presenting the *British ghettos* in a *de facto* way, the reader is not positioned to make a decision as to whether they agree with the label; as White suggests (2004), the reader's acceptance is assumed and the writer's subjectivity is concealed.

## 4. Appraisal analysis and judgements of behaviour

While the corpus analysis highlighted the frequency of references to *other Brits*, this section makes a more detailed analysis of evaluation in the surrounding co-text, particularly where writers attempt to explain or justify a categorisation of the British. The Appraisal framework helps to capture how evaluative meanings are constructed in texts, including the linguistic construction of social categorisation, and its attention to norms of behaviour and social value is particularly relevant within a study that investigates underlying ideologies about the behaviour of migrants. *Judgement* (reference to culturally-determined value systems) and *affect* (conveyance of emotional states or responses) can be seen throughout, while *appreciation* (value ascribed to objects, processes or states) is also present.

Two themes are examined in this section: an attempt to differentiate between *the original immigrants* and *those who come now;* and the explanation surrounding the limited *adventurous spirit of the Brits.*

Evaluation that is *inscribed* or explicit, where lexis carries an attitudinal value that is largely fixed across contexts, is the most transparent and explicit articulation of evaluation (White, 2004).  Inscription using *judgement* and *affect* is seen in the extract below from an article in the *Sunday Express* by Tominey (2005), who includes a quote attributed to an external source. The behaviour of migrants of "the past few years" is explicitly characterised as uninformed and unprepared by those who lack the necessary cultural or economic capital. The appraisal categories are shown thus: Judgement inscriptions are underlined, while affect is in **bold**, and appreciation in SMALL CAPITALS.  Positive/negative polarity is given in brackets (after Bartlett, 2014):

**Figure 5: Appraisal analysis of the Tominey extract**

*"We are not talking about the people who have retired here and have a lot of money and <u>can comfortably live out the rest of their days in France</u>[1] **with no worries**[2]. We are talking about the person who <u>buys into a halfbaked dream</u> <u>without realising that no one can live a dream for ever</u>[3].*
*If you <u>fail to embrace the culture and the language</u>[4] then <u>you are finished</u>[5]."*

*Tominey* (2005)*, Sunday Express.*

[1] Inscribed - <u>judgement</u> – social esteem – capacity (+) = *existing migrants are successful*
[2] Inscribed - **affect** – security (+) = *existing migrants are happy and secure*
[3] Inscribed - <u>judgement</u> – social esteem – capacity (-) = *migrants are coming who are ill-informed*
[4] Inscribed - <u>judgement</u> – social esteem – tenacity (-) = *some migrants refuse to take up the requirements of integration*
[5] Inscribed - <u>judgement</u> – social esteem – capacity (-) = *migration will not be successful*

This quote, ascribed to a French house owner, shows a clear attempt to differentiate between migrants. The use of *embrace* is interesting as it represents the failure of integration as a failure to actively take up or adopt; a refusal rather than a difficulty.

However, language does not always explicitly carry a positive or negative value when triggering an evaluative viewpoint. White (2004) argues that *attitudinal tokens,* which rely on the reader to make socially and culturally conditioned inferences, are the most manipulative and coercive meanings, as the reader is positioned to interpret them according to some underlying value systems or sociocultural norms. In the example below from *The Times*, Roche (2004) labels (*inscribes*) the Brits as limited in their capacity for adventure, but he also describes some generalised and outwardly neutral behaviour that may evoke a negative judgement, dependent on the reader sharing the writer's cultural positioning,.

Roche contrasts the pioneering spirit of the British with a growing reluctance to be adventurous. Appraisal analysis has highlighted a judgement of *Tenacity* to keep up the spirit of adventure, as well as the emotional motivations behind their behaviour (*Affect*). What seems interesting here is that, following on from these explicit evaluations, Roche lists examples of behaviour that seem unexceptional in their

norms, yet they are presented as a kind of evidence for the British being unadventurous.  In itself, a new life that includes the BBC and English style food is not explicitly negative; it is the juxtaposition of this behaviour with the *limited spirit of adventure* from which a particular judgement may emerge.

**Figure 6: Appraisal analysis of the Roche extract**

*For French people, it is difficult to understand the Brits.* **They like an adventure**[1] *into the unknown.* They have a famously deep pioneering spirit[2]*, but it is* becoming more home than empire-based[3]*. I suppose they are also* **motivated by a desire to better themselves**[4]*, to change their lives in middle age.* But the adventurous spirit of the Brits in France has its limit[5]*. They really want to rebuild on the other side of the Channel the same life they have in England.*[6] *They listen to the BBC, make sausages and mash and drink too much wine.*[7]

Roche (2004), *The Times.*

[1]Inscribed – **affect** – inclination (+) = *the British enjoy being adventurous*
[2]Inscribed – judgement – capacity (+) = *the British are known for their pioneering nature*
[3]Inscribed – judgement – tenacity (-) = *the British are becoming less exploratory in their adventures*
[4]Inscribed – **affect** – inclination (+) = *the British are inclined to seek a better life*
[5]Inscribed – judgement – tenacity (-) = *the British sense of adventure is lessened in France*
[6]Evoked – **affect** – insecurity (-) = *the British in France want the security of familiarity*
[7]Evoked – judgement – normality (-) = *British behaviour in France is essentially English*

Again, the interpretation will depend on the extent to which the text activates a sense that such behaviour is somehow remarkable and inappropriate within the context of lifestyle migration, if the reader accepts what White (2006: 10) terms these "socially and culturally conditioned connections and inferences" about the right way to live in France.  It may, for some, evoke a sense of emotional insecurity, although alongside some of the evaluations we have seen above, it could well evoke a sense of lack of knowledge or appreciation of the French way of life.

The strategy of comparison is also used in relation to such value systems.  In the *Daily Telegraph*, Loos (2005) quotes a British estate agent working in France for twenty years, where the reader is led to pass judgement based on an ideological value of how lifestyle migration should be, concluding with a cause and effect process.  The third

sub-category of *Appreciation* highlights where worth or social value has been assigned to various states of affairs.

**Figure 7: Appraisal analysis of the Loos extract**

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"<u>*The original immigrants came because they really loved France*[1]</u>," she says. "*Those that come now are <u>here to take advantage</u>[2] of the* BETTER STYLE OF LIVING[3] *and* **they don't mind whether it is France, Spain or Italy**[4] *- they simply* **want a detached house with their own grounds**[5]. <u>*They come to France because they have seen it on a TV programme*[6]</u>. *And among them are those* **who don't want to become part of the French community**[7]. **They grumble about the shops closing at lunchtime and having to stand in queue**[8] *while the French talk about the niceties of the day. And not surprisingly,* THE FRENCH GET RESENTFUL[9]."

Loos (2005), *The Daily Telegraph.*

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[1] Evoked - <u>judgement</u> - propriety (+) = *original migrants did things the right way*
[2]Inscribed – <u>judgement</u> – propriety (-) = *recent migrants are taking advantage*
[3]Inscribed – APPRECIATION – valuation (+) = *life is better in France*
[4]Inscribed – **affect** – disinclination (-) = *recent migrants do not appreciate France*
[5]Inscribed – **affect** – inclination (-) = *recent migrants want a large house*
[6]Evoked – <u>judgement</u> – capacity (-) = *recent migrants take inspiration from the television*
[7]Inscribed – **affect** – disinclination (-) = *recent migrants don't want to integrate*
[8]Inscribed – **affect** – dissatisfaction (-) = *recent migrants don't like French customs*
[9]Inscribed – APPRECIATION – reaction - impact (-) = *the French resent British migration*

This apparently factual description forms the basis of the writer's justification to compare the "original immigrants" with those who come to "take advantage". These are mostly explicit statements relating to what the British are or are not inclined to do, and their reasons for coming to France. However, the comparison leaves some inference up to the reader, who is provoked to compare the appreciation of the original setters with those who are inspired by a TV programme and the size of property. Again, the negative polarity is, of course, dependent on the reader accepting a particular perspective from which to view this behaviour – that the behaviour of those who come now is shallow in comparison to that of the original migrants.

It could also be argued that the writer is invoking the forms of capital that are significant within the social field (Bourdieu, 1990) of lifestyle migration.  The tendency to represent the original migrants as in possession of cultural capital (knowledge) and symbolic capital (integration) distinguishes them from the more recent migrants who clearly possess the economic capital to make the move, yet *don't mind whether it is France* or elsewhere as long as it is a big house, and do not care about integrating into the community.  This supports prevailing arguments within the literature that systems of distinction in lifestyle migration are based more on levels of integration than on occupational prestige or economic capital (Oliver and O'Reilly, 2010).

## 5. Discussion and conclusion

This paper has explored the concept of identity and distinction within British lifestyle migration by looking at the extent to which such evaluations are part of a broader ideology about the behaviour of the British in France.  The corpus analysis shows that British lifestyle migration to France is represented in the media on different levels.  Most notable is how more recent migration is represented in terms of a flood or invasion, where the dream of a better life has little basis in reality for those whose decision is based on ignorance of reality.

Corpus analysis has also identified semantic prosody in collocations of lexis such as *British* and *invasion*, while a closer analysis of concordances and specific extracts has brought the sociocultural context into focus, identifying a discourse prosody that presents an invasion of British property hunters, highlighting a lack of integration where more recent British expat communities are said to cluster in 'ghettos'.  Such place distinctions are not unfamiliar in the literature, with Torkington's (2011) discourse analysis of Algarve lifestyle migrants highlighting 'there-place derogation' and 'here-place celebration' as discursive strategies linked to the construction of ideological social group membership (van Dijk, 2009).  In such a way are ideas about the British as a migrant group constructed and repeated across texts, resulting in discourse prosody related to an ideology about lifestyle migration to France.

But what are the social conditions that led to so many writers striving to distinguish between migrants, their patterns of settlement and phases of migration?

The values and beliefs expressed suggest that the sociocultural context of lifestyle migration is one of conflict: resentment between older and more recent migration; divergence between the dream and the lived reality, and distinctions between 'types' of expat. Thus much of the discourse is oriented towards positions of power, whereby cultural capital is invoked to symbolise the 'right kind of migrant behaviour'. By drawing on their own cultural capital and maintaining socially acquired prejudices, these writers are the "symbolic elites" (Baker et al., 2008: 280) who play a part in reproducing dominant ideologies of [lifestyle] migration. As the existence of "British ghettos" and generalised behaviour is reproduced through these representations, at the same time the ideologies of a social group are normalised and legitimised (van Dijk, 1990). These texts show how the ideologies are taken up by members/writers who wish to construct a position of identity in relation to the beliefs, as a way to affirm what they are not (Benson, 2009).

Despite not being a marginalised and vulnerable group, these British settlers are presented in surprisingly similar ways to the immigrants and asylum seekers within media texts that have undergone critical discourse analysis. Lexis such as the terms *flood* and *swamped* (Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008) are typical of media constructions of refugee movements, which Baker and McEnery (2005) argue give a sense of being difficult to control, without a sense of its own agency. In this corpus the frequent 'invasion' metaphors similarly portray a sense of inexorability, a mass force that lacks individual agency. While the threats are represented using the same linguistic strategies that portray similar notions of being overwhelmed by mass hordes of the 'other', here the divisions between 'us' and 'them' are cultural divisions within the same ethnic group, rather than between ethnicity or nationality.

Of course we cannot infer too much significance and assume that these evaluations are all universally held views. Nevertheless it is an accepted notion that some people will accept received values that are current in the media, and we are more likely to note and remember detail about people when it is consistent with perceived stereotypes of a social category and prior schema (Wetherell, 2003). What is significant for this study is that there is a *pattern* of negative representations, and they appear to broadly correspond to the views held by the more established migrants

of Benson's study, those who strive to be distinct from migrants who stick within British communities.

While this analysis goes some way towards broadening existing studies, it nevertheless looks at 'otherness' only as a phenomenon within the British community. Future research into representations within French media would be welcome in order to develop our knowledge of how the British in France are represented from a different perspective – that of their hosts.

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