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In the kitchen of the French Children of Immigrants: Foodways and Ethnic Identification. Is There a Unique Recipe?

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**MA Programme Euroculture
Declaration**

I, Gaëlle Colas hereby declare that this thesis, entitled "In the kitchen of the French Children of Immigrants: Foodways and Ethnic Identification. Is There a Unique Recipe? ", submitted as partial requirement for the MA Programme Euroculture, is my own original work and expressed in my own words. Any use made within it of works of other authors in any form (e.g. ideas, figures, texts, tables, etc.) are properly acknowledged in the text as well as in the List of References.

I hereby also acknowledge that I was informed about the regulations pertaining to the assessment of the MA thesis Euroculture and about the general completion rules for the Master of Arts Programme Euroculture.

Gaëlle Colas

14th May 2011

Thesis Recipe

To realize this thesis, you will need:

- 2 enlightening and motivating supervisors: Lubor Kysučan and Harald Runblom

- 5 teaspoons of a supporting family

- 2 cups of Euroawesome classmates

- a pinch of great friends and happy juniors

- 10 g of helpful Euroculture staff

- 50L of tea, all sorts possible

In a large bowl, combine the supervisors and the classmates. Stir in the supporting family with the 10 cl of Euroculture staff and the tea until well blended. Mix the two mixtures together in a cosy library and add the pinch of great friends and happy juniors. Let the dough rest for a few months. Bake in pre-heated oven for 20 to 30 min. Serve it warm or cold depending on your taste and... Enjoy!

Thank you to all the individuals who added their magic ingredient to make this thesis rising. Thank you to all those with whom I shared dinners, cakes and other delicatessen. Thank you for teaching me new recipes, for opening me to other culinary worlds and tools. My belly will remember these two years forever!

A big hug to my sisters for sharing with me the kitchen despite the superiority of their cooking skills and for just being there with and for me. A never ending smile to my grand-mother for trying to understand all the new recipes I bring back with me. A special thought for my mother who taught me how to cook and to please people with food; to my dad who showed me that failing when cooking is not a big deal and always expresses a big appetite for whatever I am cooking... and to both of them who were never discouraged by my experiments in cooking and in life in general! One day I will find my recipe!

One last advice, eating is sharing and cheering...
Never say no to food, this is the way to enjoy life!

Croque la vie à pleines dents avant qu'elle ne te croque !

Table Of Content

1. <u>Introduction</u>

> ""The French think mainly about two things – their two main meals" a well-fed bon-vivant Parisian was once heard to say. "Everything else is in parentheses." And it's true. While not every French man, woman and child is a walking Larousse Gastronomique, that bible of things culinary, eating and drinking well is still of prime importance to most people of France, and they continue to spend an inordinate amount of time thinking about, discussing and consuming food and wine."1

In this very words "France's food obsession" is presented to the eyes of travellers willing to visit France.2 This guide book perpetuates a long tradition of introducing French cuisine as the "West's most important and influential style of cooking."3 Where does this cliché originate from? Is really food a kind of religion in France, or is it just a mere fantasy of foreigners? A travel back in time is necessary to fully understand why France rhymes with gastronomy.4 The earliest recipe, by Taillevent, dates back to the Middle Ages. Since then, French cuisine expanded to become more and more codified, following social and political changes. Every French king or emperor had at his services a royal cook or chef who was held in high regards. The 17th century witnessed the foundation of the *haute cuisine* – high cuisine – and the publication of the first French cookbook. The successive famous chefs laid the basis of the specific French style. The modernization and organization of the *haute cuisine* is attributed to G-A Escoffier. In 1903 he published *Le Guide Culinaire*, which established the fundamentals of French cookery. During the 1960s, a new generation of chefs criticized the 5,000 recipes book and its author for an excess of orthodoxy in the kitchen. A new style of French cuisine was born, aiming towards more simplification. Nonetheless, France still stayed on the

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1   Nicola Williams, *France.*, 8th ed. (Footscray Vic.; London: Lonely Planet, 2009), 77.
2   Ibid., 69.
3   Stephen Fallon, *Paris.*, 6th ed. (Footscray Vic.; London: Lonely Planet, 2006), 48.
4   "In French, the term 'gastronomic' refers to the popular culture of enjoying good food and drink. Other names commonly used to describe such a meal, which celebrates the art of good eating, include festive meal, feast, banquet, gourmet meal and, less formally, 'blow-out', as the younger generations would call it. " "Nomination file n°00437 for inscription on the representative list of the intangible cultural heritage in 2010" (presented at the Convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage, Nairobi: UNESCO, 2010), 2.

upper stair of the podium in the run for best gastronomy. In November 2010, France's traditional gastronomic meal was awarded the highest reward of being a member of the closed circle of the world's intangible heritage. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) decided for the first time to protect gastronomy as a "world's art forms and traditions considered under threat from globalisation."[5]   It is not that much what is inside the plate which has been distinguished but the shared vision of eating well. According to the committee, the chief reason for this choice was that

> "the gastronomic meal of the French is a customary social practice for
> celebrating important moments in the lives of individuals and groups, such
> as births, weddings, birthdays, anniversaries, achievements and reunions. It
> is a festive meal bringing people together for an occasion to enjoy the art of
> good eating and drinking. This very popular practice, with which all French
> people are familiar, has flourished in France for centuries. It is constantly
> changing and being transmitted."[6]

Far from being a fantasy of some illuminated chef or the result of economical lobbying, it seems that French give a dominant role to meals in their national culture. "In 2009, the annual survey on the eating habits of the French revealed that 95.2% of French people considered the gastronomic meal to be an element of their cultural heritage and identity, 98.7% of them wishing to safeguard it and transmit it to future generations. "[7]

The protection of the French meal might be discussed, what no one can deny is that French do attach a specific meaning to food and eating in general. Of course, not every French is a chef and preparing all the time gastronomic meals. However, eating is for sure more than a mere biological function. Various research studies conducted by the Observatoire Cniel des Habitudes Alimentaires (OCHA) conclude that in France "cooking is giving and the meal is sharing."[8] The importance of food for French has been underlined from both an outside and an academical point of view. Why such a high value is attached to the meal? The best is to ask directly the French themselves to define their food model. The answers to the question on the kind of cuisine eaten at home

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5   "French gastronomy recognised by UN culture body," *BBC News World*, November 16, 2010, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-11768231 (accessed 7 May 2011)

6   "Nomination file n°00437 for inscription on the representative list of the intangible cultural heritage in 2010," 3.

7   Ibid., 4.

8   Maggy Bieulac-Scott, *La question alimentaire* (Paris: Le Mangeur-OCHA, 2008), 31.

always come in the same hierarchical order: the first answer given is always formulated in terms linked with identity, then come culinary terms and lastly, the third position is occupied by key-words related to nutritional matters.9 Of course these results should be balanced and compared with answers from other countries to emphasize the specific place of food for French.

P. Rozin compared the attitudes to food and the role of food in life in the USA, Japan, Flemish Belgium and France.10 Several domains were assessed, such as beliefs about the diet-health link, worry about food, the importance of food as a positive force in life, etc. The author mainly found out that "generally, the group associating food most with health and least with pleasure is the Americans, and the group most food-pleasure-oriented and least food-health-oriented is the French."11 All these scientific studies "objectivize" what foreigners might feel. E. Cioran, a Romanian intellectual, became aware of the meaning of a meal for French when he immigrated there in 1937. In *Entretiens,* he explains how "in Romania, [he] always fed [himself] like an animal, meaning unconsciously, without paying attention to what eating means. In Paris, [he] realized that eating is a ritual, an act of civilisation, almost like taking a philosophical stand."12 Calling eating an "act of civilisation" is not such an aberration but participates in the growing recognition of the importance of the social and cultural dimensions of food and eating. In the past, due to the threat of food shortages, eating was above all a question of incorporating nutriments. In the developed societies this is not at stake anymore, giving way to the psycho-sociological dimensions. C. Fischler worked on this problematic, analysing how the "intimate issue of the incorporation of food as a funder of identities is still operating and take a considerable place in the food modernity."13 Although the identity function of food seem to be more visible in a French context, A. Hubert and other scholars proved that food is at the basis of every human societies, culture and identity.14 The act of eating is a corner-stone of the human experience;

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9 Ibid., 32.
10 Paul Rozin, "Attitudes to Food and the Role of Food in Life in the U.S.A., Japan, Flemish Belgium and France: Possible Implications for the Diet–Health Debate," *Appetite* 33, no. 2 (October 1999): 163-180.
11 Ibid., abstract.
12 Patrice Bollon, *Cioran, l'herétique* ([Paris]: Gallimard, 1997), 124. Translation of the author.
13 Anne Dupuy, "Jeunes mangeurs, aliments et espaces du quotidien" (presented at the Les enfants et les jeunes dans les espaces du quotidien, Rennes: Université Rennes 2, Haute Bretagne, 2006), 5. Translation of the author.
14 Ibid.

more than being what we eat we are how and why we eat. That is why "food, the context in which it is consumed, and the rituals surrounding it, exert a complex series of imaginary, symbolic and social functions."15 Eating is an activity which is culturally marked, which carry the set of values and customs of the society in which it is analysed.

This led anthropologists such as C. Lévi-Strauss to perceive the cuisine of a society as "a language in which it unconsciously translates its structure – or else resigns itself, still unconsciously, to revealing its contradictions"16 Thinking about the contemporaneous French society, one of the most visible paradox concerns the children of immigrants. Indeed, in the eyes of the law they are nothing else but French as stated on their identity card. However, in the eye of most of their fellow citizens, they are not completely French but rather approached through their parents' countries of origin. This problem is often described by media and some scholars using the term of integration. That is, the children of immigrants would be facing a problem of integration into the French society. This is obviously a tremendous simplification and an inexact terminology. The question of their integration should not even be raised. They were born French, have known only France, were raised up there. If the problem has to be addressed it would be more in terms of participation in the society rather than integration. A part of the studies of the French society is dedicated to the assessment of the place and role of the descendants of immigrants by finding various indicators expressing their participation. This is where the attention is drawn back to foodways.

Food is one of the practices revealing the differential participation of groups to the global society and of members to the group by unveiling the place and role conceded to them by society. E. Calvo explains how observing the eating practices gives an insight on the socialisation from diverse dimensions ranging from the public to the private, the ordinary everyday life to the more festive or from the individual to the collective. In his view, the eating activity constitutes "an social analyser giving access to the concrete of the process and phenomena which accompany and characterize the new social relations in which groups and individuals are evolving in the everyday life of their insertion."17 Thus the aim of this thesis is to assess how food is translating this major paradox

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15 Emilie Salvat, "Education and pleasure: the paradox of food consumption," *Young Consumers: Insight and Ideas for Responsible Marketers* 11, no. 2 (2010): 148.

16 Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Mythologiques. (*Paris: Plon, 1968), 411.

17 Emmanuel Calvo, "Toujours africains et déjà français : la socialisation des migrants vue à travers leur alimentation," *Politique africaine*, no. 67 (October 1997): 50. Translation of the author.

associated with the participation of the children of immigrant within the society. Is the apparent lack of integration of the children of immigrant revealed in their eating habits? How do this specific part of the French population approach the act of eating? Several angles can be elected to tackle down these questions. However, in the very scope of this thesis priority has been given to the possible "claims of belonging" at stake in food. Can the claims of belonging of a given ethnic group refer to the intimacy of food practices ? To which extend are the eating habits dependent on a heritage and identity dimension?

In other words, does eating French help feeling French? Is there a connection between eating and feeling French?

These questions will be addressed in six different steps, the first five chapters consisting in a theoretical and methodological framing. Before starting any analysis, it is primordial to be familiar with the French context. Indeed, France differs from other countries in the field of migrations on several aspects. This why a first chapter will provide with an overlook of immigration in France; to understand the singularity of this country which has been facing a constant mass immigration since the 19th but is still experiencing troubles dealing with it. Since the target group of the analysis, this chapter will also present the specific characteristic of the so-called second generation of immigrants. Once, the modalities and history of the arrival of foreigners to a new country have been introduced, it is then possible to reflect upon the processes at work when these immigrants are incorporating into a new society. Once again, France proves to be in its own way original: the Hexagon has assimilated exogenous elements by enhancing the practice of equality in rights, but at the same time it ignores the cultural and religious specificities which have to be restricted to the private sphere. However, this is not the only mode of integration possible for migrants when arriving in a new host society. Thus, paradigms such as integration, assimilation and acculturation are the object of Chapter II. However, they will not be addressed regarding immigrants but linked with their children. This having be done, the second important aspect of this thesis has to be introduced: food. As surprising as it might be, studying food to apprehend societal problems does not come completely out of the blue. Anthropology is one of the many disciplines offering a framework to the study of the sociocultural factors of food. Indeed, because of its complex nature, driven by biological, psychological, identity as well as socio-cultural need, several scholar discipline

undertook the project of understanding the eating act. Unfortunately, it is not possible to deal with all the approaches at the same time, which explains why some like the geographical, dietetic or nutritional aspects will not be exploited. Thus, chapter III consists in a detour by food anthropology and its main paradigms. This apparently veering justifies the approach of the descendants of immigrants by food. Indeed, far from being a mere down-to-earth activity, eating is a total social fact and as such underlines the internal structures of societies. Such a thing like the French gastronomic meal "gives rhythm to the lives of community members. It draws circles of family and friends closer together and, more generally, strengthens social ties."18 Bearing in mind these characteristics, food is a phenomenon which should not be overlooked when undertaking the task of understanding a society. The same report from the UNESCO advocating for the protection of the French gastronomic meal goes on underlining the role of meals in French culture by stating that "the gastronomic meal [...] constitutes an important reference point for identity and gives rise to feelings of belonging and continuity."19 Indeed, eating might be at first a biological act, it also matters from the point of view of one's identity and symbolic representation. The nature of man's relationship to food is complex, unfolding on at least two dimensions.20 The first one encompasses the alternation from the biological to the cultural, or from a nutritional to a symbolic function. The link food creates between the individual to the collective, how it links the psychological to the social is the second possible dimensions. Thus, the symbolic dimension of food and its impact on identity will be discussed in Chapter IV. After a short study of the relationship between food, migration and acculturation, Chapter V presents the methodology which has been used for the study-case and the relationship between food, migration and acculturation. Questionnaires and face-to-face interviews were used to gather data which once carefully analysed give access to a comprehension of the link existing between the ethnic identification and food practices of the children of immigrants. The answers to the questions raised by the intermingling of these two topics – of food and ethnic identity – are displayed in the sixth and last chapter.

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18 "Nomination file n°00437 for inscription on the representative list of the intangible cultural heritage in 2010," 3.

19 Ibid.

20 Claude Fischler, "Food, self and identity," *Social Science Information* 27, no. 2 (June 1988): 275.

2. "Première, Deuxième, Troisième génération. On est tous des enfants d'immigrés".21

French history and immigration are inseparable. One could say that immigration is at the root of French national identity. Such a topic deserves much more than a few paragraphs as exemplified by the abundant literature about it.22 Dedicating a single chapter to this phenomenon favours the sketching of only a broad picture, focusing on the main characteristics of the immigration flows, and unfortunately leaving aside the political and economic considerations despite their interest.

2.1. **France, an old immigration country[23]**

To fully understand the specificity of France regarding immigration, it is useful to turn towards G. Freeman. He outlines a typology of the immigration experience amongst the western democracies, classifying them into three distinctive groups:

– Classical immigration countries: for the United States (US), Canada and Australia, immigration is an inherent reality. They are English-speaking settler societies founded by European immigrants.

– Western European countries: immigration in these countries mainly happened as a consequence of decolonization, in the aftermath of World War II. It is a post-colonial and labour immigration as the one which happened in the United Kingdom, or in Germany.

– New immigration countries: it concerns the countries of Southern Europe – Portugal, Spain, Greece and Italy – which entered the European Union in the 1980s and then transitioned to receiving societies.24

When trying to attribute a category to France, one realizes that it has a specific place.

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21 "First, second, third generation. We're all children of immigrants." Slogan used notably during protestations after the unexpected success of JM Le Pen – candidate of the Front National, the extreme right party – in the run-off election of April 2002 for the presidency. In Peter Schwarz, "Manifestations de masse contre Le Pen à travers la France," *World Socialist Web Site*, 30 avril 2002, http://www.wsws.org/francais/News/2002/avril02/30avril02_maniffr.shtml Translation of the author. (accessed 7 May 2011)

22 We would recommend to the curious French-speaking reader the book by Gérard Noiriel, *Le Creuset français*, which gives a complete picture of the role of immigration in the making of a French identity.

23 Valérie Amiraux, "There are no Minorities Here: Cultures of Scholarship and Public Debate on Immigrants and Integration in France," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 47, no. 3-4 (August 2006): 194.

24 Gary P. Freeman, "Modes of Immigration Politics in Liberal Democratic States," *International Migration Review* 29, no. 4 (December 1, 1995): 881-902.

Indeed, the Hexagon should pertain to the classical immigration countries together with the US; since immigration there is an early phenomenon. The two countries are the first democracies to welcome immigrants and mass immigration.25 However, it has never been used to define the essence of the nation. The French seldom refer to themselves as descendants of immigrants. France, unlike the US, has never been called "a nation of immigrants"26. In the US, immigrants gave birth to the nation by settling in the territory. In France, immigrants arrived in an already existing nation. The main incentive for them to immigrate is work and economically-related. It could then be affiliated with the immigration type of the European countries. This time, the problem is that it is not a post-colonial phenomenon. Thus, France happens to find itself in-between two categories. To describe the interaction between the two, F. Héran recommends to speak about a "durable infusion" rather than a "massive intrusion".27

Because of its geographical position at the crossroads between Southern and Central Europe and the important richness of its territory, France has always been the object of constant and successive migration flux. However, the rise of a massive-scale immigration is traced down to the middle of the 19th century. During the Industrial Revolution, economic necessities required ever growing movements of population. The demography of France was too weak to satisfy the flourishing economy and an increasing need for workforces. That is why foreigners were welcomed and arrived in masses. They contributed to the specificity of France, making it an exception in Europe: "a country of immigrants in a continent of emigrants".28 This first wave of immigration concerned mainly neighbouring countries; that is Belgians and Italians. In 1851, more than 378,000 foreigners were already living in France.29 Despite a couple of decrees regulating the monitoring of foreigners, immigration stayed unrestricted until the First World War. The employers had the hands free to organize the coming of workers, the state limiting its action to some adjustment in times of crisis. And crises there were. Unlike the common opinion tends to believe, the integration of European immigrants

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25 Mirna Safi, "Le devenir des immigrés en France. Barrières et inégalités." (Thèse de doctorat en Sociologie, Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2007), 29.
26 John Kennedy, *A nation of immigrants*, Rev. and enl. ed. (New York: Harper Perennial, 2008).
27 François Héran, *Le temps des immigrés : essai sur le destin de la population française* (Paris: La République des idées ;Seuil, 2007). Translation of the author.
28 *L'accueil des immigrants et l'intégration des populations issues de l'immigration : rapport au Président de la République suivi des réponses des administrations et des organismes intéressés* (Paris: Cour des comptes, November 2004), 20. Translation of the author.
29 Ibid.

into the French society was not all the time easy. Xenophobic demonstrations were organised in the regions concerned and everyday life racism was a commonplace. In Aigues-Mortes, on the 16th and 17th August 1883, Italian workers were lynched by villagers and French workers.

The second of the three main waves that France underwent took place after World War I. In 1921 and 1924 the US closed its borders, forcing migrants to find another host country. This, added to the call for more labour forces in France, resulted in an augmentation of the immigration to France. Between 1921 and 1931, the foreign population was doubled to reach 6,6% of the total population. France became the first immigration country in the world. Polish immigrants joined the flow of Belgian and Italian, as well as Spanish refugees after 1936. 1945 constitutes a turning-point since from then the state started taking care of the venue of foreigners to the national territory. Because of the war, there was a high demand of working forces, used to reconstruct the countries. Thanks to the new status of 1947 which gave them a unrestricted moving right between Algeria and the metropolis, Algerian constituted an easy reserve of workers.30 This gave birth to a complicated page of French history, the specific case of the Algerian population. The war in Algeria also influenced broader flux; so that in 1975 Algerians were the second nationality represented in France, after the French themselves.31 In the early 1960s Portuguese immigration reached a peak, with the arrival of men, joined by their families in the following decade. The prosperous period of the *Trente Glorieuses* was marked by a confirmation of the old flux, alimented also by a recruitment in the other North-African countries and newly independent African colonies at the end of it.32

The crisis of 1973 activated the old reflex – already used in the 1890s and 1930s – of solving a tensed situation by reducing the presence of immigrants. In July 1974 the low-skilled labour immigration was stopped. This is a real turning-point in the history of migration in France, although its direct consequences are relative. None of the measures adopted in the 1970s reversed the immigration flow. After a diminution, it stabilized

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30 Until 1962 the term Algerian is misappropriated since the Algerian territory was a French department.

31 *L'accueil des immigrants et l'intégration des populations issues de l'immigration : rapport au Président de la République suivi des réponses des administrations et des organismes intéressés*, 37. Translation of the author.

32 The term Trente Glorieuses was coined in 1979 by J. Fourastié in his book *Les Trente Glorieuses, ou la révolution invisible de 1946 à 1975* ("The Glorious Thirty, or the Invisible Revolution from 1946-1975"), to describe the thirty years from 1945 to 1975 which were characterized a period of economic prosperity combined high productivity with high wages and high consumption.

around approximately 100,000 newcomers every year.33 Immigrants were arriving from new, non-European parts of the world. After 1975 refugees arrived from Indochina, then in the beginning of the 1980s it was the turn of Central Africa, Zaire and Portuguese-speaking countries. More than 80% of the entrance from sub-Saharan countries happened 1975 and 1990.34 In the beginning of the 1990s, newcomers originated from the Middle-East, and then Balkans and Eastern Europe at the end of the decade.

A globalisation of the immigrants is not the only phenomenon which characterized the post-1974 period. From then, the main incentive explaining the migration movements is not anymore a demand articulated by the employers but a push inherent to the migrants themselves. A qualitative change transformed the face of immigration. With the end of labour immigration, the family reunion raised, as well as the asylum. They became the main reasons for immigration and explained the strong familial character of the immigration in the 1990s, the entries in the Hexagon's territory being mainly constituted by families. This explains why the North-African population underwent a constant growth although the labour immigration was stopped. Some could also be surprised of the growth of the immigrant population while there is not anymore an unrestricted policy from the French state. Two main factors explain this phenomenon. Figures of clandestine immigrations are not well known, and after these migrants can benefit from wave of naturalisation and regularisation. Plus, it is an established fact that, despite some levelling, immigrant populations have a higher total fertility rate, which explains the rapid growth compared to the French population. The arrival of families also operated a change in the gender representation. If until 1975, immigrants were mainly men nowadays there is an equilibrium between genders since family reunification mainly benefited wives.35 In 1982, 46% of the immigrant population were constituted by women.36 In thirty years, family reunification was so successful that in 2009 54% of all new residence permits were granted to women.37

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33 Thomas Kirszbaum et al., *The Children of Immigrants in France: The Emergence of a Second Generation*, Innocenti Working Paper (Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, 2009), 3.

34 *L'accueil des immigrants et l'intégration des populations issues de l'immigration : rapport au Président de la République suivi des réponses des administrations et des organismes intéressés*, 44. Translation of the author.

35 Catherine Borrel, "Enquêtes annuelles de recensement 2004 et 2005 : près de 5 millions d'immigrés à la mi-2004," *INSEE première*, no. 1098 (août 2006): 2. Translation of the author.

36 Kirszbaum et al., *The Children of Immigrants in France: The Emergence of a Second Generation*, 2.

37 Ibid., 4.

2.2. The future of immigrants

When labour force immigration gave way to settlement, through family reunification and asylum, it completely changed the traditional image of the immigrant. For a long time after the war, immigrants were associated with a young, single, man coming to work for a short period of time. Indeed, quickly the so-called system of the noria was installed: men were arriving, going back, and continuously replacing each other.38 It was usually a North-African, going to the metropolis to earn money that he will then send to his family left in the country. At the turn of the century, the notion of immigrant gained a familial and international dimension. And above all, it became synonym of someone intending to settle in France. The turning-point of 1974 rang the end of the myth of the return. Until 1981 it was believed, or maybe pretended to believe that immigrants were not planning to stay in the country. Immigration was approached as a temporary phenomenon. To deal with it, the successive governments chose as interlocutors the countries of origin rather than the immigrants themselves. In the 1990s, the nation eventually realized and accepted three facts: that France is a country of immigration trying to ignore it; that the different waves of immigrants which arrived during the *Trente Glorieuses* are there to stay; and finally that French society is multiracial.39 Moreover, once adults, the descendant of immigrants are rarely tempted to return to the country of origin of the parents.40 Thus, France could not ignore anymore the immigrants as well as their children. In this optic, the *Haut Conseil à l'Intégration* (High Council for Integration) was created in 1989 "to give its advice and voice any useful proposition, on request of the Prime minister, on the entirety of the questions dealing with the integration of foreign or foreign-born residents."41 In 1991 it gave its own and official definition of an immigrant: "all foreign-born individual born abroad and who came to settle in France" and in 1995 of integration.42

The same way it is a special case within the immigration countries, France is also a special case with its integration model. A comparison is often made with the models at

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38 *L'accueil des immigrants et l'intégration des populations issues de l'immigration : rapport au Président de la République suivi des réponses des administrations et des organismes intéressés*, 31. Translation of the author.

39 Amiraux, "There are no Minorities Here: Cultures of Scholarship and Public Debate on Immigrants and Integration in France," 199.

40 Kirszbaum et al., *The Children of Immigrants in France: The Emergence of a Second Generation*, 9.

41 "Présentation," *Haut Conseil à l'Intégration*, n.d., http://www.hci.gouv.fr. Translation of the author.

42 "Mots de l'intégration," *Haut Conseil à l'Intégration*, n.d., http://www.hci.gouv.fr/. Translation of the author. (accessed 7 May 2011)

work in the US with its multicultural and pluralist society or in Germany which advocates more for an ethnocultural conception of nationhood.43 France has opted for the so-called "Jacobean and republican ideology", refusing the model of the US for fear of communitarianism and of a "fragmented society".44 Instead, it wants to offer a picture of a – fictitious according to its detractors – universalistic nation that has "succeeded in overcoming racial and ethnic division, has dealt with its past and the trauma of slavery, colonization".45 Although said to be dating back to the oldest roots of the Republic, the model is linked to the French vision of political system which gave a dominant place to the state. It is only in the wake of the recent historical evolutions that it gained its legitimacy.46 To integrate its immigrants France refuses to acknowledge cultural diversity and ethnic pluralism. Instead it strongly encourages the adoption of the assimilationist values said to be republican: one – indivisible – nation, one people. Indeed, the nation has been constructed on the assimilation of population from various regions, resulting in a loss of regional identity. The same policy is applied with regards to migrants. The deal is that they gain the right to participate in the political life of the country and become part of a community of citizens but they have to give up any specific ethnic or cultural characteristics in the public sphere. The main – although implicit – principle of the integration model is the lack of any specific policy as the best way to integrate migrants and their children, who are simply considered as French citizens. Everyone is equal in front of the law, and the ethnic dimension is theoretically never taken into account.

The ultimate goal of the normative French model of integration is to make French citizens out of immigrants within a generation. For that, it minimizes the transmission of cultural legacies from the immigrants to their children. To prevent this reproduction of a "foreignness" or "otherness", the naturalisation of migrants is strongly encouraged. For their children the French citizenship is more or less automatically granted when becoming adults.47 This relatively open citizenship law is the main political application

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43 Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and nationhood in France and Germany.*, 4th ed. (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press., 1999).
44 Safi, "Le devenir des immigrés en France. Barrières et inégalités.," 36. Translation of the author.
45 Amiraux, "There are no Minorities Here: Cultures of Scholarship and Public Debate on Immigrants and Integration in France," 191.
46 Safi, "Le devenir des immigrés en France. Barrières et inégalités.," 42.
47 Dominique Meurs, Ariane Pailhé, and Patrick Simon, "Discrimination despite integration: Immigrants and the second generation in education and the labour market in France," in *International migration in Europe : new trends and new methods of analysis*, ed. Corrado Bonifazi ([Amsterdam]: Amsterdam

of universalistic principles. To become French, a foreigner has two possibilities: naturalisation – after justification of at least five years of permanent residency on the national territory – or declaration, when marrying a French citizen.48 For the descendants of immigrants, born in France, things are easier. French nationality law is based on both *jus soli* (being born in the national territory) and *jus sanguinis* (being born of French citizens). A child who has at least one parents with French citizenship or who is born in France of at least one parent also born on the national territory is automatically French. A child born in France of immigrant ascendancy becomes French when he celebrates his 18th birthday – age of majority – if at this date, he is living in France and if he has had his permanent residency there for a period of at least five months, since the age of 11.49

To sum up, to integrate newcomers, the French state relies on two main strategies: an easy access to all political rights by an active naturalisation policy; and a firm belief in the assimilationist capacities of French nation.50 However this egalitarian discourse does not reflect the social reality and appears to be more than often an illusion. In practice, the French model is no more successful than others in eradicating xenophobia, racism and discrimination. These are everyday occurrences when considering private housing, employment or more trivial activities such as admission to clubs. The tensions between ethnic and universalistic-civic principles can be found within the state itself. In 1958 the *Fonds d'action sociale pour les travailleurs musulmans d'Algérie en métropole et pour leur famille* (FAS) – Social action fund for the Muslim workers of Algeria in metropolitan France and for their family – was created.51 Nowadays known as the *Fonds d'Action et de Soutien pour l'Intégration et la Lutte contre les Discriminations* (FASILD) – Fund of Action and Support for the Integration and Fight against Discriminations – it is still active and aims directly at the immigrants as a specific group of the French population. In the 1980s, the growing mismatch between

University Press, 2008), 27.

48 "Nationalité française - France-Diplomatie-Ministère des Affaires étrangères et européennes", n.d., http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/les-francais-etranger_1296/vos-droits-demarches_1395/nationalite-francaise_5301/index.html. Translation of the author. (accessed 7 May 2011)

49 Ibid.

50 Jeroen Doomernik, "Immigration, Multiculturalism and the Nation State in Western Europe" (presented at the Racism and Public Policy, Durban, South Africa: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 2001), 16.

51 *L'accueil des immigrants et l'intégration des populations issues de l'immigration : rapport au Président de la République suivi des réponses des administrations et des organismes intéressés*, 34. Translation of the author.

the expectations of the French state and the immigrants' needs was more and more visible. It became particularly salient in 1983 with the *Marche des Beurs*, followed by a frequent social unrest in the *banlieues*, the rise of the extreme-right party, the Front National (FN) – National front – or the Islamic veil controversy.52 France could not ignore anymore this part of the population who suddenly moved to the foreground. Immigrants and their children proved to be an important category of French society. It is estimated that one person out of four is an immigrant or has at least one parent or grand-parent who is immigrant.53 Despite the growing proportion of French people sharing a link with immigration, this phenomenon stayed for long unknown and ignored.

2.3. Is there a second generation in France?

The social sciences in France have to a limited extent dealt with the social status of immigrants. The social trajectories of people of immigrant ancestry stayed unclear for a long time. While in the US numerous research had been carried out since the beginning of the 20th century on notions such as discrimination, inter-ethnic relations and xenophobia, France has remained silent in that field. The first exception dates back to 1992, year when M. Tribalat carried out the *Mobilité géographique et insertion sociale* survey, on the geographical mobility and social integration of children of immigrants. Unfortunately, it was based only on immigrants coming from specific countries. This could be considered as a starting point for the awareness of the children of immigrants among scholars. Despite this growing interest during the last two decades, the social field had to face some discrepancies and problems. All the common tools used in social and ethnic studies in other countries are not well-spread in France and often criticized. As J. Costa-Lascoux explained, the research world is "dominated by the fear of giving legitimacy to ethnic and racial differentiation in a united and republican France".54 That

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52 The "*Marche des Beurs*" is an anti-racism protest march who took place in 1983. Starting on the 15th of October, with only a dozen of *beurs* – descendant of North-African immigrants – in Marseille, the movement grew bigger along the road and around 60,000 persons arrived in Paris on the 3rd of December. Their main demands were a residence permit of ten years and the right of vote for foreigners. *Banlieue* is a euphemism used to describe low-income housing projects in the suburbs of the main cities, where mainly immigrants and under-class families are living. They are also referred to as sensitive urban zones and neighbourhoods deemed sensitive. The first suburban violence – followed by many others with the latest in 2005 – occurred in 1979 in Vaux-en-Velin in the outskirts of Lyon.

53 *L'accueil des immigrants et l'intégration des populations issues de l'immigration : rapport au Président de la République suivi des réponses des administrations et des organismes intéressés*, 54. Translation of the author.

54 Amiraux, "There are no Minorities Here: Cultures of Scholarship and Public Debate on Immigrants

is why, notions such as ethnicity or ethnic minorities, race relations are controversial and taboo.55 The sociological field of migration studies has been for a long time completely ignored and pushed at the margin of the academic world, always subordinated to other disciplines.56

France is not only unable to reflect on the ethnic fact but also cannot think of the place of minorities in its society since "there are no minorities [there]"; immigrants are not a social group.57 The development of the scientific field of migration studies happened rather late compared to the US not only because of political and ideological problems but also for some practical reasons linked with the availability of empirical data. Isolating, identifying and analysing populations concerned by migratory phenomena is a very hard task given that the statistical tools are unsuitable for the description of trajectories linked with immigration.58 It is nearly impossible to find data on the ethnic origins of the French population. Their collection has been forbidden by the Constitutional Council. Indeed, by principle France is a country where there are no minorities and which recognizes only the individual for its quality of citizen. The principles of equality and indivisibility of the nation are at the heart of the fundamental texts, all opposed to any enhancing of a cultural differentiation. The most important one is the first article of the Constitution which clearly states: "France shall be an indivisible, secular, democratic and social Republic. It shall ensure the equality of all citizens before the law, without distinction of origin, race or religion."59 The French model takes into consideration individuals and not communities. Its aim is that foreign born people who have acquired the French nationality are considered and designated as French and not labelled according to their ethnic origin.

Until 1990 the census distinguished only between French born, French by naturalization and foreigners. The introduction of the nationality of origin for the people opting for the category French by acquisition only dates back to 1962.60 However it

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and Integration in France," 201.

55 Alec Hargreaves, *Immigration, "race" and ethnicity in contemporary France* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), 1-2.

56 Amiraux, "There are no Minorities Here: Cultures of Scholarship and Public Debate on Immigrants and Integration in France," 191.

57 Ibid.

58 Safi, "Le devenir des immigrés en France. Barrières et inégalités.," 108. Translation of the author.

59 Article 1 of the French Constitution of 1958, http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/english/8ab.asp#I (accessed 7 May 2011)

60 Safi, "Le devenir des immigrés en France. Barrières et inégalités.," 109. Translation of the author.

was then impossible to take into account the immigrants and their trajectories. This drawback was adjusted in 1990 with the suppression of the category foreigner, replaced by the category immigrant, added to a declaration on the nationality and country of birth. Unfortunately, this time it was the second generation which remained invisible. On top of that, the category immigrant is not satisfactory to describe the integration process of the population of immigrant origin.61 At this point, a heated debate on ethnic statistic raised, to know if such information should or not figure in the census. The progress in the academic field as well as some pressure from the EU more or less put an end to the question, although such data are still not explicitly collected. There is now a growing awareness and agreement around the necessity of a better spotting of populations of immigrant origin to fight against discrimination and understand better the integration process. After the census of 1999, questions on the nationality and country of birth of the parents have been introduced. Some change has also been instilled thanks to more studies in the academic field such as the survey Generation 98 conducted by the *Centre d'Études et de Recherches sur les Qualifications* (CERQ) – Centre for Research on Education, Training and Employment – in 2001 or the *Histoire de vie* (life history) survey carried out by the *Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques* (Insee) – National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies – in 2003.

Recently a survey conducted by the *Institut national d'études démographiques* (Ined) – French National Institute for Demographic Studies – included questions directly linked with the origin and even the subjective experience of ethnic belonging of the respondent.62 Despite all these notable improvements, the results and survey still do not offer a complete picture of the trajectories of the descendants of immigrants. An extensive project, The Integration of the European Second Generation, has been undertaken in the beginning of 2005, aiming at gathering "the first systematic and rigorous European dataset of more than 10,000 respondents in fifteen European cities" of immigrant origin.63 France is one of the eight European countries selected. However, this collaborative and comparative research project focuses only on the descendants of immigrants from Turkey, Ex-Yugoslavia and Morocco; thus lacking to offer a broad

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61 Ibid., 111.
62 Dominique Meurs, Ariane Pailhé, and Patrick Simon, "Persistance des inégalités entre générations liées à l'immigration : l'accès à l'emploi des immigrés et de leurs descendants en France," ed. Insitut national d'études démographiques, *Population* 61, no. 5-6 (2006): 763-801. Translation of the author.
63 "TIES - Home," *The Integration of the European Second Generation*, n.d., http://www.tiesproject.eu/. (accessed 7 May 2011)

picture of the children of immigrants in France. Moreover, often the categories used to study the population are blurred and subject to controversies.

In France the expression "second generation" often points out at a specific social figure: the one of a young male living in a sensitive area, of North-African origin. Thus, the expression is not empty of a conflictual dimension and should be used cautiously. The reason for such an association is that it appeared in the 1980s when the rise of the North-African population was at the heart of the political context. It was popularized to mark a rupture with the generation of their parents, then considered to be impossible to integrate. Naming was used as a way to give existence, to assign a place and impose a relation with the society as a new generation to assimilate.64 This expression of "second generation" appears to be problematic because it links the descendants of immigrants with an immigration that they have not directly known. It relates them to an history they did not live by themselves but which has been transmitted to them through their parents' experiences.65 With "second generation", people often associate the vague notion of "culture of origin". This can also be discussed since the culture refereed to and presented as the "culture of origin" by the media is often a culture foreign to the descendants of immigrants' lives, and simultaneously created by the society and their parents.66 The same doubts arise with the notion of generation. What is included in generation? Does it refer to the migratory wave of the parents, the generation as the age of the individual concerned, or his place in the family? The word blurs everything and might induce that it is always young people concerned, whereas the immigrant population is undergoing a process of ageing. Other dimensions such as familial history, social trajectories and migratory path are completely underestimated. It is not because two immigrants or descendants of immigrants have the same age that they are following the same modalities of insertion. This is why expressions like descendant of immigrants or children of immigrants are more satisfactory.67 However, they also hide the huge diversity of origins and trajectories existing within the population of immigrant origin. All these expressions often work as "softeners" which make everything plain and erase

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64 Emmanuelle Santelli, "De la « deuxième génération » aux descendants d'immigrés maghrébins," *Temporalités* 2 (2004): 31. Translation of the author.

65 Azzam Amin, "L'intégration des jeunes Français issus de l'immigration," *Connexions* 83, no. 1 (2005): 135. Translation of the author.

66 Ibid.

67 Santelli, "De la « deuxième génération » aux descendants d'immigrés maghrébins." Translation of the author.

differences by carrying along representations occulting ageing, place in society or process of installation.

2.4. A "*Black-blanc-beur*"[68] France

When trying to describe the position of the descendants of immigrants the trend is to underline the differences among children by generation, with respect to their arrival in the country of settlement. T. Kirszbaum and his colleagues made no exception, basing their studies of the children of immigrants in France on the usual categories:[69]

– Immigrant (generation 1.0): immigrants who were over 10 when they came to France

– Generation 1.5: immigrants who arrived in France before they reached 10 years old[70]

– "Second Generation" (Generation 2.0): born in France to parents both born abroad

– Mixed Second Generation (Generation 2.5): people born in France to a mixed couple

A last category is often added, to be used as a test group. The "Natives of Natives" group encompasses the individuals born in France whose parents were both born in France, that is the "main-stream", "autochthonous" French. If this thesis agrees with distinction between generation 2.0. and 2.5., for practical reasons, when used here, the expression Second Generation is accepted in a broad sense, to encompass all the French citizens born in France of at least one parent immigrant. An extensive survey of the population born in France from an immigrated parent has been conjointly undertaken by the Insee and Insed. For the survey *Trajectoires et Origines* – Trajectories and Origins – 22,000 persons, born between 1948 and 1990 and living in a normal household in metropolitan France in 2008 – have been interviewed to "realize precise analyses on the main minorities which had a direct or indirect experience of migration to metropolitan France."[71] It offers an interesting insight on the socio-demographic characteristics of this population. The following data presented are coming from this survey. To look at the so-called origin of the targeted individuals, if the two parents are immigrants they have chosen the country of birth of the father as the country of origin of the descendant.

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68 Expression popularized in the 1990's. Using the model of the French flag – blue, white, and red – it describes a multi-ethnic France, with Black referring to the Sub-Saharan African, blanc (white) to the Caucasian ethnic group and beur to the Arab population. Beur is a slang word, created from the inversion of the syllables of the word "arabe".

69 Kirszbaum et al., *The Children of Immigrants in France: The Emergence of a Second Generation*, 13.

70 The age of 10 is commonly accepted as the age marking the end of the primary socialisation.

71 "Etre né en France d'un parent immigré," *Insee Première*, no. 1287, March 2010,
http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/document.asp?ref_id=ip1287&page=sdb . Translation of the author.
(accessed 7 May 2011)

In the case only one parent has immigrated, it is this person which gives his or her origin to their child.

In 2010, France counted more than 6 million persons – 4,3 million aged over 15 and 1,85 million under this age – having at least one parent who immigrated to France, when the total population living in France reached 62.45 million.[72] 12% are direct descendants of immigrant which means that they were born in France metropolitan and have at least one parent foreigner, born abroad.[73] They are in majority younger than the total population since – still amongst the 18-50 – half of the direct descendants are under 30 years old.[74] In contrast only 4 out of 10 persons in France are under 30. The older descendants have in majority parents originating from a European country.[75] ¾ of the parents of the 46-50 years old are European, against only 3 out of 10 for the descendants aged between 18 and 20 years old. When talking about European countries, it is refereed to Spain and Italy in 25% of the cases. The Eastern European countries do not really appear in the statistics since the flux from this part of Europe are still too recent to have an influence on the population over 18 years old. Concerning the origin of the other half of the descendants of immigrants, 1,3 million have at least one parent coming from Algeria (20%), Morocco or Tunisia (15%) and Sub-Saharan Africa (4%).[76] The age of the descendants often reflects the immigration wave of the parents. For example, the Sub-Saharan wave is one of the most recent, which explains that 60% of its descendants are under the age of 26. The widening of the geographical location of the sending countries outside Europe and Africa is echoed in the appearance of a younger generation – 18-20 years old – whose parents are coming from Asia, Middle East and America, for 18% of them, which represents 8% of the 18-50 years old. The immigration wave also influences the diversity of origins of the parents. Half of the descendants has only one parent who immigrated, 90% of those from the EU. Whereas mixed ascendancies are less numerous for the recent immigrations: it concerns only 30% of the Africans and 10% of the Turks. The geographical distribution of the descendants of immigrants follows the same pattern as the one of the immigrants. One third is living in Île-de-France, mainly composed by recent immigration flows.

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72 Yves Breem, "Les descendants d'immigrés," *Infos migrations - Département des statistiques, des études et de la documentation*, no. 16 (juillet 2010): 1. Translation of the author.
73 Cf. Annex Figure 1 and 2
74 Cf. Annex Figure 3
75 Cf. Annex Figure 4
76 Cf. Annex Figure 5

Descendants of the European waves are rather living in the neighbouring regions to their countries of origins, which explains the high density of Spanish and Italian descendants in the South of France. The Turkish immigration is the only one to display specific features since its members have settled in the East of France. Last but not least, the survey gives precious informations on the citizenship of the descendants. 5% of the individuals whose two parents are immigrants do not hold the French citizenship. The overwhelming majority of the individuals of mixed ascendancy are French by birth, a processes eased by the open French citizenship law. This law allows the possession of a dual citizenship, which is the choice of 25% of the descendants, mainly young (30%). The rate of dual citizenship often depends on the country of origin of their parents. In average, around 100 children of immigrants between 17 and a half and 19 decline French nationality each year.[77]

Concerning the socio-economic characteristics, the working paper published in 2009 by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

> "combine[s] analysis of statistical data and a review of the recent literature
> in France to examine the social and economic well-being of the children of
> immigrants and the social environment in which they are growing up,
> including schooling, access to employment, and ethnic and racial
> discrimination."[78]

It found out that generally families of immigrants have higher fertility rates than the average French population. However, there is a growing trend towards some standardization with the national average rates. The image of a family with an incalculable number of children is more a stereotype than an actual situation. More than three quarters of immigrant families (76.2%) have three or fewer children. Of course, families with at least one immigrant parent are larger than native families, the situation depending on the ethnic origin of the family. If there are similar family structures between the European immigrants and the mainstream population, non-European families may sometimes show stronger resistance to the erosion in the traditional French model. As far as the educational attainment is concerned, there is generally an upward mobility – children's educational level being higher than those of their fathers – and

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77 Patrick Weil, *Qu'est-ce qu'un Français? : histoire de la nationalité française depuis la Révolution*, Ed. rev. et augm. (Paris: Gallimard, 2005). Translation of the author.
78 Kirszbaum et al., *The Children of Immigrants in France: The Emergence of a Second Generation*, 1.

sharp differences according to the origin. The recent European migration largely consists in highly qualified immigrants while the situation is more contrasted within the African and Asian groups. There is again a trend towards a convergence of the levels of education between immigrants and the native French. Nonetheless adults of immigrant origin have still more probabilities of being outside the educational system and not being economically active. Y. Brinbaum and A. Kieffer discovered that children of immigrants face early difficulties in elementary school, have a higher rate of repetition and underperform at the secondary level compared to their native peers.[79] However, studies have proved that it would be related more to their social class and family characteristics than their ethnic belonging. The same influence of socio-economic characteristics appears when looking at the labour market inclusion. Young people of immigrant origin are more subject to unemployment. The comparison between labour force participation rates is quite eloquent. 48.4% of the young French men and 41.2% of the young French women are employed; compared to 44.1% for young foreign- born men and 34.5% for young foreign-born women. Ethnic origin has something to do with these numbers, together with social origin and limited personal networks.

Because of the tight ties between France and its immigrants, because the national history evolves in parallel to the history of immigration, there is no study of the French population without a study of immigrants. It would be senseless to even think about focusing on French society and ignoring those who once were national of another country and their descendants.

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79 Ibid., 29.

3. <u>Integration, Assimilation and Acculturation</u>

The incorporation of the descendant of immigrants and their families in the mainstream society lies in the very heart of societal preoccupations. Although everything is linked, the distinction between the public, politic and scientific spheres is important. Only the last one will be dealt with through an introduction to the main theories of immigrants' insertion.

3.1. Theories of descendant of immigrants integration

The study of immigration and its aftermath was mainly developed in the US. Thus, it is logical to question the relevance of the US theories for a French context. To start with, the vision of immigration of the two countries differs, each maintaining its own relationship with it.[80] But above all, they have two rather opposed conceptions of the notion of integration. In the French tradition, integration rhymes with an individual process to which the community of origin is participating only on a negative mode.[81] Most of the basic concepts although born in the sociological sphere have drifted towards political paradigms.[82] In the US the notion of assimilation is used without any negative connotation, since it underlines a temporal characteristic of incorporation. In France, it is often reduced to assimilationism. The context and the specific history of France gave birth to suspicion. The country is ridden by a strong regional political activism, and above all it has not yet dealt well with its colonial past and the consequences of it. Thus, assimilation is viewed from a negative perspective, symbolic of the imposition of a said to be autochtonous culture. However, because they are seminal the theories born in the US cannot be avoided. Surprisingly enough, when trying to apprehend the concept of integration, which is after all a global social phenomenon not specific to immigration, it is necessary to go back to the famous French sociologist, É. Durkheim. In his view, integration unfolds on two dimensions, it is a state of strong dependency between members of a society as well as the process leading to this state.[83] The degree of interconnection is particularly emphasized when integration is perceived as a propriety of the social system, the situation where members are sharing a common conscience,

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80 Safi, "Le devenir des immigrés en France. Barrières et inégalités.," 21. Translation of the author.
81 Ibid., 3.
82 Ibid., 62.
83 Émile Durkheim, *Suicide : a study in sociology* (New York: Free Press, 1997).

believes and practices, by interacting with one another and aiming at common goals.84

In the case of immigration, integration is understood as the inclusion of new populations into existing social structures and the quality and manner in which these new populations are connected to the existing system of socio-economic, legal and cultural relations. In the US view, immigrants integrate by conforming themselves to the collective norms of the host society while keeping at the same time their own cultural specificities. It has been well established that integration is an interactive, multidimensional and mutual – since taking place in the receiving society as well – concept. It is commonly divided into four dimensions; starting with the **structural integration** which describes with the acquisition of rights and the access to membership, positions and statuses in the core institutions of the receiving society (education, training system, labour market, citizenship, housing).85 The **cultural integration** encompasses the processes of cognitive, cultural, behavioural and attitudinal change in people.86 The term **social integration** is used when immigrants in a new society gain membership in the private sphere, people's private relationships and group memberships, through marriages, social intercourse, friendships, etc.87 The **identificational integration** takes place on the subjective level. It means becoming member of a society in the sense of belonging and identification, particularly in the form of ethnic and/or national identification.88

This chapter will focus mainly on the cultural and identificational dimensions of the integration process. The central concept emerging to define and study the process by which immigrants incorporate into the host society is assimilation. This concept was first described by the Chicago school as a linear and uniform process of convergence towards the value of the mainstream society, a progressive inevitable and irreversible lost of an old culture for a new one. The classical assimilation theory or straight line assimilation is developed around four main axes.89 Immigration is perceived from an individual perspective, in which ethnic characteristics are only drawbacks acting against a perfect integration. The process of assimilation is considered to be natural, ineluctable

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84 Safi, "Le devenir des immigrés en France. Barrières et inégalités.," 58. Translation of the author.
85 University of Bamberg, *Effectiveness of National Integration Strategies Towards Second Generation Migrant Youth in a Comparative European Perspective – EFFNATIS*, March 29, 2001, 9.
86 Ibid.
87 Ibid.
88 Ibid.
89 Safi, "Le devenir des immigrés en France. Barrières et inégalités.," 69-70. Translation of the author.

and unconscious. It follows a convergent movement, leading from one extremity of a continuum to another one. Finally, classical assimilation scholarship poses the existence of a unified, non-ethnic and central core of the mainstream society, in which immigrants integrate. The first theoretical effort to understand the integration of immigrants is attributed to M. Gordon and his 1964 work, *Assimilation in American Life*. Developing what is called the multiple melting pot or pluralism theory he breaks down integration into 7 successive stages and analyses the links between them.90 After a **cultural or behavioural assimilation or acculturation**, a **structural assimilation** takes place. It is soon followed by large-scale intermarriage composing the **marital assimilation or amalgamation**. The third stage is the **identificational assimilation** with the host society, which precedes the **attitude receptional assimilation** – characterized by the end of prejudices – and the **behavioural receptional assimilation** which is marked by an absence of discriminations. The last stage is called **civic assimilation** and puts an end to the value and power conflicts.91 Although for the first time assimilation and acculturation are clearly separated, M. Gordon is merely improving the classical assimilation theory. Ethnic traits are still perceived as a source of disadvantage and the hypothesis of the existence of central core – which stays the same all the time – is not questioned.92 In his opinion, the children of immigrants, in the US and with some "exceptions based on the existence of a few rigidly enclosed enclaves", form "a generation irreversibly on its way to virtually complete acculturation to native American cultural values ".93

It is not before the 1960s with the context of the Civil Rights movement and the massive arrival of non-European immigrants that criticism to the classical theory blossomed.94 Four characteristics of the straight-line assimilation are rejected. First, the linear character is proved to be wrong after studies of third generation of immigrants which showed that ethnic differences can be maintained through generations, despite a complete cultural integration. It is also argued that assimilation is not all the time desirable. It might sometimes have harmful consequences on the immigrants' health.

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90 María Claudia Duque-Páramo, "Colombian Immigrant Children in the United States: Representations of Food and the Process of Creolization" (Dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Tampa, Florida, USA: University of South Florida, 2004), 15.

91 Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American life the role of race, religion, and national origins.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 71.

92 Safi, "Le devenir des immigrés en France. Barrières et inégalités.," 74. Translation of the author.

93 Gordon, *Assimilation in American life the role of race, religion, and national origins.*, 244.

94 Safi, "Le devenir des immigrés en France. Barrières et inégalités.," 79-80. Translation of the author.

Moreover, the notion of central core where assimilation is supposed to occur is criticized by both the structuralists and the multiculturalists. The last limitation pointed out is that classical assimilation theory ignores the role of social groups and other contextual elements on the individuals' trajectories. Being attached to the community can also open opportunities and not always be an hindrance to integration. In 1993, A. Portes and M. Zhou undertook the major step towards a criticism of classical assimilation with a theory explaining the different patterns of adaptation and varying modalities of immigrant incorporation into diverse segments of the American society.

The first main problematic is that different actors – such as the individual, the community of origin, the social institutions – are taken into consideration when looking at the integration process. In other words, the multidimensional character of the process is underlined. They also pay attention to the notion of transnationalism and acknowledge the impact of globalization on the migratory process. Last but not least, following the structuralists, A. Portes and M. Zhou view society as a whole segmented by social groups. The classical assimilation is merely a specific case of their theory. With the so-called segmented assimilation, the process is not considered to be linear or homogeneous anymore, and the receiving society is not homogeneous either. In a reunion of structuralist and multiculturalism views, the immigrants end up assimilating in one of the numerous segments of society. The process of incorporation can then be divided into three multi-directional models.[95] The first corresponds to the classical assimilation. The **upward mobility** is characterized by an assimilation and an economic integration into normative structures of the middle-class. On the opposite, the **downward-mobility** associates to the strong acculturation an economic integration into the under-class. The third and last possible mode of integration defines an upward mobility and an heightened ethnic awareness, with a deliberate preservation of the values and solidarities of the ethnic group. It is known under the name of **cultural pluralism**. These three modes are influenced by three contextual factors: the state policy regarding immigration; the role of civil society and public opinion; the role of the ethnic community in the host country. The human capital of the individual represents another key notion at the root of the orientation towards one of the three models.[96]

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95 Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou, "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and its Variants," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530, no. 1 (November 1993): 74-96.

96 George Borjas, *Friends or strangers : the impact of immigrants on the American economy* (New York:

Depending on the social network and friendship ties, someone might be more involved in the community. According to M. Safi who analysed several studies the segmented assimilation theory – although developed in the US – seems to be applicable to the French context and immigration.97

3.2. Acculturation and Enculturation

R. Redfield, R. Linton, and M. Herskovits offered to the discipline what is nowadays commonly acknowledged and accepted as the first definition of acculturation. According to them,

> "acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals sharing different cultures come into continuous first- hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups [...] under this definition acculturation is to be distinguished from culture change, of which it is but one aspect, and assimilation, which is at times a phase of acculturation."98

In this perspective, acculturation equals no more than one specific aspect of the broader concept of culture change. It takes place in both groups, the mainstream society as well as the immigrant group. This definition distinguished between acculturation and assimilation – which can be "at times a phase of acculturation" – since a number of alternative courses and goals to the process of acculturation exist. In 1954 the Social Science Research Council brought some clarifications to this first definition by specifying that acculturation is a

> "culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems. Acculturative change may be the consequence of direct cultural transmission; it may be derived from non-cultural causes, such as ecological or demographic modification induced by an impinging culture; it may be delayed, as with internal adjustments following upon the acceptance of alien traits or patterns; or it may be a reactive adaptation of traditional modes of life."99

Basic Books, 1990).
97 Safi, "Le devenir des immigrés en France. Barrières et inégalités.," 96. Translation of the author.
98 Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville J. Herskovits, "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation," *American Anthropologist* 38, no. 1 (January 1936): 150.
99 "Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation The Social Science Research Council Summer Seminar on Acculturation, 1953," *American Anthropologist* 56, no. 6 (December 1954): 974.

In other words, this new definition includes that the change is indirect (not cultural but "ecological"), delayed (can happen during the following generations), creative (giving birth to new cultural forms) and above all reactive. Indeed, acculturation is not all the time synonymous of moving towards a similitude with the mainstream culture. It can also take the form of a rejection of the cultural influence of the dominant group leading to a return to something perceived as more traditional. The greatest contribution to the study of the phenomenon of acculturation results from the work of T. D. Graves. In 1967, he introduced the concept of psychological acculturation, to describe the "changes in an individual who is a participant in a culture contact situation, being influenced both directly by the external culture, and by the changing culture of which the individual is a member".100 By doing that he operated a clear distinction between the cultural and psychological level of acculturation. It helps understanding that psychological acculturation differs according to each individual. Not everyone participates in the same way and every individual has variable goals to achieve from the contact situation, even if living in the same environment. On the other hand, while psychological acculturation effects at the individual level, general acculturation will take place at the group level.

J. Berry undertook the big move for the theory of acculturation when he refused these theories of an unidimensional acculturation to propose a bilinear model. His model of acculturation is based on the idea that each immigrant is confronted to a dual question: to maintain his cultural identity without negating the desire of sharing positive inter-ethnic relations with the mainstream population. One axe is for "contact and participation (to what extent should they become involved in other cultural groups, or remain primarily among themselves)" while the other one describes the "cultural maintenance (to what extent are cultural identity and characteristics considered to be important, and their maintenance striven for)".101 This question is resolved into four degrees or strategies of acculturation.102 When the first, **assimilation**, is embraced the immigrant completely abandons his traditional culture to adopt the norms and values of the receiving society and interact with and within it. The immigrant maintains some aspect of his culture and at the same time adopt habits, behaviours of the receiving

100J Berry, "Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* (October 2005): 701.
101John Berry, *Social behavior and applications.*, 2. ed., [2. print.] ed. (Boston [u.a.]: Allyn and Bacon, 1998), 296.
102 Cf. Annex Figure 6.

society which are conform to his original values when he opts for **integration**. In the case of **separation**, the original culture is praised in spite of the hosting culture which is negated, or rejected with few interactions with it. Engaged in a **marginalisation** strategy, the immigrant is avoiding both cultures, neither identifying himself to his original culture nor to the receiving one. Variability is, together with the degree to which satisfactory adaptation is achieved, a key feature of all acculturation phenomena. Indeed, people seek about their acculturation in many different ways.103 The final outcomes of assimilation will then depend on the attention they give to the values and attitudes of their ethnic group, but also on the power of the family to work as a reinforcer of traditional values or a change agent, as well as the capability of the society to induce change.104 Because of this variability and complexity there is no universally accepted way to conceptualize and measure the acculturation phenomenon and its effects. Regardless of theory it has been established that acculturation occurs at both the macro (group) and micro (individual) level. However, the Anglo-Saxon scholarships emphasise more the global dynamic, at the community scale. Unlike their fellow researchers, French privilege more the individual scale, following C. Camilleri and his *stratégies identitaires* (identity strategies) model. Generally, European authors are keener on the idea of interpenetration, interlacing or intercultural.

For a long time unchallenged, J. Berry's model has been criticized by B.S.K. Kim who pointed out that the "cultural maintenance" linearity does not perfectly fit the situation of the descendants of immigrants. In their case, it would be better to use the broader terminology of enculturation.105 Indeed, without any doubts the concept of cultural maintenance can be used for immigrants settling in a new culture. But what about individuals born and raised in this "new" culture? Taking as an example the Asian-American, B.S.K. Kim explains that the children of immigrants might not be fully enculturated in the culture of their parents.106 For them, it is not that much a question of maintenance but rather of learning. The same question arises with the notion of acculturation. How can the descendants of immigrants be confronted to acculturation

103Berry, "Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures," 698.
104Martha Bernal, *Ethnic identity : formation and transmission among Hispanics and other minorities* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 182.
105Bryan S. K. Kim, Annie J. Ahn, and N. Alexandra Lam, "Theories and Research on Acculturation and Enculturation Experiences among Asian American Families," in *Handbook of Mental Health and Acculturation in Asian American Families*, Current Clinical Psychiatry (Humana Press, 2009), 26.
106Ibid., 27.

when they do not fully possess a culture? This is why the term enculturation offers a more comprehensive description of the phenomena in presence. These findings led BSK. Kim to reformulate the first definition of enculturation, theorized by M. Herskovits as the process of socialization into and maintenance of the norms of one's indigenous culture, its salient ideas, concepts and values.107 Instead, enculturation is understood as the process of (re)learning and maintaining the norms of this culture; while acculturation will be the process of adapting to the norms of the dominant culture.108 This also called ethnic socialization assumes the form of a normative cultural teaching that parents, families, peers and ethnic communities are providing to the children.109 It has to be said that enculturation takes place in all the cultures, not only in the ethnic minority's culture.

In a traditional view, acculturation and enculturation were more or less two exclusive and opposed processes occurring along a single continuum, with acculturation at one end and enculturation at the other one.110 In this unidimensional view, the identification with one culture is synonymous of a move away from the second culture. It has now been proved that the two types of adherence can be simultaneously observed and assessed.111 Thus, the orthogonal dimension model was developed, in opposition to the unidimensional view.112 It states that each movement towards or away from each culture is completely independent. Getting to know, integrating one culture does not result into losing sight of the other one.113 The relation between acculturation and enculturation is best described by L. Cavalli-Sforza and D. T. Campbell with the notion of cultural transmission through which individuals acquire the cultural and psychological qualities necessary to function as a member of one's group.114 Cultural transmission occurs even in the case of a single culture society, although then the

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107Melville J. Herskovits, *Cultural anthropology* (Knopf, 1965).
108Kim, Ahn, and Lam, "Theories and Research on Acculturation and Enculturation Experiences among Asian American Families," 27.
109Bernal, *Ethnic identity : formation and transmission among Hispanics and other minorities*, 3.
110Eugene R Oetting and Fred Beauvais, "Orthogonal cultural identification theory: the cultural identification of minority adolescents," *The International Journal of the Addictions* 25, no. 5A-6A (1991 1990): 655-685.
111Kim, Ahn, and Lam, "Theories and Research on Acculturation and Enculturation Experiences among Asian American Families," 27.
112 Cf. Annex Figure 7.
113Dennis Aaron Ahern, "A Longitudinal Exploration of Factors that Influence Acculturation and Enculturation Patterns of First-Generation Mexican Immigrant Women," *All Graduate Theses and Dissertations.*, 2009, 7, http://digitalcommons.usu.edu/etd/473 (accessed 7 May 2011).
114Luigi L. Cavalli-Sforza, *Cultural transmission and evolution : a quantitative approach* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981).

process of acculturation is completely ignored. The transmission comes from three direction: horizontal, vertical and oblique, corresponding respectively to the group of peers, the parents and the other adults and institutions.115 A distinction is operated between "the generalized learning in a particular cultural milieu" and the "specific instruction and training" which is conscious. When two cultures are in contact, that is in the case of the descendants of immigrants, things get a bit more complicated. Culture A is the one in which the individual has grown up, and that he continues to receive even during the contact with culture B.116 The three types of cultural transmission are still at work. In addition, the person is exposed to influences steaming from culture B, following the three same routes. The change is that vertical transmission – from parents is also an indirect route for influences from culture B. Parents will filter, interpret, select but also misunderstand culture B and transmit it to their children. In the situation of a descendant of immigrants, culture A can be interpreted as the parents' culture of origin while culture B is the mainstream culture. Figure 4 shows how the descendants of immigrants are socialized and under the influence of the simultaneous processes of enculturation and acculturation.

These two processes involve changes in behaviours and values.117 They affect the survival of the sense of belonging and loyalty to the group and the feelings towards it.118 In other words, they participate in the construction of what is called ethnic identity.

3.3. Ethnic Identity

Beforehand, some light needs to be shed on the term ethnicity. It is closely related and often mistaken with two other concepts, "race" and nation. Indeed, the three of them have the propensity to draw boundaries and attribute group memberships.119 These words do not refer to clear, fixed and natural differences, but they earn their significance in social practices. They reflect and rely upon social processes discourses which will construct, reify the differences between groups. Although they are all context-dependent social constructs, they do not encompass the same reality. Nation

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115 Cf. Annex Figure 8.
116 Cf. Annex Figure 9.
117Jose Szapocznik et al., "Theory and measurement of acculturation," *Interamerican Journal of Psychology* 12 (1978): 113-130.
118Bernal, *Ethnic identity : formation and transmission among Hispanics and other minorities*, 3.
119Christian Karner, *Ethnicity and everyday life* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007), 17.

alludes to a territory, a state institution and cultural histories.120 "Race" is a term to use with cautiousness which raised lots of controversies. It has to be made clear that it is not biologically given, as it has been long believed. It can be perceived as inherited and visible in physical appearance but it is above all a social construct, which it is true has real effects and is socially significant. Thus the use of quotation marks when dealing with this term. "Race" plays a part in ethnicity as a cue, one of the forces embedded in its negotiation. The ethnic options emerge out of the way individuals will process and deal with the information "race". Ethnicity is more related to culture, descent, group memories, histories and language. The word is of course connected to the label ethnic group. J. Hutchinson and A. D. Smith consider an ethnic group as "a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more elements of common culture, a link with a homeland and a sense of solidarity among at least some of its members."121 The main elements to isolate from this first working definition are the use of a label used by either/both outsiders and members; the existence of significant past; the relevance of time and space; and the degree of reflexivity, the importance of co-members. This last characteristic is determinant since it distinguishes culture and ethnicity. "Culture becomes ethnicity when social actors begin to reflect on what they used to think and do in a largely taken-for-granted way prior to the onset of a crisis."122 Thus, ethnicity is associated with a process, an individual realization.

This raises the question of knowing if ethnicity is assigned by birth or not. C. Geertz highlights the fact that belonging to an ethnic group is widely experienced as an ascribed identity, a place where one is born into.123 On the opposite, social constructionists apprehend ethnicity as a dynamic, a "fluid and emergent character".124 Ethnicity far from being given requires a constant affirmation and reaffirmation of its boundaries during any social encounter.125 This position is shared by F. Barth and the social constructivists, for whom ethnicity is "a form of social organization based on the

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120Ibid., 16.
121John Hutchinson, *Ethnicity* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 6.
122Karner, *Ethnicity and everyday life*, 26.
123Clifford Geertz, *The interpetation of cultures : selected essays.* (Basic Books, 1973).
124Nazli Kibria, "Race, Ethnic Options, and Ethnic Binds: Identity Negotiations of Second-Generation Chinese and Korean Americans," *Sociological Perspectives* 43, no. 1 (April 1, 2000): 78.
125Stanford Lyman and William Douglass, "Ethnicity: Strategies of Collective and Individual Impression Management," *Social Research* 40 (1972): 349.

drawing and reproduction of group boundaries."126 He even goes further by affirming that "the critical focus of investigation […] becomes the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses".127 In other words, ethnicity rests more on the division that it creates between groups than on the notion of a shared culture. This argumentation is based on the fact that an ethnic group can persist in times, despite changes in its cultural characteristics and organizational forms, thanks to the maintenance of boundaries with the others. Thus ethnicity would be a way of seeing, of differentiating "them" and "us". It helps interpreting the world, making sense out of life and out of the position allocated to each one in society. Ethnicity is also charged emotionally, associated with memories, smells, sounds and experiences. The last dimension worth mentioning is ethnicity as structures of action. It includes the "rules and resources mobilized by many social actors in sustaining a sense of familiarity and the social structures they reproduce in enacting those rules and resources."128 This is how ethnicity impacts on people's conduct and everyday life, in a both constraining and enabling way. It provides people with particular "scripts" directing – in an implicit as well as explicit way – certain forms of behaviours and adherence to specific values.129

Following this paradigm of ethnicity as structures of action, F. Barth poses the existence of something which "defines the permissible constellation of statuses, or social personalities which an individual with that identity may assume."130 This will be named ethnic identity. F. E. Aboud conceptualizes it as "the sense of oneself as a member of an ethnic group, possessing attributes common to that group.131 This psychological construct encompasses a set of self-ideas about one's own ethnic group membership. These self-ideas vary along several dimensions. M. E. Bernal, G. P. Knight et al. have described five of them while analysing the components of ethnic identity in Mexican American children.132 The first dimension, **ethnic self-identification**, is the categorization of oneself as a member of the ethnic group. **Ethnic constancy** stands for

126Karner, *Ethnicity and everyday life*, 22.
127Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic groups and boundaries : the social organization of culture difference* (Prospect Heights Ill.: Waveland Press inc., 1998), 15.
128Karner, *Ethnicity and everyday life*, 29.
129Miri Song, *Choosing ethnic identity* (Cambridge UK ;Malden MA: Polity Press; Blackwell, 2003), 48-49.
130Barth, *Ethnic groups and boundaries : the social organization of culture difference*, 17.
131Frances E. Aboud, "The Development of Ethnic Self-Identification and Attitudes," in *Children's ethnic socialization : pluralism and development* (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1987), 32.
132Martha E. Bernal et al., "The Development of Ethnic Identity in Mexican-American Children," *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 12, no. 1 (February 1990): 3-24.

the knowledge that ethnic characteristics are unchanging and permanent across time, setting and transformation. The third dimension, known as **ethnic role behaviour**, has to do with the engagement in different behaviours reflecting the group's values, style and traditions. The **ethnic knowledge** designates the knowledge that some roles, values are relevant only to the ethnic group. Last, the feelings about one's own ethnic group and the preferences for ethnic members, behaviours, values, traditions and language are gathered under the **ethnic feelings and preferences**.[133] The multidimensional aspect of this construct has been best described by W. Isajiw.[134] He separates ethnic identity into **external** and **internal** aspects. The first one deals with speaking the language, practising the traditions and participating in the ethnic network and institutions. The internal aspect encompasses attitudes, feelings, ideas and images. It is itself separated into **cognitive** (the subjective knowledge of the group's values, history), **moral** (the feeling of obligation and commitment to the group) and **affective** (feeling of attachment to the group). Thus, ethnic identity is such a complex construct that it can be find in many variants, depending on each individual's identification and engagement. This is why it accounts as one explanation to the differences between members of a same group and between one group and the other ethnic groups.[135] All this alludes to the content of ethnic identity, the actual "ethnic behaviours that individuals practice along with their attitudes towards their ethnic group".[136]

What about "the way in which individuals come to understand the implication of their ethnicity and make decisions about its role in their lives, regardless of the extent of their ethnic involvement"?[137] Is ethnic identity an asset or a drawback? How do individuals deal with their ethnic identity? In the instrumentalist conceptualization, ethnicity is seen as a

> "social and symbolic resource mobilized in the self-interested pursuit of economic and political goals; a collective strategy of survival, social mobility or group reproduction through historically grounded though not continuously utilized, channels of communication and networks of support

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[133]Bernal, *Ethnic identity : formation and transmission among Hispanics and other minorities*, 33-34.
[134]Wsevolod Isajiw, "Ethnic Identity Retention," in *Ethnic identity and equality : varieties of experience in a Canadian city*, ed. Raymond Breton (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 34-91.
[135]Bernal, *Ethnic identity : formation and transmission among Hispanics and other minorities*, 2.
[136]Ibid., 64.
[137]Ibid., 61.

and solidarity."138

On the other hand, for followers of the situational/circumstantial model believe that individuals deploy their ethnic identity in different manners depending on the social context. In maybe a will of uniting everyone, S. Fenton states that "someone may have an ascribed ethnic identity which is embedded in their personality and life experience, yet still perceive the circumstances under which it may be instrumental to display."139 To try to understand the formation of ethnic identity, several models have been elaborated. Drawing on J. Marcia's ego-identity statuses, four types of possible strategies can be highlighted.140 The individuals having a clear understanding of their ethnicity are called **ethnic identity-achieved subjects**. The **moratorium subjects** are involved in an ethnic identity search. When the subject is not engaged in any exploration of his ethnicity and has accepted the values and attitudes of the majority culture, it is either a diffused or a foreclosed ethnic identity. As we can see with J. Phinney, these two last stages are often grouped together because of the thinness of the demarcation line between them.141 In the **identity foreclosure**, the attitudes and opinions of the society – and even the negative view of his own groups held by the majority – are internalized without questioning. When the **identity is diffused**, there is more a lack of interest for ethnicity and its related issues. R. Tonks calls this loss of concern with ethnicity and culture per se a deculturation.142 It has been been proved that the identity retained by the children of immigrants may not assume the same form as the one of their parents. Its nature might undergo some changes over generation. For the children of immigrants it is question of retention, which might be influenced by other characteristic like gender or age.143

Analysing social phenomena is never simple, and immigration studies do not break the rule. The question of the ethnic identity of the children of immigrants is complex

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138Karner, *Ethnicity and everyday life*, 21.

139Steve Fenton, *Ethnicity*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge UK; Malden MA: Polity Press, 2010), 82.

140James Marcia, "Identity in Adolescence," in *Handbook of adolescent psychology*, ed. Joseph Adelson (New York: Wiley, 1980), 159-187.

141Jean S. Phinney, "Stages of Ethnic Identity Development in Minority Group Adolescents," *The Journal of Early Adolescence* 9, no. 1-2 (February 1989): 34-49.

142Randal Glenn Tonks, "Identity formation and acculturation in second generation Indo-Canadian youth and young adults" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, Canada: Simin Fraser University, 1990).

143Karen K. Dion and Kenneth L. Dion, "Gender, Immigrant Generation, and Ethnocultural Identity," *Sex Roles* 50, no. 5/6 (March 2004): 347-355.

and thus, its definition is also composite. One important fact is that ethnic identity appears mainly in comparison with others who are also helping to characterize it. For that, one needs some concrete cues, such as everyday practices.

4. Food as a social phenomenon: detour by food anthropology and its main paradigms

Before entering in the thick of things and analysing the link between food and identity, it is worth recalling the basic character of the relationship of man to his food in its multidimensional aspect. Indeed, food is a plural phenomenon which can be attacked from a behavioural and cognitive as well as a psychological and cultural point of view, without forgetting the individual and collective level. The aim of this chapter is to offer a definition of the culinary act and grasp some of its essential functions. Thus, the main paradigms of food anthropology will be presented.

4.1. Cuisine and culture, a complex grammar

Nowadays, stating that food has a pervasive role in human life is not an hazardous assumption anymore.144 It is well established that eating is much more than a mere biological answer to a nutritive need. It answers biological, psychological, identity as well as socio-cultural impetus. It is a total act with social and cultural questions around. Food is used everywhere and can be found in many different fields from the production to the consumption or psychology. C. Fischler used to complain about the strict separation existing between social and natural sciences. These two spheres and their correlates - sociology and ethnology on the one side, biology and behavioural sciences on the other – do not stand separated anymore. Food practices enable to shade light on broad societal processes such as political-economic value creation, symbolic value processes or the social construction of memory. For example, food offers an insight on the social changes at stake in a specific time. The industrialization modified the way food is produced and distributed, which itself had an effect on the dietary patterns. Until the beginning of 20th food was used only either as a methodological tool by functionalists or analysed for its ritual function in ethnological works.145 The foundations for a sociological theory of nutrition has been laid by A. Richards in *Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe*. In this work and others she made clear that the search for food is the basis of society and that it models all human relations.146 Indeed,

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144Sidney W. Mintz and Christine M. Du Bois, "The Anthropology of Food and Eating," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31, no. 1 (October 2002): 102.

145Anaïs Détolle, "L'espace social alimentaire d'un village provençal : vivre une cuisine régionale au quotidien" (Mémoire Anthropologie, Montréal: Université de Montréal, 2010), 16, http://hdl.handle.net/1866/3517. Translation of the author. (accessed 7 May 2011)

146Yvonne Verdier, "Pour une ethnologie culinaire," *L'Homme* 9, no. 1 (1969): 49. Translation of the

"all economic and social organisation is directly elaborated to produce food, political authority is depending on it too."[147] Although her functionalist system has been outdated, it stays a good prelude to the academical study of food. Since then, an extensive collection of essay dealing with foodways in specific cultures, their role in the socialization process and how they help in structuring societies have been published.

All of them underline the diversity and complexity of the alimentary fact. The most obvious differences are found when comparing two societies living in different localities. Explaining in which ways food is varying across the globe would be stating the obvious. The diversity of food intake inside the same geographical area is less visible and thus deserves some attention. Of course, it undergoes changes according to the time considered. Chronological studies of a same society, such as the French one, show that opposed eating patterns and values can be found. This is what developmentalists, in the wake of N. Elias, underlined when showing the change and evolution of eating and culinary habits.[148] Overall, two main structures for meals are observed.[149] If a synchronic meal is adopted, the different dishes composing the meal are served simultaneously. This is the case of the Chinese or Vietnamese meal.[150] In opposition, dishes can be offered to the actors of the meal successively, in an order socially defined. The typical meal illustrating a diachronic structure is the traditional French meal where the order starter-main dish-cheese-dessert is carefully observed.[151] In most Western societies, one can notice a constant change of the foodstuff. This habit might be perceived as disturbing for a Chinese eater who is used to a meal organised around a permanent core-food eaten everyday, in this specific case rice. The combination and the number of meals in a day constitute also factors of distinction between societies. In France, the day is divided between three main meals but this number increase or decrease in other societies.[152] The eating representations are in fact determined by characteristics such as age, gender, educational level, social category, regional origin. Explicit and implicit rules exist when it comes to food; the clearest and

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[147] Ibid., 50. Translation of the author.

[148] Détolle, "L'espace social alimentaire d'un village provençal : vivre une cuisine régionale au quotidien," 18. Translation of the author.

[149] Jean-Pierre Poulain, *Manger aujourd'hui : attitudes, normes et pratiques* (Toulouse: Privat, 2002), 28. Translation of the author.

[150] Ibid.

[151] Ibid.

[152] Ibid.

most frequent ones concerning the person eating and the social circumstances of the meal. Each society has its own rules and representations, which explains the extensive cultural and historical variations in food habits.

   A meal is not only a question of incorporating food stuff but also of symbolical representations – carried by the food – and values – through the organisation of the meal.153 Social and biologic are interacting in such a way that food finds itself simultaneously at the basis of society, culture and identity. Although the alimentary act is the corner stone of human experience and appears as a completely natural process there is very few instinct in our food choices. Everything results from a learning undertaken from the very first moments of life. Of course economic, biological and ecological conditions influence the eater's menu; however the definition of food as edible or not, as a part of the eater's world is governed by cultural understanding. If the eater faces difficulties identifying the food stuff thanks to the culturally learned references grid at his disposition, it might give birth to some sensations leading him to refuse incorporating, even just introducing it in his mouth.154 A product has to be accepted both biologically and culturally, then it will be considered as food. Without these projections of sense from the eater, it will stay a natural product and will not become a foodstuff.155 With cooking, the ingredients are not only transformed, they are also classified according to specific rules and categories ordering the world and giving it meaning. This cultural repertory and categories of products considered as food is acquired through a learning process. The alimentary act belongs to the general process of primary socialisation which is the first social learning, occurring from a very young age and during which a child internalises the attitudes, values and actions appropriate for his culture.156 Every child learns how to eat in the sense of what is good, acceptable to eat in the eye of the society in which he is born. Through the act of eating he will internalise its norms and values, such as the notion of sharing, the difference between private and public space, the social hierarchy. In fact, progressively the body and the biologic mechanic are tuned on the social rhythms. With food the incrementation of biological on the cultural is at stake as well as an impact on the construction of social

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153Poulain, *Manger aujourd'hui : attitudes, normes et pratiques*. Translation of the author.
154C. Fischler, "Food, self and identity," *Social Science Information* 27, no. 2 (June 1988): 282-283.
155Frédérique Giraud, "L'activité culinaire dans un pays étranger : l'exemple du mangeur étudiant" (Mémoire de master 1, Lyon: Ecole Normale Supérieure Lettres et Sciences HUmaines, Université Lyon II, 2007). Translation of the author.
156Poulain, *Manger aujourd'hui : attitudes, normes et pratiques*, 29. Translation of the author.

identity.157 The acknowledgement of this relation between biological and social is one of the major steps that was undertaken in the study of foodways. Eating is both ruled by biological needs and socio-cultural impetus. Our survival as men depends on our food, our survival as human being depends on our use of social categories which are derived from cultural classifications imposed on elements of nature. The vision giving to food a peripheral function in the social organization has been invalidated by structuralists who underlined the culturally defined aspect of taste.

4.2. Le Triangle culinaire

The strong ideational and cognitive dimension of the alimentary fact is what brought C. Lévi-Strauss to state that food is first good to think and only then good to eat.158 To think the aliments means identify, classify them according to culturally defined categories. C. Lévi-Strauss draw on the model developed by F. Saussure about linguistic to explain the complexity and nature of food. Cooking and speaking are both universal form of human activity, accompanied by specific rules, grammar. Meals are structured in accordance with a complex grammar and syntax. Everyone is able to speak which can be compared to the ability of appreciate what is tasty, to the cooking and eating activities. The alimentary model which encompasses the whole set of socialized culinary and table practices echoes the language. Everyone can talk but each culture has its own language, and conjointly its own alimentary model. The different ways of using a language denotes a social positioning, can be used to analyse the place and role of a person within the social hierarchy. In the same way, eating and cooking practices give sometimes an insight on the type of social class the person belong to.159 The parallelism established between food and language goes further. Indeed, if there is no human society which lakes a spoken language, it can be also asserted that "there is no human society which does not process its food supply by cooking".160

Basing his analysis on R. Jacobson's linguistic theories and the vocalic and consonant triangle, C. Lévi-Strauss constructed the *triangle culinaire* – culinary triangle

157Ibid.

158Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Le totémisme aujourd'hui* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1962), 132. Translation of the author.

159Giraud, "L'activité culinaire dans un pays étranger : l'exemple du mangeur étudiant." Translation of the author.

160Edmund Leach, *Claude Lévi-Strauss* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 22.

– which is a transposition of the methodological principles to the field of cooking.161 The three points of the triangle correspond to respectively the cooked, the raw and the rotted. It underlines the binary opposition between normal and transformed on the one side, culture and nature on the other side. Cooked food is cultural and elaborated; raw food is natural and unelaborated and lastly, rotten food is natural and elaborated. Raw is the only non marked pole of the triangle since it neither undergoes a cultural nor a natural transformation. Thus, a cooked food is a fresh raw food which has been transformed or elaborated by cultural means since resulting from man's activity. In opposition to it, rotten food is fresh raw food which has been transformed by natural means, without any human intervention. The position indicated thanks to the schema are only ideal ones since nothing is completely raw or cooked. This schema can be found in most of the societies although the signification of cooked, rotted, and raw might vary. The Italian raw differs and looks more raw than the French one.162 French might not perceive a cheese as rotten while their neighbour will, and for that reason they will not eat it. This leads to the common assertion that cooking is a mean by which nature is transformed into culture, which underlines the socio-cultural dimension of food.

Embedded in the first triangle, another structure is set, converse of the first one. This second triangle describes the different ways of cooking for elementary recipes, namely roasting, boiling and smoking. When the meat is directly brought in contact with the agent of conversion, without any mediation of cultural apparatus, or air or water, it is roasted. The reduction of raw food to a decomposed state similar to natural rotting, thanks to the mediation of both water and a receptacle is called boiling. The last pole of this second triangle is for smoking which is a slow but complete cooking – in opposition to roasting which is only a partial process of cooking – accomplished without cultural apparatus and with the mediation of air. In the same way as the three poles of the first triangle, these three ways of cooking are opposed to each other on a binary mode. Smoked and boiled are opposed because of the nature of the mediation between fire and food, which is respectively air and water. Smoked and roasted are opposed on the ground that the first one gives a bigger role to air. Unlike roasting, boiling needs water, which constitutes the difference between these two ways of preparing food. The first categories of the culinary triangle worked on an opposition between culture and nature.

161Cf. Annex Figure 10.
162Claude Lévi-Strauss, "Le triangle culinaire," *L'Arc*, no. 26 (1965): 19-29. Translation of the author.

The same separation can be applied to the second triangle, and the different poles of both triangles can be associated. A border line between nature and culture, parallel to the water or air axe, sets asides roast and boiled as natural processes and, on the other side smoked as a cultural process. Thus, smoking is assimilated to cooking while the two other ones are respectively congruent to raw and non-elaborated for roasted and rotten for boiled. This separation works when the end-products are taken into consideration. If one focuses on the means or processes, smoking and roasting are related to natural processes and boiling to a cultural process. Indeed, it has affinities with culture for a double reason. First, from a real and physical point of view, when a food is boiled a recipient is used. Such a cultural object is not required for the two other ways of cooking. Then, on a symbolic level, boiling requires the mediation of the water which boils, to bring into contact food and fire. This does not take place with roasting. Because the meat is never completely cooked when it is roasted, boiling is considered as superior to it since it completely remove the raw to food. They are also opposed because one – boiling – is cooking inside while roasting is cooking by the outside. This is why they are often associated to different social customs and type of eating as C. Lévi-Strauss highlighted it.163 Boiled is a concave process, giving birth to an *endocuisine* or 'inside cooking' which is eaten in the intimacy, in small group. Popular dishes are often boiled because it enable to conserve the meat whereas when the meat is roasted it has to be eaten immediately. Being synonymous of destruction and waste, roasted meat is usually reserved for aristocracy. This *exocuisine* or 'outside cooking', resulting from a convex way of cooking, is the one that will be offered to guests.

4.3. From the culinary triangle to food systems

C. Lévi-Strauss himself highlighted some limitations to his culinary triangle. Examples are not to be find in very remote societies, our own system requires a more complicated model. Boiling has to be differentiated from steaming, grilling from roasting and frying has to appear somehow. Thus, even though the scheme of triangle accepts other mode of cooking, another model and a third dimension would be necessary to incorporate frying. The dichotomy between nature and culture is more and more blurred with the appearance of new practices such as the living food diet. Its adepts believe in the nutritional qualities of raw food and offer to eat only non-cooked

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163Ibid.

products. Criticism of the culinary triangle are more than common and C. Lévi-Strauss' paradigm has been extensively disproved. It is nonetheless an important contribution to the knowledge of the discipline, more than an actual working content, which paved the way to deeper analysis. Following the call of I. De Garine in 1980 for more interaction between disciplines in food anthropology, C. Fischler opened the way towards interdisciplinary research by "reuniting the shattered images of the biological man and the sociological man".164

Behind the term cuisine is hidden a whole set of classification performed by a given culture and the rules associated with them. These rules range from simply regulating the combination of elements to more generally governing the whole set of practices and representations connected with the production, the gathering and the consumption of food. A cuisine is part of the food model or system of a society which encompasses the socio-technical and symbolic dimensions linking a man to his environment, helping his identificational process and assuring the rooting of the process of internal social differentiation.165 The models take the shape of a body of empirical knowledge and a way to set the stage explicitly incarnating the core values of the social group.166 They are transmitted from generation to generation; thus participating to the survival of the social group and its norms and values. The culinary triangle lacked expressing this dimension of the alimentary fact, by giving an insight only on one part of the food system. JP. Corbeau highlighted the importance of the context with the concept of eating situation. The eater is a plural human being whose practices happen in a given society which influences his eating behaviours. The act of eating unfolds following two paradigmatic axes: opening and withdrawal.167 Sociality affects the eater by imposing on him rules which will or not be enacted. However, a space of freedom is left resulting of the sociability, which is the apprehension of the eater in a dynamic and creative perspective steaming from the interaction. Sociability is few as centrifugal forces such as passion and drive whereas sociality designates centripetal forces such as civility, normalisation of the physical appearance. In other words, a person is free to refuse or

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164Claude Fischler, *L'homnivore : le goût, la cuisine et le corps.* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 1990), 21. Translation of the author.

165Poulain, *Manger aujourd'hui : attitudes, normes et pratiques*, 25. Translation of the author.

166Jean-Pierre Poulain, Georges Condominas, and Claude Fischler, "Pour une socio-anthropologie de l'alimentation," *La Lettre Scientifique de l'Institut Français pour la Nutrition*, no. 89 (January 2003): 13, http://www.ifn.asso.fr/lettre_scientifique/pour-une-socio-anthropologie-de-lalimentation/93.html. Translation of the author. (accessed 7 May 2011)

167Dupuy, "Jeunes mangeurs, aliments et espaces du quotidien," 9. Translation of the author.

accept the determinism imposed on him. A conceptual model has been created to grasp the foodways inside a space while at the same time being sure to take into account the social determinations affecting them.168 It once again assumes the shape of a triangle in which three elements are varying in time and space.169 There is of course a socially identified eater, who is influenced by the classical socio-demographic characteristics. Then, together with the food stuff, representations specific to each socio-cultural space vary in time, logical and physical space. The third pole consists in the socially identified context or situation. The eater is said to be plural because he actualises his behaviours depending on the contexts and food stuff.170

4.4. L'Espace social alimentaire

To reveal and underline the social dimension of food, JP. Poulain introduced the concept of *espace social alimentaire* or food social space. This concept is not created all from scratch; it draws on the work of G. Condominas. This cultural anthropologist coined the term of social space, using it as a cultural analysis tool bringing together natural and cultural. It is perceived as the "space determined by the whole of the system of relation, characteristic of a considered group."171 At the root of the social space stands the Latin term *spacium* which encompasses both the usual sense given to space, that is physical space, and the time dimension. Etymologically, the term space has a dynamic sense which is present in G. Condominas' social space since it refers to a total dynamic systematic social fact. It is also considered as being systematic because it represents the systematic aspect of social reality: space is modulated by individuals who, by interdependence, are modulated by it. Thus, the social space has to be distinguished from a mere physical space. In that sense, the inspiration from PH. Chombart de Lauwe is made visible. This geographer operated a difference between the geographical space – apprehended from a physical, biological or ecological and cosmic point of view – and the social space which concerns "the interaction of individuals, groups, and the society."172 G. Condominas distances himself from PH. Chombart de

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168Giraud, "L'activité culinaire dans un pays étranger : l'exemple du mangeur étudiant." Translation of the author.

169Cf. Annex Figure 11.

170Dupuy, "Jeunes mangeurs, aliments et espaces du quotidien," 9. Translation of the author.

171Georges Condominas, *L'espace social : à propos de l'Asie du Sud-Est* (Paris: Flammarion, 1980), 14. Translation of the author. Translation of the author.

172Paul-Henri Chombart de Lauwe, "Eth(n)ologie de l'espace humain," in *De l'espace corporel à*

Lauwe by stating that the social space is not only a geographical and political act – as PH. Chombart de Lauwe affirmed – but also a religious, social and familial act.173 With the social space, the physical – geographical – and logical – system of representations – spaces are brought together to offer a systematized view of man's relation to Nature. The term is used in singular but it in fact hides the plurality of the notion: six interrelated spaces coexist. The first dimension is the mingling between the conceptions of time and space. The other dimensions are gathered under the label relations. Briefly, they are: the relations of exchange of goods, the relations of communication, the relations of kinship and neighbouring, and the relations with the environment.174 Amongst all the elements of the social space, "the diet constitutes a capital element of the social space because of the central position it occupies within the system of production from where it governs one group's technology and economy."175 In other words, food is awarded a central position inside the relations with, between individuals and environment. It is of heuristic and structuring importance. This paradigmatic revolution opened the way to a better understanding of the eating fact.

It also helped JP. Poulain creating his food social space, by borrowing G. Condominas' findings and improving them. The food social space is the zone of contact and intermingling between biological and cultural. The double series of material constraints rooted in the omnivorous nature of man – biological constrains – and his biotope – ecological constrains – leave some freedom to man in the choice of his food patterns. The food social space unfolds on different dimensions. Despite the diversity of natural substances man finds in his environment, not everything is categorized as food and choices are undertaken. The *Espace du mangeable* (Space of the eating) is a way to understand the reasons of the choices operated by society. It analyses the symbolical representations linked with the cultural arbitrary and the cultural differentiation of social groups who are often living in the same biotope but still making different choices when food is concerned. The second dimension, the *Système alimentaire* (Food system), alludes to all the social and technical structures surrounding the eating act: from collecting the food stuff to their culinary preparation without forgetting all the steps of

l'espace écologique: 14. symposium de l'Association de psychologie scientifique de langue française, Bruxelles, 1972 (Presses universitaires de France, 1974), 234-235. Translation of the author.
173Détolle, "L'espace social alimentaire d'un village provençal : vivre une cuisine régionale au quotidien," 21. Translation of the author.
174Ibid.
175Condominas, *L'espace social : à propos de l'Asie du Sud-Est*, 32. Translation of the author.

the production and transformation. The decisions made by the eater are partly determined by the food social system in which he is living. The *Espace du culinaire* (Space of the culinary) expresses the deep structures of society by underlying the socio-cultural aspect of the culinary. In it, the term space refers to three different conceptions. First, it means the spatial use of the culinary place; then all the social interaction happening around the culinary act; and then the logical dimension of this act from both a formal and structural point of view, such as the cooking techniques and all what is logical for the eater, the culinary triangle of C. Lévi-Strauss being the best-known example. The decorum of the *Espace des habitudes de consommation* (Space of the food habits) is enlightened by the study of the structural, temporal and social organisation of the food practices. All the rituals accompanying it, such as the place of intakes, the modalities and rules of consuming are taken into consideration. As mentioned previously, space has a dynamic meaning and deals also with time; and this works also for the food social space. Indeed, "eating is inscribed in a series of temporal cycles socially determined".176 The temporal – cycles of life, parties, religious rhythms, daily intakes etc. - events linked to food are described in the *Temporalité alimentaire* (Food temporality). Last but not least, eating is a changing and mobile act occurring in a determined settings and in comparison with others. Food is used to mark the "border between groups from one culture to another but also within a same culture, between the sub-groups composing it."177 The *Espace de la différentiation sociale* (Social differentiation space) points out at the processes of inclusion and exclusion enhanced by food. The following chapters focus only on some of those dimensions although they all, in their own way, matter. When described in this way, the six dimensions of the food social space make automatically sense and everyone agrees they are used on a daily basis. However, these categories implicitly run through our lives and the best way to become aware of the existence of such rules is to transgress them. Then, when there is one problem inside of the dimensions, food can be perceived as a problem and result in a varying range of diet disturbances. One of them originates in the very nature of man and his approach to food.

4.5. The paradox of the omnivorous or food as a problem

176Poulain, *Manger aujourd'hui : attitudes, normes et pratiques*, 27. Translation of the author.

177Jean-Pierre Poulain, *Sociologies de l'alimentation : les mangeurs et l'espace social alimentaire* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2002), 235. Translation of the Author

Generally, man finds his primary food source in both animals and plants, being what is called an omnivore. However, in the context of food anthropology, displaying an omnivorous diet means above all having a considerable latitude of choices at the price of a minimal constrain.178 Choice and variety are the ruling words. For P. Rozin, omnivorous rhymes with ambivalence since this choice and that variety have contradictory consequences.179 The diversity of diets illustrate the autonomy, freedom and adaptability characteristic of human diets. It is possible for man to move about and change his system and eating habits. Some might dream of variety, but in P. Rozin's opinion, it is more a constraint than anything else. Man feels or is at least inclined to a constant search for diversification and innovation to satisfy his metabolic needs. The problem is that he has to be careful about his eating since every unknown food, non present in the socially defined grids, is a potential danger. Being conservative is a need, correlated with a mistrust for unknown aliments, a fear of novelty. The omnivorous is torn between these two opposed tendencies, he oscillates between neophobia and neophilia. A fundamental anxiety in man's relationship to his food results from this paradox.

The essential function of cuisine is to solve the so-called omnivorous' paradox. The anxiety associated with it is overcome thanks to the biological program, highly sophisticated cognitive competences and culturally constructed practices and representations. When depicting the alimentary situation nowadays, one can be stricken by the end of the problems of alternation and shortage of food and think that there is no reasons for anxiety to prevail. It is all the contrary, according to C. Fischler the 20th has witnessed the birth of a new anxiety.180 The modern eater is ignorant regarding the origin of what he consumes, which is mainly prepared in factories. The crisis of neophobia reached even the most familiar food. The never-stopping industrial progress and the growing obsession with hygiene and purity lead to a loss of contact with the productive cycle of aliments. Man used to grow his own food, supervise most of the steps of the production of his food. The modern man is nothing more than a pure consumer. Modern food is nothing more than "unidentified edible objects", devoid of

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178Claude Fischler, "Gastro-nomie et gastro-anomie," *Communications* 31, no. 1 (1979): 196. Translation of the author.
179Fischler, "Food, self and identity," 278.
180Fischler, "Gastro-nomie et gastro-anomie," 199-200. Translation of the author.

origin and history.181 This gives birth to an unease of the consumer who is consuming industrially processed foods despite his distrust and aversion for them. The modern abundance enlarged the scope of the omnivorous' paradox, offering a new liberty as well as broader insecurity. In the traditional society, food ways were under the influence of the group, the resources available, the traditions, rituals and representations. In an more and more individualistic society as it is the case in the 20th century world, the individual is increasingly cut from familial, social and cultural links. The modern eater has lost the marks enabling him to enact his choice. Foodways are now mainly the object of his own decision.182 Thus, the modern eater is full of doubts concerning his choices. Contemporaries societies are ridden by currents of anxiety and insecurity about food.183 It is illustrated by the numerous rumours and panics arising around food. Who has never heard of this or that restaurant where rotten food is being served, or the story of a bone of rat – if it not another animal or even human – which has been found in one hamburger in a famous fast food chain). E. Durkheim coined the term of anomie to explain the social condition when people are rendered "normless" due to rapid change or instability in society".184 A mismatch between the standard of the individual and those of the society or the lack of social standards give rise to the anomie, which is then characterized by a moral deregulation and an absence of legitimate aspirations. C. Fischler transposed it to the field of food and discussed the gastro-anomy in our contemporary societies. The crisis of gastro-nomies opened the way to more or less strict food sectarianism, to new culinary aesthetic and a proliferation of diets.

The apparition of this new and often disturbed food diets constitutes one of the best proves that the individual needs food to define himself. The eating act is not a isolated practice, it is linked with the ensemble of social practices and institutions of a society. This is why its study is primordial on the macro but also micro level. It is a global activity engaging all the person, not only the physical body of the eater: his identity is depending on food.

181Ibid., 202. Translation of the author.
182Ibid., 205.
183Fischler, "Food, self and identity," 290.
184Anthony Giddens, *Sociology.*, 5th ed. (Cambridge: Polity, 2006), 15.

5. Feeding the Identities

The assumption that the eating fact is culturally defined and associated to geographical areas makes no doubts. I de Garine states that "it is not by chance that food occupies the foreground in the ensemble of the regional claims."[185] To understand this statement, one needs to understand the link between food and identity. Although anyone can personally feel it, the strong identifier dimension of eating has to be proved. Food and its correlate – cooking, eating practices – are a part of the whole battery of tools used by an individual to define himself.

5.1. The proof by food: the cuisine as an identity mark

Why is food at the heart of our group and individual experiences? Why do we pay so much attention to the food we are incorporating? These questions find their answers in a simple consideration: man is biologically as well as socially and psychologically constructed by the food he chooses.[186] J-A Brillat Savarin, a famous French cook, explained that in one sentence which became a popular saying: tell me what you eat and I will tell you who you are. It echoes the German saying "*Man ist, was man isst*" – man is what man eats – which appears to be true biologically and also in terms of beliefs and representations.[187] Food is used as a vector of identity by man, who tries to control over his body and mind and thus his identity through it. The crucial act takes place when some food is brought to the mouth and incorporated. P. Rozin and A. Fallon describe the act of incorporation as the "action in which we send a food across the frontier between the world and the self, between "outside" and "inside" the body."[188] It is of vital and symbolic concerns since the decision of incorporation threatens the eater's life and health with the danger of poisoning and at the same time it challenges in place in the universe, his identity.[189] Indeed, it is believed that by absorbing a particular food, some of its properties will be transferred to the eater. Everyone has already been told once things like eating carrots favours a good sight, or red meat gives strength. This is also why some tribes are eating their enemies once they have beaten them, to incorporate all or some of its qualities and become stronger. Food is making the

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185Igor de Garine, "Culture et nutrition," *Communications* 31, no. 1 (1979): 82.
186Fischler, "Food, self and identity," 275.
187Ibid., 279.
188Ibid.
189Ibid., 281.

eater, thus the eater is trying to make himself by eating in a hope of becoming more what he wants to be.

The principal of incorporation covers a double reality: by absorbing food the eater is also incorporating himself into a culinary system and into the group practising it. FX. Medina underlines the existence of a "consciousness that some food stuff belong to well-defined group eating practices."190 Some elements characteristic of these practices are "perceived and claimed by the social actors as belonging to a identification group structure; participating to the process of sociocultural construction and recreation of the individual."191 Food is an identifier tool which, according to C. Lévi-Strauss, is the one amongst all the behaviours that men choose more readily to assert their originality when confronted to someone else. It is also the expression of the resources and constraints characteristic of social position as well as the representations linked to these positions.192 Eating participates in the reproduction of the personal, familial and group identity. Food is a cohesive factor which defines a group of individuals by what it eats or is imagined to eat, even inside a similar culture group. It enables a transmission of the core values of the group and helps it to be united, notably through the commensality. This expression designate the fact of sharing a meal with one or several persons from the family or circle of usual hosts. Indeed, the outlines of the community are drawn by the gathering or exclusion of people around the table.193 There, the rules imposed by sociality – the set of socio-cultural and institutional determinisms having an influence on the social actors and governing their practices – are displayed and transmitted during the meal.194 Not all kinds of food can be eaten at any moment. L. Tibère proved the integrative function of food in the island of Reunion. "'By eating the Creole food' one incorporates the principle of *creolité*, as well as he integrates himself into the Creole society."195 It is also a way to integrate the Other as the words of a "white Creole"

190François-Xavier Medina, "Alimentation et identité chez les immigrants basques en Catalogne," *Anthropology of food* S1 (October 2001), http://aof.revues.org/index1541.html. Translation of the author. (accessed 7 May 2011)

191Ibid. Translation of the author.

192Faustine Régnier, *Sociologie de l'alimentation* (Paris: La Découverte, 2006), 8. Translation of the author.

193Pierre Sercia and Alain Girard, "La transformation des pratiques et les représentations alimentaires chez les enfants maghrébins issus de l'immigration récente," in *Les médias et la santé: de l'émergence à l'appropriation des normes sociales*, ed. Lise Renaud, Santé et Société (Québec: Presses de l'Universitée du Québec, 2010), 284. Translation of the author.

194Fischler, "Food, self and identity," 284-285.

195Laurence Tibère, "Manger créole. L'alimentation dans les constructions identitaires à la Réunion.," in *Sociologie et anthropologie de l'alimentation* (presented at the XVII° congrès de l'AISLF, Tours,

woman, quoted by L. Tibère, illustrates it. Talking about her Sino-Reunion husband she explained that he can eat one specific dish with a special kind of side dish, meaning that in spite of him being Chinese, he is still creole.196

The definition of food as an identifier tool given by C. Lévi-Strauss previously gave a hint on the process of the formation of identity through food. The feeling of identity carried by the eating act is an indirect expression, more or less inverted or in negative as often with food. The feeling of belonging arises in opposition to the cuisine of the Other.197 Every culture has its own definition of what is edible or not. The Other is the one who is eating non-edible things, who eats and cooks differently, whose food practices are perceived as deviant. Often other groups are associated and labelled thanks to food. It is not surprising that the French are called by the English "Frogs" while the Italian have been for a long time known as "Macaronis" in France.198 The foreigner's cuisine comforts the eater in his belonging to the group. This is why in their discourses individuals call on the eating and the drinking as identity proofs. The study of L. Tibère of the Creole society illustrated how more than being only a vector of symbolic incorporation and integration, "food appears as a significant of the adhesion to a common cultural universe."199 The importance of food as an identification tool is exemplified in the attraction, at least in France, for a more traditional type of cuisine. In the context of a growing globalization and above all of the European union construction, the *cuisine de terroir* – a regional, local cuisine – enjoyed renewed popularity.200 People felt that their national identity was threatened by the new European one. They went back to more popular type of food, in a try to assert their identity and express their belonging to a same cultural group. Food is the vector of a symbolic incorporation, at the basis of collective identity and otherness. A good way to sum this up is to refer to I. De Garine who said that beyond the influences of the

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2004), 9, Lemangeur-ocha.com. Translation of the author.

196Ibid.

197Annie Hubert, "Cuisine et politique : le plat national existe-t-il ?," *Revue des Sciences sociales de l'Est* 27 (2000): 10. Translation of the author.

198Fischler, "Food, self and identity," 280.

199Tibère, "Manger créole. L'alimentation dans les constructions identitaires à la Réunion.," 9. Translation of the author.

200The word *terre*, land in French, gave birth to this expression of *terroir* to express the specific characteristics that certain places bestowed upon some wine, coffee or tea products. It has been enlarged to designates the effects that the local environment has on the production of products and alludes more generally to a "sense of place". In E Barham, "Translating terroir: the global challenge of French AOC labeling," *Journal of Rural Studies* 19, no. 1 (January 2003): 131..

context, it seems that "in each of the cultures a desire of using food to claim and fix its internal cohesion and its heterogeneity compared to neighbouring cultures is manifested. It also appears that within each culture, aliments and dishes are used to make explicit the differential distances between the different groups operating within society and between the diverse social categories of individuals."201

5.2. The national dish?

Culinary traditions and techniques are often considered to be a cultural expression. Food is the vector of a large collective identity transcending its own materiality to become a symbolic representation of the nation. Indeed, it crystallises at the same time a national affirmation, a history and a common belonging deeply internalized.202 That is how some dishes or foodstuffs are literally representing nations: pasta for Italy, hamburger for the USA, potato for Ireland and many other examples. P. Sercia attracts the attention on some aliments which "constitute a basic "identity" foodstuff with a "civilisation" nature; for example the rice for China and most of Asia, the wheat semolina for the Maghreb or the corn for Latin America.203 However, in *Cuisine et Politique*, A. Hubert questions the existence of what could be called a national dish, that is a dish which embodies a political power, which represents a nation. It seems that men need, together with a flag, a language and other symbols, a regrouping all the regional diversities. On the contrary, she asserts that a real national dish rarely exists. It is more accurate to talk about a national cuisine.204 Despite some differences – in the name or ingredients – similar structural features can be observed between cultural zones. Every type of cuisine in the world have a dish that is boiled or stewed.205 The idea of a national dish implies a political thinking, the exercise of a centralizing power.206 That is why it is rare to find a real example of national dish. An exception can be made with France where it is possible to talk about national cuisine.207 There, the political power advocates for a culture said to be national and uniform, knowing that there are a regional culinary identities, claimed to be ancestral and traditional but which are often

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201Garine, "Culture et nutrition," 3. Translation of the author.
202Sercia and Girard, "La transformation des pratiques et les représentations alimentaires chez les enfants maghrébins issus de l'immigration récente," 283. Translation of the author.
203Ibid., 284. Translation of the author.
204Hubert, "Cuisine et politique : le plat national existe-t-il ?," 10. Translation of the author.
205Ibid.
206Ibid., 9.
207Ibid.

more representations than reality, without losing their identity effect.

When analysing the existence of so-called national dishes, one question arises. For whom is this dish, this notion, made for, us or the others? Indeed, when living within the community there are often no such perceptions. It is quite easy to define the national dish of other countries but not our own. For that, people often have to go back to the regional level, where strong and deep-rooted cultural nucleus coexist. This is why I. De Garine states that "it is not by chance that cuisine is in the foreground in the ensemble of the regional claims".208 The reason for that is quite simple and has already been underlined: culinary identity works by exclusion.209 The qualification of a type of food as national is mainly produced by the foreigners, the outsiders of a specific group who voice an idea, the representations they have of the food consumed by the others compared to them. Eating typical is more the favourite activity of tourists looking for an unforgettable culinary experience rather than locals.210 Nationals would often disagree with the opinion of foreigners concerning what could be called their national dishes. French immediately associate Belgium with French fries, while the Belgian will say that the waterzoi is more traditional for the Flemish or the carbonnades for the Walloons.211 Thus, it is when compared with other way of eating that the national one becomes visible. Food is one of the symbolic borders existing between groups in contact.

What is the best way to make these differences visible, to become aware of the existence of a so-called national dish? Travelling, leaving a culture for another one. In other words, a dish become gradually perceived as national in relation to a departure, and live abroad.212 By living his or her culture, the immigrant understands the importance of his or her cuisine. Food is also feeding the soul, tastes are reassuring. It helps to the recreation of an affective environment, and a group sociability.213 Hence, the long maintaining of culinary identity for the migrants.214 In fact, the phenomenon at stake in this case is not that much the apparition of a national dish but rather of what can be called an emblematic dish. Emigrated groups are meeting around a specific kind

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208Garine, "Culture et nutrition," 82. Translation of the author.

209Hubert, "Cuisine et politique : le plat national existe-t-il ?". Translation of the author.

210Ibid., 10.

211Ibid.

212Medina, "Alimentation et identité chez les immigrants basques en Catalogne." Translation of the author.

213Ibid.

214Manuel Calvo, "Migration et alimentation," *Social Science Information* 21, no. 3 (May 1982): 383-446. Translation of the author.

of food and practices with which they feel safe and closer to their culture of origin. FX. Medina believes that the foodways are an explicit tool that the emigrants possess to recreate their identity in the emigration process.[215] Some dishes are not only meant to feed but also to transmit a message, to carry a history. They have been chosen to tell the story of the group, to remember the origins. The symbolical charge of these dishes is primordial. They are what E. Calvo calls "totem dish", constituted in the distance with one's country and used as a self and group memory abroad and an essential link between the members of the migrant community in the receiving country.[216] A "totem dish" is

> "an ethnic dish (that is culturally very specific) which, in the wake of emigration, will undergo a cultural change in its value. It raises from the confrontation between the different food styles to the extend of becoming, sometimes, the mediator object of an identity."[217]

In a way it becomes a quasi-mythical representation of the eating practices of the group but also of its identity.[218] This dish will be used as a way of comparing one's own group with the others. It also displays an image of the group to the whole society which associate with it a certain value according to its own criteria. E. Calvo assesses that to really appreciate the the value if a "totem dish", a kind of initiation is needed beforehand and/or reaching a certain degree of participation in the group's life.[219] Often, an idyllic souvenir of the country is recreated. In some cases, the dish has even be the object of a reinterpretation and has been assigned a new identity. A food might not be often eaten in the country origin, but because of the migration it has assumed another meaning and was upgraded to traditional food. A. Hubert elected the couscous as the perfect example for the Maghrebi: abroad it is the national Algerian, Moroccan, Tunisian dish even if in these countries people are far from thinking about it as a dish embodying their respective countries.[220] Despite this aspect, food is often perceived by scholars as the reflect of the eater's identity and the changes affecting the society in which they are participating. This why more and more attention has be given to the food phenomenon, in particular – but not only – by experts of migration studies.

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[215] Medina, "Alimentation et identité chez les immigrants basques en Catalogne." Translation of the author.
[216] Sercia and Girard, "La transformation des pratiques et les représentations alimentaires chez les enfants maghrébins issus de l'immigration récente," 297. Translation of the author.
[217] Calvo, "Migration et alimentation," 420. Translation of the author.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Ibid.
[220] Hubert, "Cuisine et politique : le plat national existe-t-il ?," 10. Translation of the author.

5.3. Food practices and identity amongst migrant populations

Eating habits are fixed neither in their form nor in their content. They vary according to the socio-economic context, the role and positions in the society and the socio-historical trajectories.221 Eating somewhere else than in the society in which one is born means eating differently. What happens to the eating habits once out of their original area? Do they persist, stay the same? E. Calvo interrogated the repercussion of spatial and cultural displacements on the migrants' organisation of the eating fact. He also examined the dynamic of the insertion of migrants in the receiving society through the medium of the food practices. The migratory experience requires an adaptive effort from the eater whose marks are disrupted.222 The main eating model deflects the practices and representations that the migrant associates with food.223 The transformations concern the type of cuisine, the structure of meals, the modalities of furnishing; that is almost the totality of the public and private dimensions of food.224 Two opposed systems of norms are present at the same time. One is internalized, linked with the country of origin, ruling over what has to be done. The other is a system whose dispositions are progressively acquired during socialisation and adaptation. The process of resolving the conflict between these two systems can end up by a change, conversion of the foodways or conservation, as much as possible of the practices. When the first attitude is chosen, the habits are modified by the integration of new products and the gradual adoption of the mainstream practices. Sometimes there are some intermediary, a situation of equilibrium between past and present which prevent too brutal ruptures to happen and harm the socialization process.225 However, in E. Calvo's opinion, the main attitude visible is the conservation. The whole group tends towards the preparation of known and familiar dishes and tries to maintain its food references in the receiving society keeping a food style similar to the one practised before the migration. E. Calvo gave a frame to his argument with the notion of *continuum alimentaire* or food continuum. A cultural fact is temporally and spatially maintained after the departure

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221Calvo, "Toujours africains et déjà français : la socialisation des migrants vue à travers leur alimentation," 50. Translation of the author.
222Sercia and Girard, "La transformation des pratiques et les représentations alimentaires chez les enfants maghrébins issus de l'immigration récente," 282. Translation of the author.
223Ibid., 285.
224Calvo, "Toujours africains et déjà français : la socialisation des migrants vue à travers leur alimentation," 52. Translation of the author.
225Ibid.

from the background of origin of the group.226 Some fact and food practices are charged with cultural meaning going beyond the mere biological function they had because of this continuity and because they persist in time and space.227 The food continuum assumes variable forms in parallel with the dynamic of insertion of the migrant into the new society and the level of structuring of the culture of origin.228 The characteristics of this continuity in food practices can be underlined by comparing them with other daily cultural practices such as clothing, religion or language. Another possibility to point at them is to study the food continuity itself.229 The first specificity characterizing the food continuum is the selection which is operated among the material objects and socio-cultural practices of the culture of origin, knowing either retention or dropping.230 The diversity of its manifestations and expressions is the other characteristic feature of the food continuum. For example, the frequency – number of food intakes in the alimentary day – or the diversity of its own move – continuity meaning conservation and reinterpretation – are two variables. The food continuum is expressed through various actions and practices, some of them being described by E. Calvo in his article leading *Migration et Alimentation*. The food continuum will later partly determine the food styles. Once again the styles are characterized by a great variety., E. Calvo considers that three main styles can be sketched.231 First, the **dichotomic style**: food facts and practices are mainly marked by the culture of origin but they have incorporated elements of the receiving society. This style is said to be pragmatic since adapted to the action on the real. It is made of alternation, and cultural superimpositions and could be find in a situation of acclimatization. In the **dual style**, happening during a situation of adaptation, an accumulation of the practices and facts, in the coexistence of both culture, is noticed. There is an internalized double participation with no alternation but rather a fluctuation between the two cultures. The last style corresponds to a complete loss of the norms of the culture of origin regarding food practices without any real acquisition of those of the receiving society. The **anomic style** goes together with a situation of permanent or temporary indetermination, with a deculturation and a desocialization. In this case, the food practices are void of any

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226Calvo, "Migration et alimentation," 414. Translation of the author.
227Ibid.
228Ibid., 415.
229Ibid.
230Ibid., 416.
231Ibid., 428.

cultural basis and are ruled by erratic behaviours.232 Without any doubt food is not the only anchor to the culture of origin; however "food characteristics, whose central role in the construction of identity and feeling of belonging is known, are maintained even after that other elements, although central in the identity such as the use of language, have disappeared."233 If the food practices resist in a better way to change it is because they are culturally and biologically internalized as we saw in the preceding chapters.

JP. Hassoun goes beyond the mere divide proposed by E. Calvo between total continuity and abandon of the practices. It is not because it has been extensively proved that the migrants keep their pre-migratory food habits that the food continuum is exempt of ruptures or that no tensions or negotiations happen during meals. This is why JP Hassoun offers a more nuanced model where different spheres of influence of each country are coexisting inside the practices themselves.234 The migrant deals with food in a complex and dynamic way far from the simple dichotomy between assimilation and conservation. The organization of food is marked by polycentrism – openness towards other cultures – to and syncretism – a mixing of influences. The food model is run by a plurality of influences. It is not a monolithic block but an ensemble resulting of a construction layer by layer. Migration processes gave birth to a model run by dynamics sometimes in contradiction with each other: active conservatism and creative innovation. New food practices are produced by bringing together, in a more or sometimes less coherent and conflicting way, the food stuff from "there" and "here". Another problem with E. Calvo's theory is that he takes into consideration the original purity of food cultures. There is not such a thing, the recipes are always reinterpreted and the result of diverse influences. That is why also the notion of mixing, when trying to conceptualize the process of transformation of the foodways, is to be avoided. It induces also the existence of pure culture.

Amongst all the other concepts existing and trying to define those processes of change in the lifestyles – such as hybridisation, adaptation, integration, assimilation, hybridisation – P. Sercia and A. Girard recommend to use the one of creolisation to best

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232Ibid., 429.

233Jean-Pierre Poulain and Laurence Tibère, "Mondialisation, métissage et créolisation alimentaire. De l'intérêt du 'laboratoire réunionnais'.," ed. Jean-Pierre Corbeau, *Revue Bastidiana* Cuisine, alimentation métissage, no. 31-32 (2000): 226. Translation of the author.

234Giraud, "L'activité culinaire dans un pays étranger : l'exemple du mangeur étudiant." Translation of the author.

describe the food phenomenon.235 It encompasses some "dimensions of the food social space where, in multicultural context, logics of integration, unification, differentiation, identification and distance are present."236 The most inclusive definition of the process of creolisation has been offered by L. Tibère who describes it as the

> "processes of cultural innovation which are steaming from multicultural contexts[.] It is according to [her] reciprocal dynamics and identity logics which articulate integration and differentiation, and underlying the "management" of difference and the tensions going with it. The creolised social space proceeds from a situation of "fusion under tension" and is simultaneously articulated around a common cultural set and universes charged with specificities. This configuration is produced by identity dynamics which, sometimes integrate into a common inheritance, sometimes exclude and distinguish: individuals are drawing from the multiplicity of available sources and put together representations and practices to express the differentiation or identification to one or another cultural universe."237

However, one has to be cautious when analysing the influence of the migratory experience on the food practices. Indeed, other phenomena have to be taken into consideration, such as globalization or cultural integration. The changes – generally oriented towards a westernisation of the practices – observed in the receiving country have often already been at work in the country of origin.238 Thus, it is important to pay attention to the foodways before the migration process. They might already denote some evolutions compared to what can be considered as more traditional foodways. Last but not least, one has to keep his mind the possible impact of the practical constraints. The products used to cook the traditional dishes might not be available in the country of immigration. Thus, immigrants have no other choice than adapting their eating habits, and introducing new products. In this case, the change is not so much a consequence of the immigrants' will but rather inherent to the context. However the opposite might also

235Sercia and Girard, "La transformation des pratiques et les représentations alimentaires chez les enfants maghrébins issus de l'immigration récente," 285. Translation of the author.

236Ibid., 286. Translation of the author.

237Tibère, "Manger créole. L'alimentation dans les constructions identitaires à la Réunion.," 1-2. Translation of the author.

238Helena Margaret Tuomainen, "Ethnic Identity, (Post)Colonialism and Foodways: Ghanaians in London," *Food, Culture and Society: An International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research* 12, no. 4 (December 2009): 525-554.

happen. The food social space is under the influence of globalisation which increases, facilitates, reinforces and enhances the exchanges of goods and food. Obtaining culturally marked products is in some cases not as hard as it used to be. This might help immigrants conserving their food habits throughout the immigration process.

During the migration process food functions more than ever a strong identifier tools. Indeed, the dimensions of the sociability, of the symbolic, the identity, the normativity and transmission acquire a specific signification for immigrants.[239] Although one has to avoid oversimplifying the identities and food habits of migrant populations since the foodways are highly depending on local and familial structures, it is very clear that food is of prime role in the identity – ethnic or not – of immigrants.

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[239]Sercia and Girard, "La transformation des pratiques et les représentations alimentaires chez les enfants maghrébins issus de l'immigration récente," 285.

6. Food practices and Ethnic Identity: a study-case

Studying eating requires to overcome several methodological obstacles. That is why some specific tools and methods have been elaborated by the scholarships to help reconstructing food practices as well as possible. In *Manger aujourd'hui,* JP. Poulain offers a rich overview of the methods available.

6.1. The Study of food practices and its methodological problems

As we have seen previously, eating is a "total social fact" in the sense that this activity reaches every sphere of society: economic, politic, legal, religious, as well as psychological or behavioural. Every food reality unfolds on several levels between different societies but also within each society. Food is a very complex social object that cannot be absorbed by one single socio-cultural totality. It requires a very diverse range of tools to understand it in its diversity and avoid falling in the traps steaming from its complexity. Indeed, the link existing between eating and identity, the importance that it has for the eater on a nutritional but also symbolical point of view provide the researcher from having a direct and completely objective access to food practices. Three types of methodological problems arise while trying to reach a perfect objectification, coming from both the subjectivity of the observed and of the observer. One has to be cautious when trying to study food practices and his first task will be to get rid of his cultural baggage that might influence his study. The first methodological problem will then be to decide how to penetrate into the food social space. Different national and international organizations have been created with the aim of monitoring food, its supply and security across the world. One of their tasks is to issue **reports on the alimentary situation** in the various countries. Thus, the Food and Agriculture Organization has elaborated food balance sheets, "presenting a comprehensive picture of the pattern of a country's food supply during a specified reference period"240. It is possible to have a primary access to food practices through these types of models, useful to analyse evolutions and trends on a global scale. However, they have several drawbacks mainly because they do not encompass practices such as picking fruits, or the food that is wasted while cooking, the feeding of domestic animals. Additionally, the data displayed give the average figures that provide from understanding the internal

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240   Food   and   Agriculture   Organization   website,   available   at http://www.fao.org/docrep/003/x9892e/X9892e02.htm#P486_46386 (accessed 7 May 2011)

social differentiation of a country. **Consumption surveys** are another way of entering food reality by the purchases. What people are consuming is collected and analysed from an economical point of view. This is the main inconvenient since purchases are economical and not food consumption. The symbolic value of products is completely ignored, as well as the practice of home-consumption. Thus, this entry will give only a partial and biased picture of reality. To include this fact – that a household is not only a consumption but also a production unit – an entry through the **household and its organization** is needed. In that way, the alimentary strategies are underlined and inscribed in a socio-economic space, using data linked with buying habits (where, how often, how) but also characteristics of the domestic space (equipment, food stored). Three limits can be identified: it gives only a verbal reconstruction of eating habits; the domestic space is not the only place where food consumption occurs; eating between main meals does not appear. The last way of entering the food reality consists in **analysing the eating behaviours, the commensality and their representations.**

Then, it is important to understand that because of the complex nature of food, a very broad set of data can be found. Each of them gives access to different level of the reality of the alimentary fact, for example they can be either data of representation or data linked with the behaviour of people. These date can be arranged on a continuum ranging from the most objective to the most subjective. JP. Poulain distinguishes 9 types of data.[241][242] The **observed practices** are situated on the very left of the continuum, corresponding to the most objective type. It is all the alimentary behaviours that can be recorded by a mere observation. The **objectivized practices** are obtained by analysing the marks left by the eating practices, for example all the economical flux. Then, a person can remember her own practices, helped by the researcher, to obtain the **reconstructed practices**. The next range of data is moving more towards the subjective side of the continuum. With the **declared practices**, the spontaneous answers given by the interviewees to a questionnaire are often transformed and express more what the subjects pretend rather than actually do. These answers can indeed be influenced by the nutritional norms in place at the time of the collection, or by the presence of the person collecting the data. The **norms** are the next set of data possible to collect. This notion is

[241] Jean-Pierre Poulain, *Manger Aujourd'hui, Attitudes, normes et pratiques*, Privat. (Paris, 2002). Translation of the author.
[242] Cf. Annex Figure 12.

not exclusive to the study of food. They are all the implicit or explicit rules present in a society and coordinating any social interaction within a group. The moral connotation is strong since norms are the practices considered by the whole society as "acceptable" and that everyone should adopt not to be labelled as an outsider. In the field of food, norms are diverse. They can be social if related to the structure of the meals, to their composition and the manners of eating. They can also be dietetic when ruling what one should eat in order to be in good health. Norms differs in every society, and between different social groups in one society. Someone may think that eating meat everyday has a beneficial impact on the health while others believe that this is harmful for the human body. Together with norms, **opinions and values** are expressed in a discourse. Values are the positive or negative representation associated to a practice which when they are voiced spontaneously become opinions. Sometimes, the predispositions of an individual towards a practice are not verbalized and conscious. These will be the **attitudes**. At last, at the right side of the continuum, in complete opposite to the observed practices, the **symbols** are situated. They consist in a set of signification structured and organized in a system of representation. Often unconscious, they influence the behaviour and help to the creation of a social link, a feeling of group-belonging.

All these data can be used to analyse the alimentary fact; but if taken separately, they will never offer a complete and real picture of it. They need to be interrelated so that the behaviours towards eating as well as the discourses associated, influencing as well as justifying food practices will become visible.

These data are not offering themselves to the researcher. One has to operate a selection amongst several available ways of collecting data.243 This is the third and last methodological problem that the sociologist of food encounters: the challenges of electing the way of collecting data adequate to his study. Indeed, some will be adapted to the gathering of data more objective than others. The first tool accessible to the sociologist is the **participative approach**. It means that the researcher will integrate into the population he is studying and will share every moment of its life in order to catch the actions and practices. The social group that he will join may be aware of his profession and of the purpose of his stay amongst them. This is the **"transparent observation"** where the roles are well defined and everything is stated clearly. On the

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243 Cf. Annex Figure 13.

contrary, during an **"opaque observation"** the researcher hides his real identity to the group he is integrating behind another social role. During the period of observation the sociologist will take as much notes as he can on the social fact he is studying giving importance to any interaction. It is also possible for the observer to enter the field with a grid in his baggage, in what is called the "armed" observation. It will provide him with guidelines to observe and grasp the facts and the social context. One problem of these two methods is that the observer has to be immersed in the field long enough to become invisible in the eyes of the observed. Indeed, the character exceptional of his presence may prevent him from collecting objective data. The population studied might be more or less performing while the researcher is looking for the everyday life facts and behaviours. He has to be conscious and take into consideration in his analyse that his presence can affect the behaviour of the observed.

Another tool at the disposition of the sociologist studying food practices is the **questionnaire**. It can be used to collect either quantitative data if carried on a huge scale or qualitative data if it contains open questions. There are different way of giving a questionnaire, each with its internal qualities and drawbacks. The most reliable one is in a **face-to-face interview**, where a trained interviewer is asking the items of the questionnaire. However, the same problem as with observation will appear; knowing the possible impact of the roles on the answers. To avoid these kind of interferences – for example fear of the judgement of the interviewer on the practices confessed – the questionnaire can be filled in autonomy. With the **auto-administration**, there is no risk of answers depending on the person asking them but the motivation of the interviewee can seriously challenge its completion. If the data collected are simple and well-structured, it is possible to proceed to an interview on the phone. Food practices are reported and reconstructed by other techniques which can be part of a questionnaire, such as **dietary journals** or **24h dietary recalls**. These techniques give a more precise insight on the daily food consumption. Data concerning more the representations and opinions that eaters have about food and the sense they give to their actions are collected through **interviews**. They can be individual or in group and are most of the time qualitative. The interview can be structured, semi-structured or non-structured. The interest of **semi-structured interviews** is that while some specific informations are obtained, they allow the participants a certain freedom to share his personal view. The

most interesting data will be collected during the digressions. When the interview is collective it is known as a **focus group**. A group of participants, usually under ten, is gathered to discuss a topic for one or two hours, with a moderator who will start the discussion and fuel it if necessary. Each session of the interview has a theme and an interview guide is given to the moderator with the agenda. With the focus group the researcher has access to informations that cannot be obtained with structured interviews or questionnaires. Indeed, the discussion and group dynamic provides the opportunity to explore individual views and often underlines issues that would not have appeared problematic in a individual interview. During an interview, an individual might have the possibility to tell his or her personal story, in relation to food: his **alimentary life-story.** With all the methods referenced above, the sociologist is working with data that he collects himself. However, it is also possible to use data already collected by others, in a sociological aim or not. **The secondary data processing** means for example that a survey made by a private company on the consumption of milk amongst teenagers can be exploited in a research on the change in the perception of milk by teenagers. Since these different methods give access to data which needs to be combined to offer the best vision of alimentary practices, it is obvious that they also requires to be used in association to each other.

6.2. The ethnographic context: food practices, immigration and acculturation

Food practices can be studied in every strata of society, emphasizing the difference between gender, social classes or economical situations. In most of the cases, the link to food will be perceived as secondary and not that important. But for migrants, food is a central part of their identity, of how they conceptualized their own distinguishing characteristics and self-image. Numerous studies have shown the importance and the complexity of the link between immigrants and their food models. The difference between food habits before and after the immigration fascinates scholars who try to understand what are the changes, their causes but also their consequences, mainly from a nutritional point of view. In fact, dietary changes are encompassed in a more global change of lifestyle occurring in the process of migration. Indeed, immigrants arrive in a society with their social representations based on values, beliefs and norms inherent to their culture and which differ from those of the receiving culture. What happens in this situation? Several factors influences an individual or a group to assimilate in a society,

but for sure the phenomenon of adaptation cannot be avoided, first for practical reasons such as the availability of aliments or economic criteria. In the scope of our study it is worth noticing that in the case of a total assimilation, eating practices are the last to disappear.244 How to interpret this result? Is there a specificity of dietary acculturation?

J. Satia-Abouta described dietary acculturation as "the process that occurs when member of a minority group adopt the eating pattern/food choices of the host country."245 After several studies of immigrants' diet in the United-States, she concluded that dietary acculturation is a complex phenomenon, multidimensional, dynamic and above all non-linear. In her model, different factors ranging from the exposure to the host culture to the demographic characteristics affect eating habits resulting in 3 patterns:

- maintain of traditional habits

- complete adoption of the eating pattern of the host society

- bi-cultural eating pattern with the incorporation of new habits in parallel with the conservation of traditional practices

If S. Pillarella in her study of the dietary acculturation of recent immigrants in Montreal agrees with J. Satia-Abouta on the point that dietary acculturation is a passive and non-thought process led by elements of the everyday life, she offers another interpretation of the process. Because the three models presented by J. Satia-Abouta do not reflect the experiences of the immigrants she studied, S. Pillarella suggests that the Satia-Abouta model is too simplistic, that a chronological typology of acculturation modes enables a better understanding of the phenomenon.

She goes back to the four styles of acculturation introduced by Berry and its followers. However her model illustrates on the one hand the degrees of dietary preferences which refers to the attachment to taste and the attitude when confronted to

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244Sophie Pillarella, Lise Renaud, and Marie-Claude Lagacé, "Acculturation alimentaire des immigrants récents de l'Afrique de l'Ouest francophone établis à Montréal: une analyse écologique," in *Les médias et le façonnement des normes en matière de santé*, Collection Santé et Société (Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2007), 235-254; Helen Vallianatos and Kim Raine, "Consuming Food and Constructing Identities among Arabic and South Asian Immigrant Women," *Food, Culture and Society: An International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research* 11, no. 3 (September 2008): 355-373; Pierre Sercia and Alain Girard, "La transformation des pratiques et les représentations alimentaires chez les enfants maghrébins issus de l'immigration récente," in *Les médias et la santé: de l'émergence à l'appropriation des normes sociales*, Santé et société (Québec: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2010), 281-306 Translation of the author.

245Jessie Satia, "Use of Qualitative Methods to Study Diet, Acculturation, and Health in Chinese-American Women," *Journal of the American Dietetic Association* 100, no. 8 (August 2000): 934-940.

the two food habits of both cultures. On the other hand, it measures the dietary acculturation according to the opening of the eating habits to those of the host society and to the composition of the real practices. The fundamental difference with the general acculturation is that, in her view, dietary acculturation is a process containing to a certain extend a linear evolution. Four modes are following one another:

– **assimilation** then a period of **adaptation**: total but temporary disappearing of traditional eating habits which finished in an period of adaptation. Unlike with the general acculturation, here the assimilation is not a style chosen but imposed to the migrants at his arrival if he is not welcomed by his community.

– **ethnocentrism**: in this second phase, the immigrant is closed to the habits of the host society and emphasizes, praises his traditional eating practices. This stage can be definitely adopted or an evolution towards the third step happens.

– **open ethnocentrism**: depending on the time spent in the country, the eating habits are gradually diversified.

– **Integration**: the last mode of acculturation is defined by the alternation of both cultures, with a wider opening to the host food.

The common point to all the theories of dietary acculturation is that they are effective on a long-time scale. S. Pillarella underlines it in her conclusion by sharing her belief that 10 years – the numbers of years that the immigrants she studied have been in Canada – are not enough to assess dietary acculturation. "This period is too restrictive to follow the evolution of dietary changes which gradually occurs on a longer period."[246] The study of immigrants that have immigrated more than 10 years before will be a good way to assess the validity of the acculturation model proposed. Indeed, changes take time and often occurs from one generation to another. In that case, it would mean that all these different models can be applied to the children of the immigrants. Can we consider them as a way to test acculturation? Are the children a mark of the acculturation of their parents? These are the questions that might be answered by analysing and comparing the eating habits of the two generations. However, it is important not to forget an essential difference between the two

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[246]Pillarella, Renaud, and Lagacé, "Acculturation alimentaire des immigrants récents de l'Afrique de l'Ouest francophone établis à Montréal: une analyse écologique." Translation of the author.

generations. The children of immigrants have undergone their primary socialisation in the host country. Thus, the influence of the parents is balanced by the one of other actors such as the group of peers, schools or media. These actors are in majority carrying with them the norms and values of the host society. In a way the descendants of immigrants are not confronted to a dominant culture in opposition (or not) with a traditional culture internalized; but they are directly and simultaneously in presence of these two cultures. The challenges are different than in the case of immigration and require to be studied separately, not as a part of the study of dietary acculturation of migrants. It has been proved that one of the factors enhancing acculturation is the connection with the mainstream society, the links with the "outside world". For example, someone working in an office with colleagues that do not belong to his community has higher chances of opening his habits to the host culture than someone who has contacts only with members of his ethnic group. Because they go to school and have friends from other social groups, children are often those by which the change in coming. If they eat at school, they will be offered the food of the receiving culture, they will adopt and want to conform to the eating patterns of their classmates. Often the intergenerational conflict existing in every family takes the shape of a clash between tradition and "host culture", between eating an ethnic food or not. Examples abound in the scholarship on eating habits and dietary acculturation. Puerto Rican mother eating the traditional meal while her children are eating hamburgers; children asking to be served aliments that their parents are not used to eat.247

The study of the second-generation enables us to assess the degree of these changes, if they are permanent or just the expression of a desire of independence from the children. The eating patterns offer an insight on the transmission of culinary traditions and practices from the parents to their children. Together with cooking tips, parents are also sharing a sense of identity. Indeed, expressing ethnic identity through food is often mentioned as being fundamental by members of minority groups. This is even more true for people who are raising children. Then, the ethnic identity becomes more salient and is one reason of the choice of ethnic food over a more widespread one. Ethnicity has not

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247Carol Devine, "Food Choices in Three Ethnic Groups: Interactions of Ideals, Identities, and Roles," *Journal of Nutrition Education* 31, no. 2 (March 1999): 86-93; Julie Lioré, "Les produits laitiers dans les familles ouest-africaines à Marseille. Analyse transversale (1999-2009)," *Les Cahierts de l'OCHA* 4, Alimentations Adolescentes en France (28 January 2010); Anne Dupuy, "Jeunes mangeurs, aliments et espaces du quotidien" (presented at the Les enfants et les jeunes dans les espaces du quotidien, Rennes, 2006). Translation of the author.

the only role in the food choice but it strongly shapes this choice within various contexts. C. Devine's study reveals three factors through which ethnicity operates its influence: ideals, identities and roles.[248] Ideals can be seen as guidelines about food use among member of an ethnic group. They are revealed mainly when contrasted with other norms through the interaction between culture and environmental context. To make it short, it is "our food" versus "their food". Identities are not to be presented once more. In food choice, the complex nature of identity appears since the identification with a specific group depends on the situation and time. Roles come along with the various positions in the society held by a person. A set of behaviours and rules to follow are associated with roles. A person is expected to act in accordance with her role. Family and gender roles are the ones often linked with ethnicity. These three factors interact with one another and through them ethnicity influences food choices, together with other deeper dynamics. The expression of ethnicity in food choices varies depending on the context. This is why the second-generation is also relevant to make light on the mechanism of transmission of an ethnic identity through the food. C. Devine explores how ethnic identity influences food choices, but what about a mirror process? Does food choices influence ethnic identity? Some answers might be offered by the children of immigrants since, to be schematic, two types of food are offered to them simultaneously.

Eating is a single verb encompassing a broad range of practices that change according to the different cultures. Food intakes fall into two categories:

– eating labelled as **"meals"**, which are strongly institutionalized and directed by social norms

– **eating away from "meals"**, which are either socialized and part of some rituals – such as the practice of aperitif (*apéritif*) in France – or associated with the practice of nibbling.

It is of course necessary to study these two way of eating aliments to have a complete picture of food habits. However, the scope of our study has to be somehow reduced and will make abstraction of the extra-prandial intakes. Indeed, these intakes are harder to identify for the respondents and are often associated with shame and a kind of deviant behaviour, so that people often under-estimate their number. Thus, their study is not

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248Devine, "Food Choices in Three Ethnic Groups: Interactions of Ideals, Identities, and Roles."

completely reliable yet and harder than the one of well-established meals. The choice of the focus has been made after reading of previous studies which decided us to emphasize the analysis of eating habits during dinner and the consumption of a specific aliment: cheese. First, why dinner rather than lunch or breakfast or any snack during the day? Simply, "proper meals" are easier to observe thanks to their institutionalisation. Moreover, the French traditional eating pattern is very structured, on a ternary basis. According to JP. Poulain, the meal displaying less dissonances between norms and practices is dinner. Therefore, by analysing this meal we will have an easier approach of practices. But above all, dinner has been chosen because it is the most important and socialized meal of the day, no matter which society is considered. In many families, dinner is the occasion to be together, a way to structure the familial unit. On the contrary, breakfast is more and more taken individually and loses the most rapidly its cultural specificities. It is the least culture loaded meal.[249] As M. Calvo explained it, this "westernization" occurs "apparently without conflict nor difficulty. The meeting of the group is not really ritualized and the values in presence are not numerous. The acculturation in this food intake would not harm the principal cultural characteristics of the group eating pattern."[250]Lunch is not a very reliable meal to analyse since it is highly dependable on external variables, mainly work-related. With this meal immigrants are most often in direct contact with the habits of the receiving society.[251] In fact, if food is the last cultural characteristic kept in the process of acculturation, dinner will be the very last meal to retain ethnic features, in the everyday life (specific celebrations are another case). For all these reasons, focusing on dinners results more interesting. C. Fischler wrote that "the socialized and ritualized meal is only possible in leisure time nowadays. It has taken on a new role as a form of social consumption".[252] Thus, a distinction will be operated between weekday and week-end dinners, since the last ones show a more traditional structure.

When thinking about what could be described as a typical French meal, a specific aliment appeared: cheese. Indeed a study of the consumption of dairy products in West

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[249]Tonje Mellin-Olsen and Margareta Wandel, "Changes in Food Habits among Pakistani Immigrant Women in Oslo, Norway," *Ethnicity and Health* 10, no. 4 (November 2005): 311-339.

[250]Sercia and Girard, "La transformation des pratiques et les représentations alimentaires chez les enfants maghrébins issus de l'immigration récente." Translation of the author.

[251]Mellin-Olsen and Wandel, "Changes in Food Habits among Pakistani Immigrant Women in Oslo, Norway."

[252]J Poulain, "The contemporary diet in France: 'de-structuration' or from commensalism to 'vagabond feeding'," *Appetite* 39, no. 1 (August 2002): 43-55.

African families in Marseille conducted by J. Lioré showed that dairy products help the comprehension of the mechanism of mixing two eating styles and how the distinction between parents and children operates..253 Although if according to JP. Poulain's finding, only 9% of the French population eat cheese for dinner and 16% for lunch, it is still on the menu of what could be called a French meal. More important, this aliment is not a traditional one in most of the countries of origin of the immigrants. It is a new aliment for migrant families arriving in France, mainly brought in the home by children. However, if their consumption of cheese rises, it is mainly under its transformed form without exploiting the huge variety of cheese available in France. Immigrants will prefer soft cheese without a strong smell, that are spreadable. To sum up, the study-case deals with the food habits of the children of immigrants with a specific emphasis on dinners and the cheese consumption.

6.3. Methodology

In order to assess the food choices of the French children of immigrants and enter their social food space, a combination of all the methods proposed by JP. Poulain would be the best. The use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches offers a more precise picture. However, for practical reasons methodological choices have to be operated. The scope of this study is rather limited and it would be audacious to claim unveiling completely the children of immigrants' position. In the time frame imparted to the study and based on the mean available to constitute the sample group, it is impossible to have access to representative quantitative data. Thus, this study does not claim representing the position of the children of immigrants as a whole but rather some personal position and experiences. It will focus more on qualitative techniques such as face-to-face interviews. The advantages of the focus-group are not to be demonstrated. "They are sensitive in identifying everyday knowledge and cultural variables, and also in giving people who do not usually participate in research the opportunity to make their voices heard."254 Unfortunately, this method has to be abandoned because it is time and resource consuming and does not suit a low number of participants. Two techniques

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253Lioré, "Les produits laitiers dans les familles ouest-africaines à Marseille. Analyse transversale (1999-2009)." Translation of the author.

254Inger Jonsson et al., "Choice of Food and Food Traditions in Pre-war Bosnia-Herzegovina: Focus Group Interviews with Immigrant Women in Sweden," *Ethnicity & Health* 7, no. 3 (August 2002): 149-161.

were used to collect data:

(1) qualitative face-to-face interviews

(2) self-administered questionnaires either distributed during the interview

or available on the internet via googledocuments.

All of the data have been collected in French since not all the participants had an English level enabling them to answer directly in English.

Participants have been recruited on a non-probabilist basis using the snowball sampling theory: each participant was asked if he knew other people likely to fit with the criteria to be part of the study. The drawback of this method is that the choice is completely random and arbitrary which prevents us from measuring the liability of the sampling and results. The population observed is not representative of the targeted population. Contacts have been established with local organizations which helped in gathering participants, who were then asked if they themselves knew other people. The sample consists in a number of 12 participants coming from different social backgrounds and of different ages. Three criteria were determining the sample group:

– being a child of immigrants: the participant is a French citizen whose parents immigrated in France. It means that the participant was born in France and has been socialized in this country. To avoid having a restricted sample, the research has been opened to individuals who have at least one parent immigrant. This fact has to be kept in mind: this individual will have a more powerful influence of the host country since the socialization of the school will be enhanced by one of the parent.

– Being over 18 years old. This age corresponds to the average age when a person leaves the familial home because of studies. Two reasons motivate this choice. First, it was considered safer to chose someone who has left his or her family. Indeed, like that the participant is really actor of his/her food choice and not dependant on a broader familial choice. The second reason is developed by PG. Min & R. Kim who highlighted that the departure from home is a corner stone in the development of the identity.255 It is a break with the parents who are often the strongest ties to ethnicity but also the beginning of an independent adoption of an ethnic identity. For example,

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255Pyong Gap Min Kim Rose, "Formation of ethnic and racial identities: narratives by young Asian-American professionals," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23, no. 4 (July 2000): 735-760.

Asian-American are more likely to identify more strongly as American when they are children while they will adopt the ethnicity of their parents when adults.256 A more coherent study would require a reduction of the sample to a specific age class; however, to be sure to have a sufficient sample, there is theoretically no upper limit.

− Being the "gate-keeper" of the family. In the case of a participant head of family, additional factors are influencing the food practices – for example children, family roles. This why we tried to select primarily the person in the household who is responsible for shopping and preparing meals. In other words, priority is given to the "gate-keeper" as JP. Poulain named this person who is mainly the decision maker and whose role is to pass the aliments from the producer to the family.257

The participants first answered a questionnaire to establish the socio-demographic characteristics. Questions concerned their age, background (rural urban), educational level, occupation.

The in-depth interview of two children of immigrants lasted 1h, following a semi-structured interview guide. The aim of the interview was to obtain specific informations concerning the declared behaviours (in opposition with observed) while allowing the participants a freedom to share their opinions and perspectives. The interview was recorded to be then analysed thanks to a coding process. 3 themes were developed in the interview guide for the first part of the interview:

− food habits and social representations in the field of eating in the country(ies) of their parents, with a focus on dinner and cheese consumption
− their own food choice and how they perceive them, what influences them, again with a focus on dinner and cheese consumption
− sense of identity and belonging

Questionnaires were filled in online thanks to googledocuments.258 The first part of the questionnaire concerns basic socio-demographic data in order to establish a profile of the sample. The second focuses on food habits. It is broadly inspired by the questionnaire used by JP. Poulain in his book *Manger Aujourd'hui,* when conducting a

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256Ibid.
257Poulain, *Manger Aujourd'hui, Attitudes, normes et pratiques*. Translation of the author.
258 Cf. Annex Figure 20.

qualitative survey of the diets of the French population, for diverse national agencies in 1999.[259] One could object that the study has been carried out a long time ago invalidating the results. However, eating practices are long lasting and require time to dramatically change. Moreover, the findings of the study have been compared with less academical surveys. Since no major difference has been noted, the questionnaire elaborated by JP. Poulain and its findings are taken as a basis for a comparison. For that, it is mandatory to ask the same questions. However JP. Poulain's questionnaire was dealing with a broader range of issues. Only the questions about the structure and practices of the dinner have been kept. The items of the dietary assessment part include some general question concerning food tastes and cooking habits. Then, the structure and composition of the dinner – both for the norms and practices – is given a closer look. We used the same terminology for the meal structure as JP. Poulain who noticed two main types, each divided into sub-types. The first main category is the "proper meal", seen as the traditional French meal. It is composed of either a starter, a main course, cheese and then a dessert (coded 111+) or the same without cheese (coded 111). The second main configuration results from a trend towards simplification. A simplified dinner can be: starter and main course (110); main course and dessert (011); (big) starter (salad) and dessert (101); only one main course or pizza or pasta (010); or other types. We introduced in the questionnaire a distinction between week-day dinners and week-ends dinner. Last, since we have decided to draw our intention on a specific aliment, open-ended questions have been added concerning cheese.

20 questions concerning the ethnic identification of the participants compose the third and last part. In the scholar world, there is hardly a consensus on what is exactly ethnic identity and how to measure it. A broad range of studies and scales exist to assess it. For this study, we have chosen to follow J. Phinney by using a translation of her Multigroup Ethnic Identity Mesure (MEIM) for a francophone context made by V. Dru in 2004.[260] Unlike most of the scales, the MEIM is not specific to one ethnic group but directed at people of heterogeneous or unknown ethnicity, which is the case of our study. Our choice stopped to this model also because its validity and reliability have been proved in other studies.[261] Ethnic identification is understood as "the set of

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[259] Poulain, *Manger Aujourd'hui, Attitudes, normes et pratiques*. Translation of the author.

[260] Vincent Dru, "Adaptation francaise d'une échelle d'identification culturelle," *Revue Internationale de Psychologie Sociale* 17, no. 3 (2004): 107-118. Translation of the author.

[261] Joseph G. Ponterotto et al., "The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM): Psychometric Review

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behaviours of cognitive and evaluative nature linked with an ethnic belonging and suggesting following customs and traditions."262 The ethnic identification part encompasses 14 questions from the MEIM to which 5 open-ended questions have been added, on French identity and languages.

In most of the study led by scholars the data analysis is effectuated thanks to a computer software. Obviously it was not the case in this study, and a manual analysis has been carried out after the field research took place. First of all, since all the data were collected in French, a translation has been needed. This process adds another partial point of view to the findings although the translation has been carried out as objectively as possible. The easiest data to cope with were the socio-demographic variables that were compiled and place in the same chart. The answer to the MEIM scale were evaluated on a 4 point likert-scale ranging from 4 to 1 for strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree. The analysis of the questionnaires concerning the dietary habits involved the comparative method. As the purpose of this method is to compare the results from the answers with the one published in *Manger Aujourd'hui*, the same analyse process has been used. The answers were grouped and a statistical analyse was carried, associating every answer that was possible with the percentage of respondents who have opted for it. Then, the findings of both studies were compared. Additionally, the eating practices section of the questionnaire was filled in by a control group of 11 Natives of the Natives, to be used as a comparison mainly for the part about cheese. The interview was recorded and then transcribed as a text. A thematic coding process was used consisting in identifying persistent words, phrases, themes or concepts. Underlying patterns were then identified and analysed. With this method, the segments dealing with a similar topic were quickly identified and the number of raw data were reduced to a small analytic units. In every step of the analysis, a closer look was given to every mention of cheese and dinner.

Additionally, as some details and characteristics of the target group might appear and made meaningful only when opposed and compared with the mainstream food habits, a control group has been elaborated. The same method of recruitment has been used, the selection of the 11 elements of the control group answering to a random and

and Further Validity Testing," *Educational and Psychological Measurement* 63, no. 3 (June 2003): 502-515.
262Dru, "Adaptation francaise d'une échelle d'identification culturelle," 105-106. Translation of the author.

the snowball sampling theory. For these participants the only criteria were to be French, over 18 years old and having both parents born in France, of French nationality. The main drawback is that this did not allow to separate those having an immigration background from those who qualify as Natives of the Natives. However, in the scope of the study no distinction was made between the two. This control group was offered to answer the same questionnaire as the children of immigrants, using also googledocuments, except that the one which was presented to them stopped at the ethnic identification part. Indeed, only their food practices were relevant to the study as a basis for a comparison. The data collected were analysed and coded using once again the same method as for the data steaming from the children of immigrants' questionnaires. These data were mainly used for the "cheese part" and for the questions which were added to JP. Poulain's questionnaire. It was also a way of controlling the validity of this questionnaire and proving that it could indeed be considered as a serious basis for a more general comparison and good indicator of trends.

A quick overlook of the collecting tool available coupled with a reflection on the specific issue of food for the immigrants and their children helped to the elaboration of a study-case which enables to unveil the ethnic identification of the children of immigrants. Focusing on their foodways, and most specifically on their dinners and cheese consumption might seem foolish at first look but it is in fact thoroughly thought.

7. <u>Do the French children of immigrants express a Frenchness in their everyday food habits?</u>

The kitchen embodies one of the most private part of our lives. The children of immigrants make no exception. The analyse of all what is plotted in their kitchen was a privileged way to access their personal experiences and feelings. The attention was specifically turned towards the question of being French and the identity possibly claim through food.

7.1. Who is eating what and how?

The data collection took place between December 2010 and February 2011. During these three months, two simultaneous interviews were conducted and 23 persons answered to the questionnaires, 12 to the one aimed at children of immigrants and 11 to the one serving as a control group. The different answers have been all grouped in charts, available in annex.263 The light is shed on the data collected amidst the children of immigrants, since they are the real focus of this study. Amongst the 12 respondents, only one was a male. This over-representation of women in this survey can be explained from a cultural perspective. Indeed, one of the criteria to be part of the survey was that the respondent has to be the "gate-keeper" of the family. Although the trend is towards less differentiation between genders in the domestic roles, it is often the women who are in charge of the food supply and cooking.264 Concerning the age, the respondent group is very heterogeneous and mainly shared between two age groups: 20-30 years old and 40-50 years old. For their major part, the younger respondents are students while the older are employees. 7 respondents live in the suburbs of Paris, one lives in Canada, two others in Brittany and a last one in the South of France. This means that for their majority, the respondents are living in an urban environment. This can have an influence on the foodways since it determines the availability of products, mainly the "ethnic" products, which can often be bought in specialized shops which are not located in the countryside. Consequently, the food habits are not – completely – driven by practical considerations such as the type of products found in the surroundings. If all the respondents have the French nationality, they come from different ethnic backgrounds.

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263 Cf. Annex Figure 14 and 18
264Tonje Mellin-Olsen and Margareta Wandel, "Changes in Food Habits among Pakistani Immigrant Women in Oslo, Norway," *Ethnicity and Health* 10, no. 4 (November 2005): 314.

The ethnic group represented on a largest scale is the Portuguese, with nearly half of the parents coming from Portugal. 3 respondents were born from a mixed-marriage. The other countries of origin of the parents are either North-African (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia), Asiatic (China, Cambodia) or Bulgaria and Lebanon. In some rare cases, the couples are mixed, with the two parents having different nationalities; but in 9 of the cases, they are coming from the same country. To sum up, from a socio-demographic point of view, the respondent group is quite heterogeneous which should prevent us from drawing conclusions based on the ethnic, or social origin as well as on the age and gender. Before starting the part of the questionnaire about ethnic identification the subjects were asked to answer to an introductory requiring them to complete the sentence: "as far as my ethnic group is concerned, I considered myself as...".265 Despite the ethnic variety of the respondents, the answers given to this questions are quite homogeneous. ¼ of the children of immigrants contacted declared directly and without any ambiguity French as their ethnic group. For two of them, they feel French but they take into account their Portuguese origin. 5 of the 12 respondents have parents born in Portugal. However, only 2 of them consider themselves as Portuguese. In fact, the total number of answers given could be reduced since one person chose not to answer to this question, and another one said that she is "not attached to any kind of tradition".

Concerning the eating practices of the all the respondents, it was quite important for the survey at which frequency the person answering was cooking. For the majority, 9 out of 12, of the respondents preparing meals is a daily activity. It was then possible to analyse the answers in two directions, following the study carried out by JP Poulain. The first part focuses on the structure of the meal thanks to two main questions. Then, the attention is drawn to the composition of the meal itself. For both theme, a distinction was made between meals taken during the week and during the week-end. The answers slightly diverge showing a tendency to have more complete and later in the day dinners during week-end. This has to be taken into and will be in the following analysis. However, since the study used as a reference does not specify if the meals analysed occurred during the week or not, only the answers given for a dinner during the week will be taken into account because it accounts for the most numerous dinner taken. For

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265. Cf. Annex Figure 18.

only 17% of our respondents a complete dinner represents the typical meal of the evening. The 63% left are divided between the structure main course and dessert (41%) and only main course or pizza or pasta (25%), plus a residual 17% for something else (without more precision). When trying to assess the practices through the recall of the last dinner eaten, only 12 persons answered. 4 of them had a meal composed of a main dish and a dessert, sometimes supplemented with cheese. 2 had a unique dish – main dish or big starter – and 4 had a dinner with a structure type 111 or 111+. The last respondent had only a sandwich. All of them but one had bread, and 4 had cheese. This product, cheese, was the object of a specific set of questions. All the respondents like cheese and know a broad variety of them. 58% of the children of immigrants surveyed eat often cheese while 17% eat it on a daily basis. This product is consumed mainly during dinner – 92% of the respondents – and quite often at lunch. These are the main characteristics drawn from the questionnaires.

7.2. Children of immigrants or not, we all eat the same way!

The items of the questionnaire unfold in two directions: a comparison with the mainstream French population and then a close analysis of the specific foodways of the target group in parallel to its ethnic identification. For the first direction, the results obtained from the analysis of the foodways are compared with both those of a previous study carried out by JP Poulain and those of the control group. In 2001 JP Poulain came to the conclusion that the foodways of the French, concerning the dinner are moving towards a trend of simplification, both in the norms and practices. Indeed, as mentioned previously, JP Poulain underlines a difference between what people declare to be a normal, conventional meal and what they actually eat. If this is particularly striking for lunch, it is less and less true for dinner. Indeed, both the norms and the practices are moving towards a general simplification of this meal. The same phenomenon of practices being even more simplified than norms, particularly present for lunch, occurs; however at a smallest degree since the simplification tends to be largely integrated in the mentality.266 Only 35% of the individuals consider that a real dinner is a complete meal.267 The other 65% left for the norms are divided by dinner composed of two elements (44%) and unique dish (14%) and others (7%). When the meal includes two

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266Poulain, *Manger aujourd'hui : attitudes, normes et pratiques*, 81. Translation of the author.
267 Cf. Annex Figure 15

elements it is for the majority a main dish and a dessert (26%), or a starter and a dessert (11%) or starter and a main dish (7%).268 If we compare these results to the one found for both the control and the target group, we can see that there is nearly no difference.

The structure main dish + dessert is the most popular for all groups surveyed. A small difference appears between the children of immigrants' group and the control group, this last one showing more attraction for simplified meals. However, the average age of the two groups has to be highlighted. The control group is younger (26 years old) than the target group (30 years old). JP Poulain has proved that young are more likely to eat simplified meals.269 This explains the difference found and why it can be neglected. It is then possible to conclude that there is no difference, in the norms of the children of immigrants concerning the structure of the dinner. For the practices, the same conclusion can be drawn. Indeed, in JP Poulain's survey, the complete meal is still in minority forming only 26% while the simplified meal represents 74%.270 Once again, and the result is visible also amongst the children of immigrants, the most common structure found is the simplified one. Some respondents had a very complete dinner but this was linked to specific celebration such as Christmas Eve dinner and receiving guests. JP Poulain was concluding that the evolution of the dinner, already acquired by the huge majority of French should continue.271 His remarks – although not aiming specifically at the so-called "native of native" category of the French population – can without any hesitation be enlarged to the children of immigrants who have also integrated the simplification of the evening meal.

A dinner in France takes place between 19h and 21h, in the children of immigrants' home – the time indicated by our respondents, with one exception, ranges from 19h to 21h during the week and 19h to 21h30 on the week-ends – as well as in the houses of the mainstream population.272 This meal is usually taken at home, and in the overwhelming majority – more than 80% - in company of someone else.273 This strong socialization of the dinner is also the case for the descendants of immigrants. Only two of them declared having eaten his or her previous dinner alone, and most of them wrote that the dinner took place at home. Then, some light was shed on the composition of the

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268Poulain, *Manger aujourd'hui : attitudes, normes et pratiques*, 81. Translation of the author.
269Ibid., 83.
270Ibid., 81.
271Ibid., 87.
272Ibid., 100.
273Ibid., 103-104.

dinner itself. The main dish – meat, fish, egg... – is the core element of the dinner for 72% of the persons interviewed by JP Poulain, completed in 42% of the cases by a side dish. Everyone knows the importance of bread for French, which is verified since it is present in 64% of the meals. 19% of the sample eats soup, 23% eats starters and 14% a big starter. Dinners include cheese for 33% and yoghurt for 25%. The rest is shared by the dairy desserts (13%), fruits (24%) and other kind of desserts (9%).274 When this is compared to the results obtain when asking the children of immigrants, some parallelism appears, notably concerning the main dish, bread, cheese and the desserts.

To particularly assess the difference or similarity of the children of immigrants' foodways with what can be considered as the mainstream French eating style, the questionnaire focused on one emblematic French food: cheese. This time, the results of the control group served as a point of reference. The answers show that the habits are comparatively the same amongst the two groups studied. It does not seem that one group is more specialized in cheese than the other: both buying cheese in majority in supermarkets, knowing their fair share of variety and consuming it mainly for dinner. Nonetheless, although the control group claims eating cheese more often than the children of immigrants, significantly less of them had eaten cheese during the meal preceding the filling in of the questionnaire. This fact goes against a popular belief which would attribute the highest consumption of cheese to the mainstream French. Thus, it is not because someone eats cheese that he is native French and reciprocally. But what about the identificational claims? This conclusion purely concerns the facts, what is happening from the perspective of the identity and ethnic belonging? What can be asserted for now, in the scope of building the food social space of the children of immigrants in France is that their *Espace des habitudes de consommation* is the same as the "native of natives". Temporally, structurally and socially the food practices are organized in the same way.

7.3. Does it mean something to eat Vietnamese spring rolls when you are of Vietnamese origin?

The last part of the questionnaire, and the second aspect of the problematic which has to be dealt with are linked with the ethnic identification of the children of

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274Ibid., 86.

immigrants. To which extent to you feel that you belong to your parents' ethnic group? This was more or less the question the respondents were offered to answer. The ethnic belonging is assessed through a scale ranging from 14 for no or a partial ethnic identity claimed to 54 when the respondent feels that he completely belongs to his ethnic group and not to the culture of his citizenship. The majority of the respondents express a certain attachment to their ethnic group and their parents' culture: the average is 38,75, and the scores are included between 23 and 51. However, as much as their ethnic backgrounds matter, still 9 of them state that they feel French. One person is unsure, another does not really feel French and a last one categorically reject it. Thus, if there is one general trend to sketch one could say that our target group assumes, is aware of its ethnic belonging, without claiming it and rejecting French influences. This leads to the conclusion that ethnic identification is not linked with foodways. Indeed, despite their ethnic attachment, the respondents show similarities and the same characteristics as the test group. This conclusion is reinforce by the answers given to the questions 16 to 19. Indeed, 25% of them declare usually eating French meals, while 41% add another type of food to the French. It means that only 25% explicitly eat another type of food such as Armenian, Portuguese or Arab. Nonetheless, it is interesting to notice that the persons eating what can be called ethnic food are amongst the ones scoring the higher for the ethnic identification. A third type of answer was given by one person who said that she does not eat a specific type.

This echoes the position of the two persons met. When asked which type of food they usually eat and prefer , they replied that they eat actually everything and that "only the taste matters, that's all".275 It is worth mentioning the position of the Interviewee A who in a way opposed his current foodways to the one he had, younger, when leaving with his parents: "when I was young, at home we ate a lot Vietnamese food. And at the end, I had enough of eating rice. For lunch I was eating at the school restaurant. And then, little by little you get used to it." This raises the questions of which practices stay while growing up and drifting away from the parents' influence. In this specific case, the eating practices have been westernised; even though it has been acknowledge that when a "ethnic dish" was prepared, it was generally an Asiatic one. We could draw a line of comparison with the cultural attachment of both of them. Without any hesitation, they

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275 Cf. Annex Figure 19

consider themselves, concerning their cultural group, as French. Although, both of them have been raised in their parents' culture , respect it and will transmit it to their own children. "We cannot consider ourselves as Mauritian or Vietnamese. Even if you were born in the country you haven't lived there, you haven't grown up there. You can find your culture because your parents come from there so of course they raise you up like a Vietnamese, but all your pairs are French." Nonetheless, some nuances are introduced later on, since "[they] are not completely French, [they] are not completely Vietnamese [or Mauritius], but [they] can understand both cultures".

In other words, as mentioned in the previous chapters, their ethnicity is situational and they deploy it depending on the context. The Interviewee B explains it quite well when recalling his life in Mauritius, where he was considered as French since not speaking the language. But as soon as he went back to France, "[he] was feeling more Mauritian[...]. The others were saying "oh the Mauritian", because yes, he's coming from Mauritius so he's a Mauritian. But I, I was not feeling more than that Mauritian." It has already been underlined that ethnicity operates on a negative mode. This is clearly appearing here. It is more the other's view that will determine the ethnic group. It was hard for our two respondents to give examples of how their ethnicity influences their everyday lives, of the differences between their culture and the French culture. For that, they preferred to ask a friend, French native, living with them. In fact, in cooking, the part played by the interlocutor and the context is also important. This is what question 21, and to some extent 18 and 19, was assessing by asking about the kind of dishes prepared for a special occasion. One respondent to the questionnaire wrote that she would cook for the main dish "couscous, chicken with curry, Portuguese stewed meat depending on the ethnic group of the guests". The key-word would be adaptation to the context and display of the ethnic identity and cuisine if it is required. Quite unsurprisingly, ethnicity occupies the foreground during specific time. This is when a clear link between ethnic identification and foodways is observed. People who declared preparing a meal rather French or not connected with their ethnic group are those with the lowest score concerning the ethnic identification. What prevails in the cuisine prepared will be the conviviality with a dish that is shared and pleases everyone. For the respondents who scored over 40, they usually prepare a dish belonging to their parents' culture: *tajine* or couscous for the Moroccan, Portuguese cuisine and *pastéis de*

Bacalhau for the Portuguese or Armenian dishes for the Armenian. Following the same logic, these persons are respectively answering that they consider themselves Moroccan, Portuguese and Armenian and not French from an ethnic point of view.

To go on constructing the food social space of the children of immigrants, they have to be separated into three groups. The space of the first group basically was the same as the mainstream population with ethnicity playing only an annex part. The second group distinguished itself from the French food social space mainly through the *Espace de différenciation*, food is used to mark a difference with the other ethnic group which also compound French society, through specific products and dishes – that is what is eaten – but not through the food habits. The foodways unveil the belonging to a certain ethnic group by excluding those used to other types of cuisine and by including its member into an ensemble whose practices sometimes differ. However, this last group can also be divided into two since one part of it are displaying their ethnic cuisine only in specific occasion and when the context requires it; while the other part will "eat ethnic" on an everyday basis. In this very last case, it can be asserted that ethnic identification and food are linked, that food is used a way of claiming an ethnic belonging. Thus, in the discourses, and in the *Espace du mangeable*, a preoccupation for the consumption of mainly ethnically marked dishes appear. In the case of the second category – those showing a situational ethnicity – the influence of ethnicity on food cannot be denied but does not determine completely the foodways. From the interview with two children of immigrants, it comes out that there is no claim in their way of eating, practicality rules over ethnicity. Thus, in most of the cases, eating cheese does not mean feeling French, and reciprocally, feeling French does not rhyme with eating French all the time. In fact, this sentence, with the cheese and French replaced by any ethnicity and ethnic food, becomes true in the case of individuals expressing an high ethnic self-awareness and which are living in an already strongly "ethnicized" environment, for example using their parents' language for the everyday communication. The multiplicity of situations and foodways advocates for a rejection of E. Calvo's three eating styles. This is why, the concept of creolisation developed for the immigrants by L. Tibère can be extended to their children. Polycentrism and syncretism are indeed key-words when mapping the food social space of the descendants of immigrants as well as the interaction between ethnic identity and foodways.

7.4. Why is this only an aperitif?

Despite the seriousness of the study, it is advisable to consider it as aperitif remarks rather than a fully conclusive meal. Indeed, some drawbacks have to be pointed out and it raised further questions and remarks which would be worth deepening. The most visible way to strengthen this study would be to analyse a more inclusive sample of children of immigrants. Indeed, this research, for various reasons, is based on the answers of 12 descendants of immigrants. This group is obviously too small to provide us with a clear and broad picture of this part of the French population. It would be needed to enlarge the target group to obtain results really interesting from a quantitative point of view. To improve the study from a qualitative perspective, more interviews should be conducted with more focused questions. Different ways of collecting data are available to the researcher to have access to a reality and describe it as both JP. Poulain and the previous chapter underlined it. For this study, only the questionnaire and interview were used, meaning that the only data collected were from the sphere of the declarations and representations. To fully assess the food social space of the children of immigrants, every type of data collection should be used, from the questionnaire to the direct observation. Indeed, this study lacks the reference of observed practices. The difference between norms and practices has been quickly touched, but only a participating observation would give access to the objective practices.

Although, the meeting with the two interviewees took place during a meal, it was nearly impossible to draw any conclusion from it. The lunch consisted in an Asiatic dish which could lead us to declare that the person of Vietnamese origin was eating for her everyday meals ethnic dishes; however the lunch had been prepared by a person who qualifies as a native French. This is why, for a deeper study and analysis, it is recommended to collect some data on observed practices through direct observation and dietary journals for example. Another possible drawback of this study is that the target group was rather heterogeneous. This might be why three different food social spaces can in a way be sketched. Reducing the target group, and the research question to a specific ethnic group could be a way to obtain results closer to the reality. Indeed, it seems a Herculean task to describe the whole population of the children of immigrants in France. Chapter one has proved in many ways that this group is eclectic and hard to define. Moreover, JP. Poulain in his study highlighted how food habits are influenced by

different characteristics such as the gender, the social class, the age or even, more surprisingly the geographical origin.276 For example, women, inhabitants of the Northern part of France and people living in the countryside show more coherence between norms and practices for the dinner, both tending towards a great simplification.277 Young and older, top executives and unskilled workers do not share the same typical alimentary day. The older a person is, the earlier she or he will have his or her dinner; and the more diplomas this person will have, the later she will also eat dinner.278279 Thus, what our study lack is to take into account the influence of this characteristics in the foodways of the children of immigrants. Eating ethnic could be a trend common to a specific class of age, and which disappears later on.

However more than being a real drawback, this is more an impetus to go on with further researches, and that is why this study is just an appetizer. It would be interesting to assess the impact of the other factors affecting the foodways, by using as a target group people sharing the same ethnic origin but for example belonging to different social classes or age groups. In the same way, gender deserves a closer look. Women are said to be the keeper of traditions since traditionally living inside the home and in charge of cooking. Do women's foodways show more ethnic features than men? The analysis of the role of women is linked with the question of the transmission. In most of the cases studied here, the parents were from the same ethnic group. What is happening when the child has two parents of two different ethnic groups. Which culture is he expressing in his foodways, if he does express one. An automatic answer would be his mother's culture, since, as we said, women are said to be the care-taker of the family and in charger of preparing the meals.280 Still, this has to be verified. In our study, we used a broad definition of children of immigrants, making no difference between those having two parents of immigrants origin and those having only one. But, this distinction should be taken into account and could give an insight on the way the transmission process operates. In other words, is there any difference depending on which parent is immigrant? Is the child more likely to express a certain ethnicity in his foodways if his mother bears a foreign culture? This is also worth wondering concerning the ethnic

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276Poulain, *Manger aujourd'hui : attitudes, normes et pratiques*, 82-86. Translation of the author.
277Ibid., 85.
278Ibid., 101-102.
279 Cf. Annex Figure 16 and 17.
280Mellin-Olsen and Wandel, "Changes in Food Habits among Pakistani Immigrant Women in Oslo, Norway," 314.

identification, seeing if there is a difference depending on who is bringing the other culture, and what happens in the case of someone raised in three cultures (his mother's, his father's and the society in which he is living). Talking about unions, mixed-marriages and influences on the ethnic identification and foodways, the role of the partner has to be mentioned. This is another tracks which could be followed, knowing is the ethnicity of the partner influencing the type of dishes prepared. Once in a relationship, do the children of immigrants adapt to their partners or do they share their foodways with him or her? This meets with the question of gender and roles. Who in the couple is in charge of cooking, is he or she preparing meals according to his or her taste or to the one of his or her partner? Thus, a factor of change in the foodways could be the union with someone from either another culture or from the mainstream French culture. Another element likely to transform a family's habits is the children. As several studies showed it, mainly in the case of immigrants and their children, a child is often the vector of new foodways.281 Can this conclusion be extended to the children of immigrants and what could be – although inexact – be called the third generation? That is why, the presence or not of children in the family could be another characteristics which should be taken into account.

The question of children opens the way to a research on the causes and reasons of changes in foodways when they happen, or to see why some people are more inclined to cook ethnic dishes than others. The influence of the pairs is of prime importance. Someone answered to the questionnaire that often her friends ask her to prepare some food from "her country". So that, once again it is the look of the other which is defining the ethnicity and influencing the individual to claim it or not. Nonetheless, despite being a constant reminder of the ethnic background, friends represent an opening to the mainstream culture (or to another ethnic group) and its practices. School as well as pairs – through its restaurant, where most of the French children eat – conveys the norms of the mainstream culture. One of the interviewees recalls that at one point during his childhood he became disgusted of eating rice. As an explanation, he advanced the fact that he was eating at school: "for lunch I was eating at the school restaurant. And then, little by little you get used to it." The same person noticed a similar process, of what we could called Westernisation or "Frenchisation" of his eating practices, resulting from his

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281Sercia and Girard, "La transformation des pratiques et les représentations alimentaires chez les enfants maghrébins issus de l'immigration récente," 286. Translation of the author.

current habit of eating "for lunch [...] at the restaurant at [his] workplace. [He] chose[s] the easy way. So it is French food." This also underlines another trend. The foodways are nowadays more and more driven by the easiness of the food prepared. Some answers given to the questionnaire were oriented in this direction. The choice is not really between preparing something ethnic or something French but just cooking something which is not time-consuming. When he is going to work, the respondent of Mauritian origin eats "things that you can buy at the supermarket, you put them in the microwave, two minutes and then it's ready, you eat...". The reason behind that is "[he] do[es] not have time. Because all the Mauritian cuisine takes time." This explains why one conclusion to our study is that ethnicity is expressed through food mainly in special occasion, when the person has time and will to dedicate to the meal which will be served. That is why, the distinction between special occasion and everyday cooking might lead to different conclusions.

Last but not least, the main aspect deserving more interest is the influence of the culture and the differences between ethnic groups. In the survey realized, no attention was given to the ethnic origin of the parents. However, the discussion with the two persons met implied that this aspect should not be neglected. Talking about how French people are not considering every ethnic groups on the same level, it has been dropped that the Asiatic community "is a community which is discreet, it adapts. They know how to adapt, they adapt to the culture, they don't bring their culture." There would just be a small line to cross to come to the conclusion that some cultures might be more receptive to change. This assertion needs to be verified. One could think that a proximity between two cultures enhances an adaptation and the adoption of the mainstream eating habits. Thus, a children of European immigrants has more chances to eat in the French style than one living in an African family. The example of the Portuguese who generally have kept a strong attachment to their national cuisine after their arrival and have transmitted it to their children is one counter-example. It encourages us to fight against stereotypes and based every conclusion on observation and objective data. Comprehensive studies have to be carried out amongst persons of European origin but also whose parents are coming from cultures with broader differences. To be schematic, is the way of eating kept more strongly when one uses chopsticks than when the national cuisine shares common features with the French one?

Thus, the questions are drifting to the direction of cultural distances. As explained before, this way of thinking is somehow wrong since it poses that every culture completely differs from one another. On the contrary, cultures, and thus foodways, are in constant interaction, receiving and influencing the others. For example, it is apparently hard to describe what is exactly Mauritian cooking style "because it is a mix, because you have lot of different communities there: Chinese, Indian, Muslim. You cannot really define the origin. This is the interesting thing in the cuisine there, it is a mix of everything." Funny enough, the person also realized that "there are some stuff like that, [he] thought they were Mauritian but in fact no." In this case, it might be hard to assess which kind of food he is preparing and usually consumes.

All that shows that there is no straight-forward answer which can be given. Only observation and comparative research might provide with some beginning of answer. Foodways are dependent on a quantity of variables. We touched only the cultural and socio-demographic characteristics, but it reaches also the biological sphere. Indeed, it would be wrong to conclude that the aversion of some Asiatic people to cheese is the expression of a distance from French foodways. Indeed, Vietnamese "don't digest milk, the Vietnamese organism doesn't have the good enzyme to digest milk." In this specific case, far from being an ethnic claim, not consuming dairy products merely results from biological factors. When it comes to both foodways and ethnic identification, things are complex and dynamic. At times a link might be found between them, but at others they are just two separate spheres. So far, with the amount of data collect, it would be ambitious to pretend drawing a trend when only some lines can be sketched.

8. <u>Conclusion</u>

What is happening in the privacy of French kitchens, away from the stoves of the handful of chefs who made the fame of French gastronomy all over the world? This was the journey undertaken with this thesis. On the way to the final destination, the children of immigrants' kitchens, another cliché had to be broken down. No, France is not a whole White Catholic country. Yes, immigration is at the heart of its history, at the root of its population. This is why, unlike trying to offer another study on the mainstream French population, light was shed on this integral part – as Chapter 1 demonstrated it – of France: the children of immigrants. The reason lying behind this choice is self-evident. Why does common opinion always try to ignore their cultural origin and differences? Why despite their French identity card, despite being born and raised in the same country as any random French, the children of immigrants are not fully recognized and acknowledged as French? With the ambitious goal of helping to the comprehension of their inclusion and participation in the society, their ethnic identification was assessed. Starting from the realization that one of the best tools to unveil the structure of a society is food, the proverb "You are what you eat" has been taken to its paroxysm. Showing the reciprocal relation between food and identity was just stating the obvious. Thus, the object of this journey was to discover the food social space of the children of immigrants and question the connection between foodways and ethnic identification. Anti-conformism and stereotypes-breaking paraded as key-words, this thesis attacked what is considered as an emblem of French cuisine: cheese. Is the consumption of this smelly product reserved only to the "Natives of Natives" French? To go on with clichés, one could also ask if the ingestion of rice everyday is preventing the person whose parents arrived from the Asiatic continent to grow a feeling of belonging and an attraction for France, its traditions and values.

Which other best way to bring an answer to all these questioning than giving the floor to the children of immigrants themselves. This was achieved through the form of a questionnaire filled in by 12 persons and the interview of two men whose parents emigrated from Mauritius and Vietnam. The data collected from December 2010 to February 2011 enabled to start mapping the food social space of the children of immigrants in France. Indeed, two out of the six dimensions defined by JP Poulain have been enlightened: the *Espace des habitudes de consommation* and the *Espace de*

différenciation sociale. Only the foodways of dinner were given a close look since this evening food intake tends to be the more socialized and the less submitted to external influences meal. This first dimension, of the eating habits, is characterized by the continuation of the French food model. That is, a limitation of the eating activity in time, geographical and social space. Differences in the structure and composition of the dinner between children of immigrants and natives of the natives prove to be rather slight. The two groups express a trend towards a simplification of the structure of this meal in both their norms and practices. More surprisingly, apparently, in their practices the children of immigrants devote themselves more than the control group to the activity of eating cheese. Thus, if the *Espace des habitudes de consommation* is only taken into consideration, nothing distinguishes children of immigrants from mainstream French. Where things get a bit more complicated, and where a connection between the ethnic identification and the foodways arises is when the *Espace de différenciation* is defined. Premisses of the influence of ethnicity noticeable in the *Espace des habitudes de consommation* for some people become visible when food is used to make a difference between those belonging to the Ethnic group and the outsiders. However, the distinction operates on the ground of the ingredients and emblematic dishes rather than the eating habits and the structure of meals.

The group of the children of immigrant is heterogeneous; this diversity is echoed in the different attitudes characterizing the use made of ethnic identity in the *Espace de différenciation*. For some people, often expressing their ethnicity with also other means such as the language, food is indeed a way to claim their belonging. They display their foodways as a proof of inclusion in a community which differs from the mainstream French. A second group can be sketched, encompassing people who, without expressing their ethnicity in their everyday food habits, have recourse to it in special circumstances and celebration meals. They generally eat French, they feel French as far as their ethnic groups is concerned, but they are also aware of their origins and do not deny them. If the last – but this does not mean only three groups exist – group eats from time to time ethnic food, it is much for the taste or because they have been used to it by their parents than for the rhetoric behind. Eating is not really associated with identity claims. Thus, the answer to the question "does eating French mean feeling French" is composite. The only answer seems to be that it depends on every individual, foodways as ethnic

identification are a dynamic process in constant move, influenced by different spheres at the same time. Most of the time, in their eating practices the children of immigrants express an adaptability, drawing on their ethnic origin when the context requires them to do so. For the majority is not because they will eat rice everyday that they will feel less attached to France.

However, no broad and inclusive conclusion can be drawn from this study since the data collected were restrictive. To offer a complete picture of the foodways of the children of immigrants in France, and seriously assess their link with ethnic identification further research has to be undertaken. This aperitif study has do the spadework, giving birth to much more questions than bringing answers. To start with, the food social space of the children of immigrants has to be completed, with the characterization of the four dimensions left: the *Espace du mangeable*, the *Système alimentaire*, the *Espace du culinaire* and the *Temporalité*. This would require a large scale study using the whole range of collecting tools available for the researcher willing to unveil the food reality. A direct participation and observation appears to be fundamental since questionnaire and interview give an insight only on declared practices and values. Further studies should also include the variety of the children of immigrants and assess the impact of the ethnic group of origin on the foodways. Are there any differences between ethnic groups, do some adapt quicker and deeper to the French eating style? JP. Poulain shows that foodways depends on a set of variables, such as age, gender, geographical location or social class. To which extend are these characteristics more or less influential than the ethnic belonging? In a way, maybe it is not fair to attribute all the "divergent" eating habits to the mere ethnic cues. In fact, by analysing the food social space of the children of immigrants a full range of issues can be tackled. Indeed, through it the question of the transmission of traditions – including way of cooking – from the parents to the child is addressed. An explanation is also brought to the operating process of socialisation and the role of pairs. This only proves once more two points: food deserves more attention from the academic world and so do the children of immigrants. They constitute the future, at the root of new practices, questions and interesting topics, unveiling many characteristics of our societies. Understanding their role, their identity will provide us with clues concerning future societal developments.

This is also the stand taken by this thesis. The cultural diversity of France constitutes its strength, its wealth. Through food, it is also the whole cultural life which is enhanced. French cuisine is gaining everyday more and more by integrating the traditional dish of the new population. One has just to hope that the immigrants' traditional cuisine will not suffer from the same destiny as regional cuisine – and identity – which back in the past, has been repressed and relegated to the private – and not even in some cases – sphere to impose a national way of cooking steaming from the top. French society has everything to win by completely acknowledging and accepting this diversity, to turn it into the asset it should be. Yes, the definition of what is a French is undergoing changes, but it is for the better. In the context of the coming presidential elections in 2012, immigration is once again under the spotlights. A group of citizens, gathered in a group called "*L'Appel du 21 Avril*" is already proposing a pact to the political leaders, mainly of the Left.282 They ask them, and the French population, "which France do [they] prefer after 2012: Brazil or Monaco?"283 The *Pacte Générationnel(s)* – generational pact – pins at the gap created and widening between generations in France. Its creators alarm their fellow citizens: "which society do we want: a small sleepy, closed, white, ageing, patrimonial country; or one big, colourful, dynamic, mixed, wide-opened to the international cultural winds?"284 Amongst other preoccupations, immigration and its aftermath is tackled through the observation of a cultural apartheid with two France separated from one another. A white and traditional France would be opposed to a young and mixed France.285

The definition of who is a French, the so-called national identity, has been raising lot of debate, mainly around the question of the immigrants and their descendants, for already several years. But this challenges mainly an elite and conservationist – and old and white? – view. B. Laforestrie in an interview described new generations, that is the future of France, for whom the ethnic diversity is not even questioned, because diversity is so much evident and natural and not at all an issue. "These generations have no problem talking about White, Black or Maghrebi and they don't linger on fearful

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282The choice of the date, 21 of April, is a reminder of the results of the first round of the presidential elections of 2002 which saw the extreme-right candidate, JM Le Pen, arriving at the second position.

283Pascal Riché, "Quelle France préférez-vous après 2012 : Brésil ou Monaco ?," *rue89*, October 4, 2011, http://www.rue89.com/2011/04/10/quelle-france-preferez-vous-apres-2012-bresil-ou-monaco-199274. Translation of the author. (accessed 7 May 2011)

284Ibid.

285Bruno Laforestrie, "Pourquoi un nouveau pacte entre les générations", December 2010, 17, http://appeldu21avril.org/index/index/p/pacte. Translation of the author. (accessed 7 May 2011)

expressions about the "youth coming from immigration". For the next generation, the ethnic question is made less alarming because diversity is an evidence. Social mix, on the other hand, is still a foreign idea because closure and segregation are really powerful."286 This thesis is inscribed in an objective of reducing this segregation, by showing that after all differences, in foodways and not only, between mainstream French and children of immigrants are not that important. This elitist France should not be afraid of someone eating couscous, it does not equal someone feeling less French. After all, no one is questioning the adhesion to the French national identity of someone eating crêpes everyday... Regional foodways have now been accepted and promoted as the culinary heritage of France, without any threat for a national identity, so why would this not be possible with the immigrants' traditional cuisine? Thinking about the political context, we can conclude together with B. Laforestrie that "there is nowadays important cultural tensions. This series of misinterpreted tremors, simultaneously national and international, can engender a cultural earthquake in France. This is pushing us to place the cultural question at the heart of the reflection of the *Pacte Générationnel(s)* since we estimate that there will not be a double political change without a double cultural change."287

286Luc Bronner, "Le ghetto français, ce ne sont pas les quartiers, mais la vieille élite," *Le Monde*, 13 August 2010. Translation of the author.
287Laforestrie, "Pourquoi un nouveau pacte entre les générations," 20. Translation of the author.

9. Annexes

- **Figure 1: Counting of residents in ordinary households aged 15 and over in France, according to the origin, on 1st January 2009**
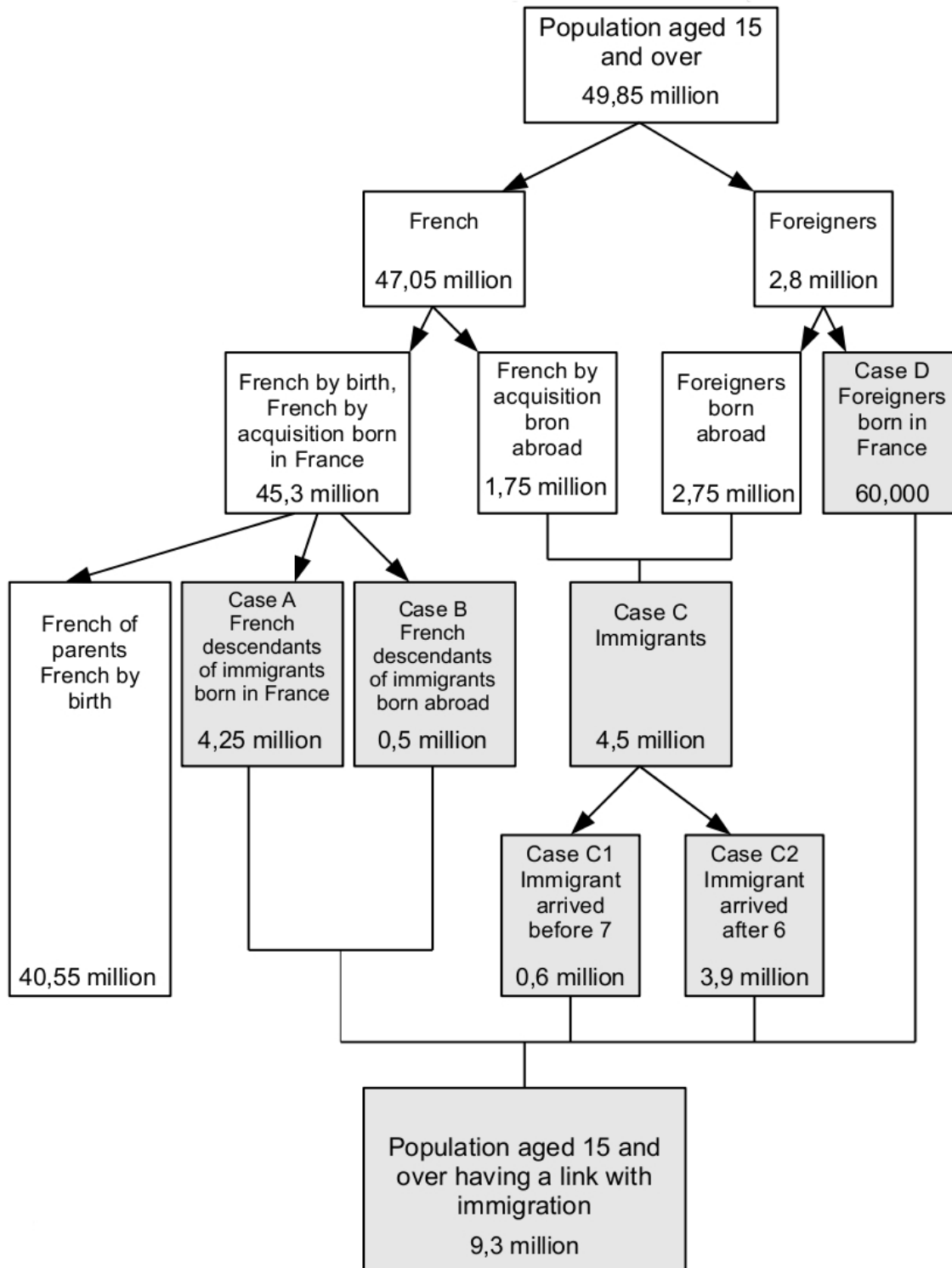
In *Enquête Emploi en continu* 2008. Translation of the author.

- **Figure 2: Estimation of the Number of Descendants of Immigrants aged 15 and over**
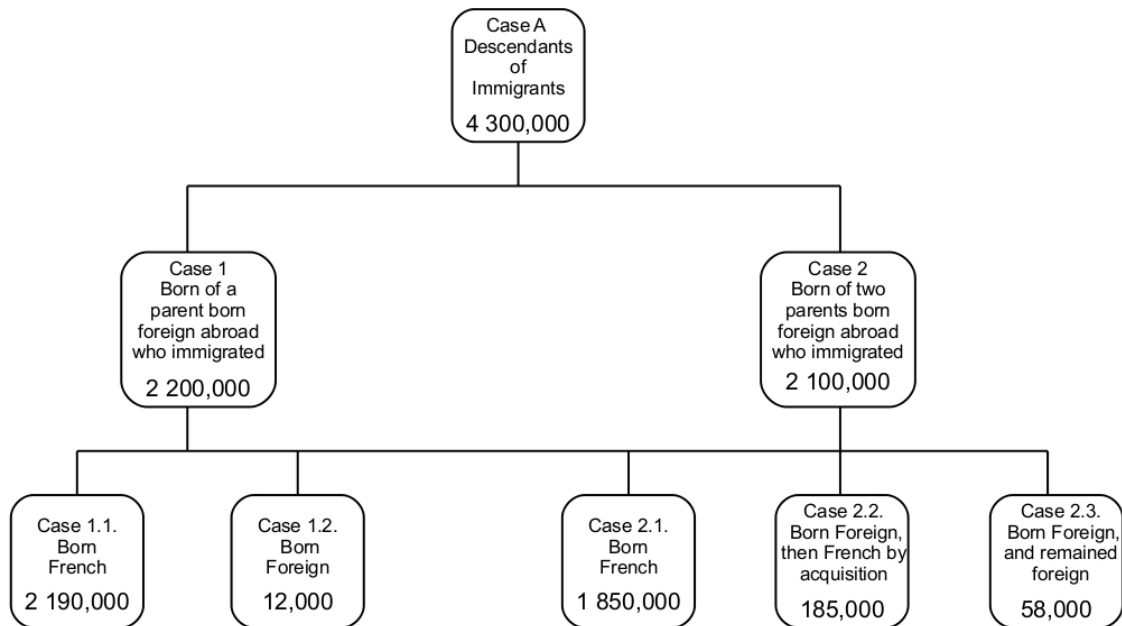
In *Enquête Emploi en continu* 2008. Translation of the author.

- **Figure 3: Relative Age Pyramid of Descendants of Immigrants and French of Parents Born French in 2008**

In *Enquête Emploi en continu* 2008. Translation of the author.

- **Figure 4: Country of Birth of the Immigrated Parents of the Descendants aged 18 to 50**
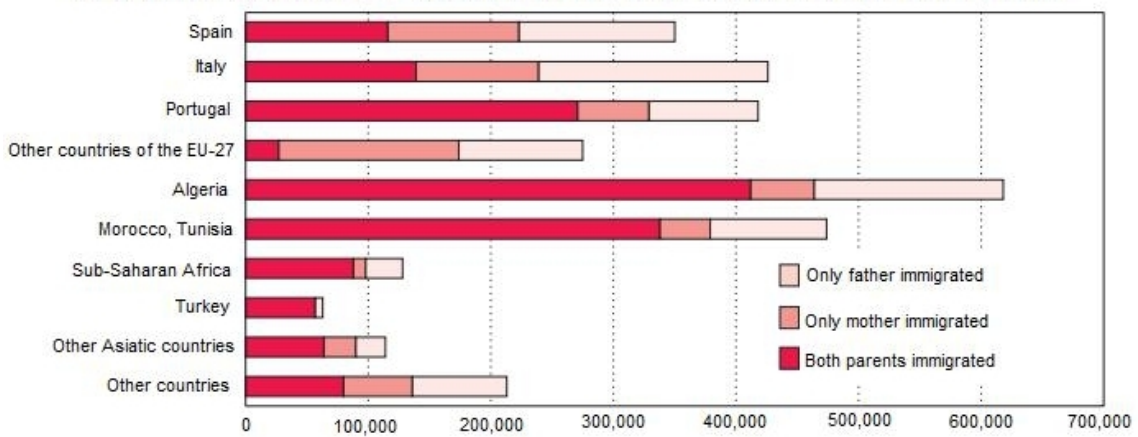
*Country of the immigrant parent, country of the father if different from the one of the mother

Field: Adults born in France of at least one parent immigrant between 1958 and 1990, living in a normal household

Reading: 617,000 descendants are of Algerian origin, amongst them 411,000 have two parents immigrated, 52,000 only their mother, and 154,000 only their father.

In Ined and Insee, survey *Trajectoires et Origines,* 2008. Translation of the author.

- **Figure 5: Descendants According to the Age and Country of Birth of the Immigrated Parents**
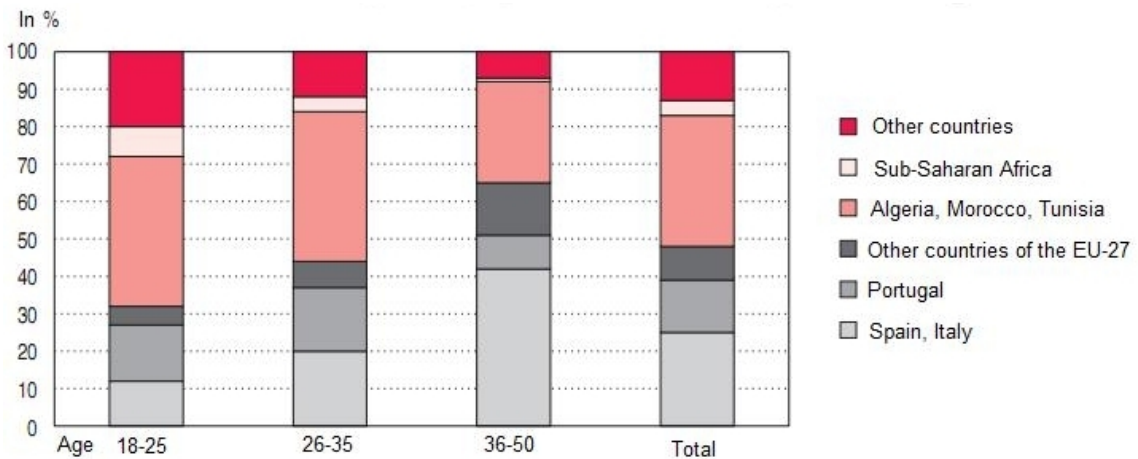
* Country of the immigrant parent, country of the father if different from the one of the mother

Field: Adults born in France of at least one parent immigrant between 1958 and 1990 and living in a normal household

Reading: 12% of the descendants aged 18-25 have at least one parent of Spanish or Italian origin

In *Ined and Insee, survey Trajectoires et Origines, 2008.* Translation of the author.

- **Figure 6: Four Acculturation Strategies as a Function of Orientation to Two Basic Issues**
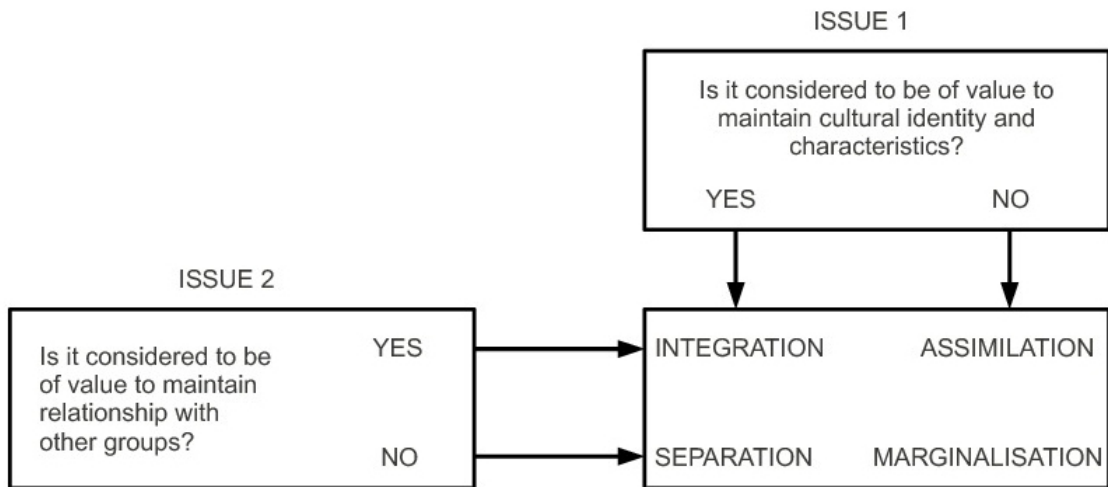
In J.W. Berry, *Ethnic Identity in Plural Societies,* p.283

- **Figure 7: Representations of unidimensional and orthogonal conceptualisations**

Representation of unidimensional conceptualizations
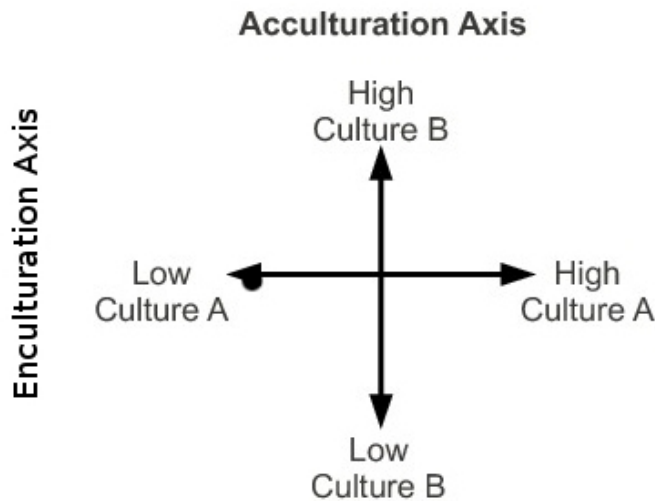
Representation of orthogonal conceptualizations

In Ahern, Dennis Aaron, *"A Longitudinal Exploration of Factors that Influence Acculturation and Enculturation Patterns of First-Generation Mexican Immigrant Women"* (2009). All Graduate Theses and Dissertations. Paper 473. p.7

- **Figure 8: The Process of Cultural Transmission (Enculturation and Socialisation) to a Developing Individual in a Single Society by J. Berry**
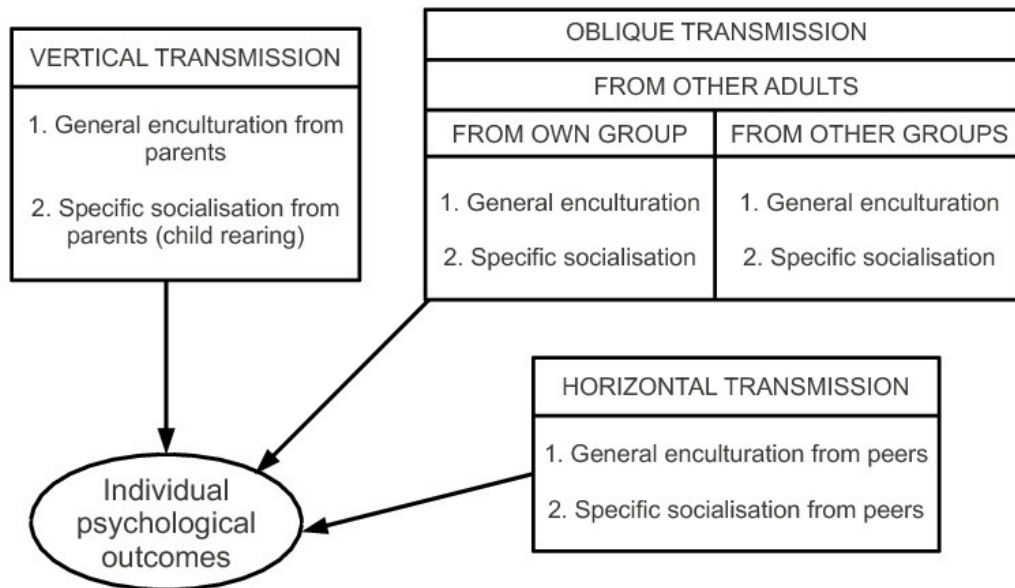
In Bernal, Martha. *Ethnic identity : formation and transmission among Hispanics and other minorities*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993, p.173

- **Figure 9: The process of Cultural Transmission (Acculturation and Resocialisation) to a Developing Individual Living in Two Societies in Contact by J. Berry**
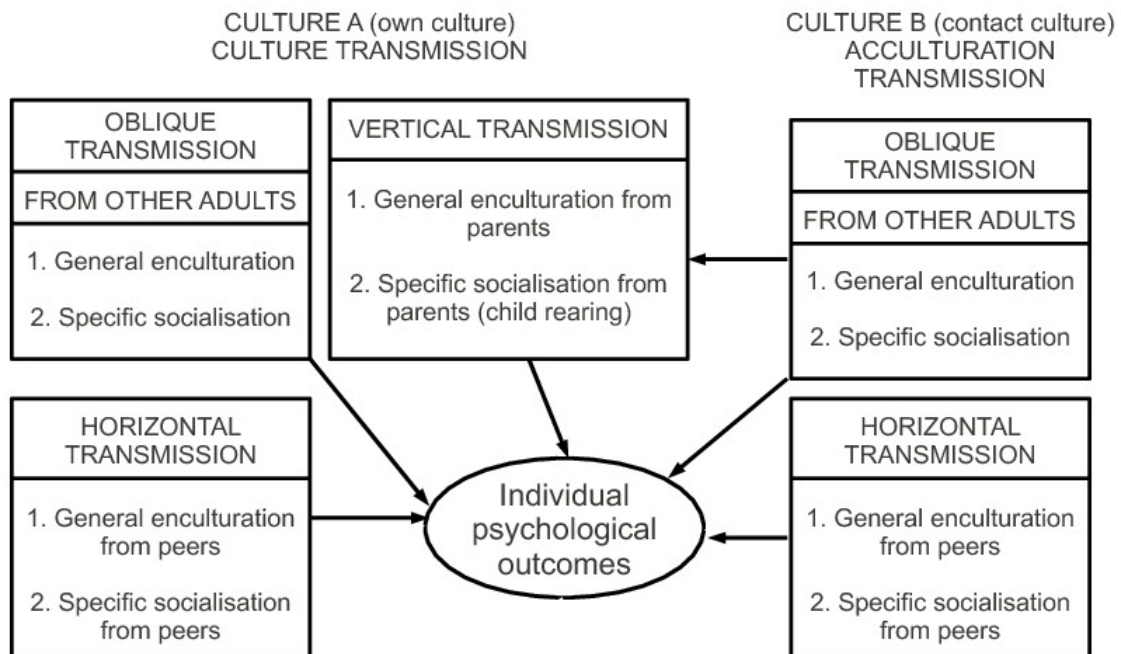
In Bernal, Martha. *Ethnic identity : formation and transmission among Hispanics and other minorities*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993, p.174

- **Figure 10: Claude Lévi-Strauss' Culinary Triangle**

RAW
Roasted

(-)   (-)

Air   Water

(+)   (+)

Smoked   Boiled
COOKED   ROTTEN
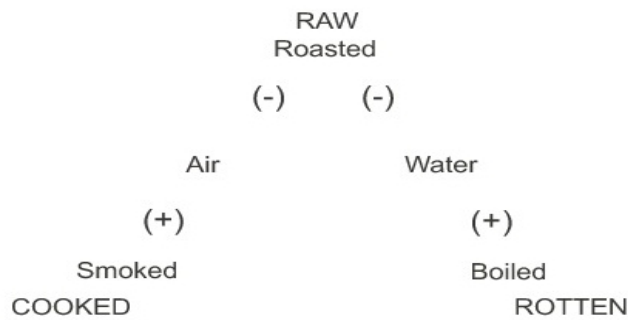
In Claude Lévi-Strauss, *"Le triangle culinaire,"* L'Arc, n° 26 (1965), p.28.
Translation of the author.

- **Figure 11: The Eating Triangle**

Identified Eater

Axis of the typology of the eaters
(age, social class, educational
level...)

Distribution axis depending on the
nature of the foodstuff

Axis of variation of the types of situation of
sharing (festive/ordinary; at home/outside
home; public/private

Identified Foodstuff

Distribution axis depending on the nature of the foodstuff

**Identified
Situation**
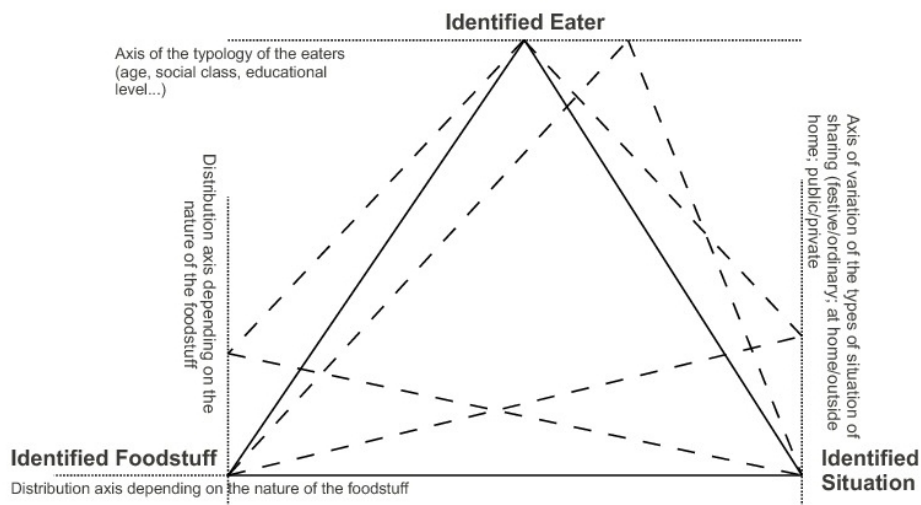
The Eating Triangle: Space Variation

Identified Eater Person's history, individual's history

Collective
histories

Canal used to reach the eater

Mutation of the
food ritual studied

Identified Foodstuff

Identified Situation
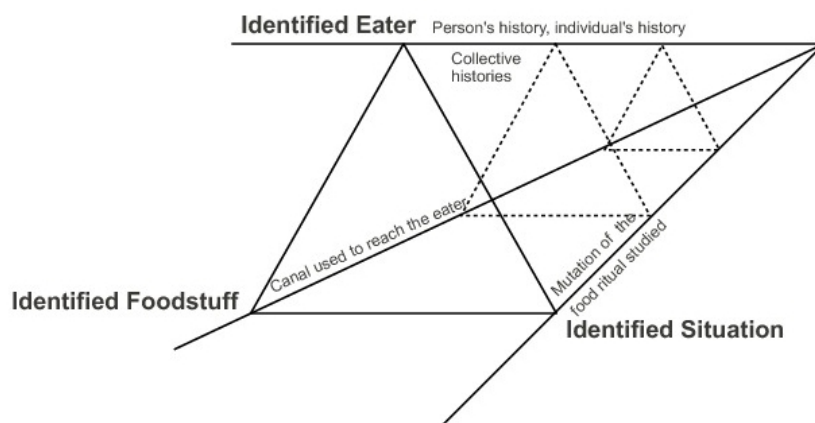
The Eating Triangle: Time Variation

In lemangeur-ocha.com - Poulain, Jean-Pierre - Corbeau, Jean-Pierre. *Penser l'alimentation. Entre imaginaire et rationalité.* Privat, Toulouse, 2002, p.206. Translation of the author.

98

- **Figure 12: the Levels of the Alimentary Fact**
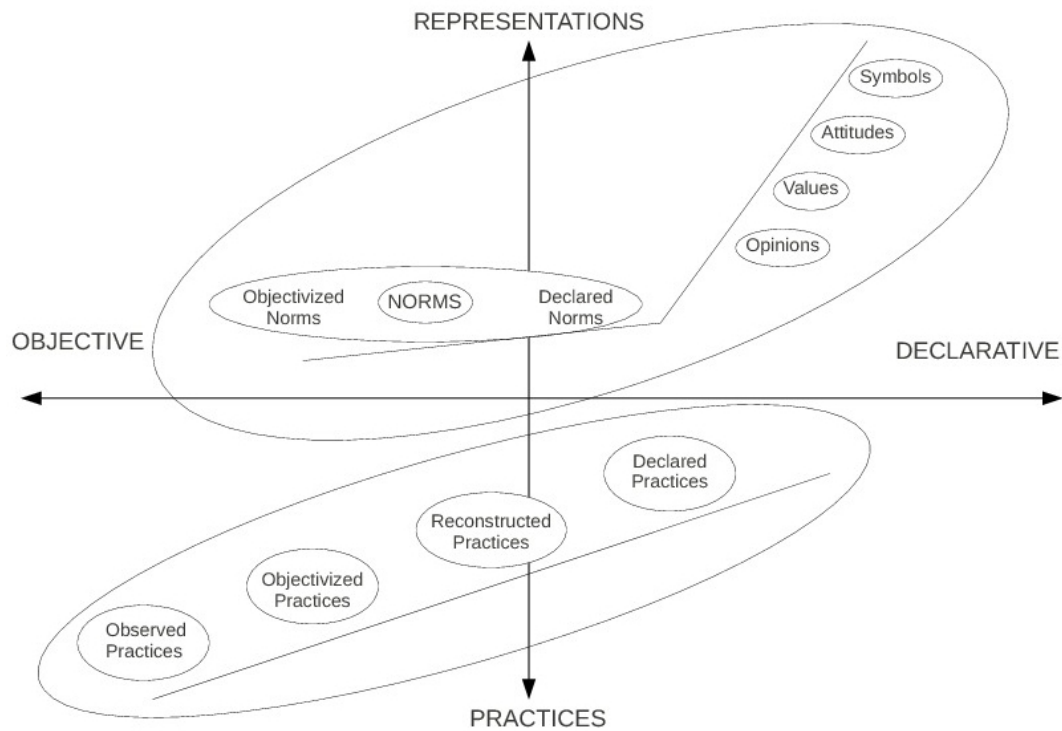
In lemangeur-ocha.com - Jean-Pierre Poulain. *Manger aujourd'hui. Attitudes, normes et pratiques.* Editions Privat, Paris, 2002. p.45. Translation of the author.

- **Figure 13: Collecting Tools and Sociological Data**

COLLECTING TOOLS	TYPE OF DATA								
	Observed Practices	Objectivized Practices	Reconstructed Practices	Declared Practices	Individual Norms	Opinions	Attitudes	Values	Symbols
Participating Observation	+				+		+	+	+
"Armed" Observation	+				+		+		
Auto-Administrated Questionnaire			+-	+	+	+	+	+	+-
Questionnaire by Interviewer			+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Non or Semi Structured Interviews			+-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Second Processing of Data		+			+			+	+
Life Stories	-		+-	+	+	+	+	+	+

In lemangeur-ocha.com - Jean-Pierre Poulain. *Manger aujourd'hui. Attitudes, normes et pratiques.* Editions Privat, Paris, 2002. p.47. Translation of the author.
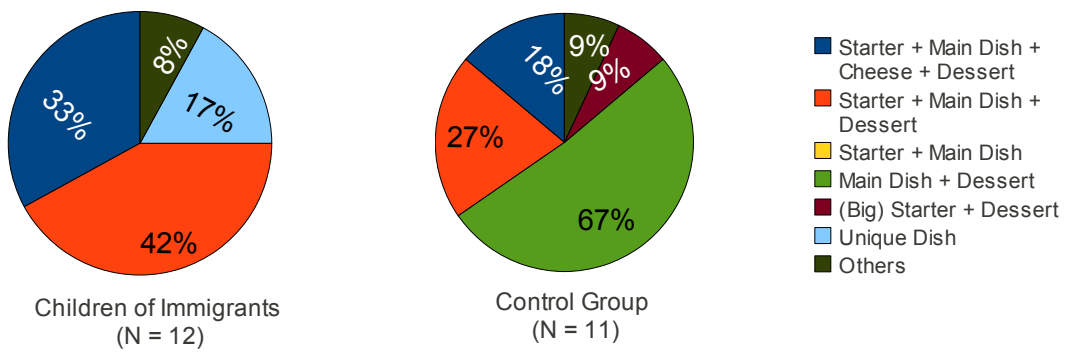
- **Figure 14: Results of the Questionnaire on the Eating Practices of the Children of Immigrants and the Control Group**
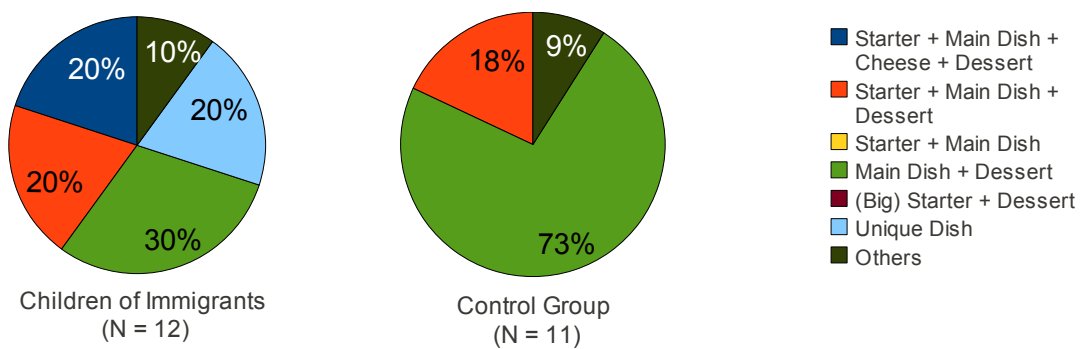
Typologies of the Norms of the Structure of Dinner during the Week

Children of Immigrants
(N = 12)

Control Group
(N = 11)

- Starter + Main Dish + Cheese + Dessert
- Starter + Main Dish + Dessert
- Starter + Main Dish
- Main Dish + Dessert
- (Big) Starter + Dessert
- Unique Dish
- Others
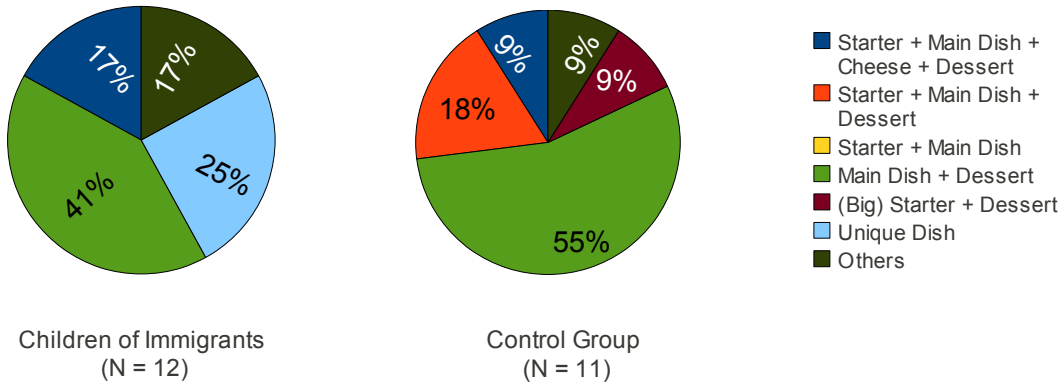
Typologies of the Norms of Dinner during Week-ends

Children of Immigrants
(N = 12)

Control Group
(N = 11)

- Starter + Main Dish + Cheese + Dessert
- Starter + Main Dish + Dessert
- Starter + Main Dish
- Main Dish + Dessert
- (Big) Starter + Dessert
- Unique Dish
- Others

Typologies of the Practices of Dinner

Children of Immigrants
(N = 12)

Control Group
(N = 11)

- Starter + Main Dish + Cheese + Dessert
- Starter + Main Dish + Dessert
- Starter + Main Dish
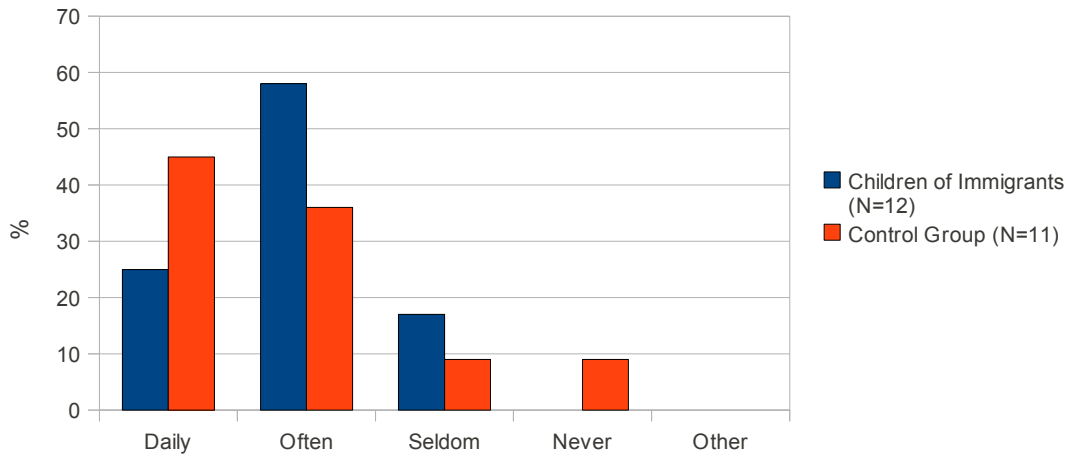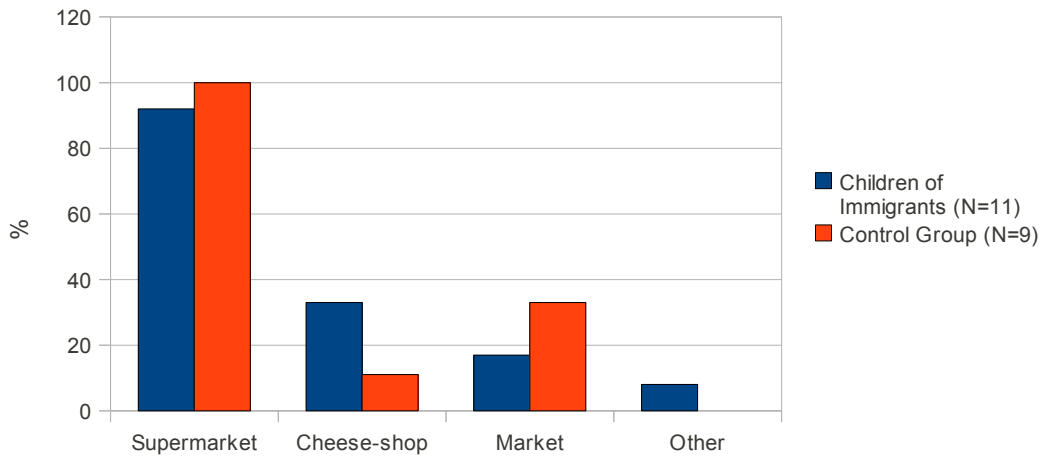- Main Dish + Dessert
- (Big) Starter + Dessert
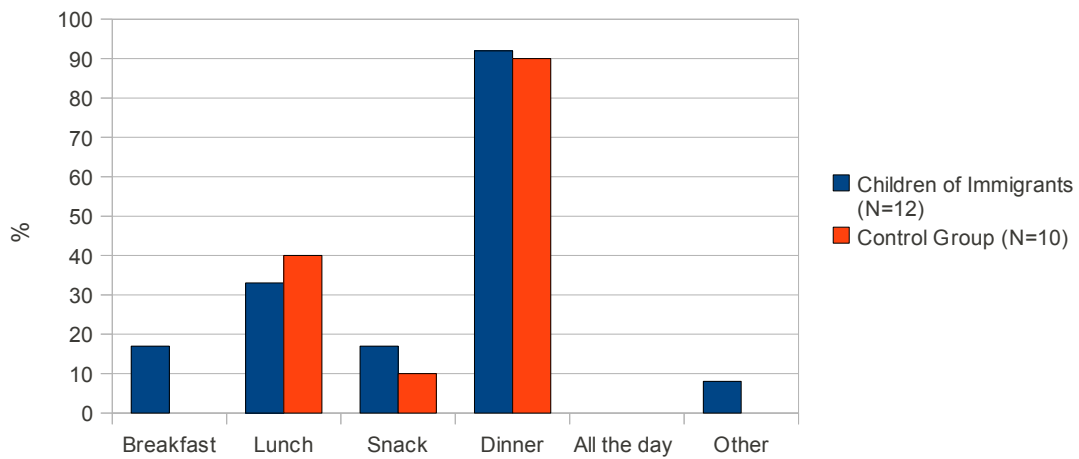- Unique Dish
- Others

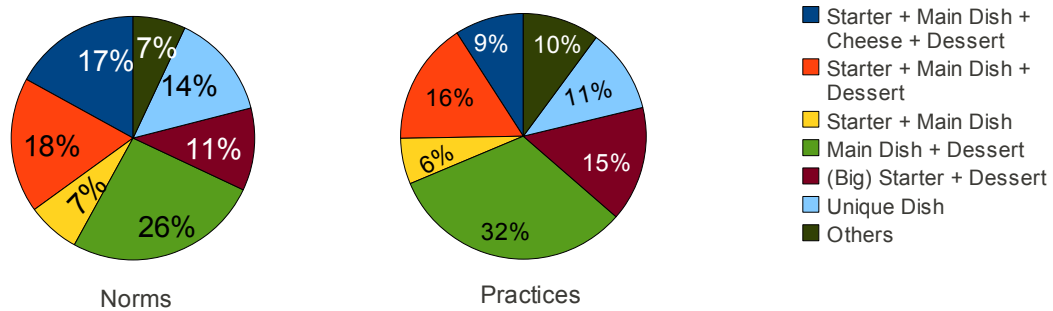Composition of Your Previous Dinner
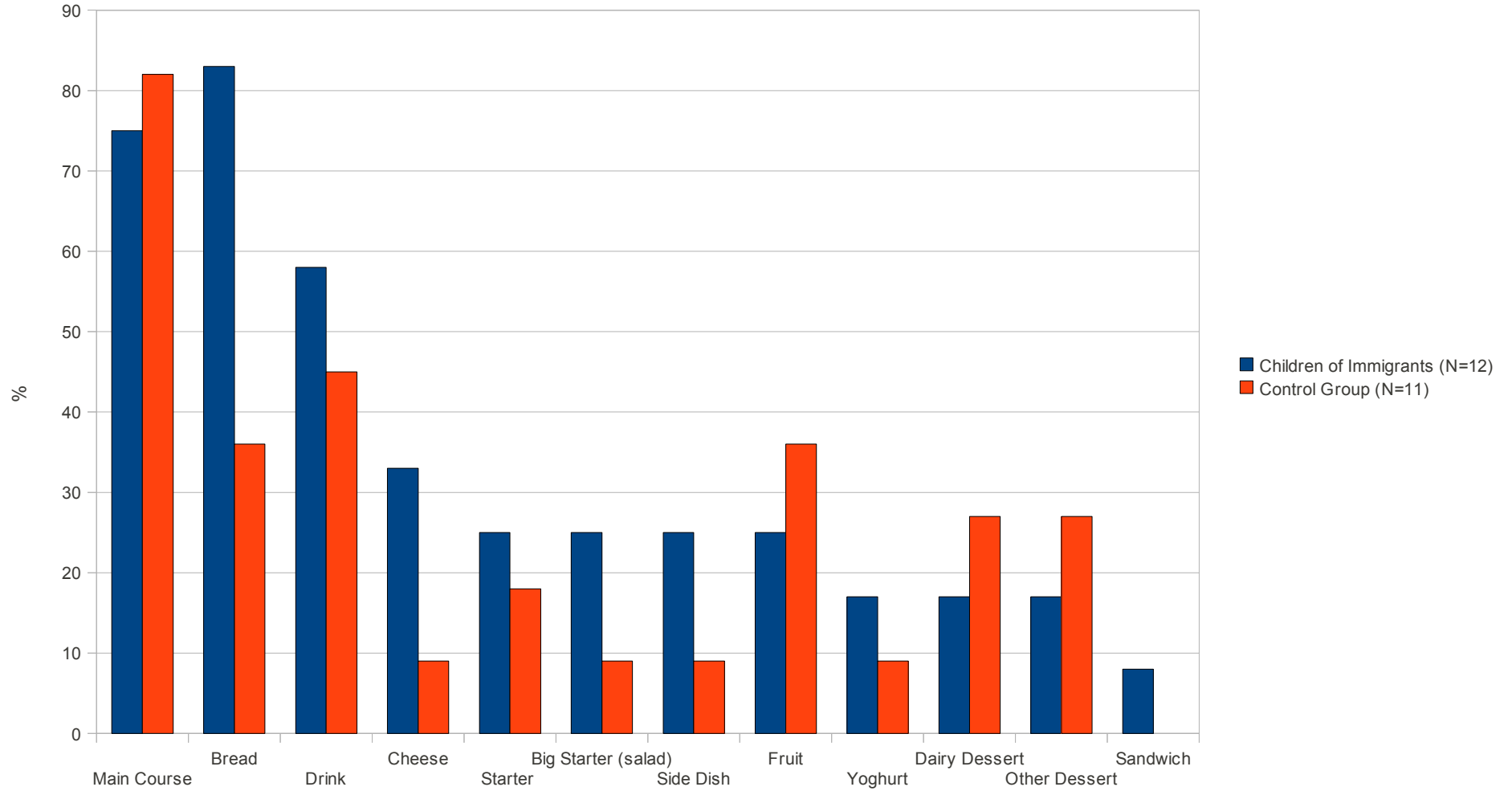
How Often Do You Eat Cheese?

Where Do You Buy Cheese?

When Do You Eat Cheese?

- **Figure 15: Typologies of the Structure of Dinner: Norms and Practices**

Norms   Practices

Legend:
- ■ Starter + Main Dish + Cheese + Dessert
- ■ Starter + Main Dish + Dessert
- ■ Starter + Main Dish
- ■ Main Dish + Dessert
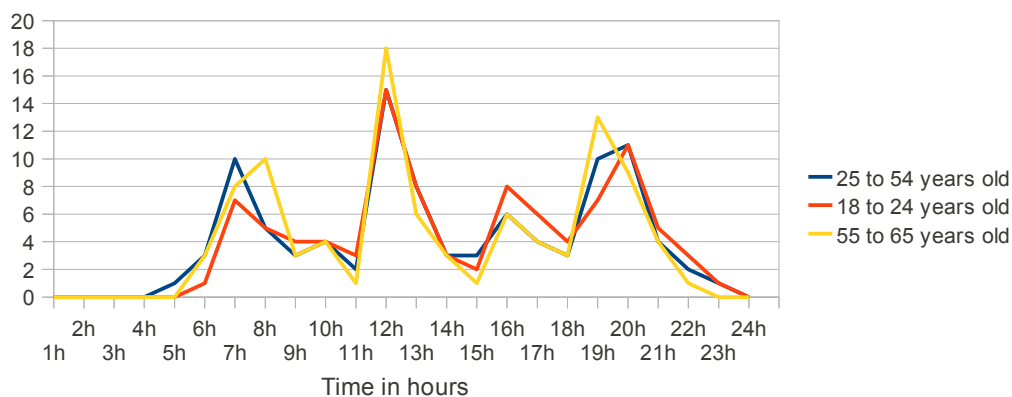- ■ (Big) Starter + Dessert
- ■ Unique Dish
- ■ Others

In lemangeur-ocha.com - Jean-Pierre Poulain. *Manger aujourd'hui. Attitudes, normes et pratiques*. Editions Privat, Paris, 2002. p.81. Translation of the author.

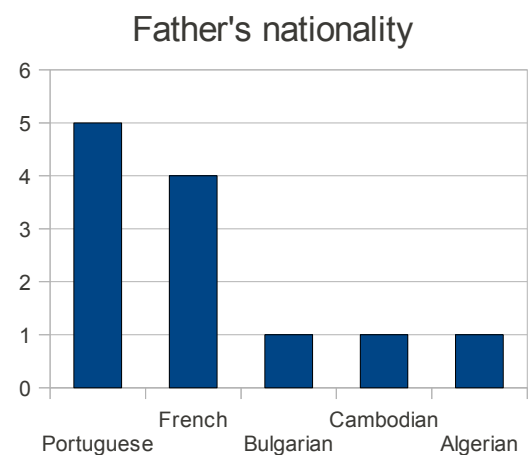- **Figure 16: Eating Hours Depending on the Social Position**
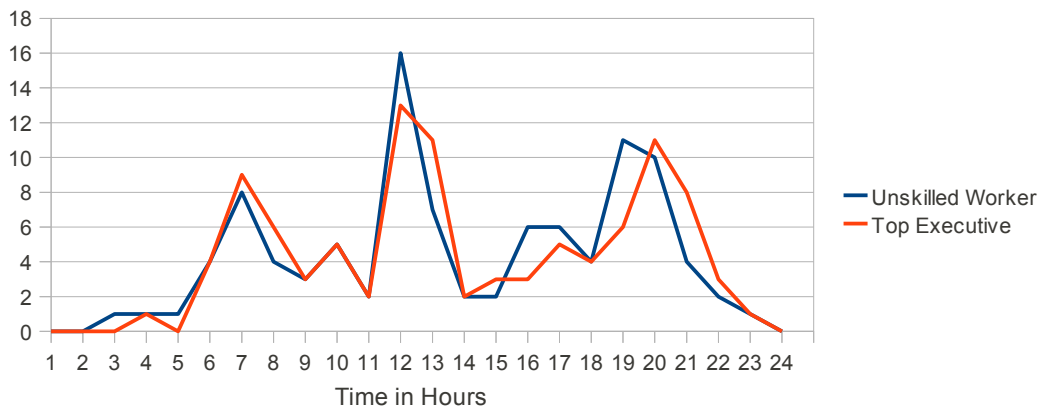
Time in Hours

- Unskilled Worker
- Top Executive

In lemangeur-ocha.com - Jean-Pierre Poulain. *Manger aujourd'hui. Attitudes, normes et pratiques*. Editions Privat, Paris, 2002. p.102.Translation of the author.

- **Figure 17: Eating Hours Depending on the Age**

Time in hours
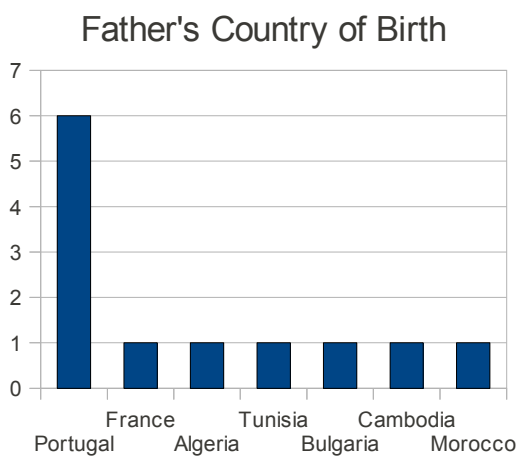
- 25 to 54 years old
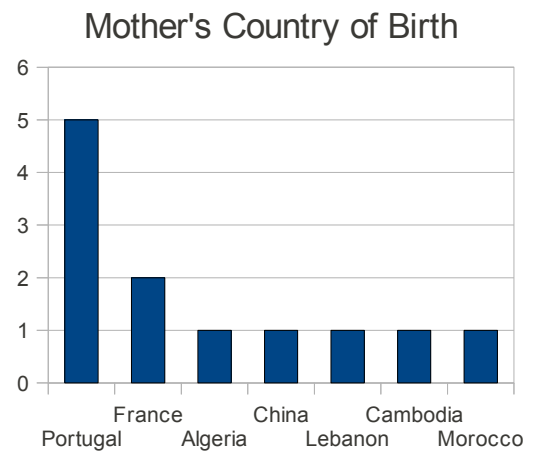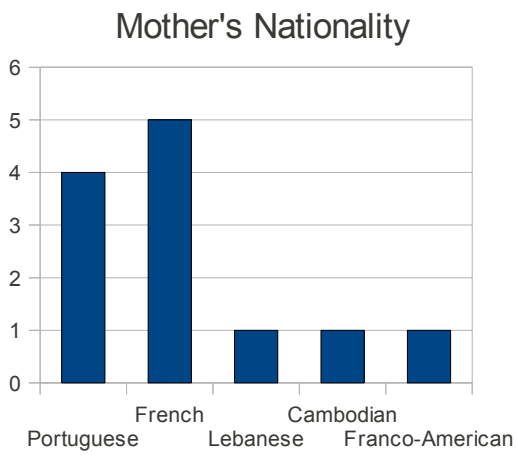- 18 to 24 years old
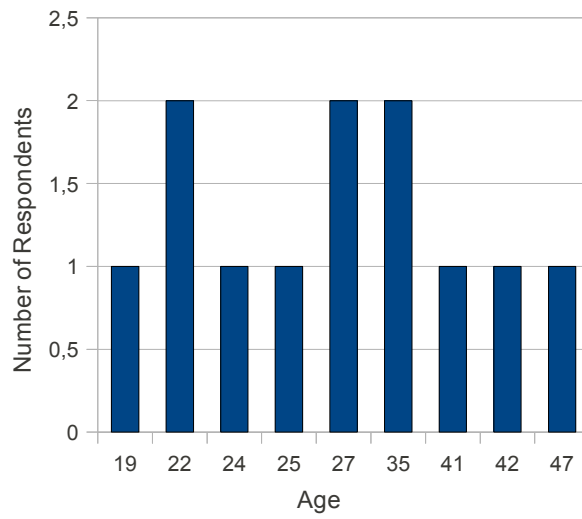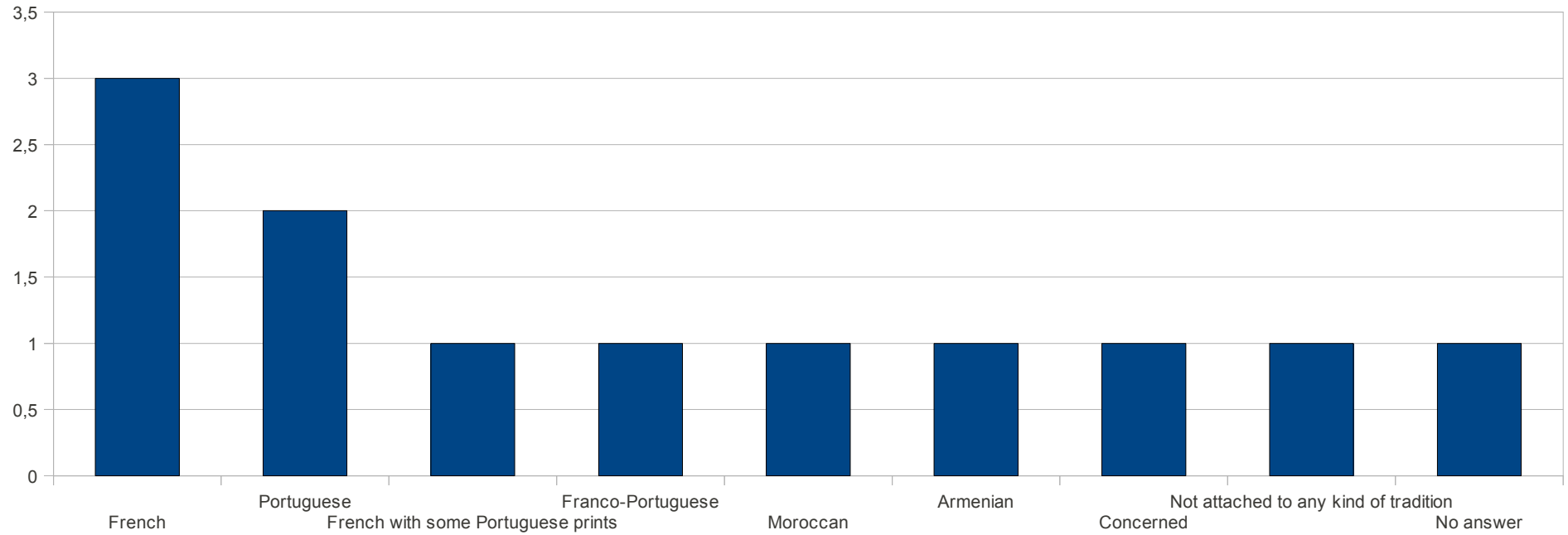- 55 to 65 years old

In lemangeur-ocha.com - Jean-Pierre Poulain. *Manger aujourd'hui. Attitudes, normes et pratiques*. Editions Privat, Paris, 2002. p.101. Translation of the author.

Mother's Nationality

Mother's Country of Birth

Father's Country of Birth

Father's nationality

104

As Far as My Ethnic Groups is Concerned, I Consider Myself as...

- **Figure 19: Interview**

The interview took place at the respondents' place.
Interviewed A: male, 24, parents coming from Vietnam [A]
Interviewed B: male, 25, parents coming from Mauritius [B]
Interviewer [I]

[I]: Do you both hold the French citizenship?
[A], [B]: Yes

[I]: And so your parents are immigrants? From which country?
[A]: Vietnam
[B]: Mauritius

[Talk about Mauritius, its size etc.]

[I]: And concerning your culture, you consider yourself as?
[A]: French.
[B]: Culture, what do you mean?

[I]: Well, identity, what you say when you introduce yourself
[B]: Ah ok, I am French.

[I]: What does it mean for you, to be from Mauritius and Vietnam?
[A]: We cannot consider ourselves as Mauritian or Vietnamese. Even if you were born in the country you haven't lived there, you haven't grown up there. You can find your culture because your parents come from there so of course they raise you up like a Vietnamese, but all your pairs are French. So we have to blend. We are not completely French, we are not completely Vietnamese, but we can understand both cultures.

[I]: Has the perception you have of your own identity changed during your life? Was it all the time directly French?
[A]: In fact, when you're growing up, you don't think about whether you are French or Vietnamese. You are just growing up.
[B]: Hum no, in fact I have thought about it. And when I was young, cause I was there 5 years. And when I was there, since I didn't really talk creole and all that, I just arrived. And I didn't really feel Mauritian. I felt more French.
[A]: Him, he lived there, I didn't. I lived in Vietnam until the age of 6, I was too young, I don't remember it.
[B]: On the contrary, I did, like, let's say the most important part of childhood, between 9 and 15, with the relations with the family and friends. Since I

wasn't really speaking the language, I didn't really feel Mauritian. I was feeling more Mauritian when I came here. The others were saying "oh the Mauritian", because yes, he's coming from Mauritius so he's a Mauritian. But I, I was not feeling more than that Mauritian.

[A]: In fact, the problems is that in France we are not considered as French.

[explication of the paradox of being a child of immigrants in France, people not considering them as French despite their French identity card]

[A]: It is normal. What is a French? It is a white catholic. That's people's opinion outside, not all the time of French themselves.
[B]: Yeah it is true, you go to Mauritius and a French it is a white catholic.
[A]: Though now it can be also an Arab. No, no, I'm not kidding. English for example consider France as the firs European country to be Muslim.

[double measure policy concerning the acknowledgement of the origin, depending on the country/area of origin. If the African and Maghreb immigrations are now rather recognized and accepted, the Asiatic community is often forgotten.]

[A]: It is not forgotten. It is a community which is discreet, it adapts. They know how to adapt, they adapt to the culture, they don't bring their culture.

[I]: But still, all the restaurant you see here are Chinese restaurants.
[A]: Yes, but in the French style. No, we adapt. If you go to Vietnam, it won't be the same restaurants, it is not the same food.

[I]: Is it important for you to keep your parents' culture? Have you been raised in this culture?
[B]: Yeah.
[A]: Yes, for us it is important.
[B]: In fact it is important for me, because it is important for my parents.

[I]: Like a filial duty or something like that?
[B]: No, not really. No but, because I know it is important for them, so, it is not that I don't respect cause of course I respect. But even for me it is important.
[A]: Yes I think it is important. And anyway, you've been raised like that. This is what makes you who

106

you are, which makes your character, so anyway, you don't have any choice.

[B]: You have to respect it.

[I]: You could also rebel...

[A]: Yes but that, you do it when you're fifteen.

[B]: No.

[I]: But did it happen to you or not?

[B]: No.

[A]: No because it is not otherwise. The way I have been raised is not otherwise. It has never been at my disadvantage, or that I did not get it. There was nothing I didn't understand, I all the time agreed.

[B]: No I don't know but... In fact I know very few people who did that. No. In fact it is pretty uncommon, teenagers crisis.

[I]: But it could also happen in relation to a reject of the parents' culture, to enhance one's integration.

[B]: Maybe.

[A]: When you see French society, when you see our parents, they don't live in the same way as us nowadays. So there is already a discrepancy. You cannot ask them to understand. A 20 years old young with parents around 60, it is not really a question of culture. You see, it's a normal thing.

[I]: And how do your respective cultures express themselves in your everyday life? What are the differences with the mainstream French population ?

[B]: Well... euh... I don't know. There are not that much differences... it would be more...

[A]: I think that we don't know them really well. For us, there are things which are normal. But maybe for Maud it is not. It's more her who can answer because she lives with us on an everyday basis, because us, we are in it.

[Talk about the way and when to eat grapefruit, differences between France, Vietnam and Mauritius]

[Talk about the Vovinam, which makes a difference between people in the Vietnamese society, because of its principles such as the respect of hierarchy.]

[Parallelism with Mauritius. There, mentalities have now changed a bit. And comparison with France too. General talk on the choice of a partner. In France it is implicit/hidden that it is based on criteria such as the wealth of the family, the social class. This is done in an open way in Vietnam. There are much more taboos on this topic in France than in Vietnam.]

[I]: Which traditions are for you important to keep? Do you think you will go on transmitting your culture to your children?

[A]: Me, yes of course, because my girl-friend is Vietnamese. They will of course have the French culture from me, but mainly, in the daily-life the Vietnamese culture.

[I]: But even if you will live in France?

[A]: You see, for example, in the Vietnamese culture we won't forbid things to children. We will tell them, do what you want but if you do it, then assume it.

[B]: I take a bit everywhere. What I think is not good, that I know is not good, I don't take it. But yeah, already in Mauritius we live really close to each other. It's by district, it's by family. My grand-mother lives on the ground-floor and you see, her son is living in the floor right above. Here it's not the same. You see, you cannot live, build above your parents' place. Well, you can of course but it way more complicated.

[Talk on Mauritius, its size and population]

[I]: Which type of cuisine do you mainly (and daily) eat?

[B]: It depends

[A]: Stop lying

[B]: It depends. When I am working I eat hum...

[A]: when Maud is here we eat normally

[B]: things that you can buy at the supermarket, you put them in the microwave, two minutes and then it's ready, you eat...

[I]: out of necessity?

[B]: We don't have time. Because all the Mauritian cuisine takes time.

[A]: For lunch I eat at the restaurant at my workplace. I chose the easy way. So it is French food. And for dinner, hum, when Maud is here it is true that we are still cooking. Otherwise... well... we buy a baguette and we spread on it

[B]: a bit of pâté

[A]: or jam

[I]: But otherwise, in the absolute, which kind of food do you prefer eating?

[B]: Well in fact everything

[A]: everything

[B]: only the taste matters, that's all

[A]: when I was young, at home we ate a lot Vietnamese food. And at the end, I had enough of eating rice. For lunch I was eating at the school restaurant. And then, little by little you get used to it.

[B]: Oh no, I was never disgusted by it, when my

parents were cooking Mauritian.

[I]: What is it a Mauritian dish?
[B]: In fact... it depends, because it is a mix, because you have lot of different communities there: Chinese, Indian, Muslim. You cannot really definite the origin. This is the interesting thing in the cuisine there, it is a mix of everything. When I am at my parents' we cook Mauritian. What is it? Sometimes it is Asiatic, we cook fried rice, or fried noodles, stuff like that... which look like more... no but first I thought that the Chả giò were Mauritian! There are some stuff like that, I thought they were Mauritian but in fact no. But me, it has never disgusted me from eating Mauritian.
[A]: It is true that generally we eat more Asiatic than Mauritian.
[B]: You see, for example my parents they don't eat pork nor beef.
[A]: In Vietnam, we eat everything, dog etc.
[B]: We eat dogs too, and hedgehog.

[Talk about the different kind of meat from different animals.]

[Talk about the role of rice in the Asiatic culture/cuisine, specifically Vietnamese.]

[I]: And concerning cheese ?
[A]: We don't have cheese. There are very few dairy products there. Dairy products there, they are not good. There is no cow milk but buffalo milk.

People they don't have enough money. And we start to have a huge societal problem in Vietnam, because people who start to have money, they buy powder milk. And they give it to the kids. But we don't digest milk, the Vietnamese organism doesn't have the good enzyme to digest milk.
[B]: Really? Because me, in Mauritius, I have drunk a lot of powder milk, every morning.
[A]: Well no, we never had cows so we are not used to milk. So then, kids they don't digest milk, they take all the fat. When I was young I was drink nearly no milk. But of course, with the school restaurant you get used to it. In the morning, we have soup. Some noodles, with meat and water.

[I]: And do you manage to find products ?
[B]: Yes but they are not good.
[A]: It is the same products if you want, they are imported from Vietnam. They're taken not ripe yet in the tree and they are ripening later. So of course, they're not that sweet, the taste isn't that good.

[I]: And what about the other products, like spices?
[A]: You can find everything. Before, of course it was different, 10 years ago it was hard but now there are no problems. It is the same thing, a bit more expensive, but there is everything. Before it was hard, you had to find equivalents, it wasn't easy. And in Paris, it is easy. You have everything you want, fruits, vegetables. It is more expensive, that's all.

- **Figure 20: Questionnaire for the Children of Immigrants**

Socio-demographic characteristics

1. Do you hold French citizenship?
    Yes   No
2. How old are you?
3. What is your gender?
    Female   Male
4. What is your familial situation?
    Married, civil union   Single
    Divorced, widow   Other
5. How many people are included in your household?
6. How many persons are composing your household, including you?
    You   Children from 4 to 8
    Your partner   Children from 9 to 14
    Children under 4   Children above 14
7. What is your professional occupation?
8. If you are a student, do you live with your parents?
    Yes   No

9. If no, how often do you come back home?

Every weekend	For holidays
Once or twice a month	

10. What is your educational level?
11. Where do you live (postal code + name)
12. What is your mother's country of origin and nationality?
13. What is your father's country of origin and nationality?

Eating Habits

14. How often do you cook?

Never	From time to time for daily meals
From time to time on special occasions	Every day
	On the week-ends

15. Are you the main person in charge of shopping in your household?

Yes	No

16. Which type of cuisine is usually consumed in your household?
17. Which dish(es) do you generally eat?
18. What is your favourite dish?
19. Which dish(es) do you cook all the time, what is your "speciality"?
20. Where do the recipes you use come from?
21. Which kind of dish(es) do you prepare on special occasions (birthday, celebrations)?
22. In your opinion, what is a traditional French meal?
23. In your opinion, a proper dinner during the week is:

Starter + main course + cheese + dessert	Big starter (salad) + dessert
Starter + main course + dessert	Unique main dish or pasta or pizza
Starter + main course	Other (specify)
Main course + dessert	

24. Generally during the week, at what time do you have dinner?
25. Generally during the week, with whom do you have dinner?
26. **Generally during the week, where do you have dinner?**
In your opinion, a proper dinner during the week-end is:

Starter + main course + cheese + dessert	Big starter (salad) + dessert
Starter + main course + dessert	Unique main dish or pasta or pizza
Starter + main course	Other (specify)
Main course + dessert	

27. Generally on the week-end, at what time do you have dinner?
28. Generally on the week-end, with whom do you have dinner?
29. Generally on the week-end, where do you have dinner?
30. Concerning your last dinner, at what time did it happen?
31. Concerning your last dinner, with whom was it?
32. Concerning you last dinner, where was it?
33. Can you say more precisely what did you have for your last dinner?

Bread	Big starter (salad)
Drink	Main course
Starter	Side dish

Yoghurt	Dessert except fruit
Cheese	Fruit
Dairy dessert	Sandwich

34. Do you follow religious alimentary rules? If yes, which ones?

35. In your opinion, what are the three aliments at the basis of your diet?

36. If I say cheese, which words come to your mind?

37. Do you like cheese? If yes, which sort?

38. If you have answer yes to the preceding question, which cheese do you usually eat?

39. Who, in your household, eats cheese?

40. Where do you buy cheese?

Supermarket	Other
Cheese shop/ specialized shop	
Market	

41. Can you list some cheese?

42. How often do you eat cheese?

On a daily basis	Never
Often	Other
Seldom	

43. During which meal do you eat cheese?

Breakfast	Afternoon snack
Lunch	During the whole day
Dinner	Other

Ethnic Identity

45. Do you feel French?

46. What does it mean for you to be French?

47. What are the most important aspects of your identity?

48. Which language(s) do you speak?

49. Which language(s) do you use to communicate with your family?

50. Complete the sentence: in terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be ...

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

(4) Strongly agree   (3) Agree   (2) Disagree   (1) Strongly disagree

51. I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.

52. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.

53. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.

54. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.

55. I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.

56. I am not really sure about the influence of my ethnic belonging on my daily-life.

57. Until now, I have not spent lot of time trying to learn more about the traditions and history of my ethnic group.

58. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.

59. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means in term of relation between it and the other ethnic groups.

60. In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.

61. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its achievements.

62. I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.

63. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.

64. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.

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