THE REFUGEE CONSUMER : PARADOXES OF INTEGRATION IN EVERYDAY LIFE



# Consumption and the long-term process of acculturation: generations in the digital age

Virginie Silhouette-Dercourt, Centre Marc Berlin, CEPN, Université Paris 13, fellow Institut Convergences Migrations



#### **2003 – Associate professor Université Paris 13**

**2009 – PhD on second generations beauty consumption in France** 

2012 – Researcher CEPN, and associated researcher at Centre Marc Bloch Berlin

2014 – Comparative research GE/FR : Integration programs and consumption, Afro-French/Afro-Deutsch (UP13)

2015/2017 French-German research program with Prof. Maren Möhring, Universität Leipzig (DFH, CIERA, USPC, Centre Marc Bloch)

2016 – Habilitation on the individual, generational and institutional dimensions of immigrant consumption

2017 – Field research in Senegal (USPC, Institut Convergences Migrations) 2018 – Field research on modest fashion in Paris (USPC)

### «Second generations »

### 18-25 years old

UNIVERSITÉ PARIS 13

« Silk lashes. Elaborate hair. Strikingly plucked eyebrows. Long gel nails. **This is bomb.** 

For many young people with a migration background in Germany, bombing means more than something really great.

With a bomb look, <u>they seek</u> recognition for cultural identities. The bomb look is also <u>a silent rebellion</u> against prevailing <u>beauty ideals</u>.



Bomb is therefore also meant as <u>a compliment</u>, for men, for women who are strikingly beautiful and <u>attract attention</u> with their attractiveness (...). » FAZ. 22.05.2018

#### THE REFUGEE CONSUMER : PARADOXES OF INTEGRATION IN EVERYDAY LIFE











### Success in « integration » :

### - Do you feel French?

56% of Foreigner

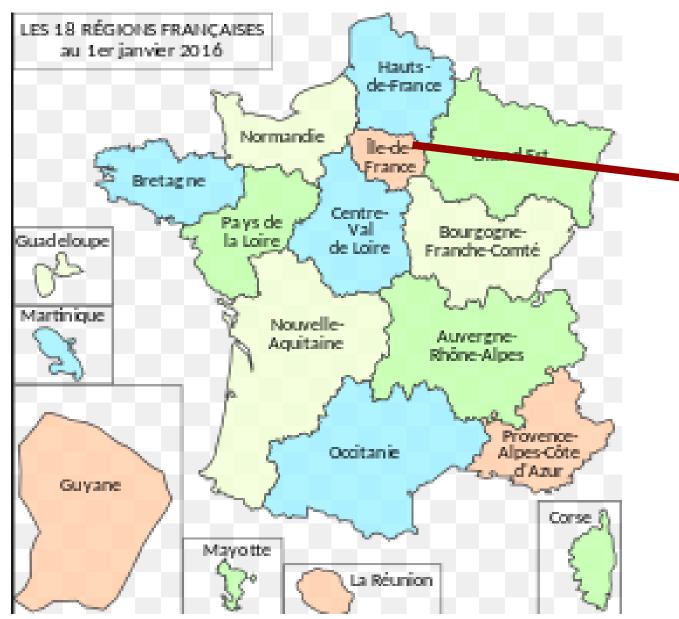
76 % of immigrants who have arrived in France as child (1.5 génération)89% of children of two immigrant parents (second generation)97 % of children of one immigrant parent (2.5 generation)

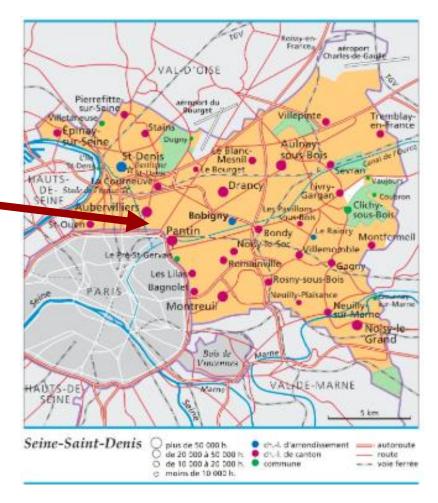
#### But :

*More than 50 % of African immigrants* who have become French think that they are not perceived as French

**Source : Trajectoire et Origines** 

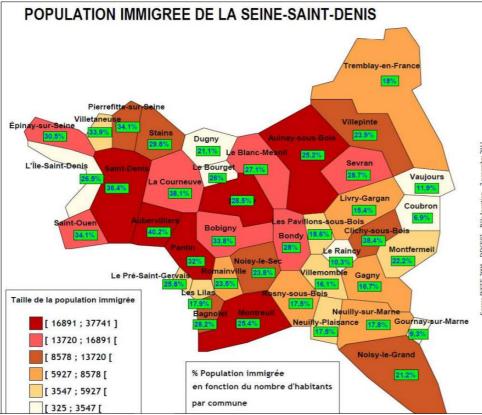
### France, Seine-Saint-Denis





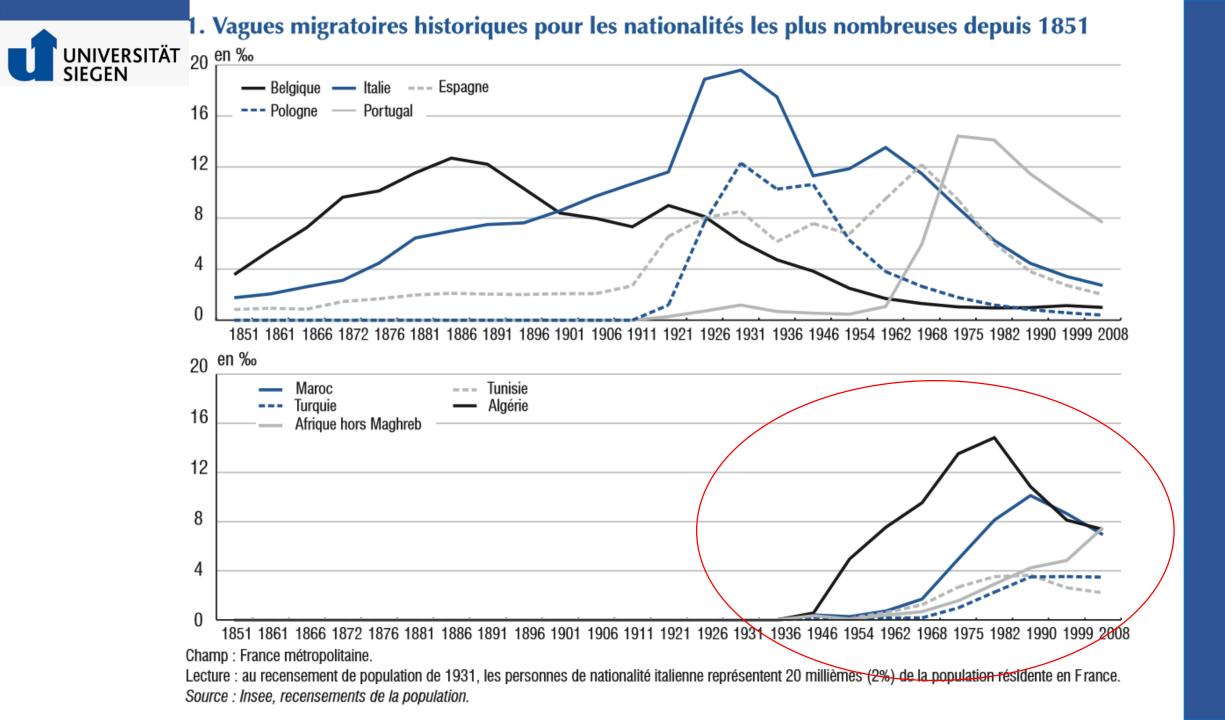
### France

- Population : 66, 9 millions
- 9,7% « immigrés »
- 11,2% children of « immigrés »
- Total = 20,9%



# Seine-Saint-Denis is Post migrant

- Population : 1, 7 millions
- 29% are « immigrés »
- ? are children of « immigrés »
- 50 to 70% = Total





- **Models :** unidimensional acculturation/assimilation, bi-dimensional acculturation (4 strategies, JW Berry), post acculturation (CCT)
- **Migration studies :** Transnational model, diasporic networks, migrant autonomy, post migration, superdiversity (Vertovec)
- **Cosmopolitan studies :** from above, from below (Appadurai, 2011), neither from above or bellow (Balibar, 2019)
- Generations studies : M. Hansen (1938), Moscovici (1979), A. Sayad (1999)...
- **Consumption studies :** historians, geographers, sociologists, fashion studies, media studies...
- **Intersectional studies :** sexual, gendered, racial dimensions (De Beauvoir, Butler, Scott, Delphy, Bordo...)

### The elephant in the room

- body as self
- body as a semiotics system
- body as performance (sexual, gendered, racial)
- Body as agency
- body as locus of tensions (anorexia, obesity...)
- body as self esteem : « beauty is good »
- body transmitted (rituals, grooming practices,...)

How does a body migrates? How does it « acculturate »? Are we in a postmigrant (incarnated bodies) society?

### My research

- Long term process of « female body acculturation » as visible through beauty/sartorial consumption – who is the transformer/the transformed?
- Beauty consumption : how is the body groomed and dressed for the self and for others?
- Individual, intergenerational, cultural, social, gendered, racial dimensions
- Beauty rituals, beauty norms and discourses
- Circulations of practices and products
- Places of consumption physical and digital



### Questions

How are digital spaces changing what we know about generations and body/beauty acculturation?

Are generations constructed by digital spaces through the agency that these create?

In the context of beauty consumption, are digital spaces actually disrupting mainstream norms and standards or further reinforcing these norms?





## Senegal

\_

- Population : 16 millions
- Young and fast growing (x5 since 1960)
- Different ethnic groups (wolof, Peuls, Sérères, Diolas, Malinke...)
- Muslim majority religion (96%)
- Emerging Senegal Plan 2025 : « digital access for all »
- Mobile phone penetration : 116%
- Internet penetration : 60%
- Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Whatsapp,... are very popular especially amongst younger generations



Documentary film - « Generation Ashley: contesting beauty norms through consumption »







"My blog has statistics... I know that after Senegal, France is the second country in terms of followers, we have statistics that take us to India, Russia, I have followers in Russia... Are these Senegalese people who are in India and Russia? That I don't know"



"My blog I want it to be a media for women who have succeeded or when you want to know, what's going on in Dakar. it's a lifestyle blog, it's fashion, it's beauty. A "google" but a female google, a google that motivates you, because I have lots of projects..."

🔘 | Instagram

Q Rechercher



laieunedame Abonné(e)

**v** ...

251 publications 1 318 abonnés 174 abonnements

la jeune dame Blog lifestyle féminin Communication d'entreprise Événementiel 🌺 Dakar, Sénégal m.facebook.com/story/graphql\_permalink/?graphql\_id=UzpfSTEwODk4MTcwOTEz...





" I said to myself: "I quit" (relaxing my hair) because I want to keep my natural hair and if one day I decide to relax them, it will be by choice, my decision, it will not be because of lack of resources or for work. So when people call me for a job and you have to relax your hair. I say: "no sorry I'm not available for that"..." Nappy is not a Trend...

It's A Rooted Movement.



It's important to say it. Going nappy is not a trend. It's a lifestyle, a commitment, a movement. Calling it a trend is demeaning. That's like saying being healthy is trendy, it's not, neither is it a trend to be confider enough to own your birthright in a world that scorns it at every turn.



"I think the nappy movement has changed things a lot; before there was no interest here for what was done locally, what the tailor did in his small shop, nobody care... We're starting to look seriously to what's happening in fashion and beauty in our country and not always look at international brands."





" I know girls who were black like that girl sitting there but now she is in France, she married someone of the second generation in fact, from Mali, but now she is white, white, white, white... because for many people here in Africa, a clear woman is a beautiful woman even if she is ugly... it's a very big problem for black women. "









Ada (19) and Chadia (17) are sisters, both students and live in a residential community in Seine-Saint-Denis (93). Their father is a taxi driver and their mother works from home as a "host family". Their grandparents left Morocco and Algeria in the 1960s.

The two sisters enjoy fashion. They are on the lookout for trends on social networks, in their favorite stores or on the street. The decision to dress modestly did not call into question this appetite.





"We are 100% Instagram ! " "I (Ada) did it step by step, but it was more for my parents than for me. It was long tunics, and then I didn't wear too many tights anymore. Then I started covering myself a little more and so they (my parents) saw it coming."

"My girlfriend and I, we chose Valentine's Day to don our hijab, a day of love, when we give each other presents. »

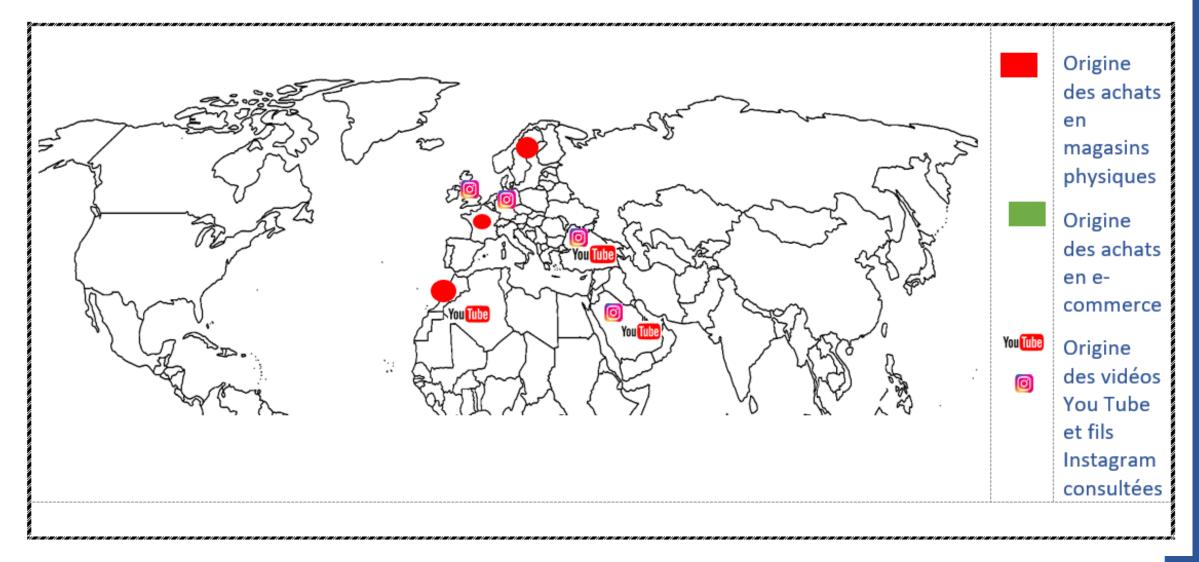




"Zara is our favourite brand: "It's my whole life," says Ada. We also buy from H&M, Stradivarius and Primark, from the markets of Sevran (93) or Aulnay (93), or from the shops in the city of Saint-Denis (93). We go to shopping malls such as O'Parinor in Aulnaysous-Bois (93). But we both prefer to buy on the Internet where there is more choice, following Instagram threads. For some occasions such as weddings, our family and friends bring back dresses (caftans), from Morocco. It is thanks to the tutorials on Youtube that I (Ada) learned to tie my headscarf. I have a large collection of nail polishes and likes to buy her lipsticks at Kikko, Fenty Beauty Pro or at Dior".



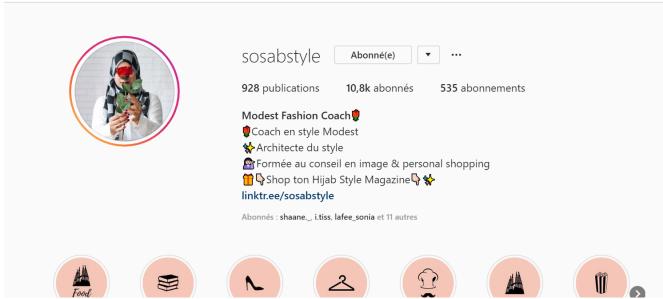
### **ADA et CHADIA - CARTE DE CONSOMMATION**





"Of Indian origin, I was born in Madagascar and lived there for 15 years. France is my second country of birth where I lived for 13 years. This is the country where I learned to gain self-confidence. Today, I live in Barcelona, the new dream "Modect f

destination!"



"Modest fashion? I've been taking a closer look at it for a year. The objective for me is to give a different image of the veiled woman, far from the usual clichés. This new fashion trend has turned my heart upside down and since then, I've been offering hijab friendly selfies to be found on Instagram. My dream would be to give fashion advice, on how to dress more fun and live life to the fullest without worrying about it!"

### Conclusion

- Acculturation versus body acculturation
- Body as critical tool of communication and contestation
- Contesting the 3<sup>rd</sup> person's perspective (self objectivation) for a generation of migrant and non migrant youth (Body positivism)
- Digital spaces are creating generations (OK Boomers)

- Digital spaces are further disrupting generational transmissions (traditional vs modern headscarf for example)

- Digital networks and media as spaces of resistance, empowerement and generational experiences but also of new cultural influences (South Korea, Turkey, Saudi Arabia...)