The construction and management of national and ethnic identities among British South Asians: An identity process theory approach

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Declaration

I declare that this work was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of London. I declare that this submission is my own work, and to the best of my knowledge does not represent the works of others, published or unpublished, except where duly acknowledged in the text. No part of this thesis has been submitted for a higher degree at another university or institution.

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Abstract

Through the lens of identity process theory, the present thesis explores: (i) the qualitative nature of British national and ethnic attachments and their respective outcomes for identity processes among British South Asians (BSA); and (ii) the impact of media representations for identification and identity processes.

In study I, 20 first generation South Asians (FGSA) were interviewed regarding identity, national and ethnic group memberships and inter-ethnic relations. The results revealed that (i) social representations of the ethnic 'homeland' could accentuate national attachment, but that both national and ethnic identities could have positive outcomes for identity processes in distinct social contexts; (ii) the phenomenological importance of 'special moments' and family identity can shape and accentuate national identification; (iii) ethnic and national identities are strategically 'managed' in order to achieve psychological coherence.

In study II, 20 second generation South Asians (SGSA) were interviewed regarding similar issues. The results revealed that (i) SGSAs' awareness of the hardship faced by FGSA in the early stages of migration could induce disidentification with Britishness and accentuate identification with the ethnic group; (ii) the Press may be regarded as excluding BSA from Britishness; (iii) SGSA may manifest hybridised identities to enhance psychological coherence.

In study III, a sample of 50 tabloid articles regarding BSA was analysed qualitatively. The results revealed that (i) BSA are constructed as 'deviating' from self-aspects of Britishness; (ii) BSA may be represented in terms of a hybridised threat to the ethno-national ingroup.

Study IV investigated some of the findings of the previous studies quantitatively. The questionnaire was administered to 215 BSA. A series of statistical analyses confirmed (i) the impact of negative media representations of one's ethnic group for identity processes; (ii) the accentuation of ethnic identity and attenuation of British national identity as a result of exposure to negative media representations; (iii) a weaker national attachment among British Pakistanis than British Indians.

It is argued that levels of British national and ethnic identities will likely fluctuate in accordance with social and temporal context and that BSA will make strategic use of both identities in order to optimise identity processes.

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Abbreviations & glossary

'Biraderi' - kinship

BNP – British National Party

BSA – British South Asian(s)

'Desi' – from the Indian Subcontinent

FGSA – first generation South Asian(s)

HL – heritage language

IPA – interpretative phenomenological analysis

IPT – identity process theory

ITT – intergroup threat theory

'Izzat' – honour and/ or respect

ODT – optimal distinctiveness theory

SCT – self-categorisation theory

SGSA – second generation South Asian(s)

SIA – social identity approach

SIT – social identity theory

SARS – South Asians resident in the Subcontinent

WBM – the White British majority

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Chapter I:

The Introduction

Introduction

Questions of ethnicity, religion and national identity are at the forefront of social and political debate in contemporary Britain. Social and political commentators have debated Britishness among ethnic minorities for several decades, sparked by major intergroup events such as the 1958 Notting Hill riots, the 1989 Rushdie Affair and the 2001 Oldham race riots, to name only a few. However, subsequent to the terrorist attacks in New York and London, on September 11th 2001 and July 7th 2005, respectively, British South Asians (BSA) have found themselves the target of debate and controversy. Indeed, British Muslims had already been the object of public scrutiny, largely as a result of the militant response of large sections of global Muslim community to the 1989 publication of *The Satanic Verses* by Salman Rushdie. The event which later became known as the 'Rushdie Affair' seemed to highlight a hostile and antagonistic dimension to an ethno-religious community which had traditionally been regarded as 'silent' and 'well-behaved' (Ballard, 1994a). Although this event was associated with British Muslims in particular, the repercussions were felt by BSA in general, given the interchangeable use of the categories 'Muslim' and 'Asian' in public and media discourse. For roughly the first time, BSA were perceived to oppose the 'fundamentally British' value of freedom of speech. This appeared to elucidate the 'inherent' difficulty of laying claim to both British national and ethnic identities, thereby problematising Britishness among BSA. There was an implicit expectation for BSA to abandon their ethnic and religious identities, which were regarded as competing with Britishness. The newspaper media has historically played a pivotal role in disseminating and encouraging social representations of Britishness, national issues and ethnic minorities. It constitutes a major source of societal information regarding national and ethnic affairs and, therefore, has the ideological power to shape both national and ethnic identification among BSA. Despite the topical relevance of identity and responses to media representations among BSA, there has been only a scarce academic interest in these issues in relation to BSA, especially from psychologists.

The study of national and ethnic identities among BSA must take into consideration possible inter-generational differences. First generation South Asians (FGSA) and second

generation South Asians (SGSA) are said to exhibit qualitatively distinct relationships to Britishness and the ethnic group. Scholars have noted that FGSA have less 'confidence' in their British national identity, given their historical experience of discrimination and 'otherisation' from the White British majority (WBM; Jacobson, 1997b). Nonetheless, in many respects, FGSA are the pioneers of British multiculturalism. British Indian Sikhs campaigned for the right to wear distinctive religious clothing in the workplace (Singh & Tatla, 2006), while British Pakistani Muslims demanded separate religious schooling and a separate Muslim parliament in Britain (Meer, 2007). Many FGSA proudly lay claim to British national and South Asian identities. Conversely, scholars have observed that many SGSA are in the process of 're-defining' what it means to be British and a member of their ethnic group in contemporary Britain. SGSA may find themselves in conflict with their parents' ethno-cultural ideals, with potential implications for the construction and management of national and ethnic identities (Jacobson, 1997b).

This is further complicated by the notion that British and English identities can have strong racial connotations for some BSA, essentially barring access to a sense of belonging in the national group. Accordingly, it is necessary to explore the ways, in which BSA gain access to a national category, which can be socially represented as a racially exclusive group with impermeable boundaries. Moreover, the implications of (in)accessibility to Britishness for one's ethnic group membership are well worthy of investigation, given that the maintenance of ethnic identity is said to have positive psychosocial outcomes for ethnic minority individuals. Crucially, there has been considerable debate both in social and political discourse regarding the compatibility of national and ethnic identities among BSA, who may be seen as favouring ethnic identity *vis-à-vis* Britishness. This connects with issues surrounding the 'loyalty' of BSA to Britishness, problematised primarily in the wake of the July 7th terror attacks. Social representations of identity incompatibility and the 'disloyalty' of BSA abound in media reporting and are, therefore, highly accessible to large sections of the populations. Exposure to such representations can have important effects for how BSA themselves perceive the compatibility of their identities, possibly leading them to question the coherence of British national and ethnic identities. Accordingly, the present thesis explores the construction and management of British national and ethnic identities among BSA, with particular attention to the role of media representations therein.

These substantive concerns are employed partly as a vehicle to address some of the major social science debates about identity construction and management. There has been some theoretical and empirical work on identity processes both at the intrapsychic and intergroup levels, although researchers have tended to regard the two levels of human interdependence separately rather than within an integrative framework. Identity process theory was designed to address the interface of the individual and the social. The present thesis highlights some of the ways in which this theoretical framework differs from other socio-psychological theories of identity in its explanation and prediction of identity construction and management. It will be argued that there is much heuristic, theoretical and empirical value associated with the use of the theory in this particular area of research. Furthermore, the thesis addresses lacunae in IPT theorising, such as the relationship between social representation and identity and the inter-relations between the motivational principles of identity. It concludes by highlighting advances in research and theorising within IPT and, more broadly, within the social psychology of identity construction and multiple identification.

Overview of the thesis

The present thesis provides a much needed socio-psychological contribution to the literature on the construction and management of national and ethnic identities among BSA. Despite its long tradition of studying the various levels of human interdependence in relation to key psychosocial issues such as categorisation, prejudice and intergroup relations, social psychology has largely neglected how national and ethnic identities are constructed and managed by BSA and the psychosocial impact of exposure and awareness to media representations of national and ethnic affairs. The present thesis addresses these concerns.

Chapter II outlines the theoretical framework employed in the present thesis, which consists of identity process theory and social representations theory. Relevant constructs from this theoretical tradition are employed as a lens for interpreting social sciences research into (British) national identity, ethnic identity and media representations among BSA and other ethnic minority groups. The chapter concludes by presenting the key research questions of the thesis, which represent lacunae in the social sciences literature on identity construction and management among BSA. Chapter III describes issues surrounding the epistemological, methodological and philosophical framework in which the empirical work is located.

Chapter IV provides an empirical snapshot of the construction and management of national and ethnic identities among FGSA, elucidating participants' representations of Britain and the ethnic 'homeland' in various social and temporal contexts; national and ethnic ingroup and outgroup boundaries; the qualitative nature of British national and ethnic group attachments; and perceived points of conflict between national and ethnic identities. Chapter V builds upon this research into FGSA, by providing insight into the qualitative accounts of identity construction and management among SGSA, exploring the inter-relations between ethnic and national meaning-making among FGSA and SGSA. The chapter discusses how social representations of the first generation's early years in Britain and cognitions towards the ethnic 'homeland' might affect identity construction and management among SGSA; participants' conceptualisations of Britishness and ethno-

national identity; and social representations of discrimination and 'otherisation' from the national group and the consequences for national ingroup and outgroup boundaries.

Given that the media constitutes a major source of social representations regarding national and ethnic issues in relation to ethnic minorities, Chapter VI presents a media analysis of a select number of tabloid articles regarding BSA. It explores how BSA can be constructed as 'Other' to the ethno-national ingroup and the ways in which BSA (and particularly Muslims) are positioned by tabloid newspapers as a threat to the ethno-national ingroup. Chapter VII investigates some of the key findings of the preceding studies quantitatively. The results of this quantitative study are clustered around general perceptions of media representations; national and ethnic identity management; social identification and identity principles; and the predictors of British national and ethnic identities and psychological coherence. The chapter discusses the results of the study in relation to the relevant social sciences literature.

The final section of each chapter presents a brief summary of the key findings of each study in relation to the research questions outlined at the end of chapter II. The aim of these sections is not to repeat all of the findings of each study, but rather to invoke those which compellingly address the research questions. It is noteworthy that, although each study alone does not necessarily address all of the research questions, collectively the studies of the present thesis do provide answers, which are highlighted in the concluding chapter of the thesis.

Chapter VIII presents the general discussion and overall conclusions which are derived from the four empirical studies of the thesis. These are discussed in relation to previous social sciences research and theorising and the research questions outlined at the end of chapter II. The chapter explores the empirical findings and their theoretical implications, the advantages of methodological eclecticism, limitations of the research design, directions for future research, the generalisability and transferability of the results to other socio-cultural contexts, and the possible policy implications of the research.

Chapter II:
The self, identities &
the media

The present chapter provides a review of the social identity approach and other relevant theories of identity and intergroup relations, concluding that IPT and social representations theory, collectively, offer the heuristic and analytical tools necessary for exploring the construction and management of national and ethnic identities among BSA and the role of media representations therein. Key constructs from this theoretical approach are applied to theorising and empirical research into national identity, ethnic identity and media representations of ethnic minorities, in order to develop the research questions and testable hypotheses, which are explored in the present thesis.

Identity and social representations

Identity process theory (IPT) (Breakwell, 1986, 1992, 2001; Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a; Vignoles et al., 2006) provides an integrative socio-psychological model of identity construction, threat and coping. The theory proposes that the structure of identity should be conceptualised in terms of its content and value/ affect dimensions. The identity structure is composed of a biological organism, the content and value dimensions and a temporal frame, all of which interact with one another in the construction of identity. Breakwell (1986) observes that while identity resides in psychological processes, it is manifested through thought, action and affect. The theory highlights the agency of the individual in identity construction, since the individual is self-aware and actively monitors and reviews the status (i.e. content and value) of identity. IPT predicts how individuals will respond to threatened identity, which is regarded as key in understanding the processes which drive identity construction and development (Breakwell, 2010). Moreover, the theory was designed to address the interface of the social and the psychological, bridging the link between societal representation and individual cognition. The present thesis employs IPT to explore how BSA construct and manage national and ethnic identities.

The structure of identity

According to IPT, the content dimension of identity consists of a unique constellation of self-aspects (Linville, 1985, 1987). Self-aspects are socio-cognitive categories derived from social experience. They include *inter alia* group memberships, individual traits and physical aspects. IPT does not systematically distinguish between the individual and collective levels of identity, although it acknowledges that self-aspects may refer to different level of human interdependence. As Breakwell (2001, p. 277) puts it, 'seen across the biography, social identity is seen to become personal identity: the dichotomy is purely a temporal artefact'. The present thesis conceptualises membership in the national and ethnic groups as self-aspects of the identity structure, although for the sake of convenience the terms 'national identity' and 'ethnic identities' are employed. It is acknowledged that individual-level and collective-level self-aspects may have distinct implications for the self-concept. For

instance, if an individual trait (e.g. a belief) is perceived by the individual as being stigmatised, its gradual exclusion from the identity structure may be less damaging to identity than self-removal from a social group (e.g. the ethnic group), which may jeopardise one's sense of belonging, for instance. The individual would require intrapsychic strategies for facilitating the removal of the stigmatising belief, whereas self-removal from a social group will likely require the collective use of intrapsychic, interpersonal and/ or intergroup strategies (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a). Thus, the management of national and ethnic identities among BSA is likely to be complex but explorable from an IPT perspective.

The processes of identity

The identity structure is regulated by two universal processes, namely (i) the assimilation-accommodation process and (ii) the evaluation process. The assimilation-accommodation process refers to the absorption of new information in the identity structure and the adjustment which takes places for it to become part of the structure. For instance, forced migration as a result of war in one's native country is likely to present the migrant with novel social stimuli, which will need to be absorbed and incorporated within the identity structure (Timotijevic, 2000). Given that this dual process is conceptualised in terms of a memory system which is 'subject to biases in retention and recall' (Timotijevic, 2000, p. 111-12), it is considered to be universal across human beings. It has been suggested that individuals may re-construe the status of a given self-aspect in order to assimilate and accommodate it cohesively within the identity structure. For instance, Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010a) highlight that among British Muslim gay men being gay may be cognitively represented in terms of a mutable behaviour, rather than an individual trait, in order for it to co-habit the identity structure with Islamic religious identity.

The evaluation process confers meaning and value upon the contents of identity, both new and old. Identity evaluation is constantly subject to revision, since value is attributed to each self-aspect 'on the basis of social beliefs and values in interaction with previously established personal value codes' (Breakwell, 1986, p. 19). Representations of a given self-aspect (e.g. being BSA) may differ significantly in accordance with social context (e.g. in Britain versus in the Subcontinent). BSA may have high social status in the Subcontinent, given their association with wealth and prosperity (Burholt, 2004). Conversely, BSA identity

may be stigmatised in British social contexts, given the problematisation of its compatibility with Britishness (Jacobson, 1997a; Modood et al., 1997).

It is noteworthy that the two processes of identity operate in tandem. For instance, in the aforementioned study on British Muslim gay men, Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010a) observed that, in order to optimise the assimilation-accommodation of gay and Muslim identities, participants endowed positive value upon Muslim identity and negative value upon gay identity. Conversely, the value conferred upon self-aspects will affect the way in which the process of assimilation-accommodation operates. As indicated above, a negatively evaluated self-aspect may be constructed in terms of a 'mutable behaviour', while a positive self-aspect may be essentialised as an immutable personal trait. Identity processes must comply with the motivational principles, which are discussed next.

The principles of identity

Breakwell (1986, 1992) has identified four identity principles, which guide these two universal processes, and define desirable end-states for identity. These are: continuity, distinctiveness, self-esteem and self-efficacy. Extending IPT, Vignoles, Regalia, Manzi, Golledge & Scabini (2006) have proposed two additional identity 'motives': belonging and meaning. More recently, Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010a) have suggested the psychological coherence principle. In her original statement of the theory, Breakwell (1986) was explicit in her conceptualisation of the motivational principles as temporally and culturally specific and suggested that her four principles are applicable to Western industrialised cultures, at least. It was suggested that future research may identify additional identity principles, particularly in cross-cultural research. Indeed, this has been the case in cross-cultural work on identity motivation (e.g. Vignoles et al., 2006), British Muslim gay men (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a) and caste identity in the Indian Subcontinent (Jaspal, 2011b). Breakwell (1986, p. 183) notes that IPT 'remains viable as long as the principles that are operative, whatever they happen to be, function in the manner predicted for those already described'. The position of the present thesis is that the principles are universal, since human beings require feelings of continuity, distinctiveness etc., but the sources of each principle and its socio-psychological importance may differ in accordance with culture. The thesis discusses previous research into BSA in

order to highlight which principles are most pertinent to this superordinate group. The principles are discussed in relation to national and ethnic identification among BSA.

Continuity

The continuity principle refers to the motivation to maintain subjective, self-perceived 'continuity across time and situation' within one's sense of self (Breakwell, 1986, p. 24). It is essential to distinguish between continuity and consistency, since 'there can be continuity in inconsistency' (Breakwell, 1988, p. 194). The continuity principle is not necessarily averse to social change since this is regarded as a fundamental element of human existence. However, a crucial prerequisite of continuity is that the individual subjectively perceive a unifying thread connecting past, present and future within identity, through the construction of a narrative explaining turning-points (Chandler et al., 2003). This highlights the temporal concern of continuity, which reflects the conceptualisation of continuity employed in the present thesis. This matter is discussed in greater depth below, since psychological coherence and continuity are compared and conceptually delineated.

Jaspal and Coyle (2010b) have postulated that SGSA participants in their study actively sought to maintain *continuity* of self-definition in terms of British Asian through the maintenance of the heritage language (HL). Furthermore, the continuity principle can be construed at the group-level of human interdependence. In research into group-level threat, it has been argued that group continuity may be threatened by the perception that one's ingroup may in time cease to exist as a collective, distinctive social entity in intergroup contexts (Jaspal & Yampolsky, 2011). Outgroups which pose a symbolic or realistic threat to the ingroup pose the threat to group continuity (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b). Conversely, individuals may derive a sense of continuity from the perceived survival of their ingroup over time.

Distinctiveness

Snyder and Fromkin (1980, p. 3) note that 'the need to see oneself as unique is a potent and continuous force in our society'. The distinctiveness principle encourages the establishment and maintenance of a sense of differentiation from others, and individuals will emphasise those self-aspects which confer upon their identity a sense of distinctiveness (Vignoles,

Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000). Vignoles et al. (2000) has identified three important sources of distinctiveness: (i) *position*, which refers to the individual's position within social relationships; (ii) *difference* (in terms of the intrinsic qualities of the individual); and (iii) *separateness*, which involves feelings of autonomy and distance from others. For instance, BSA may derive feelings of positive distinctiveness from their position in relation to South Asians resident in the Subcontinent (SARS), during visits to the homeland. Conversely, SGSA may perceive themselves to possess different intrinsic qualities from FGSA, such as openness towards British cultural aspects, providing feelings of distinctiveness.

Anthropologists argue that ethnic groups 'must have a minimum of contact with each other and [that] they must entertain ideas of each other as being culturally different from themselves' (Eriksen, 1993, p. 11-12). To this extent, distinctiveness is essential for a meaningful sense of self (Codol, 1981). Nonetheless, distinctiveness alone is insufficient for a positive sense of self, since human beings actively seek a positive sense of distinctiveness (Taylor & Brown, 1988). The need for positive distinctiveness has meant that researchers have frequently regarded distinctiveness as a means of safeguarding an over-arching need for self-esteem (Abram & Hogg, 1988; Long & Spears, 1997; Rubin & Hewstone, 1998). However, IPT argues that distinctiveness and indeed all of the other principles should be regarded as principles in their own right, rather than as implicit 'pathways' to enhanced self-esteem (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000, 2002).

Self-esteem

The self-esteem principle of identity refers to 'the motivation to maintain and enhance a positive conception of oneself' (Gecas, 1982, p. 20). Self-esteem reflects feelings of 'personal worth or social value' (Breakwell, 1986, p. 24). The distinction between personal and social worth is a productive one, since personal worth refers to micro-level sense of self-esteem, while social worth elucidates the importance of considering macro-level social representations, such as social status as described in the group vitality framework (Bourhis et al., 1981). The self-esteem principle is implicated in a vast number of socio-psychological theories (e.g. Hoyle et al., 1999; Sedikides & Gregg, 2003). In general, decreased self-esteem is associated with negative affect and depression (see Leary & Baumeister, 2000; Rosenberg, 1989; Sedikides & Strube, 1997). In addition to self-concept research, self-

esteem is central to the social psychology of intergroup relations. Moreover, the experience of discrimination on the basis of one's group membership is associated with decreased self-esteem (Crocker & Major, 1989). Accordingly, it is reasonable to predict that BSAs' awareness of negative and discriminatory media representations of their ethnic group will be associated with the level of self-esteem.

Self-efficacy

The motivational principle of self-efficacy concerns 'the wish to feel competent and in control of one's life' (Breakwell, 1988, p. 194). Self-efficacy reflects one's 'beliefs in one's capabilities to organize and execute the course of action required to produce given attainments' (Bandura, 1997, p. 3). Feelings of self-efficacy are positively related to feelings of general psychological well-being (LaGuardia et al., 2000), although the two principles are empirically distinguishable (Tafarodi & Swann, 2001). Moreover, this principle has been described in terms of a defining feature of identity (Codol, 1981; Deci & Ryan, 2000). This is illustrated by observations that individuals often invoke self-efficacy to explain outcomes which could more accurately be accounted for by chance (Langer, 1975; Taylor & Brown, 1988).

The present thesis considers the ways in which membership in ethnic and national groups affects the self-efficacy principle of identity. Following Kelman's (1997) distinction between *instrumental* (the perception that the nation helps to realise material goals) and *sentimental* (emotional) attachments to the nation, it is expected that an instrumental attachment to British national identity will enhance self-efficacy because the educational and vocational opportunities afforded to BSA likely accentuate feelings of control and competence. Conversely, BSAs' sentimental attachment to the ethnic group is unlikely to increase feelings of control and competence, since it does not necessarily have the same 'empowering' function as Britishness.

Belonging

The belonging principle reflects 'the need to maintain or enhance feelings of closeness to, or acceptance by, other people, whether in dyadic relationships or within in-groups' (Vignoles et al., 2006, p. 310). As a 'fundamental human motivation' (Baumeister & Leary, 1995, p.

497), the belonging principle has been implicated in a number of theories of identity construction (Brewer, 1991; Leary & Baumeister, 2000; Snyder & Fromkin, 1980). The inclusion of belonging within IPT as a principle guiding the identity processes allows the model to compete with SIT as a model for exploring the construction and management of national and ethnic identities (cf. Brewer, 2001). Indeed, the belonging principle is of particular importance here, since the thesis is concerned partly with *self-inclusion* within national and ethnic groups and interpersonal relations with group members. Moreover, discrimination against ethnic minorities, including BSA, can plausibly threaten one's sense of acceptance and inclusion within groups (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). Perceived 'otherisation' and exclusion by members of the WBM will likely problematise the belonging principle. It is expected that threats to belonging within one social group (e.g. the nation) will motivate individuals to derive feelings of acceptance and inclusion from an alternative group membership (e.g. ethnic group) (Breakwell, 1986). This important concern is addressed in the thesis.

Meaning

The meaning principle has been described as the need for purpose and significance in one's existence (Baumeister, 1991). Evidence for the important role of the meaning principle in identity processes is observable in narrative and life-story approaches to identity (Baumeister and Wilson, 1996; McAdams, 2001). Moreover, subjective uncertainty reduction theory (Hogg, 2000) emphasises the need for meaning underlying identity within intergroup contexts. Jaspal and Cinnirella (in press, a) have hypothesised that the salience of British national identity will provide SGSA with a greater sense of meaning when visiting their ancestral homeland. Visits to the homeland provide a coherent explanation for settlement in Britain, based around the instrumental benefits for the individual. The meaning principle motivates individuals to develop explanatory theories for life events. Indeed, the search for meaning has been identified as a means of coping with major life events (Golsworthy & Coyle, 1999; Taylor, 1983).

Psychological coherence

Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010a) have introduced the psychological coherence principle, which refers to the individual's need to perceive compatibility and coherence between their (interconnected) self-aspects. Like the other principles, psychological coherence guides the assimilation-accommodation and evaluation of identity contents. Given the novelty of the principle and its particular relevance to the thesis' concern with the *management* of national and ethnic identities, the principle is outlined and reviewed in depth.

The management of identities is not a novel concern for psychologists. Amiot, de la Sablonnière, Terry and Smith (2007) have proposed a four-stage model of social identity development and integration, which explains the specific processes whereby *social identities* are developed intra-psychically and become integrated within the self-concept temporally. Moreover, the notion of identity integration (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005) suggests that the more an individual perceives their (social) identities as compatible the higher their level of identity integration will be. Conversely, the perception of two or more identities as in opposition to each other, perhaps because they represent values and norms which contradict one another, signals a lower level of identity integration. The model predicts that individuals eventually do acquire identity integration through a variety of processes. Conversely, IPT's acknowledgement of identity threat and of the possibility of unresolved chronic threat allows the researcher to consider the long-term effects of self-identification with 'incompatible' self-aspects. Moreover, in Amiot et al.'s (2007) model, it is unclear whether there will be cross-cultural differences in the temporal order, in which the processes become active among individuals. IPT would regard these 'processes' as strategies available to the individual for coping with the threat to psychological coherence and for restoring feelings of compatibility and coherence within the self-concept, rather than as chronological processes as suggested in the identity integration model.

It is noteworthy that the primary focus of Amiot et al.'s (2007) model of identity integration concerns the level of the social group, which highlights its origins within the SIT tradition. Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010a) have demonstrated the theoretical benefits of a broader conceptualisation of coherence, which considers inter-relations between group memberships and individual traits. For instance, in their study on identity management among British Muslim gay men, it was found that participants did not always conceptualise

being gay in terms of a social identity but rather in terms of an individual trait. More specifically, being gay did not refer to 'that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group' (Tajfel, 1978, p. 63). Thus, it was deemed necessary to theorise perceived inter-relations between individual traits and collective identities. The present study remains open to the various possible interpretations of the nation, which may constitute a group membership for some individuals and an 'empowering phenomenon' devoid of group-level features for others. This is grounded within the observation of BSAs' instrumental attachment to the nation (Kelman, 1997).

The concept of psychological coherence owes a certain debt to cognitive dissonance theory (Abelson et al., 1968; Festinger, 1957). However, Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010a, p. 866) have argued that, since psychological coherence is regarded as residing 'in the eye of the perceiver and not some objective quality of the identities under scrutiny', it is a more complex psychological construct than cognitive dissonance and dissonance reduction models. While these theories are located primarily at the intrapsychic level of cognitive processing, psychological coherence requires the individual's engagement with the intrapsychic level of cognition and an awareness of intergroup issues including dominant social representations. Although any individual will be influenced by the prevailing social representations of the identities in question, they ultimately arrive at their own conclusion about their ultimate compatibility. This reflects IPT's recognition that social representations will be personalised by individuals to varying degrees (Breakwell, 2001).

Some IPT researchers have questioned the distinction between the psychological coherence and continuity principles of identity (e.g. Vignoles, 2011). Indeed, Breakwell's (1986, p. 24) original conceptualisation of the continuity principle as 'continuity over time and space' could plausibly be argued to encompass psychological coherence. However, in order to accommodate psychological coherence, both temporal and atemporal understandings of the continuity principle would be required. The broadening of IPT's repertoire of research contexts to include the role of language in identity (Jaspal & Coyle, 2009a), the perceived role of the Holocaust in Jewish Israeli identity construction (Jaspal & Yampolsky, 2011) and identity management among individuals with atypical identity configurations (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, b) clearly demonstrates the phenomenological differences between continuity and psychological coherence. For instance, Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010a)

emphasise the temporal element of continuity, since in order for the principle to be threatened, a socio-psychological phenomenon must interrupt the pre-existing state of affairs in the identity structure. For the British Muslim gay men who participated in their study, religious and sexual identities constituted 'pre-existing identities', which they perceived as primordial in the self-concept. Consequently, the threat to identity entailed by the combination of these identities cannot be attributed to a temporal disruption but rather to *synchronic* incompatibility. In another study, Jaspal and Cinnirella (in press, b) discuss threats to identity which result from British Muslim gay men's incipient experiences in gay affirmative social contexts. They recommend a conceptual distinction between diachronic and synchronic consequences of potentially threatening experiences. From a diachronic perspective, frequenting gay space is likely to threaten continuity, but even if the threat to continuity is overcome by the individual, the synchronic threat may remain, since the individual is required to reconcile the two conflictual identities. In short, the conflation of continuity and psychological coherence, two phenomenologically distinct principles, is unlikely to be productive, since the researcher thereby risks overlooking the identity implications of threats to one or the other principle. Consequently, this thesis proposes that continuity be understood in primarily temporal terms as 'continuity across time' and employs the broader version of IPT employed in recent research on identity construction. Moreover, the present thesis provides further empirical evidence for the psychological coherence principle.

Identity threat

According to IPT, identity is threatened when the assimilation-accommodation and evaluation processes can no longer comply with the motivational principles. IPT makes a distinction between the occupancy of a 'threatening position' and the actual subjective experience of identity threat. Movement into a social category with negative social representations, which carry the potential to violate the identity principles, could be regarded as movement into a threatening position. For instance, negative media representations of BSA may render membership in this identity category threatening for identity, since it may be socially stigmatised or regarded as incompatible with Britishness (Jacobson, 1997b; Vadher & Barrett, 2009). However, Breakwell (1986, p. 49) makes the observation that

'situations, which in objective terms might be deemed threatening, may sometimes fail to be identified as such subjectively'. Accordingly, the actual subjective experience of identity threat arises from the subjective perception that one or more salient identity principles are jeopardised. For instance, in a study on language and identity among SGSA, Jaspal and Coyle (2010b) identified the inability to speak the HL as a threatening social position due to most participants' reproduction of negative social representations regarding non-HL speakers. However, some participants did not appear to perceive this as threatening and, thus, despite their occupancy of this social position, identity was not actually threatened. Attention to emotion in the experience of identity threat may help to identify identity threat (Timotijevic, 2000). For instance, negative emotions may be indicative of the experience of identity threat, which can enable the researcher to identify actual, subjectively perceived threats to identity. This partly reflects the heuristic value associated with qualitative research into identity threat. The thesis explores how social representations associated with Britishness, the ethnic group and the media can pose threats to identity among BSA. Equally as important are the ways, in which individuals cope with identity threat.

Coping with identity threat

Upon its admission to conscious awareness, identity threat will require the individual to engage in coping strategies in order to alleviate threat and to minimise its negative repercussions for identity. A coping strategy is defined as 'any activity, in thought or deed, which has as its goal the removal or modification of a threat to identity' (Breakwell, 1986, p. 78). One of IPT's major contributions lies in its identification of the various coping strategies employed in response to threat. Different forms of identity threat will require the use of distinct coping strategies. Some strategies (e.g. re-conceptualisation and re-construal) may be more effective than others (e.g. denial) in the long-run. IPT identifies coping strategies at various levels of human interdependence: intrapsychic, interpersonal and intergroup coping strategies.

Intrapsychic strategies

IPT suggests that the individual may employ a variety of intrapsychic strategies in order to deflect or accept the identity implications of the threat. Although these strategies function

primarily at the intrapsychic level, Breakwell (1986, 2001) has stated that the individual is constrained by social representations prevalent in a given social context. For instance, it has been observed that SGSA may engage in the denial strategy by rejecting the social representation that the HL is considered an important self-aspect of ethnic identity and by re-construing the criteria for self-inclusion in the ethnic group (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010b).

Interpersonal strategies

Breakwell (1986, p. 109) describes interpersonal strategies as relying 'on changing relationships with others in order to cope with threat', all of which have limited value in the long-run. Within the context of national and ethnic identity management among BSA, the interpersonal strategies of coping with threat are likely to be particularly useful. For instance, Jaspal and Coyle (2010b) argue that perceived restrictions on the manifestation of ethnic identity among BSA at school may induce feelings of negativism against the perceived norms and values associated with the WBM. In short, individuals can actively counteract these norms and values to protect identity.

Intergroup strategies

Some coping strategies function at the intergroup level of human interdependence. These include (i) making strategic use of multiple group memberships; (ii) actively seeking group support through social networks or consciousness raising/ self-help groups; and (iii) group action through self-inclusion in pressure groups and/ or social movements. The intergroup strategies provide insight into how individuals think and feel specifically as members of their social group. For instance, Vadher and Barrett (2009) argue that when BSA participants in their interview study perceived their ethnic group to be threatened by the WBM, they emphasised their ethnic group membership and 'otherised' the WBM. Here individuals relate to one another primarily in terms of their (ethno-racial) group memberships. More specifically, this demonstrates the inter-relations between distinct components (e.g. national, ethnic, religious) of BSAs' identity, which constitutes a primary focus in the present thesis.

A typology of coping

IPT organises human responses to identity threat in accordance with the level of human interdependence. The use of specific coping strategies will likely depend upon the following three variables: (i) individual differences; (ii) culture; and (iii) context. For instance, the importance of 'izzat' (cultural honour) in South Asian cultures means that strategies such as denial and passing may be preferred by the individual who is socially encouraged not to disclose the reality of their threatening position to other group members (Gilbert, Gilbert & Sanghera, 2004). The present thesis provides the foundations for a future 'typology' of coping strategies for identity threat among BSA.

IPT theorists have identified and described coping strategies not originally accounted for by the theory. For instance, Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010b) have argued that Islamophobic media representations may constitute a means of enhancing identity processes among the non-Muslim ingroup and that the manifestation of Islamophobic prejudice can constitute a response to threatened identity. The present thesis explores the suitability of IPT's existing strategies for managing national and ethnic identities, as well as identifying others manifested by participants in the present study. Indeed, a central tenet of IPT is that individuals possess agency in the regulation and monitoring of the principled operation of identity processes. Jaspal and Cinnirella (in press, b) have argued for greater conceptual distinction between 'coping strategies' and 'enhancing strategies'. They argue that coping strategies should be conceptualised explicitly in terms of *post-hoc* 'reactive' strategies implemented by the individual to cope with an already threatened identity. They differentiate this from 'enhancing strategies' which refer to 'active attempts on the part of individuals to enhance the principled operation of identity processes even in the absence of subjectively perceived threat' (p. 15). It is argued that individuals will actively seize opportunities to enhance identity even in the absence of threat, as well as implementing enhancing strategies in order to pre-empt potential threat. This distinction essentially defends IPT from earlier criticisms of its alleged status as a 'reactive model' (Bosma, 1995, p. 13). Moreover, this theoretical point reflects the central position adopted in the present thesis, namely that the salience of identity elements (or identification with ethnic and national groups) is predicted by the perceived benefits of these identity elements for the principled operation of identity processes (Vignoles et al., 2002).

The role of social representations in identity

IPT acknowledges the importance of social representations in shaping how social phenomena will impact the principled operation of identity processes (Breakwell, 1986, 2001). For Breakwell (1986, p. 55), a 'social representation is essentially a construction of reality', which enables the individual to interpret the social world and to render it meaningful. There are two processes associated with the formation of social representations. 'Objectification' is the process whereby abstract phenomena (e.g. Islam) are rendered concrete (e.g. the veil). 'Anchoring' is a means of integrating unfamiliar phenomena into existing ways of thinking (Moscovici, 1988). IPT postulates that identity processes determine how the individual will 'personalise' a representation, that is, the extent to which an individual will accept and internalise the social representation. Conversely, social representations are said to shape the content and value dimensions of identity (Breakwell, 2001). The social representational dimension of IPT is fundamental for understanding (i) the contents of national and ethnic identities; (ii) how the contents of these identities are seen as impacting one another; and (iii) how media representations can impact these modes of social identification.

Collectively, IPT and social representations theory provide the theoretical tools necessary to explore the construction and management of national and ethnic identities among BSA. Moreover, this approach allows the researcher to investigate the potential impact of media and social representations for identity construction. The remainder of the chapter demonstrates the greater usefulness of this theoretical approach *vis-à-vis* the social identity approach. More specifically, the chapter presents a review of competing theoretical frameworks derived from the social identity approach, namely the subjective uncertainty reduction and optimal distinctiveness models.

The social identity approach

SIT was originally developed for the socio-psychological analysis of intergroup relations with intergroup conflict as its conceptual starting-point (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). SIT 'provides a comprehensive theory of intergroup relations and socially stratified societies' (Turner & Reynolds, 2001, p. 134), which suggests that social identity is determined primarily by social group memberships (Brown, 2000). Hogg and Abrams (1988, p. 21) state

that when social group membership is salient in a given intergroup context, it 'transforms individuals into groups'. This essentially refers to the process of depersonalisation, that is, self-definition primarily in terms of interchangeable exemplars of the ingroup. It is noteworthy that SIT was deliberately developed with a focus on 'that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from one's knowledge of one's membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership' (Tajfel, 1981, p. 255). Thus, Tajfel (1978, p. 63) was not claiming that group membership constitutes the *only* basis for self-definition or identity construction *per se*, but rather that social identity involves 'limited aspects of the self' and that it is 'relevant to certain limited aspects of social behaviour'. Despite Tajfel's words of caution, there exists within the SIT literature the implicit assumption that social group membership (or the 'collective self') constitutes the primary basis for self-definition. Indeed, the prevalence of this assumption within SIT may be attributed to the historical aim of SIT researchers to counteract the primarily individualistic approaches to group processes employed in North American psychology (Hogg & Williams, 2000). Despite the name given to the theory, SIT is fundamentally a theory of intergroup relations and conflict, since social identity occurs subsequent to 'a cognitive redefinition of the self in terms of group memberships' (Chryssochoou, 2004, p. 132). Tajfel and Turner (1986) originally observed that there are three central basic assumptions underlying intergroup behaviour, namely that (i) individuals must identify psychologically with their ingroups; (ii) the intergroup context should permit intergroup comparisons; (iii) the outgroup should be sufficiently similar or proximal to facilitate comparison.

Drawing upon his earlier work on social cognition (Tajfel & Wilkes, 1963), Tajfel argued that the process of rendering salient the distinction between 'us and them', namely between one's ingroup category and outgroup categories, changed the way in which individuals relate to one another socially and psychologically. A major tenet of SIT is that individuals will perceptually accentuate similarities between other members of their ingroup category, which will encourage the perception that group members are interchangeable members of the category. They will accentuate differences between ingroup and outgroup categories, which will emphasise ingroup distinctiveness. This tenet of SIT is important in order to understand the perceived boundaries of ingroup and outgroup memberships among

BSA. However, while distinctiveness is offered as an explanation in SIT, IPT proposes a range of motivational principles, which may govern the construction of ingroup and outgroup boundaries. For instance, in some contexts, it may benefit self-esteem to distinguish one's ingroup from subgroups, which may habitually be regarded as forming part of one's ingroup. This is observable in the tendency among some British Indians to distance themselves from British Pakistanis by eschewing the identity category 'British Asian' (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). Furthermore, the self-efficacy principle may explain *instrumental* attachment to the Britishness, since the national category may be perceived as empowering the individual. More generally, SIT's focus upon group membership is accounted for by the considerably broader, more integrative theory of identity processes. The theory facilitates the study of additional factors in identity construction, such as the phenomenological importance of individual traits, personalised social representations and interpersonal relations (Breakwell, 2001). These various levels of human interdependence are important in considering how identities are constructed and managed.

It is important to consider the psychological *processes* underlying social identity construction, according to SIT, in order to demonstrate how IPT provides different and insightful predictions.

Social categorisation

Social categorisation is said to comprise two psychological functions. Firstly, the cognitive function simplifies perception, since it enables individuals to organise the social world into familiar categories. For instance, individuals will minimise differences between stimuli which they perceive as belonging to the same category, while differences will be accentuated between stimuli belonging to separate categories. Here there is overlap with the theory of social representations, which may, at one level, be conceptualised as socio-cognitive structures, whose primary role is to imbue social stimuli (persons, objects, events) with social meaning, positioning them in a contextual framework which renders them familiar (Moscovici, 1981, 1988). This facilitates a stereotypical perception of ingroup and outgroup members as possessing specific self-aspects. For instance, use of the category 'Muslim' in British media discourse can activate negative social representations of Muslims due to Islamophobic social representations in Britain (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b). Moreover,

social categorisation provides individuals with greater meaning, since they are able to attribute specific behaviours to social group membership, as in the case of caste-based discrimination among (British) Indians (Jaspal, 2011b). In short, social categorisation may enhance the meaning principle of identity.

Secondly, social categorisation performs an 'identity function' (Chryssochoou, 2004). Every social category is attributed a social value, which means that the value of the social category will reflect upon members of the category upon self-categorisation as a group member. Clearly, the value or social status of a social category will have implications for the self-esteem of individual group members. This is reflected in the evaluation process outlined in IPT (Breakwell, 1986). For instance, the low social status of the lower caste groups in India (or 'Scheduled castes') is hypothesised to be conducive to decreased self-esteem among group members, while self-identification as members of the higher castes may be associated with increased self-esteem among group members (Jaspal, 2011b). SIT's central assumption is individuals will strive to establish and maintain a positive difference between their ingroup and relevant outgroups, which will have positive outcomes for self-esteem. It is noteworthy that the process of social comparison, which may be of heuristic value in understanding how social categories are represented psychologically to BSA, is explicable in terms of tenets from IPT. For instance, it is argued that the meaning, distinctiveness and self-esteem principles may underlie social categorisation.

Social comparison

SIT predicts that social comparison is aimed primarily at optimising self-esteem. SIT suggests that the social identity constructed, experienced and perceived by members of a group may vary in value across specific contexts of intergroup comparison; they may be positive or negative. For instance, Jaspal (2011b) has argued that, while lower caste groups may perceive self-esteem to be threatened in intergroup comparisons with members of higher castes, they may perceive feelings of social superiority in intergroup comparisons with the Bedia caste group, which is deemed to be sexually immoral due to its historical involvement in prostitution. In short, the value of one's social group may be negative in the context of one intergroup comparison but positive in the context of another. The improvement in social status reflects the process of downward comparison (Wills, 1981). SIT proposes that, when

acting primarily as members of social groups, individuals perceive the need for positive social identity. One means of constructing a positive social identity is to differentiate the ingroup positively from relevant outgroups. This refers to positive distinctiveness (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000). The principle of positive distinctiveness is offered by SIT researchers as an explanation for discrimination and prejudice (Lemyre & Smith, 1985; Oakes & Turner, 1980; Rubin & Hewstone, 1998). SIT predicts that self-esteem underlies social comparison. Conversely, IPT can provide a more multifaceted explanation of the process, such as the need for self-efficacy, belonging, self-esteem and positive distinctiveness, which will be important for understanding national and ethnic identity construction among BSA.

SIT essentially provides a theory of intergroup relations. Conversely, IPT is a theory of the self, which can elucidate the socio-psychological factors underlying the assimilation-accommodation and evaluation of national and ethnic identities within the self-concept. IPT provides insight into the contents of identity as well as the motivational principles associated with the organisation, centrality and salience of these contents. This dimension of the theory has some overlap with Turner's self-categorisation theory.

Self-categorisation theory

Like SIT, Turner's (1982) self-categorisation theory (SCT) focuses upon the psychological mechanisms and processes which facilitate the internalisation of category and group memberships within the self-concept. Although SCT has more to say about the self and particularly about intragroup processes, it echoes SIT's focus upon group processes and social behaviour in terms of group membership. This is exemplified by the use of theory to explore group polarisation (e.g Turner & Oakes, 1989) and stereotyping (e.g. Haslam, Turner, Oakes, McGarty & Hayes, 1992). More specifically, it is 'concerned with the antecedents, nature and consequences of psychological group formation: how does some collection of individuals come to define and feel themselves to be a social group and how does shared group membership influence their behaviour?' (Turner, 1985, p. 78). IPT does not focus upon group formation *per se*, but provides important insights into some of the individual and group-level psychological motives (e.g. continuity, self-esteem,

distinctiveness etc.), which may underlie the internalisation of category and group memberships within the self-concept. This is the aim of the present thesis.

It is noteworthy that researchers working in the SIT/ SCT tradition have discussed motivational issues, which is discussed next.

Motivational issues in the social identity approach

A central concern in the present thesis lies in the motivational forces underlying the construction and management of ethnic and national identities. Thus, it is important to consider the assumptions of the social identity approach (SIA) regarding the motivational principles underlying social identity construction and intergroup relations. SIA theorists sought to distinguish their approach from the individualistic and reductionist hypotheses which characterised American social psychological approaches to social identity and group processes (Hornsey, 2008). Unfortunately, this has meant that individual-based motives have largely been eschewed in SIA analyses as potential factors underlying social identity construction and intergroup relations. Instead, the collective self has been regarded as the primary basis for self-definition (Chryssochoou, 2004). Nonetheless, the SIA does make some predictions regarding the motives for social identity construction.

Tajfel and Turner (1986) originally argued that the motivational principle underlying competitive intergroup behaviour (through social comparison, for instance) was the search for a positive and secure self-concept. More specifically, group members are said to favour positive distinctiveness from relevant outgroups, which means that they will think and act in ways which facilitate this perception. Thus, the principles of self-esteem and distinctiveness are crucial. This is evidenced by the range of strategies, which SIA theorists have identified as facilitating a positive social identity among low status group members, for example. These include *inter alia* physical or psychological departure from the group, making downward comparisons which demonstrate the superiority of one's ingroup, engaging in social change to ameliorate the ingroup's social position, de-emphasising those dimensions which construct the group in a negative light (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner & Brown, 1978; Wills, 1981). Crucially, self-esteem and distinctiveness (or positive distinctiveness) are regarded as constituting the psychological prerequisites for a positive social identity. For instance, given that individuals derive a sense of social identity from the social groups to

which they belong, they are motivated to attribute higher social status to these groups. Indeed, it has been argued that the perception that one's ingroup possesses high social status will enhance self-esteem and that, conversely, the perception that one's ingroup lacks social status will threaten self-esteem (Jaspal, 2011b; Jaspal & Sitaridou, 2010).

The SIA tends to talk of 'positive' social identity construction. This suggests that other motivations may underlie social identity construction and intergroup behaviour, such as the need for certainty (Hogg, 2000; Mullin & Hogg, 1998). Indeed, IPT accords equal status to the self-esteem and other principles of identity and stresses that self-esteem is 'not the whole story' in the construction of a positive identity (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2002). It has been argued that the principles may function at group levels of human interdependence, such that group members may derive a positive (social) identity from the perception that group esteem, group continuity, group distinctiveness etc are enhanced (Lyons, 1996; Jaspal, 2011b).

The next sections consider the subjective uncertainty reduction model and optimal distinctiveness theory within the SIA approach, which explore the motivational principles underlying social identity construction.

Subjective uncertainty reduction model

The subjective uncertainty reduction model presents a motivational extension of SIT, since it regards subjective uncertainty reduction as a universal human motive (Hogg, 2000). More specifically, it is argued that 'people need to feel certain about their world and their place within it' and that 'certainty renders existence meaningful and gives one confidence in how to behave and what to expect from one's physical and social environment' (Hogg, 2000, p. 227). It is argued that subjective uncertainty arises as a result of contextual factors which challenge individuals' certainty regarding cognition, affect, perception and behaviour and, ultimately, in their sense of self. Hogg (2000, p. 230) suggests that 'uncertainty reduction appears to be associated with a greater inclination to identify with groups and to define oneself collectively'. Drawing upon Tajfel's (1969, p. 92) observation that individuals engage in a 'search for coherence', the subjective uncertainty model proposes that one powerful means of reducing uncertainty is 'self-categorization in terms of a well defined, consensual, and clearly prescriptive ingroup prototype' (Hogg, 2000, p. 233). A central tenet

of the model is that through self-categorisation as a group member one is able to (re)construct group prototypes, which resolves uncertainty; consequently, the perceptual field becomes clearer and more meaningful.

The need for subjective certainty could be regarded in terms of the meaning principle of identity, which refers to the need for purpose and significance in one's existence (Baumeister, 1991). While the subjective uncertainty reduction model is concerned primarily with the intergroup level of human interdependence, suggesting self-categorisation in terms of group membership as the optimal means of reducing subjective uncertainty, IPT provides a broader, inclusive conceptualisation of the general human motivation for meaning. Furthermore, IPT allows the researcher to explore how the need to reduce uncertainty (meaning) will interact with the principle of self-efficacy, for instance. Given the present thesis' concern with the multiple motives underlying the construction of national and ethnic identities, it seems appropriate to utilise an integrative framework providing a means of considering how the various principles may interact with one another. IPT provides the theoretical means to consider these interrelations.

Optimal distinctiveness theory

SIA theorists have focused upon distinct motivational factors. Brewer (1991) has proposed the optimal distinctiveness model in her account of the motivational principles underlying social identification. The model predicts that the universal human motive for distinctiveness from others is balanced by the opposing universal human motive for belonging, that is, inclusion within social groups and similarity and closeness to other ingroup members (Brewer, 1991; Brewer & Gardner, 1996). The hypothesis that situations of 'extreme' distinctiveness will induce pressures against distinctiveness, in order to achieve optimal distinctiveness, has received some empirical support (Brewer & Pickett, 1999; Simon et al., 1997). Similarly, it is suggested that extreme inclusiveness will result in the activation of the motive for distinctiveness. Thus, optimal distinctiveness occurs at the point of equilibrium between the two opposing motives. Crucially, the model was proposed in order to understand the collective level of self-representation and self-categorisation, since an important prediction within the framework is that self-inclusion within social groups satisfies the motive for belonging.

Conversely, IPT proposes that social group memberships need to satisfy those identity principles, which acquire psychological salience for the individual in any given social context. Thus, while levels of belonging and distinctiveness (from ethnic and national group memberships) may fluctuate, identifiers will also rely upon feelings of self-efficacy, continuity, self-esteem, meaning and coherence derived from membership in these groups. There is previous research which suggests that continuity and self-efficacy are associated with ethnic and national group memberships, respectively, suggesting that distinctiveness and belonging are not the only motivational predictors of social identification (e.g. Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a; Vadher & Barrett, 2009).

SUMMARY

The present chapter outlines IPT and social representations theory, arguing that they collectively constitute an adequate framework for the exploration of identity construction and management. Moreover, the chapter describes the SIA. A brief overview of the subjective uncertainty reduction model and the optimal distinctiveness theory is provided, since these dimensions of the SIA may be regarded as competing with IPT. SIT does provide important insights in the area of social identity construction and management, outlining the psychological processes of social categorisation and social comparison. However, it is argued that the integrative focus of IPT provides a more detailed socio-psychological account of the motivational principles potentially underlying these psychological processes. Thus, it is likely that these processes are not primordial antecedents of social identity construction but rather products of the principled operation of identity processes (Breakwell, 1986). IPT enables the researcher to consider the inter-relations between the various motivational principles underlying identity construction. For instance, ODT focuses exclusively upon the psychological equilibrium between belonging and distinctiveness, while IPT considers the contributions of self-efficacy, self-esteem and continuity to identity construction. Moreover, the thesis is concerned with the impact of media representations for the motivational principles of identity, since it is predicted that individuals will identify with social groups insofar as they enhance the identity principles (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2002). IPT's integrative focus upon threat and coping facilitates the investigation of how group members respond to media and social representations, which play a crucial role in the

construction and management of these identities. Finally, for the purpose of exploring the inter-relations between national and ethnic identities among BSA, the present chapter outlines the psychological coherence principle and contrasts it with the continuity principle in order to highlight the potential heuristic and predictive value of IPT in research into multiple identification.

Having highlighted the value of IPT, the next sections of this chapter applies tenets from the theory to the social sciences literature on the construction and management of national and ethnic identities among BSA.

Britishness among British South Asians

The concept of national identity has most frequently been the domain of sociologists and anthropologists. Many social psychologists within this camp of research employ positivist techniques for measuring levels of national identifications manifested by individuals at a given moment in time (e.g. Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). On the other hand, psychologists working within social constructionism highlight the inherent complexity of the category 'nation', which is constructed, contested and negotiated in discourse and rhetoric (e.g. Condor, 2000; Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). The epistemological foundations of this approach indicate that the meanings attached to nationhood can never be static and reflective of an 'inner reality', but rather that they are continuously contested and negotiated across time and situation (Burr, 2003).

Given this epistemological divide within social psychology, one of the principal difficulties identifiable within the literature is the chronic ambivalence in the use and conceptualisation of the relevant terminology *vis-à-vis* national identity. While some scholars regard the nation in terms of a social attitude, others highlight the centrality of rhetoric in its construction. Moreover, there is little existing research into the socio-psychological processes and mechanisms associated with the construction of national identity and its management alongside other identities. While social scientists have explored the concept of the 'nation' and the individual's relationship to the construct, the possible *reasons* underlying national identification and the repercussions for the self-concept have not been examined in sufficient depth. The thesis partly explores the qualitative nature of national identity among BSA and the motivations underlying national attachment. The theoretical approach in this thesis acknowledges the important role of social representations in the construction and maintenance of national identity. Previous research suggests that BSA likely hold social representations of Britishness, nationhood and the compatibility of British and ethnic identities, which are different from those held by the WBM (e.g. Ballard, 1994a; Cinnirella & Hamilton, 2007; Modood, 2005; Vadher & Barrett, 2009). The present chapter provides a review of the social sciences research into national identity among BSA, while

drawing upon generic research into national identity in order to formulate the research questions explored in the present thesis.

First, the concept of nationhood and its socio-psychological dimension are explored. Second, the chapter outlines the potential socio-psychological functions of national identification for the self-concept. Third, the chapter explores the concept of Britishness, in particular. Crucially, the chapter explores these issues in relation to BSA, which addresses an important lacuna in the social sciences literature on Britishness. Accordingly, the chapter draws upon existing research into early migrant social representations of Britishness, the 'myth of return', and perceived 'barriers' to Britishness among BSA.

The nation and national identity

Anderson is arguably one of the most regularly cited scholars in the field of national identity. In his historical account of the development and reception of nationalism, Anderson (1983, p. 6) defined the nation in terms of 'an imagined political community that is imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign'. It is imagined since members will never know all of their fellow-members 'yet in the minds of each lives the images of their communion' (p. 7). Indeed, it is expected that *imagined* national group will have particularly positive outcomes for the belonging principle of identity, provided that the individual self-categorises as a member thereof. More specifically, the individual perceives him-/ herself to belong in a large social collective despite not being personally acquainted with the majority of their co-nationals. It is unclear whether BSA will 'imagine' the national community as united and inclusive of their ethnic ingroup or as an outgroup. However, previous research suggests that BSA might not self-categorise as members of this imagined community due to perceived rejection from the national group from the WBM (Modood et al., 1997). The question of self-inclusion within the national community is of growing importance.

Subsequent to Anderson's (1983) ground-breaking work on (national) communities, scholars have attempted to elucidate the various conceptual dimensions of the nation. Smith (1991, p. 14) defines a nation as 'a named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members' (see also Guibernau, 2007). Smith's (1991) five fundamental features are presented as objective elements of nationhood. However, as

Connor (1994, p. 43) states, 'it is the self view of one's group rather than the tangible characteristics that is of essence in determining the existence or non-existence' of a national identity. Indeed, this is an important means of understanding the way, in which the nation is represented socially at the level of the group and psychologically at the level of the individual. It is clear that Smith's (1991) definition of the nation enhances our understanding of the aspects of nationhood which are possibly 'imagined' as being nationally uniform and consistent. It is important to build upon this sociological account of national identity by providing insight into the socio-psychological aspects of national identity.

It is clear that social representations regarding geographic territory, common myth and common duties are important in shaping national identity (Cinnirella, 1996, 1997b). As Guibernau (2007, p. 21) observes, education and the media are two important institutions that enable individuals to 'imagine' their nations as 'territorially bound, distinct and sovereign', because these social media are primary sources of societal information or social representations (see also Cinnirella, 1996). However, it is reasonable to assume that BSA and the WBM may have differing levels and types of exposure to education and the media and that they may respond to the same representations differently. For instance, Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010b) argue that, while negative media representations of Muslims may enhance distinctiveness and self-esteem among the WBM, they are likely threaten national belonging among British Muslims. This partly constitutes our rationale for considering the role of media representations in identity the construction and management of British national and ethnic identities.

Guibernau (2007) alludes to the socio-psychological dimension of national identity in her discussion. In total, she identifies five dimensions of national identity, namely (i) psychological, (ii) cultural, (iii) territorial, (iv) historical and (v) political. According to her analysis, the psychological dimension of national identity is the consciousness of a collective identity based upon the perceived 'closeness' uniting members of a nation. Indeed, this line of thought is consistent with the social identity approach, which explicates that part of the self-concept concerned with group membership (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Furthermore, Guibernau (2007) highlights that invented as well as real attributes which sustain a belief in this common ancestry collectively make up national identity and thereby foster a sense of collective belonging, loyalty and social cohesion among fellow members of a nation. This

particular strand of the psychological dimension of national identity enhances the belonging principle, which motivates individuals to perceive feelings of inclusion within the national group and acceptance from other national group members (Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

Guibernau (2007) suggests that the values, beliefs, customs, habits and conventions and languages associated with the nation constitute the cultural dimension of national identity. The cultural dimension of national identity is best described in terms of the *content dimension* of national identity, which 'comprises the defining properties of the identity, the characteristics which the individual concerned considers actually to describe himself or herself' as a national ingroup member (Breakwell, 1986, p. 12). Clearly, the role of social representation is of crucial importance, since a group will collectively develop representations of the values, beliefs and customs, which collectively comprise the content dimension of national identity (Moscovici, 1988). However, as highlighted earlier, it is generally accepted that the cultural social representations held by BSA do not necessarily correspond closely to those held and encouraged by the WBM. Indeed, Ballard (1994a) has argued that FGSA can hold rather negative representations of the values perceived to be associated with the WBM, particularly in relation to sexuality and family life. Furthermore, Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010a) have demonstrated that even the second generation can perceive British norms and values to be 'excessively' liberal. Guibernau (2007) accurately observes the importance of the 'cultural dimension' of the nation, which is largely a consideration of social representations of national culture. The present thesis examines the social representations held by BSA, which possibly diverge from those held by the WBM.

Temporality and the civic/ethnic divide in national identity
Temporality is an important issue in national identity. Guibernau (2007) questions precisely how far one should look back in order to ascertain the roots of a nation. Indeed, 'history contributes to the construction of a certain image of the nation and represents the cradle where the national character was forged' (Guibernau, 2007, p. 20). A key concern regarding national identity among FGSA relates to their early experiences upon arrival and settlement in Britain. Previous ethnographic research highlights the existence and experience of racism and discrimination among the early migrants to Britain, which could impede the development and maintenance of British national identity among these individuals (Jacobson, 1997a).

This would be expected if individuals consider their arrival in Britain to mark the beginning of their national identity. However, those individuals who associate Britishness with their instrumental achievements, associated with later more egalitarian and prosperous stages of settlement in Britain, might exhibit a more positive relationship to Britishness. Indeed, instrumental national identity may be pertinently associated with the self-efficacy principle, which suggests that self-efficacy may be the motivating principle in this case.

The association of Britishness with colonialism and the subjugation of the Indian Subcontinent may, similarly, inhibit a positive attachment to Britishness among BSA. This may be attributed to the negative outcomes for the continuity principle entailed by the temporal discontinuity inherent in holding the social representation that Britain subjugated the Indian Subcontinent and the subsequent representation that one should self-identify with Britishness. Conversely, those BSA who temporally delineate colonial Britishness and contemporary Britishness could be expected to embrace Britishness more readily (see also Bradley, 2008). This compartmentalisation of the imperial past and contemporary Britishness essentially re-defines what it means to be British and may allow access to the national identity. Guibernau (2007, p. 20-21) highlights that strong emotions such as 'celebration, pride and self-esteem as well as hatred and thirst for vengeance can equally be instilled in people's minds by appealing to history'. Thus, social representations of the national history can be potent and powerful (see also Hilton & Liu, 2008). Thus, the present thesis explores how BSA *subjectively* remember, feel and talk about the imagined territorial and historical issues associated with relevant ingroups, in order to understand how they construct their national identities.

There has been much debate regarding the (im-)mutability of ethnicity (Woods, 2007), with anthropologists (e.g. Eriksen, 1993; Song, 2003) generally arguing that it is mutable and situational, and positivist psychologists (e.g. Aboud, 1984; Nesdale, 2004) arguing that it is fixed and immutable. This phenomenon might similarly be considered in relation to national identity. For instance, Poole (1999, p. 12) argues that 'we come to feel that our national identity is as nature and inescapable as our gender', suggesting that it is not open to change over time. Endorsement of this essentialist social representation of nationhood means that national group members come to regard national identity as static and immutable. Indeed, sociologists of national identity have differentiated between the two

distinct 'models' which have been invoked in order to construct the boundaries of the nation, namely the 'ethnic' and the 'civic' models. An 'ethnic' conceptualisation of the nation would posit that common ancestry and biological ancestry are fundamental prerequisites for inclusion within the national group, while a 'civic' conceptualisation would refer to a voluntary association of individuals who share common legal and political rights and duties (Smith, 1991, 1998). Crucially, the former is largely understood to be primordial in that the individual is regarded as being 'born' into the group, while the latter refers to a voluntary and potentially mutable group membership based upon citizenship. The civic-ethnic divide in the understanding of national identity and the issue of (im-)mutability are important in the scholarly consideration of national identity construction among FGSA, given the necessary *change* in national attachment if Britishness is to be endorsed. A civic understanding of nationhood will likely ensue from the individual's endorsement of the social representation that nationhood is flexible and mutable.

It is reasonable to assume that the perception that the WBM endorse their membership in the national group will facilitate Britishness among BSA, while the perception of the WBM's exclusion and 'otherisation' of BSA will have the opposite effect. This is largely contingent upon the dominant social representations functioning in relevant social contexts. Indeed, social representations can impact the cognitive and affective aspects of national identity.

Cognitive and affective aspects of national identity
Barrett (2000) emphasises the importance of socio-psychological contributions to national identity research in his detailed consideration of the cognitive aspects of national identity. These include (i) knowledge of the existence of the national group; (ii) self-categorisation as a member of the national group; (iii) knowledge of the national geographical territory; (iv) knowledge of national emblems; and (v) beliefs about common descent and kinship among group members. This account of national identity attaches importance to belief and knowledge, rather than objective criteria in the construction of national identity (cf. Smith, 1991). Here, insights from social representations theory may be useful.

It has been hypothesised that individuals will personalise social representations in accordance with identity processes (Breakwell, 2001). Crucially, the personalisation of

social representations of the nation may vary in accordance with ethnic background. In short, the WBM and BSA likely personalise these representations differently. BSA will likely personalise social representations of the nation (i.e. knowledge of the national group) in ways, which provide them with feelings of self-esteem, distinctiveness, self-efficacy etc. For instance, while members of the WBM may regard Britain's imperial past in terms of national pride, BSA will likely perceive its imperial past in negative terms due to Britain's involvement in the Indian Subcontinent (Cinnirella & Hamilton, 2007). This may activate perceptions of weak ingroup (self) efficacy in former times.

Barrett (2000, p. 8) describes the affective aspects of national identity as 'the feelings, emotions and evaluations which make up the sense of national identity'. Affective aspects of national identity include, *inter alia*, (i) the subjective importance that one attaches to their national identity; (ii) one's evaluation of it; (iii) one's sense of attachment to the identity; (iv) the emotional attachment to the national geographical territory; and (v) social emotions such as national guilt, embarrassment or pride and feelings towards individuals who do and do not belong to one's national group. This corresponds to the evaluation process of identity, which entails 'the allocation of meaning and value to [national] identity content both new and old' (Breakwell, 1986, p. 23). In attributing value to identity elements, one determines their importance, one's attachment to them and the emotions associated with them.

Previous research among British Pakistanis suggests that national identity is less of a priority *vis-à-vis* ethnic and religious identities, which are more central to the identity structure (Jacobson, 1997b). This sense of disidentification with Britishness could be attributed to perceived threats to belonging in the national group associated with the perceived lack of acceptance and inclusion from the WBM (Jacobson, 1997a; Vadher & Barrett, 2009). Clearly, racism and discrimination can induce disidentification. This can lead to the attribution of negative valence to the national group and, hence, to the concept of Britishness in general. It is expected that the evaluation process would function to create negative interpersonal relations with stigmatising members of the national group (e.g. the WBM). For instance, Jaspal and Coyle (2010b) highlight that SGSA can interpret intercultural behaviour (e.g. 'language crossing') of WBM members in terms of racism. It is evident that individuals require feelings of acceptance and inclusion in social groups, which would motivate BSA, who disidentify with Britishness, to seek acceptance and inclusion

from an alternative group membership (Breakwell, 1986). The negative valence attributed to Britishness ensures that alternative group memberships at the same level of abstraction (e.g. national and religious groups) will become more 'core'. This exhibits some of the ways in which the affective aspects of British national identity may be affected among BSA.

Identity functionality of Britishness

IPT theorists argue that social categories acquire psychological salience or 'centrality' in accordance with identity processes (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000, 2002). Thus, it is hypothesised that the extent to which national identity enhances the identity principles will predict identification with the national group. This highlights the importance of investigating how national identity might affect identity processes. Kelman (1997) states that, insofar as a group of individuals come to regard themselves as constituting 'a unique identifiable entity' (distinctiveness), 'with a claim to continuity over time' (continuity), 'to unity across geographical distance' (belonging) and 'to the right of various forms of self-expression' (self-efficacy), one can say that they have developed a sense of national identity. This account suggests that the principles of distinctiveness, continuity, belonging and self-efficacy are most pertinently associated with the construction of national identity.

To this extent, it is possible to talk of the psychological *functionality* of national identification. However, the identity functionality of Britishness for BSA may well differ from that of the WBM. For instance, it is likely that the psychological coherence principle is influenced by British national identification. Indeed, the self-concept may also encompass ethnic and religious identities, which can be subjectively regarded by BSA as being in conflict with Britishness. Moreover, it is suggested that the continuity principle may be more pertinently associated with ethnic identity than British national identity, highlighting the latency of continuity in relation to national identity among BSA (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). The self-efficacy principle seems to constitute an important dimension of national identity construction among BSA, since the commonly observed form of attachment to the nation is an instrumental one, which involves the derivation of feelings of competence, control and opportunity. National and ethnic identities may curb each other's limitations regarding the enhancement of identity principles (Breakwell, 1986). Thus, the inability of

ethnic identity to satisfy self-efficacy may be curbed by the ability of national identity to do so.

It would be inaccurate to assume that Britishness will transcend *all* social boundaries among all ethno-religious groups (cf. Bar-Tal, 1994; Guibernau, 2007). This illustrates the necessity of considering the position of Britishness in relation to other (potentially competing) social identities, e.g. religious and ethnic group memberships. Furthermore, it is appropriate to explore the psychological functions served by a national identity which does not take precedence over other identities. For instance, although Britishness might not be 'core' among British Pakistanis, it may nonetheless perform specific psychological functions, such as an 'exit option' for those groups which make psychologically challenging impositions upon their members (Tajfel, 1975). Indeed, the present thesis sets out to explore the qualitative nature and functions of Britishness *vis-à-vis* other identities within the self-concept among BSA, regardless of its centrality for the individual.

In terms of functionality, Kelman (1969, p. 279) highlights two specific types of 'ties between individual members and the system [nation]'; national attachment can be either *sentimental* or *instrumental*. Instrumental attachment to the nation is considered to be a rational one, since it involves the individual's assessment of the subjective benefits of belonging to the nation. Individuals who hold an instrumental attachment to the nation regard the nation as helping to realise materialistic goals, such as access to education, wealth etc. Conversely, sentimental attachment to the nation is largely emotional and requires close correspondence between the individual's personal values and national values. It is closely related to tradition, cultural achievement of the nation and dedication to national symbols. The sentimental attachment exhibited by members of the WBM may essentially impede the endorsement of superordinate geo-political identities, such as European identity (Cinnirella, 1997b).

However, since the primary mode of national self-identification among BSA is instrumental, this superordinate identity may be more available to BSA (Cinnirella & Hamilton, 2007). Vadher and Barrett (2009) observe an instrumental attachment to the nation among their SGSA participants. Similarly, it has been observed that one of the primary motives for mass migration of BSA to Britain was the economic benefits, suggesting instrumental national attachment (Ballard, 1994a). The literature suggests that the forms of

attachment among the WBM and BSA may be different. The present thesis explores the possible psychological factors *underlying* instrumental and sentimental attachments to the nation. Jaspal and Cinnirella (in press, a) have argued that the *sentimental* attachment to the ethnic group among BSA may provide group members with feelings of temporal continuity and self-esteem, in particular. Conversely, the self-efficacy principle may be associated with instrumental attachment to the nation, since this form of national attachment is conducive to the development of feelings of competence and control through the attainment of material and practical goals, otherwise considered to be unavailable to the individual.

Versions of Britishness

In addition to general theorising on national identity, scholars have engaged with the particular question of Britishness (e.g. Bradley, 2008). It is important to examine the potential idiosyncrasies of Britishness *vis-à-vis* the construct of national identity in general for two main reasons. Firstly, the acculturative orientations preferred by majority group members differ in accordance with the dominant ideology *vis-à-vis* immigrant acculturation (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997). The ideology prevalent in Britain is unlike the ethnicist/ assimilationist ideological position of Israel, for instance, highlighting the importance of considering the idiosyncrasies of Britishness. Secondly, in the specific context of BSA, Britishness, in particular, may have unique relations with Indian and Pakistani ethnic identities, given the historical relationship between British colonialism and the Indian Subcontinent. This highlights the potential differences between the British-Indian identity configuration and the American-Indian identity configuration, for instance (see Maira, 2002). Much of the previous work on British national identity tends to have focused upon the management and reconciliation of English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish identities with British identity following devolution (e.g. Kiely, McCrone & Bechhofer, 2005; McCrone & Bechhofer, 2008; Saeed, Blain, & Forbes, 1999). However, there is a sizeable amount of fairly dated work on British national identity among ethnic minorities (Jacobson, 1997b; Modood et al., 1994; Modood et al., 1997).

Kiely, McCrone & Bechhofer (2005) highlight the various different conceptions of Britishness in both England and Scotland, as well as among Scottish-born migrants in England and English-born migrants in Scotland. Among them, Britishness could be seen as

(i) a synonym for 'English'; (ii) the possession of a British passport; (iii) a symbol of a regrettable, primarily racist past; (iv) a proud and nostalgic legacy of 'greatness'; (v) a statement of political unity between the nations, which could be positive or negative; (vi) 'a liberal, civic identity uniting peoples of diverse nations and ethnicities under a common umbrella of statehood' (Kiely, McCrone & Bechhofer, 2005, p. 79). The authors demonstrate the significant conceptual variation regarding the meanings of Britishness within a sample of White Britons; it can evoke civic, ethnic or racial connotations (see also Modood et al., 1997).

This sociological research highlights the variety of different conceptions of Britishness and Englishness, which can function in distinct cultural and temporal contexts. However, the task of the social psychologist is to formulate hypotheses predicting the conditions under which particular conceptions of Britishness will prevail. It is reasonable to assume that those BSA who perceive their ethnic identity as 'core' may anchor their possible exclusion from the national group to negative social representations of British colonialism and the 'regrettable past' in the Subcontinent. This assumption can be verified through close attention to the broader contexts, in which BSA think and talk about Britishness.

There has been some important work within the social constructionist tradition of socio-psychological research into Britishness (e.g. Condor, 2000). Jacobson (2002, p. 189) highlights 'a profound fear of change [which] is apparent in much of the tabloid discourse of nationhood' and a firm rooting of national life in the past. This suggests that national continuity is preserved in media representations, since this principle is pertinent to the primary readership, namely the WBM. However, it is unclear whether BSA derive feelings of temporal continuity from Britishness, given that membership in the ethnic group seems to provide continuity more readily (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). Moreover, Jacobson (2002) notes that the tabloid Press tends to exhibit and encourage unwavering support for Britishness and for nationhood in general, which connects with the assumption that Britishness can constitute an all inclusive superordinate identity category among the WBM (see also Conboy, 2006). However, given the potential contradictions between national and ethnic identities, the socio-psychological response from BSA may be distinct. This important research into the rhetorical construction of Britishness in the Press facilitates the development of hypotheses regarding individuals' potential responses to these

representations and regarding the principles underlying British national identification. The present thesis explores the potential responses to media representations and principle priority among BSA.

In addition to media research, social constructionists have examined the rhetorical construction of Britishness in everyday talk. Scholars working in this field have investigated how individuals construct their attachment to the nation. For instance, Abell, Condor, Lowe, Gibson and Stevenson (2007) argue that participants associated with far-right political groups often use national football as a means of manifesting their strong sense of *English* national identity. Conversely, it was found that some individuals were reluctant to exhibit any overt support for English football and constructed it as being associated with nationalism. Both observations suggest that football may be regarded as a vehicle for the expression of (English) national identity, regardless of whether individuals subjectively lay claim to football as a national symbol. This work enhances our understanding of the content dimension of English national identity among a particular subgroup within British society, since it elucidates the means of expressing national identity. It is important to explore the contents of Britishness among BSA, which might not necessarily revolve around football, given the social representation of racism and exclusion of ethnic minorities within this sport (e.g. Burdsey, 2010). The role of ideology in national identity construction is of crucial importance (Haste, 2004), given the effect for acculturative orientations preferred by both the dominant and minority groups. However, discourse and rhetoric alone do not shed light upon the psychological antecedents and consequences of this form of identification. The integration of realist and social constructionist analyses, which is promoted in the present thesis, can enhance our understanding of responses to the 'boundaries of Britishness'. This is discussed next.

Boundaries of Britishness

The concept of 'boundaries of Britishness' can enhance our understanding of individuals' responses to national symbols. In an article exploring the nature of British national attachment among British Pakistani youth, Jacobson (1997a) outlines a series of 'boundaries of Britishness'. These can be regarded as social representations which define the contents of Britishness and the permeability of group boundaries. These boundaries can be 'racial',

'cultural' or 'civic'. Moreover, Vadher and Barrett (2009) have described further boundaries, namely historical, lifestyle and multicultural boundaries. Following Smith (1991, p. 189) the civic boundary of national identity places particular emphasis upon citizenship and is 'relatively open or inclusive in the sense that it delineates a conception of Britishness which encompasses the large majority of members of ethnic minorities in Britain'. It is expected that this boundary of Britishness will enhance the belonging principle among BSA, since it highlights the permeability of British national group membership for those individuals willing to adopt key norms and values associated with Britishness. The 'racial' boundary defines those who are of British ancestry as British and, thus, bars ethnic minority individuals from membership in the national category. This boundary is likely to reduce the potential for Britishness to enhance the belonging principle and will motivate individuals to seek belonging in alternative group memberships.

Finally, the 'cultural' boundary refers to the expectation that one will engage in behaviour, life-styles and adopt values, which are perceived as being shared among national ingroup members. This might be more adequately conceptualised in terms of the expectation that one will accept, internalise and reproduce *hegemonic* cultural representations regarding what it means to be British (Breakwell, 2001). In a continuum, this boundary could be positioned in between the two aforementioned boundaries since, although 'race' is not regarded as a prerequisite for inclusion in the national group, the boundary does not deem British citizenship alone to be an adequate marker of Britishness either. In principle, this boundary of Britishness renders the national identity more accessible than the racial boundary and less accessible than the civic boundary. Accordingly, the present thesis explores the inter-relations between norms and values associated with Britishness and ethnic identity. Moreover, it investigates the willingness of BSA to adopt norms and values of Britishness. These two factors will determine the extent to which feelings of acceptance and inclusion can be derived from Britishness among individuals adhering to the cultural boundary. Crucially, individuals will derive their understanding of the 'boundaries of Britishness' through exposure to dominant social representations disseminated in media representations. The thesis provides some insight into the nature of these representations.

It is important to examine how these boundaries are 'managed' psychologically, through the activation of coping strategies (Breakwell, 1986). This might in turn shed light

upon the position of ethnic identity in relation to Britishness. This hypothesis is derived from research into the early experiences of BSA upon settlement in Britain, which is discussed next.

BSA early migrant perceptions/ myth of return

There has been some anthropological research focusing specifically upon the early experiences and cultures of FGSA (e.g. Ballard, 1994a, 1994b; Shaw, 1994). Anwar's (1976) discussion of the 'myth of return' among early Pakistani settlers in Britain has been continued by writers interested in the FGSA experience (e.g. Ballard, 1994a; Ramji, 2006). This work enhances our understanding of the qualitative nature of Britishness among FGSA, providing insight into the temporal development of national identity in this population. Shaw (1994) observes that the myth of return was a key factor in the maintenance and justification of Pakistani cultural norms and traditions during the early phase of settlement in Britain. Since many FGSA believed that they would eventually return to their countries of origin, they did not envisage settlement in Britain. Thus, there was no perceived need for integration in British society or for the assimilation-accommodation of self-aspects, norms and values associated with Britishness. Accordingly, individuals did not distance themselves from the norms and traditions associated with their South Asian cultural backgrounds. After all, 'the economic consideration was the sole motive for migration' (Hiro, 1973, p. 107).

Although FGSA clearly recognised the immense socio-economic advantages associated with migration to Britain, their social representations of Britishness and of the WBM were largely negative. Ballard (1994a, p. 13) notes that many FGSA 'saw their White neighbours' lifestyles, their standards (or lack of them) of personal hygiene, the apparent absence of any sense of personal dignity, and the individualism and hedonism of their everyday lives' as scandalous. Thus, it was considered both unnecessary and undesirable to assimilate and accommodate self-aspects, norms and values of Britishness into the self-concept (Shaw, 1994). Although negative social representations of Britishness were pervasive among FGSA in the early stages of settlement, there is some empirical evidence that these representations have persisted among BSA and even infiltrated the meaning-making of subsequent generations of BSA. For instance, Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010a) observe that British Muslim gay men of Pakistani descent may attribute the origins of their

homosexuality to the 'British society', which is employed as a monolithic, essentialised category. They employ external attribution in this way, because of existing social representations of 'British society' as decadent and sexually immoral (Ballard, 1994a).

The socialisation of FGSA in the largely collectivist society of the Subcontinent, which attach importance to the notion of kinship ('biraderi' and 'izzat'), coupled with their commitment to the 'myth of return', rendered their sense of national identity largely unproblematic in the early phase of settlement. In short, FGSA did not derive their sense of national identity from being British, but rather from being Pakistani, Indian, Bangladeshi and so on. In fact, the assimilation-accommodation of self-aspects, norms and values associated with Britishness (e.g. drinking alcohol, going to nightclubs, having casual premarital sex) was highly stigmatised by the ethno-national immigrant minority. This would explain the pervasive tendency for migrants' families, who remained in the Subcontinent, to encourage their migrant sons to apply for marriage visas for their wives so they and their children could join their migrant husbands (Shaw, 1994). This socio-historical perspective makes an important contribution to the debate regarding Britishness among FGSA, since it demonstrates some of the ways, in which social context and societal structure can impinge upon the psychological attachment to the nation. Moreover, the clear shift in socio-economic context and position and the gradual abandonment of the 'myth of return' highlight the need to investigate social representations of Britishness and its relationship with ethnic identity in contemporary terms.

Further insight into socio-economic context and position is important. Most BSA migrants did not return to their countries of origin but settled in industrial areas with thriving textile industries such as Yorkshire and the Midlands (Barz & Siegel, 1988; Edwards, 2000). Today BSA of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi descent constitute approximately half of the ethnic minority population in the UK (Scott, Pearce & Goldblatt, 2001), the majority of whom are SGSA born and raised in Britain. Many FGSA, and the majority of the early migrants, have spent most of their lives in the UK, and have raised their primarily English-speaking British-born children. These shifts in demographic and socio-economic factors have facilitated socio-psychological change, precipitated by increased contact between BSA and the WBM. This is the result of social mixing in employment, housing and in other spheres of social life. The mixed schooling of the SGSA alongside the WBM and the

development of stronger social ties between the two ethno-racial groups have induced the need for BSA to acknowledge their children's 'bicultural' identities comprising elements of their ethnic and national cultures (Abbas, 2000, 2002). The vicissitudes of FGSA identity and experience in Britain have almost certainly shaped national identity and the qualitative nature of their attachment to Britain. Britain is no longer viewed solely as the economic haven it represented during the early phases of settlement, but rather as 'home' to many FGSA and especially to their children who tend to view the Subcontinent primarily as a holiday destination (Harris, 2006).

Relations between FGSA and the WBM are worthy of investigation, since their relative attachments to Britishness are likely affected by their relations with one another. It has been noted that social representations of South Asian migrants to Britain were generally negative among the WBM, for whom BSA 'smelled of curry', were 'dirty', dressed in strange clothes, and lived 'packed like sardines in a room' (Brah, 1996, p. 68). Thus, in many cases, FGSA were viewed as an alien and undesirable presence in Britain, which should be isolated rather than integrated into society. It is therefore conceivable that this would have negative outcomes for the belonging principle among BSA, which requires that individuals perceive feelings of acceptance and inclusion from relevant others (Baumeister and Leary, 1995). In this case, relevant others would necessarily refer to other members of the social group, i.e. the WBM. The resourcefulness of individuals in salvaging identity will motivate them to derive feelings of belonging from alternative group memberships (Breakwell, 1986). Accordingly, the establishment of close-knit 'communities' and dense social networks in various areas of Britain has ensured that FGSA derive feelings of acceptance and inclusion from other members of their *ethnic* groups. However, the very strategy for protecting belonging in fact serves to preserve the social representation among the WBM that FGSA constitute an alien, self-segregating presence estranged from the WBM (Bagguley & Hussain, 2005). Thus, the belonging principle may nonetheless remain vulnerable to threat.

A multitude of socio-political factors contributed to the social representation among FGSA that they were not accepted and included in broader society, threatening their sense of belonging in the nation. For instance, immigration legislation became increasingly stricter over several decades and there was little anti-racism legislation protecting BSA from

discrimination (Solomos, 1993). It is possible that the continuity principle will motivate FGSA to maintain their negative social representation of Britishness. Continuity of these representations might preserve the 'core-ness' of other competing social identities (e.g. ethnic and/ or religious identities) *vis-à-vis* Britishness. This is not necessarily applicable to SGSA. However, the present thesis investigates how the early experiences of FGSA might impact SGSAs' attachment to Britishness. The potential discrepancies in the personalisation of these social representations of Britishness among FGSA and SGSA highlight the importance of exploring relational factors in the construction of Britishness.

SUMMARY

This chapter highlights lacunae in the existing literature on the social psychology of national identity, recommending the investigation of the socio-psychological processes and mechanisms associated with the construction of national identity and its management alongside other identities. The thesis addresses these lacunae through the exploration of BSAs' accounts of national and ethnic identities and in their responses to media representations in a survey questionnaire.

The concept of 'imagined communities' is useful in elucidating the different ways, in which the nation is imagined by various ethnic groups within its boundaries. It is unclear whether BSA will 'imagine' the national community as united and inclusive of their ethnic ingroup or as an outgroup, given that existing research suggests that BSA can perceive discrimination and rejection from the national group (Modood et al., 1997). The media may shape people's sense of belonging in the nation. Media representations are a crucial source of social representations, particularly regarding other social groups within national boundaries. These may influence the development of Britishness among BSA, since they might shape individuals' awareness of dominant social representations held by the WBM. This partly constitutes our rationale for considering the role of media representations in the construction and management of British national and ethnic identities. It is reasonable to assume that BSA and the WBM may have differing levels and types of exposure to the media and that they may respond to the same representations differently. Identity processes will likely be affected by awareness of and exposure to these media representations in different ways, given their distinct implications for the sense of self.

Research within the social constructionist tradition has made important contributions to the social psychology of national identity. The present thesis builds upon this existing research through the incorporation of insights from realist approaches. The existing research highlights that national categories can be constructed in different ways both in talk and in media reporting. It is important to complement this work with empirical evidence of how BSA will respond psychologically to such social constructions, which could provide insight into the construction and management of national and ethnic identities. Indeed, it has been argued that exposure to social constructions of group threat can have important implications for identity processes, which itself can affect identification with relevant social categories (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b).

It is vital to consider the qualitative nature of national attachment itself in any study of national identity construction. For instance, BSAs' endorsement of 'civic' national identity may facilitate their attachment to the nation, while their endorsement of 'ethnic' national identity will likely inhibit it. Moreover, while the boundaries of Britishness provide insight into the potential barriers to British national identification, the present thesis seeks to understand how individuals will 'cope' with these boundaries, safeguarding the principled operation of identity processes. For instance, it is evident that individuals require feelings of acceptance and inclusion in social groups, which would motivate those individuals who disidentify with Britishness, to seek acceptance and inclusion from an alternative group membership.

It is noteworthy that Britishness is not manifested uniformly among all BSA. This chapter highlights potential discrepancies in social representations regarding Britishness and ethnic identity among FGSA and SGSA. It is important to consider temporal factors in the construction of Britishness, since one's attachment to Britishness may be contingent upon dominant social representations of the ethnic group in the past. Accordingly, the present thesis explores how BSA *subjectively* remember, feel and talk about the imagined territorial and historical issues associated with Britishness and the ethnic group, in order to elucidate how they construct national identity and how they manage it alongside other identities.

In light of the observations made in this review, the present thesis explores: (i) how British national and ethnic identities are manifested by BSA; (ii) how British national and ethnic identification impinge upon identity processes; (iii) how social representations of

Britishness and the ethnic group affect intergroup relations with the WBM and subgroups within the superordinate category 'BSA'; and (iv) the management of self-aspects associated with British national and ethnic groups in various social contexts.

The next section of this chapter explores an identity which is regarded as 'core' for many BSA, namely ethnic identity.

Ethnicity among British South Asians

Ethnic identity is one dimension of the self which has received much empirical and theoretical attention in the social sciences, given its wide-ranging implications for *inter alia* intergroup relations (Hofman, 1988; Verkuyten, 2005), linguistic behaviour (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010a, 2010b) and psychological well-being (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). In recent times, social psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists have considered ethnic identity construction among BSA (Modood et al., 1997; Vadher & Barrett, 2009; Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a; Jaspal & Coyle, 2010a, 2010b). However, ethnic identification has scarcely been explored within the broader context of identity processes. Earlier in the thesis it has been argued that it is vital to consider basic motivational principles of identity, in order to understand the construction of national and ethnic identities, and indeed their inter-relations and management.

Various identificatory possibilities are available to BSA (Jaspal, 2011c). BSA constitutes a superordinate ethno-racial category, which is frequently employed by outgroups to denote individuals of Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi descent. BSA individuals may themselves employ the superordinate category for self-definition, although there tends to be a preference for specific ethnic categories, such as 'Indian', 'Pakistani' or 'Bangladeshi' (Jacobson, 1997b; Saeed, Blaines & Forbes, 1999). Recent research demonstrates that individuals may in fact employ narrower ethno-regional categories (e.g. Panjabi or Gujarati) for self-definition, particularly in sociolinguistic contexts (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010a). 'Naming', recognition and categorisation can have important socio-psychological implications in multicultural Britain, since the ethnic categories used for self-definition may not necessarily coincide with those employed by others to define an individual (Raj, 2000). While habit may dictate the sorts of categories employed by outgroups to denote BSA, BSA themselves will likely self-categorise in accordance with the benefits for identity processes (Breakwell, 1986).

After providing the definition of ethnic identity underlying the thesis, the chapter outlines the potential socio-psychological outcomes of ethnic identification among BSA. This chapter elucidates how ethnic identity is constructed, such as the role of the 'relational

self' therein, as well as how processes of inclusion and exclusion in the ethnic group may be perceived and manifested by group members. The final sections of this chapter discuss the role of ethnic identity within the broader framework of multiple identities including how BSA might manage and reconcile these identities. Having demonstrated the utility of IPT in the first chapter, the present chapter applies relevant concepts from IPT to elements of the vast social sciences literature on ethnic identity construction.

Towards a conceptualisation of ethnicity

There is an abundant literature on ethnicity spanning across several academic disciplines. The topic has been addressed by anthropologists (e.g. Eriksen, 1993), by sociologists (e.g. Mason, 2000; Rex, 2004) and by social psychologists (e.g. Phinney, 1996; Verkuyten, 2005; Zagefka, 2009). Most researchers (e.g. Laitin, 1998; Smith, 1998; Sternberg, Grigorenko & Kidd, 2005) agree that ethnicity is constructed (subject to human agency) rather than primordial (based upon immutable biological difference), although the extent to which human agency is understood to determine ethnicity frequently varies according to the epistemological position of the researcher. For instance, some social scientists (e.g. Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991) argue that ethnicity is largely fictive and exists only within discourse, while others (e.g. Phinney, 1996) view ethnic identity as being subject to societal constraints and to perceptions of others. Indeed, 'voluntary ethnicity', or a unilateral claim to an ethnic identity, is unlikely to be possible since the identity must be 'validated' by significant others (Billig, 1995; Jaspal & Coyle, 2010a, 2010b; Reicher & Hopkins, 2001).

Abizadeh (2001) provides a convincing account of ethnic identity. For him, 'ethnicity is based on mythical *beliefs* about the genealogical facts, not the genealogical facts themselves [..] the myths themselves can often be based on historically inaccurate *beliefs*. [Ethnicity] [..] exists as a socially constructed category contingent on *beliefs*. [..] Ethnicity's very existence is dependent on *beliefs* about its existence' (p. 25; italics added). This definition emphasises the social constructedness of ethnicity, which constitutes a *presumed* identity and a *belief* in common descent. Though socially constructed, ethnic demarcation lines 'are 'real' in the sense that they form an important part of people's *psychological* realities' (Zagefka, 2009, p. 231). Furthermore, this definition subtly demonstrates that although ethnicity is, to a large extent, socially constructed, it is not entirely arbitrary. In

order for ethnic identity to be 'validated' by significant others, some perceived (genealogical) 'facts' must support and legitimise claims of ethnic identity.

It is noteworthy that a range of rhetorical strategies will be employed by social actors in order to render these 'facts' plausible and universally acceptable. These include references to *inter alia* physical similarities, common cultural characteristics, a common language or religion (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010a; Verkuyten, 2005). An example of this would be that subsequent to the succession of East Pakistan and formation of Bangladesh in 1971, Pakistani nationalist politicians sought to highlight the common ethnicity of (and to de-emphasise the many ethnic differences between) all Pakistanis through reference to their common Islamic faith (Chadda, 2002; Reicher & Hopkins, 2001; Tikoo, 2002). This 'fact' was emphasised in order to downplay the many other factors that could potentially suggest the contrary, namely that there indeed are ethnic differences between groups in Pakistan. Indeed, the contrary could have been constructed in an equally straight-forward fashion, perhaps by reference to the multitude of dialects, languages, traditions, and genealogical differences among Pakistanis (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). This example illustrates how an ethnic identity might be justified rhetorically by, firstly, presenting criteria for acceptance as an ethnic ingroup member (i.e. the group's 'historical' self-identification with Islam) and, secondly, by convincing significant others (i.e. aspiring ingroup members) that the ethnic identity is based upon genealogical 'facts'. If the two processes are successful, the identity is likely to be validated and, thus, to become a psychological 'reality'. Crucially, a central assumption of the present thesis is that ethnic identity is a product of social and psychological processes (Mason, 2000). It is important to consider why individuals lay claim to an ethnic identity by exploring the potential psychological benefits of ethnic identification.

The psychological benefits of ethnic identification

The psychological functions performed by identification with an ethnic group are well worthy of investigation. In a quantitative student survey with young BSA, Robinson (2009) found that ethnic identity scores were consistently higher than national identity scores. Moreover, Vadher and Barrett (2009, p. 447) observe that their BSA participants exhibited a strong sense of ethnic identity 'despite being in an intragroup context where there were no outgroup members present as a frame of comparison'. The consistent pattern of ethnic self-

identification among BSA exhibited in these and other studies suggests that there must be psychosocial benefits associated with the manifestation of ethnic identity among BSA.

According to Phukon (2002, p. 1), the term 'ethnic' refers to a sense of belonging and togetherness but, more importantly, it can also be understood as an 'organizing principle used by a group of people in order to differentiate themselves from other groups in terms of race, kinship, language, customs, mode of living, culture religion and so on'. Laying claim to an ethnic identity is likely to have positive outcomes for the belonging principle since membership in the ethnic group enables the aspiring group member to acquire a sense of closeness to, and acceptance by, other people. This constitutes a 'fundamental human motivation' (Baumeister & Leary, 1995, p. 497). Indeed, the positive implications for belonging may well explain the tendency for the South Asian diasporic communities to maintain close socio-psychological links with the 'homeland', which is said to define 'their ethno-communal consciousness and solidarity' (Safran, 1991, p. 84). Diasporic Indians, for instance, have a varied relationship with the homeland, with some individuals visiting India on a regular basis and others maintaining a psychological relationship with 'imagined India' (Jayaram, 1998). This essentially provides feelings of belonging, despite geographical estrangement from the 'homeland'.

There is now a great deal of empirical evidence that BSA tend to perceive discrimination from the WBM and exclusion from the national category Britishness. This can pose threats to belonging among those individuals who habitually expect to derive feelings of acceptance and inclusion from the national group (see Jaspal, 2011b). Thus, it is expected that the belonging principle will be less susceptible to threat among FGSA than among SGSA, since FGSA tend to 'still speak as if they are visitors' rather than as established members of the national ingroup (Bagguley & Hussain, 2005, p. 4200). In short, the expectation to derive feelings of belonging in Britain is less strong among FGSA than among SGSA. Given that SGSA are more susceptible to threats to belonging, due to their *expectation* to belong, it is likely that they too will derive belonging from an alternative group membership. The ethnic group can provide feelings of acceptance and inclusion, which may motivate SGSA to develop friendship networks within their own ethnic group, as observed in a study of inter-ethnic relations in twenty secondary comprehensive schools in England (Smith & Tomlinson, 1989). Similarly, one observes the development of ethnic

'enclaves' in which close-knit BSA communities obviate the need for contact with the WBM, safeguarding feelings of acceptance and inclusion within most social contexts (Vadher & Barrett, 2009). Scholars have noted that the perception of discrimination and powerlessness can strengthen ethnic identification, while attenuating national identification (Modood, 2005; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002). Indeed, this would explain why ethnic identity can acquire psychological salience later in adulthood, when BSA may encounter discrimination and prejudice in various spheres of social life, such as employment and housing (Ghuman, 2003; Hutnik, 1991).

The distinctiveness principle, which motivates the individual to derive a sense of differentiation from others, is likely to be enhanced by perceiving the ethnic ingroup as positively distinctive from ethnic outgroups (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000). Indeed, ethnic identity has been said to arise primarily from group members' collective representations of cultural *difference* 'for ethnicity is essentially an aspect of a relationship' (Eriksen, 1993, p. 12). From a psychological perspective, distinctiveness is likely to constitute an important principle associated with ethnic identity construction. This is clearly reflected in the accentuation of particular self-aspects, which differentiate one ethnic group from others within the umbrella category BSA. For instance, Ramji (2003) highlights three axes of differentiation among BSA respondents, namely (i) descent; (ii) hierarchy; and (iii) contingent geography. It has been observed in empirical research that British Indians can derive distinctiveness from British Pakistanis by highlighting their Hindu background, which highlights their employment of the axis of descent (Raj, 2000). Moreover, Jaspal (2011b) highlights the differentiating function of rendering salient one's caste group membership, which is particularly important in differentiation between Gujaratis and Punjabis, for instance. Scholars have argued that BSA may derive feelings of positive distinctiveness through the comparison of ingroup moral values with those of the WBM (Ballard, 1994a). This constitutes a form of downward comparison (Wills, 1981).

The continuity principle likely plays an important role in ethnic identity. In their study on SGSA, Modood et al. (1994, p. 59) found that participants generally exhibited a strong sense of ethnic pride, 'of wanting to know about or at least to affirm one's roots in the face of a history and a contemporary society in which one's ethnicity has been suppressed or tainted with inferiority'. Through the exploration of the socio-historical traditions associated

with their ethnicities, individuals may construe a long, and perhaps romanticised, ethnic history. Similarly, Shaw (1994) observes in her research with British Pakistanis that the ethnic group attaches particular importance to the protection and preservation of their ethnic distinctiveness as Pakistani Muslims, possibly in order to safeguard continuity of self-definition. A group member may thereby come to perceive him-/herself not as an independent individual but as part of a long lineage of individuals bound together by a common heritage. Furthermore, the need for continuity may explain the prevalence of 'cultural fossilization' among some FGSA, which 'creates the paradox of a community that is socially and ideologically more conservative than the community of origin, clinging to the mores and beliefs that have remained static, albeit contested by their children [SGSA]' (Maira, 2002, p. 85). This strict adherence to ethno-cultural norms may in fact constitute a response to perceived threat to continuity of ethnic identity.

Self-identification with the ethnic group may be manifested through personal engagement with ethnic festivals, music, films, media and stories, 'providing a sense of continuity through the ages', as highlighted in a study on Indo-Canadians (Kalkman, 2003, p. 34). As alluded to in this work, the temporal aspect of ethnicity is grasped in the traditions associated with the ethnic group. Traditions constitute the 'common thread' which unite the past, present and future of an ethnic group. They can enable ethnic group members to reconnect with the past, to express themselves 'ethnically' in the present and to perceive an enduring ethnic identity in the future. In the words of Nash (1989, p. 15), this 'allows for a linkage over generations, thus bestowing upon even the most humble member of the group a pedigree, allowing him [or her] to identify with heroic times, great deeds, and a genealogy to the beginning of things human, cultural and spiritual' (see also Smith, 1986). Clearly, this has implications for continuity since ethnic identity can enable individuals to perceive themselves as part of a linkage of generations.

This demonstrates how the acquisition and maintenance of an ethnic identity can enhance the motivational principles of identity. How these motivational principles relate to one another remains an important theoretical question. However, there is empirical evidence that some principles are more associated with specific identities (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a). It is important to ascertain empirically which identity principles are most pertinently associated with ethnic identity among BSA. Having considered the psychological benefits of

ethnic identification, it is important to explore socio-psychological processes associated with ethnic identity construction, such as the role of the 'relational self' therein.

The 'relational self' in ethnic identity construction

Social anthropologists generally view ethnicity as the product of a relational, interactive social process; ethnic groups 'must have a minimum of contact with each other and they must entertain ideas of each other as being culturally different from themselves' (Eriksen, 1993, p. 11-12). Ethnicity is conceptualised as an aspect of a relationship between two or more groups who see themselves as having 'cultural differences', and is said to emerge when such differences are rendered socially and psychologically salient (Eriksen, 1993). This notion connects with socio-psychological theorising on the role of the 'significant other' in social identity construction (Triandafyllidou, 2001). Hutnik (1991, p. 91) argues that 'ethnic consciousness is significantly more salient in each [ethnic] minority group than in the English group', since their minority position *vis-à-vis* the majority group renders salient intergroup difference. In short, the argument is that members of a group must collectively discover and define who they are *not* in order to know who they are, which reflects the importance of the 'relational self' in ethnic identity construction.

The importance of the 'relational self' is revealed by comparing ethnic self-definitions among BSA and American South Asians. Maira (2002) describes the collective identity category 'desi', which is commonly endorsed and adopted by American-born Indians and Pakistanis who may not necessarily consider themselves to belong to separate ethnic groups, but to a single superordinate ethno-racial group. Indeed, the category 'desi' highlights the common (linguistic) ingroup identity since it means 'from the country' in most languages descended from Sanskrit. Identification with the category 'desi' reflects a common ethnic identity based around self-aspects of a common language and common ethno-cultural traditions. Crucially, in this socio-cultural context US Indians and Pakistanis do not seem to 'entertain ideas of each other as being culturally different from themselves', hence there is but one ethnic identity (Eriksen, 1993, p. 11-12). Moreover, Barker (1997, p. 626) has observed that self-definitions in terms of the superordinate category 'Asian' among BSA may constitute a 'collectivizing response to racism and to their position within white society in Britain'. There can be psychological advantages associated with self-

categorisation in this way, since the individual enhances feelings of belonging and intragroup cohesion *vis-à-vis* a threatening 'Other' (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b; Jaspal & Yampolsky, 2011).

Nonetheless, this can change when ethno-cultural differences do become a psychological 'reality' for group members; social change can constitute a precursor for ethnic identity construction (Breakwell, 1986). These perceived differences must bear relevance to the social context in order for them to contribute to the formation of distinct ethnic identities. For instance, the superordinate category 'Asian' is commonly employed by many Britons whose origins lie in the Subcontinent to refer to their ethnic identity. However, it has been observed that given the increasingly negative social representations surrounding Islam and the consequential rise in Islamophobia, non-Muslim BSA may prefer to define their ethnic identities in much more specific terms (e.g. as Indian, Punjabi, Gujarati, Hindu) in order to differentiate themselves from Muslims. More specifically, a revivalist British Hindu identity has been observed among some BSA which may perform the psychological function of maintaining a sense of intergroup differentiation (Raj, 2000). In the American context, this is not necessarily the case; Maira (2002) has noted an 'ethnic revival' around the superordinate 'desi' identity among second generation American South Asians. This illustrates how the social context may impact self-categorisation (Turner et al., 1987) but, more specifically, how social change (i.e. the rise in Islamophobia) may re-activate 'dormant' social representations highlighting inter-ethnic difference (Cinnirella, 1997a). An accurate snapshot of identity management among BSA can only be achieved through empirical sensitivity to social context.

Individuals attempt to derive the most beneficial outcomes for identity through strategic self-categorisation. For instance, to identify as an Asian, and thereby run the risk of activating social representations of Islam, in an Islamophobic context, would be likely to result in threats to self-esteem. One would be unable to enhance a positive self-conception on the basis of their membership in a stigmatised group, which illustrates how self-esteem might be threatened (Gecas, 1982). Moreover, the observed 'otherisation' of Muslims could jeopardise the belonging principle (Saeed, 2007). Conversely, self-identification as Hindu or as Sikh might constitute a strategy for enhancing self-esteem since this category would position the individual outside of the potentially stigmatised ethno-religious category

Muslim. Thus, strategic ethnic self-categorisation possibly constitutes one of the potential strategies for maintaining and enhancing self-esteem (Heine et al., 2001; Muramoto, 2003). However, it is acknowledged that social representations play a crucially important role in determining the social value of identity elements. Research indicates that Muslim identity may conversely be embraced as a positive superordinate identity by Pakistani and Bangladeshi young people in those contexts in which these ethnic identities are stigmatised (Gardner & Shakur, 1994; Jacobson, 1997b). This suggests that ethnic identity construction and maintenance will take place in accordance with its benefits for the self-concept, which themselves are largely determined by salient social representations.

The concept of the 'relational self' may be employed in order to explore how BSAs' contact with their 'ancestral homeland' might impact ethnic identity construction. BSA generally maintain close cultural links with their ancestral homeland, which might be understood as strengthening ethnic identity among FGSA and SGSA alike (Jayaram, 1998). Indeed, it has been convincingly argued that the origins of ethnicity among BSA can only be fully understood through a detailed exploration of their migratory histories and contacts with the ancestral homeland (Brah, 1996; Ramji, 2003, 2006). Conversely, there are suggestions that SGSAs' visits to their parents' ancestral homelands can act powerfully 'as instruments for accentuating not the Indianness of their ethnicities but their Britishness' (Harris, 2006, p. 143). This was attributed to their inadequate linguistic skills abroad and to their distaste of 'third world' material living conditions. Consistent with this thesis, it has been found that BSA may emphasise their Britishness in the homeland context in order to enhance the distinctiveness, since this constitutes one method of acquiring 'a sense of *positive* distinctiveness' from the dominant majority in the homeland context (Jaspal & Coyle, 2009a, p. 155). These studies lend empirical support to the importance of the 'relational self' in ethnic identity construction. Crucially, the 'relational self' may plausibly function differently for FGSA and SGSA, given their differential relationship to the homeland. Moreover, it may function distinctly for British Indians and British Pakistanis, since social representations of these more specific ethno-national categories are qualitatively distinct. The concept of the 'relational self' highlights the theoretical, empirical and practical importance of exploring relations between various relevant ethnic 'outgroups', particularly in light of the recent immigration of East European workers and Middle Eastern refugees to Britain and the

changes in social representation of subgroups (e.g. Muslims) within the umbrella category BSA. These social and demographic changes may well have implications for ethnic identity construction among BSA. The present thesis explores these lacunae in knowledge regarding ethnic identity among BSA.

Once the ethnic identity is established, group members endeavour to maintain and uphold 'ethnic boundaries'. These determine ethnic ingroup and outgroup boundaries, activating processes of inclusion and exclusion.

'Policing' ethnic boundaries – inclusion and exclusion

In many cases there is collective pressure for ethnic group members to adhere to certain norms of behaviour, to acknowledge, accept and reproduce the relevant social representations associated with the ethnic group (Moscovici, 1988; Breakwell, 2001). They are pressurised to identify with and to possess self-aspects which are collectively believed to reflect ethnic authenticity (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010a, 2010b). The criteria for inclusion in the ethnic ingroup, the bases for inclusion and exclusion, and the norms, values and social representations associated with the ethnic identity are socially constructed. Ethnic groups will form and disseminate social representations concerning ethnic identity in accordance with temporal and contextual factors. Once established, representations dictate which self-aspects, norms and values are fundamental for ethnic group membership. Influential members of the group will have considerable agency in creating and disseminating these representations (Breakwell, 2001). The present thesis addresses the clear need to investigate those factors, which render some ethnic group members more influential than others, in creating and disseminating representations of the ethnic group.

These social representations are important predictors of how ethnic identity will be 'policed' by group members. For instance, in her study of American South Asians, Maira (2002, p. 14) suggests that individuals use certain markers of ethnic authenticity 'in order to contest one another's performances and narrations of ethnicity and to assert their own'. This essentially means that some self-aspects come to be perceived by group members as fundamental for ethnic group membership and that the perceived failure to possess these self-aspects provides sufficient socio-psychological grounds for the exclusion of non-conforming individuals from the ethnic group. Indeed, this notion is observable in research into the role

of language in the construction of ethnic and religious identities. Language can constitute a means of 'performing' ethnic authenticity (Lee, 1995; Nunez, 1995). Accordingly, Jaspal and Coyle (2009a, 2010a, 2010b) demonstrate how participants reproduced social representations of 'ethnic authenticity' by emphasising the importance of the HL as a marker of ethnic identity. The acceptance and reproduction of this social representation led individuals to affirm their own membership in the ethnic group, given that they claimed to possess the crucial self-aspect (knowledge of the HL). This invariably had positive implications for the belonging principle among those individuals with proficiency in the HL, since they met the constructed criteria for inclusion and acceptance in the ethnic ingroup.

On the other hand, the constructed 'criteria' enabled them to question the ethnic authenticity of individuals who were perceived to lack knowledge of the HL. This essentially led to the exclusion and 'otherisation' of non-conforming individuals. Indeed, for these individuals, the repudiation of one's ethnic identity (from ethnic ingroup members) would likely result in threats to continuity, since this constitutes incoming information which is inconsistent with one's existing self-conception (Breakwell, 1986). Moreover, it is possible that the belonging principle would be susceptible to threat, given their non-conformity to the criteria for inclusion and acceptance. The social constructedness of such rhetorical defences of ethnic identity becomes evident when one considers that non-conforming BSA participants, conversely, rejected representations linking the HL and ethnic authenticity but nonetheless laid claim to this ethnic identity (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010b). The present thesis explores the potential dynamics underlying the establishment of particular 'criteria' for ingroup inclusion and acceptance.

Individuals, who do not meet the constructed 'criteria' for group membership, dictated by hegemonic representations, may reject the ethnic group as a whole, possibly resulting in complete disidentification. Indeed, social psychologists have identified and described the strategy of self-removal from positions which pose potential threats to identity (e.g. Breakwell, 1986; Tajfel, 1978; van Vugt & Hart, 2004). For instance, in her interview study with British Pakistanis, Jacobson (1997b) noted that some participants seemed to denigrate their ethnic identity and to attach greater value to their religious identities. This was attributed to the social representation that their ethnic culture was associated with 'traditional and tradition-bounded cultures of parents' (p. 245), which was perceived by some

participants as becoming increasingly distant from Islamic norms and values. Group members who feel that they as individuals do not conform to the norms, values and self-aspects associated with the ethnic group may decide to exit the option. The psychological strategy of self-removal from one's ethnic group may be justified rhetorically by denigrating the ethnic identity or by downgrading its importance *vis-à-vis* another competing identity.

However, the 'exit option' may not always constitute a desirable psychosocial response to 'gatekeeping' (cf. Tajfel, 1975). BSA may require membership in the ethnic group, given its potential to provide feelings of continuity, self-esteem, belonging and so on. For instance, Jaspal and Coyle (2010b) found that some group members exhibited awareness of the social representation linking the HL and ethnic identity but that they did not necessarily assimilate and internalise this representation themselves. Instead, some non-HL speaking participants distanced themselves psychologically from the *linguistic* dimension of their ethnic identity by downgrading the importance of the HL in ethnic identity and by constructing this as 'the norm'. More specifically, individuals could re-construe social representations concerning ethnic boundaries by positioning themselves (i.e. non-HL speakers) as normative, prototypical ethnic ingroup members and by constructing HL-speakers as atypical group members. Given the importance of continued membership in the ethnic group, these individuals engaged in the strategy of re-conceptualising existing criteria for ethnic group membership (Breakwell, 1986). The possible repudiation of ethnic group membership illustrates the bi-dimensionality of ethnicity. One's own sense of belonging in the ethnic identity may not necessarily coincide with other group members' evaluations of one's membership. Thus, the role of interpersonal relations is paramount in any serious study of ethnic identity construction.

Despite its clear relevance to ethnic identity, 'policing' ethnic boundaries becomes relatively complex in hybridised ethnic identity configurations, since they imply the amalgamation of self-aspects, norms, values and social representations from two or more identities. This is discussed next.

Hyphenated ethnic identity and the emergence of 'new ethnicities'

Debate surrounding the compatibility of ethnic, religious and national identities among BSA permeate the media (Archer, 2009; Werbner, 2000), and dominant social representations of

BSAs' identity configurations generally suggest that these identities are difficult to reconcile (Richardson, 2004; van Dijk, 1991). In the past this has led some scholars to highlight the centrality of 'culture conflict' and 'identity conflict' in the BSA experience and BSA were generally discussed as living *between* cultures rather than in either or both of them (e.g. Anwar, 1976; Watson, 1977). However, more recently, social scientists have rejected claims of 'identity conflict' among BSA, which suggest that these individuals are 'stuck between two cultures' (Ghuman, 2003; Harris, 2006). Although there is growing recognition of the potentially beneficial aspects of dual identification, such as the ability to adapt to two different ethno-cultural groups (LaFramboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993), 'multiple identities may also imply a kind of rivalry or psychological conflict between different understandings and loyalties' (Verkuyten, 2005, p. 179). IPT proposes that individuals will actively strive to construe identities, which they regard as being inter-connected within the self-concept, as compatible and coherent (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a). Psychological coherence is 'achieved' when the individual ceases to perceive conflict or incompatibility between their inter-connected identities. However, there remains the question of *how* multiple, and potentially conflictual, identities are managed in everyday life, which constitutes one theoretical concern in the present thesis.

The notion of compartmentalisation has been proposed as one strategy for managing multiple (and potentially conflictual) identities (Breakwell, 1986; Roccas & Brewer, 2002). IPT describes this as a potential strategy for averting or curtailing identity threat, possibly as its deployment impedes the intrapsychic conflict associated with incompatible identities (Baumeister, 1986; Harter & Monsour, 1992). Although this is likely to constitute an effective short-term strategy for dealing with multiple identities, there is empirical evidence to suggest that there may be some contexts in which the compartmentalised identities will come into contact and in which compartmentalisation consequently fails (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a). For instance, it is conceivable that the issue of arranged marriage, which is generally associated with ethnic identity, might pose difficulties for compartmentalisation among SGSA. These individuals could take a stance on this ethnic issue, derived from their British national group membership. This would dismantle the boundaries allegedly constructed around these identities and cause them to enter into contact. Such dissatisfaction with the notion of compartmentalisation has sensitised some scholars to the heuristic value in post-

structural approaches to ethnic identity. These present the argument that multiple identities are *re-construed* by social actors rather than rigidly compartmentalised in accordance with the social context.

Terms such as 'hyphenated identities', 'hybridity' and 'creolisation', which 'draw attention to cases where various meanings and identities converge or are blended, thereby forming new ways of being', have begun to gain ground in social research on SGSA (Verkuyten, 2005, p. 150). Ghuman (2003) highlights that SGSA tend to employ various different hyphenated identity categories in order to describe their ethno-national identities; those of Pakistani descent often juxtapose the national component of self with religious identity (i.e. British Muslim) and those of Indian descent frequently combine their national and ethnic identities (i.e. British Indian). Hutnik and Street (2010) observe that a large division within their participant sample was rooted in *both* ethnic and national identities, highlighting their hyphenated identities. By laying claim to hyphenated identities BSA may be able to reconcile their multiple identities in an ethno-national identity category which suggests coherence and compatibility. Since it is likely that many BSA regard their ethno-religious and national identities as conflictual and contradictory as a result of dominant social representations regarding these identity configurations (Phillips, 2006), pervasive use of hyphenated identities may in time encourage social representations of compatibility and coherence of their identities. The personalisation of such representations by BSA themselves might influence their own perceptions of compatibility and coherence between these inter-connected identities. In short, the new hyphenated category is likely construed as an ethnic category in its own right, with integral, coherent and compatible elements. This is likely to benefit the psychological coherence principle.

In addition to hyphenation, the concepts of 'hybridity' and 'new ethnicities' have been employed by social scientists to indicate how (ethnic) elements, meanings and forms are mixed and blended in order to give rise to new ethnic modes; new ethnic modes are said to be created through the juxtaposition of old ones (Hall, 2002; Harris, 2006; Werbner, 1997). In research on ethnicity, these terms have been employed in order to deconstruct notions of essentialism and ethnic boundaries and to valorise arguments of mixed, non-static and fluid ethnic identities. Within the context of BSA, 'new ethnicities' have been described as retaining some characteristics of traditions derived from the Indian Subcontinent as well as

being shaped by an 'everyday low-key Britishness, albeit a Britishness with *new inflections*' (Harris, 2006, p. 1; italics added). Crucially, the notion that new inflections underlie the 'new ethnicities' of SGSA has implications for ethnic categorisation. This emphasis upon new inflections leads Harris to reject common hyphenated categories such as 'British Asian' which for him 'continues an entrenched mindset which envisages two entirely separate strongly bound and homogeneous cultures' (p. 1).

Accordingly, there are no longer discrete, homogeneous cultures which individuals negotiate by manoeuvring from one to the other, but rather a new ethnicity in which 'at any given moment both British and particular South Asian derived elements are always co-present' (Harris, 2006, p. 1-2). Crucially, while hyphenation suggests the existence of two discrete, though reconcilable, identities, *hybridity* leads the individual to lose sight of the 'original' constituent identities, since it is constructed as unitary. The present thesis investigates *how* these identities are actually managed and reconciled by individuals themselves, since these identificatory patterns are likely to have wide-ranging implications for the identity processes.

It is reasonable to assume that hybrid self-categorisation may have positive implications for psychological coherence, since in articulating 'a Britishness with new inflections', possibly from their ethno-religious identities, BSA are perhaps able to fulfil the 'need for compatibility and coherence between pre-existing [ethnic and national] identities – i.e. between different constituent elements of the self-concept' (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a, p. 865). The concept of new ethnicities suggests that this is no longer a case of reconciling two or more potentially conflictual identities but rather that these identities have already been reconciled in a coherent and compatible sense of self. While dominant social representations will dictate that ethnic and national identities are qualitatively discrete, the individual will perceive them as being entwined and inseparable, which signals a high level of coherence. Crucially, as Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010a, p. 866) point out, 'psychological coherence is in the eye of the perceiver and not some objective quality of the identities under scrutiny'. Thus, the extent to which individuals perceive their interconnected identities as coherent and compatible and the dominance of each identity aspect in the 'new ethnicity' is likely to be subjective and person-dependent, although this may be contested in media and social representations.

SUMMARY

The present chapter demonstrates some of the ways in which patterns of ethnic functioning among BSA may be explained by the motivational principles of identity outlined in IPT. Some suggestions are provided regarding the socio-psychological conditions under which one form of ethnic identity expression rather than another will occur. Moreover, the chapter provides insight into how subgroups within an ethnic group (e.g. FGSA versus SGSA) might favour some forms of ethnic expression rather than others.

The principles of belonging, distinctiveness, continuity and self-esteem may be most pertinently associated with the construction of BSA. The present thesis explores these assumptions through close attention to participants' accounts of their ethnic group memberships and the perceived benefits thereof. More specifically, it is deemed important to investigate the *ways*, in which these principles are affected by ethnic identification, and the possible *reasons* underlying the benefits of ethnic identification. Collectively, the studies in the present thesis elucidate the crucial role of social representations in the construction of ethnic identity and its ability to affect identity processes.

The concept of the 'relational self' may be of crucial importance in exploring ethnic identity construction (Eriksen, 1993). The present thesis employs this theoretical construct in order to explore how relations with relevant ethnic outgroups can impact ethnic identity construction among BSA. For instance, changes in social representation of British Muslims following the rise of global Islamism may have implications for ethnic self-categorisation among BSA, with British Indians possibly preferring ethno-religious distinctiveness from British Pakistanis, for instance. In short, the concept of the 'relational self' is employed in order to explore the ascribed identity of the 'Significant Other' in particular social contexts and how this 'Other' in turn impacts ethnic identity construction (Triandafyllidou, 2001).

The criteria for inclusion in the ethnic ingroup, the bases for inclusion and exclusion, and the norms, values and social representations associated with the ethnic identity are socially constructed (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). Once established, representations dictate which self-aspects, norms and values are fundamental for ethnic group membership. The 'otherisation' of individuals perceived to lack a given self-aspect may in fact enhance belonging among those individuals who indeed do possess the self-aspect. These criteria for

ethnic inclusion and exclusion are investigated among FGSA and SGSA, in order to discern the ways, in which BSA attempt to enhance their own sense of belonging within the ethnic group, while repudiating the membership of others.

BSA may have to take a stance on the interface of their British national and ethnic identities, which can have consequences for psychological coherence. Psychological coherence is 'achieved' when the individual ceases to perceive conflict or incompatibility between their inter-connected identities. However, there remains the question of *how* multiple, and potentially conflictual, identities are managed in everyday life. This is explored in the present thesis through close attention to participants' constructions of their ethnic identities. There is particular attention to possible elements of hybridity in their ethnic identities.

Turning to methodological issues, the lacunae to be addressed in this thesis certainly require some methodological flexibility. Generalisable predictions elucidating the conditions under which one form of ethnic identity expression rather than another will occur among BSA require quantitative analytical techniques. Similarly, there is much heuristic value in qualitative realist and social constructionist approaches to ethnic identity (e.g. Jaspal & Coyle, 2010a, 2010b). For instance, in-depth interviews can elucidate the nature of the largely rhetorical 'facts' which are provided by group members in order to validate ethnic identity as well as the subtle rhetorical strategies employed in highlighting the positive aspects (and in downgrading the negative aspects) of the ingroup's history. Dual epistemological methods facilitate the study of social representations, which naturally provide a backdrop for the intra-psychic level of analysis that is explored in the present thesis. Accordingly, the present thesis adopts an eclectic methodological stance, as for example, evinced by researchers interested in social representations, who have tended to embrace the triangulation philosophy forwarded here (e.g. Breakwell & Canter, 1993).

The importance of this triangulation philosophy is alluded to in the final section of this chapter, which outlines the role of social representations, encouraged and disseminated by the media in the form of media representations, in ethnic identity construction.

Ethnic minorities in the British Press

Prior to September 11th 2001 there was but scant empirical research into newspaper representations of BSA, with the vast majority of work employing non-systematic anecdotal evidence in order to illustrate general trends regarding the treatment of ethnic minorities in media coverage (Richardson, 2004). It was of course after this date that newspapers began to dedicate an unprecedented amount of space, time and attention to British Muslims, their differences from the ingroup and the threats they allegedly pose to the ingroup. The increased media attention to Muslims has indeed been matched by an increasing academic interest in representations of Muslims in the Press primarily from scholars working within journalism studies (Poole, 2002, 2006; Richardson, 2004). Although there is very little empirical research into media representations of BSA, in particular (Alexander, 2000; van Dijk, 1991), existing research into media representations of Muslims can enhance our understanding of the likely socio-psychological responses to media representations of BSA in general. Research into media representations of ethnic minorities suggests that minority groups are frequently portrayed in a negative light (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b; Saeed, 2007; van Dijk, 1991). It has been noted that one of the most influential institutions, which shape social representations and 'common knowledge' about ethnic minorities is the media (Cinnirella, 1996; Fowler, 1991; Hall, 1978; van Dijk, 1991, 2005). This highlights the importance of examining the nature of media representations, which likely feed back into BSAs' meaning-making *vis-à-vis* British national and ethnic identities.

It is argued in this chapter that awareness of and exposure to dominant media representations regarding one's ethnic group can have important implications for identity processes among BSA. Hypotheses regarding the outcomes for identity processes will facilitate the prediction of particular modes of self-identification among BSA. A fundamental assumption of this chapter is that the ability of national and ethnic identities to fulfil the principled operation of identity processes will successfully predict self-identification with these categories as well as their centrality to the identity structure. Indeed, this assumption has received considerable empirical support (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2002).

The chapter begins by outlining intergroup threat theory, which provides a satisfactory heuristic lens for the analysis of how groups are represented in the media. Drawing primarily upon research into media representations of Muslims, the review argues the Press negativises ethnic minorities and portrays them as posing threats to the ethno-national ingroup. Drawing upon social representations theory, it elucidates how the process of social representational conflation can accentuate representations of threat. The final section of the review considers potential socio-psychological responses to negative media representations of ethnic minorities. There is particular attention to media representations, as well as their socio-psychological implications for BSA.

A theory of group threat

Intergroup threat theory (ITT) (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) offers much heuristic value for conceptualising and understanding the nature of the threats, which ethnic minorities are frequently represented as posing to the ethno-national group. Like IPT, ITT adopts a social-psychological approach to threat which argues that whether or not threats have any basis in reality, the perception of threat in and of itself has consequences at both the intergroup and intra-individual levels. The theory draws upon SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and thinking about the inevitability of perceiving threats from other groups due to basic human tendencies towards cautious perceptions of outgroups (Haselton & Buss, 2003). It posits that there are two basic types of threat, both of which revolve around potential harm that an outgroup could inflict on the ingroup. *Realistic threats* are posed by factors, which could cause the ingroup physical harm or loss of resources, and can also be represented as individual-level threats causing potential physical or material harm to individual group members as a result of their membership. Given the rise in Islamophobic social representations associating Muslims with terrorist activity reported in many media analyses, it is possible that British Muslims may be construed by sections of the general population as a realistic threat. *Symbolic threats* represent threats to the meaning system(s) of the ingroup, such as challenges to valued ingroup norms and values, and at the individual level of analysis may be associated with loss of face, challenges to self-identity and potential threats to self-esteem (Stephan, Ybarra, & Morrison, 2009). For example, the British National Party (BNP), a far-right political party in Britain, frequently depicts British Muslims as seeking 'the destruction of our way of life and

everything we hold dear as a people and a nation' (Barnes, 2005, cited in Wood & Finlay, 2008, p. 715). In this quote, the BNP is alluding to the symbolic threat allegedly posed by Muslims given their radically different worldview from that of the ingroup. In their discussion of ITT and IPT, Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010b) have argued that British Muslims are represented in the British Press as a *hybridised* kind of threat, consisting of both realistic and symbolic elements.

While ITT conceptualises the nature of threats manifested in the Press, IPT provides insight into the potential repercussions of these threats for identity processes (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b). It is noteworthy that the thesis does not draw extensively upon ITT – rather, it is employed as a heuristic tool in the present review and the third empirical study of the thesis. Turning to the substantive literature on media representations of ethnic minorities, the following sections consider, through the interpretive lenses of ITT and IPT, the ways in which ethnic minorities are represented in the Press.

Negative distinctiveness of ethnic minorities

Even the most cursory glance at British newspapers indicates that the media tends to focus upon a small number of primarily negative topics in their reporting on ethnic minority groups (van Dijk, 1995). There is considerable empirical evidence based upon quantitative research, which supports this claim (Hartman & Husband, 1974; Troyna, 1981; van Dijk, 1995). Accordingly, ethnic minorities are frequently constructed as the antithesis of the ethno-national ingroup (van Dijk, 1991). This ingroup-outgroup differentiation is achieved through the representation of negative characteristics as inherent in ethnic outgroups *vis-à-vis* the positive characteristics of the ethno-national ingroup. This is a common rhetorical strategy to establish rigid, impermeable boundaries delineating the ingroup from the outgroup (Bar-On, 2008). Group differentiation in this way is likely to affect identity processes among BSA in a number of ways. The distinctiveness principle is generally enhanced by the establishment and maintenance of a sense of differentiation from other groups (Breakwell, 1986; Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000). Group differentiation unambiguously presents ethno-national ingroup members with social representations of 'who we are' *vis-à-vis* 'who we are not', which is said to constitute an important precursor to identity construction (Eriksen, 1993; Triandafyllidou, 2001). However, group differentiation must be positive, in order for

the individual to derive feelings of positive distinctiveness (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000). Moreover, in the ITT and broader intergroup relations literature in social psychology we are reminded that increased perceptions of a homogeneous outgroup are often a common response by an ingroup that feels threatened by an outgroup (Stephan, Ybarra, & Morrison, 2009). This can pose further problems for the distinctiveness principle, since the outgroup's homogenisation of an inherently diverse ingroup essentially ignores this intragroup diversity (Ballard, 1994b). The self-esteem principle may be susceptible to threat, as a result of the media's derogation of BSA.

The literature elucidates a number of rhetorical strategies, which the Press utilises in order to differentiate the ethno-national majority and minority groups. For instance, in her discursive analysis of a Spanish broadsheet newspaper, Martin-Rojo (1995) argues that the rhetorical strategy of textual or discursive exclusion (by 'marking out' BSA) is articulated on two principal axes. The first axis is 'division'; that is, by delineating the ingroup from the outgroup. An example of this is the widespread use of the categories 'Asians' as if this constituted a homogeneous social entity in opposition to 'British' (van Dijk, 1991). This contributes to the homogenisation of the ethnic ingroup, ignoring intragroup diversity and, thus, ingroup distinctiveness. The second axis is 'rejection', whereby BSA are segregated, marginalised and discussed in terms of negative social representations. In order to 'reject' BSA, negative self-aspects will likely be emphasised, which leads to the social representation that the ethnic outgroup (with its values, beliefs and self-aspects) is in direct opposition to the ingroup. Thus, this could be described in terms of a distancing or confrontational schema (Richardson, 2004). Clearly, this axis can impede feelings of acceptance and inclusion within the national group, inducing threats to the belonging principle (Vignoles et al., 2006).

Van Dijk (1995) observes a general polarisation between the ingroup 'us' and the outgroup(s) 'them'. It would be reasonable to assume that the construction of this ideological wedge between 'us' and 'them' serves to emphasise the social representation that the (cultural) differences between the ingroup and outgroup are considerable and fundamentally irreconcilable. Moreover, in a qualitative study of British tabloid rhetoric, Conboy (2006) argues that British tabloids create and juxtapose the opposing categories of 'evil outsider' *vis-à-vis* the 'benevolent ingroup' (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b). This is achieved through the employment of emotive terms to emphasise both the primarily negative

nature of the outsiders (e.g. as invaders, disease-carriers) and the stability and health of the ingroup community.

Similarly, these rhetorical strategies of maintaining group differentiation are described in British media studies. Richardson (2004) concludes that British newspapers engage in the processes of division and rejection in a tripartite procedure. Firstly, a social, psychological or physical space is identified and associated with BSA; this is rhetorically separated from 'our' space. Secondly, newspapers explain the workings and composition of this space in contrast to 'our' space, which facilitates the process of 'differentiation'. These interrelated stages establish rigid boundaries between the ingroup and outgroup and, thus, accentuate social representations regarding those self-aspects which differentiate the two groups. These social representations serve to construct group differences in terms of a tangible, perceptible 'reality'. Finally, newspapers confer upon this space and upon its composition a negative social value, which is termed 'negativisation'. As discussed above, this process of outgroup negativisation/ derogation has the potential to threaten self-esteem among BSA. Such media representations are particularly pervasive for Muslims in the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks (Saeed, 2004), although there is evidence that there are similarly negative representations of ethnic minorities in general. It is likely that such 'excessive' negative distinctiveness will threaten BSAs' sense of belonging in the national group, with comparably negative outcomes for self-esteem.

Processes of negativisation in relation to ethnic minorities are exemplified by the theme of 'cultural clash', which is observable in media representations of the ethnic minority presence in Britain. For instance, Poole (2002) notes the prominence of this theme in the British Press during the Sarah Cook Affair, which referred to the case of a 13-year-old British girl who married an 18-year-old Turkish waiter while on holiday in Turkey. Poole argues that the social representation of 'cultural clash' between Muslims and the West was reproduced partly through the invocation of a series of *dichotomous* social representations emphasising group polarisation. The dichotomous representation 'freedom versus constraint' was frequently illustrated by featuring young Sarah Cook wearing the Islamic veil and other Islamic dress. This seemed to contribute to the social representation that the freedom of Sarah Poole, an ethno-national ingroup member, was under threat from (outgroup) Muslim norms, values and traditions. Crucially, Britishness was constructed to embody freedom

while the Islamic veil symbolised constraint (Richardson, 2004). These social representations may be reinforced through anchoring of the event and, more specifically of Sarah Poole's depiction in Islamic dress, to dominant social representations of the Islamic veil as a symbol of a patriarchal and oppressive Islam, which represses women (Hirschmann, 1997). It is noteworthy that this 'cultural clash' is not depicted in terms of mere intercultural difference but rather as inherent, value-laden identity aspects which allegedly demonstrate the (im-)morality of either group (Poole, 2002). The dichotomy consisting of positive elements attributed to the ingroup and negative elements to the outgroup may be aversive for self-esteem among those negativised. Moreover, it is conceivable that the salience of the representation of 'cultural clash' could lead BSA themselves to question the coherence and compatibility of their British national and ethno-religious identities. Indeed, the problematisation of psychological coherence might be particularly acute among British Muslims (Hopkins, 2004; Jacobson, 1997b).

Representations of threat from ethnic minorities

It is noteworthy that, prior to major intergroup events such as the Rushdie Affair and 9/11, BSA were generally represented as a 'model minority' possibly due to the relatively minimal media coverage of this ethnic group before these events (Alia & Bull, 2005). BSA were not generally represented as part of the ingroup due to their 'abnormal' social, cultural and religious norms, which differed markedly from those of the WBM. Despite this, they were portrayed as possessing positive group beliefs and values, such as *inter alia* strong family values, respect for elders, the will to work and higher levels of religiosity (Ballard, 1994a; Bradley, 2008; van Dijk, 1991). In fact, in his study on racism in the British Press, Van Dijk (1991) highlights that the British Press made a clear distinction between BSA and British Afro-Caribbeans during riots between Afro-Caribbeans and the police in the 1980s. BSA shopkeepers whose shops were vandalised during the riots were represented as co-victims of 'Black aggression'. He argues that in these cases BSA were represented in similar terms to 'us', that is, 'white ordinary people' who are hard-working and co-victims of Blacks. This demonstrates that, in order to serve the agenda of the media report, BSA can be strategically constructed as 'close to' (and in some cases, as part of) the national ingroup. This can perform the function of portraying the media report's central thesis as pervasively shared, not

just by the WBM but by other ethnic minority groups themselves. Indeed, the construction of consensus constitutes an important strategy for convincing the readership of the 'reality' of a media report. In short, it is important to examine representations of other ethnic minority groups in reporting on BSA, in order to discern the rhetorical effects for representations of BSA. The Press often compares ethnic minority groups, positioning some 'closer' to 'us' than others.

Subsequent to the major intergroup events involving Muslims and the WBM, media reports tend to focus on a limited set of more specific themes, which emphasise the allegedly threatening nature of ethnic minorities (Poole & Richardson, 2006). Fleras and Kunz (2001) argue that the Press tends to problematise and 'miscast' ethnic minorities in reporting, by singling out particular social problems close to the hearts of the readership and attributing them to ethnic minority groups. The realistic threat said to be posed by 'Asians' is frequently conceived in terms of terrorism, which is attested by some of the quantitative findings provided by Moore, Mason and Lewis (2008). In their content analysis of 974 newspaper articles between 2000 and 2008, they identified three major 'news hooks', namely (i) terrorism or the war on terror; (ii) religious and cultural issues; and (iii) Muslim extremism. In terms of ITT, these three news hooks construct different forms of threat allegedly posed by the Muslim outgroup.

In their study, they observed that 36% of stories about British Muslims concerned terrorism and that this representational tendency became particularly notable after the terrorist attacks in the US in 2001 and in the UK in 2005. In these stories British Muslims are constructed in terms of a realistic threat given that they are said to be involved in terrorist attacks against the ingroup. These terrorist attacks may be perceived as seeking to bring about the destruction of the ethno-national ingroup. Given the significant proportion of stories which associate Muslims, and Asians in general, with terrorism, it is likely that their respective social representations will converge and that the personal representations subsequently developed by newspaper readers will associate Asians with terrorism (Breakwell, 2001; Lewis, 2001). Moreover, in the aftermath of the revelation that most of the London underground bombers were 'home-grown terrorists', that is, British-born individuals, the media seemed to generalise concerns regarding the loyalty of BSA from these 'home-grown terrorists' (e.g. Kavanagh, 2009). This was partly demonstrated by the

general assertion that multiculturalism in Britain had failed (see Phillips, 2006). Consequently, it is possible that British Indians' awareness of representations attributing terrorism and extremism to BSA in general could accentuate the need for intergroup distinctiveness from British Pakistanis, for instance (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a).

Threat ensues from the perceived contravention of the social representation that the worldview of the ethno-national ingroup is the dominant, 'correct' one, which should be consensually shared and adopted by group members. Media representations generally associate ethnic minorities' attempts to preserve aspects of their heritage culture with deviance from and the rejection of ingroup self-aspects (Poole, 2002; Richardson, 2004). Given that individuals are motivated psychologically to maintain aspects of their ethno-cultural identity, these media representations could significantly threaten continuity among BSA. This is because such negative media representations might challenge existing *positive* social representations of the ethnic ingroup. Moreover, the perception that ingroup self-aspects are not consensually valued by others may impede 'the motivation to maintain and enhance a positive conception of oneself [and of one's ingroup]' (Gecas, 1982, p. 20). Indeed, there is empirical evidence that threats to self-esteem may result in intergroup discrimination to salvage the principle (Fein & Spencer, 1997). Accordingly, this may adversely affect intergroup relations between BSA and the WBM and, given the prevalence of Islamophobic representations, possibly between British Indians and British Pakistanis. In short, it is likely that several identity principles are susceptible to threat as a result of awareness of and exposure to negative media representations of ethnic minorities.

The third news hook identified in the work of Moore, Mason and Lewis (2008) refers to the constructed ubiquity of extremism among Muslims. It was found that 11% of stories reproduced the social representation that extremism is ubiquitous among Muslims. Conversely, only 2% of the 974 newspaper stories analysed 'contained the proposition that Muslims supported dominant moral values' (Moore, Mason & Lewis, 2008, p. 3). This news hook is interesting since it features aspects of the two aforementioned news hooks. There are social representations which conflate the notions of religious extremism, fundamentalism and terrorism (Poole, 2002; Herriot, 2007). Given its constructed contribution to terrorism against the ethno-national ingroup, extremism among British Muslims may be perceived as a realistic threat. On the other hand, social representations of Muslim *extremism* construct

Muslims' violation and rejection of the ethno-national ingroup's symbolic beliefs, norms and values as a symbolic threat manifested in an extreme and forceful fashion. Crucially, extremists are depicted as contesting and problematising the ingroup's dominant worldview, which is symbolically threatening.

Like Moore, Mason and Lewis (2008), Poole (2002, 2006) identifies similar salient news hooks which are observable in the British Press, namely that (i) Muslims constitute a threat to British national security due to their involvement in deviant activities (realistic threat); (ii) they pose a threat to British values and traditions and thus provoke concerns regarding social cohesion (hybridised threat); and (iii) there are inherent cultural differences between Muslims and the WBM which give rise to inevitable tensions in interpersonal relations (hybridised threat). It is possible that the 'hyper-threatening' representations of Muslims could be generalised to BSA in general, which in turn might motivate British Indians to differentiate and distance themselves from British Pakistanis. The current thesis explores psychosocial responses to such media representations from both British Pakistani and British Indian participants.

Social representational conflation and the accentuation of threat

Discourse studies have elucidated the heuristic value of micro-level analyses of linguistic representation (Richardson, 2004; van Dijk, 1991). Moreover, Fowler (1991, p. 10) has convincingly argued that 'anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position; language is not a clear window, but a refracting, structuring medium'. In light of the assumption that specific categories will evoke distinct sets of social representations, the present section focuses upon the conflation of social categories and social representations in media reporting on BSA. It is argued that conflation has the goal of accentuating representations of threat and further negativisation of ethnic minorities.

The most basic form of conflation in media reporting concerns the relationship between individual action and group-level action. In his analysis of media coverage of the Black community in Britain, van Dijk (1991, p. 100) argues that 'crime is not covered as involving black individuals, but as a form of 'group crime', for which the whole black community tends to be blamed, if only for condoning it'. There is a tendency for the media to construct an 'individual crime' in terms of a 'group crime', with the result that all

members of that particular social category are tarnished with the same brush. This form of conflation effectively engenders outgroup homogenisation, with negative outcomes for distinctiveness and self-esteem.

Social representational conflation can refer to the merging of particular 'news-hooks' employed in relation to particular social groups. For instance, there has been a terminological shift in media representations of British Muslims. Poole (2002) notes that, while media reporting prior to September 11th 2001 tended to employ the term 'fundamentalism' in relation to Muslims, more recent reporting has made considerably greater use of the term 'terrorism'. Thus, reporting has converged dramatically around the related notions of terrorism and counter-terrorist measures/ legislation (Poole, 2002). The potential implications of this shift in terminology become clearer when one considers the contention that fundamentalism is not necessarily associated with violence, although social representations of fundamentalism may suggest otherwise (Herriot, 2007). Accordingly, fundamentalism associated with the ethno-religious group could be understood to represent a symbolic threat to ethno-national ingroup members, due to the perception of distinct fundamentalist worldview and their perceived attempts to impose upon the ethno-national ingroup this alien worldview (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). The notion of terrorism is unambiguously threatening at the realistic level, given that it seeks to harm, physically and psychologically, the well-being of the ethno-national ingroup and its members. However, given that two of the most important, pervasive news hooks in British media reporting on British Muslims are terrorism and fundamentalism in this community (Moore, Mason & Lewis, 2008), the rhetorical convergence of media representations of fundamentalism and of terrorism is conducive to social representational conflation. In other words, their frequent association can construct shared characteristics, interchangeability and ultimately their synonymy. This essentially accentuates the 'hybridised' threat of Muslims (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b). Crucially, this may be generalised to BSA in general, given the media's interchangeable use of the two categories.

The Press tends to anchor Muslims to negative phenomena, such as terrorism, cultural clash, immorality etc. Social representations theory, with its elaborate description of the processes of anchoring and objectification, can elucidate some of the subtle ways, in which the category 'Asian' can, similarly, come to acquire negative representations. The literature

suggests that BSA may come to be regarded as a threatening group due to their frequent association/ comparison with other stigmatised social groups. For instance, it has been argued that the negatively represented issues of asylum seekers and refugees have been conflated with those related to terrorism (Saeed, 2007). In short, the negative social representations associated with either group may become entwined with one another; that is, the perceived characteristics of either group can merge into a threatening whole. Given that asylum seekers, for instance, are seen as posing realistic and symbolic threats to the nation (Greer & Jewkes, 2005; Pearce & Stockdale, 2009) and terrorists primarily realistic threats, such conflation may well contribute to the social representation of threat from BSA.

Responses to media representations of ethnic minorities

The Press' emphasis upon negative social activities (e.g. activities perceived as threatening, violent, sexist, intolerant or repressive) when reporting on Muslims activates 'a reservoir of ideas, or core images about Muslims' in general can be rhetorically useful in that they provide 'evidence' for the inherent negativity of Islam (Richardson, 2004, p. 230). In short, they confirm and justify negative social representations of Islam (see Ivie, 1980). Moreover, Saeed and Drainville (2006) argue that, since Muslims are systematically 'otherised' and constructed in terms of an inferior and even barbaric (homogeneous) people, the social representation that terrorism stems from Muslims is easily accepted by individuals. Given the observed conflation of the categories 'Asian' and 'Muslim', it is reasonable to assume that these social representations of BSA may well be anchored to negative representations of Muslims. This hypothesis is supported by the observation that Sikh men were confused with Muslims in Britain and the USA and assaulted in the Islamophobic climate following 9/ 11 (Singh & Tatla, 2006). Thus, the identity effects among BSA are worthy of investigation. It is conceivable that self-esteem and belonging would be vulnerable to threat, since the negative distinctiveness of BSA could serve to 'otherise' these individuals from the category Britishness. While British Indians may seek distinctiveness from British Pakistanis, British Pakistanis may be motivated to seek feelings of acceptance and inclusion from an alternative source, such as the superordinate category 'Asian' comprising both Muslims and non-Muslims (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a).

Almost a decade prior to the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York, Ahmed (1992) attributed Islamophobia to media representations of the Rushdie Affair in the late 1980s. The Rushdie Affair portrayed Muslims as opposing 'British values' such as tolerance, democracy and freedom of speech, that is, they were depicted in terms of a symbolic threat (see Modood, 1990). Together with media representations of Muslim support for Saddam Hussein in the first Gulf War, the represented reactions of British Muslims to the Rushdie Affair could have contributed to emerging social representations of Asian 'social separatism' and of the questionable loyalty of 'Muslims within' (Alexander, 2000; see also Werbner, 1994, 2000). Social memory processes facilitate the piecing together of relevant historical aspects of BSA existence, which are used to illustrate and confirm their threatening essence (Lyons, 1996; see also Hilton, Erb, Dermot & Molian, 1996). Here the concept of 'dormant' social representations is useful (Cinnirella, 1997a, 1997b). Social representations of these events involving Muslims, which were largely latent until 9/11, may become reactivated in the minds of individuals in order to reiterate the over-arching representation of BSAs' opposition to ingroup norms and values.

The field of media studies offers some insight into the possible reasons underlying popular acceptance of negative social representations of ethnic minorities. Richardson (2004, p. 131) notes that 'in less negative reporting contexts, the 'Muslim-ness' of Muslim social action is omitted – the reported activities of Muslims are not recognised as 'things which Muslims do/ are' and hence they do not necessarily gain access to consciousness in relation to ethno-religious difference. In media reporting the ethnic identity of ethnic minority wrongdoers is emphasised in negative contexts, which encourages readers to perceive negativity as an inherent characteristic of ethnic minorities. When addressing negative issues and actions associated with ethnic minority groups, the Press tends to retain, and speak through, racial categories such as 'Black' and 'Asian' (Law, 2002), which likely results in the systematic anchoring of these racial categories to negative social representations (e.g. crime, disorder and violence). Conversely, in more positive contexts, minorities tend to be 'individualised', which attenuates any possible psychological linkage between the 'righteous' individual and their ethnic heritage. Van Dijk (2000, p. 39-40) argues that ethnic minority group members are habitually represented in the Press 'in a passive role (things are being done, for or against them) unless they're agents of negative

actions, such as illegal entry, crime, violence or drug abuse. In the latter case their responsible agency will be emphasised'. This creates negative social representations among the readership (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b). Conversely, for those represented, it can seriously jeopardise identity processes. This will not be conducive to a positive self-conception among these individuals, and it can jeopardise feelings of belonging among the WBM, to whom the creation of the representations may be attributed. Moreover, since individuals are motivated to develop a positive image of phenomenologically important ingroups (Tajfel, 1986), negative media representations of the ethnic ingroup may well threaten continuity of self-definition.

SUMMARY

The present chapter provides a review of existing research into media representations of ethnic minorities. We focus primarily upon media representations of Muslims, given the surge in research into representations of this particular ethno-religious group. This existing work can inform future research into representations of BSA. The novelty of the review lies in the application of relevant concept from IPT and ITT, which adds further theoretical depth to the interface of media representations and identity processes (see also Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b). This has enabled us to theorise, to some extent, the potential relationships between media representations and identity processes among BSA. Crucially, this can provide insight into the construction and management of British national and ethnic identities among BSA.

It seems that awareness of, and exposure to, negative media representations of BSA can have negative outcomes for the belonging, self-esteem, continuity, distinctiveness and psychological coherence principles among BSA. More specifically, the consistent representation of BSA in terms of realistic, symbolic and hybridised threats to the ethno-national ingroup may jeopardise individuals' sense of being accepted and included in the national group, jeopardising belonging. The negativity which characterises media representations of BSA is unlikely to be conducive to a positive self-conception, threatening self-esteem (Gecas, 1982).

The present chapter highlights the importance of investigating media representations of Britishness and how BSA are positioned in relation to the national category. Moreover, identity principles can function in relation to particular identities (Murtagh, Gatersleben &

Uzzell, 2010). Thus, the perception that the Press threatens the identity principles might weaken British national identification, particularly if the Press is regarded as reflecting social representations of the WBM. Breakwell (1986) has suggested that individuals will make use of alternative group memberships in order to safeguard identity processes. Thus, it is conceivable that individuals could seek feelings of belonging, self-esteem and continuity from the ethnic group. Moreover, it is hypothesised that awareness of the social representation of 'cultural clash' between Britishness and South Asian ethnic identity may problematise the psychological coherence principle. The present thesis investigates these issues through the empirical exploration of media representations of BSA and of BSAs' responses to such representations.

It is important to explore media representations of other ethnic groups, in order to discern the representational relationships with BSA. For instance, it has been argued that specific ethnic groups can be positioned as 'closer' to 'us' than others in order to 'otherise' a particular group. Thus, BSA cannot be regarded in isolation to other ethnic groups if media representations are to be understood. Identification of these rhetorical strategies in media reporting on BSA allows for linkage between media representations and the social psychology of national and ethnic identification, since it is possible to theorise the relation between rhetorical strategy and psychological response.

Given the lack of research into media representations of BSA, in particular, the present thesis explores (i) how BSA are negativised in the Press; (ii) how threats to the ethno-national ingroup are constructed in newspaper reporting; (iii) how BSA are represented in relation to Britishness; and (iv) how British national and ethnic identification and general identity processes among BSA may be affected by awareness of particular media representations of the ethnic group.

Summary of research questions

The present thesis is concerned with the construction and management of British national and ethnic identities among British South Asians. The research questions are considered in relation to (i) the first generation; (ii) the second generation; (iii) British Indians; and (iv) British Pakistanis. A key aim of the thesis is to enhance our understanding of the socio-psychological processes underlying identity construction and management through the application of theoretical concepts from social psychology, namely identity process theory and social representations theory, to data from British South Asians. Three sets of research questions are addressed in this thesis. The first set is theoretical and relates to the development of IPT in the area of national and ethnic identification, and the second and third sets are more localised empirical concerns specific to the sample and context. These research questions are formally re-visited in the final chapter of the thesis.

The first aim is to examine the utility of IPT in the area of national and ethnic identification, since the dominant theoretical framework employed in the social psychology of social identification has traditionally been the social identity approach. There are three specific research questions:

Question 1(i) What is the relationship between social representations (e.g. media representations) and identity processes?

Question 1(ii) How do the identity principles relate to one another, particularly when the enhancement of one or more principles may threaten another?

Question 1(iii) What is the particular relevance of the psychological coherence principle to the construction and management of British and ethnic identities?

The second aim is to describe the construction and qualitative nature of British national and ethnic identification among British South Asians, exploring the socio-psychological (cognitive, affective and social) aspects of these modes of identification. This is in three parts:

Question 2(i) What are the self-aspects (e.g. norms, values, symbols and social representations) associated with British national and ethnic identities?

Question 2(ii) What is the impact of British national and ethnic identification for the identity principles outlined in identity process theory?

Question 2(iii) How might social representations (e.g. conveyed in media representations) affect British national and ethnic identification?

The third aim of this research is to explore the management of British national and ethnic identities, with particular attention to the role of social representations in the management of these identities. There are four specific research questions:

Question 3(i) What is the impact of British national and ethnic identification for the psychological coherence principle of identity?

Question 3(ii) How do salient self-aspects from one social identity (e.g. British national identity) affect the other social identity (e.g. ethnic identity)?

Question 3(iii) How do temporal factors (e.g. historical social representations; reflection upon life experiences) affect the construction and management of British national and ethnic identities?

Question 3(iv) How do media representations affect the management of these identities?

Chapter III:
Methodological issues

The present chapter outlines the methodological issues associated with the thesis. The first section details the multi-methodological approach employed in the thesis. The chapter begins with a discussion of the epistemological approach underlying present research and of qualitative research in social psychology. Various qualitative research methods are reviewed, including interpretative phenomenological analysis, grounded theory, discourse analysis and qualitative thematic analysis. It is argued that qualitative thematic analysis provides a suitable method of data analysis for the qualitative component of the thesis. Moreover, it is suggested that 'methodolatry' is incompatible with a multi-methodological approach to psychological research. As is necessary in qualitative psychological research, the chapter includes a detailed self-reflection of the principal investigator, highlighting how aspects of the researcher's identity may have shaped the research process.

The multi-methodological approach

The present section describes the epistemological, philosophical and methodological framework within which the present work is located. It presents a rationale for the multi-methodological approach to the construction of national and ethnic identities among BSA, consisting of the qualitative and quantitative research paradigms. Given the wide range of specific methodological approaches, available within the qualitative and quantitative paradigms, this section explains use of particular methods in the present series of studies, while reviewing competing approaches. The present section focuses primarily upon the qualitative component of the thesis, since the first three studies employ qualitative methods. A methodological discussion of the fourth quantitative study is presented in chapter VII.

Epistemological position

The ever-increasing acceptance of qualitative research within British social psychology has undoubtedly enriched the discipline, given that researchers are now conducting quantitative and qualitative research into the same topics, providing a more complete snapshot of socio-psychological phenomena. However, this methodological diversity has induced tension within the discipline, particularly in regards to epistemology. Epistemology refers to 'a branch of philosophy that is concerned with the theory of knowledge and that tries to answer questions about *how* we can know and *what* we can know' (Coyle, 2007b, p. 11). Until relatively recently, quantitative approaches to psychological research, and particularly the experimental method, were deemed to be optimal means of addressing socio-psychological phenomena. Thus, the positivist-empiricist and hypothetico-deductive epistemological position associated with this research paradigm was simply not considered to be noteworthy. Indeed, the absence of qualitative approaches in social psychology rendered latent the epistemological 'identity' of the experimental method, obliterating any need to discuss and debate its appropriateness for specific research questions.

It is now considered good practice for researchers to make explicit their epistemological position (Holloway & Todres, 2003). Phenomenological approaches to psychological research generally seek detailed descriptions of experience as understood by

social actors themselves, since it is believed that this elucidation of personal experience will enhance our understanding of the 'essence' of the socio-psychological phenomenon under question. These methodologies are generally encompassed within the realist epistemology, although particular research methods may be positioned at different points along the epistemological continuum. For instance, the centrality of 'double hermeneutics' in interpretative phenomenological analysis indicates that a two-stage interpretative process, whereby the researcher attempts to make sense of the participant's attempts to make sense of their psychological world. Thus, while participants' talk does *partially* map onto the actualities of which they speak, this relationship is only considered to be partial. Interpretative phenomenological analysis is 'less' realist than template analysis, for instance (Smith & Osborne, 2008). Nonetheless, as Coyle (2007b, p. 16) argues, 'some relationship is usually assumed between the analysis and 'truth' or 'reality'.

The value of a social constructionist epistemological approach was considered in the context of the present research (Burr, 2003). Social constructionists typically adopt a critical stance in relation to the taken-for-granted ways in which selves and the surrounding world are understood (Coyle, 2007b). More specifically, the approach challenges the assumption that the categories employed in everyday talk correspond to an 'objective reality', partly because of the difficulties in actually ascertaining this (Burr, 2003). Researchers working in the social constructionist epistemology typically regard identities and social categories as products of particular social, cultural and historical contexts, rather than as 'fixed' realities. Thus, the epistemology is concerned primarily with exploring how social 'reality' is *constructed* by social actors (rather than how it is perceived) and the social functions performed by these constructions (Coyle, 2007b). In short, social constructionism is generally disinterested in linking the analysis to any 'truth' or 'reality' beyond the text itself, since it attaches far greater importance to construction and functionality *within* the text.

The present thesis aims to explore the role of social representations in the construction and management of national and ethnic identities, with particular focus on identity processes. Thus, there is a concern with perception and motivation, which necessitates a more realist approach to the data (Coyle, 2007b). Conversely, the third study of the thesis is concerned primarily with the social construction of BSA in media representations, which requires a more social constructionist approach to the data. Given our

multi-faceted research aim to explore construction and perception, as well as the various socio-psychological meanings attached to national and ethnic identities, the present thesis adopts a critical realist epistemological approach. Critical realism acknowledges the various ways in which individuals make sense of their socio-psychological experience, while elucidating the ways in which the broader social context impacts these meanings. Indeed, this is entirely consistent with the theoretical approach employed in the present thesis. IPT was designed to address the interface of the individual and the 'social', which is most clearly evidenced by its close relationship with social representations theory (Breakwell, 2001).

Critical realism views participants' talk as a fairly reliable reflection of their cognitions, although it also allows for critical insights into participants' *constructions* of psychosocial phenomena. The critical realist epistemological approach allows the data analyst to theorise motivations, subjective experience, and meaning. Recent research into identity processes in a wide range of research contexts demonstrates the socio-psychological importance of self-presentation (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a). Thus, it is entirely possible that individuals will seek to construct social phenomena in specific ways, regardless of their actual perceptions of these phenomena, in order to optimise self-presentation. For instance, Jaspal and Yampolsky (2011) have argued that Israeli Jews may attribute their support for Palestinian statehood to the desire to avoid 'another Holocaust'. Critical attention to participants' talk revealed that individuals may be more concerned about constructing their actions as reasonable and logical for continued acceptance and inclusion within their social groups, rather than actually exhibiting their 'true' feelings. Moreover, the epistemological innovation reflected in the incorporation of realist and social constructionist approaches is likely to result in a rich and detailed analysis of identity construction and management. It is noteworthy that realist approaches have been subject to criticism from a social constructionist perspective on account of its assumptions regarding the nature of language and its inattention to the constitutive role of language for experience (Willig, 2007). This pluralist epistemological endeavour will likely elucidate the subjective meaning, value and contents of social identities, as well as the functions performed by rhetorical constructions for identity processes. This is consistent with the primary aim of the present study to enhance our understanding of the motivational principles of identity when identity is subjectively perceived or anticipated to be threatened. Furthermore, in order to understand the potential

identity-threatening aspects of the intersection of national, ethnic and other social identities, it is necessary for the researcher to attempt to gain access to participants' subjective meaning-making *vis-à-vis* their identities (Breakwell, 1986). Thus, the partial aim to advance IPT requires the ability to theorise motivations, experience and meaning.

Defining qualitative research

Given that qualitative research can be conducted using a multitude of methodologies with radically different epistemological positions, it is possible to talk of the qualitative paradigm. Qualitative research consists of the systematic analysis of words rather than numbers. As a bare minimum, most qualitative methods share the assumption that there exists no 'objective' reality or 'universal truth' and that knowledge and the processes associated with its production are context-dependent (Lyons, 2000; Willig, 2001). Rather, research participants and researchers, their ideologies, social positions, beliefs and values all play an important role in the research context and in the generation and production of meaning and knowledge (Dallos & Draper, 2000). Thus, qualitative researchers attend to social context in all its complexity and fluidity, since this is regarded as being highly influential for the final research product. Context may be defined 'in terms of the social systems and feedback loops in which an individual is embedded and through which they make sense of, construct and are constructed by their worlds' (Coyle, 2007b, p. 17). Quantitative research may also provide insights into social context, but it is more limited in the extent to which it is able to capture the complexity and fluidity of social context on participants' own terms. Conversely, this is the crucial aim of qualitative research.

Qualitative researchers 'aim to understand "what it is like" to experience particular conditions (e.g. what it means and how it feels to live with chronic illness or to be unemployed) and how people manage certain conditions (e.g. how people negotiate family life or relations with work colleagues)' (Willig, 2001, p. 9). To this extent, the qualitative paradigm is generally concerned with subjectivity and meaning-making. In general, qualitative methods are not employed to confirm pre-determined hypotheses, since they are discovery-oriented (e.g. Glaser, 1978; Glaser, 1992; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Thus, the research process is directed by an emerging theory within the data, rather than by a pre-determined outcome. These factors collectively underlie our decision to employ a qualitative

approach to identity construction and management among BSA. There is little existing research into the subjective meaning-making of BSA *vis-à-vis* their national-ethnic identity configuration and no research into identity processes and identity threat in relation to this identity configuration. Moreover, the theoretical framework employed consisting of IPT and social representations requires a methodological paradigm, which acknowledges the reciprocal relationship between the individual and the social. The qualitative work in this thesis was intended partly to inform the construction of the questionnaire for the final quantitative study.

Evaluating qualitative research

While quantitative research can be evaluated in terms of its reliability, internal and external validity and statistical power, these evaluative criteria are inappropriate for qualitative research. This is due primarily to the supposed objectivity of quantitative research, which may be safeguarded by avoiding 'bias' or deviation from some definitive objective reality. However, the acknowledged importance of the researcher's own 'speaking position' simply renders these evaluative criteria inappropriate for qualitative inquiry (Coyle, 2007b; see also Smith, 1996). The empirical generalisability of research is frequently discussed in relation to the quantitative psychological research. However, this is clearly not applicable to much qualitative research, which typically works with small samples of participants. In empirical studies of twenty participants, as in the present thesis, the results cannot be empirically generalisable. However, as Smith and Eatough (2007) argue, it is possible to talk of *theoretical* rather than empirical generalisability, since one may establish links between research findings and specific claims within the broader literature. Moreover, qualitative research with an experiential concern may be regarded in terms of jigsaw puzzle pieces which complement one another and which collectively contribute to an emerging snapshot of a socio-psychological phenomenon. Some qualitative researchers may talk of the transferability of findings, rather than generalisability, which refers to the notion that the findings of a study may be transferable to other similar research contexts (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Indeed, the theoretical generalisability of the research is outlined in the concluding chapter.

An additional benefit of the qualitative approach employed in this study is that it provides important insights for the theoretically and empirically generalisable fourth study of the thesis. For instance, the results of the first and second studies demonstrate awareness of negative media representations among BSA, which may influence national and ethnic identification, while the third study exhibits some of the ways, in which BSA are habitually represented in the Press. Thus, these results are reflected in the construction of the questionnaire deployed in the fourth study of the thesis. In short, those representations which appear to threaten identity in the qualitative studies are incorporated in the final quantitative study.

Elliot, Fischer and Rennie (1999) have developed some guidelines, which are specific to the evaluation of qualitative psychological research. These include *inter alia* owning one's perspective, situating the participant sample within the broader population, grounding analytical statement within examples from the data, providing 'credibility checks'. Indeed, the qualitative studies of this thesis comply with these guidelines through the systematic provision of self-reflective accounts throughout the research report. The credibility checks conducted within these studies entail frequent consultation with the supervisor of this project, who was able to question and curb any potentially idiosyncratic interpretations of the data. Indeed, those aspects of the researcher's identity (e.g. ethnic identity; heritage) which were likely to impinge upon the interpretation of the data were questioned and discussed in consultation with the thesis supervisor. It is believed that this has led to a richer and more accurate analysis with greater credibility. Yardley (2000) has identified additional means of ensuring that one's research is of a high quality, which have been taken into consideration in the present thesis. For instance, she argues that sensitivity to context is important. Indeed, our sensitivity to socio-cultural context is reflected in our systematic consideration of normative and ideological influences from the media upon identificatory patterns manifested by participants. One example of this is that Muslim participants are aware of Islamophobic social representations, which may compel them to 'assert' their Britishness. A fundamental criterion for high-quality research concerns the theoretical and practical impact and importance of the research. The present thesis aims to develop IPT through its application to a novel research context and these developments, as well as the practical developments, are outlined later in the thesis.

Choosing an appropriate method

Various methodologies were reviewed in order to select an optimal methodological approach. These include interpretative phenomenological analysis, grounded theory and thematic analysis.

Interpretative phenomenological analysis

Given the partial aim to explore participants' subjective meaning-making *vis-à-vis* national and ethnic identities, interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) (Smith, 1996; Smith & Osborn, 2008) was considered a potentially useful methodology. IPA is a qualitative analytical technique that aims to capture participants' attempts to make sense of relevant aspects of their personal and social worlds. IPA conceptualises the participant as a 'cognitive, linguistic, affective and physical being' (Smith & Osborn, 2008, p.54) and assumes a relationship between verbal reports and the cognitions and emotions with which they are concerned. Since IPA focuses upon the meanings that particular lived experiences hold for the individual, reflecting its phenomenological lens, it was anticipated that this analytical strategy would shed light upon the subjective perceptual processes associated with participants' attempts to make sense of their national and ethnic identities. Moreover, IPA's idiographic mode of enquiry encouraged an in-depth exploration of *each* individual's account of their experiences (Smith, Harre & van Langenhove, 1995). This was deemed useful, given that the literature implicitly highlights the need for an exploratory approach.

While there is visible merit in IPA's association with hermeneutics and idiography, its commitment to phenomenology was regarded as problematic for the present study. A central concern in the present thesis is to apply IPT to participants' accounts of national and ethnic identities in order to demonstrate and assess its utility in this particular area of research. Moreover, previous research within related areas demonstrates the potential for theory development in this novel area (Jaspal & Coyle, 2009a, 2009b). However, IPA is a fundamentally inductive methodological approach since the emerging themes are closely associated with the data themselves, rather than with existing theory (Patton, 1990). IPA researchers generally engage with existing theory in a *post-hoc* fashion, by invoking existing theory in the discussion section of research reports rather than during the analysis itself. It is

acknowledged that some IPA researchers select a single theoretical framework in advance and employ it in order to 'inform' rather than drive the analysis (e.g. Coyle & Rafalin, 2000; Jaspal & Coyle, 2010a, 2010b). However, the use of theory in this way is not entirely unproblematic, since it is possible to end up providing a descriptive account rather than an analytical one. Moreover, this approach may inhibit theory development. Instead, the core aims of the thesis are to provide an analytical 'snapshot' of participants' meaning-making regarding national and ethnic identity construction, while simultaneously employing IPT to provide theoretical depth to the analysis.

Grounded theory

Grounded theory is concerned with exploring subjective experience in ways which move beyond mere description. There are epistemologically diverging variants of grounded theory and a systematic review of these variants is beyond the scope of the present thesis. Instead, some of the key theoretical and philosophical tenets will be discussed in terms of their suitability in relation to the present research. Although grounded theory was originally considered to be based on the epistemological position of positivism, subsequent formulations of the methodological approach have become more interpretative and more constructivist (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). It shares IPA's inductive approach to data analysis, which renders the approach particularly suitable for exploratory psychological research into topics about which relatively little is known. Grounded theory is habitually used in order to develop *new theories* which explain, and in some cases predict, socio-psychological phenomena, primarily because there are no existing 'grand' theories within the specific domain. However, current research suggests that IPT may be adequate for explaining and predicting the social psychology of national and ethnic identity construction (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). Thus, the aim in the present study is not to develop new theories but rather to develop and build upon an existing theoretical framework.

Grounded theory researchers have diverging views regarding the extent and nature of literature reviewing before data analysis. It has been argued that the researcher should engage in some review of the literature in order to ensure that the research is novel, although this should not be 'too' thorough lest knowledge of existing theory and literature should jeopardise the researcher's naivety and sensitivity to novel issues emerging from the data.

Payne (2007) argues that researchers should ensure that they are sufficiently familiar with existing theory and research during the latter stages of their research in order to link their results to existing theory. This reflects the aforementioned problem regarding the invocation of theory during data analysis, since grounded theory is essentially an inductive approach. There is a long tradition of social sciences research into social identity construction with important insights from influential theoretical frameworks (e.g. IPT and SIA). The present thesis readily draws upon relevant concepts and constructs from this vast literature in order to serve the aim of analysing and explaining the construction and management of national and ethnic identities among BSA.

Discourse analysis

Like grounded theory, discourse analysis is a methodological approach with various branches each with a distinct set of foci (see Burr, 2003). Two important discursive approaches in British psychology are discursive psychology and Foucauldian discourse analysis (Coyle, 2007a). Discourse analysis is rooted within the social constructionist epistemological approach and, thus, regards language as *constructing*, rather than reflecting, psychological and social reality. Burr (2003, p. 202) conceptualises discourse as a 'systematic, coherent set of images, metaphors and so on that construct an object in a particular way'. Social actors draw upon the vast range of linguistic resources available to them in order to construct particular versions of social reality, although this process is not always intentional. The task of the discourse analyst is to explore *how* social actors discursively construct reality and the *functions* that these constructions can have in particular social, cultural and historical settings (Coyle, 2007a). As an example, language can be employed in order to perform the rhetorical function of justifying particular courses of action. For instance, in their study of language and ethnic identity, Jaspal and Coyle (2010a) found that participants would strategically construct particular criteria for membership in the ethnic group in order to justify their inability to speak the (ethnic) heritage language.

Discourse analysis clearly has some important benefits, particularly for the third study, exemplified by its close attention to the 'action orientation' of linguistic material (Coyle, 2007a). However, given its exclusive focus upon construction, rather than perception and motivation, it was deemed inadequate for systematic use in the present thesis. Indeed,

the first and second studies of the thesis are concerned primarily with perception, motivation and identity management, although the constitutive role of language is also considered alongside these realist analyses. Furthermore, the third study, which explores social constructions of BSA in media representations, assumes that these social constructions will inform meaning-making (at the intrapsychic level) in relation to identity construction and management. This is an important departure from the primary focus of discourse analysis upon the 'public and collective reality' (Burman & Parker, 1993, p. 1). Consequently, the present thesis employs a more fluid and flexible methodological approach with scope for both realist and social constructionist analyses. This is outlined next.

Qualitative thematic analysis

The qualitative data are analysed using qualitative thematic analysis, which has been described as 'a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data' (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 78). This approach was considered particularly useful since it allows the researcher to engage with theory in a quasi-deductive fashion in order to add theoretical depth to the data analysis (see Boyatzis, 1998; Hayes, 1997 for more on deductive approaches to qualitative research). Thematic analysis provides a flexible methodological tool since it is compatible with both essentialist and constructivist paradigms (Aronson, 1994; Roulston, 2001). It may be employed in order to report experiences, meaning and perceived realities *and* to examine the ways in which social phenomena are rhetorically constructed. Thus, it may be regarded in terms of a 'contextualist' method with a critical realist epistemology (Willig, 1999). As Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 81) demonstrate, 'thematic analysis can be a method that works both to reflect reality and to unpick or unravel the surface of 'reality''. Indeed, the combination of essentialist and social constructionist approaches would address the oft-cited criticism that thematic analysis 'does not allow the researcher to make claims about language use, or the fine-grained functionality of talk' (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 97).

Moreover, 'theoretical' thematic analysis allows the researcher to engage with theory in an *a priori* fashion and thereby provides scope for theory development. It may be driven by the researcher's theoretical interest in a given area. For instance, Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010a) deduced from the basis of previous research that British Muslim gay men may

experience identity threat as a result of their potentially conflictual identity configuration, which led the researchers to apply IPT *deductively* to their data set (see also Jaspal & Siraj, in press). Indeed, it has been argued that 'thematic analysis has limited interpretative power beyond mere description if it is not used within an existing theoretical framework that anchors the analytic claims that are made' (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 97). Similarly, the literature review reveals the applicability of theories of identity threat to data concerning the interface of national and ethnic identities among BSA. This evidences the appropriateness of thematic analysis for the first and second studies of this thesis. Furthermore, the third study integrates social constructionist and realist analytical approaches to qualitative data. It is concerned with both media *constructions* of BSA and the potential effects for psychological *meaning-making* concerning national and ethnic identities. Clearly, this dual concern necessitates a method with a dual epistemological approach.

In short, given the present study's partial aim to advance and to develop IPT, use of this particular method was considered highly advantageous. The study also aimed to capture participants' attempts to make sense of their personal and social worlds, with a particular focus on identities.

Methodolatry

Coyle (2007b) notes that an intense commitment to a particular methodology can sometimes lead researchers to lose sight of their research topic and become more concerned with tailoring their research to these preferred methods. 'Methodolatry' may be described in terms of 'a slavish attachment and devotion to method' (Coyle, 2007b, p. 26). Coyle (2007b) observes that this can have an analytically 'immobilising' effect, since the researcher may avoid methodological innovation and creativity and thereby produce a limited analysis. For instance, Jaspal and Coyle (2010a, 2010b) explored accounts of language and identity among BSA from a largely phenomenological perspective. However, during the analysis it became evident that the analysis could be greatly enriched by considering rhetorical constructions of identity. Consequently, the authors outlined their critical realist epistemological approach, which facilitated an innovative analysis. This admittedly might not be regarded as 'true' IPA by some researchers. Furthermore, it has been observed that the *a priori* selection of a particular theoretical framework is generally eschewed by IPA researchers, lest this obscures

individuals' subjective meaning-making. However, Coyle and colleagues (Coyle & Rafalin, 2000; Jaspal & Coyle, 2010a, 2010b) have expanded the IPA repertoire by introducing a means of having theory 'guide' or 'inform' one's research rather than drive it.

Methodolatry may be regarded as an extreme means of preserving the individual distinctive identities of discrete methodologies. Indeed, it is important to preserve methodologies, since excessive methodological experimentation may ultimately lead to an 'anything-goes' outcome, which allows researchers to use methodologies in any way they please. It is important to avoid this, while not falling prey to a methodolatrous stance. This dilemma underlies our decision to employ a flexible methodology such as qualitative thematic analysis, which is not wedded to any particular philosophical or epistemological approach. Indeed, theoretical strands from IPA, grounded theory and discourse analysis have been deemed useful and advantageous for the research questions associated with the present thesis. These strands can be 'borrowed' from these methodologies without raising serious concerns regarding the legitimacy of the methodology being used. In short, qualitative thematic analysis allows the researcher a degree of epistemological flexibility.

Position of the researcher: a self-reflection

Traditional criteria for the evaluation of quantitative research, which generally assumes 'objectivity' and personal detachment from the 'researched', are often thought not to apply to qualitative research (Coyle, 2007b). This is particularly important in interview-based research, which, in most cases, entails communication between the researcher and the 'researched'. Researchers have highlighted the importance of self-reflection in qualitative research and of the consideration of ingroup/ outgroup dynamics in interview-based research (Coyle, 1996; Jaspal, 2009). This stems from the understanding that these dynamics will have implications for data generation and data analysis. Thus, the present section provides some insight into those aspects of the interviewer's identity as a British SGSA male researcher which might have shaped the research process, while considering some of the dynamics between interviewer and interviewee in select parts of the research process.

Although I was mindful of the differences in background between myself and many of the participants, I still felt that I was able to position myself alongside them in a number of ways. Like many of the participants, I have one parent who was from the Indian subcontinent and one who was not and, thus, I had experienced the same bicultural/ bilingual upbringing which many of them invoked. Indeed, our common ethno-cultural heritage provided feelings of solidarity between the interviewer and participants, given our common understanding of the potential ethno-cultural constraints faced by SGSA participants in their lives. For instance, participants frequently highlighted tension-points between cultural norms associated with ethnic identity (e.g. parental involvement in the arrangement of marriage) and contradictory norms associated with Britishness. My existing familiarity with these potential tension-points between the identities obviated the need for participants to provide extensive contextualisation. Indeed, it has been observed that South Asian individuals may perceive a lack of understanding among the WBM of their ethno-cultural norms (Jaspal & Siraj, in press), which means that explaining these norms can be embarrassing. Although excessive contextualisation was not necessary, I believe that this common understanding of

these identities made participants feel comfortable about disclosing details of their feelings about the tension-points between their identities in a non-judgemental setting.

Like many of the SGSA interviewees, I was in my early twenties, which, I felt, would almost certainly be advantageous given that researchers have identified the researcher/participant age gap as a possible methodological shortcoming in research among SGSA (Harris, 2006). While this was advantageous in research with SGSA, most of whom were similar to me in age, this posed occasional problems for research with FGSA. For instance, in discussions regarding inter-generational conflict, FGSA participants appeared to position me as an outgroup member, to some extent, as I was regarded as a member of 'them' rather than 'us. This was highlighted by their use of the second person pronoun 'you' when discussing the perceived needs and intentions of SGSA. In sections of the interviews, participants' assertions were constructed as complaints against a group, of which I was regarded as being a member, rather than as a detailed response regarding feeling and perception. Conversely, some participants viewed the interview as an opportunity to contest social representations of FGSAs' behaviour towards the SGSA, which they perceived to be dominant among SGSA. In these situations, I deemed it necessary to render latent my identity as an SGSA by emphasising my primary role as a social scientist interested in participants' meaning-making.

During the interview process, I realised that it was important to exhibit a degree of sensitivity towards cultural norms associated specifically with FGSA. This was particularly important when discussing those cultural norms, which are conversely problematised or even rejected by members of SGSA, given my own position as an SGSA. There are differences between FGSAs' and SGSAs' social representations regarding the institution of arranged marriage, with FGSA generally holding more positive representations than SGSA (Ghuman, 2003, 2005). At least one FGSA participant problematised my interpretation of 'arranged marriage', which they felt corresponded more closely to 'forced marriage'. This perhaps served to remind the participant of my SGSA identity, which induced a tension-point in the interview. It became clear to me that the reproduction of social representations, which challenged or contradicted participants' representations could jeopardise interviewer-interviewee interpersonal relations, leading to defensive argumentation rather than insight into participants' meaning-making.

In addition to identity construction, the research was concerned with participants' perceptions of intergroup relations with the WBM and other ethnic minority groups in Britain. Given that I was positioned as an ethnic ingroup member, participants readily revealed their social representations of ethno-racial outgroups. However, these representations did not consistently correspond to my own, given my privileged upbringing and positive interpersonal relations with members of the WBM. This discrepancy in social representations induced a certain curiosity regarding participants' experiences of discrimination and 'otherisation' from the WBM. My naiveté motivated me to explore these issues in greater depth with particular attention to how participants 'coped' with these negative experiences. Accordingly, participants appeared to position me as a naive outsider, which in some cases led to a more phenomenological analysis of the interview data on participants' own terms, rather than viewed entirely through the interpretative lens of the researcher's own experiences of 'racism'.

My partial socialisation within the BSA community had sensitised me to social representations, which problematise Britishness among FGSA. This engendered feelings of sympathy and empathy with FGSA, who reportedly felt marginalised by SGSA. My awareness of these representations and of their potential socio-psychological implications, such as the negativisation of inter-generational relations, encouraged me to consider participants' reactions to these representations. I considered this to be a matter of growing socio-psychological concern, which was apparent to participants occupying this social position. This encouraged them to provide detailed accounts of 'otherisation' from SGSA, which, given their positioning of me as an SGSA, might be regarded in terms of a social complaint (see Jaspal, 2011a). My personal investment in this particular issue highlighted the importance of ensuring that this did not negatively affect data analysis. Thus, I cautiously scrutinised my analytical position during the analysis of these sections of the data set.

Despite my initial expectation that my identity as BSA would be most salient in interviews, I found that many participants in fact viewed me primarily as an 'expert researcher' rather than as a BSA (layperson) like them. One participant commented:

"Yeah, you with all your degrees, you're streets ahead of us [..] I'm sure you know the reasons why there's all this going on because you're into psychology".

I was viewed by some individuals as possessing skills that I clearly did not possess, namely the ability to unlock the secrets of their psychological worlds and to provide answers to questions with which I myself was grappling. Accordingly, I began to wonder whether participants were omitting relevant details due to their presumption that I, as an 'expert researcher', was already aware of them:

"Racism's around because it's like [..] I don't need to tell you that. You probably know more about it than I do".

This was in fact a limitation since it was precisely their theories, meaning making and cognitions which interested me. This led me to explore ways in which to emphasise my primary interest in the diversity of their personal experiences without jeopardising my credibility as a genuinely interested researcher.

Nonetheless, it is true that my position as social scientist was salient during the research process and, in many cases, took precedence over other elements of my individual identity. This identity salience was particularly important during the analysis of media representations. Indeed, being a member of an ethnic group habitually negativised and 'otherised' by the Press could induce defensive responses. The salience of my identity as a social scientist motivated me to avoid suspicious or defensive interpretations of media representations, since this made me feel less personally invested in the research.

In conclusion, it was necessary to monitor my own and participants' perceptions, talk and behaviour during the research process. More specifically, I attempted to modify my speaking position in ways, which facilitated data generation. I was aware of the different positions that I could occupy, and be regarded by participants as occupying, during the various stages of the research process (Jaspal, 2009). Moreover, it was essential to ensure that aspects of my identity did not produce excessively idiosyncratic interpretations of the data during data analysis. This particular concern was addressed by accentuating my position

as a social scientist during data analysis, and by inviting my doctoral adviser to question and curb any potentially idiosyncratic interpretations.

The following chapter presents the results of the first study of the thesis.

Chapter IV:

Study I

The present chapter reports the results of a qualitative study of the construction and management of national and ethnic identities among FGSA. The first section outlines key methodological issues pertinent to the first study of the thesis, including (i) participant recruitment and sampling; (ii) construction of the interview schedule; (iii) data generation and (iv) analytical procedure. The empirical component of the chapter elucidates (i) participants' cognitions towards and reported experiences of migration to and settlement in Britain; (ii) participants' social representations of national and ethnic ingroup and outgroup boundaries, and their engagement in processes of inclusion and 'othering' through self and other categorisation; and (iii) the qualitative nature of participants' relationship to Britishness, the perceived availability of Britishness and perceived points of conflict between national and ethnic identities. Collectively, these sections provide a snapshot into the construction and management of national and ethnic identities among FGSA.

Method

Thi section presents information regarding the methodological issues pertinent to the first study of this thesis. It provides details regarding participant recruitment, sampling issues, the interview schedule, data generation and analytical procedure.

Participant recruitment and sampling

A sample of 20 participants was recruited from the South Asian community in a city in the east midlands of England and in the West London area. Participants were first generation South Asians (FGSA), and all had migrated to Britain between 1960 and 1985. 10 individuals were of Indian background (predominantly from the Punjab region of India) and the remaining 10 were of Pakistani descent (mainly from the Mirpur region of Pakistan). There were 10 males and 10 females, with a mean age of 54.6 years (SD: 4.9). Two participants had obtained undergraduate university degrees in the Subcontinent, fourteen participants had obtained GCSE-level qualifications and the remaining four had no formal qualifications. Participants' real names have been replaced with pseudonyms in this thesis.

The study focused mainly upon the experiences of FGSA of Punjabi and Mirpuri heritage, since these two ethnic groups are most representative of the Indian and Pakistani communities in Britain, respectively. A snowball sampling strategy was employed, with the initial participants recruited from within the researcher's social networks. Other participants were recruited at the Indian and Pakistani community centres.

Interview schedule

The interviews were guided by a semi-structured interview schedule consisting of ten exploratory, open-ended questions (see appendix I). These included general questions regarding self and identity; national and ethnic identities; reflections upon the early stages of settlement in Britain; relations with relevant outgroups; and attitudes towards distinct national contexts. The interview schedule was designed primarily to address the research questions outlined at the end of chapter II. Moreover, the detailed review of existing social sciences research into national and ethnic identities among BSA (see chapter II) played an

important role in the construction of the interview schedule. The researcher's experience of previous qualitative socio-psychological research into identity among BSA using interview methods partly informed the process of constructing the schedule (e.g. Jaspal & Coyle, 2010a, 2010b). For instance, this facilitated the inclusion of questions, which had proven to be particularly fruitful in terms of data generation. It was hoped that open-ended questions would encourage the participants to voice their perceptions and lived experiences more than close-ended questions would, for instance. On the basis of the aforementioned previous research into identity among BSA, it was anticipated that participants might be unaccustomed to discussing abstract and esoteric issues such as identity. Thus, explanatory probes were included in the questionnaire in order to facilitate discussion of relevant issues. Given that the interview schedule was semi-structured, it was not deemed necessary to ask questions in the order prescribed by the interview schedule, but rather in ways, which facilitated discussion and participants' reflection upon their feelings and experiences. Moreover, participants occasionally alluded to issues of theoretical and empirical importance, which were not originally covered by the interview schedule, in which case they were given the opportunity to elaborate on these issues. To that extent, the semi-structured interview schedule was employed as a 'guide' for interviews, rather than as a structured and rigid instrument for data generation. As is standard practice in much qualitative interview-based research (e.g. Lyons & Coyle, 2007), the initial five interviews of the study were transcribed and preliminarily analysed in order to ascertain the suitability of the interview schedule for conducting the intended research. This led to the inclusion of further probes in order to clarify some of the more abstract questions concerning identity.

Data generation

On the basis of previous interview-based research with BSA (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010a, 2010b), it was hypothesised that individual interviews would constitute a more fruitful and productive means of data generation than focus group discussions (Breakwell, 2000; Millward, 2000). This hypothesis was based partly on the cultural importance of 'izzat' (honour/ respect), which is discussed later in the thesis (see Gilbert, Gilbert & Sanghera, 2004). Given that sensitive issues (e.g. arranged marriage, sexual relationships and intergenerational relations) emerged in discussions of national and ethnic identification, it was deemed vital to provide

participants with a level of privacy conducive to open reflection upon these issues. For instance, in the first study of the thesis, one participant discussed her dismay at the perceived cultural norm of having to accommodate members of her extended family. It would be unlikely for her to disclose this information in a focus group setting, given the cultural importance of saving face ('izzat') and the risk that one could be positioned by other ingroup members as an ingroup 'Black Sheep' (Marques, Yzerbyt & Leyens, 1988). In short, given that individual interviews allowed the possibility for participants to discuss these topics in a confidential one-to-one setting, this method of data generation was regarded as particularly fruitful.

Procedure of data generation

Thirteen participants requested to be interviewed in their own homes and the remaining seven participants were interviewed in the researcher's home. It was deemed necessary to conduct interviews in contexts, in which they would feel most comfortable discussing potentially sensitive issues such as identity and intergroup relations. In accordance with the British Psychological Society ethical guidelines, participants were informed of the aims of the study in a detailed letter (see appendix VII) and were invited to seek clarification on any issues they might not have understood. Following full assurance of the confidentiality of their responses and their full right to withdraw from the study or to withdraw their data from the study, participants signed the form appended to the letter (see appendix VII).

The researcher asked participants whether they wished to be interviewed in English or in their heritage language, which was either Punjabi or Urdu. Seven interviews were conducted in Punjabi and two in Urdu, and the remaining eleven interviews were conducted in English. Given his proficiency in all three languages, the researcher was able to use the English-language interview schedule in interviews in Urdu and Punjabi. This was not deemed to be problematic, given the semi-structured nature of the interview schedule, which was employed as a 'guide' rather than as a structured and rigid schedule. Interviews lasted between sixty to ninety minutes. They were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim by the researcher (see appendix V for a sample transcript).

Analytical procedure

The qualitative data generated in this study were analysed using a theoretically active, critical realist version variant of qualitative thematic analysis (see chapter III for a detailed discussion of this methodological approach).

Turning to the analytical procedure, the transcripts were read repeatedly in order for the researcher to become as intimate as possible with the accounts. During each reading of the transcripts preliminary impressions and interpretations were noted in the left margin. These included associations, comments on language use, emerging questions and phenomenological interpretations, relevant to the research questions outlined at the end of chapter II (Willig, 2001). These comments were then compared with notes made during the process of transcription, which constituted the earliest stage of engagement with participants' accounts. Subsequently, the right margin was used to note emerging theme titles which captured the essential qualities of the accounts. Attempts were made to ensure consistency between the researcher's analytical interpretations and the raw interview data. Thus, throughout the process of data analysis, the researcher met frequently with his Ph.D. supervisor, Dr. Marco Cinnirella, who helped to ensure this level of consistency between data and interpretation by questioning and curbing any potentially idiosyncratic interpretations. This procedure was repeated with each interview transcript, each of which gave rise to five or six master themes. The master themes of each transcript were themselves organised into a final set of superordinate themes. However, some of the original master themes, which did not directly address the research questions, were discarded. The superordinate themes representing the twenty accounts were then ordered into a logical and coherent narrative structure and are presented in the next sections of the chapter.

Migration and identity processes

The first section of this chapter elucidates participants' cognitions towards, and reported experiences of, migration to and settlement in Britain. There is a particular focus upon the implications for identity processes. Three superordinate themes are outlined, including: (i) 'making sense of migration and settlement'; (ii) 'psychological trauma of migration'; and (iii) 'double rejection: migration and intergroup relations'.

Making sense of migration and settlement

Participants were encouraged to reflect upon the reasons for migration to Britain. There was consensus among participants that prior to migration hegemonic social representations of Britain within the Indian village contexts were highly positive. The unifying core of these social representations was that migration to Britain offered excellent opportunities for social mobility, which in turn could enhance the social status of migrating South Asians within the village contexts.

"The promised land": Story-telling, social representations and migratory decisions
Several participants highlighted the importance of others' first-hand accounts of life in Britain in their decision-making *vis-à-vis* migration. These first-hand accounts were reported to play an influential role in their decision-making primarily because they were delivered by South Asians who had already migrated to and settled in Britain. Crucially, migrants to Britain were said to have been held in great esteem by SARS, which highlights their ability to create, encourage and disseminate social representations (Breakwell, 2001):

> I mean the stories she [his expatriate aunt] used to tell [..] I tell you, that
> woman made this country seem like heaven or something. It was like the
> promised land for us (laughs) (Ram)

It [Pakistan] was our home but it was a shit-hole back then [..] When they came back to Pakistan, the stories were just about a heaven on earth (Jamal)

As these accounts indicate, Britain was constructed in exceptionally positive terms. It seemed that in some first-hand accounts by South Asian migrants Britain was *discursively* 'sanctified'. Pargament and Mahoney (2005) define sanctification as the process whereby individuals can come to perceive virtually any aspect of their lives as having spiritual character and significance. More specifically, it is a process whereby 'the ordinary becomes extraordinary' (p. 180). Here it is not claimed that individuals genuinely perceived Britain as having spiritual character and significance but rather that it was constructed in these terms in the first-hand accounts of those who had already migrated. Social representations of Britain are 'anchored' to religion, which was reflected by the abundance of spiritual terminology and references employed in the above-cited accounts: 'like heaven', 'promised land'. Crucially, many participants highlighted this (spiritual) dimension of migration to Britain in their accounts of decision-making *vis-à-vis* migration, which suggests that this remains at the psychological forefront when thinking about the migratory transition from the Subcontinent to Britain. These positive social representations regarding migration to Britain are accepted, assimilated and reproduced by individuals, which would explain their invocation of these representations in thinking about their decision-making (Breakwell, 2001). Clearly, the acceptance and assimilation of this social representation would be expected to provide individuals, psychologically, with the prospect of self-enhancement, since it perhaps enabled individuals to visualise a transition from a negative social setting ('shit-hole') to a positively evaluated social setting with scope for self-enhancement. This is likely to be particularly effective if the positively evaluated social setting is assimilated as an integral component within the self-concept, that is, if individuals *identify* with the context (Breakwell, 1986). While self-association with a negatively evaluated social context could plausibly be linked to low self-esteem, identification with a positively evaluated context would likely be associated with enhanced self-esteem, given that one may thereby develop and maintain a positive self-conception (Gecas, 1982). To this extent, the acceptance and assimilation of this representation may be said to have indirect benefits for the self-esteem principle.

These 'sanctified' social representations of Britain appeared to contribute to participants' self-reported feelings of envy towards South Asians who had already migrated to Britain. This is unsurprising given the benefits for self-esteem, perceived to be associated with migration to Britain; individuals would like to be associated with this social position (Gecas & Schwalbe, 1983). Britain was sanctified by many individuals due to the perceived affluence of the country and of its inhabitants. It is important to note the importance of processes of social influence in the acceptance and assimilation of these social representations, which were largely communicated to individuals through the first-hand accounts of migrants. Those individuals with high social status may have greater ability to encourage the acceptance and assimilation of social representations:

> Interviewer: What kind of stories did she [aunt] tell you though?

> Ram: You know, that money grows on trees and that people become millionaires over night. We all believed it because she was way above us, her standard was way, you know, she was going places.

It is clear that Ram attributes high social status to his migrant aunt, which is exemplified by his comparative evaluative statements: 'she was way above us'. More specifically, her 'standard' is perceived as being superior to that of the SARS. Thus, it appears that the migrating aunt is regarded as occupying a differential and unambiguously superior position within the social group. Indeed Breakwell (2001, p. 275) notes that 'individuals who are powerful (through position, expertise, or other route) are more likely to be able to retain their own personal representations *and to be able to influence the development of social representations*' (emphasis added). Given the perceived social superiority of migrating individuals among the SARS, the role of migrating individuals in the development and dissemination of social representations regarding migration is noteworthy in the study of BSAs' decision-making *vis-à-vis* migration to and settlement in Britain. As the primary source of information regarding life in Britain, migrant individuals with links to the Subcontinent were influential disseminators of representations.

In these accounts, Britain was constructed as a highly prosperous nation, which provided a means of escaping and curtailing poverty among loved ones in the Subcontinent.

Although social representations disseminated by migrants to Britain were influential due to their high social status (Breakwell, 2001), it is likely that the acceptance and assimilation of these social representations also provided an indirect, imagined means of enhancing the principled operation of identity processes. For instance, there was much reflection among participants upon the abundance of poverty within the 'homeland' and its negative socio-psychological consequences:

> In our village people were so poor and there was no work or anything. I remember feeling so useless because I couldn't bring any money in to feed my family (Gurdeep)

> We didn't have no nurses or doctors when babies were born in the village. It was my sisters who delivered the child [his younger sibling]. Can you imagine that? (Amar)

The psychological consequences of hardship and poverty were considerable. In a patriarchal cultural environment such as that of the Punjab (Jain, 2008), male participants reported 'feeling so useless' since they were unable to fulfil the duties which were personally and socially regarded as being associated with the familial patriarch. Amar constructs his homeland as lacking what would be considered 'basic' resources required for survival, such as access to health care during childbirth. Moreover, Gurdeep attributes the hunger experienced by his family members to their lack of financial resources. His use of the transitive verb 'to feed' suggests that it was specifically his responsibility to earn money for his family. Gurdeep's memory of 'feeling so useless' as a consequence of this provides impetus to the assertion that the self-efficacy principle would be susceptible to threat, since his inability to provide for his family may inhibit feelings of 'competence and control' (Breakwell, 1993, p. 205). Self-efficacy may be thought of as threatened, since Gurdeep perceives the maintenance of his family as his own responsibility, which he was unable to fulfil due to social circumstances. Conversely, if this were not regarded as his responsibility, there would be little reason to regard the principle as being threatened, since feelings of competence and control would not necessarily be jeopardised. The role of expectation and

perception in the maintenance and enhancement of the identity principles has been discussed elsewhere (Jaspal, 2011b).

Thus, it becomes clearer how the acceptance and assimilation of positive representations regarding life in Britain may indirectly enhance identity processes. Perhaps the positive social representations of Britain indirectly empowered the self-efficacy principle since they constructed an affluent Britain, in which individuals' hopes of economic, social and personal efficacy could be realised. Crucially, for Gurdeep, these social representations could provide indirect benefits for self-efficacy, since migration to Britain may be perceived as providing him with feelings of competence and control *vis-à-vis* his perceived familial responsibilities (Breakwell, 1992). These representations become psychologically salient among many participants when reflecting upon their decision-making regarding migration, possibly because they symbolise the identity principles most readily enhanced through migration, namely self-efficacy. This is consistent with the assertion that the salience of a social representation will increase if it becomes 'relevant to the individual's ongoing activity' either social or psychological (Breakwell, 2001, p. 274).

The pervasive social representations of affluence and social mobility in Britain, which serve identity needs, are personalised by individuals in accordance with the 'visual evidence' of expensive clothing and jewellery exhibited by South Asian expatriates during their visits to India. The objectification of affluence and social mobility in this way may engender excitement and hope and induce migration decisions:

> He [his expatriate brother-in-law] came with a small radio for me and it
> had the whole village at my house [..] We took it in turns to listen to it.
> We just couldn't believe that he could afford that (Gurdeep)

> They [expatriates] came with gold around their necks, rings on their
> fingers, the lot. That's what Britain was for us [...] that's why I left for
> Britain (Jamal)

The abstract concepts of affluence and social mobility may be imbued with a concrete existence through the process of objectification, since individuals invoked specific concrete objects as symbols representing these concepts (Moscovici, 1988). For instance, the 'small

radio' raised questions regarding the wealth of migrant individuals in Gurdeep's mind, while for Jamal the 'gold around their necks, rings on their fingers' came to symbolise Britain as a nation. This essentially reinforced the social representations of wealth and possible social mobility disseminated by migrant individuals, positioning them within a symbolic reality (Abric, 2001). Indeed, the process of objectification is important for the personalisation of social representations, since it allows the individual to *ontologise* these abstract phenomena by regarding them in terms of physical properties (Moscovici & Hewstone, 1983). Abstract phenomena become psychologically accessible to the individual providing appropriate scope for personalisation (Breakwell, 2001). In the present context, the personalisation of the representation allows individuals to *imagine* affluence and social mobility and, thus, enhanced self-efficacy (see Jaspal, 2011b for more on the link between social mobility and the self-efficacy principle). Consequently, the representation was able to influence social behaviour; Jamal reports having taken the decision to migrate since he perceived Britain as facilitating affluence and social mobility and, by extension, self-efficacy.

Pride within the family circle and ethnic group

While migration to the homeland was initially regarded as a means of enhancing self-efficacy, it can also provide individuals with feelings of pride and social superiority within the family circle and broader ethnic group. This was attributed to individuals' perceived fulfilment of their 'duty' as migrants to provide monetary aid to family members in the homeland:

> I did support my family a lot and that was a great feeling. I was a young
> boy and that made me feel like the man of the house [..] I was sending
> more money than they earned in a whole year (Iqbal)

Like Iqbal, several participants reported that the ability to support family members financially could have positive outcomes for self-esteem, given the positive emotions reportedly associated with this ability: 'that was a great feeling'. In the extract above, this sense of self-esteem seemed to be related to Iqbal's achievement of patriarchal status within the family context such that his family members became financially dependent upon him:

'that made me feel like the man of the house'. Self-esteem may be enhanced, since the occupancy of this desirable position within the social matrix facilitates the maintenance of a positive self-conception (Gecas, 1982). Moreover, Iqbal's self-definition as 'the man of the house' suggests a sense of positive distinctiveness. Indeed, Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell (2000) have observed that the concept of *position*, which refers to one's position within social relationships (e.g. family units), constitutes one source of distinctiveness, since the individual is located within the interpersonal network of their family as a (positively) distinguished individual. Within the present context, it is clear that the feelings of distinctiveness derived from this position within the interpersonal network are positive. Moreover, the downward comparison between himself and SARS (the observation that he 'was sending more money than they earned in a whole year') endows Iqbal with feelings of superiority and pride. Indeed, downward comparisons and the ensuing feelings of pride are said to have positive outcomes for self-esteem (Jaspal, 2011b; Wills, 1981). This is consistent with earlier observations in relation to Gurdeep's above-cited account, namely that the patriarch's perceived inability to support his family financially may be aversive for self-esteem.

This is inextricably related to self-efficacy, since feelings of competence and control (albeit conceived in socio-economic terms) are derived from the ability to support one's family financially (Breakwell, 1992). Iqbal's observation that he felt 'like the man of the house' alludes to his feelings of control and competence and, thus, to the enhancement of the self-efficacy principle, as a result of migration to Britain. Although it is acknowledged that self-efficacy and self-esteem are empirically distinguishable (Tafarodi & Swann, 1991), it seems that perceived threats to self-efficacy specifically within the context of the financial maintenance of one's family may have negative outcomes for self-esteem, since one is unable to derive a positive self-conception from one's perceived position within the familial matrix. This may be linked to the aforementioned statement regarding the feelings of positive distinctiveness derived from his perceived fulfilment of the 'duties' associated with his *position* within the interpersonal network of his family (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000). Indeed, in order to safeguard the sense of positive distinctiveness (and by extension, self-esteem) it is necessary to maintain feelings of self-efficacy primarily by continuing to fulfil the aforementioned 'duties'.

In addition to the intrapsychic sense of pride and hegemony recounted by participants, there was also a pervasive sense of *interpersonal* pride, since individuals themselves reported feeling respected and valued by SARS. Most participants identified the heightened sense of respect from relevant others in the village contexts, as one of the most rewarding consequences of migration:

> Respect is all I ask for. I don't need their money or anything, just their
> respect (Usha)

> If they [SARS] treat me with due respect, I'll carry on going (Iqbal)

In short, respect from relevant others was prioritised by individuals, given its positive outcomes for self-esteem. This demonstrates the self-agency of the individual in constructing and managing identity (Breakwell, 2010). The individual seizes the opportunity to enhance that principle which lends itself most readily to enhancement in specific social contexts. As exemplified in the above-cited accounts, there was a unanimous expectation of respect from those for whom many participants reported having sacrificed their lives by migrating to Britain. This identity 'requirement' may be attributed to the consequential benefits for self-esteem (Breakwell, 1986). In Usha's account, the juxtaposition between her 'need' and the commonly perceived 'need' of SARS is interesting. While SARS are viewed by participants as benefiting primarily from monetary aid (see Abdul's quote below), participants were more concerned with the ensuing honour and respect. This is unsurprising given the centrality of 'izzat' (respect and honour) in South Asian culture (Ballard, 1994b; Ghuman, 2003; Gilbert, Gilbert & Sanghera, 2004). Respect and honour constitute positive by-products of migrants' enhanced self-efficacy (their competence, control and power) at the interpersonal level of human interdependence, in that others *perceive* their enhanced self-efficacy. Conversely, for migrants themselves, the acquisition of respect and honour may be related to enhanced self-esteem, since it could endow them with 'a feeling of personal worth or social value' within the village context (Breakwell, 1986, p. 24). More specifically, this is aligned with the high social status, which migrants reportedly came to acquire subsequent to migration to Britain. Given the positive consequences of respect and honour for the value

dimension of identity, it is unsurprising that individuals should seek to maintain high levels of contact with the homeland.

Since the notions of honour and respect were frequently invoked in accounts of migration and subsequent contact with the homeland, it was deemed necessary to explore the links between 'izzat' and the self-esteem principle. A close consideration of individuals' earlier accounts revealed the social representation among participants that they were less distinctive from or less positively evaluated by other ingroup members (and especially their parents) prior to migration. This elucidated the threatening position (in relation to the self-esteem and distinctiveness principles, in particular) occupied by migrants prior to migration to Britain (Breakwell, 1986). Abdul's account illustrated this succinctly:

> I was nothing when I left, you know? My mum and dad told me that they regretted having me because I was going to amount to nothing, but when I came back with the pounds (laughs) [..] That made me love being British (Abdul)

> I was a trouble-maker back in Pakistan (laughs). My parents couldn't wait to get rid of me [..] Britain turned me into a gentleman though (Mohammed)

There was a general understanding among participants that migration to Britain had provided them with opportunities for upward social mobility and this was often juxtaposed with the poor economic conditions which characterised their lives in the homeland. Moreover, participants elucidated their occupancy of threatening positions *vis-à-vis* identity processes (Breakwell, 1986). Like Abdul several individuals described their relatively inferior social status prior to migration: 'they regretted having me because I was going to amount to nothing'. Similarly, Mohammed invoked his former image as 'a trouble-maker'. The perception of poor social status is unlikely to be conducive to a positive self-conception, leading to decreased self-esteem (Jaspal & Sitaridou, 2010). Moreover, Abdul's account suggested possible threats to the distinctiveness principle given that he was allegedly 'nothing' prior to migration (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000). To this extent, it

is argued that both the distinctiveness and self-esteem principles were jeopardised prior to migration.

Crucially, these participants perceived a significant change in SARS perceptions of them upon their return to the homeland 'with the pounds'. Many participants derived a great sense of pride from this possibly because this constituted a significant improvement in their social standing within the village context. Indeed, it has been predicted that the perception of high social status (either as an individual or as a group member) will induce high levels of self-esteem (Jaspal, 2011b; Jaspal & Sitaridou, 2010). For Abdul, this improvement in their social status in the homeland seemed to engender a more sentimental attachment to Britain: 'that made me love being British'. Thus, the initial connection with Britain was an instrumental one, since upward social mobility through financial gain was the primary aim. Conversely, upon acquisition of their privileged status within the homeland context, it seemed that some individuals developed a more sentimental attachment to Britain (Kelman, 1997). This was illustrated in the above-cited account and, more succinctly, by Abdul's feelings of pride and happiness in self-identification as British, an identity which was described as 'very beautiful':

Abdul: Being British is something very beautiful and I'm really proud of it.

Interviewer: Does it make you feel like [..] how does it make you feel?

Abdul: Proud and very happy. It is a good feeling to be British

Given that Britishness is identified as the root cause for the perceived rise in 'izzat', perhaps it is embraced as part of a strategy for safeguarding the self-esteem and distinctiveness principles. Moreover, this alters the *nature* of identification with the national category (from instrumental to sentimental), since it is regarded as having positive outcomes for the principled operation of identity processes.

Similarly, Mohammed acknowledged the role of Britain in his transition from being 'a troublemaker' (a negatively evaluated category) to becoming 'a gentleman' (a positively evaluated category) in the eyes of his community in the homeland. Crucially, this supports the hypothesis that the perception of social status (through interpersonal contact) has

repercussions for self-esteem at the intrapsychic level (Jaspal & Sitaridou, 2010). These accounts signal a sense of gratitude towards Britishness for facilitating this social mobility and, more specifically, the rise in 'izzat'. This suggests that if an identity element (a group membership; a personal trait etc.) is perceived by the individual as enhancing identity processes, it will be more readily assimilated and accommodated within the self-concept and, thus, the individual will develop a psychological attachment to the identity element. Thus, some individuals seemed to exhibit a sentimental relationship with Britishness (Kelman, 1997). However, it is noteworthy that, although there was a clear sense of gratitude in the above-cited accounts for these participants, this did not necessarily translate into automatic allegiance to Britain or to the adoption of British national identity among all individuals. As an identity element, the category Britishness was clearly subordinate to feelings of personal honour and respect, from which feelings of self-esteem and distinctiveness could be derived, since these feelings had direct benefits for identity needs. Thus, insofar as the category Britishness was regarded by individuals as facilitating respect and honour, which in turn provided feelings of self-esteem and distinctiveness, the category was valued by participants.

This need for respect and honour was reflected in many individuals' utopian vision of return to the homeland, which some authors have called the 'myth of return' (Anwar, 1976; Shaw, 1994). This term is adequate in the present context, since participants highlighted the potential benefits (for identity) of return to the Subcontinent, although it was not necessarily perceived as a realistic prospect in the near future. The benefits for identity concerned the perception of greater 'izzat' in the homeland than in Britain:

> Gurdeep: Yeah, I'd like to go back [to India] and settle there. I'd be treated with a lot more respect than over here, I'll tell you that.

> Interviewer: Why's that?

> Gurdeep: People know you've done something for them there because here no one cares.

This account coheres with the central thesis that 'izzat' constitutes an important aspect of individuals' meaning-making. The need for self-esteem and positive distinctiveness, which

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are derived from the perception of 'izzat', perhaps led participants like Gurdeep to fantasise about resettlement in the homeland. The hope for settlement was grounded in participants' quest for 'izzat', which was perceived as being more readily available in the homeland context than in Britain. Gurdeep, in particular, expressed his desire to be acknowledged for his benevolence and made a comparison between the homeland context, in which he constructed himself as a distinctive member of the ingroup, and the British context ('here'), in which his distinctiveness was apparently under threat. Thus, individuals' close contact with the homeland may ensure the maintenance and enhancement of self-esteem and distinctiveness. It is interesting that, among several participants, self-positioning within the homeland context *prior to migration* was perceived as threatening the same principles. In present times, it seems that the homeland provides socio-psychological conditions, which are *conducive* to enhanced self-esteem and distinctiveness. This demonstrates the importance of temporal factors and social representations in shaping social contexts; more specifically, these will determine how social contexts will affect identity processes (Breakwell, 2001, 2010).

It is noteworthy that the observed desire for return to and resettlement in the Subcontinent among some participants is consistent with the thesis that identity elements are valued and prioritised by individuals insofar as they benefit the principled operation of identity processes (Breakwell, 1986). Crucially, this departs from the hypothesis that individuals necessarily seek self-esteem from their 'positive' social identity, commonly found in the SIT literature, and the notion that specific group memberships are perpetually favoured and claimed by individuals across the life-span (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). If this were this case, one would expect consistent self-identification with the national category British and/ or the ethnic homeland. The present data suggest that individuals strategically manoeuvre between identity elements (by laying claim to Britishness in some contexts and by desiring resettlement in the Subcontinent in others) in order to enhance identity processes. Indeed, this reflects the central assumption of IPT that individuals possess self-agency in constructing and monitoring identity, although dominant social representations (through the process of social representational personalisation) will influence decisions regarding identity construction and management (Breakwell, 2010).

Psychological trauma of migration

Participants' accounts elucidated some of the psychological downsides of migration to and settlement in Britain. For instance, it has been demonstrated how permanent settlement in Britain was regarded as having eroded their sense of positive distinctiveness from others, which conversely was perceived as being enhanced through contact with the homeland. The present section elaborates the psychological costs of migration and the strategies employed by participants in order to cope with them.

Loss and nostalgia: Remembering the homeland

Although all participants had been resident in Britain for decades, several expressed a continuous, poignant sense of general loss, which they attributed to migration to Britain. This engendered feelings of nostalgia towards the homeland:

> There are things that I miss now and I didn't realise I would miss them when I left. Just small things like the smell of the village and the sounds that you hear in the village that you don't have over here [..] I miss the sense of community that you just don't have over here because everyone is busy living their lives and they don't have any time for anyone else (Usha)

> God, I wish I could wake up and smell the village air every morning [..] This place smells different (Hassan)

The olfactory and auditory sensory experiences in the homeland play an important role in Usha's meaning-making *vis-à-vis* the impact of migration and her present quality of life in Britain. Indeed, the sensory exploration of place (such as seeing, smelling and hearing) has been identified as a major mode of psychologically 'appropriating' space or incorporating it into the self-concept (Graumann, 1976). This would explain the sense of loss experienced by some participants subsequent to migration to Britain. Crucially, having been assimilated and accommodated within the identity structure, the homeland continues to play an important psychological role in meaning-making concerning migration to Britain (Breakwell, 1986). Hassan expressed an unambiguous sense of nostalgia when he invoked the sensory experiences associated with the homeland; the smell of 'the village air' could not be

reproduced in his 'home away from home' to use Ballard's (1994b) term. Moreover, Usha clearly laments the loss of 'the sense of community', which is interesting in light of anthropological work on BSA communities (e.g. Ballard, 1994b). Indeed, this demonstrates that, although it is true that communities have been 're-constructed' within the diaspora (see Ballard, 1994b), it is important to stress that these communities remain *diasporic* in character, given the inability of social actors to re-construct identical social structures consisting of those components of psychological importance (i.e. these sensory aspects). The present data support this assertion.

The psychological repercussions of this inability to reproduce 'home' may be explained by IPT. 'Loss', by definition, suggests a sense of discontinuity between past, present and possibly future and, thus, it has the ability to pose threats to the continuity principle (Breakwell, 1986). This seems a logical assumption given that Usha's account attests to the unexpectedness of the change having characterised her life narrative: 'there are things I miss *now* and I didn't *realise* I would [...]'. Evidently, continuity does not preclude social or individual change, since change is an important aspect of life. However, individuals will cope with potential threats to continuity as a result of change by constructing continuous life narratives with progressions and turning points connecting past, present and future (Chandler, Lalonde, Sokol, & Hallett, 2003). Crucially, this is absent from Usha's account; rather, the change is constructed as unexpected and poignant, which possibly highlights threatened continuity. Moreover, it is noteworthy that this poignant sense of loss appears to persist several decades subsequent to migration and settlement. This demonstrates the acuteness of identity threat if it remains 'untreated' by the individual. It is likely that threats to some principles (e.g. continuity) may become psychologically latent if other principles (e.g. self-efficacy, distinctiveness and self-esteem) are simultaneously enhanced through migration, which, nonetheless, allows the threat to persist (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, b). However, it is less aversive to the individual than threats to a principle which is psychologically salient. Above, it is demonstrated how migration to Britain was perceived as enhancing the three aforementioned principles of identity. This is coterminous with the thesis of IPT that individuals may occupy threatening positions for long periods of time, without necessarily perceiving identity to be threatened (Breakwell, 1986).

As discussed above, scholars have discussed the reconstruction of South Asian communities in various British towns and cities, which has been referred to as a 'home away from home' (Ballard, 1994b). However, some participants expressed the social representation that the cohesive sense of community and collectivism of the homeland was simply impossible to reconstruct in Britain:

Interviewer: What about Asians here? Don't you feel like a community?

Iqbal: No, no. They haven't got a minute to spare. We haven't because we're working and we've got our priorities. This isn't Pakistan and it's not going to be Pakistan even if all of Pakistan comes here (laughs) So let's just get on with it.

Iqbal's reproduction of this social representation is interesting in light of sociological and anthropological work on South Asian communities, which suggests that these communities remain fairly close-knit (Ballard, 1994a). The present data suggest that individuals' sense of continuity may in fact be threatened as a result of their actual inability to reproduce their 'communities' in their host countries and, more specifically, that the belonging principle may be imperilled by the absence of perceived closeness to others. The potential threat to belonging is exemplified by the perception that ingroup members have little sense of commitment towards other group members ('they haven't got a minute to spare'), primarily due to the busy lifestyle in Britain. Iqbal deploys an acceptance strategy by recognising and internalising within the self-concept the social representation that Britain is qualitatively distinct from Pakistan *vis-à-vis* the question of community (Breakwell, 1986, 2001). The acceptance of this representation enables him to accept that the belonging principle may be more vulnerable to jeopardy in Britain than in the homeland; his acceptance of this long-term vulnerability of the principle is elucidated by his perception that one should 'just get on with it'. Furthermore, one means of rendering the acceptance strategy more viable in the long run is to complement it with the strategy of attribution; Iqbal does accept that Britain is 'not going to be Pakistan', but he *attributes* this to the inherently busy lifestyle in Britain. Thus, acceptance strategies may be reinforced if the threatening aspects of one's identity and social world are attributed to external sources (e.g. Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a). Here, the potential

threat to the identity structure is explained, justified and accepted as constituting the 'collateral damage' of migration to Britain, which clearly provides some benefits for identity (see above).

The next section explores accounts of first-hand contact with the homeland subsequent to settlement to Britain.

First-hand contact with the homeland and identity threat

Given that many BSA maintain a high level of contact with the homeland (Bagguley & Hussain, 2005; Burholt, 2004; Jayaram, 1998), it was initially hypothesised that the maintenance of contact with the homeland (e.g. through personal visits; communication with SARS) would constitute a strategy of coping with the socio-psychological trauma of migration. For instance, this would be expected to restore feelings of continuity by enabling individuals to re-live aspects of their former lifestyles in the Subcontinent, which may facilitate a connection between past, present and future (Breakwell, 1986). However, the data suggested that contact with the homeland in fact could render salient differences between past and present, which in turn aggravated the sense of loss:

> It's not the same over there. When you go back to India after all this time, you don't find the same things and that does bother you a bit. It hurts actually. You feel quite rejected because you're living with gore [White people] [..] but back home in India it's all changing (Gurdeep)

Gurdeep's perception of change in the homeland may jeopardise continuity, particularly because the change is perceived to have arisen during his absence from the homeland. Absence from a changing social context, to which one personally lays claim, may threaten continuity, possibly because one perceives no personal participation in the social change. This may problematise the task of constructing a continuous life narrative with progressions and turning points (Chandler et al., 2003; McAdams, 2001). Evidently, the self is not averse to change, since this constitutes an inevitable aspect of identity development. However, some sense of agency in (social) change may be necessary for the individual, particularly in making sense of change. Moreover, there exists the expectation among some participants that the homeland will remain static and consistent across time, which is essentially violated

as a result of perceiving change upon one's return to the homeland. This is consistent with the recent observation that identity will be threatened if one fails to perceive appropriate levels of those principles, which one *subjectively expects* to be maintained and enhanced in a given social context (Jaspal, 2011b). This was echoed in Iqbal's account:

Iqbal: I thought it'd be the same place when I went back.

Interviewer: Was it?

Iqbal: No. I couldn't recognise the place.

Crucially, Gurdeep expects temporal continuity in the homeland and, thus, the lack of continuity has the power to threaten identity. The outcomes of threatened identity may be negative affect ('that does bother you a bit') and low psychological well-being ('it hurts actually'), which coheres with the observation that threat is aversive to the individual (Breakwell, 1986). However, in this particular context, it seems that the threat to continuity may be conducive to a decreased sense of belonging, since Gurdeep reports feeling 'rejected' as a result of change in his absence.

The acute sense of rejection as a result of perceived social change in one's absence may be attributed to the pervasive conceptualisation of migration to Britain as a 'sacrifice' for ethnic ingroup members in the homeland, since those individuals, for whom sacrifices were made, are regarded as excluding migrants from processes of social change. The notion of sacrifice was echoed in Usha's account:

I left my family to go and help my family and sacrificed my whole life for them (Usha)

It is likely that the acceptance and assimilation of the social representation that migrants made important sacrifices for their communities in migrating to Britain will in turn strengthen the expectation among individuals that they should be accepted and included within the social group. Consequently, this may explain the threatening nature or perceiving

little self-agency in social change in the homeland. Individuals' acceptance of the representation of sacrifice renders the belonging principle more vulnerable to threat.

A crucial point is that individuals perceived the continuity and belonging principles to be threatened upon return to the homeland, which contradicts the hypothesis that first-hand contact with the homeland may alleviate threatened identity as a result of migration to and settlement in Britain. This demonstrates the inherent complexity associated with migration and identity processes.

Double rejection: Migration and intergroup relations

Rejection and, by extension, threats to the belonging and continuity principles, may represent the more negative consequences of migration to Britain. Some participants expressed their belief that they were not unconditionally accepted as national ingroup members by the WBM, but rather that there were salient and irreconcilable differences between them and the WBM. In intergroup contexts (e.g. the work place) these differences could acquire particular salience:

> If something goes wrong [at work] then I get the feeling that we'd [BSA] get the blame for it. We get separated from them [White British colleagues] instantly [..] If a gora [White] colleague is there they wouldn't drop him in but we'd [BSA] get in trouble because we're different, yeah (Gurdeep)

Gurdeep had previously alluded to the importance of unity and co-operation within occupational settings, but this account attests to the existence of inter-ethnic tensions in this particular setting. In an occupational environment one might expect unity and co-operation between employees since the common occupational goals shared by members of the team may lead to the adoption of a superordinate occupational identity, which in turn would enhance belonging among members of various subgroups under the superordinate identity (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). While this is likely to be true, it seems that when the superordinate goals are not attained ('if something goes wrong'), the distinctiveness of those groups encompassed by the superordinate occupational identity (e.g. ethnic or 'racial' groups) may be rendered excessively salient. Indeed, Gurdeep observes that White

colleagues will attribute failures to BSA, while 'protecting' members of their own ethno-racial group. There is a clear delineation of 'us' and 'them'; the ingroup is constructed in primarily ethnic, not occupational, terms. This evidences a perceived 'racial' barrier to a superordinate occupational identity. For Gurdeep, this cannot be achieved due to fundamental 'differences' between the groups, which acquire salience when 'something goes wrong'. Accordingly, Gurdeep constructs 'race' as a salient difference between his ethnic ingroup and his White British colleagues, which is capable of dividing the work force 'instantly'. Although (group) distinctiveness is understood to have positive outcomes for identity processes (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000), there is an acknowledged tension between the distinctiveness and belonging principles of identity, with *optimal distinctiveness* occurring when there are appropriate levels of both (Brewer, 1991). Indeed, group distinctiveness becomes latent for Gurdeep, who laments the 'separation' of his ethnic ingroup from White colleagues, particularly with a negative intergroup outcome, namely the attribution of blame. In line with the observation that occupational identity can function at the superordinate level (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), it is possible that the belonging principle becomes salient among participants. The over-arching motive in the context is directed towards enhancing feeling of inclusion within the occupational group and acceptance from co-members of the group (Vignoles et al., 2006). This may explain the relative latency of distinctiveness, which effectively loses its power to enhance identity in this particular social context.

Several interviewees cited the occupational setting as the only social context in which they had direct contact with the WBM; many revealed that their social circles consisted almost entirely of ethnic ingroup members. Even this limited intergroup contact could contribute to the establishment of over-arching negative social representations of the WBM, which permeated other social contexts. For instance, when asked whether she thought that the WBM accepted and included BSA within the national category British, Fatima made the following statement:

> No, they [WBM] don't think I'm British, no. They won't accept us.
> Everyone knows they are (Fatima)

Fatima constructs the boundaries of Britishness as impermeable and this is attributed specifically to the perceived unwillingness of the WBM to accept BSA within the category British. Despite her limited contact with the WBM (see below), Fatima exhibits awareness of this social representation. It is possible that her personalisation of this representation is aimed at enhancing identity processes (Breakwell, 2001). While perceived rejection from the national category British would unlikely maintain and enhance feelings of belonging, the reproduction of the representation may be understood in terms of a 'social complaint'. This entails the acknowledgement of one's threatening position (e.g. rejection from members of a group in which one aspires to become accepted). It is likely that, by rendering salient and by reproducing the social representation in interpersonal contact, the threatened individual may perceive scope for positive social change. In this particular context, Fatima's reproduction of the potentially threatening social representation (for belonging) may in fact constitute an indirect means of bringing about social change likely to result in positive outcomes for the belonging principle.

It is noteworthy that many participants' social representations of the WBM were firmly grounded in their personal experiences with the WBM specifically within the work place. For instance, the perceived 'segregation' in this particular social setting drives Fatima's representations of the WBM:

> Gore [White people] on one table and us on another at lunchtime. That's
> the way it is with them, they avoid us.

Fatima's awareness of the existing social representations, coupled with her personal experiences of exclusion, may engender specific, powerful representations of the WBM. Her statement that 'they won't accept us' clearly implies a sense of rejection despite her only limited contact with this group. This notion was of course echoed in Gurdeep's above-cited account of inter-ethnic relations in the work place, in which he hypothesised that the WBM would never express preference of a BSA to another White colleague. Through the process of anchoring, it is likely that representations developed through limited contact with WBM (e.g. in occupational settings) may be linked with representations acquired through other social means (e.g. the media) (Moscovici, 1988). These representations are likely to remain

psychologically salient for individuals, since they have the power to threaten the belonging principle, particularly given that the principle may be active among participants (Breakwell, 2001). Through the process of anchoring, individuals may come to develop, accept and assimilate an over-arching, superordinate representation of the WBM as discriminatory and exclusionary.

This observation is consistent with the 'racial' boundary of Britishness, which is said to govern BSAs' meaning-making *vis-à-vis* Britishness (Jacobson, 1997a; Vadher & Barrett, 2009). This is of crucial importance to the study of migration and identity processes, since awareness of exclusionary social representations could place BSA in a threatening social position (in relation to the belonging principle, in particular). Indeed, this may be understood as one dimension of the 'trauma of migration'. Thus, it was deemed necessary to investigate the origins of these exclusionary social representations by focusing specifically on participants' lived experiences of discrimination and exclusion. Accordingly, attempts were made to explore actual intergroup encounters directly from participants' perspectives. Usha, for instance, constructed external categorisation (from the WBM) as a marker of BSAs' exclusion from the category 'British':

> People always say 'British Indian' or 'Indian British'. They don't ever say
> 'British' but they always have to add the Indian thing because to them
> you're not British if you are Asian. You can only be British Indian at best.
> Why? [..] It's because there really is a difference (Usha)

Usha invokes the WBM's use of hyphenated identity categories in describing BSA as evidence of the exclusion and 'otherisation' of BSA (see Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). She does not necessarily problematise hyphenated *self*-categorisation as 'British Indian' but rather notes that external categorisation in this way implies (unwanted) 'difference'. This attests to the relative latency of distinctiveness *vis-à-vis* belonging (Brewer, 1991), since hyphenation is understood to exclude BSA from the national group. This echoes Gualitieri's (2004, p. 65) statement in reference to bicultural individuals in the USA that their position in American society is 'not quite white [..] not quite free [..] subject to the hyphen that never ends'. Similarly, Fine and Sirin (2007) have found that hyphenated identity has become a

marker of 'otherness' for many American Muslims. The present data demonstrate that in British context too hyphenation may be construed by some BSA (and possibly other ethnic minority groups) as a subtle means of excluding their ethnic group from the national category British. Usha's observation that one can only be 'British Indian *at best*' implies the social representation that BSA are constructed as being *insufficiently* British, which impedes acceptance as legitimate members of the national group. It is interesting that, while the use of hyphenation among the dominant host society may be aimed at recognising difference in accordance with the ideological construct of multiculturalism (see Modood, 2007), it may be interpreted by ethnic group members themselves as threatening the belonging principle. It may be viewed as impeding feelings of closeness, acceptance and inclusion.

Usha's account provides some insight into the social representations possibly held by BSA regarding the compatibility of British national and South Asian ethnic identities, since she observes that 'to them [the WBM] you're not British if you are Asian'. Her perception that the WBM do not perceive compatibility between these identities may have negative outcomes for the psychological coherence principle among some BSA, since it is observed that 'you can only be British Indian at best'. Indeed, it has been hypothesised that social identities require some level of 'validation' from other members of the social group in which one aspires to become a member (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). Crucially, it seems that Usha personalises the social representation of incompatibility between these identities in that she observes that it is difficult for a South Asian to be British (Breakwell, 2001). This would be expected to decrease levels of psychological coherence in relation to national and ethnic identities.

Rejection constitutes an important theme in participants' meaning-making *vis-à-vis* migration to Britain. Social representations of exclusion and 'otherisation' from the WBM were anchored by some participants to representations of rejection from their own children (Moscovici, 1988). Indeed, the anchoring of these representations reinforced individuals' arguments of their 'double rejection':

Interviewer: Why do you think they [WBM] reject you though?

Usha: Look, even Indian children who are born here don't think we're British. Even they call us 'freshy' and these things and call us names. Even they don't [accept us] so how will White people accept us as British?

Usha accepts the social representation that SGSA problematise the Britishness of FGSA. This representation is reproduced specifically in order to construct the WBM as discriminatory and exclusionary. The underlying notion is that if ethno-racial ingroup members (SGSA), who would habitually be expected to accept FGSA, fail to do so, one cannot expect ethno-racial outgroup members to accept them. Furthermore, this argument is reiterated through her argument that if SGSA employ derogatory and insulting terms such as 'freshy' in order to refute their Britishness and to ridicule their ethnic cultures and immigrant origins, it is undeniable that the WBM will reproduce such representations. Usha's account suggests that FGSA are perceived as 'other' not only by the WBM but also the SGSA. This suggests that the belonging principle may be threatened in both national contexts, since individuals perceive themselves as being 'otherised' by the WBM, but also in ethnic group contexts. It has been suggested that individuals will seek to restore appropriate levels of belonging by focusing upon those social groups which provide individuals with feelings of closeness, acceptance and inclusion (Vignoles et al., 2006), but this coping strategy is problematised by the perception of double exclusion. As argued above, the distinctiveness of FGSA is rendered salient by 'outgroups', which has undesirable outcomes for identity processes given that individuals prioritise the belonging principle (Brewer, 1991). In order to derive feelings of acceptance and inclusion, it is unlikely that the distinctiveness principle will be active, which highlights the undesirability of outgroups rendering it salient. Interestingly, the WBM and SGSA are positioned in a similar light; collectively, they are constructed as a homogeneous outgroup whose aim is to repudiate FGSA's claim to Britishness. While belonging is clearly threatened by this process of repudiating identity, the continuity principle is also susceptible to threat, since incoming information from relevant others problematises continuity of self-definition (Breakwell, 1986).

The positioning of SGSA and the WBM as a unitary outgroup entity was reflected in Parminder's account of their *collective* enjoyment of *Goodness Gracious Me* (a BBC satire of FGSA):

> Parminder: Yeah, they're [WBM] still racist. Look at *Goodness Gracious Me*.
>
> Interviewer: But isn't that also viewed by Asians?
>
> Parminder: Our kids do watch it and they laugh at it too. *Gore* [Whites] put programmes like that on TV to make fun of us and our kids laugh at us in person. They find those programmes funny because they think we're backwards and not really British like them [..] They think we're just Indian, like we are still living in the village.

The WBM is unambiguously positioned as racist in this account, although it is suggested that the methods employed to express their racial prejudice have changed. These perceived changes in expressing prejudice may be attributed to the generally negative social representations of racism and to the social desirability of being, or at least appearing to be, liberal and 'politically correct' (Nelson, 2002). Parminder views the BBC's endorsement of satirical programmes such as *Goodness Gracious Me* as a subtler form of 'racial' discrimination. Furthermore, this extract reiterates the thesis that the WBM and SGSA are positioned by some participants as a common 'other', although the term 'racist' is not applied to SGSA. While the WBM is accused of exhibiting subtle forms of prejudice, SGSA are viewed as expressing more overt prejudice and ridicule of FGSA. This implies a form of 'cultural discrimination'. Both forms of discrimination, which were reported by participants, were viewed as forming barriers to their British national identity, since they felt excluded from the category 'British' (Jacobson, 1997a; Vadher & Barrett, 2009). Indeed, several individuals constructed the WBM and SGSA as having increasingly similar perceptions and criteria *vis-à-vis* Britishness:

> Interviewer: Why do you think that [they do not see you as British]?

Indra: Our children's thinking is becoming like White people's thinking, yeah. Everything is becoming like them [..] Kids from here are going to be running away from that [Indian culture] and towards British culture more.

Generally, SGSA were positioned as possessing considerable agency in their acquisition of the WBM's cultural and ideological norms. In fact, they are constructed as actively seeking British cultural values to the detriment of 'Indian culture'. Attention to the language employed by Indra reveals that this process is constructed as ubiquitous and inevitable: 'everything is becoming like them'.

While the WBM and SGSA are perceived as expressing distinct forms of prejudice and 'otherisation' (racial and cultural, respectively), the repercussions of their perceived actions remain the same; the belonging principle, in particular, is susceptible to threat due to the impediment to feelings of acceptance from others and inclusion with the national group.

It is noteworthy that social representations will govern the extent to which identities are regarded by individuals as being inter-connected (see Hofman, 1988). Given the perceived problematisation of FGSAs' national and ethnic identities among the WBM and SGSA, these identities clearly come to be regarded as inter-connected, which in turn activates the psychological coherence principle when thinking about the compatibility of these identities within the self-concept (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a). The perception that both the WBM and SGSA hold the social representation that FGSA are 'less' British may increase the power of the representations to affect identity among FGSA.

Migration and 'Otherness' in the homeland
It has been argued that this perception of rejection was largely two-fold in that individuals generally felt rejected by the ethnic outgroup (WBM) through subtle forms of racial discrimination, and by SGSA, who were pervasively viewed by participants as excluding them from the national ingroup. The present section explores an additional dimension of their perceived rejection, namely exclusion from the homeland context from ethnic ingroup members. Gurdeep elucidated this phenomenon in his account:

They [SARS] don't actually want to see people going from there and if you do they don't want much to do with you because they just think 'Oh he's going to go back anyway. He's not staying here with us, is he?' They think 'Why should we stick around for this guy?' So the gap is there even with Indians (Gurdeep)

Gurdeep was one of several individuals to identify intergroup tensions with SARS. This problematic relationship is attributed to a perceived 'gap' between SARS and BSA, which the participant attributes to migration to Britain. Thus, it is reasonable to regard this perceived 'gap' as a consequence of migration. Firstly, emigrants are said to be viewed by SARS as temporary visitors to the homeland, since their departure is permanent, resulting in their exclusion from the ingroup. Above it has been demonstrated that some participants perceived their departure from the homeland as a sacrifice for SARS, since their reported intention was to improve living conditions in the homeland through the transfer of funds. Thus, given the perception of sacrifice for one's ingroup, the prospect of exclusion (e.g. through social change; the identification of a 'gap') might threaten belonging, particularly since there understandably exists the expectation that one *should* be included within the group and accepted by other group members (Jaspal, 2011b). Moreover, some participants came to regard themselves as 'special' members of the ingroup, or possibly as a superior subgroup within the larger ethnic group, rather than as outsiders. Consequently, the perception of a 'gap' may violate this self-image, resulting in threats to continuity of self-definition.

Secondly, this exclusion from the ingroup entails a consequential reduction in emotional and symbolic solidarity between SARS and BSA ('why should we stick around for this guy?'). Crucially, participants generally perceived migration to Britain as an example of their emotional solidarity with SARS, whom they wished to assist in times of economic hardship. It is easy to see how the perception of rejection clearly violates 'the need to maintain and enhance feelings of closeness to, or acceptance by, other people' specifically upon return to the homeland (Vignoles et al., 2006, p. 310). Crucially, this chronic threat may be attributed to migration to Britain.

SARS-BSA relations may be described as ambivalent and dilemmatic since many participants also reported the positive aspects of their relationship with SARS, which

improved self-esteem and self-efficacy (see above). However, insider-outsider boundaries between SARS and BSA may be renegotiated (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2009). There was an acute awareness among several participants of the social representation that they were positioned by SARS as 'outsiders'. This is attributed to the social representation of incompatibility between Indian and any other national identity (in this case, Britishness):

> My children were born here and they're English-speaking so obviously when we go back to India we speak some English together too and that's something that makes them think we're a little different [..] Mostly I blend in well but it's when I'm with my husband and children that they see that I'm quite British too myself. If I'm alone then they accept that I'm Indian and just Indian (Usha)

> If you've left, that's it, you speak the language and you just get treated like an outsider, like you're that country's person now, not Indian. I think it's backwardness about us not being Indian and British at the same time, like being unable to be it, I think (Ram)

Both Usha and Ram regard the English language, a self-aspect, which is associated with Britishness (Julios, 2008), as impeding 're-integration' in the homeland, since this can render salient intergroup differences between BSA and SARS. Indeed, Jaspal and Coyle (2009a, 2010a, 2010b) have argued that use of the non-normative languages in social contexts may render salient the distinctiveness principle, since this can accentuate interpersonal differences in intragroup contexts. Despite the potential benefits for distinctiveness, this is not necessarily constructed in positive terms, since the desirable outcome is integration, acceptance and inclusion, which highlights the salience of the belonging principle. For instance, Ram laments being 'treated like an outsider', which he attributes to 'backwardness' among the SARS. Usha attributes the perception of difference among SARS to the presence of her British-born children, who lay claim to the English language, a self-aspect of Britishness. Thus, in their absence, she perceives feelings of acceptance and inclusion within the category 'Indian', since she is allegedly no longer perceived by others as 'quite British'. It is likely that belonging becomes threatened when one's self-categorisation as a group

member is not 'validated' by other members of the social group to which one lays claim (see Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). This echoes the observation that belonging, for instance, becomes threatened insofar as there exists the perception that one ought to be accepted and included within a given social context (Jaspal, 2011b). Indeed, Usha does self-categorise as an Indian:

> Interviewer: [While in India] do you feel British still or do you feel more Punjabi or Indian, for example?
>
> Usha: Oh yes, yes, yes, definitely Indian.

Usha's above-cited account echoes Ram's more explicit observation that emigration from India, settlement in a foreign country and the use of self-aspects associated with one's host country are conducive to 'otherisation' in the homeland. More specifically, these participants exhibit awareness of the questionable compatibility of being Indian and laying claim to another national identity (e.g. Britishness) in the homeland. Although this is constructed as 'backwardness', it is important to observe the potential repercussions for the psychological coherence principle. More specifically, awareness of this social representation may render these identities inter-connected in the minds of BSA, which will require them to perceive compatibility and coherence between them (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a). While these identities may initially be perceived to be compatible, the perception of others' problematisation of these inter-connected identities may begin to affect coherence aversely (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). Meanwhile, the belonging principle may be susceptible to threat due to the perceived lack of acceptance and inclusion due to individuals' use of 'outgroup self-aspects' (e.g. the English language) and to their perceived positioning as 'outsiders'. Indeed, the notion that a salient principle (e.g. belonging) is threatened may compel individuals to take a stance on the social representation that the identities are incompatible, which indeed may jeopardise the coherence principle (see Breakwell & Millward, 1995).

SUMMARY

The present chapter provides detailed insights into the potential outcomes of migration to and settlement in Britain for identity processes among FGSA. It is argued that, prior to migration, the acceptance and assimilation of positive social representations of Britain would be expected to provide prospective migrants with the psychological prospect of self-enhancement, since it perhaps enabled individuals to visualise a transition from a negatively evaluated national context to a positively evaluated one *(research question 2iii)*. Identification with a positively evaluated nation (e.g. Britain) is likely associated with higher self-esteem, given that one may thereby develop and maintain a positive self-conception (Gecas, 1982) *(research question 2ii)*. Moreover, participants' accounts reveal the poor social status and their weak sense of self-efficacy prior to migration, due to their inability to provide for their families. Thus, acceptance of positive representations of Britain may allow individuals to *imagine* affluence and social mobility, thereby enhancing self-efficacy *(research question 2iii)*.

Upon migration, individuals reported a dramatic rise in social status, which suggests the formation of an 'elite' subgroup within the ethnic ingroup. Membership in this elite subgroup was perceived by individuals as having positive outcomes for the self-esteem, self-efficacy and distinctiveness principles of identity, which renders the group membership psychologically beneficial *(research question 2ii)*. Crucially, these principles are enhanced through interpersonal contact with family and friends in the Subcontinent, due primarily to the perception of 'izzat' (respect and honour). This motivated participants to envisage eventual return to the homeland, which some authors have called the 'myth of return' (Anwar, 1976; Shaw, 1994). In present times, the homeland provides socio-psychological conditions, which are conducive to enhanced self-esteem and distinctiveness *(research question 2ii)*. The observed desire for re-settlement in the Subcontinent among some participants is consistent with the thesis that identity elements (e.g. the homeland) are valued and prioritised by individuals insofar as they benefit the principled operation of identity processes (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2002). It is argued that the quality of self-identification with self-aspects and social phenomena, which enhance psychologically salient identity principles, may acquire a 'sentimental' dimension (Kelman, 1997). This was exhibited in the case of Britishness.

Migration is dilemmatic, since it may have negative outcomes for identity processes. Participants described their perceived loss of community and key sensations associated with life in the homeland. This suggests a sense of discontinuity between past, present and future, thereby enabling it to threaten the continuity principle (Breakwell, 1986). Participants' transition from a collectivist social context to an individualist social context may have negative outcomes for the belonging principle, since the transition may be regarded as depriving the individual of feelings of closeness. Moreover, continuity may in fact be threatened as a result of participants' inability to reproduce their 'communities' in their host countries (cf. Ballard, 1994b), while the belonging principle may be imperilled by the perceived absence of closeness to relevant others (Breakwell, 1986; Vignoles et al., 2006) *(research question 2ii)*.

The data suggest that participants face a bi-dimensional exclusion from both the WBM and ethnic ingroup members within the homeland. In Britain, the WBM's repudiation of BSA's Britishness, and even their use of hyphenated categories to denote BSA, may threaten their sense of inclusion and acceptance within the national group. Furthermore, perceived social change in the homeland in one's absence and the perception of little or no participation in the social change may threaten continuity. A crucial point is that individuals perceived the continuity and belonging principles to be threatened upon return to the homeland, which suggests that first-hand contact with the homeland may alleviate threatened identity as a result of settlement in Britain. Moreover, individuals reproduce the representation that SGSA also problematise Britishness among FGSA. This suggests that the belonging principle of identity may be threatened in both national contexts (see Jaspal & Siraj, in press).

The second section of this chapter explores group dynamics and processes of categorisation in relation to national and ethnic identities within this sample of participants.

Group dynamics and categorisation

This section explores ingroup and outgroup dynamics, processes of inclusion and 'othering' through self and other categorisation and their inter-relations with identity processes. Two superordinate themes are outlined, namely: (i) 'perceived discrimination and revision of group dynamics'; and (ii) 'strategic re-construal of national categories for a positive identity'.

Perceived discrimination and the revision of group dynamics

Participants exhibited their acute awareness of discrimination against both Muslims in particular and BSA in general. The present section explores the implications of perceived discrimination for group dynamics.

The effects of Islamophobic prejudice upon self-categorisation

Given the observed rise in Islamophobic prejudice (Allen & Nielson, 2002), it was unsurprising that both Muslim and non-Muslim participants took a stance on Islamophobic social representations (Breakwell & Millward, 1995). The personalisation of these representations among non-Muslims had implications for self-categorisation and for the construal of ingroup and outgroups boundaries (Breakwell, 2001). This was exemplified in the account provided by Gurdeep, a Sikh man:

> Muslims don't want to mix [..] Everyone knows that. I know that. I mean,
> it's in your face and in the papers. I tell you, I dread reading an article
> about Muslims in the paper because I just think 'God, what are these *gore*
> [White people] thinking about me even though I'm not Muslim?'

Gurdeep exhibits awareness of Islamophobic social representations, which likely ensues from his membership within the ethnic category Asian. More specifically, the target for representation may be regarded as being relevant to both Muslims and non-Muslims due to the perception that the WBM does not systematically differentiate between them (Breakwell, 2001). Indeed, it has been observed that the media disseminates hegemonic social

representations of Muslims as segregationist and unwilling to integrate within dominant British society (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b; Poole, 2002). These representations are construed as hegemonic by Gurdeep as he regards them as being 'in your face and in the papers', which in turn affects the extent to which he himself accepts them. While he accepts and reproduces the social representation that 'Muslims don't want to mix', he perceives the likelihood of being regarded by the WBM in a similarly negative light through the process of outgroup homogenisation. This is exemplified by his reported 'dread' at encountering Islamophobic newspaper articles. This could jeopardise self-esteem, primarily because outgroup derogation of one's ingroup through the application of Islamophobic social representations is unlikely to be conducive to a positive self-conception based upon one's group membership (Gecas, 1982). The impact of this is illustrated by Gurdeep's question 'God, what are these 'gore' thinking about me?' The perception that negative representations are habitually applied to his (British Indian) ingroup is likely to intensify the need for intergroup distinctiveness. Given that a perceived lack of intergroup distinctiveness may be construed by non-Muslim individuals as inducing negative social representations of the ingroup, low levels of intergroup distinctiveness may be acutely threatening for identity (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000). This is exemplified by Gurdeep's dismay at the prospect of being categorised by outgroups as Muslim. Moreover, the establishment and expression of intergroup distinctiveness is regarded as a means of actively 'immunising' his British Indian ingroup from Islamophobic representations, which currently are regarded as being applied indiscriminately to all BSA.

The perception that ethnic outgroup members (i.e. the WBM) 'homogenise' Muslims and non-Muslims is referred to as external ethnic homogenisation. Several non-Muslim participants expressed dismay at this tendency:

> White people piss me off. They look at us and they don't even know
> who's a Muslim and who is not. I mean, we're treated the same by Whites.
> We get the same treatment [..] We're nothing like them (Ram)

External ethnic homogenisation from the WBM may be distressing for non-Muslim participants because this is regarded as inducing 'the same [negative] treatment [as

Muslims]', potentially threatening self-esteem. Moreover, awareness of social representations of Muslim self-isolation and marginalisation from British society may in turn jeopardise the belonging principle among non-Muslims who deduce the 'otherisation' of British Indians as a result of external ethnic homogenisation. However, in order to eschew threats to these principles, the distinctiveness principle becomes salient. This is illustrated by Ram's assertion that 'we're nothing like them'. The activation of the distinctiveness principle through the emphasis of intergroup distinctiveness may be regarded in terms of a deflection strategy since it enables the individual to downgrade or deny any similarities between Indians and Pakistanis by constructing them as independent and distinctive ethno-religious groups (Breakwell, 1986). Moreover, as outlined above, this contributes to the 'immunisation' of his ethnic ingroup from Islamophobic prejudice.

Non-Muslim participants employed a variety of strategies in order to maintain and project this important sense of intergroup distinctiveness. One strategy was the positive evaluation of the ethnic ingroup (British Indians) and derogation of the ethnic outgroup (British Pakistanis), which echoes SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This was exemplified in Balraj's comparative account of the acculturation orientations of Sikh/Hindu[1] and Muslim communities:

> We [Sikhs and Hindus] are integrated in this country. We're British. [..]
> We integrate. They [Muslims] don't [..] You'll never find a Muslim who is
> willing to.

Integration has generally been described as a socially desirable acculturation orientation because of its 'harmonious' outcomes for intergroup relations (Bourhis et al., 1997). This orientation would be expected to be particularly desirable in the current context of Islamophobia and intergroup misunderstanding (Allen & Nielson, 2002). Moreover, selecting an integrationist orientation would be expected to have positive outcomes for the belonging and distinctiveness principles, since individuals maintain intergroup distinctiveness from relevant outgroups, while acquiring feelings of acceptance and inclusion

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[1] It is noteworthy that many Sikh and Hindu participants referred to themselves as a unified ethnic and religious category (e.g. Sikh-Hindu) particularly in juxtaposition with Muslims.

within society (Brewer, 1991; Vignoles et al., 2006). Consequently, there was a tendency among both British Indian and British Pakistani participants to highlight their attempts to integrate in British society with most individuals claiming to be integrated. Several non-Muslim participants employed downward comparisons with Muslims in order to demonstrate and validate their own Britishness (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a; Wills, 1981). For instance, the integration of Balraj's ingroup ('we') is contrasted with the Muslim outgroup's active refusal to integrate. This may be regarded as a downward comparison since it provides a *comparative context*, which exhibits the ingroup's greater tendency to integrate than the outgroup. This demonstrates that appropriate levels of the identity principles need not only be perceived at the intrapsychic level but that they must also be constructed and projected interpersonally for a positive self-concept. The personalisation of Islamophobic social representations is strategic, as it enables non-Muslims to delineate their ingroup and to construct it in positive terms *vis-à-vis* the Muslim outgroup. Accordingly, Balraj exerts his ingroup's Britishness ('We're British') and thereby constructs a sense of belonging.

Conversely, during the discussion of the early years of migration, positive themes of solidarity and common experience among Indians and Pakistanis surfaced in participants' accounts:

> They [Pakistani Muslims] were, they were so far away from their country like we were, they were on their own because they had left everything in India and Pakistan, like their own parents. We were alone. Thousands of miles away. They were alone too, whether they were Muslims or Indians, at least they knew that 'I have got an Asian friend who understands me whether they are Muslim or Indian' (Ram)

It is noteworthy that Ram was one of the individuals eager to maintain a sense of intergroup differentiation from Muslims and to downgrade intergroup similarities within the context of Islamophobia. Conversely, this account emphasises the common experience of Muslims and non-Muslims whom he collectively subsumes under the superordinate category Asian (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Like Ram, several participants attributed the feelings of solidarity between Indian and Pakistani migrants to the collectively perceived geographical distance from the homeland and from their parents. Participants unanimously invoked this

sense of mutual understanding between 'Asians' regardless of religious affiliation due to their common experience. Given that the experience of racial discrimination, which characterised the accounts of many participants, it is reasonable to assume that the belonging principle was susceptible to threat. Consequently, it is possible that appropriate levels of the belonging principle may be restored through self-positioning alongside other potentially marginalised BSA regardless of religious group membership (see also Jaspal & Yampolsky, 2011). Indeed, this echoes the key tenet of the common ingroup identity model, namely that superordinate identification may foster inclusiveness among otherwise conflictual subgroups (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). This may induce cohesiveness and belonging in a national context, in which the belonging principle was susceptible to threat: 'We were alone [..] They were alone too'.

This sense of cohesiveness and belonging was clearly manifested in Parminder's account:

> Religion never really divided us [Muslims and Hindus] at all. Even when India and Pakistan were at war. When we would find out that somebody's relative had died in India or Pakistan we used to go to each other's house to pay respects and they used to welcome us with open arms and there was no discrimination at all, like 'He's Indian'. We still carried on as normal and thought 'Why are they fighting each other?' [..] Only we could help each other (Parminder)

During distressful times, Indians and Pakistani migrants sought comfort in each other's company despite the fact that their countries of origin were at war. This reflects the relative salience of belonging *vis-à-vis* distinctiveness, for instance (Breakwell, 1986). In contrast to some of the other accounts discussed above, here the pronouns 'we' and 'us' are employed readily to include both Indians and Pakistanis. The intergroup differences are not perceived as barriers to solidarity: 'religion never really divided us'. Furthermore, this sense of solidarity is constructed as indestructible since even the Indo-Pak wars, in which both British Indians and British Pakistanis lost relatives, is said not to have rendered salient these intergroup differences. Interestingly, those engaged in intergroup conflict are referred to in the third person (as 'they'), which suggests a sense of detachment from the conflict. Given

that the psychological admission of intergroup conflict between Asians would induce a threatening position for identity, due to the already vulnerable principle of belonging, Parminder denies the existence of intergroup conflict. This is in spite of the concurrent armed conflict between India and Pakistan. This reflects the intrapsychic coping strategy of denial (Breakwell, 1986).

Here, intergroup distinctiveness ceases to constitute a salient identity principle. Instead psychological salience shifts to the belonging principle, since cohesiveness and belonging were jeopardised and, thus, actively sought during the early stages of migration.

Identification with Britishness and ethno-religious outgroups: the belonging principle
While previous sections of this thesis consider the effects of participants' awareness of Islamophobic social representations for self-categorisation, here the impact for British national identification is explored. Many FGSA had come to assimilate and accommodate Britishness within the identity structure:

> I cared about this place [..] I think it had become a part of me, being here
> and being British (Ali)

The assimilation-accommodation process of identity refers to the absorption of new components in the identity structure in order for them to form part of the identity structure. Accordingly, Britishness could be regarded as a constituent element of participants' individual identity (Breakwell, 1986). Consequently, the perceived repudiation of this identity element through self-exposure to Islamophobic social representations, encouraged and disseminated by ethno-religious and ethno-racial outgroups (e.g. British Indians and the WBM), could threaten the continuity principle. This may be attributed to the consequential disruption of the psychological thread unifying past, present and future group identification (Chandler et al., 2003):

> I used to describe myself as British and only British. I loved this country
> and the rights you get in this country it made me proud [..] But lately it's
> really surprised me that professional people with professional attitudes are

discriminating against us because we're Muslim [..] I feel let down by
British people. I don't feel the same way about 'British' (Iqbal)

Iqbal's account demonstrates how previous modes of thinking are essentially disrupted by self-exposure to Islamophobic social representations. For instance, the perception of religious discrimination contradicts social representations of Britain as a tolerant nation, in which citizens are endowed with human rights. Indeed, this aspect of Britishness constitutes a source of self-esteem, since it provides feelings of pride. Moreover, the participant's previous self-identification with Britishness and the relative salience of this identity element *vis-à-vis* others ('only British') highlights the potential threat to the continuity principle. Moreover, given that the 'British people' including 'professional people with professional attitudes' are perceived as manifesting Islamophobic prejudice, Iqbal feels obliged to reconsider his relationship with the national ingroup. In short, these data suggest that, while some individuals originally identified with Britishness, awareness of Islamophobic representations can indeed weaken self-identification with Britishness.

Awareness of Islamophobic representations seems to have consequences for relations with other ethno-religious groups, such as (non-Muslim) British Indians. Moreover, some Muslim participants reproduced representations of solidarity with British Indians in response to the perception of Islamophobic prejudice. This echoes the similar representations reproduced by British Indians in relation to the early stages of migration. For instance, Fazilat reflected upon the ways in which the BSA community, rather than just the Muslim community, had collectively dealt with the perceived rise in discrimination from the WBM:

Interviewer: Is this [Islamophobia] affecting just Muslims?

Fazilat: No. I have Indian friends in my area and when we meet together, I ask them why all this is happening and they also regret that this is happening to them. We are all suffering as a result of this [...] I think this has really brought us together. There were problems between us but this has changed things [...] together we can handle this and get through all this, only together we can do it.

Although Fazilat acknowledges the tensions having characterised intergroup relations with British Indians, the rise in Islamophobia is regarded as having induced greater solidarity between British Indians and British Pakistanis. This is consistent with the aforementioned observation that during the early stages of settlement in Britain the belonging principle was susceptible to threat due to 'otherisation' from the WBM and that solidarity between British Indians and British Pakistanis constituted an alternative source of belonging (Jaspal & Sitaridou, 2010). The de-activation of the distinctiveness principle (more specifically, intergroup differentiation between British Indians and British Pakistanis) can indirectly enhance the belonging principle, since threatened individuals may derive feelings of acceptance and inclusion from solidarity with other BSA (Vignoles et al., 2006). Moreover, self-efficacy is likely to benefit from this solidarity since it empowers individuals to 'handle this and get through all this'. Thus, feelings of competence and control over a threatening situation are facilitated through this partnership with other BSA, which allows individuals to take steps towards positive social change (Breakwell, 1992). This may constitute a necessary prerequisite for the group mobilisation strategy aimed at coping collectively with identity threat (Breakwell, 1986).

By attenuating intergroup differences with British Indians, British Pakistanis may derive feelings of inclusion and acceptance from an alternative source, namely within the superordinate category BSA. In order to enhance belonging within this more inclusive social category BSA encompassing Indians and Pakistanis, participants identified an outgroup, from which to differentiate their own ingroup (Eriksen, 1993; Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). Iqbal advocated unity under the superordinate category 'Asian' to oppose a common enemy, namely 'White racists':

> I don't see why we [Indians and Pakistanis] couldn't just live together. I tell you, it [the 1947 Partition] was a big mistake [..] Really nowadays we should be together because *gore* have put enough separations between us and it's not each other we should be fighting, it's all these racists like the BNP [..] If we were one then White people would think twice before being racist against us (Iqbal)

The WBM is positioned in terms of an outgroup, which has historically 'put enough separations between us'. Moreover, the WBM's implied racism is objectified through reference to the BNP, since this far-right political party renders 'tangible' the abstract phenomenon of racism (Moscovici, 1988). The salience of the belonging principle encourages the unity of BSA *vis-à-vis* the WBM, who are constructed as 'being racist against us'. As argued above, this could be regarded as a strategy for compensating for the threats to belonging associated with perceived exclusion and ostracisation from the WBM due to racist discrimination. Furthermore, it has been argued that individuals may accentuate the demographic vitality of their groups (i.e. to represent their groups as populous) in order to optimise the strategy of group action/ group mobilisation to enhance identity (Jaspal & Sitaridou, 2010). In order to illustrate the historical unity of Indians and Pakistanis, Iqbal reproduces social representations regarding the 1947 Partition of India. More specifically, it is constructed as 'a big mistake', since cohabitation and unity are perceived as desirable. It is noteworthy that in other contexts Iqbal and other Pakistani participants unanimously endorsed the creation and existence of a separate Islamic state in the Indian Subcontinent, since this was viewed as essential for safeguarding Islam, a 'core' identity for many Muslims (Jacobson, 1997b):

> Pakistan and Islam have a very deep relationship because our *Qaid-e-Azam* built Pakistan and he made it in order to continue Islam among the followers [..] It's a Muslim country that was made for Muslims and for the security of Islam . There you are given a Muslim education and taught to be a good Muslim (Fazilat)

When the distinctiveness principle is salient, intergroup differentiation may be manifested through the strategic invocation of the social representation that 'Pakistan was made for Muslims and for the security of Islam'. More specifically, those representations supporting the distinctiveness principle will be reproduced.

This attests to the constant revision and re-construal of social categories and social representations in order to safeguard identity processes. This is elaborated in the next section.

Strategic re-construal of national categories for a positive identity

Like social representations, national categories can be strategically re-construed in order to optimise identity processes. This is achieved (i) by accentuating distinctiveness from ingroup 'Black Sheep'; (ii) by constructing criteria for British national group membership; and (iii) by emphasising the role of the English language in Britishness.

British national identity and distinctiveness from ingroup 'Black Sheep'

It has been observed in previous research into national identity among BSA that a 'racial' boundary to Britishness may be of phenomenological significance (Jacobson, 1997a). Indeed, several participants regarded this racial boundary as inhibiting self-identification with Britishness:

> I struggled to call myself British, to be honest. To me I couldn't be British because I'm not White and I wasn't born here and I don't do the things that they do (Mohammed)

> We only lived here as British but still we were Indian deep down. I never thought of myself as a British person, really. It didn't bother me much (Indra)

Mohammed's account highlights his acceptance of the social representation that British national identity is unavailable to non-White individuals. This representation has been observed as being active within sections of White British society (Tyler, 2000). Moreover, birth in Britain and the behavioural manifestation of Britishness in everyday life are perceived as central to self-categorisation as British. Mohammed's acceptance of these representations impedes self-identification as British. Furthermore, both participants' reported disidentification with Britishness across time ('I *never* thought of myself as British') highlights the significance of the continuity principle in cognitions towards national and ethnic identities. It may be necessary to maintain this pattern of self-identification in order to maintain appropriate levels of continuity. Thus, continued disidentification from Britishness may ensure that the principle remains intact, while psychological movement towards embracing Britishness could essentially introduce

disruption in the necessary connection between past, present and future (Chandler et al., 2003).

It is reasonable to assume that Britishness was not necessarily at the psychological forefront given that there was little social pressure to identify with the national group in the early stages of migration. More specifically, it has been observed in this chapter that some participants reported 'otherisation' and exclusion in the early stages of settlement. Moreover, previous sociological work describes the 'myth of return' to the Subcontinent prevalent among many BSA (Anwar, 1976). In contemporary times, media representations problematise the Britishness and national loyalty of BSA and other ethnic minority groups, which have acquired salience within the context of recent intergroup problems (see Breakwell, 2001 for more on salience of representations). For instance, media and social commentators have expressed unequivocal criticism of multiculturalism (e.g. Phillips, 2006). Thus, it is easy to see how the latency of Britishness followed by the hyper-salience of Britishness may affect the continuity principle.

Asad's account illustrated the repercussions of July 7th for his sense of Britishness:

> I went on the bus after the attacks in London and there were eyes on me. It was very strange because these were people I saw every day [..] I felt like I had a choice that I've got to choose one, either I'm British or I'm not. And I'd say I'm British [..] I'm faithful to this country. Only British, because I am a British citizen by holding a British passport.

Asad's account highlights the salience of the social representation problematising the Britishness of British Muslims. He acquires awareness of the representation through negative interpersonal contact with other non-Muslims. This seems to have implications for the psychological coherence principle, since he perceives the obligation of 'choosing' between Britishness and other potentially competing identities. More specifically, he lays claim to Britishness 'only', which suggests that it is impossible to be anything else (e.g. Pakistani) in addition to British. Indeed, it has been argued that dominant social representations, particularly those disseminated in the media but also those encountered through personal experiences as highlighted in the above-cited account, will predict the extent to which identities are inter-connected (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a, in press, a). The

individual is then required to explore the compatibility of these identities, albeit influenced by social representations regarding the inter-relations between the identities. In order to maintain appropriate level of coherence within the self-concept, Asad decisively lays claim to Britishness, which echoes previous findings that in situations of two or more competing identities, one may be selected to the detriment of others which are downgraded (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a).

Asad's exposure to this negative social representation (manifested through his experience on the bus) may problematise the continuity principle, because he observes that there was a sudden and *unexpected* change in the nature of relations with 'people I saw every day'. This introduces disruptive change within the identity structure (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, b). Moreover, ostracisation in this manner would likely inhibit inclusion and acceptance from relevant others, jeopardising the belonging principle. Thus, it is likely that threats to the three aforementioned principles may be averted by laying claim to British national identity and by declaring allegiance to Britain. Similarly, other participants seized this opportunity to declare their allegiance to Britishness:

> This [Britain] is my home now and it has been my home for years. So I
> love my home [..] I am British (Parminder)

Parminder's account exemplified the pervasive conceptualisation of Britain as 'home'. The unequivocal claim to Britishness and the simultaneous downgrading of other identities (e.g. ethnic and religious) exemplify the process of identity validation, which is required in order to attain a sense of belonging within groups (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). Identity validation refers to the provision of self-aspects and the employment of rhetorical strategies such as extreme case formulations in order to demonstrate and validate one's claim to a given social group.

Identity validation essentially entails the invocation of existing social representations regarding the 'criteria' for membership within a given social group. For instance, it has been observed that SGSA may validate their identities as 'authentic' members of the category South Asian by highlighting their ability to speak their HL, an important self-aspect associated with ethnic identity (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010a, 2010b). Similarly, Ahmad

provided his perceived criteria of Britishness, which excluded British nationals allegedly involved in terrorist activities:

> Ahmad: If I had the power, I'd soon get rid of these sorts of people from the country because there's no need for it at all here or anywhere, honestly. I'd soon say 'No, if you want to live in this country peacefully, you're most welcome, but if you cause problems, please leave.'

> Interviewer: But where would say the July 7th bombers have been sent if they' been caught, for example? They were British, weren't they?

> Ahmad: No, they were not British. They were a disgrace. They have no right to be here.

Ahmad's account constructs the boundaries of Britishness, since it delineates those who may be regarded as national ingroup members from those who may not. He reproduces the social representation that those who perpetrate terrorist attacks against the nation cannot be considered national ingroup members (e.g. Phillips, 2006). Moreover, Ahmad invokes the representation that 'those sorts of people' should be removed from Britain. Some participants appear to accentuate their identification with Britishness in order to demonstrate their loyalty to the nation and to differentiate themselves from religious fundamentalists. They may manifest attitudinal changes through the acceptance and internalisation of 'extreme' social representations due to hyper-affiliation to the new group. This has been referred to as group polarisation (Turner et al., 1987). As a means of exhibiting his unfaltering loyalty to Britishness, Ahmad accepts extreme representations, which are regarded as being socially pervasive through the demonisation of 'those sorts of people'. Indeed, this strategy has as its goal the enhancement of the belonging principle, which is jeopardised by the awareness of Islamophobic social representations.

Ahmad advocates the removal of those individuals who refuse to 'live in this country peacefully'. Ahmad unambiguously repudiated the right of the London Underground bombers to lay claim to Britishness, as well as their right to national belonging. Thus, the Britishness of these individuals is essentially repudiated, which

enables him to exclude these individuals from his ethnic and religious ingroups, rejecting any potential eligibility for Britishness. This 'othering' process may be regarded as a means of constructing group distinctiveness, through the identification of ingroup 'Black Sheep' from which mainstream group members are unambiguously differentiated (Marques, Yzerbyt & Leyens, 1988). Clearly, this benefits the belonging principle, since mainstream ethno-religious ingroup members are included within the national group.

This has interesting implications for the boundaries of British national group membership, since it was implied that in order for a non-White Briton to be 'authentically' British, they must 'earn' this right through the manifestation of loyalty to the nation. However, this was not perceived by some participants as being applicable to the indigenous WBM:

> Interviewer: What if a White British person blows up err OK, what about the nail-bomber that was caught bombing gay bars in Soho? [..] Is he British?

> Ahmad: (pause) Yeah, he is British. He was born here, his parents were, his grandparents were.

Ahmad exhibited awareness and understanding of the social representation of Britishness as a primarily White identity (Tyler, 2000; Vadher & Barrett, 2009). This is demonstrated by his assertion that a White British terrorist (e.g. David Copeland) could be considered to be British, despite his engagement in terrorist activity. This elucidates the perceived 'vulnerability' of Britishness among non-White Britons, such as FGSA and SGSA. Moreover, this echoes the social representation among FGSA that too much *negative* visibility in the social arena may be detrimental for acceptance within British society and, thus, conducive to eventual expulsion (see Jacobson, 1997b). Together, these extracts demonstrate that some FGSA may regard Britishness as an identity, which is 'earned' through individuals' engagement in national-affirmative behaviour, and that Britishness may be repudiated through one's engagement in activities which contradict national interests. While elucidating the vulnerability of Britishness, on the one hand, Ahmad's construal of Britishness in terms of behaviour (lawful versus unlawful) is likely to be a

strategic one. Clearly, some participants have assimilated and internalised the social representation of *White* Britishness, which is immutable, although this representation is managed in ways, which do not threaten the belonging principle. Within the remit of this social representation, some participants are able to position themselves and ethno-religious ingroup members within the national category by emphasising their adherence to key self-aspects associated with Britishness and by highlighting their distinctiveness from ethno-religious ingroup 'Black Sheep'. These 'key' self-aspects form part of participants' constructed criteria for Britishness.

Criteria for British national membership: Exclusionary strategies employed by FGSA
Participants were encouraged to discuss the criteria for Britishness. Evidently, these criteria included some groups and excluded others. Iqbal identified those ethnic groups which, according to his criteria, could legitimately be deemed to be British:

> They [the British government] should give priority to all British people, that's Asians, Blacks and Whites. The unemployed and the younger generation are suffering because of all this [illegal immigration]

Iqbal's conceptualisation of the category British constructs 'Blacks, Asians and Whites' as belonging to the national ingroup. This conceptualisation of Britishness is broader than that reported in previous studies of national identity among BSA (Jacobson, 1997a, 1997b; Vadher & Barrett, 2009). However, a key tenet of this previous research remains intact, namely that there exists a racial boundary of Britishness, which inevitably excludes some sections of society within Britain. Jacobson's (1997a) qualitative interview research with British Pakistani respondents revealed their acute awareness that they and other non-White ethnic minorities were not perceived as being British by virtue of their skin colour. The 'racial' boundary defines those who have British ancestry as British; a marker of British ancestry is primarily white skin (Jacobson, 1997a). While the racial boundary has previously been presented as a barrier to Britishness among BSA, here it may be considered as a means of constructing their identification with and inclusion within the British nation, partly through the identification of subgroups who are *not* British. Indeed,

distinctiveness and, in the present case, the strategy of differentiating one's group from other groups constitutes a means of asserting a social identity (Eriksen, 1993; Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a).

The social representation that the continuity of the nation is threatened by illegal immigration is reproduced in the above-cited extract and the racial boundary provides rhetorical support for its reproduction. It is suggested that 'true' Britons are collectively suffering the negative outcomes of illegal immigration. Research suggests that the emphasis of a common, collective plight may enhance the belonging principle, since it emphasises the common goal of group members (Jaspal & Yampolsky, 2011). The strategic reproduction of negative social representations regarding immigration to Britain may contribute to the construction of a strong sense of national cohesion and belonging.

Accordingly, participants highlighted specific qualities and self-aspects which they perceived as sustaining and perhaps legitimising their Britishness *vis-à-vis* recent immigrants to Britain:

> It does make me proud to be a part of this country but there is that feeling that I've come far to do this. I've worked here and I've contributed to this country's workforce [..] I've done my bit, you know? I've done what I can so I do have a right to call myself British (Gurdeep)

Gurdeep's account echoes the social representation that Britishness is 'earned' through 'appropriate', national affirmative behaviour. For instance, the participant construes himself as a 'legitimate' Briton by invoking his perceived contributions to the nation. Thus, by shifting the focus from his ethnic identity, which be perceived as being incompatible with Britishness (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a), Gurdeep is able to refocus attention upon alternative elements of his identity and the value of these identity components (Breakwell, 1986). He does this by relating these components to his 'right' to lay claim to Britishness: 'I've done my bit'. Crucially, Gurdeep derives feelings of pride from these contributions to the nation, which would likely maintain and enhance a positive self-conception, enhancing self-esteem (Gecas, 1982). Moreover, the participant's existing

self-representations (e.g. having contributed to the nation) are employed in order to validate his British national identity.

Gurdeep's account constructs economic and vocational contributions to British society as a prerequisite for British national identity, and not necessarily race, heritage and culture (cf. Jacobson, 1997a). This suggests a civic understanding of Britishness (Smith, 1991). The underlying implication was that those who had not thus contributed to British society were in fact ineligible for Britishness; they did not have the 'right' to call themselves British. This criterion for Britishness constituted one strategy of excluding recent migrants, such as asylum seekers, from the category British:

> I think they [the British government] should get rid of them all and look
> after their own citizens first. People of British nationality. Children and
> their own citizens, not asylum seekers. What work have they done to
> build this country? We've worked (Ali)

Ali constructs asylum seekers as unworthy of Britishness primarily due to the pervasive social representation that these migrants have made little economic contribution to the nation (Pearce & Stockdale, 2009). He argues that the government 'should get rid of them all and look after their own citizens first'. As discussed above, the reproduction of 'extreme' social representations of this kind possibly evidences some participants' hyper-affiliation to the national ingroup. Indeed, his ethno-religious subgroup is included within 'people of British nationality'. Ali explicitly problematises the position of asylum seekers in the nation and contrasts this with the perceived contributions of his ingroup: 'we've worked'. This constitutes a re-conceptualisation of the criteria governing inclusion in the category Britishness. Accordingly, this may have implications for work on the boundaries of Britishness, since this seems to evidence the perception of an 'economic' boundary to Britishness, whereby Britishness is perceived to be available only to those individuals having made economic contributions to the nation (e.g. by working legally).

Moreover, this functions as a means of differentiating his ingroup from asylum seekers, evidencing the activation of the distinctiveness principle. Indeed, the hegemony of negative, exclusionary social representations of asylum seekers as usurping the nation's resources possibly compels participants to draw clear distinctions between themselves and

these migrants in order to gain acceptance and inclusion within the nation. Intergroup distinctiveness may be perceived as a means of enhancing (national) belonging, since it differentiates one's ingroup from threatening outgroups.

SUMMARY

The present chapter demonstrates how ingroup and outgroup boundaries may fluctuate in order to optimise identity processes. British Indian participants generally reproduced Islamophobic social representations of Muslims, which is attributed to the perception of 'ethnic homogenisation' from the WBM. This exemplifies participants' engagement in group polarisation in order to 'validate' their Britishness (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). For instance, some participants reproduced the social representation of Muslim self-isolation through the provision of highly restrictive and exclusionary criteria for Britishness. This demonstrates the strategic selection of criteria for Britishness, which includes one's own immediate ingroup but excludes those outgroups intended for 'otherisation'. Moreover, ingroup differentiation from stigmatised outgroups is likely conducive to feelings of positive distinctiveness (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000). It is noteworthy that British Pakistani participants exhibited awareness of Islamophobic representations, which were regarded as evidencing the repudiation of British Muslims' claim to Britishness, resulting in potential threats to continuity of self-definition as British *(research question 2iii)*.

The perception that negative social representations of Muslims are habitually applied to (non-Muslim) British Indians is likely to intensify the need for intergroup distinctiveness. The activation of the distinctiveness principle through the emphasis of intergroup distinctiveness may be regarded in terms of a deflection strategy since it enables the individual to downgrade or deny any similarities between Indians and Pakistanis by constructing them as independent and distinctive ethno-religious groups. Moreover, this facilitates the 'immunisation' of his ethnic ingroup from Islamophobic prejudice, shielding the ingroup from potential stigma and identity threat *(research question 1i)*. Crucially, intergroup distinctiveness can act as an indirect means of enhancing belonging in the national group. Given the social desirability of the integrationist acculturation orientation, there was a tendency among both British Indian and British Pakistani participants to highlight their attempts to integrate in British society with most individuals claiming to be

integrated. However, non-Muslim participants generally employed downward comparisons with Muslims in order to demonstrate and validate their own Britishness (Wills, 1981). Moreover, participants' constructed criteria for Britishness suggested that, among ethnic minorities at least, Britishness must be 'earned' rather than understood as a stable element of the identity structure. Several participants emphasised their economic and vocational contributions to British society as an indicator of their British national identity, while contesting the role of race, heritage and culture in British national identity (cf. Jacobson, 1997b). This suggests a civic understanding of Britishness (Smith, 1991) *(research question 2i)*.

Both British Indian and British Pakistani participants reproduced social representations of discrimination from the WBM, which could threaten the belonging principle of identity *(research question 1i)*. Consequently, it is possible that appropriate levels of belonging may be restored through self-positioning alongside other BSA regardless of religious group membership (see also Jaspal & Sitaridou, 2010). Indeed, this echoes the key tenet of the common ingroup identity model, namely that superordinate identification may foster inclusiveness among otherwise conflictual subgroups (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Thus, in these social contexts, the ethnic dimension of identity may become salient, as individuals attenuate intergroup differences between British Indians and British Pakistanis, providing an alternative source of belonging *(research question 1i)*. Indeed, a cohesive, harmonious social group (devoid of intra-group conflict) will enhance feelings of belonging among group members (Jaspal & Yampolsky, 2011). Furthermore, group members may accentuate the demographic vitality of their groups (i.e. to represent their groups as populous through the inclusion of British Indians and British Pakistanis) in order to optimise the strategy of group action/ group mobilisation to counteract threatening outgroups (e.g. 'racists') (Jaspal & Sitaridou, 2010).

The final section of the chapter examines the content dimension of British national identity and its relationship with ethnic identity.

Towards a British National Identity

This section explores the qualitative nature of British national identification, the perceived availability of Britishness and the potential for conflict between British national and ethnic identities. Three superordinate themes are outlined, namely: (i) 'We love our children': explaining national attachment; (ii) 'Becoming British': assimilation and upward social mobility; and (iii) Coping with identity conflict: assimilation-accommodation and psychological coherence.

"We love our children": Explaining national attachment

The present theme elucidates the importance of 'special events' in the development and maintenance of British national identity within this sample of participants, while highlighting the potentially dilemmatic nature of this identity in relation to the broader self-concept.

Importance of special events in the development of British national identity

Participants' accounts suggested that during the various stages of settlement in Britain attachment to the recipient country Britain underwent significant development. The incipient stages of settlement were characterised primarily by the 'myth of return' and then by a fundamentally instrumental attachment to the recipient country (Kelman, 1997). Participants exhibited a more complex emotional attachment to Britain in accounts of the later stages of settlement. This was attributed to what many described as 'special moments'. These refer to social events of psychological significance, which endow their lives with a sense of meaning and purpose (Baumeister, 1991):

> I'm more British than Indian. A lot of special things have happened here in England, like I got married to my husband and I had my two children. They went to school here and got an education here and graduated here. My special moments have happened here, you know? England has given me and my children a good life (Usha)

Usha's account suggested that these psychologically meaningful 'special' events had important consequences for the development of her sense of national identity. These led her to self-categorise as 'more British than Indian'. It is noteworthy that Usha was one of many individuals who highlighted their poignant sense of longing and nostalgia for the homeland. Nonetheless, here it seems that the 'special moments' in Britain are invoked as a rationale for self-categorisation as British and indeed for the prioritisation of Britishness over her Indian ethnic identity. The benefits for identity processes may produce this identity hierarchy (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a). Britishness may be regarded as having positive outcomes for the self-efficacy principle, since the nation is perceived as providing educational and vocational opportunities to her children. Consequently, this may be conducive to feelings of competence (Breakwell, 1992). More generally, there is a clear sense of gratitude towards the nation's contributions to Usha's and her family's 'good life'. The nation enables Usha to connect a positive past, re-constructed through reference to 'special moments' such as her marriage and the birth of her children, and her current 'good life'. This can enhance continuity, since past, present and future are connected in a positive manner (Breakwell, 1986).

It has been noted that for many South Asian women marriage and child-rearing can be socially and psychologically gratifying events, which may induce a sense of fulfilment and meaning (Dasgupta, 1998; Naidoo, 1984). Indeed there is evidence to suggest that individuals actively seek a sense of significance and purpose in their existence (Baumeister, 1991; McGregor & Little, 1998). Family identity has been described as 'the family's subjective sense of its own continuity over time, its present situation, and its character. It is the gestalt of qualities and attributes that make it a particular family and that differentiate it from other families' (Bennett, Wolin & McAvity, 1988, p. 212). Thus, elements of one's collective narrative, which are perceived as enhancing the family's sense of meaning, continuity and distinctiveness are likely to be construed in terms of 'special moments'.

Usha's grounding of her 'special moments' to Britain has consequences for national attachment. Accordingly, the nation is interpreted primarily through the lens of these 'special moments'. They are psychologically meaningful and, thus, it is expected that national attachment will be strong. Furthermore, since meaning constitutes an important identity principle, phenomena, which are viewed as enhancing the principle, will be readily

assimilated and accommodated within the identity structure (Breakwell, 1986). Crucially, the meaning principle may acquire psychological salience, given that it was vulnerable to threat during the early stages of settlement. Thus, subsequent opportunities to enhance the principle are seized by threatened individuals. The salience of the meaning principle was illustrated by participants of both Indian and Pakistani heritage:

> Being here, being British would have been meaningless without my kids. What's the point in earning all this money and good standard of living if you don't have your kids? (Indra)

For most participants it was their children who conferred meaning and value upon their British national identity. In fact, participants frequently invoked children as a *sine qua non* for a meaningful and purposeful existence within the nation (Baumeister, 1991).

As alluded to above, the self-efficacy principle was of psychological relevance, given its relationship with the instrumental variant of national identification:

> This place feels like home for me because for example my daughter has studied forensic science and it's because she is from this country that she was able to study that here. If we were in Pakistan, for example, how would we be able to pay for our daughter's studies? This country has made my daughter an educated woman (Fazilat)

Fazilat and other participants regarded the availability of high-quality education as one of the key instrumental benefits of life in Britain. Her daughter's Britishness is perceived to have enabled her to study at university. The potential benefits for self-efficacy are demonstrated by the perceived empowerment of Britishness (Breakwell, 1992). Given that Britishness facilitates feelings of competence and control, it is likely that Britishness will be embraced by individuals for whom this principle is salient. Crucially, the principle acquires salience through self-positioning in the homeland, where self-efficacy is socially represented as threatened. Fazilat juxtaposes the instrumental benefits of Britishness with the perceived inadequacies of Pakistan, highlighting the financial assistance available to British citizens. She attributes her identification of Britain as 'home' ('this feels like home for me') and her

daughter's status as 'an educated woman' to Britain's fair provision of education to its citizens *vis-à-vis* the lack of fairness in Pakistan. Migration to Britain provided some participants with the possibility to make comparisons between the homeland and the host nation in various domains, such as education and employment. This facilitates a sense of instrumental attachment to Britain, on the one hand, while highlighting the benefits for self-efficacy in Britain *vis-à-vis* the homeland, on the other hand. In short, it is argued that self-efficacy is enhanced through the perception of instrumental benefits of Britishness but that these benefits are rendered meaningful only in relation to their children. Furthermore, for FGSA at least, this demonstrates the intersection of family identity and national identity (Epp & Price, 2008).

The achievements of their children contributed to the maintenance and enhancement of the self-efficacy and continuity principles among FGSA:

> We realised that our kids were growing up and becoming English [..] If my son wants to be an engineer then he should be one and that was going to be much easier here in England than in India where it's all corrupt [..] We started realising that there was no point in going back and India stopped feeling like home (Gurdeep)

Gurdeep perceived his children's well-being as the primary rationale for settlement in Britain; 'our kids were growing up and becoming English'. Given the centrality of the family identity in participants' meaning-making *vis-à-vis* national identity, it is likely that participants' sense of continuity will be dependent upon that of their children. Thus, it is hypothesised that continuity among the SGSA is protected through decision-making regarding settlement in Britain. Indeed, the need to maintain the developmental process of 'becoming English', which safeguards continuity, is salient for Gurdeep.

Like most participants, Gurdeep exhibits awareness of the social representation that Britain offers greater vocational opportunities than the ancestral homeland. This social representation is fortified through the complementary representation that the homeland is 'all corrupt'. The clear benefits for self-efficacy may motivate greater instrumental identification with Britain, which is manifested through the concurrent disidentification with the homeland. Indeed, Gurdeep states that 'India stopped feeling like home', which may be attributed to the

perceived lack of opportunities within the homeland. The lack of instrumental benefits and, thus, the potential for the homeland to threaten self-efficacy reduces its value and significance for Gurdeep to the extent that return to that nation is no longer viewed as rewarding: 'there was no point in going back'. It is acknowledged that a sentimental attachment to the homeland may remain but this becomes latent when the self-efficacy principle is active.

Given that participants may generalise feelings of continuity, self-efficacy and self-esteem from their children, in the sense that these principles operate at collective levels, the extent to which Britain is perceived as enhancing these principles among their children may predict British national identification among FGSA. Indeed, the future and well-being of participants' children could create an emotional wedge between participants and the ancestral homeland and inhibit it from 'feeling like home'. Nonetheless, participants' accounts attested to the dilemmatic qualities of British national identification.

Britishness: A dilemmatic national identity

Britishness was construed by some participants as being a complex and problematic identity, which could prove to be difficult to reconcile with other (e.g. ethnic or religious) identities. Consistent with the thesis that British national identification is contingent upon the perceived benefits for family identity, several participants aligned their national identity with that of their children. For instance, Fazilat attributed her self-identification with Britishness to her children's mode of self-categorisation:

> This [Britain] is my home [...] My kids are my biggest attachment [...] My
> children call themselves British more readily but they do sometimes say that
> they're Pakistani, British Pakistani. But sometimes they don't even say
> 'Pakistani' [...] that makes me British too (Fazilat)

Given the importance of family identity, individuals may seek to maintain and enhance feelings of closeness to relevant others within the family unit. Crucially, these feelings of acceptance and inclusion may be safeguarded through identity coherence within the family unit. Thus, individuals may seek to reconcile their own national identification with that of

their general family unit and, more specifically, with that of their children. Given that the family unit was perceived to constitute a primary source of belonging, as discussed earlier, identity coherence within the family unit may be regarded as enhancing the belonging principle. It is recalled that participants frequently invoked their sentimental attachment to the ancestral homeland, which, in some cases, engendered dilemmatic accounts of belonging. More specifically, this may represent a psychological struggle between the 'interactional past' of the ancestral homeland, in which psychologically meaningful memories of childhood, the sense of community and family persist, and the 'interactional potential' of Britain, in which the positive future interactions are imagined (Milligan, 1998). This psychological struggle had perceptible repercussions for national identification.

Participants manifested a more sentimental kind of attachment to the homeland. It is argued that competing emotional attachments to Britain and the homeland, which represent national and ethnic identities respectively, may be difficult to reconcile, jeopardising threats to the psychological coherence principle (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a).

> I can and I still do call it [Pakistan] home. I mean, my desire is that even in my last moments, I would like to be in Pakistan and to die there. That's my wish. Pakistan is still my home and this is my home too [..] It is always on my mind that someday I will go back because I miss my country, even though I don't have any house in Pakistan any more. I've only got property here in England but Pakistan is still home [..] My heart is there (Mariam)

The dilemmatic nature of Mariam's account lies in her conceptualisation of both Pakistan and Britain as 'home'. There is social pressure for immigrants to gain acceptance and inclusion in Britain (see Phillips, 2006). Indeed, the belonging principle underlies this pressure. Furthermore, BSA tend to maintain high levels of contact with the homeland through personal visits and communication with SARS, which may be required in order to enhance temporal continuity (Bagguley & Hussain, 2005). In addition to its association with family identity, this may explain why Pakistan continues to be 'home' for Mariam despite the fact that she no longer owns property in the country.

While Pakistani identity may be necessary for the continuity principle, British national identity is increasingly required in order to maintain appropriate levels of the

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belonging principle within the national context. Crucially, the belonging and continuity principles collectively contribute to the maintenance of national and ethnic identities within the self-concept. The assimilation of both identities may in turn problematise the coherence principle (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a). Despite the social desirability of strong national and ethnic identification, which is frequently discussed in terms of the integration acculturative orientation (Bourhis et al., 1997), the psychological coherence principle may be threatened by manifesting an emotional attachment to both Britain and the homeland. One means of alleviating the threat to coherence may be to attribute differential meaning and value to potentially conflictual identities. For instance, Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010a) have observed that gay Muslims may attribute positive value to Muslim identity and negative value to gay identity in order to safeguard the equilibrium within the self-concept. Similarly, Mariam attributes a sentimental value to her attachment to the homeland by construing it as the place in which she would like to spend 'my last moments'. The sentimental attachment to Pakistan is manifested by her desire to die there. Conversely, it has been demonstrated that individuals generally manifest a fundamentally instrumental, future-oriented attachment to Britain, which admittedly may acquire elements of emotional attachment through its association with family identity. The instrumental value of Britishness is illustrated by her reference to owning property in Britain *vis-à-vis* Pakistan which 'is still home', nonetheless. In short, the organisation of British national and Pakistani ethnic identities in accordance with their meanings and values is likely to bolster the psychological coherence principle.

Britishness was construed by some of the Muslim participants as being dilemmatic in relation to Muslim identity. This could have negative outcomes for psychological coherence. Consequently, participants exhibited attempts to reconcile these identities by construing Muslim as a 'core', superordinate spiritual identity, capable of transcending national boundaries (see Ramadan, 1999):

> If I know that I'm a true Muslim then I can be Muslim anywhere, here or in
> Pakistan or anywhere. I am British and Muslim and that's just who I am
> (Iqbal)

Although Iqbal construes Muslim and British identities as compatible, the potential for conflict between these identities becomes apparent when social representations of the *Satanic Verses* controversy of 1989 are made salient:

> Whatever Rushdie says is wrong and he wrote that book and it seemed like the government and the people just turned a blind eye to him [..] It felt like they did that because they thought the things he wrote [..] Maybe all that [protests and *Fatwa*] wouldn't have happened if the British had seen who was wrong and pointed the finger at Rushdie [...] If we believe strongly that we're Muslims which I do, then how can I accept and tolerate this behaviour?

'The British' are perceived to have committed an injustice against Muslims by having 'turned a blind eye' to the perceived wrongfulness of Salman Rushdie's actions. Although Iqbal lays claim to British national identity elsewhere in the interview, the salience of the social representation of British injustice motivates him to disidentify from the category British. This is evidenced by his positioning of 'the British' as an outgroup. The salient social representation of British injustice may activate the (group) distinctiveness principle, since the Muslim ingroup is clearly delineated from British outgroup. This is because negative characteristics are attributed to the outgroup. More specifically, they are construed as having implicitly endorsed the content of Rushdie's novel through inaction. In line with SIT, group distinctiveness facilitates the delineation of ingroup and outgroup, with negative traits attributed to the outgroup (Tajfel, 1981). Interestingly, Iqbal implicitly constructs the serious protests and the notorious *fatwa* issued by the former Iranian Spiritual Leader as consequences of British inaction subsequent to the publication of the *Satanic Verses*. This may be regarded in terms of a subtle justification for the global Muslim response.

While British and Muslim identities may, in general, be perceived to be coherent and compatible, key events (e.g. the *Satanic Verses* controversy) can activate dormant social representations of intergroup conflict and identity incompatibility and thereby induce threats to the psychological coherence principle (Cinnirella, 1997a). Evidently, the widespread media attention afforded to the controversy disseminated social representations of identity incompatibility and conflict of interests, which led Muslims themselves to question the

compatibility of their Muslim and British identities (Modood, 1990). This constitutes a strong rationale for considering the interface of media representations and identity construction among BSA.

The psychological coherence principle is potentially vulnerable to threat because Britishness is generally deemed to constitute a valuable component of the identity structure. This is discussed next.

Becoming British: Assimilation and upward social mobility

The present theme demonstrates how and why participants aspire to assimilate and accommodate within the self-concept norms and values perceived to be associated with Britishness.

"I've improved over the years": Aspirations for Britishness

Although most participants laid claim to Britishness as a constituent element of the self-concept, there was nonetheless some recognition of intergroup differences between their ethnic groups and the WBM. These differences were generally described in terms of the perceived individualism of the WBM, their alleged moral deficiency as regards to pre-marital sex and dating (Ballard, 1994a; Ghuman, 2003), and a lack of responsibility towards their children. Despite this, some participants perceived the adoption of the WBM 'way of thinking' as desirable:

> Interviewer: Why is that [can you not describe yourself as completely British]?
>
> Gurdeep: Because I don't think I'm too much on the same level as a [White] British person. I haven't got the thinking because it's a different way of thinking. I'd say I've improved over the years but still not British really.

Gurdeep acknowledges the differences in 'thinking' between his ethnic group and the WBM, which allows him to conclude that they are not 'on the same level'. These differences inhibit complete self-identification with Britishness, although it is implied that his sense of

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Britishness may increase. Indeed, perceived similarity in attitudes has been regarded as a predictor of British national identity (Cinnirella, 1997b). The WBM's 'way of thinking' is implicitly construed as being superior to that of his ethnic group, because Gurdeep perceives his partial assimilation to the WBM way of thinking as an 'improvement'. Given the positive evaluation of the WBM in this respect, his perception that he has 'improved over the years' may constitute a means of safeguarding self-esteem. This may facilitative a positive self-conception on the basis of his gradual assimilation to the WBM's 'way of thinking' (Gecas, 1982). Similarly, Harbans alluded to her inability to self-identify as British, while acknowledging her attempts to be British:

> I'm still an Indian, born in India and I still struggle to be British, to be
> honest, to call myself British, I mean [..] Although I've picked up a lot of
> English words up and stuff, I cannot say I'm British (Harbans)

The English language was widely regarded in terms of a crucial self-aspect of Britishness (Julios, 2008). Harbans accepts and reproduces the social representation linking national language and national identity, which impedes self-identification with Britishness: 'I cannot say I'm British'. Disidentification with Britishness arises from her admission that she is not fluent in English. Similarly, it has been demonstrated in work on SGSA identity that individuals lacking fluency in the HL may downgrade identification with the heritage culture, particularly in face of social representations linking the two phenomena (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010b). Given one's acknowledged lack of a self-aspect, which are pervasively regarded as being crucial for membership within a given social group, the belonging principle may be susceptible to threat. Consequently, unilateral disidentification with the social category may alleviate the threat to belonging, since there is no expectation to belong within the social group (see Jaspal, 2011b). This in fact constitutes an acceptance strategy (Breakwell, 1986).

Moreover, Harbans' self-categorisation in terms of her Indian identity may constitute an alternative source of belonging. Crucially, self-identification as Indian safeguards continuity of self-definition, providing psychological linkage between past and present self-definition. Although Indian identity proves more beneficial for identity processes, Harbans does not entirely discard Britishness. Like Gurdeep, she exhibits her attempts and efforts to

engage with Britishness (e.g. through English language-learning), possibly as a means of counteracting dominant social representations of immigrants' refusal to integrate within British society (Modood, 2005).

Widespread awareness of the representation that immigrants refuse to integrate in British society may compel individuals to take a 'stance' on these representations, possibly by exhibiting their Britishness. For Indian participants, identification with Britishness can facilitate self-distancing from stigmatised groups, e.g. British Muslims (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). This potentially enables the individual 'to maintain and enhance a positive self-conception of oneself' through processes of self-enhancement and self-improvement, with benefits for self-esteem (Gecas, 1982, p. 20). It has been argued that the perceived national identities of significant others (e.g. children) may exert considerable influence upon the development of Britishness among FGSA. The social pressure to self-identify as British is discussed in the next section.

"We've got to keep up with them": British national identity and inter-generational relations
Data suggest that intergenerational relations may play an important role in British national identity construction, primarily because FGSA perceived the assimilation of SGSA to the WBM:

> Here in England all the children [SGSA] just act like English people do.
> (Ali)

> They already think like them (the WBM] and if they could make their skin
> white, they'd do that too. We've got to keep up with them. (Indra)

Participants perceive the assimilation of SGSA to WBM in terms of their common behaviour and thinking. Given that SGSA are perceived to assimilate to the WBM, the distinctiveness principle may be vulnerable to threat, since there is no intergroup differentiation (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000). Moreover, this may be problematic for those participants who perceive the importance of 'keep[ing] up with them' in order to safeguard positive interpersonal relations with their children. This may expose participants themselves to

potential threats to distinctiveness. Indeed, the centrality of belonging, whereby feelings of acceptance and inclusion are safeguarded, may override the distinctiveness principle. This is attributed to the centrality of family identity, as discussed above. The salience of belonging may explain the latency of distinctiveness and, thus, the passive acceptance of this loss of distinctiveness. This was reiterated in Fazilat's account:

> They're wearing their [of the WBM] clothes, going to school with them, they are like them. Because our kids are so close to them [the WBM], we have to follow some of their things too [..] Just to fit in with our children and also to get some respect from them, I guess (Fazilat)

As discussed above, intergroup distinctiveness is perceived to be jeopardised through the perceived assimilation of SGSA to the WBM. This is illustrated through the similarity in dress and co-education with the WBM. Despite the potential threats to distinctiveness entailed by assimilation to an outgroup, it is argued that belonging may override the need for distinctiveness. Fazilat's attribution of the need for FGSA to adopt British norms and values to SGSAs' 'closeness' to the WBM demonstrates the salience of the belonging principle. The aim is to safeguard ethnic intra-group harmony by synthesising the acculturative orientations of FGSA and SGSA (Bourhis et al., 1997). This is perceived as having potentially positive outcomes for inter-generational relations: 'Just to fit in with our children'. This refers to the need for inclusion and acceptance from sections of the ethnic ingroup. Indeed, it has been noted that the breakdown of personal relationships, such as a parent-child relationship, may act to threaten the content of identity (Duck & Lea, 1983). Thus, jeopardising the belonging principle may in turn threaten continuity, since the content dimension of identity is subject to unwanted revision. In addition to the positive benefits for belonging and continuity, the adoption of British norms and values may be regarded as a means of acquiring 'respect' from SGSA. It has been demonstrated earlier that FGSA are aware of negative social representations regarding their inability to integrate within British society due to their lack of 'crucial' self-aspects (e.g. fluency in the national language), which are prevalent among SGSA (see Kapadia, 2008). Similarly, Fazilat's account suggests that respect may be attained through the adoption of British norms and values and, thus,

through partial assimilation. It has been argued that feelings of respect may enhance self-esteem, since individuals are able to maintain and enhance a positive self-conception through their relatively high status within a social network. The centrality of 'izzat' (honour) among BSA (e.g. Jaspal & Siraj, in press) may be attributed to the benefits for self-esteem and distinctiveness (in terms of *position* within the family unit). Consequently, 'izzat' acquires salience among participants. It is useful to reiterate the psychosocial consequences of perceiving threats to 'izzat', as this demonstrates the motivation for maintaining 'izzat' through the adoption of British norms and values:

> If we act too Indian or if we act like traditional Indian then they [SGSA] don't like it [..] Children call their parents 'freshies' [..] It makes you feel small (Indra)

> Your age group people don't think I'm similar to them because you call us 'freshies' and say these things and basically think I'm very different because I'm Indian and I speak English with an Indian accent and my views are more traditional maybe. There is a big gap between us. (Usha)

Indra's account suggests that negative distinctiveness from SGSA, which is built around the notion of 'tradition', may result in derogation from SGSA (e.g. being called 'freshies'). Indra's observation that derogation from others ethnic ingroup members 'makes you feel small' attests to the threat to self-esteem, since it inhibits the maintenance of a positive self-conception (Gecas, 1982). Moreover, positive distinctiveness is unlikely to be attained through one's position within the family unit (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000). Usha elucidates the deprecation of self-aspects associated with participants' ethnic identities (e.g. speaking English with an Indian accent, holding traditional views). Thus, the manifestation of ethnic identity, or the infiltration of ethnic self-aspects into the manifestation of Britishness, is construed as a barrier to positive interpersonal relations between FGSA and SGSA. Thus, the manifestation of 'crucial' British self-aspects and the downgrading of ethnic self-aspects may validate one's Britishness in the eyes of significant others (in this case, SGSA). Crucially, this is expected to have positive outcomes for the

self-esteem, distinctiveness (in terms of *position* within the family unit) and, to some extent, continuity (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000).

Although many participants attempted to exhibit their Britishness or their efforts to be British, this should not obscure the acknowledged tensions between their British national and ethnic identities. For instance, some self-aspects associated with either social identity were considered to be irreconcilable and conflictual. The following section explores this identity conflict and the strategies devised to cope with this.

Coping with identity conflict: assimilation-accommodation and psychological coherence
Participants in the present study generally expressed their desire to maintain aspects of their heritage culture, given the benefits for psychological well-being among ethnic minorities (Cho, 2000; Phinney et al., 2001). However, this could problematise psychological coherence in relation to British national and ethnic identities. The present section elucidates the nature of identity conflict and potential coping strategies.

Evaluating British values in accordance with the content dimension of ethnic identity
Participants can sometimes construe aspects of Britishness (e.g. British law) in terms of an impediment when regarded from the perspective of ethnic identity. These aspects of Britishness may be perceived to contradict or interfere with psychologically salient ethnic norms and values. This was exemplified by Fazilat's observation:

> We are Asian and we become more hurt than White people when our children do something out of line [..] We say that by giving them [children] a slap they will get better and stop doing bad things and respect their parents but the law in this country says 'No, you cannot touch your children' [..] Parents and the law should go hand in hand but here they don't (Fazilat)

The ethnic ingroup's norms for dealing with child discipline is perceived to be superior to the 'law *in this country*', which prohibits corporal punishment. This illustrates the conflict between a norm perceived to be associated with Britishness and the preferred norm associated with the ethnic ingroup. The distinctiveness principle acquires salience when a

'core' self-aspect within the identity structure is obstructed or contradicted by a relatively less important self-aspect. Distinctiveness acquires salience because the conflict highlights differences between the identities with which the self-aspects are associated (Amiot et al., 2007). The conflict between self-aspects serves to differentiate and delineate ethnic and national identities. The ethnic 'norm' of corporal punishment may be described as 'core' since it is regarded as being conducive to greater 'respect' from one's children. Indeed, 'izzat' (honour) has been identified as a key self-aspect associated with FGSA identity (Gilbert, Gilbert & Sanghera, 2004; Jaspal & Siraj, in press). Despite the activation of the distinctiveness principle, there exists the expectation that norms and values associated with these identities should be mutually consistent and coherent: 'Parents and the law should go hand in hand but here they don't'. Crucially, it is the *expectation* that there should be psychological coherence which exposes the principle to threat in the presence of contradiction between norms and values associated with either identity (Jaspal, 2011b). Fazilat holds the social representation that there should be coherence, which reflects her expectation that the principle be enhanced.

This illustrates the perceived dissonance between parents (defined in terms of their ethnic identity) and 'the law' (associated with Britishness). The vulnerability of the psychological coherence principle due to perceived contradictions in norms and values associated with distinctive social identities could produce dilemmas for participants:

> When my kids were younger it was hard to know where the lines are, you know? My daughter wanted to watch these teenage programmes but with British people it's all about dating, relationships, kissing on the screen and I didn't want my daughter seeing that [..] even though she was old enough to see it according to White people, but not for me as a Pakistani (Iftikar)

> It is difficult to bring your kids up in a different country to where you were brought up, you know? It can be confusing and what's normal for you isn't always normal for everyone around you (Roxana)

Iftikar reproduces the social representation that the WBM are 'morally deficient' (Ballard, 1994a). He regards the WBM's alleged 'openness' *vis-à-vis* sexuality as incompatible with

his own moral values, which are implicitly rooted within his ethnic identity 'as a Pakistani'. The identity conflict is most succinctly illustrated through Iftikar's admission that, while for 'White people' exposure to this material may be acceptable, it is unacceptable for him 'as a Pakistani'. This demonstrates the perceived existence of conflictual norms associated with either identity.

This can have negative outcomes for psychological coherence since both identities are, despite their incompatibilities, regarded as forming part of the self-concept (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a). The confusion entailed by these threats is illustrated by Iftikar's observation that 'it was hard to know where the lines are'. Moreover, the interpersonal dimension of child-rearing constitutes a further layer of complexity, since his daughter wishes 'to watch these teenage programmes'. Consequently, the social context compels Iftikar to take a stance on the coherence and compatibility of ethnic and national identities with their differing norms and values. Similarly, Roxana highlights the potential threats to psychological coherence associated with perceived discrepancy between social representations of 'normality' held by BSA and the WBM. This perceived discrepancy acquires salience in child-rearing in Britain, due to the perception of distinct norms and values in this national context. The psychological difficulties associated with reconciling these differing norms include feelings of confusion, which is symptomatic of low psychological coherence.

For these participants, the transmission of certain 'British' norms and values to his daughter is unacceptable from the perspective of Pakistani ethnic identity. A 'core' identity (here, ethnic identity) will constitute the interpretive lens through which other inter-connected identities are regarded. It could be hypothesised that when central tenet of a 'core' identity is viewed as being threatened by a competing identity, the psychological coherence principle becomes susceptible to threat (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a). However, the elected solution is simple: prioritisation of the self-aspect associated with the 'core' identity and denigration of that associated with the secondary identity.

The perception of one social identity through the lens of another had implications for participants' construal of hyphenated categorisation and national categorisation among SGSA. Indeed, these patterns of national categorisation among SGSA were regarded

through the lens of ethnic identity and, thus in terms of a potential threat to the continuity principle:

> They don't call themselves 'Pakistani'. They say they're 'British Pakistani'.
> That's only the, just the first step [...] It's upsetting because some of our
> kids don't even call themselves 'Pakistani' anymore. (Farida)

For Farida, hyphenated self-categorisation as 'British Pakistani' symbolises the gradual disidentification of SGSA with Pakistani ethnic identity. This is referred to as 'just the first step'. It is possible that hyphenated self-categorisation and British national identification among SGSA pose threats to the continuity principle, since these are regarded as posing implicit threats to ethnic identity, which constitutes a 'core' identity among some participants (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). The temporal adverb 'anymore' indicates a disruption of identity over time. Crucially, this may be particularly threatening given that the threat to continuity functions at both the intrapsychic *and* the collective levels of identity. This violates the perception of continuity between past, present and future (Breakwell, 1986), as well as the perception that the ethnic group will survive, inter-generationally, as a distinctive, collective social entity (Jaspal & Yampolsky, 2011). It has been suggested that deficits in group continuity may be associated with reductions in group identification and group schisms (Sani, 2005).

The perception that self-aspects associated with Britishness may infiltrate, or take precedence over, ethnic identity was clearly unsettling for some participants who noted that:

> At least we should have a bit of our culture maintained (Indra)

> It's important for our daughters to have a bit more of the Indian culture than
> boys maybe because they have to go to a different house [after marriage]
> and bring up the kids and spend most time with them (Shazia)

> We just don't want our kids to like lose everything our culture and our
> identity when we die off. I don't want us to just become *gore* [White
> people]. I want my family name to stay the same. (Harjit)

These extracts attest to the perceived imminence of identity loss through SGSA's gradual disidentification with their ethnic group. The salience of the continuity principle is illustrated through participants' desire to maintain 'a bit of our culture'. Moreover, the maintenance of 'our culture' would safeguard feelings of distinctiveness from ethnic outgroups. Thus, perceived identity loss may threaten both principles, resulting in acute identity threat (Breakwell, 1986). Furthermore, Shazia highlighted the importance of instilling norms and values associated with ethnic identity in daughters, specifically, in order to safeguard their inter-generational continuity. It is clear how identity loss could induce a sense of discontinuity between past, present ('our culture and our identity') and the future ('I don't want us to just become *gore*'). The allusion to 'becoming *gore* [White people]' reflects the perception of ingroup assimilation to an ethno-racial outgroup. Given the salience of the distinctiveness principle, assimilation to the WBM constitutes *unwanted change*, which highlights its ability to threaten the continuity principle. Collectively, these extracts demonstrate the salience of the continuity and distinctiveness principles, which are susceptible to threat through the perception of ethnic identity loss.

In short, Britishness may be construed as threatening for identity when regarded through the interpretive lens of the content dimension of ethnic identity. This will occur among those participants for whom ethnic identity constitutes a 'core' identity for some participants. This may induce threats to psychological coherence. Moreover, Britishness may be perceived as threatening the continuity and distinctiveness principles of identity. In line with IPT, individuals will engage in coping strategies to alleviate identity threat (Breakwell, 1986). This constitutes the focus of the final sub-section.

Accommodating national and ethnic identities within the identity structure
Individuals may maintain a subjective sense of continuity by encouraging their children to maintain and preserve self-aspects associated with ethnic identity. It is recalled that most participants themselves self-identified as 'British' or laid claim to a hyphenated identity. In order to accommodate these identities within the self-concept, the content and value dimensions of identity may need to be re-construed (Breakwell, 1986). Accordingly, individuals attempted to construct Britishness as coherent with the overall identity structure:

It's all about being free to believe in whatever you want. You believe in your God and I believe in mine. That's what being British is all about and that's why lately I've been feeling bad when I see that, you know, all that trouble (Iqbal)

Iqbal construes freedom of religious belief and the right to religious distinctiveness as key to Britishness. British Muslim participants, in particular, reproduced the social representation of Britain as a tolerant, freedom-loving and multi-faith nation (Bradley, 2008). For Iqbal, these positive traits constitute the 'essence' of Britishness: 'That's what being British is all about'. The pervasive reproduction of this representation among British Muslim participants may be attributed to their awareness of stigmatising social representations regarding Islam and to their awareness of ever-increasing suspicion regarding British Muslims' allegiance to the nation (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b). Awareness of stigmatising and 'otherising' social representations of Muslim will jeopardise the belonging principle among those Muslims, who expect to be accepted and included within the national group (Jaspal, 2011b). The perception of negative social change essentially introduces rupture between past, present and future, creating the perception of an uncertain future and, hence, threats to continuity. Moreover, Iqbal's account exhibits the negative outcomes of awareness of these representations for self-esteem: 'that's why I've been feeling bad'. Indeed, the perception of 'otherisation' from the WBM does not facilitate a positive self-conception.

By rendering salient these positive qualities of Britishness, Iqbal is able to construe the perceived rise in Islamophobic discrimination as a disappointing contravention of Britishness. Moreover, this enables him to construct discrimination against British Muslims in terms of a violation of 'what being British is all about'. This may, conversely, facilitate a positive self-conception, enhancing self-esteem, and a sense of belonging within the nation, while questioning the Britishness of those who discriminate. This construal of Britishness should be regarded as a component of the assimilation-accommodation process of identity, since it essentially creates scope for the co-existence of both national and ethno-religious identities. Indeed, the process is facilitated through the strategic negotiation and reproduction of relevant social representations.

While assimilation-accommodation constitutes an intrapsychic process, it is greatly influenced by dominant social representations in a given social context (Breakwell, 2001). Participants negotiated, (re-)construed and reproduced representations in order to reconcile various dimensions of the self-concept, consisting of national, ethnic and religious identities. In general, there was a tendency for participants to prioritise positive representations of Britishness when they themselves self-identified as British. This is to be expected, given that self-identification with a positively evaluated social group will likely facilitate a positive self-conception (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). For instance, when Parminder was asked to explain why she felt British, she stated that:

> Here the people are so honest about the law and the system, about work and
> pay and money matters. These things are important for me. You never find
> this in India, it's all corrupt but here there's a love for other human beings.
> You call an ambulance and they'll treat anybody (Parminder)

The salience of positive social representations regarding the British (as 'honest about the law and the system') may be attributed to their potential advantages for self-esteem. Parminder's self-definition of British translates into the attribution of these positive traits to herself through her group membership. Thus, the reproduction of these positive representations of Britishness is conducive to a positive identity.

Britishness may be strategically embraced and emphasised in order to facilitate the contravention or challenging of norms and values associated with ethnic identity (Jaspal & Coyle, 2009a, 2010b). This was observable in Indra's problematisation of norms and values associated with ethnic identity:

> I had to live with the whole of my husband's family, with his *mamian*
> [aunts], for example [..] It was really hard for me [..] I couldn't ever talk to
> my husband alone because we were constantly surrounded by the family
> and I didn't like that. I hated that part of Indian culture that expects you to
> live with the whole extended family [..] If I'd told my family at the time that
> I don't want to live in the house with everyone, then they would have been

shocked because I'm Indian and basically I'm going against Indian culture (Indra)

I had to do it [live with my in-laws]. I had no independence. Also, I couldn't answer them back. I was treated like a child basically. It was worse than being in India basically. Even if I was tired and didn't feel like doing something, I still had to say 'yes' to everything and to do it without argument because I was under their control (Tajinder)

Indra highlights the norm of cohabitation with one's extended family, which is associated with Indian ethnic identity. Indra illustrates the hardship associated with the norm: 'It was really hard for me [..] I hated that part of Indian culture'. The right to privacy, which in British society would be understood as a rudimentary right, is construed as being contravened by this norm. The norm of cohabitation is rooted within a collectivist culture, in which individual goals are subordinated to group goals (Triandis, 1995). Indra's manifestation of individualistic goals, such as the desire to socialise with her husband apart from her extended family alludes to the need for independence from the extended family. Thus, the norm of cohabitation could threaten feelings of competence and control over one's life and future, resulting in threats to self-efficacy (Breakwell, 1992). This is suggested by her observation that 'I *had* to live with the whole of my husband's family', suggesting little agency. The jeopardy of personal independence is clearly illustrated in Tajinder's account ('I had no independence'), which attests to the individual's low levels of self-agency. Moreover, being 'under their control' and the perception of 'being treated like a child' are unlikely to be conducive to feelings of self-efficacy (Breakwell, 1992).

The norm of cohabitation is construed in negative terms, possibly due to its negative implications for self-efficacy. In addition to the vulnerability of self-efficacy, the violation of the norms and practices associated with ethnic identity may entail negative consequences for belonging within the ethnic group. Indra's observation that refusal to comply with the norm may result in a 'shocked' reaction (due to disloyalty to group norms) suggests a fear of being positioned in terms of an ingroup 'Black Sheep' (Marques, Yzerbyt & Leyens, 1988). This is construed by the participant as potentially inhibiting feelings of acceptance and inclusion within the ethnic group, with consequential threats to belonging. Thus, compliance

with the norm threatens self-efficacy, while non-compliance may render the belonging principle susceptible to threat.

This dilemmatic situation produces the need for an effective coping strategy. Strategic self-identification with Britishness constitutes one such intergroup coping strategy (Breakwell, 1986). This shift in self-identification enables Indra to justify and rationalise her refusal to comply with this group norm (counter-normative behaviour from the perspective of ethnic identity), since it provides a new set of criteria.

> It's not good to live in a massive extended family. In that respect I like the British culture. We live in Britain, we're British, so why should we do that [live in an extended family] too? If you have four or five sons, for example, then you can't live together for your whole life, can you? It's just not possible (Indra)

Indra elucidates the connection between the problematic norm of cohabitation (associated with ethnic identity) and her self-identification with Britishness: 'we're British, so why should we do that too?' By asserting a sense of belonging within Britain, through self-categorisation as British, Indra is able to problematise the norm of cohabitation. Indeed, this practice is not normative in British society as a whole. Thus, the employment of 'British criteria' enables her to construe the norm as unreasonable and irrational: 'you can't live together for your whole life, can you?' Britishness is positively evaluated ('I like British culture') and it is through the lens of this positively evaluated identity that the norm of cohabitation is problematised. The norm of cohabitation is at variance with individual identity, which encourages Indra to select the corresponding norm from Britishness in order to justify and rationalise measures to safeguard self-efficacy. Here Indian ethnic identity is downgraded *vis-à-vis* British national identity, since it serves positive functions for the self-concept. This does not necessarily mean that Britishness constitutes a 'core' identity for Indra or other participants, but rather that it is strategically rendered salient in order to justify measures to enhance identity processes (Breakwell, 1986). Moreover, it is argued that disidentification with 'key' norms and values (e.g. cohabitation) may result in threats to belonging within the respective social group (e.g. the ethnic group). The assertion of one's British national identity, however, provides the individual with an alternative social group,

from which to derive feelings of acceptance and inclusion, since one's behaviour does correspond to appropriate norms and values of that group.

SUMMARY

This section elucidates the qualitative nature of British national identification, the perceived availability of Britishness and the potential for conflict between British national and ethnic identities within this sample of participants. Participants highlighted the phenomenological importance of 'special moments' in the construction of British national identity. These were invoked as a rationale for self-categorisation as British and could induce a positive evaluation of national identity.

Britishness may be regarded as having positive outcomes for self-efficacy, since the nation is perceived as providing educational and vocational opportunities for SGSA (*research question 2ii*). For most participants it was their children who conferred meaning and value upon their British national identity. Given the importance of family identity in participants' meaning-making *vis-à-vis* Britishness, the principles may be construed at the collective level. It is suggested that participants' sense of continuity may be dependent upon that of their children. The extent to which national and ethnic identities are perceived as enhancing these principles among their children may predict social identification (Vignoles et al., 2006).

Although participants generally perceived benefits in both national and ethnic identification, the management of these identities could prove dilemmatic. The psychological coherence principle may be susceptible to threat insofar as social contexts (associated with distinct social identities) are, in principle, imbued with similar meaning and value. Psychological coherence may be threatened by manifesting an emotional attachment to both Britain and the homeland (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a). Indeed, participants generally exhibited a tendency to attribute differential meaning and value to these identities by construing Britishness in instrumental terms and ethnic identity in sentimental terms (*research question 1iii*).

Similarity in attitudes constitutes one predictor of national identification (Cinnirella, 1997b). The WBM's 'way of thinking' was construed by participants as being superior to that of the ethnic group. This is attributed to dominant social representations of British

'superiority' *(research question 2iii)*. Nonetheless, participants construe complete assimilation of SGSA to WBM in terms of their common behaviour and thinking as a threat to distinctiveness due to the lack of intergroup differentiation. Moreover, hyphenated self-categorisation and British national identification among SGSA may pose threats to continuity *(research question 2ii)*. This suggests that the maintenance and enhancement of *both* identities may be conducive to enhanced psychological well-being, rather than the prioritisation of one identity *vis-à-vis* another.

Participants manifested identification with both national and ethnic identities, but these identities are strategically managed. It is noteworthy that perceived competition between self-aspects associated with inter-connected identities can threaten psychological coherence, but this is generally managed by giving priority to the self-aspect associated with the 'core' identity and denigrating that associated with the secondary identity *(research question 3ii)*. Individuals seem to select those elements associated with their social group memberships which are perceived to be consistent with self-construal. This does not necessarily mean that either identity becomes permanently 'core', but rather that it is strategically rendered salient in order to justify measures to enhance identity processes *(research 1iii)*.

Having provided insight into the construction and management of national and ethnic identities among FGSA, we will consider this set of socio-psychological issues among SGSA in chapter V.

Summary of findings

The present section relates some of the key findings of study I to the research questions outlined at the end of chapter II. It is noteworthy that the present study may not necessarily address all of the research questions, although the overall research project does.

Question 1(i) What is the relationship between social representations (e.g. media representations) and identity processes?

The study shows that Islamophobic social representations can jeopardise the self-esteem and belonging principles of identity among both British Indians and British Pakistanis, given the perception of ethnic 'homogenisation' from the WBM. Both British Indian and British Pakistani participants reproduced social representations of discrimination from the WBM, which could threaten the belonging principle of identity due to their 'excessive' distinctiveness. Particularly during the early stages of migration, participants reported coping with threats to belonging by rendering salient the ethnic dimension of identity. This served to attenuate intergroup differences between British Indians and British Pakistanis, providing an alternative source of belonging. In short, the study attests to the impact of social representations for the principled operation of identity processes (Breakwell, 2001).

Question 1(ii) How do the identity principles relate to one another, particularly when the enhancement of one or more principles may threaten another?

It has been demonstrated that the activation of the distinctiveness principle among British Indians, resulting in differentiation between British Indians and British Pakistanis, can have positive outcomes for the belonging principle for this group. Conversely, British Pakistanis may attenuate the distinctiveness principle, obscuring differences between British Pakistanis and British Indians, which can provide an alternative source of belonging. This highlights one possible relationship between the two motivational principles of identity.

Furthermore, it is argued that in group contexts the belonging principle of identity is an important prerequisite for deriving appropriate levels of the other principles of identity. This is a plausible suggestion, since an individual must perceive acceptance and inclusion in a social group in order to derive benefits associated with the group membership. This

suggests that in group contexts the belonging principle is likely to be associated with the other group-level identity principles.

Question 1(iii) What is the particular relevance of the psychological coherence principle to the construction and management of British and ethnic identities?

Although much previous research has focused upon the implications of multiple identification for SGSA in particular (see chapter II), the present study demonstrates the relevance of the psychological coherence principle to the construction and management of British and ethnic identities among FGSA. More specifically, the principle may be vulnerable to threat, which encourages some FGSA to develop enhancing strategies (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, b). Indeed, participants generally exhibited a tendency to attribute differential meaning and value to their national and ethnic identities by construing Britishness in instrumental terms and ethnic identity in sentimental terms. This does not necessarily mean that either identity becomes permanently 'core'; the identities acquire distinct psychological meanings. This highlights that the psychological coherence principle is of relevance to multiple identification among FGSA, as well as SGSA.

Question 2(i) What are the self-aspects (e.g. norms, values, symbols and social representations) associated with British national and ethnic identities?

Individuals will seek to construct criteria for ingroup membership, which facilitate a sense of belonging, since individuals must belonging in a social group in order to derive appropriate levels of the identity principles from the group membership (see research question 1ii). Several participants emphasised their economic and vocational contributions to British society as an indicator of their British national identity, while contesting the role of race, heritage and culture in British national identity (cf. Jacobson, 1997b). This suggests a civic understanding of Britishness (Smith, 1991). Thus, economic and vocational contributions are constructed as an important aspect of Britishness, which facilitates self-inclusion in the national group. Participants identified other self-aspects of Britishness and ethnic identity (such as particular languages), but the central point here is that these self-aspects are context-dependent and their identification and invocation are geared primarily towards self-inclusion in the relevant group.

Question 2(ii) What is the impact of British national and ethnic identification for the identity principles outlined in identity process theory?

The thesis is concerned primarily with this research question, since the assumption is that British national and ethnic identities will be embraced insofar as they serve the identity principles (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2002). It is argued that, prior to migration, the acceptance and assimilation of positive social representations of Britain provided prospective migrants with the psychological prospect of self-enhancement, since it seemed to enable individuals to visualise a transition from a negatively evaluated national context to a positively evaluated one. Identification with a positively evaluated nation (e.g. Britain) is likely associated with higher self-esteem, given that one may thereby develop and maintain a positive self-conception (Gecas, 1982). Moreover, self-identification with Britishness seems to have particularly positive outcomes in the homeland context. Membership in this 'elite' subgroup (being a migrant to Britain) was perceived to enhance the self-esteem, self-efficacy and distinctiveness principles of identity, which rendered membership in the national group psychologically beneficial.

Despite the benefits associated with the 'elite' subgroup status in the homeland, in the British national context continuity may in fact be threatened as a result of participants' inability to reproduce their 'communities' in their host countries (cf. Ballard, 1994b). Furthermore, the belonging principle may be imperilled by the perceived absence of closeness to relevant others (Vignoles et al., 2006).

The results compellingly suggest that Britishness may be regarded as having positive outcomes for the self-efficacy principle of identity, since Britain is perceived to have provided opportunities for social mobility and vocational achievement. This provides feelings of competence and control, which are crucial dimensions of self-efficacy. Furthermore, given the observed importance of family identity and the generally collectivistic orientation of FGSA, educational and vocational opportunities for SGSA also seem to play a role in enhancing the self-efficacy principle.

Question 2(iii) How might social representations (conveyed in media representations) affect British national and ethnic identification?

The results exhibited some of the specific ways in which social representations might affect British national and ethnic modes of identification among FGSA. It has been shown that the acceptance of positive representations of Britain, prior to migration, could allow individuals to *imagine* affluence and social mobility in Britain. This in turn encouraged self-identification with the national category. Furthermore, following settlement in Britain, some participants constructed the 'British way of thinking' as superior to that of the ethnic group, which also accentuated self-identification with Britishness. This is attributed to dominant social representations of British 'superiority' among participants. Indeed, similarity in attitudes constitutes one predictor of national identification (Cinnirella, 1997b; see chapter VII). Furthermore, participants' awareness of exclusionary social representations (stemming from Islamophobia, for instance) appeared to result in 'hyper-affiliation' to the group, manifested by participants' desire to 'prove' their loyalty and attachment to Britishness. Accordingly, it is plausible to argue that awareness of particular social representations can accentuate national attachment.

Question 3(i) What is the impact of British national and ethnic identification for the psychological coherence principle of identity?

Please see research question 1iii above and question 3ii below.

Question 3(ii) How do salient self-aspects from one social identity (e.g. British national identity) affect the other social identity (e.g. ethnic identity)?

The study highlights that perceived competition between self-aspects associated with inter-connected identities can threaten psychological coherence. This is generally managed by attaching priority to the self-aspect associated with the 'core' identity and by denigrating the self-aspect associated with the 'secondary' identity. However, the results do suggest that self-aspects can be strategically drawn from identities, which are habitually considered to be secondary to the 'core' identity, in order to perform particular socio-psychological functions. More specifically, it has been argued that individuals may denigrate the practice of cohabitation with members of one's extended family (an aspect of ethnic identity) by

invoking the individualistic 'norm' of living separately from one's extended family (an aspect perceived to be associated with Britishness). This process of strategically selecting self-aspects from one's multiple identities serves to justify personal preferences (corresponding to one's individual identity) while safeguarding membership in at least some of one's relevant ingroups.

Question 3(iii) How do temporal factors (e.g. historical social representations; reflection upon life experiences) affect the management of British national and ethnic identities?
Research with FGSA clearly demonstrates the importance of temporal factors in the construction and management of British national and ethnic identities. When reflecting upon the early stages of settlement, FGSA may activate dormant social representations, which they held prior to migration to Britain, concerning the affluence perceived to be associated with Britishness and the possibilities for social mobility (see Cinnirella, 1997a). Their activation can serve to accentuate their instrumental attachment to Britishness, given that individuals may re-think the initial reasons for migration, which have developed diachronically. Furthermore, the study shows that the belonging principle can acquire psychological salience in thinking about the early years of settlement in Britain and the ethnic 'homeland'. Indeed, there were reports of overt 'otherisation' in the early stages of settlement in Britain, which served to highlight the gradual improvements in intergroup relations.

Question 3(iv) How do media representations affect the management of these identities?
The data suggest that participants perceive the British Press as a key disseminator of social representations concerning BSA and that these representations tend to be negative in nature. Furthermore, the British Press seems to be regarded in terms of a 'mouth-piece' for the WBM, suggesting that perceived discrimination in the Press is coterminous with perceived discrimination from the WBM. The ways in which media representations themselves may affect the management of British national and ethnic identities is discussed at length in chapters VI and VII.

Chapter V:

Study II

The present chapter builds upon the findings of the qualitative study on the construction and management of national and ethnic identities among FGSA, by providing insight into the qualitative accounts of identity construction and management among SGSA. This is built upon the assumption that it is necessary to consider both generational groups in order to understand identity construction and management among BSA. The first section outlines key methodological issues pertinent to the second study of the thesis, including (i) participant recruitment and sampling; (ii) construction of the interview schedule; (iii) data generation and (iv) analytical procedure. The empirical component of the chapter elucidates (i) how social representations of the first generation's early years in Britain and cognitions towards the ethnic 'homeland' might affect identity construction and management among SGSA; (ii) participants' conceptualisations of Britishness and ethno-national identity, exploring the role of emotion and behaviour in identity construction and management; (iii) participants' social representations of discrimination and 'otherisation' from the national group and the consequences for national ingroup and outgroup boundaries.

Method

This section presents information regarding the methodological issues pertinent to the second study of this thesis. It provides details regarding participant recruitment, sampling issues, the interview schedule, data generation and analytical procedure.

Participant recruitment and sampling

A sample of 12 participants was initially recruited from the South Asian community in a city in the east midlands of England. An additional sample of eight participants was recruited in the West London area. Participants were second generation South Asians (SGSA), all of whom were born in Britain between 1977 and 1990. 10 individuals were of Indian background (predominantly of Punjabi origin) and the remaining 10 were of Pakistani descent (predominantly of Mirpuri origin). There were 10 males and 10 females, with a mean age of 23.6 years (SD: 3.9). Twelve participants were university students, one had a Masters degree, and the remaining seven had obtained GCSE/A-levels. Participants' real names have been replaced with pseudonyms in this thesis.

The present study features data derived from a qualitative study conducted as part of the author's M.Sc. thesis (Jaspal, 2008). That study explored the role of language in the construction of national, ethnic and religious identities. Although the thesis focused specifically upon language and ethnic identity, there was a large quantity of unanalysed data providing insight into the construction and management of national and ethnic identities among SGSA. It was deemed advantageous to re-use these data for new analyses from a distinct analytical perspective. The M.Sc. thesis employed interpretative phenomenological analysis, while the present thesis provides a re-analysis using 'theoretically active' qualitative thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Moreover, given that the original objective of the M.Sc. was to explore language and ethnic identity, a further eight participants were recruited using a revised interview schedule, focusing uniquely upon national and ethnic identities. This is explained in more depth in the subsections below.

The study focused mainly upon the experiences of SGSA of Punjabi and Mirpuri heritage, since these two ethnic groups are most representative of the Indian and Pakistani

communities in Britain, respectively. A snowball sampling strategy was employed, with the initial participants recruited through the author's social networks.

Interview schedule

The original interview schedule from the M.Sc. study and the revised version of the interview schedule used in study II are included in the appendices of the present thesis (see appendices II and III, respectively). The interviews conducted as part of the M.Sc. study were guided by a semi-structured interview schedule consisting of eleven exploratory, open-ended questions (see appendix II). These included general questions regarding self and identity; ethnic culture; linguistic identity; meanings of linguistic terminology such as 'mother tongue'; contexts in which languages are spoken; and feelings towards these languages. Despite the particular focus upon language and identity in the M.Sc. study, the data generated in the course of the interviews actually addressed many of the research questions outlined at the end of chapter II. This may be attributed to the potency of language as a marker of (ethnic/ national) identity (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010a, 2010b). Moreover, it became clear in the M.Sc. study that national and ethnic identities are highly 'connected' in the minds of SGSA, given the prevalence of social representations (in media reporting, for instance) that point to their inconsistencies and incompatibilities (van Dijk, 1991).

Although the first series of interviews conducted for the M.Sc. study provided an accurate and insightful snapshot of national and ethnic identity construction and management among SGSA, it was deemed advantageous to construct an interview schedule, which more directly addressed the research questions outlined at the end of chapter II. Given the aim of the thesis to provide insight into a similar set of issues (namely national and ethnic identity management and construction) among *both* FGSA and SGSA, it seemed useful to employ a similar interview schedule among both groups. It was believed that this would facilitate comparison between the two groups, including points of convergence and divergence in meaning-making *vis-à-vis* similar issues. Consequently, the interview schedule from study I (see appendix I) was amended in order to explore similar issues among SGSA in study II (see appendix III). Some questions obviously did not apply to SGSA (e.g. those concerning meaning-making in the early stages of settlement in Britain, since participants were born and brought up in Britain). These questions were amended in order to tap into SGSA

participants' *perceptions* of their parents' early experiences in Britain, for instance. Furthermore, while some questions originally addressed past concerns, the revised questions focused upon present concerns. The theoretical rationale for these amendments to the interview schedule emerged from the hypothesis that identities among FGSA and SGSA may be inter-connected (see chapter II). The amendments to the original questionnaire from study I are indicated in bold font in appendix III.

As in study I, the semi-structured interview schedule was employed as a 'guide' for interviews, rather than as a structured and rigid instrument for data generation. Furthermore, to safeguard consistency between studies I and II, the initial five interviews of this study were transcribed and preliminarily analysed in order to ascertain the suitability of the interview schedule for conducting the intended research. No further probes were added to the questionnaire following the pilot work, possibly because those additions made subsequent to the first pilot study with FGSA identified important probes suitable for use in interview research with SGSA.

Data generation

As in study I, the cultural importance of 'izzat' (honour/ respect) in South Asian cultures suggested that it would be fruitful to opt for individual interviews and not focus group discussions (Breakwell, 2000; Millward, 2000). This provided a suitable context for empirical engagement with sensitive issues (e.g. arranged marriage, sexual relationships and intergenerational relations), which emerged in discussions of national and ethnic identification. For instance, in this study one participant disclosed a romantic relationship with a White British girl, which he regarded as highly controversial in his ethnic community and, thus, potentially problematic for continued membership in his ethno-cultural community. It is noteworthy that this information may play an important role in developing socio-psychological knowledge on hybridised identification but may not have been revealed in a collective focus group setting. In short, given that individual interviews allowed the possibility for participants to discuss these topics in a confidential one-to-one setting, this method of data generation was regarded as particularly fruitful (see chapter IV for further discussion of the benefits of interview-based research *vis-à-vis* focus groups in research into

identity construction and management among BSA). Moreover, the use of individual interviews in study II safeguarded consistency with study I.

Procedure of data generation

Ten participants requested to be interviewed in their own homes and six were interviewed in the researcher's home. The remaining four participants were interviewed at a youth centre. It was deemed necessary to conduct interviews in contexts, in which participants would feel most comfortable discussing potentially sensitive issues such as identity and intergroup relations. In accordance with the British Psychological Society ethical guidelines, participants were informed of the aims of the study in a detailed letter (see appendix VII) and were invited to seek clarification on any issues they might not have understood. Following full assurance of the confidentiality of their responses and their full right to withdraw from the study or to withdraw their data from the study, participants signed the form appended to the letter (see appendix VII).

All participants identified English as their 'dominant' language and, thus, interviews were conducted in this language. Interviews lasted between sixty to ninety minutes. They were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim by the researcher (see appendix V for a sample transcript).

Analytical procedure

As in study I, the qualitative data generated in the present study were analysed using a theoretically active, critical realist version variant of qualitative thematic analysis (see chapter III for a detailed discussion of this methodological approach). In order to safeguard consistency across studies I and II, there were no differences in analytical procedure between these studies. The analytical procedure followed for this study is outlined in a detailed manner in the first section of chapter IV.

The next three sections outline the key themes, which resulted from the analysis of the interviews.

Migration, 'homeland' and Britishness

This section outlines SGSA participants' representations of the first generation's early years in Britain and how participants relate to the ethnic 'homeland'. It considers the salience of particular identity principles in thinking about these social representations and how identity processes may affect identity management.

Social representations of early migration and the belonging principle

Several participants reproduced social representations of the first generation's early migration, linking them to representations of economic hardship and of ethno-racial exclusion. Crucially, these representations were also reproduced by several of the FGSA who participated in the first study. The salience of these representations among SGSA may be attributed to their desire to explain and justify their disidentification with the national category British:

> Sometimes my mum just starts crying out of nowhere and I'll ask her why she's upset and she just goes 'usi ghreeb bahut hunde si' ['we used to be really poor in India'] and then I tell her 'mum, you're in England now, so why are you crying now?' But that's the thing, things did get better financially but then there was all that racism and stuff when they came here, isn't it? It's not like they were welcomed with open arms or anything (Kiran)

Kiran exhibited acute awareness of the social representation that economic hardship was commonplace in the Subcontinent prior to her parents' migration to Britain (Ballard, 1994a). Her account identifies intergenerational communication as a primary source of these representations: 'my mum just starts crying out of nowhere'. Kiran's mother's emotional response to social representations of the economic hardship endured in the Subcontinent reinforces the first-hand accounts of migration, reported earlier in the thesis. Kiran anchors social representations of economic hardship in the Subcontinent to those of racist

discrimination in Britain. This process of anchoring allows her to conclude that the overall quality of life among FGSA was poor prior to migration and continued to be poor subsequent to migration. While the specific causes of hardship are distinct, the outcome is constructed as remaining the same, namely hardship. On the one hand, anchoring may constitute a means of constructing the extent of psychosocial hardship but, on the other, it perhaps reveals the extent to which racist discrimination is at least construed as threatening for identity (Breakwell, 1986). In short, the psychosocial repercussions of exposure to racist discrimination are construed as being comparable to those of economic hardship.

Kiran's statement that 'they were [not] welcomed with open arms' alludes to the threat to belonging. This indicates the perceived lack of acceptance allegedly manifested by the WBM towards FGSA, which would be expected to impede feelings of acceptance and inclusion. Crucially, acceptance by existing members of a group, in which one aspires to acquire membership, constitutes a source of belonging (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). It is possible that Kiran reproduces this social representation, which may threaten belonging among FGSA, in order to illustrate the perceived plight of FGSA and to exemplify the perceived intolerance of the WBM. This was illustrated in the following extract by Asif:

> They [FGSA] did all the shit jobs when they came and were just treated like rubbish, really. Not like valued members of the community or anything. It makes you kind of angry thinking about it like [...] like how can I be British if they didn't treat my parents like British people? Where's the connection? (Asif)

As exemplified by Asif's account, social representations of the social hardship endured by FGSA migrants were fairly pervasive across the sample of participants. Like Kiran, Asif reproduced the representation that FGSA were 'otherised' ('not like valued members of the community') and 'inferiorised' ('treated like rubbish') by the dominant majority. It is unlikely that the representation that the ingroup was regarded as inferior to other groups would have positive outcomes for self-esteem (Jaspal, 2011b). Asif's acceptance of the representation performs the socio-psychological function of justifying his inability to self-identify with Britishness. Thus, social representations of the racist discrimination allegedly faced by FGSA may play a role in the perceptions of Britishness among SGSA participants.

As outlined above, Asif problematises his attachment to Britishness on the basis that his parents were 'otherised' by the British. In short, the notion that his parents were 'otherised' and 'inferiorised' may inhibit his own sense of Britishness.

The contingency of SGSAs' sense of Britishness upon the experiential accounts of their parents may constitute an important explanation for the widespread conceptualisation among participants of the boundaries of Britishness along racial lines. This in turn may encourage and contribute to the social representation that inclusion within the national category British and acceptance from co-nationals are impossible for a non-White individual (Gilroy, 1987; Tizard & Phoenix, 1993). While disidentification with Britishness in this way seems counterproductive for the belonging principle, it is possible that belonging is *already* regarded as being jeopardised by racism and discrimination. Thus, with imminent threats to belonging, it is likely that other principles, which readily lend themselves to enhancement, will be prioritised by the individual. This has been referred to as principle salience (Breakwell, 1986; Jaspal and Cinnirella, in press, b).

Accordingly, the data suggest that the continuity principle plays an active role in Asif's cognitions towards his parents' and his own British national identity. Since Asif accepts the social representation that his parents were excluded from the national category British, he may find it *temporally* incongruous to lay claim to Britishness himself: 'where's the connection?' Crucially, the temporal incongruity implicates continuity, rather than the psychological coherence principle, since a unifying thread between past, present and future is lacking (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a). For instance, the past is shaped by FGSAs' accounts of racism, discrimination and exclusion, which may problematise SGSAs' ability to embrace Britishness in the present. This may induce discontinuity between past and present if FGSA and SGSA are to regard themselves as constituting the same ethno-national group. Thus, disidentification from the national category British may constitute a means of preserving a sense of temporal continuity between the FGSAs' previously reported 'otherisation' from the national category and Asif's contemporary relationship to Britishness. The strategic (dis)identification perhaps reflects a coping strategy, which falls under the domain of re-evaluating the existing content dimension of identity (Breakwell, 1986). The importance of his parents' treatment by the dominant majority in the construction of his national identity is clear; this induces strong negative emotions such as anger ('it makes you kind of angry').

This highlights the importance of considering SGSAs' social representations concerning FGSAs' treatment during the early stages of migration in the study of national identity within this particular population.

The psychological challenges associated with establishing a temporal link between social representations of FGSAs' experiences of early migration and participants' own experiences of Britishness were elucidated by the accounts of several individuals:

> Fitting together what my parents went through and told me they had to deal with and thinking about what life I have had is a challenge really [..] it is confusing, like it makes you wonder what world they lived in because suffering and money problems and racism just isn't like a reflection of what I've lived through (Sandeep)

As discussed above, the *temporal connection* between these social representations, with one set referring to FGSAs' early experiences of migration and the other denoting SGSAs' contemporary experiences of Britishness, implicates the continuity principle. Furthermore, the reconciliation of these potentially incongruous social representations concerns 'continuity across time' rather than continuity across situation. Indeed, the latter constitutes a prerequisite for the psychological coherence principle of identity (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, b). For Sandeep, the attempt to reconcile these temporally incongruous social representations can jeopardise his sense of continuity, which is exemplified by the ensuing feelings of confusion. While Asif's account elucidates the more specific repercussions for the construction of British national identity, Sandeep's account attests to some of the psychological difficulties associated with the need for a sense of temporal continuity. This is described as 'a challenge' and 'confusing', possibly because Sandeep is unable to establish a theory connecting past and present. Group schisms have been said to constitute one potential socio-psychological by-product of threats to continuity (Sani, 2005). While this might alleviate the perceived discontinuity between the FGSAs' barrier to Britishness and SGSAs' relatively easier access to Britishness, this option is not embraced possibly because ethnic group membership is of psychological significance to some participants. In short, continuity may be maintained by problematising one's own attachment to Britishness.

While social representations of FGSAs' mistreatment could induce disidentification with the national category among some participants, others employed these representations as a point of comparison in order to celebrate the advent of positive social change:

> We count ourselves really lucky because we didn't have to go through all the stuff that our parents did, like with the laws that were blatantly excluding and like racialising them and you know [...] It's a freer country now (Baljit)

Baljit employs the representation that FGSA faced discrimination and exclusion during the early stages of migration as a means of deriving a sense of self-esteem from his ingroup's relative 'luck' in contemporary Britain: 'we count ourselves lucky'. His perception of Britain in terms of 'a freer country now' possibly serves to enhance the belonging principle, since he implies that, while laws were exclusionary before, they now facilitate inclusion within the national group and acceptance from co-nationals (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). In short, this representation is employed by Baljit in order to elucidate the positive social change, which he perceives to be characteristic of contemporary British society.

The continuity principle is implicated in the process of reflecting upon the nation's past and present responses to immigration, as exemplified in Asif's account. Crucially, continuity is safeguarded through the provision of a *theory* explaining the connections between past discrimination and present acceptance. This is implicitly attributed to positive social change, which ensures that continuity remains intact. This is entirely consistent with the original thesis of IPT that 'continuity does not necessarily preclude change' (Vignoles et al., 2006, p. 310). The less conspicuous protection of the continuity principle may complement the overarching motive to maintain feelings of belonging and self-esteem in social contexts in which these principles may be especially susceptible to threat. This coheres with the argument that 'individuals may seek to enhance prioritised principles through the concurrent enhancement of other principles' (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, b, p. 16). The motive to maintain feelings of belonging was discernible in Aisha's perception of equality between the ethno-national ingroup and the WBM:

> Yeah, what's in the past is in the past I guess. The point is that we're more
> or less treated on an equal kind of level isn't it? With White people, I mean
> (Aisha)

Like Baljit, Aisha acknowledges the advent of social change, which would be expected to have implications for continuity. However, rather than providing a theory connecting past and present, the threatening aspect may be deflected from the identity structure through the intrapsychic strategy of compartmentalism. Aisha draws a boundary around 'the past' so that its implications for the present are minimised. Breakwell (1986, p. 95) highlights that, when compartmentalism is employed by the individual, the incompatibility of past and present are 'never perceived because they are never directly compared'. The compartmentalism strategy enables Aisha to focus upon the greater equality between her ethno-racial ingroup and the WBM: 'we're more or less treated on an equal kind of level'. The perceived inclusion within the national group is likely to be conducive to an enhanced level of belonging (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Moreover, feelings of self-esteem may be derived from the social representation that one's ingroup possesses higher social status. This relationship has been elucidated in empirical research using IPT and group vitality (Jaspal & Sitaridou, 2010). Like Baljit, Aisha prioritises belonging *vis-à-vis* continuity, since the past is simply not permitted to infiltrate the present.

Consonant with the thesis that the belonging principle is salient for several participants, Daljit appears to de-emphasise self-efficacy *vis-à-vis* belonging:

> When we came here, we [FGSA] basically had nothing, no power, no MPs,
> nothing. Asians were nothing, that's pretty clear, but the main point is that
> we've proved ourselves as British people too now. That's the main thing
> [...] Asians are a part of society, there's no doubt about that one (Daljit)

Daljit self-categorises primarily in terms of his ethnic group membership. His use of the collective first person pronoun 'we' is interesting; he was born in Britain and, thus, did not migrate to Britain with FGSA. However, his self-inclusion within the ethnic category aligns him with the migrant first generation. This maximises his sense of belonging within the ethnic group. Daljit's account highlights the historical vulnerability of self-efficacy within

the ethnic ingroup, since he acknowledges the lack of 'power' and, more specifically, the lack of *political* power of his ingroup during the early stages of migration. Elsewhere it has been noted that the self-efficacy principle, in particular, may be delineated temporally. Jaspal (2011a) have argued that past self-efficacy and future self-efficacy may be represented differently at the socio-psychological level. A social group may foresee a future of competence and control (high future self-efficacy), despite its history as a marginalised and powerless social group (low past self-efficacy). Thus, Daljit is able to de-emphasise self-efficacy, since future self-efficacy is not necessarily susceptible to threat.

Daljit attaches particular importance to his ethnic ingroup's 'authenticity' as 'British people'. Thus, current self-inclusion within the national ingroup and acceptance from co-nationals are emphasised *vis-à-vis* self-efficacy in the past. Daljit emphasises the social contribution of BSA: 'Asians are a part of society', which likely satisfies belonging. This somewhat defensive protection of belonging may arise from the social representation that Britishness is, in part, a racialised national category, which bars access to non-White individuals (Gilroy, 1987; Tizard & Phoenix, 1993). The benefits for belonging are manifold; Daljit self-categorises as an interchangeable exemplar within the ethnic ingroup and, simultaneously, positions his ethnic ingroup within the nation. Thus, belonging functions at the individual level (as an ethnic ingroup member), but also at the group level (as a 'legitimate' ethnic group within the British nation).

Given the general salience of belonging in relation to national and ethnic identities, some participants rejected those social representations with the potential for jeopardising the principle (Breakwell, 2001). These were perceived to be pervasive among FGSA:

> With my parents, I don't know about other people's parents, there's this silly mentality of like 'oh, we owe them [WBM] something' and 'we'd better be on our best behaviour' but that's just like we're guests here or something. This is supposed to be our country too (Shaheen)

Shaheen exhibits awareness of the social representations, pervasive among FGSA, that BSA 'owe them [WBM] something' due to their acceptance by and inclusion within British society, and that 'we'd better be on our best behaviour' to avoid being excluded from society.

The pervasiveness of these social representations among FGSA has been reported in earlier studies of national identity among BSA (Jacobson, 1997b). However, Shaheen rejects these representations by constructing them as 'this silly mentality'. This may constitute a means of enhancing belonging; she contests the representation, which problematises her claim to 'our country'. Thus, social representations, which potentially jeopardise the principle, are deflected from the identity structure (Breakwell, 2001). The assimilation-accommodation process of identity does not acknowledge the social representation as a valid addition to the identity structure. This eradicates its original potential to threaten belonging, as it obviously does among those FGSA who accept and assimilate the representation.

In order to understand the construction of national and ethnic identities, it is vital to consider participants' perceptions of the ethnic homeland. This is discussed next.

Social representations of the ethnic 'homeland'

Participants prioritise the belonging principle, especially in the context of Britishness, possibly because they foresee a future within Britain. Nonetheless, individuals generally perceived the obligation to position themselves in relation to social representations regarding their ethnic 'homeland' (Breakwell & Millward, 1995). Given the importance of the ethnic culture among many SGSA (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010a), the ethnic 'homeland' was generally constructed in positive terms:

> I'd say I'm British above all really [...] I do like going to India because it kind of makes me feel like I'm where my roots are. It's kind of a spiritual thing with my roots and my heritage, which you don't have in England obviously. But it's not home for me. I couldn't up and live there forever (Manjinder)

Although Manjinder defines herself as British, her ethnic culture does constitute an important component of the identity structure. Accordingly, as the nation 'where my roots are', India was construed in positive terms: 'I do like going to India'. In support of the predictions outlined by Jaspal and Cinnirella (in press, a), the 'homeland', as a marker of ethnic identity, may enhance continuity. More specifically, the homeland functions as a unifying thread between her heritage ('my roots') and the *contemporary* self, since it allows the self to

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connect with 'my roots and my heritage'. Moreover, the connection with the ethnic heritage seems to facilitate an exploration of one's 'roots'. In short, India may be understood as a social representation, which facilitates identification with one's 'essence' beyond the contemporary 'self' (Hall, 1990; Malkki, 1992). Crucially, such a connection with one's 'roots' is construed as being impossible in England. Accordingly, it is argued that social representations of the homeland perform unique functions for the continuity principle, which England, as a marker of the contemporary and future 'selves', does not perform. It is implied that England is 'home', which reiterates the thesis that the nation constitutes a marker of contemporary (British) national identity. Crucially, India is not perceived as 'home' for Manjinder who does not envisage permanent residence in India (LaBrack, 1989).

For some participants, the homeland could perform positive functions for the belonging principle:

> Ahmed: For me, it's a holiday but more emotional than that because I'm with people who are like me in some ways. They speak my mother tongue, our skin is the same colour. It's one place where you can kind of feel like one of the crowd, like properly but not completely.

> Interviewer: Why is that?

> Ahmed: Well, you know, you don't speak Punjabi as well as them so you're an outsider as soon as you open your mouth.

It is implied that Britain constitutes 'home' for Ahmed, while his visit to Pakistan is constructed in terms of 'a holiday'. However, holidays to Pakistan are said to evoke positive emotions due to their facilitation of a collective identity with 'people who are like me in some ways'. Ahmed clearly regards specific self-aspects such as the 'mother tongue' and skin colour as being conducive to the collective ethno-racial identity. Crucially, his positive evaluation of the Pakistani national context (due to its facilitation of a strong ethno-racial identity) suggests that belonging is prioritised *vis-à-vis* distinctiveness. Indeed, it has been observed that visits to the homeland may enhance feelings of distinctiveness, since individuals may emphasise those self-aspects, which are regarded as being positively

distinctive (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010a). However, Ahmed's desire to 'feel like one of the crowd', which is implicitly constructed as being impossible in the British national context, attests to the lesser priority attached to distinctiveness *vis-à-vis* belonging.

SGSA may perceive racism as a barrier to Britishness (Jacobson, 1997a; Vadher & Barrett, 2009). This may explain the latency of the distinctiveness principle, since racist discrimination and 'otherisation' in fact constitute extreme forms of negative distinctiveness. Clearly, 'otherisation' and discrimination are frequently grounded in the perceived distinctiveness of a given individual or group. Given that this constitutes an example of negative distinctiveness, individuals may de-emphasise distinctiveness principle and focus their attention upon the belonging principle of identity. Given the acknowledged agency of the individual in constructing identity, it is reasonable to suggest that the individual will seek to frequent and to 'utilise' those social contexts, which enhance the principled operation of identity processes (Breakwell, 2010). This may explain Ahmed's positive evaluation of the Pakistani national context.

Although the belonging principle may be enhanced through visits to Pakistan and through association 'with people who are like me', Ahmed continues to perceive barriers to belonging even in Pakistan. More specifically, his inability to speak Punjabi 'as well as them' is perceived as potentially attributing to him outgroup membership. Indeed, it has been observed that the lack of proficiency in the HL can pose threats to the 'authenticity' of one's ethnic identity, particularly in the social context of the homeland (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010a). Crucially, this threat to identity is largely contingent upon social representations, prevalent within a given social context. Ahmed's account suggests that fluency in the HL constitutes a prerequisite for acceptance from co-members of the ethnic group and inclusion. Perceived 'otherisation' from those contexts (e.g. in ethnic settings), in which belonging is in fact expected to be enhanced (Jaspal, 2011b), will be acutely threatening for identity. This may be conducive to feelings of 'double rejection', outlined earlier in the thesis.

Conversely, some participants attributed the emergence of their British national 'consciousness' to first-hand contact with the homeland, primarily because this provided a necessary point of comparison:

I never thought about being British until I've grown up a bit and visited Pakistan properly. You see how much being British gives you and how much it's worth, how successful you can be. Being Pakistani is one part of me, like an imaginary kind of type, but being British is real life (Yasmin)

Yasmin indicates that her visits to Pakistan sensitised her to the instrumental benefits of Britishness: 'you see how much being British gives you and how much it's worth' (Kelman, 1997). Crucially, it is through comparisons between Pakistan and Britain that Yasmin acquires awareness of these instrumental benefits (see Harris, 2006). The instrumental benefits associated with Britishness could be interpreted as benefiting the self-efficacy principle, since Britishness is regarded as being conducive to success and empowerment. More specifically, Britishness is perceived as providing individuals with greater 'competence and control' over their lives (Breakwell, 1993, p. 205). Consequently, Britishness is represented cognitively as having positive outcomes for identity. However, Yasmin also acknowledges the role of 'being Pakistani' within the identity structure; this self-aspect is perceived as an 'imaginary' part of the self *vis-à-vis* the 'real life' implications of Britishness. In her account, Yasmin highlights the 'symbolic' functions performed by Pakistani identity *vis-à-vis* the 'realistic' functions performed by Britishness (LaBrack, 1989). The previous section identifies some of the 'symbolic' functions performed for identity, such as facilitating a psychological 'reconnection' with the ethnic group's past and traditions with benefits for the continuity principle (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, b). Moreover, this has overlap with the aforementioned observation that FGSA can attribute an instrumental meaning to Britain and a more sentimental meaning to the homeland.

The attribution of 'real' and 'imaginary' characteristics to national and ethnic identities, respectively, may constitute a strategy of enhancing psychological coherence, since individuals are thereby able to position self-aspects coherently within the identity structure. Furthermore, each identity is attributed distinct 'functions' for the identity structure, so that they are construed not as being in direct competition with one another but rather as contributing to the collective goal of identity enhancement, albeit in distinct ways. It has been demonstrated that the evaluation process plays an important role in attributing positive and negative meanings to potentially conflictual self-aspects in order to reconcile

them (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a). Here, the attribution of 'real' and 'imaginary' characteristics pertains to the content dimension of identity. This demonstrates that both the content and value dimensions of identity are implicated in safeguarding psychological coherence. Accordingly, some participants perceived Britain and the homeland as performing distinct functions in their lives:

> Look, if I go on holiday or somewhere to enjoy myself it isn't India that I'll go to. That is for the family, it's to make my mum happy, it's to see my family. You know, it's my roots [...] But I'd sooner enjoy myself with my friends somewhere in England or Europe. It's a different thing. England is my future, India is my heritage (Tanvir)

Crucially, visits to India are not perceived as holidays but rather as a means of reconnecting with 'my heritage', as exemplified above. This is reinforced in his construction of India as 'my roots'. Conversely, leisure and holiday-making are associated with 'England or Europe'; travelling within these geographical locations are represented as a source of enjoyment. A temporal construction, whereby England is represented as 'my future' and India as 'my heritage', highlights the differential functions of the national and ethnic contexts for identity. While England is perceived as the future, which, as discussed above, provides individuals with feelings of self-efficacy due to the instrumental benefits associated with Britishness, India allows for individuals' re-connection with their heritage, past and traditions.

While the two self-aspects (Britain and India) likely enhance self-efficacy and continuity, respectively, which is consonant with the data presented above, the psychological coherence principle may be enhanced through the delineation of social contexts associated with both self-aspects and through the identification and psychological emphasis of the differential functions performed by these national contexts. For instance, Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010a) have argued that psychological coherence may be threatened when self-aspects, norms and values associated with two or more identities are perceived by the individual as being in conflict. However, such conflict is eschewed through the delineation and definition of 'identity functionality'. This is comparable to the intrapsychic strategy of compartmentalism (Breakwell, 1986). While compartmentalism was originally defined as

'drawing a strict boundary around the dissatisfying addition to the identity structure' (Breakwell, 1986, p. 95), the strategy described in the present data entails the allocation of identity functionality and the clear delineation of the functions for identity processes. The 'strict boundary' is employed to delineate the self-aspects in terms of their identity functionality.

The psychological coherence is jeopardised in individuals' thinking in relation to the ethnic and national contexts, possibly because for some individuals the identity functionality was not clearly defined and delineated:

> I feel a bit torn actually. Like things seem to fit together in Pakistan and it's worth a lot to my parents, they really like being there and spending time with the family, but it's not the same for me really is it? I do feel a lot more British when I'm out there (Waqas)

> They really feel at home over there [...] it's like they fit back into life over there with all the people and that just isn't me (Mohammed)

The threat to psychological coherence is most conspicuously observable in Waqas' feelings of being 'a bit torn'. As in Tanvir's account, for Waqas, the homeland possesses an important meaning for identity due to its perceived social worth for the first generation. Thus, his relationship with his parents plays an important mediating role in his meaning-making *vis-à-vis* Pakistan. However, from the perspective of his individual identity, Pakistan does not possess an equal level of socio-psychological worth. The threat to psychological coherence possibly ensues from his perception of incompatibility between the meanings perceived to be attached to the homeland by FGSA and his own subjective meaning-making *vis-à-vis* the 'homeland'. There is a perceived need to reconcile these differential meanings, possibly because unity between his own and his parents' meaning-making is considered desirable. This has overlap with the aforementioned notion that family identity can be central to FGSA. Thus, some concurrence in meaning-making *vis-à-vis* the homeland may be perceived as beneficial for the identity structure.

The data clearly elucidated the potential repercussions of social representations regarding the homeland for identity processes. As suggested by the above-cited accounts

from Waqas and Mohammed, comparisons between the homeland and Britain could give rise to dilemmatic thinking *vis-à-vis* identity. However, for others, comparisons between the two national contexts were construed as a key to understanding the identity functionality of the homeland and Britain:

> Kiran: When I went to India it was quite a realisation actually that I wouldn't be able to do half of the things that I've done in my life if I was in India [...] It was a wake-up call for me. It's something my parents have been telling me for ages, you know, the whole 'India was shit, we were nobodies and now we are something in England' (laughs) It is true though.

> Interviewer: How does that make you feel though, comparing the two?

> Kiran: You mean, India and England? Well, for starters, I feel like I actually can achieve what I want to here in a fair kind of way, whereas in India it'd be bribery and that [...] It's a kind of empowering feeling, I guess.

Kiran's account suggests that the ethnic homeland provides a point of comparison for life in Britain. This point of comparison elucidates the benefits of life in Britain for self-efficacy, since she perceives the possibility for self-enhancement and achievement in Britain *vis-à-vis* the struggles associated with life in India. Kiran anchors hegemonic social representations of life in India (see also Harris, 2006) to those disseminated and encouraged by her parents, namely that 'we were nobodies [in India]' (Moscovici, 1988). Indeed, it has been argued elsewhere that individuals may attempt to 'upgrade' emancipated social representation (those associated with social subgroups) to hegemonic representations through the process of anchoring these representations to one another (Jaspal & Yampolsky, 2011). In this way, representations acquire greater credibility and may, thus, be employed more effectively in argumentation. Consequently, the social representation that India is threatening for self-efficacy, since it impedes success and achievement, comes to constitute a social reality for Kiran.

The comparison of Britain and India provides Kiran with 'an empowering feeling', enhancing feelings of competence and control. This can be inferred from her observation of

fairness in British society *vis-à-vis* the perception of widespread bribery in the homeland. This reflects an instrumental attachment to the nation, since it is perceived to meet the practical and economic needs and interests of the individual (Kelman, 1997). The data suggest a link between instrumental forms of national identification and self-efficacy, since the perception that one's practical and economic needs are served by the nation enhance feelings of competence and control over one's life. It is crucial to emphasise that, for Kiran, her instrumental national attachment and the ensuing benefits for self-efficacy became salient subsequent to her first experience in the homeland, which is described as 'a realisation' and 'a wake-up call' (see Harris, 2006).

This first-hand experience of the homeland may be beneficial for identity. While Harris (2006) has noted that young SGSA may come to perceive greater attachment to Britain upon observing the 'third world' living conditions pervasive in the Subcontinent, the present data make the more specific suggestion that exposure to social representations of widespread corruption and bribery in the Subcontinent may sensitise individuals to the instrumental benefits of life in Britain, thereby accentuating self-efficacy. Given the positive outcomes for self-efficacy, this may provide a psychological incentive for greater attachment and affiliation to Britain (and possibly, Britishness). Thus, it is not uniquely the material living conditions themselves, which shape perceptions and identification, but rather the *comparison* which individuals tend to draw between living conditions in the homeland and Britain. These comparisons are anchored to social representations of hardship, encouraged and disseminated in the accounts of FGSA, with positive outcomes for self-efficacy. This is useful in elucidating the specific functions performed by social representations of the homeland for specific identity principles. Moreover, it demonstrates how both first-hand contact with the homeland and exposure to social representations regarding the homeland can impact other components within the identity structure, such as Britishness.

SUMMARY

The belonging principle acquires psychological salience in thinking about the early years of settlement in Britain and the ethnic 'homeland' *(research question 3iii)*. However, participants are motivated to safeguard continuity between the early experiences of FGSA and their own attachment to Britishness. This can be problematic since the experiences of

FGSA are largely characterised by 'otherisation' and discrimination on the basis of ethno-racial background. Their strong sense of ethnic identity renders the continuity principle salient, requiring them to position themselves in relation to the social representations of hardship disseminated by FGSA *(research question 3iii)*. This may result in disidentification from Britishness and accentuation of ethnic identification. This is likely to be pervasive among those individuals generally unable to derive appropriate levels of the identity principles from Britishness. Conversely, individuals with greater scope for identity enhancement may employ a variant of the compartmentalism strategy in order to delineate past and present through a 'celebration' of positive social change. This allows for continued ethnic identification and British national attachment *(research question 3i)*. Indeed, Jaspal (2011a) has argued that (national) continuity may be safeguarded by focusing upon a particular historical angle (e.g. positive social change) and by attenuating social representations of overt difference *(research question 3iii)*.

FGSAs' accounts of hardship in the homeland play an important role in the construction of British national identity among SGSA *(research question 2iii)*. Consistent with theorising regarding ethnic identification, it is likely that contact with the homeland facilitates a psychological 're-connection' with the history and traditions associated with ethnic identity (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). From the perspective of continuity, contact with the homeland is important. This highlights the extent to which perceived 'otherisation' from the homeland may threaten identity among SGSA. Indeed, it was observed that 'crucial' self-aspects (e.g. knowledge of HL) could be conducive to threatened belonging *(research question 2i)*. Crucially, travel to the Subcontinent facilitates the development and establishment of social representations regarding living conditions. These representations may 'validate' representations of hardship disseminated and encouraged by FGSA. This essentially provides a point of comparison for some participants, who personalise social representations of enhanced self-efficacy in Britain, thereby developing a stronger instrumental attachment to Britain (see Harris, 2006) *(research question 3iii)*. The observed relationships between the 'homeland' and the principles of identity provide insight into participants' management of British national and ethnic identities. It is argued that the strategy of 'identity functionality' may delineate the functions of the two identities (and their

associated self-aspects), facilitating their cohesive positioning within the identity structure *(research question 1iii)*.

The present section outlines the potential benefits associated with temporal delineation of the self-efficacy principle in terms of past and present/ future, particularly in the context of national and ethnic identification (see also Jaspal, 2011a).

The next section explores Britishness in relation to 'otherisation' and coping.

Britishness, 'otherisation' and coping

This section provides insights into participants' social representations of discrimination and 'otherisation' from the national group and the ingroup/ outgroup boundaries in relation to national group membership. Moreover, it outlines the strategies employed by individuals in order to cope with threats associated with 'otherisation'.

Social representations of discrimination and 'otherisation'

The present study was partly concerned with individuals' relations with co-nationals and particularly the WBM. Participants highlighted their collective experiences of discrimination from the WBM on the basis of ethno-racial 'Otherness'. Perceived discrimination was cited by participants as a means of explicating their disidentification with the national category British. More specifically, individuals highlighted the futility of self-identification with a national group, which they regarded as 'otherising' them:

> I don't know, I suppose you can call me British. You just know that White people think you're less British than your average White person so it makes you think if they don't think you are British, how can you be? (Haroon)

Haroon reluctantly lays claim to membership in the national group, possibly due to the *civic* social representation that Britishness is contingent upon possession of a British passport (Modood, 2005): 'I suppose you can call me British'. Haroon's reluctant self-identification in this way arises from his acceptance of the social representation that 'White people think you're less British than your average White person'. The notion of being regarded as 'less British' may evoke representations of decreased 'authenticity' as a national ingroup member, which are allegedly encouraged and disseminated by (White) co-nationals. Indeed, Jaspal and Cinnirella (in press, a) have argued that ethnic and national identities must be 'validated' by other group members. This is a fundamentally reciprocal process, since prospective group members must themselves *perceive* their social identities as being 'validated' by

'established' group members. White Britons are perceived to be 'established' group members from whom acceptance is necessary for affiliation in the national group.

Social representations of the WBM's problematisation of Britishness among BSA were fairly pervasive within this sample of participants:

> The media doesn't exactly make out that we're British. First of all they always mention that it was a Pakistani or Indian guy that are causing trouble and whatever. Not British or anything, just like a Pakistani, so it is obvious that they're making a difference. You stand out from the rest if you're an Asian basically (Asif)

Cinnirella (2008) noted that their sample of BSA participants generally perceived the British Press as disseminating negative social representations of ethnic minorities. Similarly, Asif regards the media as problematising and contesting the Britishness of his ethnic ingroup, primarily through their perceived tendency to invoke and render salient the ethno-racial background of perpetrators of crime or 'trouble'. Indeed, this tendency has been observed in research into British media representations of ethnic minorities such as asylum seekers and Muslims (Greer & Jewkes, 2005). Asif's account suggests that BSA are 'otherised' when they are implicated in negative social actions, which he regards as imbuing BSA with negative distinctiveness. This can be threatening for identity (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000). Given his implicit self-categorisation as a BSA, he would be likely to generalise this attribution of negative distinctiveness to his sense of self, resulting in potential threats to self-esteem and belonging. The threat to belonging is observable in Asif's assertion that the superordinate British national identity is downplayed or ignored by the media, which results in the 'otherisation' of BSA from British society. The process of 'otherisation' is threatening for belonging, provided that the 'otherised' individual or group seeks to establish self-inclusion within the 'otherising' group.

In the present context, the notion that 'you stand out from the rest if you're an Asian' is not constructed in positive terms, which may be attributed to Asif's prioritisation of belonging *vis-à-vis* distinctiveness (see also Brewer, 1991). It is reiterated that negative media representations and the resultant negative distinctiveness attributed to BSA may discourage some individuals to derive a positive identity on the basis of the distinctiveness

principle. For Asif, the prototypical source of distinctiveness is their negative 'otherness' to the WBM, such as the media's construction of BSAs' criminality. Thus, it is unsurprising that identity enhancement in terms of distinctiveness is eschewed:

> I would describe myself as British Asian, yeah, but when White people do
> it, it feels like they are making a difference. Why that difference? It's got to
> be because you are less British than them. [...] It's pretty annoying really
> (Mohammed)

Mohammed himself employs the hyphenated category 'British-Asian' in defining his ethno-national identity. However, he regards the WBM's use of this category as 'evidence' of their discrimination against and exclusion of BSA. This is consistent with the observation that FGSA may regard hyphenation as indicative of 'otherisation' from the WBM. This elucidates the discrepancy between the feelings evoked by hyphenated *self*-definition and those evoked by *external* hyphenated categorisation *by outgroups*. More specifically, outgroup use of hyphenated categories is perceived as their attempt to *differentiate* between Britons and those who are 'less British than them'. Mohammed anchors this interpretation of outgroup use of the hyphenated category to the social representation that BSA are 'less British', which suggests that there is some suspicion surrounding the WBM's acceptance of BSA (and indeed other ethnic minorities) within British society (Gilroy, 1987). The discrepancy in self-categorisation and external categorisation illustrates the multiple ways in which distinctiveness can be achieved. Hyphenated self-categorisation may induce positive distinctiveness, while external hyphenated categorisation may rouse suspicion among BSA, engendering negative distinctiveness. Accordingly, Mohammed construes the perceived tendency of the outgroup to differentiate BSA in negative terms: 'it's pretty annoying really'. The perception of negative distinctiveness can threaten belonging, since negative distinctiveness is regarded as inducing 'otherisation'.

    The present data suggest that a threatened principle may become psychologically salient in contexts of 'social complaint'. This was alluded to earlier in the thesis. 'Social complaint' refers to a rhetorical accentuation of the threatening stimulus, despite its threatening nature, as a means of sensitising others to its existence and thereby encouraging a

collective strategy for alleviating threat. This is akin to the intergroup strategy of group mobilisation outlined in IPT (Breakwell, 1986). This 'call' to banish the threat collectively was observable in the following account, for instance:

> If I'm with a group of White people, you know I need at least one Asian around. Otherwise you know you'll feel left out and to be honest with you I am sick of that [...] I've had that all my life really, at school, everywhere. It shouldn't be like that, should it? Things can change if we do something about it (Abdul)

Abdul's observation that he frequently feels excluded by the WBM indicates that the belonging principle is threatened, suggested by his assertion that 'I am sick of that'. However, Abdul perceives scope in the amelioration of the social 'status quo' ('things can change'), provided one takes an active role in encouraging positive social change ('if we do something about it'). Crucially, 'social complaints' of this kind could be regarded in terms of a strategy for enhancing identity processes, since the primary aim, in this case at least, is to induce social change in ways which might facilitate a sense of belonging (Jaspal, 2011a). More specifically, Abdul highlights the 'otherisation' of BSA in order to eradicate this social problem, which, indirectly at least, would have positive outcomes for belonging. This argument is entirely consistent with the IPT prediction that those principles, which lend themselves readily to enhancement, are prioritised by the individual *vis-à-vis* those principles, which are subject to threat (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, b). Indeed, 'social complaint' means that the threatened individual perceives scope for positive social change which will ameliorate the principled operation of identity processes.

Crucially, the desire to induce positive social change and, thus, to enhance belonging is embedded within the 'social complaint' constructed by Abdul. In essence, these principles are regarded by the individual as lending themselves to enhancement, albeit in an indirect manner. The socio-psychological incentive of banishing identity threat motivates individuals and groups to engage in 'social complaint' (Jaspal, 2011a). However, these data demonstrate the psychological 'risks' which social actors are willing to undertake in order to optimise identity processes. This is coterminous with the central understanding of IPT that 'the person has agency in creating identity' (Breakwell, 2010, p. 5). This constitutes a potentially risky

strategy, since, in its capacity as a psychologically *salient* principle, it may pose threats to the identity structure, particularly if the strategy of 'social complaint' is not deemed to be successful. This was illustrated succinctly in Baljit's account:

> You can moan about not being left out, like when I was at school, I was
> basically called a 'paki' and told that I smell like curry (laughs). Sounds
> silly now but it was a nightmare at the time and the teachers made a point to
> the racist kids and they'd just deny it, so where does that get you? (Yasmin)

Yasmin was one of the few participants who highlighted the perceived *futility* of 'social complaints' by describing her experiences of racist 'otherisation' and derogation from outgroups, both of which would be expected to threaten belonging. Indeed, the threat to belonging is evidenced by her observation of 'being left out', as well as its description in terms of 'a nightmare'. The negative impact for psychological well-being is evident. Crucially, the negativity of this experience is exacerbated by the perceived futility of attempting to ameliorate the status quo; 'they'd [racist kids] just deny it, so where does that get you?' For some participants, threats to belonging in social contexts dominated by the WBM, such as the school environment, were regarded as perpetual. Moreover, attempts to ameliorate the status quo were constructed as fruitless. The belonging principle is made salient for Yasmin, given her emphasis of the experience of 'being left out'. Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that her 'social complaint' constitutes a means of ameliorating her threatening position, although this was ultimately regarded as unsuccessful. In short, 'social complaints' may be regarded as a coping strategy, which are likely to be more effective than short-term strategies such as denial or isolation, although its success is by no means guaranteed.

On the other hand, participants highlighted some of the ways in which the belonging principle may be jeopardised in social contexts dominated by ethnic ingroup members:

> It's a kind of struggle because you speak your home language, when it suits,
> go to the Mosque and you're accepted by Asians but then you step into your
> job and mix with other people and they reject you. Sometimes even Asians
> tell you you're a coconut if you speak Urdu badly or whatever [...] It's hard

to keep up with, confusing and you just wonder what to do to be accepted

all round (Mohammed)

Acceptance from ethnic group members and inclusion within the ethnic ingroup may be maintained and enhanced provided that prospective group members possess those self-aspects, which are socially regarded as being 'crucial' for group membership (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). Mohammed perceives knowledge of the HL as crucial for group membership, which is coterminous with the finding that (prospective) group members who are perceived as lacking knowledge of the HL may, similarly, be regarded as lacking 'authenticity' (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010a). In short, dominant social representations associated with the social identity specify the self-aspects, which are necessary for inclusion and acceptance, without which one may be regarded as an ingroup 'Black Sheep' (Marques, Yzerbyt & Leyens, 1988). Mohammed's account suggests that ingroup 'Black Sheep' may be ascribed the negative and derogatory category 'coconut', which refers to the notion that one is 'brown on the outside but white on the inside', as described by one participant in Jaspal and Coyle's (2010a) study. In essence, this constitutes a strategy of 'otherising' those 'who speak Urdu [the HL] badly'. The observation that one is positioned as an ingroup 'Black Sheep' is unlikely to be conducive to a sense of belonging. This may be particularly acute in contexts in which the principal 'othering' strategy constitutes the ascription of a derogatory category such as 'coconut', which evokes social representations of 'inauthenticity'. Consequently, it is reasonable to assume that BSA may be motivated to maintain self-aspects such as the HL, which are conducive to a sense of belonging within the ethnic group. Moreover, this is coterminous with the hypothesis that identification with one's ethnic ingroup will benefit belonging.

On the other hand, Mohammed highlights the motive for belonging within non-ethnic social contexts, such as in the work environment ('when you step into your job and mix with other people'), that is, among ethnic outgroup members. Strategies for enhancing belonging among ethnic ingroup members may not be functional among ethnic outgroup members, since use of one self-aspect (the HL) has differential functions for identity in distinct social contexts. Mohammed is acutely aware of dominant social representations regarding 'appropriate' linguistic behaviour in both contexts. The central point here is that some

individuals may perceive difficulties in making transitions between distinct social contexts, given the perceived need to 'keep up with' differential social representations. This finding challenges current sociological work on hybridity and automatic 'code-switching', which are frequently constructed as being pervasive among BSA (Hall, 2002; Harris, 2006; Kalra & Kalra, 1996). Crucially, it is the contradictory nature of these social representations, from the perspective of BSA, which renders transitions between distinct social contexts potentially threatening for the psychological coherence principle. The pervasive motivation 'to be accepted all round' concerns the belonging principle, but the contradictory strategies of achieving this desirable end-state for identity seems to jeopardise psychological coherence. Mohammed notes that 'it's hard to keep up with', which refers to the constant transitions between 'ethnic' and 'national' social contexts and thus between relevant social representations associated with either context. Moreover, a psychological state of confusion may be induced by these frequent transitions. IPT elucidates the ways, in which identity may be threatened in attempting to manage multiple identities and the dominant social representations associated with either identity, which is largely ignored by contemporary sociological accounts of identification processes among BSA (see Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a).

The present data suggest that differential language norms operating in distinct social contexts may pose threats to psychological coherence given that, in order to safeguard belonging in distinct social contexts, one must maintain both sets of norms within the identity structure. Indeed, it is well-known that language use can play an important role in the construction of ethnic, national and religious identities among many BSA (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010a). This may have profound consequences for national and religious identities:

> Asmah: Being a Muslim, Sikh, Hindu or even a Christian is not popular with a lot of my White friends or British people generally I reckon, because it's seen as a kind of craze or backwardness so it is a bit embarrassing sometimes to say I'm a Muslim. Being British isn't really about religion [...] Try telling your family or another Muslim that you are not a Muslim and they treat you like you've got the plague.

> Interviewer: Do you not feel very Muslim?

Asmah: I do, but I just mean that you are born Muslim so you can't choose and with my White friends I prefer not to be a Muslim because you do get treated differently so it's a tough thing. So I generally like I prefer to just play it safe and call myself an Asian in public, sad as it is.

Asmah perceives religious group membership as being incompatible with Britishness, due to the social representation that 'being British isn't really about religion' (cf. Bradley, 2008). Furthermore, she perceives the prevalence of negative representations of religion as 'a kind of craze or backwardness' within British society, which induces a certain reluctance to disclose her religious identity. Given Asmah's awareness of negative social representations surrounding religious identity and particularly Muslim identity, the disclosure of her Muslim identity within 'British' social contexts could pose threats to the self-esteem and the belonging principles of identity. The threat to belonging may arise from the perceived risk of 'otherisation' and excessive distinctive from others, jeopardising what Brewer has referred to as 'optimal distinctiveness' (Brewer, 1991). Furthermore, the threat to self-esteem may arise from the inability to derive a positive self-conception on the basis of her religious group membership (Gecas, 1982).

Consequently, Asmah activates strategies for minimising the risk of identity threat through strategic self-categorisation, which enables her to disclose her ethnic identity while concealing her religious identity. In line with the prediction that individuals will engage in strategic self-categorisation in order to deflect threats to identity (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a), Asmah reports her preference 'to just play it safe and call myself an Asian in public'. It is noteworthy that other participants (e.g. Mohammed, above) self-identified in similar terms, in order to protect identity. Asmah's identification with the superordinate ethno-racial category 'Asian' allows for some ambiguity regarding her religious background, since it encompasses Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. This protects her from the attribution of negative characteristics (possibly due to Islamophobic social representations) from outgroup members. Conversely, many non-Muslim participants may eschew the superordinate ethno-racial category in order to minimise the risk of being regarded as Muslim (data presented below). Self-categorisation in terms of more specific ethno-religious identities was regarded

by some individuals as constituting a 'safer' identity option in perceived Islamophobic social contexts.

Threats to psychological coherence may arise in individuals' attempts to manage their national and religious identities due to the perception of their incompatibility. While Asmah expresses a preference to conceal her religious identity in 'British' social contexts, the possibility of disidentification with her religious group is discarded. She regards religious identity as a key component of her ethno-religious group; disidentification with religious identity is perceived as being conducive to 'otherisation' from ethno-religious ingroup members, including family members. This could threaten belonging. The importance of religious identity within the ethno-religious group is highlighted in Asmah's hyperbolic observation that disidentification with the religious group would result in one's treatment as if 'you've got the plague'. The central issue of concern is not the extent to which Asmah self-identifies as a religious ingroup member, but rather her awareness of divergent social representations associated with her 'national' ingroup consisting of unreligious 'white friends' and those associated with her ethno-religious ingroup. The psychological coherence principle would require the reconciliation of social representations associated with social groups and identities, which are regarded as being inter-connected.

The second section of this chapter explores cognitions towards recent migrants to Britain and their role in the construction and management of national and ethnic identities.

British South Asians and recent migrants

Participants expressed awareness of representations of discrimination against ethnic *outgroups* (such as recent migrants from Poland, gypsies and asylum seekers). Derogation against ethnic outgroups was grounded in representations of negative social change in their city:

> Interviewer: How about Derby? Do you think that's changing much or has it changed much over time, demographically speaking?
>
> Ahmed: You mean with immigrants here and that? Normanton has become shit basically [..] It used to be a safe area but now look at the place. It's mainly Polish people who have opened shops and are hanging around the

area. The asylum seekers from Kurdistan are taking over on Normanton Road. It's a horrible place since they've come here, I'm sorry but it's what I think.

The Normanton area of Derby, in which BSA continue to constitute a large community, is described as 'shit' and 'a horrible place'. This is attributed to immigrants' commercial presence in Normanton ('people who have opened shops'), their perceived anti-social behaviour ('hanging around the area') and their perceived social hegemony ('[asylum seekers] are taking over') to which the social 'deterioration' of the area is attributed. These representations have been observed in analyses of the British Press, which incidentally constitutes a primary channel of societal information (Pearce & Stockdale, 2009; van Dijk, 1991). Participants constructed some immigrant ethnic outgroups as 'Other' to the national ingroup, by highlighting their negative contribution to the Normanton area. He suggests that the nation is being degraded by their presence. It was interesting to observe the reproduction of xenophobic social representations among a group of individuals whose parents would also be considered immigrants to Britain. Theories of (social) identity highlight the motive of intergroup differentiation and outgroup derogation, which, collectively, lead to enhanced self-esteem and a positive sense of distinctiveness (Breakwell, 1986; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). By highlighting the 'otherness' of these immigrant groups and by negativising their behaviour, individuals may, conversely, be able to perceive and to construct their own ethnic ingroup in relatively positive terms. 'Their' actions are deplorable, while 'ours' are favourable (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b). Social identity theorists refer to this intergroup process as downward comparison (Wills, 1981). While this may explain the identity functions of outgroup derogation in this context, there was a need to explore the possible origins of such xenophobic social representations. The media constitutes a major source of these representations:

Firstly I can see what's going off on the streets, they are into drugs and prostitution and even stabbings [...] You pick up any newspaper and you'll see what these guys are doing to our area and our country. Them with our benefits and their big families. It's in your face (Ahmed)

On the one hand, Ahmed reports having observed, in a first-hand manner, social change 'on the streets'. Immigrants in Derby are constructed as being 'into drugs and prostitution and even stabbings'. These social representations are 'strengthened' rhetorically through their anchoring to media representations, which indicate 'what these guys are doing'. Thus, first-hand experience and media representations are entwined in order to legitimise this particular version of events. This is analogous to the aforementioned strategy of upgrading emancipated representations to hegemonic representations through the process of anchoring. The primary aim is to enhance credibility. Media representations constitute the source of these negative social representations concerning immigrants. Indeed, analyses of media reporting of immigrants to Britain highlight the overuse of social representations regarding the usurpation of ingroup resources ('benefits') and the relatively larger families of immigrants ('their big families') (van Dijk, 1991).

Ahmed constructs the 'benefits', which immigrants allegedly usurp, as '*our* benefits'. In short, he lays claim to the collective resources of the nation, which suggests self-inclusion within the national group, thereby legitimising his claim to these resources. This perhaps highlights the relative salience of national identity *vis-à-vis* ethnic identity in discussions of immigrant ethnic outgroups such as Poles and Kurdish asylum seekers. It has been argued that distinctiveness from outgroups is essential in the construction of national identity (Triandafyllidou, 2001), which in turn enhances the sense of solidarity and 'oneness' underlying national identity. Thus, the distinctiveness and belonging principles are clearly in operation; distinctiveness might be regarded as a means of safeguarding belonging. This process was further evidenced in Mohammed's account:

> I reckon that if you don't have a right to be here, like if you don't have a
> British passport or the British citizenship, you should get chucked out. Like
> we are British, forget the colour of skin, but we are British [...] All you see
> in Derby nowadays are gypsies. I mean, who even invited them? It's not as
> if they are needed by the economy or anything.

Like Ahmed, Mohammed derogates immigrant ethnic outgroups: in this particular context, gypsies. They are constructed as being 'uninvited' and unnecessary for the economy, which leads to the conclusion that they 'should get chucked out'. Crucially, he reproduces the

frequent media representation that immigration is only socially desirable if there is an economic need for immigrants (Pearce & Stockdale, 2009). Indeed, use of this social representation enables him to conclude that their presence in Britain is illegitimate. In short, these immigrants are perceived as having no 'right' to be in Britain. It may be that social representations of self-segregation among ethnic minorities (and particularly Muslims) may motivate individuals to take a 'stance' on national affairs in order to demonstrate their active engagement with the nation. One means of doing this may be to concur with those social representations, which individuals perceive to be pervasive and hegemonic among the WBM. This might be seen as a means of facilitating acceptance from co-nationals, enhancing the belonging principle.

The relative salience of national identity *vis-à-vis* ethnic identity in contexts of immigrant ethnic outgroup derogation was most compellingly evidenced by Mohammed's account. As stated above, he lays claim to Britishness and includes himself within the nation ('we are British'). His use of the collective first personal pronoun, coupled with his reproduction of the social representation of *civic* British national identity ('forget the colour of skin') exemplifies his inclusion of his ethnic group within an inclusive national group. It is reasonable to conclude that, in this context, ethnic identity becomes a relatively less salient component of the identity structure. When regarded within the context of perceived Islamophobic prejudice and 'otherisation', as discussed earlier in this chapter, outgroup derogation may constitute a means of self-inclusion within the national group.

This strategy of enhancing belonging is likely to be more successful if ethnic identity, which is frequently constructed as a 'barrier' to inclusion in the group, is downgraded *vis-à-vis* national identity. Moreover, in order to reinforce and 'evidence' one's membership within the national group, it may be deemed necessary to reproduce hegemonic social representations associated with the group. Conversely, ethnic identity may be essential for the maintenance and enhancement of continuity among BSA. The present data support this assumption, despite the latency of ethnic identity *vis-à-vis* national identity. For instance, Mohammed does allude to the inclusion of his *ethnic ingroup* within the British national ingroup. The ethnic ingroup is constructed as a subgroup within the British national ingroup.

Britishness: position within the ingroup and boundaries of ingroup membership

In previous research, BSA have expressed awareness of negative media representations regarding national and ethnic affairs (Cinnirella, 2008). The present data elucidate the role of the media in shaping Britishness among SGSA, primarily by influencing their understanding of the boundaries of national group membership:

> Sandeep: In the news you do get a sense that, like a feeling that Britain started off White and was OK but now it's got too many immigrants and it's crap
>
> Interviewer: What kind of immigrants? I mean, from which countries?
>
> Sandeep: Asians and Blacks but more Asians especially with the terror threat. It feels like you've really got to prove yourself to be safe from them thinking you're a terrorist and to top it all, I'm not even a f***ing Muslim.

Sandeep perceives the prevalence of social representations of Britain as historically 'White' and as being a more prosperous nation during this primarily 'White' period. This is juxtaposed with social representations that there is an excessively large immigrant population in Britain (Pearce & Stockdale, 2009). Sandeep feels that the Press deprecates the immigrant presence in Britain. He is aware of negative social representations of 'Asians and Blacks' in the British Press, which is unlikely to benefit his own sense of belonging and self-esteem.

BSA may reside in a vulnerable socio-psychological position within British society given the perceived prevalence of social representations of British Muslims as posing a 'terror threat' to British society (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b). Sandeep perceives social pressure to 'prove' himself as a national group member for inclusion and acceptance from co-nationals. This is a consequence of the perceived tendency of the WBM to conflate the religious category Islam with the ethno-racial category Asian. Indeed, external categorisation as Muslim has been said to pose threats to belonging, given that social representations of Muslims may, in some cases, be anchored to representations of terrorism and extremism (Richardson, 2004). Thus, Sandeep attempts to differentiate himself (and his

ethnic ingroup) from the Muslim 'Other' in order to protect belonging. The strategic activation of the distinctiveness principle may, in some cases, enhance belonging.

Given the perceived prejudice against Muslims, Britishness was regarded by both Muslim and non-Muslim participants as being incompatible with Muslim identity:

> I do make an effort, to be honest with you, I really do, but since I've been hearing about all this anger against innocent Muslims I've been thinking 'what's the point in calling yourself British?' [...] Where's that going to get me when there's just discrimination. (Shehzad)

Given the perceived rise in Islamophobia, Shehzad questions the utility of self-identification as British. It has been observed elsewhere that BSA generally exhibit an instrumental attachment to Britishness (Vadher & Barrett, 2009). However, it is possible that perceived Islamophobic prejudice may impede the instrumental functions of Britishness, stripping the national category of its benefits for self-efficacy. This may remove an important psychological incentive for self-identification with Britishness.

Furthermore, the social representation that one's ingroup is consensually and universally regarded with hostility by outgroups may well inhibit a positive self-conception on the basis of one's group membership (Jaspal & Yampolsky, 2011). Shehzad is aware of social representations of self-segregation among ethnic minorities, since she employs a rhetorical disclaimer in order to dispel potential allegations of self-isolation and national disengagement (Potter & Wetherell, 1987): 'I do make an effort [...] *but* [...]'. However, under close scrutiny, Shehzad perceives attempts to enhance the belonging principle as futile, which itself constitutes an acceptance strategy (Breakwell, 1986). Crucially, Shehzad rejects any sense of personal responsibility and attributes her 'otherisation' to external sources. Consistent with IPT, the aim of this acceptance strategy is 'to bring about change with the minimum amount of damage' to the identity structure (Breakwell, 1986, p. 93). Shehzad's construction of Muslims as innocent *vis-à-vis* the British who discriminate against Muslims suggests that the two categories are regarded as being incompatible:

> Interviewer: So how does it feel being Muslim and British? Are the two possible at the same time, do you think?

Shehzad: No, I think we're having to choose one or the other nowadays.

Some non-Muslim participants perceived incompatibility between British and Asian identities due primarily to the perceived rise in Islamophobic prejudice:

You know, I find myself stressing that I'm not a Muslim when people ask me if I'm Indian or Pakistani and it does sound quite defensive, like I'm defensive of the whole thing [...] it feels like once they know I'm Pakistani, they're at ease with me (laughs) [...] I do think being accepted as British has become harder for brown skinned people after the Muslim terrorism thing (Raj)

Raj's account provides preliminary evidence for the hypothesis that non-Muslim BSA will strive to self-identify in ways which endow upon them a positive sense of distinctiveness from Muslim BSA (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). The phenomenological need for distinctiveness from Muslims may be attributed to the hegemonic social representation that being Muslim is largely incompatible with Britishness. Raj's observation that he finds himself 'stressing' about the possibility that he may be mistaken as Muslim by ethno-religious outgroup members highlights the threatening nature of such an identity ascription. Intergroup distinctiveness functions to ensure that non-Muslims are differentiated from Muslims. This may constitute a route for enhanced sense of belonging within the nation.

SUMMARY

It has been demonstrated that BSA individuals may perceive the Press and the WBM, more generally, to problematise their attachment to and inclusion within the nation. This can have negative outcomes for the belonging principle, which requires feelings of acceptance and inclusion *(research question 3iv)*. Crucially, the Press constitutes an important source of such social representations. Moreover, belonging may be threatened through the perception of 'excessive' distinctiveness, that is, by being singled out by the Press in negative terms. In line with Brewer (1991), this jeopardises 'optimal distinctiveness' and may, thus, be regarded in terms of identity threat. Self and other categorisation plays an important role in the

maintenance of optimal distinctiveness. While hyphenated identity categories may be employed in individuals' self-categorisations, the use of these categories by ethno-racial outgroup members may be regarded as strategies for exclusion and 'otherisation' *(research question 1i)*. This is analogous to the argument that some social activities pertinent to group membership may be permissible at the intragroup level but may conversely be deemed offensive at the intergroup level (Hornsey, Oppes & Svensson, 2002).

BSA are motivated to safeguard feelings of belonging in their ethno-religious and national groups. However, the self-aspects, norms and values perceived to be associated with, and indeed required for, membership in these groups may be regarded as conflictual and contradictory, resulting in threats to the psychological coherence principle *(research question 3ii)*. Furthermore, individuals may regard the social identity configurations themselves (e.g. being British and Asian) as being increasingly problematised in public and media discourse. Muslim participants reported adopting a strategy of deliberate ambiguity regarding their religious identity in order to safeguard belonging in both religious and national group contexts *(research question 1i)*. Conversely, non-Muslim participants reported emphasising their non-Muslim background in order to gain feelings of acceptance and inclusion from the WBM. In some cases, the strategy of 'social complaint' may be employed in order to cope with identity threat. This is consistent with the intergroup strategy of social mobilisation (Breakwell, 1986). However, it may constitute a risky strategy, since it entails the activation of a threatened principle, further exposing it to chronic threats. It was observed that some participants may reproduce social representations, which exclude certain groups but include their own, in order to safeguard belonging within the nation. This essentially entails the construction of ingroup/ outgroup 'boundaries' for national group membership, including the self but excluding others. Particular targets for exclusion include recent migrants to Britain (e.g. asylum seekers; Eastern Europeans). Their exclusion seems to accentuate British national identification and attenuate ethnic identification.

The present chapter concludes by exploring how SGSA manifest their national and ethnic identities behaviourally and emotionally.

Manifestations of ethno-national identity

The present section outlines participants' conceptualisations of Britishness and ethno-national identity. In particular, it explores how Britishness may be manifested behaviourally and emotionally. The final sub-section explores hybridised identification among SGSA and the consequences for identity processes.

The behavioural dimension of Britishness

A central concern in the present study was to explore participants' understandings and constructions of Britishness. Given the need for belonging within the national group, individuals will likely develop strategies for safeguarding feelings of acceptance and inclusion. Accordingly, there was a strong tendency for participants to conceptualise Britishness in terms of behavioural practices. British national identity was perceived as socially constructed and subject to personal agency, rather than primordial (Smith, 1998; Sternberg et al., 2005). This facilitated belonging within the national group:

> Being British is about the way you act and kind of conduct yourself, I think. You see, I might not be accepted as completely British but then you go to India and then you're British, because my behaviour is different. It is more kind of civilised and you have more manners and more, you know, that's being British [...] You notice it more in India though (Manjinder)

This extract demonstrates that Britishness may be conceptualised in behavioural terms: 'the way you act and kind of conduct yourself'. Manjinder regards her differential 'behaviour' as distinguishing her from others within Indian social contexts. It has been observed elsewhere that the conceptualisation of social identities in behavioural terms may serve specific functions for the self-concept. For instance, Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010a) postulate that British Muslim gay men may conceptualise homosexuality in terms of behavioural practices in order to construct gay identity as mutable and malleable. The constructed mutability can help to safeguard psychological coherence, since homosexuality is not assimilated and

accommodated within the self-concept as an identity, but rather in terms of a behavioural practice. While identities are generally thought of as stable and immutable, behavioural practices can be modified and excluded from the self-concept. Similarly, here the construction of Britishness in behavioural terms allows Manjinder to construct her own 'behaviour' as 'more kind of civilised' than the behavioural practices allegedly associated with 'Indian-ness', with benefits for self-esteem. Moreover, this constructs Britishness as a fluid, inclusive and permeable social identity, rather than one which is closed to BSA. This conceptualisation of Britishness challenges primordial approaches to social identity (see Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). It facilitates self-inclusion as a national ingroup member. Manjinder's self-proclaimed behaviour conveniently meets her criteria for Britishness. This can have benefits for the belonging principle:

> Basically the kinds of things that you do make you British and the places you go to and the, like say, for me it's all about drinking beer and having roast chicken on Sundays (laughs). Going to the pub in the evenings is a British thing deep down like back in history (Manpreet)

Manpreet contests the social representation that Britishness is contingent upon common ancestry and biological kinship (cf. Smith, 1991, 1998) by emphasising the importance of social behaviour in national identity construction. He invokes those self-aspects to which he himself has access in order to illustrate the legitimacy of his claim to Britishness. Manpreet anchors his representation of Britishness (i.e. 'going to the pub in the evenings') to the social representation that this social practice 'is a British thing deep down like back in history'. This could be understood in terms of an attempt to 'evidence' one's Britishness, thereby enhancing belonging.

Prima facie, Manpreet's construction of Britishness could be regarded as an inclusive, relatively 'civic' one. Prospective group members may acquire feelings of belonging in Britain through the adoption of specific behavioural practices such as 'having roast chicken on Sundays' and 'going to the pub in the evenings'. However, it must be reiterated that this process is undoubtedly context- and person-dependent. In short, the

individual has *agency* in creating identity and in negotiating the boundaries of their social ingroups, which will be governed partly by the belonging principle (Breakwell, 2010).

However, these processes are subject to social representational constraints (Breakwell, 2001). Hegemonic social representations of the criteria for and boundaries of Britishness may be difficult to contest and re-construe. In thinking about the 'meanings' of Britishness, some British Pakistani participants highlighted the obstacles to British national identity embedded in the perceived criteria for Britishness:

> You see, to be a true Brit you've got to be a drinker, you've got to go
> partying, you've got to mess around with girls, and if that's what it is then
> I'm proud not to be British basically [...] I'd describe myself as a Muslim or
> Pakistani (Asad)

Asad reproduces social representations of alcohol consumption, 'partying' and sexual promiscuity as constituting the 'core' elements of Britishness (Ballard, 1994a; Hopkins, 2004). The representation that these are the self-aspects associated with being 'a *true* Brit' indicates his own sense of inauthenticity due to his acknowledged lack of these self-aspects and disengagement with these social practices. Given Asad's acceptance of these social representations of Britishness, he may feel unable and unwilling to self-identify as British: 'I'm proud not to be British'. Crucially, the prevalence of these social representations among Muslims may require Asad to accept and to internalise them within the identity structure. Conversely, the psychological coherence principle requires the reconciliation of interconnected identities and the social representations associated with these identities. The salience of the aforementioned representations of Britishness may render Britishness an 'illogical' component of the identity structure, since it is perceived as being *incoherent* with Muslim or Pakistani identities, which is 'core' (Modood et al., 1997). The potential threat to psychological coherence ensues from the juxtaposition of the strict doctrinal prohibition of alcohol and premarital sexual relations within Islam (Esposito, 2002) and the social representation that alcohol consumption and premarital sex form part of Britishness (Hopkins, 2004). However, this threat is curtailed through the 'core-ness' of Muslim religious identity *vis-à-vis* British national identity, which allows for the acceptance and

internalisation of social representations encouraged and disseminated by the Muslim ingroup (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a).

Hopkins (2004, p. 266) has found in his study of Scottish Muslim young men that 'there are a range of experiences and attributes that the young men do not possess, and these exclude them from being completely Scottish'. For instance, he notes that the 'drinking, pub and club culture' pervasive in Scottish society impedes self-identification with Scottishness, which leads him to conclude that 'many of [these] young men possess fragile Scottish national identities' (p. 266). The present data suggest that this fragility may be attributed to dominant social representations of what constitutes Britishness. Nonetheless, individuals will manoeuvre between the group memberships strategically in order to optimise identity processes (Breakwell, 1986). This assumption arises from the observation that many participants could disidentify, strategically, with both their national and ethnic identities when they perceived themselves as lacking those self-aspects, which were regarded as being essential for self-interpretation in national or ethnic terms. Neha's perceived lack of a 'crucial' self-aspect of ethnic identity induced disidentification with ethnic identity:

> I don't speak Punjabi that well really [...] it isn't exactly an issue because I
> speak English and this is England, not India and I am British, not Indian, so
> speaking Punjabi isn't really a big thing, is it? (Neha)

Earlier in the interview Neha explicitly defined herself in ethnic terms. However, her inability to 'speak Punjabi' induces disidentification with her ethnic group and re-definition of her identity in primarily *national* terms. Indeed, Jaspal and Coyle (2010b) have observed that many BSA exhibit awareness of the social representation that the HL constitutes a fundamental aspect of ethnic identity, in the absence of which ethnic 'authenticity' may be problematised. Clearly, the perception of one's 'otherisation' from the ethnic group may understandably threaten the belonging principle, provided that one habitually derives feelings of acceptance and inclusion from ethnic group membership. Moreover, it is likely that the continuity principle would face threats due to the discontinuity between past self-definition and present 'otherisation' from co-members of one's ingroup (see Breakwell, 1986). This introduces disruptive change within the identity structure.

Consequently, it becomes essential to shift identity salience in favour of the identity, which provides the most beneficial outcomes for identity processes. This is coterminous with IPT's assertion that it is not necessarily specific identities, which are of central concern to the individual, but rather the integrity of the self-concept as a whole. Accordingly, Neha downgrades the importance of speaking the HL for her identity, although she does not reject the social representation that the HL is important for Indian ethnic identity. The relative salience of of British national identity *vis-à-vis* her ethnic group membership enables her to downgrade the HL, since social representations do not dictate that the HL is important for Britishness: 'so speaking Punjabi isn't really a big thing, is it?' Conversely, there exists a hegemonic social representation that the English language is associated with Britishness, which may be readily accepted by Neha, given that she possesses this self-aspect (Julios, 2008). Despite identity 'fragility', individuals endeavour to utilise their multiple identities strategically in order to optimise identity processes.

While some participants conceptualised Britishness in behavioural terms, others drew upon affective criteria for Britishness. This is discussed next.

Britishness and national emotions

The conceptualisation of Britishness in affective terms highlights the potential importance of emotion in national identity (Barrett, 2000). Gurjeet reproduced the social representation of affective national attachment:

> Gurjeet: I reckon that being British is about how you feel because you either do feel it or you don't [...] I've got some friends who do but I don't. We are all the same really but I just don't feel it.
>
> Interviewer: What do you mean by feeling British? Can you give me an example?
>
> Gurjeet: Look, I mean, we, if I see the Queen on TV I don't get all excited. If England wins a match maybe but that's more about football. I don't feel a lump in my throat when I think about or hear the national anthem (laughs).

Gurdeep constructs the affective element in national identity construction in dichotomous terms: 'you either do feel it or you don't'. When further elaboration is elicited, Gurjeet reproduces social representations of Britishness, such as the experience of excitement upon seeing the Queen and 'feel[ing] a lump in my throat' upon hearing the national anthem, in order to illustrate his disidentification with Britishness. Crucially, these emotional experiences are regarded as constituting the 'core' of Britishness. Gurjeet has clearly accepted and internalised these social representations of Britishness, which, given his lack of these affective 'experiences', essentially impede a sense of British national identification. These representations may be perceived as hegemonic and, thus, impossible to personalise in order to optimise belonging within the national group (Jaspal & Coyle, 2009a). Thus, the hegemonic representations dictate the extent to which Britishness is regarded by Gurjeet as being available to him. Thus, his disidentification with these 'prerequisites' may underlie his low level of national identification:

> Interviewer: But can't you be British if you don't feel like that, I mean, excited about the Queen or?

> Gurjeet: I suppose, but it's not the same because I think you have to feel like something strong, which I don't really, or at least that's what most people think.

The role of social representations of Britishness in Gurjeet's meaning-making is reflected in his statement that 'that's what most people think'. Gurjeet conceptualises Britishness in affective terms, because he regards this conceptualisation as a pervasively shared social representation, which must be accepted and internalised within the identity structure. Thus, despite the need for a sense of belonging, social representations of affect in Britishness likely predict the extent to which Gurjeet can lay claim to Britishness. In short, he emphasises the role of affect and emotion in national identification because he regards this as a *socially* prioritised prerequisite for Britishness.

Some individuals declared little affective attachment to Britishness due to their inability to 'feel' emotions regarded as being important for national identity construction. However, the data provide some evidence that individuals may nonetheless experience

'national emotions' as a result of their active attempts to enhance identity processes. For instance, Asad reflected upon his reactions to national outgroup members' criticism of the British:

> Interviewer: What about in Pakistan, if someone like criticises or says something negative about the British, how does it make you feel?
> Asad: You know, it's weird but it does actually piss me off. It feels like quite a direct attack on me or something [...] It's like a direct insult really, and you feel like you've got to give an answer to it.

In other contexts, Asad manifested a weak attachment to British national identity, although here he reports feeling personally criticised when non-BSA criticise the British (Hornsey, Oppes & Svensson, 2002). Indeed, this has been conceptualised as an indicator of the strength of British national identity (Cinnirella, 1997b). Britishness does in fact form part of the identity structure, although the evaluation process of identity ensures that it is less positively construed than other identity elements (e.g. ethnicity). This does demonstrate that British national group membership can acquire importance in intergroup settings (with non-BSA). Outgroup members' criticism of Britishness may be personalised, since it 'feels like quite a direct attack on me'. In accordance with theorising within the social identity tradition (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), Asad's sense of self is derived partly from his membership within the British national group. This identity component may acquire salience in response to outgroup criticism of Britishness.

Crucially, the salience of this social identity is conducive to the personalisation of outgroup criticism. Criticism from national outgroup members may pose potential threats to self-esteem, which may become active in the Subcontinent due to the potential for self-enhancement via downward comparison with non-BSA (Harris, 2006). More specifically, intergroup comparisons between BSA and non-BSA constitutes one potential source of self-esteem through the strategy of downward comparison (Wills, 1981). Thus, it is possible that the self-esteem principle induces emotional responses, such as the internalisation of outgroup criticism at the individual-level.

The relationship between (national) emotions and identity processes was further evidenced in discussions of national guilt in relation to both the British and Indo-Pak national

contexts. Indeed, national guilt may plausibly be thought of in terms of a national emotion (Branscombe & Doosje, 2002). For instance, Shehzad reported feeling no guilt due to the historical injustices of the British:

> Shehzad: I know that Britain has always looked out for itself and exploited other people and other countries and governments.
>
> Interviewer: And how does that make you feel? Have you ever felt guilty about being part of a country that has done this?
>
> Shehzad: No, I haven't and I don't think I should do. We have been victims of British injustice too. I mean, look at Pakistan and India and the Raj [...] so why would I feel guilt about it?

The social representation that 'Britain has always looked out for itself' does not necessarily have a negative impact for the identity structure, because Shehzad attenuates her attachment to Britishness. Crucially, there is empirical evidence that the degree to which individuals identify with the national group moderates the experience of national guilt (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears & Manstead, 2002). The experience of national guilt is unlikely to be conducive to a high level of self-esteem, since the acceptance and internalisation of negative social representations regarding the national ingroup's behaviour will not encourage a positive self-conception on the basis of membership within the perpetrator group. Guilt is experienced when there is simply no alternative but to accept and internalise these social representations and particularly when these representations become salient (Breakwell, 2001). However, Shehzad is afforded a degree of 'identity flexibility' by virtue of her membership in both the national and ethnic groups, which reflects the intergroup strategy for deflecting identity threat described as 'multiple group memberships' (Breakwell, 1986). Accordingly, she is able to shift psychological salience onto her ethnic identity as a Pakistani, which in turn enables her to highlight her ethnic ingroup's suffering at the hands of the British. The invocation of 'British injustice' allows her to position herself alongside the victims, since she defines herself primarily in terms of her ethnic group membership. The

strategy of multiple group memberships is beneficial for identity processes, since it allows Shehzad to eschew negative emotions such as national guilt.

Those participants who distanced themselves from Britishness in order to eschew negative national emotions such as guilt were encouraged to discuss negative actions, which are socially represented as being associated with their ethnic groups. The most obvious ingroup negative event associated with South Asians is that of the communal violence during the Partition of India, which resulted in the creation of Pakistan (see Khan, 2007 for a historical account). Despite her self-definition in terms of her ethnic group membership in other instances, Shehzad distanced herself from any sense of guilt associated with the historical actions of her ethnic group:

> Yes there was a lot of bloodshed in the Partition. Some say that the Hindus started it and some people say it was a Muslim-fuelled thing but as far as I'm concerned, here in England, I mean, over here, we all get on. There's no violence between us so it's different for us than for them in Indian-Pakistan (Shehzad).

As the interviewer attempts to explore the possibility of 'ethnic guilt', that is, guilt associated with historical actions perpetrated by the ethnic ingroup, Shehzad constructs her account in ways which enable her to eschew this guilt. Once again, a powerful strategy of eschewing ingroup guilt is her use of 'multiple group memberships' (see Breakwell, 1986). Her observation that 'here in England, I mean, over here, we all get on' is juxtaposed with the representation of continued antagonism between Hindus and Muslims in the Subcontinent (Khan, 2007; Sen & Wagner, 2005). Crucially, the pronoun 'we' refers to *British* South Asians *vis-à-vis* South Asians in the Subcontinent. Thus, it is her British national identity, which enables her to differentiate herself from those who may plausibly be regarded as being historically 'guilty' of the communal violence and intergroup atrocities. As observed above, this is likely to protect self-esteem, since one is able to distance negative actions from the ingroup and, thus, derive a positive self-conception from one's group membership. BSA identity eradicates potential feelings of guilt associated with the aforementioned historical atrocities. Moreover, distinctiveness is favoured in Shehzad's account, since she constructs the ingroup 'over here' as *separate* from the South Asian outgroup in the Subcontinent in

ways which favour the ingroup (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000). The over-arching point of concern here is that individuals may eschew negative national or ethnic emotions by shifting between their multiple social group memberships. Some identity principles (e.g. distinctiveness) may become salient in order for the individual to eschew guilt, while others (e.g. self-esteem) may constitute the desired end-state resulting from the avoidance of guilt. In this case, British national identification shields the individual from ethnic guilt.

It has been argued that feelings of pride may be conducive to a positive self-conception, with benefits for self-esteem (Jaspal, 2011b). Consequently, participants may include themselves within the national group in contexts of national pride in order to derive the identity benefits of experiencing such pride:

> One thing that makes me very proud of being British is the way you know
> that the police are not going to put money first and put you behind bars like
> in India [...] it's, it does give you a feeling of pride about being part of this
> country, doesn't it? Britain has always been like this, it's not a new thing, is
> it? (Rajeev)

Individuals were able to derive feelings of pride from their membership in the national group by making comparisons between aspects of Britishness and aspects of their ethnic culture. For instance, the perceived honesty of the British institutions (e.g. the police) could induce feelings of pride and, thus, encourage self-identification with Britishness. Participants frequently employed downward comparisons with India(ns) in order to illustrate the positivity of these specific aspects of Britishness (Wills, 1981). Crucially, Rajeev self-identifies as British and alludes to his 'being part of this country' upon thinking about the desirable aspect of Britishness, possibly because this enables him to derive feelings of national pride. Evidently, the identification of self-aspects (or group-based aspects), which are conducive to feelings of pride, are likely to enhance self-esteem (Jaspal, 2011b). Consistent with the hypothesis that the extent to which self-aspects serve the identity principles will predict identification with these self-aspects (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2002), it is argued that individuals self-identify with Britishness in order to derive feelings of self-esteem (from national pride).

Despite the potential for deriving feelings of pride thereof, some participants perceived 'barriers' to self-inclusion within the national category. This will inhibit the experience of emotions associated with the social category, such as national pride:

> Interviewer: How does being British make you feel though? In terms of say pride or shame or [...]
>
> Kuli: I'd love to be proud but I can't really. I can't be proud of India because I don't really feel a part of the country fully [...] England I'd like to but you read the papers and they exclude Asians or basically are saying how we are a burden on society and stuff like that so I don't know about you but I can't be proud of a country that doesn't think of me as British.

Kuli's account reiterates the notion that perceived exclusion from Britishness may impede British national identification (see also Vadher & Barrett, 2009). Kuli identifies the media as the primary source of negative, exclusionary social representations regarding his ethnic ingroup; they are perceived as excluding BSA and as depicting them as 'a burden on society'. This indicates that the perception of negative media representations may inhibit identification with Britishness as well as pride in the nation. Crucially, national emotions (e.g. pride and guilt) are by-products of identification with the nation (Branscombe & Doosje, 2002). Kuli reports that he would like to feel pride in the nation, possibly due to the positive implications of the emotion for identity. As one of the most important principles of *social* identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), belonging is likely to predict the ability to derive feelings of national pride from membership in the national group. Accordingly, threats to belonging likely impede the experience of the national emotion, despite the benefits of national pride for self-esteem. This echoes findings from previous research into identity processes that self-esteem is not necessarily a superordinate principle, which takes precedence over others, but one which functions within a matrix of other potentially competing principles (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2002). In this context, self-esteem can only be attained within group contexts when one feels acceptance and inclusion within the social group.

National emotions such as shame or guilt are not necessarily static and uniform but rather *variable across time and situation*. The individual will employ self-agency in constructing socio-historical events in ways, which facilitate positive emotions. The overarching aim is to enhance the principled operation of identity processes (Breakwell, 1986).

The final section of this chapter addresses one means of potentially managing national and ethnic identities, namely the construction of hybridised ethno-national identities.

Hybridised identity and psychological coherence

There have been calls for social psychologists to take into consideration the primarily sociological debates regarding hybridised identification among second generation immigrants (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a; Verkuyten, 2005). In the present study, hybridised identification was considered one identificatory possibility, following the work of important sociologists interested in BSA (e.g. Harris, 2006; Kalra & Kalra, 1996). There was evidence of hybridised identification among some participants, who highlighted the contribution of self-aspects associated with both ethnic and national identities to the construction of their ethno-national identity. Crucially, this hybrid identity was constructed in distinction to other ethno-national groups, highlighting the importance of intergroup distinctiveness (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a):

> Basically we do things differently, like we do speak Punjabi and we know
> our culture, like we know our limits so we're not going to go sleeping
> around or washing your laundry out in public but then we don't follow the
> whole arranged marriage thing, we do go out partying on Saturday nights.
> This is like second nature to us really (Raj)

Raj clearly emphasises the uniqueness and distinctiveness of SGSA ethno-national identity *vis-à-vis* FGSA and WBM identities. This is attributed to the 'hybridity' of self-aspects pertaining to both national identity (associated with the WBM) and ethnic identity (associated with FGSA). The amalgamation of these self-aspects among SGSA essentially differentiates SGSA ethno-national identity from others. In Raj's psychological world, the acts of 'speak[ing] Punjabi' and 'know[ing] our culture' constitute evidence of his social

group's distinctiveness from the WBM. Moreover, social representations of the 'excessive' openness of the WBM are reproduced in order to differentiate his social group from outgroups. These social representations of the WBM are strategically reproduced in order to elucidate the distinctiveness of ingroup social identity. Conversely, Raj is aware of the social representation that arranged marriage forms an integral part of South Asian ethno-cultural identity. He distances SGSA from this aspect of South Asian culture. This evidences his ethno-national ingroup's distinctiveness from South Asians, who are regarded as attaching importance to arranged marriage.

Raj strategically invokes some 'token' self-aspects, which are perceived as forming part of (White) Britishness (e.g. partying on Saturday nights; not engaging in arranged marriages) and South Asian identity (e.g. use of the HL; maintaining 'face' in society). This highlights his hybridised ethno-national identity, which features 'British inflections', while 'incorporating elements drawn from cultural practices symbolically associated with the residual/ traditional originating from the global South Asian diasporas' (Harris, 2006, p. 168). The point that these self-aspects originate from South Asian diasporas is an important one, given that speaking the HL and engaging in arranged marriage have come to constitute important social representations of 'Asianness' specifically within the South Asian diaspora (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010a; Maira, 2002). Thus, individuals strategically assimilate and accommodate within the identity structure self-aspects from both social identities in order to construct one unitary hybridised ethno-national identity.

This form of self-identification can enhance the psychological coherence principle since it implies that the identity is unitary, encompassing aspects of various social group memberships (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). Crucially, the principle is enhanced on the condition that the self-aspects originating from various social identities may be regarded as co-habiting the identity structure in a cohesive and mutually complementary manner. This is suggested by Raj's observation that she maintains high levels of 'morality' in accordance with her ethnic culture ('we're not going to sleep around') despite her rejection of arranged marriage. Thus, self-aspects associated with distinct social identities are 'moulded' and juxtaposed in ways, which position them as complementary for the unique and distinctive collective ethno-national identity of SGSA. This was further illustrated in Kuli's account:

Kuli: Punjabi? I don't speak it actually but it's no big deal actually because a lot of people in my age group don't really speak it these days [...] My main language is English, but that doesn't mean I forget about India and our traditions at the same time. We're not like White people really.

Interviewer: Would you describe yourself as Indian instead?

Kuli: No, British Indian maybe, but not Indian. Indian for me is 'freshy' (laughs)

Jaspal and Coyle (2009a, 2010a) have argued that the social representation that the HL is vital for ethnic 'authenticity' will likely be rejected by those ethnic group members who themselves do not speak it. This suggests that only those self-aspects, which individuals believe they possess, will be constructed as necessary for group membership. This will likely safeguard belonging and continuity of self-definition as an ingroup member. Kuli downgrades the importance of the HL for identity by constructing it as 'no big deal' and by depicting it in terms of a demographically weak language in his generation at least. His rejection of Punjabi is symmetrical with his claim to the English language: 'my main language is English'. Indeed, to lay claim to both languages could potentially jeopardise psychological coherence. The English language is perhaps invoked in order to indicate one inflection of Britishness (see Julios, 2008). Conversely, the value of Punjabi becomes a less salient marker of 'Asian-ness'. Accordingly, other ethnic self-aspects such as 'India' and ethno-cultural 'traditions' are constructed as important elements of the identity structure. It is possible that the acceptance and rejection of self-aspects associated with components of the hybridised identity will be a symmetrical process. For instance, Kuli rejects the HL (associated with ethnic identity) but accepts the English language (associated with Britishness). The symmetrical management of self-aspects associated with components of the hybridised identity could have positive outcomes for psychological coherence, since potentially competing self-aspects are not allowed to compete within the identity structure.

The concept of psychological coherence enables the researcher to decipher the psychological constraints faced by individuals who lay claim to hybridised identities. Kuli's ethno-national identity may be thought of in terms of a hybridised identity, since it is neither

(White) British nor Indian. In fact, both are constructed as 'Other' to his ethno-national identity. For instance, the category 'Indian' as a marker of self-identity is imbued with negative value through the use of the derogatory term 'freshy'. Rather, his ethno-national identity constitutes *an amalgamation of psychologically coherent elements of both social identities*, which are subject to the universal identity processes of assimilation-accommodation and evaluation. Theoretical strands from sociological accounts of hybridity, which emphasise the 'openness, variability and unpredictability' of hybrid identification (Harris, 2006, p. 177), and those from IPT, which highlight the agency of the individual in creating identity (Breakwell, 2010), offer important insights into this form of self-identification. The individual has agency in selecting those self-aspects, which constitute the contents of identity. This constellation of self-aspects is characterised by flexibility and variability. However, the selections made by the individual are subject to the constraints of identity processes, which require feelings of psychological coherence, self-esteem and so on.

The study explored the socio-psychological conditions under which hybridised identities may be manifested. Hybridised (ethno-national) identity was not regarded by participants themselves as being stringently compartmentalised in accordance with social context, but rather as a contextually pervasive ethno-national identity:

> Interviewer: Does this change in different contexts like when you're at
> home and at say work or university?

> Kamal: No, I'm just me really. Yes, we speak more Punjabi at home than at
> work but the style is the same, like I speak Punjabi with English words and
> my English isn't exactly like White people, is it?

Kamal does not perceive any differences in social behaviour in transitions between distinct social contexts. This may serve to disrupt the 'centre-margin relationship' between national and ethnic identities by destabilising 'fixed notions of Asian identities', which is emblematic of hybridised identification (Harris, 2006, p. 224).

These data provide some insight into the phenomenology of hybridised identities. Moreover, it is suggested that hybridisation may constitute one means of safeguarding feelings of compatibility and coherence between identity elements, which are socially

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regarded as conflictual. In addition, hybridity may perform positive functions for distinctiveness, since it accentuates differences in self-identification from both South Asians and the WBM:

> With me, it's like I've got some British in me, yeah, because of the language and my thinking is broad-minded, but at the same time I'm not White am I? So it is like we have our own sort of identity really, like different than White people but nothing like our parents' generation either, that's for sure (laughs) (Jagjit)

As discussed above, various self-aspects such as language use and 'broad-minded' thinking are invoked in order to demonstrate the multiplicity of identity elements constituting the self-concept. These constitute the *unique* constellation of self-aspects within the hybridised identities of SGSA, which signal the distinctiveness of this ethno-national group from other groups.

Hybridised identity may be construed in terms of a means of self-differentiation from FGSA. However, FGSA may be regarded as problematising this mode of self-identification. Their contestation and problematisation of hybridised identity may decrease its effectiveness for psychological coherence and distinctiveness. This was illustrated in Abdul's account:

> Abdul: Asians have got it sorted, put it that way, we know what the score is, and we accept each other.

> Interviewer: What do you mean?

> Abdul: Like if you can't come out, no problem, we understand. Our parents are the ones with the problem, to be honest. The only friction with being an Asian and living in Britain is when they pick holes, not even White people do it as much, it's them. It's either about speaking Punjabi at home, with your grandparents or this or this. That's when I start to feel that there's friction.

Abdul constructs ethno-national identity among SGSA as being 'sorted' in the sense that there exists a mutual understanding among SGSA that the self-concept consists of elements of Britishness and South Asian ethnic identity. He regards this identity as being 'validated' by SGSA, which is essential for identity construction (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). This echoes the notion (see above) that hybridised identity has become 'second nature' to many SGSA. In Abdul's account, the mutual interpersonal acceptance among SGSA is illustrated in his reference to SGSAs' shared understandings of the social and familial constraints upon young people regarding permission to leave the family home and to socialise with friends. Crucially, hybridity allows access to those social representations, which 'explain' the constraints faced by SGSA. These are perceived to be shared by SGSA, but not by FGSA or the WBM. This is consistent with the thesis that group memberships affect exposure to social representations (Breakwell, 2001).

FGSA are perceived as 'the ones with the problem' with hybridised identification among SGSA. Indeed, it has been noted that FGSA, particularly the British Pakistani community, may be averse to innovative forms of self-identification among SGSA, such as hyphenation (e.g. British-Pakistani), due to the perceived negligence of the ethno-religious component of identity (Abbas, 2000, 2002). Moreover, as observed earlier in the thesis, this form of ethno-national identification among SGSA may problematise continuity among FGSA, since it may be regarded as introducing unanticipated change within the identity structure. More specifically, FGSA may regard their ethnic identity as being threatened and gradually replaced by fundamentally contradictory aspects of 'British culture' (Ballard, 1994a). FGSA are perceived as problematising it as 'they pick holes' in the identity.

This indicates that, although accounts of 'identity conflict' and 'culture conflict' among SGSA have become unpopular in contemporary sociology, for instance, 'friction' may in fact be phenomenologically experienced by SGSA. This essentially threatens continuity of self-definition, as alluded to above, which may be due, in part at least, to the perceived opposition among FGSA to hybridised identification among SGSA:

> My parents talk about these things [identity among SGSA] all the time. It's
> like the clock stopped since they got here from India but they don't really

understand that I've found my own life and my own way of doing things
and it's all different than how they do it.

Hybridised identifiers exhibited a high degree of compatibility and coherence between the constituent self-aspects contributing to these identities, with obvious benefits for psychological coherence. However, the principle may be jeopardised by interpersonal relations with FGSA, who 'don't really understand'. This is attributed to the perceived expectation among FGSA that SGSA will continue to live their lives in accordance with allegedly traditional and archaic norms and values associated with ethnic identity. Hybridised identity is referred to as 'my own life' and 'my own way of doing things', which is 'all different from how they do it'. This reiterates the idiosyncrasy and specificity of hybridised identity among SGSA. Crucially, this is perceived as being unintelligible to FGSA, who, therefore, problematise this unique mode of self-identification. The perceived contestation and problematisation of their identities from FGSA activate dormant social representations regarding the *incompatibility* of ethnic and national identities (Cinnirella, 1997a). The activation of these representations induces 'identity conflict' and 'culture conflict', not necessarily the identities themselves:

> I don't know, like at school, it does always feel OK, it's a bit like a dream
> world (laughs) I had a girlfriend who was White, and it all seemed to make
> sense at school and seem fine [...] but I went home and then you realise that
> your parents aren't going to accept a mixed marriage. It's all much more
> organised and set out for them, the world and life.

Transition between social contexts re-activates these dormant social representations. The school environment, in which hybridised identity is perhaps more 'comfortably' lived and manifested, facilitates a multi-ethnic relationship with a White girl, for instance. However, the 'dreamlike' qualities of this social environment become apparent upon entry in the home environment, in which social representations of ethnic and national identities are delineated. Crucially, hybridity likely provides a sense of meaning, since 'it all seemed to make sense at school and seem fine'. However, in the home environment, Raj is exposed to negative social representations of 'mixed marriage'. This poses a challenge to the necessary 'validation' of

(hybridised) social identity. Raj perceives the social world as being 'all much more organised and set out for them [FGSA]', given their strict delineation of ethnic and national identities *vis-à-vis* his hybridity. In short, some FGSA may be perceived by SGSA as highlighting and activating social representations of conflict between ethnic and national identities, which are, by definition, reconciled in hybridised identities. This is essentially analogous to the media's ability to render salient social representations of 'incompatibility' which can have consequences for self-identification among BSA. (This is outlined in the following chapter.) The previous benefits for psychological coherence may be 'undone' by the reactivation of such representations. Given that individuals will strategically assimilate and accommodate those self-aspects from social identities contributing to the hybridised identity in accordance with identity processes, the *imposition* of self-aspects (e.g. the HL) may threaten the identity structure and induce coping strategies such as negativism (Breakwell, 1986). It is likely that, while some SGSA may construe their hybridised identity in terms of a single unitary identity, FGSA may be perceived as 'de-constructing' the hybridised identity by activating representations of their 'incompatibility'. Clearly, this can challenge psychological coherence.

SUMMARY

A key concern of this chapter lies in the exploration of SGSAs' subjective conceptualisations of British national and ethnic identities. It is argued that individuals will make use of the self-agency afforded to them in ways, which enhance identity processes *(research question 1i)*. Accordingly, there was a tendency for participants to conceptualise Britishness in terms of behavioural practices, such as pub culture. This may facilitate feelings of belonging in a social category, which can be socially represented as exclusive, since this de-essentialises identity (see Jacobson, 1997a; Vadher & Barrett, 2009). Moreover, this conceptualisation of Britishness may be conducive to feelings of self-esteem and distinctiveness *(research question 1i)*. It is noteworthy that individuals may strategically designate those behavioural practices as 'crucial' for self-inclusion in the national group, which include the self but exclude convenient 'Others' *(research question 2i)*. This is consistent with theorising on the importance of distinctiveness in social identity construction (Tajfel, 1981).

However, the degree of self-agency in identity construction is limited, since social representations partly determine the (im-)permeability of group boundaries. For instance, the social representation that sentimental attachment to Britishness is vital for self-inclusion in the national group was regarded by some participants as being too pervasive to re-construe. This could pose obstacles for self-identification with Britishness *(research question 2iii)*. It is argued that hegemonic social representations shape thinking *vis-à-vis* Britishness, suggesting that the media, in particular, has a role to play in facilitating access to Britishness. Although the conceptualisation of Britishness in affective terms may inhibit sentimental attachment to Britishness, individuals may nonetheless retain an instrumental attachment to the national category. Even this form of national attachment can induce the personalisation of outgroup criticism of Britishness, which was manifested in participants' defensive responses to outgroup criticism. More generally, this highlights the importance of emotion even in instrumental national attachment. Group-based emotions associated with national and ethnic identities are subject to the principled operation of identity processes (Breakwell, 1986). Individuals will strive to experience emotions, which are conducive to positive identity construction, by shifting strategically between group memberships. Indeed, this intergroup strategy is available to many BSA who may be members of British national and ethnic groups.

Hybridised identification constitutes a means of reconciling British national and ethnic identities through the strategic selection of self-aspects from both social identities, which collectively constitute the hybridised identity *(research question 3ii)*. This is conducive to psychological coherence, since self-aspects are strategically selected in identity construction. Moreover, it is argued that identifiers may derive feelings of self-esteem and distinctiveness from this mode of self-identification. Given the centrality of distinctiveness (from the WBM and FGSA) in this mode of self-identification, it is conceivable that hybridised identification will be favoured by those individuals who prioritise the distinctiveness principle *vis-à-vis* belonging, for instance *(research question 2ii)*. Conversely, those favouring belonging are more likely to construct Britishness in behavioural terms. It is noteworthy that, despite its potential benefits for coherence and distinctiveness, hybridisation is not necessarily a success story *per se*. FGSA may problematise this mode of self-identification among SGSA through the accentuation of social representations of

incompatibility between British national and ethnic identities in the same way that the media can (see next chapter) *(research question 1i)*.

This chapter has provided some insight into the manifestations of Britishness and ethno-national identity as both discrete and hybridised identities. This process can be better understood through a consideration of social representations, which shape the construction and management of these identities. One important source of these social representations is the British Press. Chapter VI of the thesis explores media representations of BSA.

Summary of findings

The present section relates some of the key findings of study II to the research questions outlined at the end of chapter II. It is noteworthy that the present study may not necessarily address all of the research questions, although the overall research project does.

Question 1(i) What is the relationship between social representations (e.g. media representations) and identity processes?

Philogène (2001) has argued that identity categories can be regarded in terms of social representations. The present study elucidated the impact that identity categories, as social representations, might have for SGSA. While hyphenated identity categories may be employed in individuals' self-categorisations, the use of these categories by ethno-racial outgroup members (i.e. the WBM) may be regarded as strategies for exclusion and 'otherisation'. This can have negative outcomes for the belonging principle of identity. Similarly, this relationship between the social representation and the belonging principle was observed in the results of study I.

Furthermore, individuals may regard the social identity configuration of being British and Asian as increasingly problematised in public and media discourse. British Pakistani (Muslim) participants reported adopting a strategy of deliberate ambiguity regarding their religious identity in order to safeguard belonging in national group contexts. Thus, there seems to be a link between social representations of a phenomenologically important identity configuration (British Asian) and the belonging principle.

In order to safeguard the belonging principle, participants exhibited the tendency to conceptualise Britishness in terms of behavioural practices, such as pub culture. This may facilitate feelings of belonging in a social category, which can be socially represented as exclusive, since this de-essentialises identity (see Jacobson, 1997a; Vadher & Barrett, 2009). Moreover, this conceptualisation of Britishness may be conducive to feelings of self-esteem and distinctiveness. Thus, it becomes apparent how social representations can influence identity processes and how SGSA might respond to this.

Question 1(ii) How do the identity principles relate to one another, particularly when the enhancement of one or more principles may threaten another?

This study outlines the potential benefits associated with temporal delineation of the self-efficacy principle in terms of past and present/ future, particularly in the context of national and ethnic identification (see also Jaspal, 2011a). A social group may foresee a future of competence and control (high future self-efficacy), despite its history as a marginalised and powerless social group (low past self-efficacy). The present study exhibits the importance of exploring the temporal levels of self-efficacy, which, in this context, seem to function in distinct ways for some participants at least.

Question 1(iii) What is the particular relevance of the psychological coherence principle to the construction and management of British and ethnic identities?

The psychological principle is of primary relevance to the construction and management of national and ethnic identities among SGSA. In order to minimise potential threats to this principle, participants may employ the strategy of 'identity functionality', which delineates the functions of the two competing identities (and their associated self-aspects). This in turn facilitates their cohesive positioning within the identity structure.

Question 2(i) What are the self-aspects (e.g. norms, values, symbols and social representations) associated with British national and ethnic identities?

While FGSA generally perceive their membership in the ethnic group to be 'secure', SGSA can regard themselves as lacking self-aspects, which are socially represented as being 'key' for membership in the ethnic group. The heritage language is one example (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010a). Given that a perceived lack of a 'key' self-aspect can threaten one's belonging in the group, SGSA are generally strategic in their identification of 'key' self-aspects.

It is noteworthy that individuals may strategically designate those behavioural practices as 'crucial' for self-inclusion in the national group, which include the self but exclude convenient 'Others'. This essentially entails the construction of ingroup/ outgroup 'boundaries' for national group membership, including the self but excluding others. Particular targets for exclusion in participants' accounts include recent migrants to Britain

(e.g. asylum seekers; Eastern Europeans). Their exclusion seems to accentuate British national identification and attenuate ethnic identification.

Question 2(ii) What is the impact of British national and ethnic identification for the identity principles outlined in identity process theory?

In reporting participants' perception of the homeland, it became apparent that contact with the homeland might facilitate a psychological 're-connection' with the history and traditions associated with ethnic identity. This is consistent with theorising regarding ethnic identification (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). Moreover, contact with the homeland can provide individuals with a psychological point of comparison between the possibilities for self-efficacy in the homeland and in Britain, which in turn seems to accentuate the association between self-efficacy and Britishness. Thus, from the perspective of continuity and self-efficacy, contact with the homeland, which itself is highly associated with ethnic identity, seems to be psychologically beneficial for SGSA.

The study demonstrates that, given the centrality of distinctiveness (from the WBM and FGSA) in hybridised identification, it is conceivable that this mode of self-identification will be favoured by those individuals who prioritise the distinctiveness principle *vis-à-vis* belonging.

Question 2(iii) How might social representations (e.g. conveyed in media representations) affect British national and ethnic identification?

The influence of social representations upon British national and ethnic identification is of key importance among SGSA, since they must also take a stance on representations of the early stages of settlement disseminated by their parents, FGSA. Indeed, their strong sense of ethnic identity renders the continuity principle salient, requiring them to position themselves in relation to representations of hardship. Awareness and acceptance of these representations may result in disidentification from Britishness and the accentuation of ethnic identification. Thus, their parents' accounts of hardship in the homeland play an important role in the construction of British national identity among SGSA.

Furthermore, it is clear that social representations of the (im-)permeability of Britishness have an impact for the construction of British national identity. For instance, the

social representation that sentimental attachment to Britishness is vital for self-inclusion in the national group was regarded by some participants as being too pervasive to re-construe. This could pose obstacles for self-identification with Britishness.

Question 3(i) What is the impact of British national and ethnic identification for the psychological coherence principle of identity?

In answering research question 1iii, it has been stated that the psychological coherence principle is pertinently associated with the management of British national and ethnic identities. In thinking about past 'injustices' of the WBM *vis-à-vis* one's present sense of belonging in the national group, individuals with greater scope for identity enhancement may employ a variant of the compartmentalism strategy in order to delineate past and present through a 'celebration' of positive social change. This allows for continued ethnic identification and British national attachment with positive outcomes for psychological coherence. Furthermore, hybridised identification appears to benefit the psychological coherence principle, since it strategically juxtaposes identity elements which are conducive to compatibility and coherence.

Question 3(ii) How do salient self-aspects from one social identity (e.g. British national identity) affect the other social identity (e.g. ethnic identity)?

BSA are motivated to safeguard feelings of belonging in their ethno-religious and national groups. However, the self-aspects, norms and values perceived to be associated with, and indeed required for, membership in these groups may be regarded as conflictual and contradictory, resulting in threats to the psychological coherence principle. As alluded to in answering research question 3i, in hybridised identification one means of reconciling British national and ethnic identities is to strategically select self-aspects from both social identities, which collectively constitute the hybridised identity. This mode of self-identification seems to be more available to, and more readily accepted by, SGSA than FGSA.

Question 3(iii) How do temporal factors (e.g. historical social representations; reflection upon life experiences) affect the management of British national and ethnic identities?

SGSA participants' tendency to take a stance in relation to social representations of FGSAs' hardship in the early stages of settlement in Britain elucidated temporal factors in the construction and management of their identities. Participants seem to be motivated to safeguard continuity between the early experiences of FGSA and their own attachment to Britishness, particularly if family and ethnic identities are of phenomenological importance. This can be problematic since the experiences of FGSA are largely characterised by 'otherisation' and discrimination on the basis of ethno-racial background. SGSA participants' strong sense of ethnic identity renders the continuity principle salient, requiring them to position themselves in relation to the social representations of hardship disseminated by FGSA. This shows how the past can impinge and radically shape present identification.

Furthermore, participants exhibited the tendency to take a stance in relation to historical social representations associated with relevant ingroups (e.g. the Partition of India and Pakistan, and British colonialism). The results suggest that historical factors associated with phenomenologically significant ingroups do play a role in contemporary meaning-making *vis-à-vis* these group memberships. However, participants seemed to make strategic use of their multiple group memberships in order to disassociate threatening historical representations from their sense of self, optimising identity processes.

Question 3(iv) How do media representations affect the management of these identities?
It has been demonstrated that BSA individuals may perceive the Press and the WBM, more generally, to problematise their attachment to and inclusion within the nation. This can have negative outcomes for the belonging principle, which requires feelings of acceptance and inclusion. Chapters VI and VII discuss in more detail the ways in which media representations themselves may affect the management of British national and ethnic identities.

Chapter VI:

Study III

It has been highlighted in this thesis that the media can play an important role in shaping national and ethnic identities. Accordingly, the present chapter provides some insight into the 'pool' of meaning, from which social representations of national and ethnic identities are derived through the analysis of a select number of tabloid articles. The first section outlines key methodological issues pertinent to the third study of the thesis, including details regarding (i) the corpus of tabloid articles, (ii) the selection criteria for articles and (iii) the analytical procedure The empirical component of the chapter builds upon existing media research by outlining (i) how BSA may be constructed as 'Other' to the ethno-national ingroup; and (ii) the ways in which BSA (and particularly Muslims) are positioned by tabloid newspapers as a threat to the ethno-national ingroup. Crucially, the chapter highlights the potential socio-psychological repercussions of awareness of and exposure to media representations observed in the sample of tabloids examined.

Method

This section presents information regarding the methodological issues pertinent to the third study of this thesis. It provides details regarding the corpus of tabloid articles, the selection criteria and the analytical procedure.

Corpus of articles

There has been much recent research into media representations of Muslims, particularly in relation to terrorism and fundamentalism, which has focused upon tabloid articles around the time of terrorist events (e.g. September 11th 2001 and July 7th 2005). We were interested in general media representations of BSA, in the absence of major societal events involving this group. The aim was to explore general representations of BSA in everyday media reporting. Accordingly, we collected a sample of tabloid articles within a three-year period (December 2006 to December 2009), during which there were no major events involving BSA.

Selection criteria

The present study focused upon the tabloid Press, because their unmatched circulation rates in Britain suggest that tabloid newspapers constitute a potentially important source of social representations. More specifically, it has been claimed that average daily circulation rates of tabloid newspapers may be as much as ten times higher than their broadsheet counterparts, partly because tabloids are more likely to be 'shared' in public places (e.g. public transport, the workplace) (Newspaper Marketing Agency, 2007). The present study focuses upon articles from the two biggest-selling tabloid newspapers in the United Kingdom, *The Sun* and *Daily Mail*, because it is reasonable to assume that the unmatched circulation rates of these newspapers would have considerable clout in shaping dominant social representations. Furthermore, the descriptive analyses of the sample of BSA participants in study IV demonstrate that these two newspapers are most popular, further reiterating their potential impact for shaping meaning-making among BSA (see chapter VII). The thesis employs the term 'British Press' in referring to the representations observed in the two aforementioned tabloid newspapers.

The online databases of *The Sun* (www.thesun.co.uk) and *The Daily Mail* (www.thedailymail.co.uk) provided electronic access to articles published in the time period with which the present study was concerned. In order to construct a corpus of articles, the following keywords were entered into the search facility on the electronic databases: 'Asian', 'British Asian', 'Indian', 'Pakistani'. Approximately 500 articles were initially identified by the search engine as containing these keywords, but not all articles were relevant to BSA. For instance, many articles referred to the 'Far-East *Asian* economies' or '*Indian* cricket'. The results of the electronic search were pre-screened by the researcher in order to identify those articles which made direct reference to BSA and to exclude irrelevant articles or those which seemed to make only passing reference to BSA. 150 relevant articles were selected as being of potential theoretical and empirical interest for in-depth qualitative analysis. Given that the website databases only provide concise versions of articles published in the hardcopy newspapers, the dates of publication for the 150 articles were recorded in order to locate the full-text versions of the articles stored at the British Library Newspaper Reading Room in Colindale, London. This corpus included articles, in which BSA were discussed in either positive or negative ways. The 150 articles were read thoroughly by the researcher in order to assess their relevance to the present study. More specifically, articles which focused primarily upon BSA, rather than making passing reference to them, were selected for analysis. Particular preference was given to articles which made reference to BSA in their headlines, since this was one indicator of the centrality of BSA to the story. This assessment of centrality was conducted in a thorough manner, given that the researcher had full-text access to the 150 articles. The assessment process ultimately gave rise to 50 articles. This much smaller corpus consisted of articles, which made reference to BSA at least twice in the articles, depicting them as 'key' social actors in the newspaper narrative. Accordingly, these articles were regarded as being theoretically and empirically relevant, particularly because they provided scope for addressing the research questions outlined at the end of chapter II.

Analytical procedure

This study sought to offer a fine-grained analysis of the rhetoric employed in a small sample of tabloid articles, in order to explore general and potentially consistent patterns of media representation, which are not necessarily specific to a particular period. Thus, we do not

claim to elucidate the prominence of specific themes in the Press as a whole, but rather we elaborate on some of the rhetorical and discursive techniques employed in a small sample and demonstrate *how* BSA can be constructed in the Press (Coyle, 2007a). The notion of 'bias' is not appropriate to this form of analysis as we make no claims regarding the numerical pervasiveness of our reported themes within the broader British Press. The relatively small sample of 50 articles was subjected to a social constructionist variant of qualitative thematic analysis (see chapter III), although realist assumptions underpinned thinking regarding the potential socio-psychological repercussions of awareness of and exposure to these media representations (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b). As discussed earlier in the thesis, this necessitated a critical realist epistemological approach, which is compatible with thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Turning to the analytical procedure, the 50 articles in the sample were read repeatedly in order for the researcher to become as intimate as possible with the reports. To that extent, the tabloid articles were treated in a similar manner to the interview transcripts in studies I and II (see chapters IV and V). During each reading of the tabloid article, preliminary impressions and interpretations were noted in the left margin. These included *inter alia* the invocation of particular social (ethnic, racial and national) categories, comments on language use (e.g. metaphors, alliteration), and comments on 'speakers' in articles. These comments were then compared with notes made during the review of previous theory and research into media representations of ethnic minorities (e.g. van Dijk, 1991; Richardson, 2004), in order to identify apparent convergences and divergences between this previous work and the results of study III. Moreover, this facilitated the identification of rhetorical strategies reported elsewhere, which enriched the analysis, as well as the identification and description of more novel rhetorical strategies (e.g. 'strategic quoting'). Subsequently, the right margin was used to note emerging theme titles which captured the essential qualities of the articles, with a focus on both the content of the articles and the strategies used in order to encourage particular social representations. As outlined in the personal reflection in chapter III, it was deemed necessary to minimise the potential for excessively idiosyncratic interpretations, due to the researcher's first-hand involvement in interviewing participants in studies I and II. More specifically, the researcher was sensitised to accounts of perceived racism and discrimination and there was the possibility of 'over-sensitivity' to particular media

representations. This issue was handled through the researcher's frequent consultation with his Ph.D. supervisor, Dr. Marco Cinnirella, who helped to ensure a satisfactory level of consistency between data and interpretation. This analytical procedure was repeated with each article, which gave rise to between one and four master themes. The themes of each article were then grouped together, which facilitated the identification of over-arching master themes across the sample of 50 articles. Given that the primary aim of this study was to provide some preliminary insight into the content of a select number of articles and some of the subtle rhetorical strategies employed in the articles, it was deemed advantageous to include only those themes, which seemed to address the research questions of the present thesis (see chapter II). Moreover, the article extracts are provided in order to make key theoretical and empirical points, rather than in order to reflect quantitatively the corpus of articles analysed. For more detailed, comprehensive surveys of general media representations of particular subgroups within the superordinate category Asian, the reader is referred to the studies cited in the fourth section of chapter II.

The analysis originally gave rise to the following master themes: (i) 'Otherisation' and negativisation; (ii) 'Hybridised threats to the ingroup; (iii) 'Britishness and the English language'; and (iv) 'Setting the criteria for Britishness'. While themes III and IV provide interesting insights into the social construction of Britishness, their presentation in the present chapter is beyond the scope of the thesis due to space constraints. The first two master themes were regarded as most pertinent to the research questions and are therefore presented in the remaining empirical sections of this chapter.

'Otherisation' and negativisation

Socio-psychological research into dominant group perceptions of ethnic and racial minorities has elucidated the rhetorical strategies employed in order to construct minority groups as 'Other' to the dominant group. One strategy is to depict these groups as 'abnormal' (Schruijver, 1990). This section demonstrates how the media constructs BSA as violent, racist, aggressive and fundamentally opposed to self-aspects associated with Britishness.

A violent, racist 'Other': constructing intergroup and intragroup aggression

In articles which reported violent incidents involving BSA perpetrators, the ethno-racial category 'Asian' was employed frequently. This had the effect of rendering salient the ethno-racial *Asian* identity of the perpetrators of the violence. This rhetorical strategy was evident in the following tabloid headline:

> **Jailed: Asian gang members who battered schoolboy in 'Quentin Tarantino-style' hammer attack**
>
> (*Daily Mail* – 9th May 2008)

The 'gang' is defined in relation to the ethno-racial category Asian and the gang 'membership' is constructed as being exclusively Asian. Consequently, this incident is represented primarily as a racial attack despite the omitted ethno-racial identity of the victim. Instead, the victimhood is emphasised through the victim's depiction as a 'battered schoolboy'. This adjective is essentially juxtaposed with the only other adjective employed in the sentence to qualify the perpetrators: 'Asian'. Moreover, the victim's identity as a schoolboy is highlighted while the 'Asian gang members' lose their identities as schoolboys. Consequently, this is represented as a confrontation between a schoolboy (a social category which evokes social representations of vulnerability and childlikeness) and Asian gang members (evoking social representations of delinquency, danger and violence) (Alexander, 2000). These lexical choices become perceptibly ideological when considered as 'familiar noun-/ verb-/ adjective-pairings' (Allan, 1999). For instance, 'Asian gang members' is

rhetorically 'paired' with 'battered schoolboy'. Accordingly, social actors are positioned unambiguously in social categories (Davies & Harre, 1990). Lexical 'pairings' will likely have repercussions for emerging social representations regarding intergroup relations between BSA and the WBM. A negative and threatening 'genre' of lexical items is attributed to Asians, while the lexical 'genre' of passivity is attributed to the White victim. It is argued that this constructs the social category Asian as posing a realistic threat to the WBM, which will likely be conducive to the 'otherisation' of BSA, inducing threats to the belonging principle within this group.

The surrounding elements of the sentence describe the act of violence in terms of a 'Quentin Tarantino-style hammer attack'. This makes a reference to the Hollywood film director renowned for his filmic depiction of gratuitously bloody violence in a comically commonplace fashion (Kirsch, 2002). The violent act is abstract and psychologically distant from the reader. However, the reference to Tarantino *objectifies* it and thereby transforms into a more concrete, culturally accessible 'reality' for the reader. More specifically, the violent act is 'personified' through reference to Tarantino and thereby becomes dominated by the metaphorical image of Tarantino's cinematic world. This confers upon it a concrete existence, transforming it into a perceptible 'reality' for readers (Moscovici & Hewstone, 1983).

Crucially, the objectified act of violence is associated with the ethnic category Asian, which may serve to reiterate the social representation of BSA as violent, aggressive and dangerous (Alexander, 2000). This is coterminous with previous findings that when an ethnic minority group member commits a negative act, their ethnic identity is frequently rendered salient by the Press while 'benevolent' ethnic minority group members suddenly 'lose colour' (van Dijk, 1991). This essentially attributes negative distinctiveness to ethnic minority groups and deprives minorities of distinctiveness in positive contexts. This is aversive for identity (Brewer, 1991). Although outgroup derogation of this kind constitutes a means of deriving a positive social identity for the ingroup (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), the identity implications for the stigmatised outgroup will likely be negative (Jaspal, 2011b). More specifically, self-esteem is unlikely to be enhanced by the widespread strategy of outgroup derogation in the Press. Extracts from the article further illustrate the strategy of ethnic outgroup derogation:

Five members of an Asian gang who beat a white schoolboy with a

hammer [...]

(*Daily Mail* – 9th May 2008)

As highlighted above, the gang is constructed primarily in terms of its ethno-racial 'Asian' identity. Consequently, this act of violence is associated rhetorically with this social category. Indeed, research in the social sciences highlights the emerging social representations of 'the Asian gang' as a new and urgent social problem with images of urban deprivation against a backdrop of growing youth militancy (Alexander, 2000; Archer, 2001). This is analogous to the prevalent representations surrounding 'black crime' which attributed mugging and violent crime to the Black community in Britain (see Hall, 1978). It is possible that the emerging representations of the Asian gang may be *anchored* to existing, established representations of 'black crime' (Moscovici, 1988). Clearly, this performs an essentialising function and thereby constructs Asians as inherently violent. This may lead to the stigmatisation and 'otherisation' of this ethnic group. The reproduction of this social representation may mean that this example of violence from 'an Asian gang' constitutes an intrinsic element of this social 'Underclass' (Alexander, 2000):

There had been an incident previously when Asians arrived in

numbers [...]

In the same article the noun 'gang' is omitted and perpetrators of the attack are referred to simply as 'Asians'. The social representational implications of this apparent 'abbreviation' are considerable. Use of the term 'Asian *gang*' associates the attack with a particular subculture within the ethno-racial group. Conversely, use of the broader ethno-racial category 'Asian' associates it with the ethno-racial group in general. A similar rhetorical strategy has been observed in media reporting of Muslims and terrorism, in which the two categories are frequently juxtaposed. Consequently, 'the associated behaviour is seen to evolve out of something inherent in the religion, rendering *any Muslim* a potential terrorist' (Poole, 2002, p. 4; italics added). Thus, identity and behavioural categories may come to be

perceived as coterminous and entwined if they are rhetorically associated with one another. Given that frequent association may render violence the 'central core' of representations regarding Asians, this core will remain stable and persist across situational contexts (Abric, 2001), potentially inducing representations of group-level threat (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Moreover, the ethno-racial category may become stigmatised, leading to feelings of 'otherisation' and exclusion from Britishness among group members.

These article extracts demonstrate how the Press can create a social representational link between BSA and gang violence specifically within the context of inter-ethnic relations ('Asian gang' *vis-à-vis* 'white schoolboy'). On the other hand, the Press may construct BSA as violent at the *intragroup* level, that is, towards each other. This has the effect of constructing BSA as inherently violent:

Cheating wife could face 'honour killing' after acid is poured down her lover's throat

The Danish victim, who is of Asian origin, is said to have 'insulted' her strictly religious relatives, which includes women who wear the hijab

(*Daily Mail* - 23rd July 2009)

The article is deliberately ambiguous about the individual identities of the victims. They are categorised solely in terms of their ethnic and religious identities. For instance, in a subordinate clause, it is revealed that the victim 'is of Asian origin'. Furthermore, the alleged perpetrators of the attack are categorised as having 'strictly religious relatives'. Crucially, a subordinate clause informs the reader that these religious relatives include 'women who wear the hijab'. This specific act of violence and the general notion of 'honour killing' are, thus, related to the categories 'Asian' and 'Muslim'. The victim is described in terms of a superordinate ethno-racial category, which encompasses Muslims and non-Muslims of Indo-Pakistani descent, while the perpetrators are categorised in terms of their more specific religious identity. It is possible that the perpetrators are categorised as Muslims in order to activate existing negative social representations associated with Muslims and Islam, namely that they are intolerant, cruel, violent and misogynist (Whitaker, 2002).

This act of violence acquires greater meaning through the process of anchoring to the existing stock of familiar, culturally accessible representations (Moscovici, 1988). No clear distinction is made between the two social categories 'Asian' and 'Muslim', which may result in their perception as synonymous and homogeneous. Accordingly, this event is constructed as an example of *intra*group aggression. Although the anchoring of these categories homogenises them, jeopardising belonging among BSA in general, Muslims may perceive greater stigma than non-Muslims. This is because the negative social representations specifically associated with Islam are invoked in order to generalise this negativity to BSA, in general.

The criminal offence itself is described in graphic terms: 'acid is poured down her lover's throat'. This contributes to the emphatic construction of the ethno-national outgroup as cruel and violent and fundamentally different from 'us'. Greer and Jewkes (2005, p. 21) note that the media may emphasise the 'outsider' status of perpetrators of exceptional offences as unequivocal and incontestable since 'these deviants are the 'others' with whom we share the least in common'. The ethno-national outgroup is derogated through its association with exceptional crimes and thereby differentiated from the ingroup, which is conversely represented as the 'moral majority' (Greer & Jewkes, 2005, p. 21). This demonstrates the dual descriptive and ideological functions of social representations. On the one hand, they emphasise the 'outsider' status of 'them', but on the other, they implicitly highlight the morality of 'us'. Awareness of these media representations will likely lead to decreased feelings of belonging within the 'moral' majority and a weakened self-conception, threatening the belonging and self-esteem principles of identity.

The rhetorical strategy of 'overcompleteness/ irrelevance' provides subordinate information of little relevance to the report itself but nonetheless confirms and contributes to negative social representations of the stigmatised 'Other' (van Dijk, 1995). Thus, wearing the hijab perhaps comes to be associated with being 'strictly religious' and possibly 'honour killing'. Richardson (2004, p. 120) has argued that 'the hijab is used by the newspaper to symbolise their particular 'Islam', i.e. a barbaric, distasteful, negative one'. This suggests that the hijab can function as a negative metaphor, with negative consequences for self-esteem and belonging among Muslims. Moreover, Richardson (2004) notes that the Press establishes a dichotomy between the veil (Islam) and modernity (the West), which allows it

to function metaphorically as a marker of differentiation between 'us' and 'them'. This likely induces feelings of negative and 'excessive' distinctiveness. The invocation of the hijab may serve to 'objectify' the abstract notions of religious fundamentalism and honour killings (Moscovici & Hewstone, 1983). On the one hand, this renders these abstract notions more accessible or concrete in individuals' minds. On the other hand, they likely induce feelings of intergroup anxiety through perceived threat, given that self-aspects associated with the ingroup and outgroup may be perceived as being fundamentally opposite and incompatible (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). This will likely create representations of Muslim 'Otherness'.

'Otherness' of minority groups may be dependent upon racist discrimination, which is based upon beliefs of biological inferiority. Conversely, the 'inferiorisation' of cultural self-aspects such as 'ways of life, customs, languages, religion and dress' may also be regarded in terms of racism (Runnymede Trust, 2000, p. 62). In this article, honour killings are constructed as a 'way of life' or 'custom' associated with South Asian culture:

> Community leader Imtiaz Qadir, of the Active Change Foundation, said: 'Honour crime happens a lot in our community, especially the Pakistani community, but we do try to educate the people. It's a cultural thing from back home'
>
> (*Daily Mail* – 23rd July 2009)

The notion that 'honour crime happens a lot in our community, especially the Pakistani community' is presented as a direct quote from a representative of the BSA community. This example of 'strategic quoting' lends the statement a degree of credibility. Indeed, Imtiaz Qadir is described as a 'community leader' which depicts him as a spokesperson for 'community'. Consequently, as an insider's perspective and thus 'credible' source, this statement may contribute to the social representation that honour crimes constitute a ubiquitous and frequent occurrence in South Asian communities. Moreover, the Press' accentuation of Qadir's position as spokesperson for the BSA community may lead to the generalisation of his views to the broader BSA community. In short, readers may believe that BSA regard honour crime in terms of a mundane cultural self-aspect. Given the

polemical nature of honour crime and honour killing in Western societies (e.g. Goldstein, 2002), BSA may be 'otherised' from society on the basis of their radically different and 'unacceptable' worldview *vis-à-vis* this matter. Moreover, these social representations may contribute to increased debate regarding the compatibility of British and South Asian identities. It is likely that, given the position of the quoted individual, this quote may contribute to hegemonic social representations of honour crime within BSA communities (Moscovici, 1988). The representation may become hegemonic through its association with a 'credible' source. However, the actual facilitator of the representation is the newspaper which *strategically quotes* Qadir. This highlights the power of the Press in shaping dominant social representations. The 'high level' of the emerging social representation may serve to construct South Asian culture as inherently violent and aggressive, problematising its compatibility with Britishness, which conversely is regarded as group members as the 'moral majority'.

Honour crimes are explicitly represented as being embedded within South Asian 'culture': 'It's a cultural thing from back home'. This constructs honour crimes in terms of an intrinsic aspect of 'Asian-ness', and thereby problematises South Asian identity and its compatibility within the Britishness. In short, this raises questions regarding the compatibility of aspects of culture 'from back home' and norms and values associated with Britishness. This poses potential obstacles for the psychological coherence principle, since individuals may themselves come to perceive South Asian and British national identities as contradictory and conflictual (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a). Furthermore, by constructing honour crimes as a 'cultural thing from back home', it is trivialised as any other self aspect or practice associated with the culture. It is subtly positioned alongside other mundane cultural aspects.

British South Asian opposition to symbols of the ethno-national ingroup
The analysis suggests that BSA may be 'otherised' and negativised by highlighting their 'active' opposition to the dominant majority. This is manifested in terms of their opposition to self-aspects associated with the dominant ethno-national ingroup. Drawing upon intergroup threat theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), perceived opposition of minority groups to the worldview of the dominant majority may be conceptualised as a symbolic threat. It

has been highlighted that this may be threatening for continuity among dominant group members, which suggests that the threatening group will be 'otherised' and disdained (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b).

One article constructed BSA opposition to the armed forces, which can constitute an important symbol of the nation (Conboy, 2006):

Asian petrol station worker 'refused to serve Afghanistan war veteran because he was in uniform'

An Asian worker at the garage in Surrey told the shocked soldier he had to change out of his combat fatigues before he could be served.

(*Daily Mail* – 24th October 2007)

As in the above-cited extracts, the article employs the strategy of categorising the *negativised* social actor in terms of their ethnic identity. The 'petrol station worker' is categorised specifically as an '*Asian* petrol station worker', which bears little relevance to the news report. This exemplifies the 'over-completeness/ irrelevance' strategy. Despite changes in the article's expression of the individual's occupational identity (i.e. it is abbreviated from 'petrol station worker' to the more ambiguous 'worker'), their *ethno-racial* identity is expressed consistently. Indeed, the accentuation of the worker's ethno-racial identity highlights the constructed importance of this identity category in determining the behaviour of the worker. In particular, it implies that the petrol station worker's actions (i.e. 'refusing' to serve the soldier) arise primarily from his membership in the Asian ethno-racial group. It is noteworthy that social representations of Muslims' 'disloyalty' and active opposition to British interests abound in media and public discourse (Phillips, 2006; Werbner, 1994). Thus, it is likely that the constructed opposition of the BSA worker to British symbols may be anchored to existing representations of Muslim disloyalty. This may have a homogenising effect in relation to the Asian and Muslim categories. Thus, BSA in general may be regarded as posing a symbolic threat to the WBM due to their opposition to the armed forces, a symbol of Britishness.

Indeed, after ample reminder that the worker is Asian, the 'anti-war views of the employee' are introduced:

> Witnesses claim the snub was due to the anti-war views of the employee, but BP said it was the result of a misunderstanding about licensing laws.

The article's rhetorical accentuation of the petrol station worker's Asian identity facilitates the social representation that Asian identity is conducive to 'anti-war views' and that this stance constitutes a self-aspect associated with Asian identity (Simon, 2004). This is because the meaning principle motivates individuals to make sense of events and actions (Vignoles et al., 2006). The accentuation of the worker's ethno-racial identity implicitly provides this category membership as an 'explanation' for this symbolically threatening behaviour on the part of the worker. Moreover, the presentation of the hypothesis regarding the worker's 'anti-war views' as an *eyewitness* account performs important rhetorical functions. The allegation that the petrol station worker refused to serve the soldier *because of* his anti-war views (which are constructed as arising from his ethnic category membership) is successfully distanced from the newspaper and appears more objective (Verkuyten, 2001). Thus, the allegation is made to seem a well-founded one, based upon the first-hand account of eye witnesses, dispelling potential accusations of speculation and sensationalism. This has important implications for the overall credibility of the allegation being made since it constructs it as unbiased and legitimate. Kieran's (1998, p. 27) argument that 'a journalist's news report should aim to persuade the audience that his or her description and interpretation is the rational and appropriate one' demonstrates the socio-psychological function of the rhetorical strategy highlighted above. Indeed, evaluative judgements are likely to become social representations if they themselves are grounded in *shared* understandings, since they appear to be grounded in *objective* features of the target (Moliner & Tafani, 1997).

Research into ethnic identity construction highlights the importance of the 'relational self' and the distinctiveness principle (Eriksen, 1993; Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). Thus, it is important to consider how the soldier, as the other significant social actor in the article, is constructed in relation to the petrol station worker. In the headline the primary social actor

is the 'Asian petrol station worker' who is represented as behaving unreasonably with an 'Afghanistan war veteran [...] in uniform'. While the 'Asian petrol station worker' remains 'Asian' and a 'worker' throughout the article, evoking social representations of opposition to the ethno-national ingroup, the soldier is described in a more detailed, favourable manner:

> The soldier is a captain with 16 Air Assault Brigade, some of whom
> fought the Taliban in Afghanistan last summer.

Firstly, the soldier is associated with a specific, recent conflict, which has received much media coverage. For readers, this will constitute a psychologically accessible, 'tangible' conflict, with which they will be able to identify (Moscovici, 1988). Furthermore, he is associated with a specific division within the army, which renders the soldier more familiar to the reader. The 'supporting evidence' regarding the military career of the soldier elucidates the individual's character (Tuchman, 1972). He is thereby attributed an individual identity. The article's accentuation of his services to the nation evokes positive social representations of patriotism (Sapountzis, 2008). The assertion that some soldiers within the division had 'fought the Taliban in Afghanistan last summer' creates a social representational link between the soldier and the courage associated with fighting a national enemy (here, the Taliban). This positions the soldier in an unambiguously favourable light and thereby constructs the petrol worker's behaviour as inappropriate and irrational. Thus, positive value is attributed to the soldier, while negative value is attributed to the worker. As Conboy (2006, p. 50) notes, tabloid newspapers typically 'swear allegiance to the virtues of patriotism and are unequivocal about the bravery of British soldiers abroad'. Accordingly, the soldier is constructed in positive terms as a patriot *vis-à-vis* 'non-patriots' who are non-normative and 'other' to the ethno-national ingroup.

The relatively detailed discussion of the soldier's background renders it difficult for the reader not to express sympathy for the soldier, who is constructed as the victim of an injustice. Indeed, the 'desirable' response would be pride and gratitude given the soldier's acknowledged contributions to the nation. It is noteworthy that there are social representations surrounding the war and its soldiers, particularly of a lack of resources and financial 'abandonment' on the part of the government with the result that soldiers are also

widely perceived as victims of a (financially) unsupportive government (Harding & Borland, 2007). Here the soldier is constructed as being victimised by the 'Asian worker'. This may imply that BSA are 'less British' due to their constructed tendency not to express pride in the armed forces. The emphasis of 'anti-war views' contributes to its social representation as a self-aspect underlying BSA identity. In short, BSA are negativised and 'otherised' through the encouragement of representations of BSA as opposed to the interests of the ethno-national ingroup and as posing a symbolic threat to the ingroup (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

SUMMARY

The themes outlined in this chapter highlight the notion that BSAs' 'deviance' from the self-aspects (norms, values, practices etc.) associated with the WBM exemplifies the 'Otherness' (Bowling & Phillips, 2002). Difference is employed in order to 'inferiorise' BSA (Anthias, 1995). This is achieved through a variety of rhetorical strategies. Lexical pairings can create social representational linkage between social categories and negative attributes. The social representational process of anchoring facilitates the exchange and homogenisation of these categories and attributes. Moreover, the construction of honour crime as a commonplace aspect of South Asian culture contributes to this negativisation. This is further reinforced through attribution of particular lexical 'genres' to BSA and the WBM. It has been observed that the strategy of 'overcompleteness/ irrelevance' contributes to the over-arching negative social representations of BSA by inducing their 'otherisation' and negativisation. The Press is explicitly concerned with appearing objective and impartial in its reporting. This is enhanced through strategic quoting, which essentially consists of the presentation of a media agenda through quotes strategically selected from members of the groups discussed.

Awareness of negative media representations among BSA will likely increase feelings of *negative distinctiveness*, which itself is conducive to decreased self-esteem (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000) *(research question 1i)*. The Press negativises BSA through anchoring to Muslim identity, which is stigmatised in media and public discourse. Thus, it is possible that Muslim and non-Muslim will respond to these media representations differently. The belonging principle may be particularly vulnerable to threat among Muslims, who may feel more excluded due to negative media representations of Muslims *(research question 3iv)*. However, ethno-religious homogenisation may render the

principle vulnerable to threat among BSA, in general. It is possible that the distinctiveness principle will become active among British Indians, who will likely value intergroup differentiation from Muslims due to ethno-religious homogenisation in the Press (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). The accentuation of difference between BSA and the WBM highlights dilemmas between British national and ethno-religious identities, potentially jeopardising the psychological coherence principle *(research question 2iii)*.

In addition to negativisation and 'otherisation', the analysis revealed that BSA could be constructed in terms of symbolic, realistic and hybridised threats to the ingroup. This is discussed in the following section.

Hybridised threats to the ingroup

The Press tends to construct ethnic minorities in terms of a realistic or material threat to the ingroup (Greer & Jewkes, 2005). The first half of this chapter demonstrates that BSA (and particularly Muslims) can be positioned by the British Press as a realistic threat (i.e. terrorism) to the ingroup and that the perceived 'soft touch' approach of the British government allegedly serves to aggravate this problem. The second half considers threat to the ingroup at a hybridised (realistic/ symbolic) level. It is argued that the Press presents BSA as recipients of greater institutional support than the WBM (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977), which can be threatening for identity.

Endangering the ethno-national ingroup and the 'soft touch' approach

A recurrent theme in this sample of articles concerned the terrorist threat allegedly posed by sections of the Muslim community in Britain. The terrorist threat was accentuated through the reproduction of the social representation of the 'weak' institutional policy regarding this terrorist threat. This is analogous to the representation that the 'soft touch' welfare system may indirectly facilitate terrorist activity (Greer & Jewkes, 2005):

> **We'll ease up on Muslim fanatics**
>
> Labour slammed the brakes on its war against violent extremism yesterday
> – amid fears that it had upset Muslim voters.
>
> (*The Sun* – 10th August 2009)

It has been noted in research into religious fundamentalism that social representations of fundamentalism and fanaticism are anchored to those of violence, terrorism and realistic threat to the ingroup (Herriot, 2007). Such conceptual conflation has become particularly acute following September 11th 2001 when media coverage began to converge representations of terrorism, anti-terrorist measures and radicalisation (Poole, 2002). Thus, the boundaries delineating these two sets of social representations are weak, facilitating social representational conflation. Although there is a conceptual difference between

'fanatic' and 'terrorist', the article conflates the two categories through use of the term 'violent extremism'. Crucially, these individuals are referred to specifically as '*Muslim* fanatics', which encourages social representational linkage between the ethno-religious category 'Muslim' in general and the notion of fanaticism. This contributes to the construction of Muslims in terms of a realistic threat to the ingroup, potentially inducing their 'otherisation' and stigmatisation.

The social representation of realistic threat to the national ingroup arises from Muslims' constructed position as 'fanatics' capable of 'violent extremism'. Thus, use of the verb 'ease up' to denote the adopted policy of the Labour Party seems an overtly disproportionate response to a realistic threat, which in turn could imperil the group continuity of the ethno-national ingroup (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b). Moreover, use of the verb 'ease up' evokes social representations of the 'soft touch approach' alluded to by Greer and Jewkes (2006). The juxtaposition of a realistic threat to the ingroup and a 'weak' verb such as 'ease up' indicates the sarcastic tone of the statement. It is implied that the government's policy is so dangerous and threatening that it can only be considered to be ridiculous. Thus, this constitutes an overt condemnation of the institutional approach to dealing with national security.

The aim of the article is to unveil 'favouritism' towards Muslims, which is manifested by the 'soft touch approach'. This is implied by the suggestion that the war against violent extremism 'had upset Muslim voters'. Thus, Muslims are depicted as possessing disproportionately high institutional support and control, since their 'sensitivities' regarding the war are represented as influential in government policy. Moreover, use of the term 'fears' connotes the alleged political and ideological monopoly of Muslim voters. The implicit argument is that, in order to guarantee Muslim political support, the government imperils the safety, well-being and group continuity of the non-Muslim majority in Britain. The social representation that the ingroup faces realistic threats from the outgroup is encouraged, since Muslims allegedly pose a terrorist threat, as well as possessing political and ideological hegemony in Britain and, thus, greater institutional control (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

The following section expands upon the social representation that BSA possess greater institutional support and control than the WBM.

Threats to ingroup institutional support

In the present section it is argued that threats to ingroup institutional support may be construed in terms of hybridised threats, consisting of realistic and symbolic threats (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b). This threat is symbolic in that greater institutional support presupposes the imposition of the outgroup's norms, values and worldview upon the ingroup majority. Conversely, it is realistic in that it generates threats to the political power and economic welfare of the ingroup. For instance, the Press elucidates the greater 'allowances' made for outgroup faiths:

> **Nurse faces sack over 'dangerous' 1-inch cross**
>
> *"I don't want to have to decide between my faith and my job.* My Christian faith is what motivates me to care for others [...] I feel I'm being bullied and victimised because of my faith. They are prepared to make allowances for other faiths, but not for Christianity."
>
> (*The Sun* – 21st September 2009)

From the outset the article alludes to an alternative cause underlying the requirement that the nurse remove her '1-inch cross'. The 'safety explanation' is clearly problematised in the headline. By positioning the adjective 'dangerous' in inverted commas, it is presented as a *contested* assertion (Coyle, 2007b). This implies that the 'true' explanation for requiring the nurse to remove the cross is discrimination against Christianity, which may be thought of in terms of an aspect of Britishness (Bradley, 2008). It is implied that opposition to ingroup self-aspects (e.g. Christianity) is endorsed and encouraged by the national institution. The social representation that outgroup faiths are afforded greater institutional support than Christianity highlights the hybridised threat facing the ingroup

The article provides accompanying 'facts' independent of the nurse in order to reveal the 'true' nature of the case:

> Muslim nurses are allowed to wear headscarves at Royal Devon and Exeter Hospital. The NHS trust sent a letter in June ordering Shirley to remove or hide the cross.

The article reproduces the social representation that the ethno-national ingroup lacks institutional support through intergroup comparisons with Muslims. This may be anchored to existing social representations of Muslims' disproportionately high institutional support *vis-à-vis* the WBM and of their general opposition to ethno-national ingroup aspects, which has been discussed above. This is likely to have a 'reinforcing' function since individuals will employ their prior knowledge of social representations in order to understand novel situations. This reflects the anchoring process (Moscovici, 1988). The meaning principle motivates individuals to employ the anchoring process in order to make sense of the surrounding world. Accordingly, the article distances the debate from the notion of safety and invokes religious differences in institutional support. Consequently, this represents the matter in terms of religion *per se* rather than safety in the workplace. The Islamic headscarf ontologises the threat allegedly posed by the Muslim outgroup, since it allows the abstract notion that 'they' (Muslims) threaten 'us' through their disproportionately high level of institutional support (Moscovici & Hewstone, 1983). The strategic invocation of the headscarf, a self-aspect of Islam, activates social representations that Muslims are in fact beyond the law due to their high level of institutional support and control.

Social representations of weak ingroup institutional support are discernible in this sample of tabloid articles. For instance, in an article comparing university enrolment among various ethno-racial groups in Britain, it is implied that BSA possess greater institutional support since they outnumber the WBM in higher education.

> **As Black and Asian teenagers flock to university, WHITE working-class boys are shunning education.**
> Asian and black African teenagers progress to university in far greater numbers than white youngsters with similar GCSE grades, Government-funded research found.
>
> (*Daily Mail* – 19th June 2008)

The headline depicts Black and BSA enrolment in British universities in terms of an invasion; the verb 'to flock' connotes movement on a massive scale. The strength of this verb becomes salient in juxtaposition with the semantically 'weak' verb employed to denote

White working-class boys' enrolment: 'to shun'. 'Black and Asian teenagers' possess agency in this sentence, whereas 'White working-class boys' are depicted as passive recipients of a process unfolding around them. The abstract notion of university enrolment is embodied by metaphorical imagery of active invasion (from outgroups) and subconscious passivity (of the ingroup), which reflects the figuration process of objectification (Moscovici & Hewstone, 1983). This essentially renders the process psychologically accessible to readers, highlighting in clear terms the greater institutional support of outgroups.

Allan's (1999) notion of 'verb pairings' allows insight into the ideological outcomes of juxtaposing two verbs in a single utterance. In this extract the verbs pairing signals the agency of Black and BSA teenagers *vis-à-vis* the passivity of White working class boys. Although van Dijk's (2000, p. 39-40) argues that ethnic minorities tend to be represented 'in a passive role (things are being decided or done for or against them) unless they're agents of negative actions', their very agency, in this context, demonstrates their greater institutional control. Van Dijk's argument is true of cases in which ethnic minorities are represented as lazy and as usurping ingroup resources (e.g. Pearce & Stockdale, 2009). Here their agency contributes to the social representation of hybridised threat.

Low institutional support is depicted as having a debilitating effect upon White working-class boys whose 'passivity' is accentuated:

> White working-class boys are particularly likely to refuse further studies –
> reinforcing fears of an emerging underclass shut out of higher education and
> top jobs.

White working-class boys are constructed in terms of 'an emerging underclass', which evokes social representations of 'second-class' citizenship (Punke, 1972). Moreover, this underclass is depicted as being passively 'shut out of higher education and top jobs'. Thus, they become the passive recipients of an action against them. This is constructed primarily in terms of an active exclusion on the part of an external force, namely British institutions which favour 'Black and Asian teenagers'.

This lays the foundation for understanding the problematisation and trivialisation of allegations of racism against the ingroup.

Problematisation and trivialisation of racism allegations

There were a number of articles in the sample which implicitly problematised BSAs' allegations of racism against the WBM. Indeed, van Dijk (1995) has observed that the Press commonly denies or mitigates racism perpetrated by the ethno-national ingroup and, conversely, constructs ethno-national ingroup members as the 'true' victims of racism. As discussed in the previous section, the Press disseminates social representations of high outgroup institutional support *vis-à-vis* low ingroup institutional support. The juxtaposition of media representations constructing the WBM as the 'true' racism victims and of those constructing BSA as successful recipients of compensation for racist discrimination reinforces the over-arching superordinate social representation that racism poses a greater hybridised threat to the WBM.

In order to forward this over-arching social representation, the Press alludes to the ways in which BSA allegedly understand racism. The aim is to demonstrate their 'over-sensitivity' *vis-à-vis* apparently trivial matters. For instance, the following article describes 'Islam fury' over a seemingly trivial matter:

> **Islam fury at Enders**
> EASTENDERS has again caused fury – by showing a Muslim character
> eating during Ramadan.
> The scene prompted 107 complaints from viewers, who thought it insulted
> Muslim values.
> But the BBC has been forced to issue a statement saying it did not mean to
> cause offence.
>
> (*The Sun* – 3rd October 2008)

This extract is useful in providing insight into the Press' construction and exemplification of BSAs' perceptions of racist discrimination. Since this is presented as an exemplar of over-sensitivity, it is likely that readers will generalise the exemplar to other members of the social group (Nosofsky & Zaki, 2002). This may result in a social representation of over-sensitivity among Muslims in general. Media representations may be anchored to social representations of Muslims in general, with the result that they are all perceived to be 'furious' about this

particular issue (Moscovici, 1988). Crucially, the complaints are hyperbolically represented as 'fury', which evokes representations of unrestrained, aggressive anger. Indeed, this reflects the figuration process of objectification whereby the accompanying metaphorical imagery renders the 'sensitivity' of Muslims psychologically accessible (Moscovici & Hewstone, 1983). Such a seemingly aggressive response to a television programme 'showing a Muslim character eating during Ramadan' is represented as being disproportionate and possibly irrational, echoing existing social representations of the Islamic 'Other' (Poole, 2002). Indeed, breaking a fast is not necessarily considered a grave matter to non-Muslims, who may therefore regard this as an exaggerated response to a trivial matter. This irrationality is constructed through juxtaposition with dominant representations of *Eastenders* as a socially 'familiar' phenomenon associated with the ethno-national ingroup. Familiarity of the programme is suggested by its referral as 'Enders'. As a familiar programme associated with the ingroup, it is constructed as harmless rather than offensive. This social representation is emphasised partly in order to construct the Muslim, or BSA, response to the programme as irrational, disproportionate and excessively sensitive. This representation may be anchored to existing representations disseminated in the wide media coverage of Muslim responses to the Rushdie Affair, which was largely considered to be irrational and excessive (Modood, 1990; Poole, 2002). Crucially, this article is meant to elucidate the 'sorts' of events and phenomena which lead to racism allegations.

The article alludes the 'clash' between Britishness and Muslim identity by highlighting that Muslims 'thought that it [an *Eastenders* storyline] insulted Muslim values'. In short, an aspect of Britishness is regarded as being in conflict with Islam. This is implicitly represented as a threat to freedom of representation/ speech, which is frequently referred to as a fundamentally British value (van Dijk, 1993). Consequently, this may be construed as a symbolic threat since it allegedly attacks an ingroup value (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Furthermore, echoing previous sections of this chapter, which highlight the disproportionate level of institutional support conferred upon BSA *vis-à-vis* the WBM, the BBC is constructed as 'being forced to issue a statement' justifying its depiction of a Muslim character eating during Ramadan. This representation may be anchored to existing representations which highlight the high institutional control of BSA. In short, 'Islam fury' at this programme, which is familiar to and associated with the ethno-national ingroup,

comes to exemplify, or to constitute an exemplar of, the kinds of 'trivial' phenomena which cause offence to BSA. Moreover, Britain's institutions such as the BBC are depicted as being more concerned with the 'sensitivities' of BSA than with the defence of 'British values' such as freedom of speech.

The remainder of this section discusses media representations of BSA claimants of racism, since this is represented as exemplifying the policy of political correctness in Britain and the disproportionate institutional support of BSA:

Asian banker awarded £2.8million in discrimination claim against Abbey.
An Asian bank worker has been awarded a record 2.8 million in compensation after successfully claiming race discrimination against Abbey.

(*Daily Mail* – 23rd October 2008)

The article consistently categorises the banker in terms of his ethno-racial identity, which constitutes an important rhetorical strategy in media reporting on ethnic minorities (Cottle, 2000). This has the effect of contributing to the social representation that compensation for racism claims is most pertinently associated with BSA. Thus, 'discrimination claims' come to constitute a self-aspect or 'tendency' associated with BSA. This contributes to the social representation that BSA pose a realistic threat to the ingroup given that they are represented as compromising the economic interests of the ingroup (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Incidentally, this may be anchored to social representations that minority groups (e.g. asylum seekers) receive a disproportionate share of the ingroup resources without making any positive contributions to the state (e.g. Pearce & Stockdale, 2009). Media representations level the charge that ethnic minorities 'spend too much taxpayers' money [...] and accuse *us* of prejudice and discrimination' (van Dijk, 1991, p. 207-208). Indeed, there is particular emphasis on the 'record' sum of the award. It is highlighted that the number of the race discrimination awards has reached unprecedented levels, indicating that the institutional support of BSA is concurrently on the increase. The size of the award may be anchored to existing social representations of BSAs' levels of institutional support and control, thereby strengthening and reinforcing this representation. Due to the ontologising function of

emphasising the financial dimension of this matter (money symbolises institutional support), this matter dominates social representations. The central 'core' of the representation is not racial discrimination but financial incentive (Abric, 1993):

> Balbinder Chagger, 40, already pocketed £50,000 from the company when a tribunal last November ruled he had been made redundant in a cost-cutting exercise designed to shave five per cent off his department's budget.

The verb 'to pocket' suggests that this is an illicit acquisition of money, which is constructed as an active process of 'taking' rather than a passive acquisition. Use of this metaphor allows for the figuration of this representation. This monetary acquisition is embodied and dominated by images of illicitness and corruptness, which highlight and accentuate the threatening nature of BSA (Moscovici & Hewstone, 1983). In short, the emphasis upon the financial sums (i.e. £50,000, £2.8million) and the use of verbs such as 'pocketed' construct this in terms of an illicit 'scam' associated with BSA. This is reiterated by the assertion that Chagger managed to increase the size of the award:

> Mr Chagger went back to court last week and upped his claim from £300,000 to £4,300,000 because he believed he had underestimated his potential losses.
> Legal experts expressed astonishment at the size of the award.
>
> (*Daily Mail* – 23rd October 2008)

Use of the informal verb 'upped' suggests that this constitutes an active, unilateral decision to increase the size of the award. This should be considered in relation to existing social representations, which emphasise the institutional control of BSA. This highlights the self-efficacy of BSA to unilaterally increase the size of their award. Moreover, the opinion of 'legal experts' is invoked as 'evidence' that the monetary award is disproportionately high. This is illustrated by the legal experts' 'astonishment at the size of the award'. This constructed consensus makes the statement appear more objective (Verkuyten, 2001), which indeed complements media representations and is vital for their transformation into *social* representations (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b).

SUMMARY

It is important to consider media and social representations collectively since through the processes of anchoring and objectification representations are understood in relation to one another. Collectively, they form a broad ideological pool of social representations, which can be active, dominant and hegemonic or latent and dormant (Cinnirella, 1997a). The amalgamation and conflation of both hegemonic and dormant representations can construct BSA in terms of a hybridised threat (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b). It has been observed that the conflation of fundamentalism and terrorism, coupled with the conflation of fundamentalism/ terrorism and Muslims, contributes to the perception of threat. The hybridised threat consists of both realistic and symbolic elements, such as opposition to self-aspects associated with Britishness (symbolic), and silent sympathy with terrorism (realistic). Moreover, it is argued that the important media representation that BSA possess greater institutional support, manifested by the concessions made towards other faith groups and by the 'relaxation' of anti-terror measures, may be construed in terms of a hybridised threat to the ingroup. Furthermore, the media's focus upon the 'excessive' compensation awards to BSA claimants of racism reinforces the social representation of high institutional support/ control, while echoing the representation discussed in the previous chapter that BSA are inherently immoral. This immorality is constructed by implying that the WBM are the 'true' victims of racism.

Clearly, the perception of hybridised threat from BSA could induce defensive attitudes among sections of the WBM, giving rise to the stigmatisation and 'otherisation' of BSA. This essentially creates a social context, in which feelings of belonging and self-esteem may in turn be impeded among BSA *(research question 1i)*. Moreover, it is likely that awareness of these negative media representations themselves will have a negative impact for identity processes among BSA. For instance, the perception that the media problematises and trivialises potentially genuine allegations of racism may reduce feelings of control and competence in dealing with genuine cases of racism, threatening self-efficacy. Crucially, the media's delineation of ingroup from outgroup on the basis of threat is likely to call into question the compatibility of British national and South Asian ethnic identities, with deeply negative outcomes for the psychological coherence principle *(research question 2iii)*.

Chapter VII addresses some of the preliminary hypotheses outlined in this section and earlier chapters in its presentation of a quantitative study exploring the inter-relations between the media, identity and well-being.

Summary of findings

The present study was conducted to *inform*, and partially address, research questions 1i, 2iii and 3iv only. While these research questions address the link between social representation and cognition, the results of the present study can only provide detailed insight into representation. This explains the brevity of the present section and the omission of the other research questions from this section.

Question 1(i) What is the relationship between social representations (e.g. media representations) and identity processes?

It is important to consider media and social representations collectively since, through the processes of anchoring and objectification, representations are understood in relation to one another. Collectively, they form a broad ideological pool of social representations, which can be active, dominant and hegemonic or latent and dormant (Cinnirella, 1997a). This provides the building blocks for addressing the present research question.

On the basis of the findings that BSA are 'otherised' in the British Press, it is possible to hypothesise that this could induce 'excessive' distinctiveness, jeopardising the belonging principle. More specifically, British Pakistanis (most of whom are Muslims) may feel particularly excluded due to negative media representations of Muslims, in particular. However, it is argued that, given the media and social practice of ethnic 'homogenisation' discussed throughout the thesis, both British Pakistanis and British Indians may perceive threats to belonging. Furthermore, the perceived stigmatisation and 'negativisation' of one's ingroup in the Press would be unlikely to facilitate a positive self-conception, given the observed link between stigma and self-esteem (Jaspal, 2011b). Thus, it is likely that negative media representations of the ingroup will be associated with decreased self-esteem.

Question 2(iii) How might social representations (e.g. conveyed in media representations) affect British national and ethnic identification?

It is foreseeable that the perception among BSA that the British Press negativises BSA might inhibit self-identification with Britishness, particularly in light of the finding that many participants regarded the British Press in terms of a 'mouth-piece' for the WBM (see chapters

IV and V). Thus, it is possible that BSA would find it difficult to self-identify with a national group whose members are regarded as excluding them. Consistent with earlier discussions in the thesis, this may conversely result in greater identification with the ethnic group, given that it functions at the same level of abstraction as Britishness and constitutes an alternative source of belonging (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). Moreover, as outlined above, it is possible that British Pakistani (Muslim) and British Indian (non-Muslim) individuals would respond to these media representations differently (see chapter VII).

Question 3(iv) How do media representations affect the management of these identities?
Clearly, the results of the present study can only facilitate hypotheses rather than unequivocal answers. The accentuation of difference between BSA and the WBM highlights dilemmas between British national and ethno-religious identities, potentially jeopardising the psychological coherence principle. Furthermore, the perception of hybridised threat from BSA could induce defensive attitudes among sections of the WBM, giving rise to widespread stigmatisation and 'otherisation' of BSA. This may engender the perception that Britishness and ethnic identity are incompatible. In short, the media's delineation of ingroup from outgroup on the basis of threat is likely to call into question the compatibility of British national and South Asian ethnic identities among BSA themselves. This is expected to adversely affect the psychological coherence principle and, thus, the management of national and ethnic identities.

Chapter VII:

Study IV

This chapter reports the quantitative results of the fourth study, which tests a number of hypotheses regarding the relationships between identity, media representation and psychological well-being. These hypotheses are derived from the theoretical and empirical findings reported in the first three studies of the thesis. Following the presentation of the hypotheses tested in the study, the chapter discusses key methodological issues pertinent to the fourth and final study of the thesis. The results are clustered around the following themes: (i) general perceptions of media representations; (ii) the media and identity principles; (iii) national and ethnic identity management; (iv) social identification and identity principles; and (v) the predictors of British national and ethnic identities and psychological coherence. The concluding section contextualises the results of the study in relation to the relevant social sciences literature.

Hypotheses

A close consideration of the literature regarding media representations of BSA, Muslims and ethnic minorities in general, as well as the review of previous theory and research into ethnic and national identities led to the formulation of hypotheses for empirical exploration in the final study of the thesis. These hypotheses were further refined in accordance with the results of studies I and II, which explored qualitatively the construction and management of national and ethnic identities among FGSA and SGSA, and with the media analysis in study III.

Accordingly, four 'clusters' of hypotheses were identified, namely: (i) general perceptions of media representations; (ii) the media and identity principles; (iii) national and ethnic identity management; and (iv) social identification and the identity principles. This section presents the hypotheses which were tested in the study outlined in the next chapter.

General perceptions of media representations

1. Those participants who do not read national newspapers will hold more negative representations of the British media than those who do.

2. British Indians will hold more positive representations of the British media than British Pakistanis.

The media and identity principles

3. The more the media is perceived to threaten the identity principles as a whole, the less Britishness will be perceived as enhancing the principles, although this will not be the case for ethnic identity.

4. Holding the social representation that British Press problematises the coherence of national and ethnic identities is associated with high levels of connectedness and low levels of psychological coherence.

5. Awareness of negative media representations will be positively associated with the personalisation of outgroup criticism of one's ethnic group.

6. Awareness of negative media representations will be negatively associated with future self-efficacy in relation to British national identity, although this will not be the case for self-efficacy in relation to ethnic identity.

7. The perception that the Press problematises British South Asians' belonging in Britain will be associated with decreased identification with Britishness. However, this perception will not be associated with decreased identification with the ethnic group.

8. Awareness of negative media representations will be associated with decreased global self-esteem.

National and ethnic identity management

9. Psychological coherence (in relation to British national and ethno-religious identities) will be positively associated with British national identification but unrelated to ethnic identification.

10. British Pakistanis will perceive greater connectedness between British national and religious identities and less coherence between these identities than British Indians. This effect will be stronger between British national and religious identities than between British national and ethnic identities.

11. British Indians will derive greater feelings of belonging from Britishness than British Pakistanis, while British Pakistanis will derive greater feelings of belonging from the ethnic group than British Indians.

Social identification and identity principles

12. Indian participants will perceive Britishness as enhancing the identity principles more than ethnic identity does, while Pakistani participants will perceive ethnic identity as enhancing the principles more than Britishness does.

13. Britishness will be perceived to be more important than ethnic identity among British Indians, although this will not be the case for British Pakistanis.

14. The perception that ethnic identity serves the continuity and belonging principles will be positively associated with perceived importance, although there will be no association between ethnic identity and the self-efficacy principle.

15. The perception that Britishness serves the self-efficacy and self-esteem principles will be positively associated with the perceived importance of Britishness, although this will not be the case for the continuity principle.

16. BSA will derive greater feelings of self-efficacy from Britishness than from ethnic identity.

Method

This section provides information regarding the methodological issues pertinent to the fourth and final study of the thesis. It presents details regarding participant recruitment and sampling issues, the development of the survey questionnaire, the piloting procedure, and the statistical tests employed.

Participant recruitment and sampling

An opportunity sample of volunteers was obtained using a snowball sampling strategy. Four main groups of respondents were targeted: first generation British Indians (n = 41); first generation British Pakistanis (n= 48); second generation British Indians (n = 50); and second generation British Pakistanis (n= 61). FGSA and SGSA were approached at Indian and Pakistani community centres in a city in the East Midlands and in West London. Potential participants were informed of the aims of the study and of their right to withdraw themselves or their data from the study at any point. Moreover, they were informed of their right to refuse to answer any questions they wished not to. Participants were invited to fill out a survey questionnaire. They completed the questionnaire in private at the community centre and placed it into a box which was left near the entrance. Moreover, an identical questionnaire was uploaded online and the link was sent to potential participants on Facebook and on other social networking sites. 107 participants completed the online questionnaire and 108 participants completed the paper questionnaire. In total, 215 individuals participated. Data from 13 participants were excluded from some analyses due to missing data.

Among FGSA, the age range was from 21 to 70 years with a mean age of 48.4 years (SD = 13.5). Among SGSA, the age range was from 18 to 41 years with a mean age of 23.5 years (SD = 3.8). The gender distribution was: 107 male and 93 female. Initial statistical analysis using t-tests confirmed that there were no significant gender differences between the FGSA and SGSA participant groups.

Initial descriptive analyses of the data highlighted that 62.8% of the sample reported reading national newspapers, while 37.2% reported never doing so. In terms of frequency,

10.2% reported reading a national newspaper daily, 21.4% a few times a week, 20% once a week, 10.7% a few times a week, and 37.2% never. Most newspaper readers in the sample reported reading *The Sun* (19.5%), followed by *The Daily Mail* (18.6%), with only small percentages of participants reading *The Daily Telegraph* (5.1%), *The Guardian* (4.2%) and *The Times* (1.9%). These findings further demonstrate the feasibility of focusing upon media representations in *The Sun* and *The Daily Mail* in study III (see chapter VI), since these seem to be the most popular newspapers among our sample of participants at least.

Development of the survey questionnaire

A structured cross-sectional self-completion attitude survey questionnaire consisting of six sections was constructed in order to address the aforementioned hypotheses (see appendix IV). It is noteworthy that, although the present section outlines the overall Cronbach's alpha scores for the scales, the reliability analyses of the scales are presented in a detailed manner in appendix VI.

Section A included general demographic questions.   This included questions regarding age, sex, place of birth and first-hand exposure to the British Press.

Section B featured a newly constructed Perception of the British Press Scale. This 13-item scale was developed in order to measure participants' perceptions of discrimination against BSA in the British Press on an 8-point scale. *A higher score represents more negative perceptions of the British Press.* The total sum score of the measure is 96.

The qualitative data derived from studies I and II with FGSA and SGSA participants revealed some of the participants' general perceptions of the British Press. Thus, items such as 'The Press often blames high crime figures on British Asians' were included in the scale to measure perceptions of the Press. Given our theoretical interest in IPT, we were particularly attentive to the possibility that negative media representations might threaten the identity principles of self-esteem, continuity, distinctiveness, self-efficacy, belonging, meaning and psychological coherence (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b). For instance, the item 'The Press often highlights problems with being British and Asian at the same time' was intended to measure psychological coherence in relation to national and ethnic identities, and the item 'The Press often gives the impression that British Asians do not belong in Britain' measures

the belonging principle. This enabled us to construct a separate variable, consisting solely of those items measuring the identity principles, which could measure the impact of media representations for identity principles.

Data from previous studies of the thesis played a crucial role in developing the questionnaire items. Data from study III provided insight into some of the important themes covered in the British Press in relation to BSA. For instance, the empirical observation that the Press may imply that BSA receive preferential treatment *vis-à-vis* the WBM group contributed to the inclusion of the item 'The Press often makes out that British Asians get special treatment in Britain'. Such items were included in order to test the assumption that awareness of these media representations will impinge upon national and ethnic identification and psychological well-being (Breakwell, 2001; Cinnirella, 1996). This enabled us to construct a scale reflecting participants' perceptions of the British Press, while taking into consideration the themes empirically observed in a limited sample of British tabloid newspapers. The Cronbach's alpha including all items was .81. However, there was a problematic item within the scale. The item-total correlation for terrorism was unacceptably low at -0.19. The exclusion of this item increased the Cronbach's alpha (α=.84).

Section C featured the British National Identity Scale, using a 12-item scale adapted from Cinnirella (1997b). The scale consists of items measuring correlated aspects of social identity, such as affect ('To what extent do you feel pleased to be British?'), salience ('To what extent do you feel British?') and importance ('How important to you is being British?'). *A higher score represents a stronger British national identity.* The total sum score of the measure is 96.

Previous studies using this scale have reported high internal reliability (α=.83), suggesting that it provides a reliable single overall British identity score (Cinnirella, 1997b). Consistent with our theoretical focus upon IPT, we included additional items measuring the impact of Britishness for the seven identity principles. While some existing items (e.g. 'To what extent do you feel strong ties with other British people?') were deemed to measure an identity principle (in this case, belonging), some extra items were included. For instance, the item 'To what extent does being British make you feel unique and different from others?' was included to tap into the distinctiveness principle. The inclusion of these items enabled us

to create a separate variable, consisting solely of those items measuring the principles. This measures the extent to which the identity principles were collectively served by British national identification.

        Section D featured the Ethnic Identity Scale. Given the high internal reliability of Cinnirella's (1997a) British National Identity Scale, we decided to adapt this scale in order to measure ethnic identity. This would facilitate direct comparisons between participants' mean scorings of national and ethnic identity. Ethnic identity was measured using a 14-item scale adapted from Cinnirella (1997b). *A higher score represents a stronger ethnic identity.* The total sum score of the measure is 96.

        An item was included to identify the participant's ethnic group membership ('Which ONE of the following terms best describes the way you see yourself when you think about your ethnicity?'). Moreover, given the observed importance of participation in cultural events and activities in ethnic minority group membership, an appropriate item ('To what extent do you participate in cultural activities and events associated with your ethnic group?') was adapted from Phinney (1992). The scale consists of items measuring correlated aspects of social identity, such as affect ('To what extent do you feel pleased to be part of your ethnic group?'), salience ('To what extent do you feel _____?') and importance ('How important to you is being part of your ethnic group?').

        Consistent with our theoretical focus upon IPT, we included additional items measuring the impact of ethnic group membership for the seven identity principles. As in the British National Identity Scale described above, items were included in order to measure the extent to which ethnic identity served the seven identity principle. For instance, 'To what extent does being a member of your ethnic group make you feel unique and different from others?' was included to tap into the distinctiveness principle. The inclusion of these items enabled us to create a separate variable, consisting solely of those items measuring the principles, which could measure the extent to which the identity principles were collectively served by ethnic identification.

        Following reliability analyses, it was decided that the item 'To what extent does being a member of your ethnic group help you to do and achieve things you could not do and achieve if you were not a member of your ethnic group?', which was included to measure one dimension of the self-efficacy principle, should be excluded from the score of ethnic

identity. This decision was theoretically justifiable. Given that ethnic attachment is likely to be more sentimental than instrumental for BSA (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a; Kelman, 1969), it is expected to be less associated with deriving feelings of control and competence (self-efficacy), which was the principle measured by that particular item. Thus, the finding that self-efficacy is weakly correlated with the other items ($r = .16$) is not surprising. By excluding the item, the alpha score improved somewhat ($\alpha=.83$).

Section E featured the newly constructed (i) Connectedness Scale and (ii) Psychological Coherence Scale. In accordance with theorising on the psychological coherence principle, which states that only those identities which are regarded by the individual as being inter-connected will need to be reconciled in order to enhance psychological coherence (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a), a scale was constructed to measure the 'connectedness' of social identities. *A higher score represents greater 'connectedness'.* The total sum score of the measure is 16. The connectedness of three social identity configurations is measured, namely (i) national-religious; (ii) national-ethnic; and (iii) ethnic-religious. E.g. 'To what extent do you feel that being British and being a member of your religious group are connected?' Although the primary focus of the thesis lies in ethnic and national identities, the media analysis in the third study revealed that Muslim identity, in particular, is problematised and constructed as being incompatible with Britishness (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b). A variable measuring degree of connectedness between national and ethno-religious identities was constructed, composed of the national-religious and national-ethnic items. These items are significantly correlated.

Given the centrality of the psychological coherence principle in the *management* of national and ethnic identities, a scale was constructed in order to measure the principle in relation to the three aforementioned social identity configurations. This scale consists of items such as 'How compatible is being British with being a member of your ethnic group?' *A higher score represents greater psychological coherence.* The total sum score of the measure is 16. A variable measuring the degree of compatibility between national and ethno-religious identities was constructed, composed of national-religious and national-ethnic items. These items were significantly correlated.

Section F featured Rosenberg's Global Self-Esteem Scale. The global self-esteem measure consists of the 10-item Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale. (Detailed methodological

discussions of this measure appear in Rosenberg, 1989). *A higher score represents higher global self-esteem.* The total sum score of the measure is 80.

Since this scale serves as a measure of global self-esteem, it excludes items dealing with specific attributes. For instance, the measures for British national identity and ethnic identity include items dealing with self-esteem in the IPT sense. Self-esteem, as reflected in this measure, does not imply feelings of superiority or perfection, but feelings of self-acceptance, self-respect, and generally positive self-evaluation. IPT predicts that global self-esteem (or general psychological well-being) should correlate positively with the fulfilment of the motivational principles of identity (Breakwell, 1986). Here are example items from the scale: 'I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others'; and 'I feel that I have a number of good qualities'. Participants are asked to indicate on an 8-point scale the extent to which they agree with each item. Internal reliability for the scale is exceptionally high (α=.91).

Turning to linguistic issues, it was deemed necessary to provide the questionnaire in participants' heritage languages, given the stated preference of many of the FGSA participants in study I to be interviewed in their heritage languages rather than in English. Moreover, the abstract nature of identity meant that some participants whose first language was not English could find it difficult to understand the questionnaire in English. Thus, the questionnaire was translated into Punjabi and Urdu for first generation British Indian and British Pakistani participants, respectively. The interview research with FGSA reported in study I suggested that participants may not be accustomed to thinking and talking about complex and abstract issues such as identity. This accentuated the need to explain identity in the most transparent and intelligible manner possible. Thus, it was decided that a direct translation of 'identity' should not be employed, but rather a periphrastic phrase which captured the notion of identity, such as 'your sense of who you are'. The questionnaire was then translated back into English in order to ensure that the translation was sufficiently accurate and retained the 'nuances' of the original questionnaire. The reliability analyses of the scales, which are presented in appendix VI, suggest that the questionnaire items were adequately translated and tapped into the constructs which they sort to measure.

It is noteworthy that the Rosenberg Global Self-esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1989) and Cinnirella's (1997a) British National Identity Scale have both been used extensively in

previous research and have high reliability and validity. Moreover, the Ethnic Identity Scale was derived from Cinnirella's (1997a) existing scale. These and the newly constructed scales described above were subjected to Cronbach's alpha reliability tests in order to ascertain their internal reliability. This test of reliability was deemed preferable to factor analysis, since the primary concern was with the general functioning of the entire scales in relation to the multi-faceted constructs they were measuring and to provide a total score of an aggregate variable (Allen & Yen, 2002). For instance, the Perceptions of the British Press Scale was designed to provide a general measure of how people regard the Press. Conversely, factor analysis is habitually concerned with exploring the micro-level aspects of the internal dimensions of scales and, therefore, would have been less appropriate in the context of the present study (Allen & Yen, 2002). Furthermore, given the modest sample size (n=215), the Cronbach's alpha was deemed justifiable and advantageous. Indeed, the Cronbach's alpha successfully performed the function of ascertaining the feasibility of employing the existing and newer scales in order to tap into the specific constructs which constitute the focus of the present thesis (see appendix VI).

Piloting procedure

Both the English-language and heritage-language questionnaires were piloted among an initial sample of 30 participants in order to ascertain the suitability of the questionnaire for generating meaningful data. Moreover, given the abstract nature of identity and the recognised problems in gaining access to participants' perceptions of identity processes (Breakwell, 1986), it was necessary to explore the intelligibility of the questionnaires and its ability to tap into the complex constructs covered. These participants were asked about their understanding of the questionnaire and invited to outline any unintelligible questionnaire items. Participants appeared to respond positively to the questionnaire, unanimously stating that they had understood all of the items. This suggested that it was not necessary to change any of the questionnaire items or to make any additions in order to gain access to participants' meaning-making. Furthermore, the high internal reliability of all of the scales used suggested that, in general, participants had understood the questionnaire items and that the items did indeed measure the intended constructs (see appendix VI).

Statistical tests employed

As discussed in chapter III, the research presented in the present thesis is located in a critical realist epistemological framework, which allows for the use of both qualitative and quantitative research methods. The fourth study was conducted primarily in order to strengthen the qualitative findings from the preceding three studies through the triangulation of methods (Breakwell & Canter, 1993). Indeed, triangulation of methods enables the researcher to strengthen validity concerns surrounding the research findings (Morse, 1991). The central aim of the study is to provide some more generalisable insight into the construction and management of national and ethnic identities among BSA, by identifying (i) relationships between variables (e.g. perceptions of media representation and national identity); and (ii) apparent differences in perception between particular groups. The quantitative data presented here are intended to provide an additional layer of depth to the present study of identity construction and management by reporting some more generalisable tendencies observable in the sample. In order to serve this goal, the study employs a variety of statistical techniques, namely (i) the Pearson's Correlation; (ii) the dependent t-test; (iii) the independent t-test and (iv) multiple regression. These parametric tests were deemed suitable for testing the hypotheses presented in the previous section, given that the data met the following assumptions warranting use of these tests: (i) normally distributed data; (ii) homogeneity of variance; and (iii) data measured at at least the interval level.

The Pearson's correlation coefficient provides a measure of the linear relationship between variables, based on the premise that the deviation of one variable from its mean will equal the deviation of another variable from its mean (Field, 2005). Hypotheses 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14 and 15 were concerned with identifying linear relationships between variables and, more specifically, the direction of the relationship, namely positive or negative. For instance, hypothesis 8 seeks to ascertain the relationship between (i) awareness of negative media representations, and (ii) global self-esteem. Consequently, the Pearson's correlation coefficient was deemed to be the most suitable statistical test for these particular hypotheses.

The dependent *t*-test is a statistical test employed in order to compare a participant's mean score on one variable with their mean score on another by calculating the ratio of the systematic variation in the data with the unsystematic variation (Field, 2005). In hypotheses 12, 13 and 16, the aim was to compare two means score within individual participants'

responses. For instance, hypothesis 16 requires a comparison of participants' mean score on (i) self-efficacy from Britishness and (ii) self-efficacy from ethnic identity, in order to ascertain which identity seems to provide greater feelings of self-efficacy. This highlighted the need to conduct a dependent *t*-test in order to address the aforementioned hypotheses.

Like the dependent *t*-test, the independent *t*-test serves to compare two means. However, the principal difference is that it compares two groups of participants' scores on a single variable. Hypotheses 1, 2, 10 and 11 require the comparison of the two groups of participants' mean scores on the same variable. For instance, hypothesis 1 proposes that there will be a difference in scores on the Perceptions of the British Press Scale among (i) newspaper readers and (ii) non-readers. Consequently, the independent t-test was deemed appropriate for testing the aforementioned hypotheses.

While the correlation analyses presented in this chapter provide useful insight into the relationships between variables, the multiple regression analyses are able to predict an outcome (the dependent variable) from several predictor variables. Furthermore, the multiple regression analyses were deemed to complement the aforementioned statistical tests, since they provide standardised beta values which elucidate the relative importance of each predictor in relation to the dependent variable. Thus, while earlier chapters in the thesis hypothesise that the continuity principle is likely to be more associated with ethnic identity than self-efficacy, for instance, the multiple regression analyses provide further insight into this hypothesis through the provision of a standardised beta value for the continuity principle (as a predictor) *vis-à-vis* other predictors such as distinctiveness and self-efficacy. This further situates the findings of the present thesis in the broader literatures concerning identity processes.

As discussed in chapter II, identity process theory identifies a number of motivational principles of identity, which can motivate individuals to identify with particular social categories (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2002). Although studies I and II provide some insight into the principles more likely to be associated with Britishness and ethnic identity, there is little existing empirical research in this area. Moreover, the novelty of the psychological coherence principle of identity and the dearth of quantitative psychological research into the functioning of the principles highlighted the need for a similarly exploratory approach in the third multiple regression model concerning psychological coherence.

Consequently, it was deemed necessary to employ the 'enter' mode on SPSS in accordance with the exploratory focus of the present tests. This approach enters the predictor variables into the model in a simultaneous manner, because the lack of previous empirical research does not elucidate a potential order in which the variables should be entered (Field, 2005). Conversely, a hierarchical regression would have required the specification of the order in which the predictors should be entered into the model, but given the aforementioned dearth of research into the area examined in this thesis, there was no compelling rationale for this method.

The media, identity and well-being

This section presents the results of the empirical study, which explored the inter-relations between the media, identity and psychological well-being.

General perceptions of media representations

It was hypothesised that those participants who themselves do not read national newspapers would hold more negative social representations of the British media. This is because social representations of the media are generally fairly negative (Cottle, 2000), and negative representations might become accentuated in the absence of personal experiences which contradict them. An independent *t*-test was conducted in order to compare the mean scores of (i) participants indicating that they did read national newspapers with (ii) those participants who reported never reading national newspapers.

Table 1: Mean scores of perceptions of the media among readers and non-readers

	News-papers	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Media Representations	Yes	130	58.1538	13.32682	1.16884
	No	84	65.5238	11.03715	1.20425

Newspaper readers (M = 58.15, SD = 13.33) were significantly less likely to perceive discrimination from the British media towards BSA than non-readers (M = 65.52, SD = 11.04). This difference was highly significant, $t(199) = -4.39$, $p < .001$, r = .3

Moreover, given the pervasiveness of Islamophobic media representations in particular (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b), it was hypothesised that British Indians would hold more positive perceptions of the British media than British Pakistanis. An independent *t*-test was conducted in order to compare mean scores of British Indian participants with those of British Pakistani participants.

Table 2: Mean scores of perceptions of the media among British Indians and British Pakistanis

	Ethnicity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Media Representations	Indian	94	50.6489	10.83474	1.11752
	Pakistani	110	69.2727	7.39068	.70467

On average, British Indians (M = 50.65, SD = 10.83) held less negative perceptions of the British media than British Pakistanis (M = 69.27, SD = 7.39). This difference was highly significant, $t(160) = -14.10$, $p < .01$, r = .7

The impact of the media for identity principles

It has been observed that the media constitutes an important source of social representations, which can play a decisive role in shaping national and ethnic identities (Cinnirella, 1996). Moreover, data from studies I and II suggest that the media may be regarded as a 'mouth-piece' for the WBM, representing dominant majority views. Accordingly, it was hypothesised that the more that the media is perceived to problematise the identity principles as a whole, the less that *Britishness* will be regarded as serving the principles, although this pattern will not apply to ethnic identity. A Pearson's correlation was run on the data:

Table 3: Correlation matrix for media representations, British identity principles and ethnic identity principles

		Media representations	British identity principles	Ethnic identity principles
Media representations	Pearson Correlation	1.000	-.665**	.083
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.000	.114
	N	214	214	214
British identity principles	Pearson Correlation	-.665**	1.000	-.134*
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000		.025
	N	214	214	214
Ethnic identity principles	Pearson Correlation	.083	-.134*	1.000
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.114	.025	
	N	214	214	214

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (1-tailed).

Threats to the identity principles from the British Press are negatively associated with the ability of Britishness to enhance the identity principles, r = -.665, *p* (one-tailed) < .001. Moreover, as predicted, there is a non-significant correlation between threats to the principles from the British Press and the ability of ethnic identity to serve the identity principles, r = .083, *p* (one-tailed) > .05

Research into the psychological coherence principle of identity suggests that dominant social representations will predict the perceived connectedness of identities (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a). Accordingly, it was hypothesised that holding the social representation that the British Press problematises the coherence of British national and ethno-religious identities would be associated with high levels of connectedness between British national and ethno-religious identities and with low levels of coherence between these identities.

Table 4: Correlation matrix for constructed coherence, connectedness and coherence

		Coherence of British and ethno-religious identities	Coherence in the British Press	Connectedness of British and ethno-religious identities
Coherence of British and ethno-religious identities	Pearson Correlation	1.000	-.578[**]	-.448[**]
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.000	.000
	N	214	214	213
Coherence in the British Press[1]	Pearson Correlation	-.578[**]	1.000	.311[**]
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000		.000
	N	214	214	213
Connectedness of British and ethno-religious identities	Pearson Correlation	-.448[**]	.311[**]	1.000
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	.000	
	N	213	213	213

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

[1] Questionnaire items: (i) 'The Press often makes out that British Asians manage successfully to be British and Asian at the same time' and (ii) 'The Press often highlights problems with being British and Asian at the same time.'

The Pearson's correlation revealed a positive relationship between acceptance of the social representation that the British Press problematises the coherence of national and ethnic identities and the perceived connectedness of national and ethnic identities, $r = .311$, p (one-tailed) $< .001$. Moreover, acceptance of this social representation was negatively related to the psychological coherence of national and ethno-religious identities, $r = -.578$, p (one-tailed) $< .001$.

There is some empirical evidence that British media representations are associated with the construction of British national identity (see table 15). It has been observed that individuals will respond defensively to outgroup members who criticise an ingroup, which is of phenomenological importance to an individual (Hornsey, Oppes & Svensson, 2002; Sutton, Elder & Douglas, 2006). Individuals can construe criticism of their group in terms of personal criticism. This is referred to as 'personalisation' of outgroup criticism. Furthermore, this indicator of strength of group attachment has a clear intergroup dimension, since it involves a response to an *outgroup* member's perceived criticism of the ingroup.

Accordingly, personalisation of outgroup criticism was regarded as a good indicator of strengthened group attachment. It was hypothesised that negative perceptions of the British media would be negatively associated with construing national outgroups' criticism of Britishness as a personal criticism. Conversely, it was hypothesised that such perceptions would be positively associated with the personalisation of outgroup criticism of one's ethnic group. This was tested using Pearson's correlation coefficient.

Table 5: Correlation matrix for media representations, criticism of Britishness and criticism of ethnic group

		Media Representations	Criticism Britishness	Criticism Ethnic
Media Representations	Pearson Correlation	1.000	-.483**	.194**
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.000	.002
	N	214	214	212
Criticism of Britishness[1]	Pearson Correlation	-.483**	1.000	-.241**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000		.000
	N	214	214	212
Criticism of ethnic group[2]	Pearson Correlation	.194**	-.241**	1.000
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.002	.000	
	N	212	212	212

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

[1] Questionnaire item: 'When you hear someone who is not British criticise the British, to what extent do you feel personally criticised?'

[2] Questionnaire item: 'When you hear someone who is not part of your ethnic group criticise your ethnic group, to what extent do you feel personally criticised?'

Acceptance of the representation that the British Press discriminates against BSA is negatively associated with personalisation of outgroup criticism of Britishness, r =-.483, *p* (one-tailed) < .01, but it is positively related to personalisation of outgroup criticism of the ethnic ingroup, r = .194, *p* (one-tailed) < .01.

Perceived discrimination against one's ethnic group may give rise to feelings of insecurity and uncertainty (Jacobson, 1997b). It was predicted that holding negative social

representations of the British Press would be negatively associated with future self-efficacy in relation to British national identity, although this would not be the case for self-efficacy in relation to ethnic identity.

Table 6: Correlation matrix for media representations, future self-efficacy (Britishness) and future self-efficacy (ethnic group)

		Media representations	Future self-efficacy ethnicity	Future self-efficacy B/ness
Media representations	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.100	-.504[**]
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.073	.000
	N	214	214	214
Future self-efficacy ethnicity[1]	Pearson Correlation	.100	1.000	-.026
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.073		.350
	N	214	214	214
Future self-efficacy Britishness[2]	Pearson Correlation	-.504[**]	-.026	1.000
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	.350	
	N	214	214	214

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

[1] Questionnaire item: 'When you think about being a member of your ethnic group, to what extent does it give you a feeling of having a secure future ahead of you?'

[2] Questionnaire item: 'When you think about being British, to what extent does this gives you a feeling of having a secure future ahead of you?'

The Pearson's correlation revealed that holding negative perceptions of the British Press is negatively associated with future self-efficacy in relation to Britishness, $r = -.504$, p (one-tailed) $< .001$, and no significant correlation existed between holding these perceptions and future self-efficacy in relation to ethnic identity, $r = .10$, p (one-tailed) $> .05$.

The observation of general links between media representations and identity construction highlighted the need to explore potential relationships between particular representations and identity principles (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b). Accordingly, it was predicted that holding the social representation that the British Press problematises the belonging of BSA in Britain would be negatively associated with the belonging principle in

relation to British national identity, with no significant relationship between the representation and ethnic belonging. This was tested with a Pearson's correlation.

Table 7: Correlation matrix for constructed belonging, British national identification and ethnic identification

		Belonging in the Press	British national identity	Ethnic identity
Belonging in the Press[1]	Pearson Correlation	1.000	-.586[**]	.053
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.000	.223
	N	212	212	212
British national identity	Pearson Correlation	-.586[**]	1.000	-.216[**]
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000		.001
	N	212	214	214
Ethnic identity	Pearson Correlation	.053	-.216[**]	1.000
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.223	.001	
	N	212	214	214

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

[1] Questionnaire item: 'The Press often gives the impression that British Asians do not belong in Britain.'

Threats to the belonging principle in the British Press are negatively associated with British national identification, r = -.586, *p* (one-tailed) < .001. There is no significant relationship between threats to the belonging principle in the British Press and ethnic identification, r = .053, *p* (one-tailed) > .05.

Breakwell (1986) postulates that identity threat is conducive to decreased psychological well-being. Thus, it was hypothesised that the social representation that the British Press discriminates against one's ethnic ingroup would be negatively associated with global self-esteem. This is due to threats to identity entailed by negative media representations.

Table 8: Correlation matrix for media representations and global self-esteem

		Media representations	Global self-esteem
Media representations	Pearson Correlation	1.000	-.611[**]
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.000
	N	214	214
Global self-esteem	Pearson Correlation	-.611[**]	1.000
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	
	N	214	214

Indeed, the Pearson's correlation revealed that the perception that the British Press discriminates against BSA was negatively correlated with psychological well-being, $r = -.611$, p (one-tailed) < .01.

National and ethnic identity management

Turning to the management of national and ethnic identities, it appears that British national identity is less 'stable' than ethnic identity within the self-concept (Hopkins, 2004), partly because Britishness among BSA is constantly problematised by the Press (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b). It was hypothesised that psychological coherence (of Britishness and ethno-religious identities) would be positively associated with British national identification and unrelated to ethnic identification. This is because the more that individuals perceive psychological coherence, the more that Britishness becomes available to them, while ethnic identity remains 'stable' in the self-concept, regardless of the level of psychological coherence.

Table 9: Correlation matrix for coherence, British national identification and ethnic identification

		Coherence of British and ethno-religious identities	British national identity	Ethnic identity
Coherence of British and ethno-religious identities[1]	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.634**	.113
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.000	.060
	N	214	214	214
British national identity	Pearson Correlation	.634**	1.000	-.216**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000		.001
	N	214	214	214
Ethnic identity	Pearson Correlation	.113	-.216**	1.000
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.060	.001	
	N	214	214	214

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

The test revealed that psychological coherence between British and ethno-religious identity was positively correlated with identification with British national identification, r = .634, *p* (one-tailed) < .01. However, psychological coherence had no significant relationship with ethnic identification, r = .113, *p* > .05.

Given that the media is particularly critical of British Muslims, it was hypothesised that British Pakistanis would perceive greater connectedness between British national and religious identities and less coherence between these identities than British Indians. Moreover, it was expected that this effect would be stronger between British national and religious identities than between British national and ethnic identities. These hypotheses were tested in a series of independent *t*-tests.

Table 10: Mean scores of connectedness and coherence among British Indians and British Pakistanis

	Ethnicity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Connectedness British-Religious	Indian	94	2.86	1.610	.166
	Pakistani	109	6.80	1.260	.121
Connectedness British-Ethnic	Indian	93	4.97	1.697	.176
	Pakistani	109	5.58	1.141	.109
Coherence British-Ethnic	Indian	94	5.27	1.827	.188
	Pakistani	110	3.72	1.293	.123
Coherence British-Religious	Indian	94	5.53	1.847	.191
	Pakistani	110	2.33	1.408	.134

British Pakistanis (M = 5.58, SD = 1.14) perceived greater connectedness between Britishness and ethnic identities than British Indians (M = 4.97, SD = 1.70), $t(156) = -2.95$, $p < .01$, r = .2. British Pakistanis (M = 8.80, SD = 1.25) perceived greater connectedness between Britishness and religious identities than British Indians (M = 2.86, SD = 1.61), $t(175) = -19.17$, $p < .01$, r = .8. As predicted, the effect was considerably stronger for British and religious identities.

British Indians (M = 5.27, SD = 1.28) perceived greater compatibility between Britishness and ethnic identity than British Pakistanis (M = 2.33, SD = 1.41), $t(164) = 6.87$, $p < .01$, r = .5. British Indians (M = 553, SD = 1.85) perceived greater compatibility between Britishness and religious identity than British Pakistanis (M = 2.33, SD = 1.41), $t(172) = 13.75$, $p < .01$, r = .7. Similarly, the effect was stronger for British and religious identities.

Accordingly, it was expected that British Indians would derive greater feelings of belonging from Britishness than British Pakistanis, while British Pakistanis would derive greater feelings of belonging from the ethnic group than British Indians. The hypotheses were tested in two independent *t*-tests.

Table 11: Mean scores of belonging (Britishness) and belonging (ethnic group) among British Indians and British Pakistanis

	Ethnicity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Belonging in Britishness[1]	Indian	94	14.2979	4.03168	.41584
	Pakistani	110	9.6455	3.66633	.34957
Belonging in ethnic group[2]	Indian	94	14.7340	4.30847	.44438
	Pakistani	110	15.9000	3.42669	.32672

[1] Questionnaire items: (i) 'To what extent do you feel strong ties with other British people?' (ii) 'How similar do you think you are to the average British person?'; (iii) 'How much are your views about Britain shared by other British people?'

[2] Questionnaire items: (i) 'To what extent do you feel strong ties with other members of your ethnic group?'; (ii) 'How similar do you think you are to the average person in your ethnic group?'; (iii) 'How much are your general views shared by other people in your ethnic group?'

British Indians (M = 14.30, SD = 4.03) derived greater feelings of belonging from Britishness than British Pakistanis (M =9.65, SD = 3.67). This difference was significant, $t(202) = 8.63$, $p < .001$, r = .5. Conversely, British Pakistanis (M = 15.90, SD = 3.43) derived greater feelings of belonging from their ethnic group than British Indians (M = 14.74, SD = 4.31), which represents a significant difference, $t(176) = -2.11$, $p < .05$, r =.2

Social identification and identity principles

Islamophobic prejudice is one possible cause of disidentification with Britishness among British Pakistanis. Thus, it was hypothesised that Indian participants would perceive Britishness as enhancing the identity principles more than ethnic identity, while Pakistani participants would perceive ethnic identity as enhancing the principles more than Britishness. A dependent *t*-test was used to test this hypothesis among British Indian and British Pakistani participants separately.

Table 12: Mean scores of British identity principles and ethnic identity principles among British Pakistanis

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	British identity principles	35.6545	110	7.39754	.70533
	Ethnic identity principles	44.2273	110	6.60922	.63016

Ethnicity = Pakistani

Table 13: Mean scores of British identity principles and ethnic identity principles among British Indians

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	British identity principles	47.9149	94	8.46963	.87358
	Ethnic identity principles	42.6915	94	9.36824	.96626

Ethnicity = Indian

On average, Indian participants perceived Britishness (M = 47.91, SD = 8.47) to serve the identity principles more than ethnic identity does (M = 42.69, SD = 9.37), $t(93) = 3.95$, $p < .001$, r = .4. Conversely, Pakistani participants perceived Britishness (M = 35.65, SD = 7.40) to serve the identity principles less than ethnic identity does (M = 44.23, SD=6.61), $t(105) = -8.50$, $p < .001$, r = .6.

Given the perceived benefits of Britishness for the identity principles among British Indians, it was hypothesised that Britishness would be perceived as more important than ethnic identity among British Indians, although this would not be the case for British Pakistanis. A dependent *t*-test was employed to test this assumption among British Indian and British Pakistani participants separately.

Table 14: Mean scores of importance (Britishness) and importance (ethnic identity) among British Indians

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	Importance of Britishness[1]	5.68	92	1.504	.157
	Importance of ethnic identity[2]	5.23	92	1.259	.131

Ethnicity = Indian

[1] Questionnaire item: 'How important to you is being British?'

[2] Questionnaire item: 'How important to you is being part of your ethnic group?'

Table 15: Mean scores of importance (Britishness) and importance (ethnic identity) among British Pakistanis

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	Importance of Britishness[1]	5.25	109	1.441	.138
	Importance of ethnic identity[2]	5.71	109	1.349	.129

Ethnicity = Pakistani

On average, Indians perceived Britishness (M = 5.68, SD =1.50) to be more central than ethnic identity (M = 5.23, SD = 1.26), $t(91) = 2.19$, $p < .05$, r = .2, while Pakistanis perceived ethnic identity (M = 5.71, SD = 1.35) to be more central than Britishness (M = 5.25, SD = 1.44), $t(108) = -2.82$, $p < .01$, r = .3.

It has been suggested that ethnic identity is likely to be associated with the continuity and belonging principles, in particular (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). Accordingly, it was hypothesised that the perception that ethnic identity serves the continuity and belonging principles would be positively associated with perceived importance, although there would be no association between ethnic identity and the self-efficacy principle.

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Table 16: Correlation matrix for importance (ethnic identity), belonging (ethnic identity), self-efficacy (ethnic identity) and continuity (ethnic identity)

		Importance of ethnic identity	Belonging in ethnic identity	Self-efficacy in ethnic identity	Continuity in ethnic identity
Importance of ethnic identity[1]	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.515**	.082	.445**
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.000	.117	.000
	N	212	212	212	212
Belonging in ethnic identity[2]	Pearson Correlation	.515**	1.000	.149*	.367**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000		.015	.000
	N	212	214	214	214
Self-efficacy in ethnic identity[3]	Pearson Correlation	.082	.149*	1.000	.009
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.117	.015		.447
	N	212	214	214	214
Continuity in ethnic group[4]	Pearson Correlation	.445**	.367**	.009	1.000
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	.000	.447	
	N	212	214	214	214

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (1-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

[1] Questionnaire item: 'How important to you is being British?'

[2] Questionnaire item: 'How important to you is being part of your ethnic group?'

[3] Questionnaire items: (i) 'When you think about being a member of your ethnic group, to what extent does it give you a feeling of having a secure future ahead of you?'; (ii) 'To what extent does being a member of your ethnic group help you to do and achieve things you could not do and achieve if you were not a member of your ethnic group?'

[4] Questionnaire item: 'When you think about being a member of your ethnic group, to what extent do you feel a connection with your ethnic group's past and traditions?'

The perception that ethnic identity serves the belonging principle is positively correlated with the perceived importance of this social identity, r = .515, *p* (one-tailed) < .01, as with the

continuity principle, r = .445, *p* (one-tailed) < .01. The self-efficacy principle of identity is not significantly correlated with perceived importance, r = .082, *p* (one-tailed) > .05.

Conversely, it was expected that the perception that Britishness serves the self-efficacy and self-esteem principles would be positively associated with the perceived importance of Britishness, although this would not be the case for the continuity principle.

Table 17: Correlation matrix for importance (Britishness), continuity (Britishness) self-efficacy (Britishness) and self-esteem (Britishness)

		Self-efficacy in Britishness	Continuity in Britishness	Importance of Britishness	Self-esteem in Britishness
Self-efficacy in Britishness[1]	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.297**	.383**	.497**
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.000	.000	.000
	N	214	214	213	213
Continuity in Britishness[2]	Pearson Correlation	.297**	1.000	.111	.431**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000		.052	.000
	N	214	214	213	213
Importance of Britishness[3]	Pearson Correlation	.383**	.111	1.000	.445**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	.052		.000
	N	213	213	213	212
Self-esteem in Britishness[4]	Pearson Correlation	.497**	.431**	.445**	1.000
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	
	N	213	213	212	213

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

[1] Questionnaire items: 'When you think about being British, to what extent does this gives you a feeling of having a secure future ahead of you?'; (ii) To what extent does being British help you to do and achieve things you could not do and achieve if you were not British?

[2] Questionnaire item: 'When you think about being British, to what extent do you feel a connection with the nation's past and traditions?'

[3] Questionnaire item: 'How important to you is being British?'

[4] Questionnaire item: 'To what extent do you feel pleased to be British?'

The perception that Britishness serves the self-efficacy principle is positively related to the perceived importance of Britishness, r = .383, *p* (one-tailed) < .001. The perception that

Britishness serves the self-esteem principle also has a positive relationship with perceived importance, r = .497, p (one-tailed) < .001. There is a non-significant correlation between this perception and the continuity principle, r =.111, p (one-tailed) > .05.

Given the observation that BSA generally manifest an instrumental attachment to Britishness (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a; Vadher & Barrett, 2009), it was hypothesised that participants would derive greater feelings of self-efficacy from Britishness than from ethnic identity. This hypothesis was tested in a dependent t-test.

Table 18: Mean scores of self-efficacy (Britishness) and self-efficacy (ethnic identity)

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	Self-efficacy in Britishness	11.6402	214	2.93377	.20055
	Self-efficacy in ethnic identity	6.4953	214	2.65858	.18174

The hypothesis was supported; participants did derive greater feelings of self-efficacy from Britishness (M = 11.64, SD = 2.93) than from ethnic identity (M = 6.50, SD = 2.66), $t(213) =$ 17.93, $p < .01$, r = .8.

Multiple regression models

As outlined earlier in the chapter, it was deemed advantageous to provide additional empirical depth to the thesis by constructing regression models of the key constructs explored in the thesis, namely (i) the construction of British national and ethnic identities and (ii) psychological coherence (identity management). Studies I and II provide important fine-grained qualitative analyses of the construction and management of national and ethnic identities among BSA. Furthermore, study IV focuses upon some of the correlational relationships between variables and the observable differences in perception between subgroups with the sample. While these analyses are important in constructing an empirical snapshot of identity construction and management among BSA, they do not provide much insight into the relative importance of variables in *predicting* particular outcomes. This was considered important, because IPT specifies a number of principles of identity, which motivate individuals to identify with particular categories (i.e.national and ethnic groups) (Vignoles, Chryssouchoou & Breakwell, 2002). Furthermore, the relative importance of the principles in particular empirical contexts remains an important theoretical question in the IPT literature (Breakwell, 1986). Accordingly, regression models 1 and 2 empirically demonstrate the relative importance of each of the identity principles in motivating self-identification with British national and ethnic identities, respectively. Moreover, model 3 exhibits the relative importance of particular variables in predicting psychological coherence, which builds upon earlier findings that media representations play in important role in shaping perceptions of identity compatibility (see chapters II, IV and V).

It has been noted that the dearth of quantitative psychological research into (i) the functioning of the principles in the context of national and ethnic identities and (ii) the psychological coherence principle requires exploratory regression models. Consequently, it was deemed necessary to employ the 'enter' mode on SPSS in accordance with the exploratory focus of the present tests. As noted earlier, this approach enters the predictor variables into the model in a simultaneous manner, because the lack of previous empirical research does not elucidate a potential order in which the variables should be entered (Field, 2005).

Model 1 An exploratory multiple regression analysis was conducted in order to identify which identity principles predict British national identification among BSA.

Figure 1: Variables predicting British national identification

Belonging

Self-efficacy

Self-esteem

Continuity

Distinctiveness

Meaning

Psychological coherence

British national identification

$R^2 = .78$

.59**

.18**

.26**

.02

.08

.02

.14**
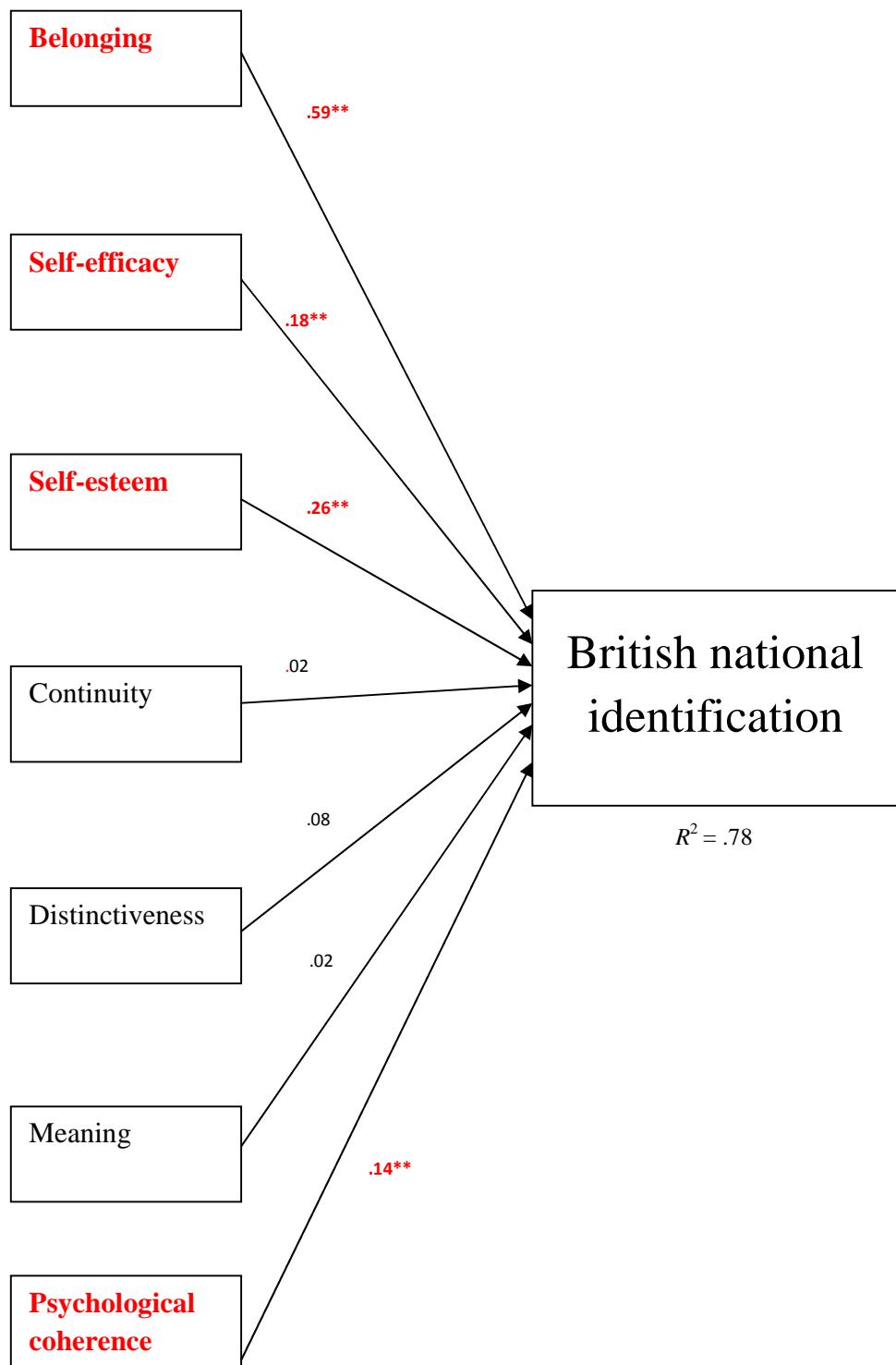
Table 19: Summary of regression analysis with Britishness as dependent variable

Independent variables	B	Std. Error	Beta
(Constant)	1.889	.814	
Belonging Britishness	**.657**	**.053**	**.592****
Self-efficacy Britishness	**.298**	**.069**	**.175****
Self-esteem Britishness	**.734**	**.146**	**.235****
Continuity Britishness	.069	.134	.022
Distinctiveness B/ ness	.267	.138	.076
Meaning Britishness	.050	.123	.018
Psychological coherence	**.396**	**.106**	**.136****

Dependent Variable: British national identification

Note that R^2 = .78, Adjusted R^2 = .77. **$p < .001$

Sample size: 211

The seven motivational principles of identity were included as predictors of British national identification. For this model, all items measuring the identity principles were excluded from the sum score for British national identity.

The regression model suggests that the belonging principle constitutes the strongest predictor of British national identity, that self-esteem is a moderate predictor, and that self-efficacy and psychological coherence make modest contributions to predicting British national identification. All of these results were highly significant. Conversely, the continuity, distinctiveness and meaning principles did not make significant contributions to predicting British national identification.

Model 2 An exploratory multiple regression analysis was conducted in order to identify which identity principles predict ethnic identification among BSA.

Figure 2: Variables predicting ethnic identification
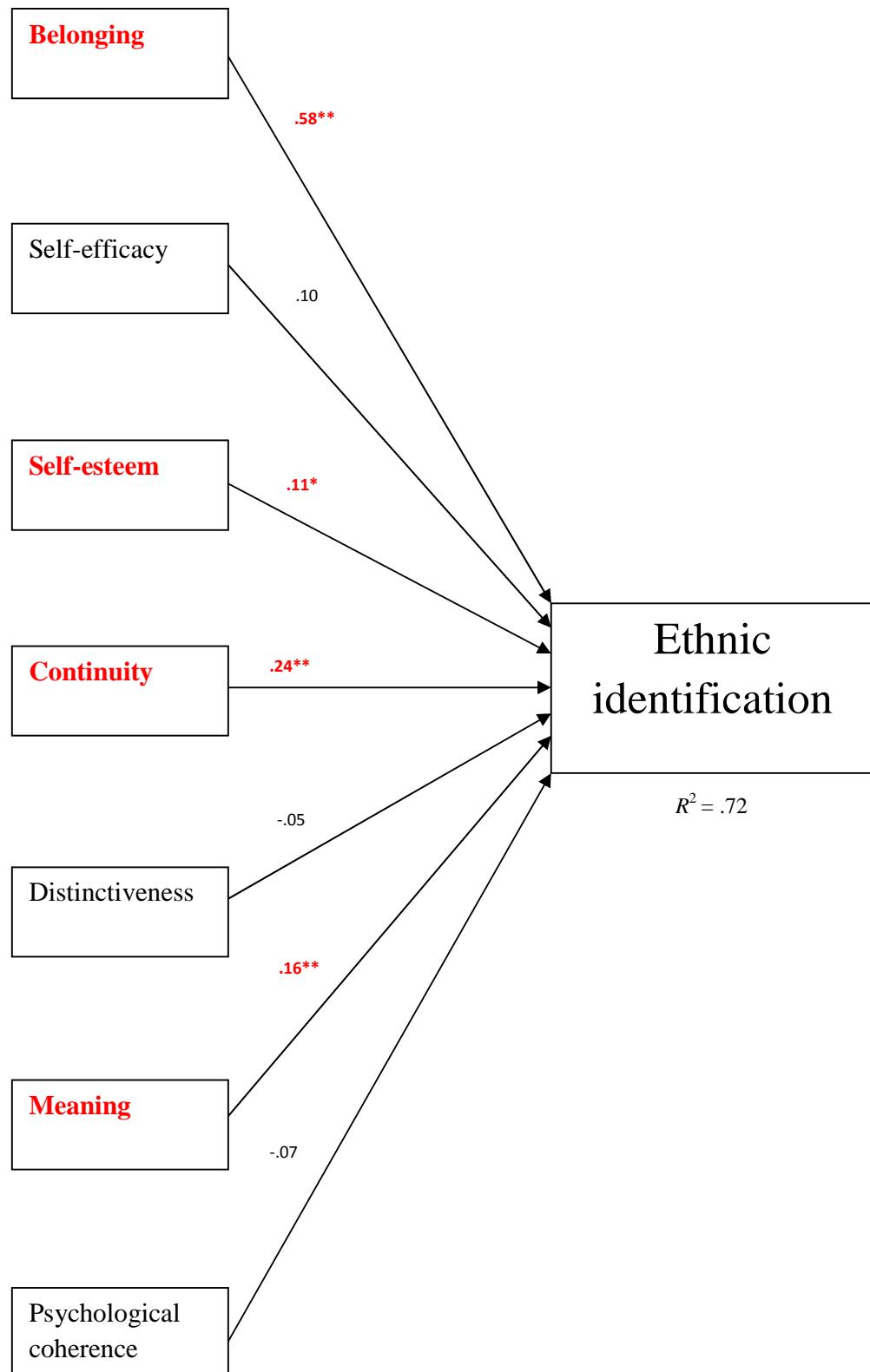
Table 20: Summary of regression analysis with ethnic identity as dependent variable

Independent variables	B	Std. Error	Beta
(Constant)	6.389	1.111	
Self-efficacy ethnicity	.167	.075	.087
Belonging ethnicity	**.762**	**.063**	**.577****
Self-esteem ethnicity	**.280**	**.106**	**.108***
Continuity ethnicity	**.827**	**.149**	**.235****
Distinctiveness ethnicity	-.160	.133	-.049
Meaning ethnicity	**.520**	**.156**	**.163****
Psychological coherence	-.099	.053	-.072

Dependent variable: Ethnic identification

Note that R^2 = .72, Adjusted R^2 = .71, **p < .001, *p < .05

Sample size: 211

The seven motivational principles of identity were included as predictors of ethnic identification. For this model, all items measuring the identity principles were excluded from the sum score for ethnic identity.

The regression model suggests that the belonging principle makes the strongest contribution to predicting ethnic identification. The continuity principle is a moderate predictor, while meaning and self-esteem make weaker contributions. All of these results are significant. The self-efficacy, distinctiveness and psychological coherence principles make non-significant contributions to predicting ethnic identification.

Model 3 Given the finding that media representations can determine cognitions towards British national and ethnic identities, it was expected that perceptions of media representations might predict psychological coherence. Moreover, Jaspal and Cinnirella's (2010a) assertion that inter-connected identities must be perceived to be compatible by the individual led to the inclusion of 'connectedness' as a predictor of psychological coherence. The tenet of IPT that self-aspects which enhance identity processes will become central to the self-concept suggest that these identities will become salient and, thus, important to reconcile.

Figure 3: Variables predicting psychological coherence
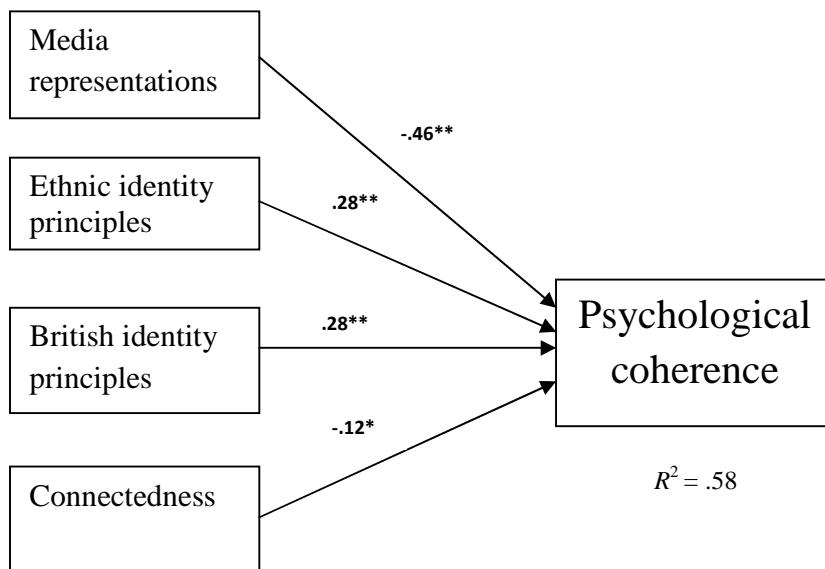
Table 21: Summary of regression analysis with coherence as dependent variable

Independent variables	B	Std. Error	Beta
(Constant)	7.629	2.073	
Media Representations	-.131	.018	-.458**
Ethnic identity principles	.127	.021	.276**
British identity principles	.104	.023	.280**
Connectedness	-.135	.061	-.120*

Dependent Variable: Psychological coherence

Note that $R^2 = .58$, Adjusted $R^2 = .58$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .001$

Sample size: 212

An earlier correlational analyses revealed a strong relationship between media representations and psychological coherence (see table 4). Moreover, it was expected that the extent to which British and ethnic identities serve the identity principles would predict psychological coherence (Vignoles, Chryssouchoou & Breakwell, 2002). Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010a) highlight that psychological coherence becomes an issue for inter-connected identities, that is, those which become 'connected' in social representations promoted by the media, for instance. Thus, four predictors were included in the model: (a) media representations; (b) ethnic identity principles; (c) British identity principles; and (d) connectedness.

The regression model suggests that media representations make a moderate contribution to predicting psychological coherence. Negative media representations can decrease psychological coherence. The extent to which ethnic and British identities serve the identity principles makes a smaller, though highly significant, contribution to predicting psychological coherence. The connectedness of British, ethnic and religious identities make a modest but highly significant contribution to predicting coherence.

Discussion

It has been observed that the media constitutes an important source of social representations regarding national and ethnic identities and intergroup relations (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). The results demonstrate that first-hand exposure to negative media representations of one's ethnic group is not a necessary prerequisite for *awareness* of negative media representations (Breakwell, 2001). Indeed, this is demonstrated by the observation that non-newspaper readers held more negative perceptions of the media than newspaper readers. This possibly reflects a broader distrust of the media among ethnic minority groups, who may feel targeted by the Press and, thus, express defensive attitudes towards it (Cottle, 2000; Gunther, 1992; van Dijk, 1991). There is data from the USA suggesting that public trust of the mass media is generally low, even among majority group members (Jones, 2004; Kiousis, 2001). Our data suggest that this might be particularly acute for ethnic minority individuals who indeed are habitually misrepresented in the Press (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b).

The results from studies I and II of the present thesis highlight the role of perceived racism and prejudice from the WBM in the development of negative perceptions of the media among BSA. This may be partly explained by the possibility that ethnic minority individuals regard the British media as reflective of WBM social attitudes. Indeed, earlier studies in the thesis suggest that the Press is regarded by some individuals as a 'mouth-piece' of the WBM. There is evidence that British Pakistanis in the sample held more negative perceptions of the Press than British Indians. British Muslims are generally aware of the existence of Islamophobic social representations, which have been observed in the British Press (Karim, 2002; Poole, 2002; Saeed, 2007). Conversely, given the widespread debate surrounding the 'incompatibility' of *Muslim* and British identities, rather than Asian identity *per se*, Indians may feel that their ethno-religious identities are less problematised by the British Press *(research question 2iii)*. This might explain their relatively more positive construal of the British media.

Individuals' perceptions of media representations are likely to impinge upon the principled operation of identity processes (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b). The results suggest that the more that the media is perceived to discriminate against one's ethnic group, the less

that Britishness is perceived to serve the identity principles as a whole. This could be interpreted in terms of an overall weakening of the identity principles, particularly in relation to British national identity. Conversely, no significant relationship was observed between media representations and ethnic identity principles *(research question 2iii).* Breakwell (1986, 2001) is clear in her assertion that what constitutes a threat to identity will be partly determined by social representations, since identity constitutes the product of psychological and social processes. Since the media generally problematises the Britishness of BSA (and that of Muslims, in particular), it is logical that British national identity principles, rather than ethnic identity principles, would be affected by negative media reporting. In fact, membership in the ethnic group is not debated or problematised by the British Press in the same way that membership in the British national group may be (Saeed, 2007; van Dijk, 1991). Furthermore, this may explain the strong correlation observed between negative media representations and decreased self-esteem *(research question 1i).* This is consistent with a plethora of socio-psychological research into ethnic minority group membership, discrimination and self-esteem (Crocker & Major, 1989; Phinney, 1991; Verkuyten, 1998). However, IPT can explain the more specific causes for threat among BSA with a stigmatised ethnic identity; Breakwell (1986) has observed that threatened identity is psychologically aversive, resulting in decreased psychological well-being. Thus, this finding may be associated with the media's ability to curtail the identity principles and, thus, to threaten identity.

The results provide some support for the assertion that negative media representations may render Britishness a more 'vulnerable' component of the identity structure *vis-à-vis* the more 'stable' ethnic identity (Hopkins, 2004; Saeed, 2007) *(research question 2iii).* Indeed, this was observed in study II of the thesis. This will likely increase the perceived 'connectedness' of British and ethno-religious identities. Accordingly, there was a positive correlation between psychological coherence and British national identification and a non-significant correlation between coherence and ethnic identification *(research question 2ii).* Membership in the ethnic group is not generally contested in dominant social representations, hence it remains a 'stable' identity element. Conversely, levels of coherence are likely to determine British national identification; if it is perceived to be coherent and compatible with the ethnic component of identity, it will be more readily embraced. Social representations

will predict the 'stability' and 'vulnerability' of identity elements, and it is generally the 'vulnerable' element, which needs to be reconciled with the 'stable' element (see Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a) *(research question 2iii)*.

The 'stability' and 'vulnerability' of identities may be assessed in terms of their ability to serve the identity principles. This is broadly consistent with the assertion that principle enhancement predicts self-identification with the identity-enhancing category (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000, 2002). Accordingly, it is predicted that categories not serving the principles may be neglected or eventually dropped from the identity structure. It is noteworthy that the extent to which British and ethnic identities served the identity principles differed among British Indian and British Pakistani participants *(question 2ii)*. This may be attributed to differing perceptions of prejudice from the WBM (see studies I and II). Two dependent *t*-tests revealed that British Indians perceived Britishness to serve the principles more than ethnic identity, and that British Pakistani participants perceived Britishness to serve the identity principles less than ethnic identity. It is noteworthy that there is considerable overlap between Pakistani ethnic and Muslim religious identities among British Pakistanis, given the historical social representation of Pakistan as a nation-state for Muslims in the Indian Subcontinent (Tikoo, 2002) and the inextricable link between being Pakistani and being Muslim (Dwyer, 1999). This may explain the particular ability of ethnic (or ethno-religious) identity to enhance identity processes. However, the relative inability of Britishness to enhance identity processes renders it a 'vulnerable' component of the identity structure of British Pakistanis, which becomes susceptible to attenuation within the identity structure *(research question 2ii)*.

This discrepancy in the identity-serving ability of British national and ethnic categories will likely induce differences in perceived centrality (Vignoles et al., 2006). Two dependent *t*-tests revealed that British Indian participants perceived Britishness to be more central than ethnic identity, and that British Pakistani participants perceived ethnic identity to be more central than Britishness. This finding regarding centrality is consistent with the hypothesis that the more a self-aspect is perceived to enhance the identity principles, the more central it will be within the identity structure (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000, 2002). There is correlational evidence that the more negative perceptions of the British Press are, the less that outgroup criticism of Britishness will be personalised by the

individual. Conversely, there was increased personalisation of outgroup criticism of the ethnic group. Indeed, one predictor of social identification is the level of 'defensiveness' manifested by the group member in response to outgroup criticism of the ingroup identity (Hornsey, Oppes & Svensson, 2002; Sutton, Elder & Douglas, 2006). Given that Britishness loses its ability to serve the identity principles, as a result of perceived discrimination from the British Press, individuals disidentified with the national category and, thus, manifested less defensiveness of Britishness. Conversely, participants became more defensive of the ethnic group, possible because the category becomes the primary source for identity enhancement. Moreover, individuals come to rely upon the ethnic group in response to gradual disidentification with the national group (Jacobson, 1997b; Kibria, 2008). In short, British national identity becomes less 'central' to the identity structure, resulting in possible indifference to outgroup criticism, while ethnic identity, conversely, becomes more central resulting in increased personalisation of outgroup criticism (see Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2002).

These findings build upon and, in some cases, provide a more refined snapshot of British and ethnic identity management among BSA than previous studies with this superordinate ethnic group. For instance, Cinnirella and Hamilton (2007, p. 495) argue that their 'Asian sample clearly manifested a preference for ethnic identity over British national identity'. This could be the result of not differentiating between British Pakistanis and British Indians in relation to the particular issue of identification. Our results demonstrate that British Indians may derive greater identity enhancement from Britishness than from ethnic identity *(research question 2ii)*. Indeed, this is consistent with the observation that British Indians generally constitute a less 'insular' ethnic group than British Pakistanis and, therefore, tend to engage more readily in interpersonal relations with the WBM, in general (see also Ballard, 1994b; Ghuman, 2003). Greater interpersonal contact with the WBM may sensitise some British Indians to the potential psychosocial 'benefits' associated with Britishness *vis-à-vis* the ethnic group (e.g. enhancing belonging, self-efficacy, self-esteem). However, it is acknowledged that the present thesis does not measure contact with the WBM and cannot provide any evidence for this hypothesis.

The Press may have considerable clout in shaping individuals' representations of the compatibility of British and ethno-religious identities *(research question 3iv)*. Indeed, the

representation that the Press problematises British and ethno-religious identities was *positively correlated* with the perceived 'connectedness' of British and ethno-religious identities but *negatively correlated* with psychological coherence in relation to these identities. Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010a, p. 865) have argued that 'some identities will be perceived to be indifferent and unconnected, whereas others will be perceived to be interconnected' which is partly determined by social representations. Our results suggest that the Press' scrutiny of these identities in juxtaposition renders them inter-connected in the minds of BSA, supporting the assertion that the Press does indeed constitute a major source of societal information with the ability to shape identities *(research question 3iv)*. The results reveal that (i) British Pakistanis perceive greater connectedness between Britishness and ethnic identities than British Indians and that (ii) they perceived greater connectedness between Britishness and religious identities than British Indians. Moreover, British Pakistanis perceived less compatibility between (i) British national and ethnic identities and (ii) British national and religious identities. This intergroup difference is explicable in terms of the greater scrutiny of British Muslims in the Press and in public discourse (Poole, 2002, 2006; Saeed, 2007).

In addition to the consideration of media representations, it is important to explore the qualitative nature of British and ethnic attachments when thinking about the management of these social identities. As highlighted earlier in the thesis, Kelman (1997) outlines two forms of British national attachment, namely instrumental and sentimental. Previous research has observed that British national identity among BSA tends to be instrumental (Jacobson, 1997b; Vadher & Barrett, 2009), while ethnic attachment among BSA tends to be sentimental (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). Our results suggest that different identity principles will likely be associated with either of the two forms of social attachment. The regression analyses suggest that the belonging, self-esteem, self-efficacy and psychological coherence principles are significant predictors of British national identity *(research question 2ii)*. Belonging constitutes the strongest predictor, which is consistent with theorising within the social identity tradition (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Indeed, a central assumption of any social group membership is that individuals will perceive acceptance and inclusion from relevant others within the group. However, this does demonstrate that even an *instrumental* attachment to the nation constitutes a group membership with the perceived need for

acceptance and inclusion from co-members. Moreover, the self-efficacy principle was a significant predictor, possibly because of the instrumental benefits of deriving feelings of control and competence (Kelman, 1997). The importance of the self-esteem principle may be attributed to the link between perceived discrimination and derogation from the WBM, which can threaten self-esteem (Verkuyten, 1998). Furthermore, the perception of discrimination and 'otherisation' from the WBM renders Britishness a 'vulnerable' component of identity (Hopkins, 2004). Since media representations frequently problematise Britishness in relation to its co-existence with ethnic identity (van Dijk, 1991; Poole, 2002, 2006; Richardson, 2006), it is possible that psychological coherence (of British and ethnic identities) constitutes a necessary prerequisite for British national identification *(research question 3iv)*.

Conversely, the multiple regression revealed that the belonging, continuity and meaning principles were significant predictors of ethnic identification *(research question 3iv)*. The continuity and meaning principles of identity are more pertinent to sentimental forms of group attachment. Given the sentimental nature of ethnic attachment, it enables group members to perceive themselves not as independent individuals in the world but as part of a long lineage of individuals bound together by a common heritage across time (De Vos, 1995; Nash, 1989). This highlights the importance of continuity in predicting ethnic identification. Moreover, it is expected that the psychological need for significance and purpose in one's existence would be more associated with sentimental attachment than instrumental attachment (see Baumeister, 1991). This is because sentimental attachment is an emotional one, concerned primarily with validating one's own personal identity, while providing a connection with the group's past, traditions and values.

The results demonstrate that the belonging and continuity principles were positively associated with the perceived importance of ethnic identity. This is consistent with the assertion that social identities, which enhance relevant identity principles, are perceived to be central to their identity structure (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000, 2002). Conversely, the self-efficacy principle, which is associated with British national identity, had no relationship with the perceived importance of ethnic identity (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). The results demonstrated that the self-efficacy and self-esteem principles were positively associated with the perceived centrality of Britishness, but there was a non-

significant relationship between continuity and the perceived centrality of Britishness. Thus, when social categories serve the identity principles most associated with them, they will become more central to the self-concept. Self-efficacy and self-esteem are associated with Britishness and, thus, the ability of Britishness to serve the principles renders Britishness 'central' to the self-concept. This connects with the notion that only those principles, which are 'expected' to be enhanced, should be served by identity categories (Jaspal, 2011b).

Belonging is an important principle in social identity construction (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Thus, threats to the belonging principle in the British Press, reflected in the media representation that BSA do not 'belong' in Britain, are associated with decreased British national identification. This may have distinct implications for British Indians and British Pakistanis. In two independent *t*-tests, it was demonstrated that British Indians derive greater feelings of belonging from Britishness than British Pakistanis, and that British Pakistanis derive greater feelings of belonging from ethnic identity than British Indians *(research question 2ii)*. This may be explained by the phenomenon of 'cultural fossilisation' in the ethnic group, which requires individuals to adhere strictly to more conservative ethno-cultural norms and values (Maira, 2002). Crucially, the observed tendency of British Indians to associate interpersonally with the WBM may encourage the social representation that 'cultural fossilisation' is unreasonable and that, in some cases, they can acquire greater acceptance and inclusion from the WBM than from the ethnic group. In short, given the observed process of 'westernisation' among many second generation Indians (Ballard, 1994a; Ghuman, 2003; Maira, 2002), it is possible that some participants more readily derive feelings of belonging from Britishness due to the perceived similarities between their own self-aspects and self-aspects associated with the national category. Individuals will make use of their various group memberships in order to enhance the principled operation of identity processes (Breakwell, 1986). Moreover, it is clear that more 'accessible' social categories will be preferred in order to derive feelings of belonging, since acceptance and inclusion constitute an important source of this principle (Vignoles et al., 2006). Growing scrutiny of Britishness among British Pakistanis may induce feelings of exclusion from the national community, essentially impeding feelings of belonging. Consequently, it is likely that British Pakistanis attempt to restore feelings of acceptance and inclusion from membership in the ethnic group, which functions at the same

level of abstraction. The study revealed no significant relationship between negative media representations and ethnic identification, suggesting that this group membership may provide feelings of belonging in those contexts in which Britishness cannot (Breakwell, 1986). Conversely, British Indians are less likely to feel excluded on the basis of their Hindu or Sikh religious group membership in an increasingly Islamophobic social environment. Indeed, it is generally accepted that British Indians tend to be more integrated within the national community then British Pakistanis (Robinson, 2009).

Our results build upon research into identity processes, by identifying the particular *levels* of identity principles which can be affected by social representations *(research question 1ii)*. For instance, it was observed that negative media representations and threats to *future* self-efficacy in relation to Britishness were related, while there was no such significant relationship with future self-efficacy in relation to ethnic identity. This result is consistent with the hypothesis that the ability of Britishness to serve the identity principles will be affected by negative media representations of one's ethnic ingroup, although this will not be the case for the ethnic identity principles. Social scientists have argued that perceived discrimination against one's ethnic group may induce feelings of insecurity and uncertainty in relation to Britishness (Jacobson, 1997b). Moreover, the perceived rise in Islamophobic prejudice may influence perceptions of a future loss in competence and control in relation to Britishness. Participants do derive greater feelings of present self-efficacy from Britishness than from ethnic identity, which may be attributed to the instrumental benefits of Britishness *vis-à-vis* ethnic group membership. However, the perceived rise in discrimination may induce an 'uncertain future' and, thus, jeopardise the continuity of these instrumental benefits, resulting in a decline in feelings of future self-efficacy. This explanation is supported by the finding that future self-efficacy in relation to *ethnic identity* is unrelated to negative media representations.

Previous studies in this thesis have elucidated the qualitative nature of national and ethnic attachments, by drawing upon relevant concepts from previous work on national and ethnic identification and identity processes. The present findings highlight the potential impact of media representations for the management of British national and ethnic identities, and the relationship between the forms of attachment and general identity processes.

Moreover, they provide some insight into the necessary components of positive national and ethnic identities, and into those principles which will predict these forms of identification.

The final chapter of this thesis discusses the main empirical findings and theoretical developments reported in this thesis, providing reflection upon the advantages and limitations of the methodological eclecticism of the research as well as insight into the practical and policy implications.

Summary of findings

The present section relates some of the key findings of study IV to the research questions outlined at the end of chapter II. It is noteworthy that the present study may not necessarily address all of the research questions, although the overall research project does.

Question 1(i) What is the relationship between social representations (e.g. media representations) and identity processes?
The results of the study demonstrate a relationship between social representations and the ability of particular identities to serve the identity principles. More specifically, the perception that the British Press constitutes a 'mouth-piece' for the WBM renders these media representation akin to *social* representations in their functioning. There is a strong negative correlation between negative media representations and ability of Britishness to serve the identity principles. Moreover, this may explain the strong negative correlation between negative media representations and global self-esteem.

Question 1(ii) How do the identity principles relate to one another, particularly when the enhancement of one or more principles may threaten another?
The results of study IV build upon research into identity processes, by identifying the particular *levels* of identity principles which can be affected by social representations (see chapters IV and V. For instance, it was observed that negative media representations and threats to *future* self-efficacy in relation to Britishness were related, while there was no significant relationship with future self-efficacy in relation to ethnic identity. This reiterates the importance of examining not only the inter-relations between the identity principles but also between the temporal levels of particular principles.

Question 1(iii) What is the particular relevance of the psychological coherence principle to the construction and management of British and ethnic identities?
The results reveal that psychological coherence between British and ethno-religious identities is positively correlated with British national identification, although psychological coherence

has no significant relationship with ethnic identification. This suggests that Britishness may be less 'secure' in relation to ethnic identity, since participants' attachment to the ethnic group is seldom problematised in the way that their attachment to the national group can be. Thus, regardless of participants' level of psychological coherence, ethnic identity probably remains a more 'secure' component of identity. However, psychological coherence does seem to be more associated with Britishness in that levels of the principle possibly need to be high in order for individuals to self-identify with the national category. This point was reiterated in the multiple regression analysis, which identified psychological coherence as a predictor of British national identification.

Question 2(i) What are the self-aspects (e.g. norms, values, symbols and social representations) associated with British national and ethnic identities?
This research question was not addressed in the present study. Please see chapters IV and V for insights into this issue.

Question 2(ii) What is the impact of British national and ethnic identification for the identity principles outlined in identity process theory?
It is noteworthy that the extent to which British and ethnic identities served the identity principles seemed to differ among British Indian and British Pakistani participants. The results suggest that British Indians in the sample more readily derive appropriate levels of the identity principles from Britishness than from ethnic identity, which in turn renders Britishness a more central component of the identity structure. Conversely, British Pakistanis seem to rely upon ethnic identity as a source of the identity principles, which renders ethnic identity more central to the identity structure.

More generally, the regression analyses suggest that the belonging, self-esteem, self-efficacy and psychological coherence principles are significant predictors of British national identity, suggesting that these principles are more associated with the national category than others. Conversely, analyses revealed that the belonging, continuity and meaning principles were significant predictors of ethnic identification.

Question 2(iii) How might social representations (e.g. conveyed in media representations) affect British national and ethnic identification?

Building upon the results of study III, the present study demonstrates the potential impact of social representations conveyed in the media for British national and ethnic identification. Given the widespread debate surrounding the 'incompatibility' of *Muslim* and British identities, rather than Asian identity *per se*, Indians may feel that their ethno-religious identities are less problematised by the British Press, which perhaps explains their relatively more positive construal of the British media than that of British Pakistanis, for instance. Furthermore, it may explain their readiness to identify with Britishness, even more so than with the ethnic group.

The results provide some support for the assertion that negative media representations may render Britishness a more 'vulnerable' component of the identity structure *vis-à-vis* the more 'stable' ethnic identity (Hopkins, 2004; Saeed, 2007), as discussed in response to research question 1iii. Given the 'vulnerability' of Britishness, it may become attenuated within the identity structure *vis-à-vis* ethnic identity. More specifically, the perception that the Press problematises BSAs' belonging in Britain is associated with decreased identification with Britishness. However, this perception does not seem to be associated with decreased identification with the ethnic group.

Question 3(i) What is the impact of British national and ethnic identification for the psychological coherence principle of identity?

The results suggest that the inter-relations between British national/ ethnic identification and the psychological coherence principle differ among British Indians and British Pakistanis, which could be explained in terms of the media and public scrutiny of British Muslims in recent times. The results suggest that British Pakistanis perceive greater connectedness between British national and religious identities and less coherence between these identities than British Indians. The psychological coherence principle is associated with national and ethnic identification among British Indians but the association seems to be more important among British Pakistanis.

Question 3(ii) How do salient self-aspects from one social identity (e.g. British national identity) affect the other social identity (e.g. ethnic identity)?

This research question was not addressed in the present study. Please see chapters IV and V for insights into this issue.

Question 3(iii) How do temporal factors (e.g. historical social representations; reflection upon life experiences) affect the management of British national and ethnic identities?

This research question was not addressed in the present study. Please see chapters IV and V for insights into this issue.

Question 3(iv) How do media representations affect the management of these identities?

As outlined above, the Press may have considerable clout in shaping individuals' representations of the compatibility of British and ethno-religious identities. Indeed, the representation that the Press problematises British and ethno-religious identities was *positively correlated* with the perceived 'connectedness' of British and ethno-religious identities but *negatively correlated* with psychological coherence in relation to these identities. Clearly, this can have implications for identity management. The results suggest that the Press' scrutiny of these identities in juxtaposition renders them inter-connected in the minds of BSA, which means that individuals may have to take a stance on their compatibility and think about their management.

Chapter VIII:

General discussion

The final chapter of this thesis presents the general discussion and overall conclusions which are derived from the results of the four empirical studies reported here. These are discussed in relation to previous social sciences research and theorising and the research questions outlined at the end of chapter II. The present chapter explores the empirical findings and their theoretical implications, the advantages of methodological eclecticism, limitations of the research design, paths for future research, the transferability of the results to other socio-cultural contexts, and the possible policy implications of the research.

General discussion

The present thesis set out to explore the construction and management of national and ethnic identities among BSA through the heuristic lens of IPT. This overarching concern was divided into three main clusters of research questions. Given the inter-relatedness of the empirical findings and theoretical observations in the thesis, these research questions are addressed collectively through reference to the findings reported in the present thesis and positioned within the broader social sciences literature.

The reader is reminded of the research questions, which the present thesis sought to address. The subsequent discussion explores (i) the key empirical findings and theoretical issues raised in the thesis; (ii) the advantages of methodological eclecticism; (iii) limitations of the research design; (iv) possibilities for future research; (v) the generalisability of the results and their transferability to other contexts; and (vi) the possible policy implications of the research.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Question 1(i) What is the relationship between social representations (e.g. media representations) and identity processes?

Question 1(ii) How do the identity principles relate to one another, particularly when the enhancement of one or more principles may threaten another?

Question 1(iii) What is the particular relevance of the psychological coherence principle to the construction and management of British and ethnic identities?

Question 2(i) What are the self-aspects (e.g. norms, values, symbols and social representations) associated with British national and ethnic identities?

Question 2(ii) What is the impact of British national and ethnic identification for the identity principles outlined in identity process theory?

Question 2(iii) How might social representations (e.g. conveyed in media representations) affect British national and ethnic identification?

Question 3(i) What is the impact of British national and ethnic identification for the psychological coherence principle of identity?

Question 3(ii) How do salient self-aspects from one social identity (e.g. British national identity) affect the other social identity (e.g. ethnic identity)?

Question 3(iii) How do temporal factors (e.g. historical social representations; reflection upon life experiences) affect the construction and management of British national and ethnic identities?

Question 3(iv) How do media representations affect the management of these identities?

KEY EMPIRICAL FINDINGS AND THEORETICAL ISSUES RAISED
Exploring multiple subgroups of BSA

The present thesis explores national and ethnic modes of self-identification among various subgroups within the superordinate category BSA, namely FGSA, SGSA, British Indians and British Pakistanis. The review of existing research and theory on BSA identity highlighted the importance of exploring the research questions in relation to these groups. Moreover, this was thought to provide a more holistic account of national and ethnic identities among BSA. Social sciences research into BSA identity has tended to focus upon SGSA, in particular, possibly due to the primacy of the 'identity conflict' hypothesis within this group (Jacobson, 1997a, 1997b; Jaspal & Coyle, 2010a, 2010b; Modood et al., 1997; Vadher & Barrett, 2009). Moreover, existing research into identity among FGSA, most of which is sociological in its approach, is now rather dated (Anwar, 1979; Ballard, 1994a), although Ghuman has discussed this group to some extent in his more recent socio-psychological work (Ghuman, 2003). While in existing research there is a general tendency to explore the two generational groups in isolation from one another, the present thesis makes a novel contribution to the literature by marrying the key findings of study I with FGSA with those of study II with SGSA, exhibiting some of the convergences and divergences in their individual and collective meaning-making *vis-à-vis* British national and ethnic identities. Recent research suggests that British Indians and British Pakistanis ought to be treated as separate groups in empirical research (Jaspal, 2011c; Robinson, 2009). However, in the domain of national and ethnic identification, there is much overlap in meaning-making among British Indians and British Pakistanis. Conversely, there are also some important divergences, particularly in

relation to the salience of identity principles. One of the primary contributions of the thesis lies in its integrative approach. On the one hand, it explores BSA collectively and, on the other, it investigates how meaning-making among specific subgroups (e.g. FGSA, British Indians) may inform that of others (e.g. SGSA, British Pakistanis).

It is suggested that the construction of these identities among FGSA and SGSA is inter-related. Given the general importance of family identity (Inman et al., 2001), FGSA tend to ground their own sense of British national identity in that of their children (SGSA), that is, participants seemed to attribute their British national attachment to the perceived importance of Britishness among SGSA *(research questions 2i and 2iii)*. On the other hand, SGSA took a stance on social representations disseminated by FGSA regarding their alleged mistreatment at the hands of the WBM in the early stages of settlement (Breakwell & Millward, 1995). While some SGSA reported their consequential inability to self-identify with Britishness, others employed the social representation of discrimination as an indicator of positive social change, which should be celebrated rather than eschewed *(research question 2iii)*. Both of these contrasting substantive examples appear to evidence the central point that identity construction among FGSA and SGSA is inter-related. This further reiterates the theoretical and empirical benefits of exploring the two groups collectively, as is the case in the present thesis.

British national and ethnic identification and identity processes

The present thesis builds upon a series of recent socio-psychological studies, which have employed IPT to address identity issues among BSA (Jaspal & Coyle, 2009, 2010a, 2010b). It further elucidates the utility of IPT in exploring the construction and management of national and ethnic identities within this population. The theoretical starting-point of the thesis is reflected in the assumption that individuals will strive to assimilate and accommodate within the self-concept those identity elements and social representations which directly benefit the principled operation of identity processes (Breakwell, 2001; Vignoles et al., 2002). The broad range of identity requirements outlined in IPT facilitates a more fine-grained analysis of the psychological incentives and disadvantages associated with national and ethnic modes of self-identification among BSA. This builds upon existing work

which postulates that ethnic identification can make a positive contribution to the self (Cho, 2000; Phinney et al., 2001).

It is argued in this thesis that BSA are generally motivated to self-identify with Britishness, given the perceived social desirability of manifesting national loyalty in a national context in which the loyalty of ethnic minorities (and particularly Muslims) is increasingly problematised (Saeed, 2007; Werbner, 2000) *(research question 2iii)*. Moreover, the results of this thesis strongly suggest that self-identification with Britishness is determined by the motivational principles of belonging, self-efficacy and self-esteem, and that ethnic identification is predicted by belonging, self-esteem, continuity and meaning *(research question 2ii)*. Clearly, dominant social representations in relevant social contexts will, in part, determine the outcomes of self-identification with these social categories for identity processes (Breakwell, 2001). For instance, it has been demonstrated that FGSA can derive feelings of pride, honour and, thus, self-esteem by accentuating their attachment to Britishness in the homeland context, although in Britain their attachment to the national category may habitually be weak (Vadher & Barrett, 2009). It is noteworthy that these results provide a more complex and multi-faceted explanation for national and ethnic group attachment than the self-esteem hypothesis of the social identity approach, for instance (Abrams & Hogg, 2000; see Vignoles et al., 2006). These results attest to the need for a broader, more inclusive theoretical approach to understanding national and ethnic attachment and possibly other group attachments as indicated by research conducted in other contexts (e.g. Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a; Speller, 2000; Timotijevic, 2000). IPT offers such a framework.

Given the potential psychological benefits of national identification (Phinney, Cantu & Kurtz, 1997), it was deemed important to explore the perceived criteria for self-inclusion in the national group. At least two criteria for Britishness were observable in participants' accounts. On the one hand, individuals described Britishness in behavioural terms, as a national identity available to those who conform to specific behavioural 'norms'. These norms may include conformity to British laws, the condemnation of terror acts and other 'national-affirmative' activities *(research question 2i)*. The origins of these social representations may be attributed to pervasive media representations of British Muslims, as reported in study III (see also Poole, 2002; Richardson, 2004). Acceptance of these criteria

reflects a more civic understanding of Britishness, which has been discussed elsewhere (Jacobson, 1997a; Modood, 2007). However, a novel finding in the thesis is that FGSA may perceive Britishness as an identity which is 'earned' by individuals with non-British ethnic origins (see also Jacobson, 1997b). Although behavioural criteria for Britishness may facilitate self-inclusion in the national group, they can nonetheless problematise the Britishness of those individuals whose behaviour may not entirely correspond to the constructed criteria. Indeed, these criteria can implicitly serve to highlight the 'lesser' Britishness of non-White Britons *vis-à-vis* that of the WBM. Furthermore, BSA who accept and reproduce this social representation of Britishness may in fact feel less 'secure' in relation to their Britishness, since this entails a perceived responsibility to conform to the constructed criteria. Hopkins' (2004) observation that Britishness constitutes a less 'secure' component of the identity structure was echoed in the results of study IV. In this study levels of psychological coherence correlate with Britishness but not with ethnic identity, suggesting that national identity fluctuates in accordance with the psychological coherence principle *(research question 1iii)*. Thus, on the one hand, acceptance of this social representation of Britishness can facilitate a sense of belonging in a category which constitutes a less 'secure' component of identity. On the other hand, BSA may utilise the degree of agency and identity fluidity afforded to them by developing complex and fairly subjective behavioural criteria for Britishness in order to strategically include the self and to exclude 'Significant Others' (Triandafyllidou, 2001). This in turn facilitates the intergroup strategy of downward comparison, which allows individuals to compare themselves with relevant others on favourable dimensions, potentially enhancing self-esteem and positive distinctiveness (Jaspal, 2011b; Wills, 1981).

Although there are obvious benefits for the self-concept associated with the construction of behavioural criteria for Britishness, some participants nevertheless reproduced the social representation of *affective* criteria for Britishness. These criteria require that individuals manifest a sentimental attachment to the nation (Kelman, 1997), which may be exemplified by *inter alia* an emotional attachment to the British monarchy and the national anthem, and the perception of 'national' emotions (Barrett, 2000). However, BSA tend to manifest a more sentimental attachment to the ethnic group, rather than to the national group, which is partly driven by the need for psychological coherence (Jaspal &

Cinnirella, in press, a). Thus, acceptance of these criteria may in fact impede access to Britishness as a whole, potentially threatening the existing benefits for the self-efficacy principle associated with instrumental attachment to the nation. Indeed, this point is evinced in the results of study IV, which demonstrate that perceived 'otherisation' in media representations bears a relationship with decreased *future* self-efficacy in relation to Britishness *(research question 3iv)*.

The results of the thesis suggest that ethnic identity generally constitutes the more 'stable' component of the identity structure *vis-à-vis* Britishness, primarily because there is little contestation of BSAs' membership in the ethnic group. Indeed, media representations tend to concern ethnic minority individuals' position in relation to the national group, rather than to the ethnic group, as demonstrated in the literature review and study III (van Dijk, 1991) *(research question 2iv)*. However, even for self-inclusion in this relatively stable category in the self-concept, participants must take a stance on social representations concerning the criteria for ethnic group membership (Breakwell & Millward, 1995; Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). SGSA generally constructed the heritage language as an important marker of membership in the ethnic group, which has been found in earlier studies of ethnic identity in this group (Jaspal & Coyle, 2009a, 2010b). The thesis builds upon this literature by identifying other subjectively salient 'markers' of ethnic group membership such as 'sexual morality' and the maintenance of 'ethnic traditions' (Ballard, 1994a) *(research question 2i)*. Here it is argued that SGSA tend to prioritise those 'token' aspects of ethnic identity, which they perceive to be compatible with corresponding elements of British national identity in order to preserve psychological coherence *(research question 3i)*. Moreover, previous research illustrates that, although ethnic identity is relatively stable *vis-à-vis* Britishness, it may nonetheless be problematised by members of the ethnic ingroup (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010b). In short, SGSA attempt to safeguard and to legitimise their membership in the ethnic group by strategically pointing to those self-aspects, which they perceive themselves to possess, eschewing or downplaying the significance of those self-aspects, which they perceive themselves to lack (Simon, 2004) *(research question 2i)*.

This facilitates self-inclusion in relevant ingroups, which in turn may facilitate the perception of group-level emotions. The present thesis acknowledges that emotions can constitute the *product* of identity processes, in that threatened identity can, for instance,

induce negative emotions (e.g. shame) (Timotijevic, 2000). However, it is reasonable to assume that group emotions, such as ethnic pride or national guilt, can themselves affect identity processes. More specifically, it is suggested that national pride can enhance the self-esteem principle among national group members (Barrett, 2000; Jaspal, 2011b). Conversely, national *guilt* would be unlikely to enhance self-esteem, given that this negative emotion will not encourage a positive self-conception on the basis of membership in the guilt-inducing group (Gecas, 1982). Here it is argued that BSA will make strategic use of their national and ethnic group memberships in order to derive positive emotions (e.g. pride) and to eschew negative emotions (e.g. guilt) *(research question 2ii)*. This exemplifies the human agency implicated in the management of multiple group memberships. Crucially, even the most sceptical national identifiers can manifest this strategy for enhancing identity processes. This suggests that, despite the potential threats that multiple identification can pose to psychological coherence, it can nonetheless be employed productively to enhance identity processes (Amiot et al., 2007).

At this point it is sensible to reiterate the central tenet of this thesis that individuals will strive to optimise the principled operation of identity processes. Accordingly, British national and ethnic identities are employed strategically by BSA in order to achieve this primary goal for the self-concept. BSA seem to embrace Britishness insofar as this social category enhances identity processes, although this is constrained by dominant social representations (e.g. the criteria for inclusion in the group; perceived prejudice etc.) (Breakwell, 2001). It is likely that those individuals who habitually perceive scope for the derivation of self-efficacy, distinctiveness and self-esteem from membership in the national category will attempt to facilitate and reinforce their group membership *(research question 2ii)*. These individuals will endeavour to contest even the most hegemonic social representations of alternative criteria for national group membership which could problematise their own group attachment, such as affective criteria for Britishness (Breakwell, 2010). Conversely, individuals who do not perceive scope for identity enhancement in this way may passively accept hegemonic representations of affective national attachment, openly providing this as a reason for disidentification, given the perceived lack of psychological incentive for national identity. Incidentally, this further elucidates potential human responses to hegemonic social representations (Moscovici, 1988).

In short, identity processes seem to govern responses to representations concerning membership in and attachment to the national and ethnic groups.

Despite the potential benefits of these group memberships, BSA seem to face social representations of exclusion and 'otherisation' from various relevant ingroups (Jacobson, 1997a, 1997b; Vadher & Barrett, 2009) *(research question 3iv)*. This can render the belonging principle of identity salient to 'otherised' individuals. For FGSA, threats to the belonging principle may be particularly acute, due to the tri-dimensional 'otherisation' described in the present thesis, namely from the WBM, SGSA and SARS. This tri-dimensional 'otherisation' highlights the chronic vulnerability of the belonging principle of identity among FGSA, in particular, while the well-reported perception of 'otherisation' from the WBM among SGSA reflects the potential vulnerability of the belonging principle within this particular group (see also Jaspal & Siraj, in press) *(research question 2ii)*. Thus, an important identity principle associated with both group memberships remains vulnerable to threat.

Participants manifest a multitude of strategies in order to enhance this and other principles. The present thesis provides fresh empirical insights into the interpersonal coping strategy of 'social complaint', which constitutes an acceptance strategy in that it entails active acknowledge of one's threatening position on the part of the individual. By rendering salient and actively communicating one's threatening position in interpersonal contact, the threatened individual may perceive scope to improve their socio-psychological position and thereby engender positive social change. Although this strategy has been outlined in theoretically speculative terms (Jaspal, 2011a), the present thesis provides preliminary evidence of its deployment among BSA. The results of the thesis suggest that, despite the general benefits associated with the social complaint strategy, it may be unsuccessful in banishing threat if it does not succeed in motivating others to act in ways which alleviate threats to the principle. This is predictable given the interpersonal nature of the strategy. However, social complaint does appear to be more effective in the long-run than intrapsychic strategies such as denial, for instance (Breakwell, 1986).

Social representations and identification

Breakwell (1986, 2001) has consistently highlighted the importance of social representations in identity construction, given their ability to affect identity processes by providing the social context, in which stimuli are *assimilated and accommodated* within the self and *evaluated* by the individual. The present thesis elucidates the role of social representations in the construction of national and ethnic identities among BSA (Cinnirella, 1996).

It has been argued that social representations of Britishness, which were prevalent in the homeland context, enabled FGSA to 'imagine' self-enhancement (more specifically, enhanced self-efficacy, distinctiveness and self-esteem) *(research question 1i)*. In their accounts, participants employ these representations in order to make sense of Britishness in relation to ethnic identity, for instance. More specifically, these representations induce an instrumental attachment to the national group (Kelman, 1997). On the other hand, SGSA seem to accept social representations regarding poor living conditions in the homeland, which study II suggests are habitually disseminated by FGSA. However, according to participants' accounts, these representations become internalised within the identity structure subsequent to first-hand engagement with the homeland context through personal visits (Harris, 2006). Crucially, it is at this point that these representations most decisively impact national and ethnic identity construction and the inter-relations between these identities *(research question 2iii)*. More specifically, this may be conducive to the accentuation of Britishness, which may be attributed to its ability to enhance the self-efficacy principle, and to the attenuation of ethnic identity, which retains its ability to enhance continuity (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). Representations of financial hardship in the homeland in juxtaposition with representations of wealth and prosperity in Britain accentuate the self-efficacy principle (Breakwell, 2001). Thus, these representations can provide a 'point of comparison', allowing individuals to appreciate the potential benefits of one social stimulus/ social context *vis-à-vis* another. To this extent, social representations can play a pivotal role in establishing the nature of attachment to a given social stimulus (i.e. instrumental or sentimental). These findings elucidate the development of Kelman's (1997) instrumental/ sentimental dichotomy among BSA at least.

Social representations partly determine the value, which is attributed to identity elements. It has been suggested that, given the perceived prevalence of Islamophobic

representations in 'national' contexts, British Indian participants may distance themselves from the superordinate ethnic category Asian in order to maintain distinctiveness from British Pakistanis *(research question 3iv)*. The category Asian may be negatively evaluated by British Indians, given the possibility that it could expose them to Islamophobia. Accordingly, several participants opted for more specific forms of ethnic self-categorisation such as British Indian or British Hindu, for instance (see also Raj, 2000) *(research question 2iii)*. The present thesis demonstrates empirically that exposure to negative representations can have negative outcomes for identity processes and global self-esteem. Conversely, British Pakistanis appear to embrace the superordinate category Asian since this may evoke relatively more positive social representations in Islamophobic social contexts. BSA attempt to 'immunise' their ethnic (or ethno-religious) ingroup from negative, stigmatising social representations through strategic self-categorisation (either as Asian as in the case of British Pakistanis or as British Indian in the case of British Indians) and re-construal of ingroup and outgroup boundaries. This provides some insight into the interface of social representation and self-categorisation, which departs from self-categorisation theory's use of group prototypicality and group normativeness as explanations for self-categorisation (Turner et al., 1987).

On the other hand, both FGSA and SGSA may lay claim to, and positively evaluate, hyphenated identities (e.g. British Indian; British Asian), although they may perceive the use of these hyphenated categories by the WBM as indicative of negativisation and a lack of acceptance and inclusion from the WBM. This is likely to result in feelings of negative distinctiveness (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2000). While social representations associate personal use of hyphenated identities with enhanced psychological coherence, they may activate suspicion surrounding external use of the category from the WBM. The present thesis suggests that social representations can decisively shape the ways, in which identity categories themselves are perceived *(research question 2iii)*. This marries the findings of Philogène (2001) and Jaspal and Coyle (2010b) that, while specific categories may evoke positive social representations of a group, use of these categories by outgroup members may be regarded as suspicious and, thus, threaten identity. Thus, although constructs such as hyphenation and hybridisation may well be beneficial on the one hand, researchers and policy-makers should not lose sight of the potentially negative outcomes of such forms of

categorisation. IPT, being the integrative theory of identity threat that it is, can elucidate the ways in which a particular representation or social stimulus will likely affect identity from the particular perspectives of self-esteem, continuity, distinctiveness and so on.

Social representations determine the extent to which identity elements (and in the present case, national and ethnic group memberships) are perceived to be available to individuals. The media analysis reported in study III provides some insight into the pool of meaning concerning British and ethnic identities. This is made accessible to BSA and provides the ideological backdrop against which these identities are constructed and managed (Garnham, 1993). The articles analysed in study III employ a variety of rhetorical strategies for problematising Britishness among BSA. For instance, the articles highlight their allegedly 'non-British' traits and constructs them as opposed to the nation. More specifically, it is argued that intergroup difference is rendered salient and employed in order to negativise, inferiorise and otherise BSA *vis-à-vis* the WBM. One of the 'hybridised threats' attributed to BSA is their 'excessive' institutional support, which allegedly facilitates (false) racism allegations against the WBM (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b). It is noteworthy that these findings, though substantively novel, correspond to the general observation in the media studies literature that ethnic minorities, and particularly Muslims, are negativised, inferiorised and 'otherised' in media reporting (Richardson, 2004; van Dijk, 1991). The findings of study III constitute at least part of the ideological pool of social representations concerning BSA, of which participants in studies I, II and IV expressed awareness. Crucially, participants reported that perceived discrimination constituted a barrier to British national identification, and the final study of the thesis reports a strong correlation between negative social representations of the ethnic ingroup and a decreased sense of belonging in the national group *(research question 3iv)*. This suggests that stigmatising social representations can render membership in the national group psychologically unavailable to stigmatised individuals (Modood et al., 1997) *(research question 2iii)*.

Negative social representations of one's ethnic ingroup in media reporting is associated with weak psychological coherence in relation to British national and ethnic identities *(research question 3iv)*. Data from studies I and II suggest that participants implicitly attribute 'ownership' of these negative media representations to the WBM. In short, the British media may be regarded in terms of a 'mouth-piece' for the WBM, rather

than as a sensationalist disseminator of social representations (Conboy, 2006). This can induce among BSA perceptions of identity incompatibility in relation to Britishness and ethnic identity. Given that the Press is regarded as a faithful 'mouth-piece' of the WBM, it is unsurprising that the perception that the Press problematises BSAs' belonging in Britain should be negatively associated with participants' own sense of belonging in Britain. Moreover, negative media representations of BSA, such as those observed in study III, seems to have considerable clout in determining the outcomes of Britishness for the other motivational principles of identity. For instance, the perception of negative media representations is negatively associated with self-efficacy in relation to Britishness, despite the empirical evidence that British national identity is habitually associated with the principle *(research question 1i)*. Incidentally, there seems to be a general weakening of the ability of Britishness to enhance identity processes subsequent to the individual's exposure to negative media representations of their ethnic ingroup. In accordance with IPT, this general weakening of identity processes may decrease psychological well-being. The inability of Britishness to enhance identity processes will likely result in a weakened attachment to the national category and eventual disidentification (Vignoles et al., 2006). The novelty in the media analysis lies in the use of IPT as the primary theoretical lens for understanding how representations affect identity construction and management.

Temporal factors in identification

The present thesis points to the theoretical and empirical advantages of considering temporal factors in the construction and management of British national and ethnic identities (Cinnirella, 1998). On the one hand, 'historical' social representations (or social representations of the ingroup's historical trajectory) can function as social representational constraints upon identity processes, essentially governing the effect a given social stimulus (e.g. the nation; the ethnic group) can have for identity processes (Breakwell, 2001). Indeed, some SGSA reported their inability to self-identify with Britishness due to the WBM's alleged mistreatment of FGSA during the early stages of settlement, which constitutes a 'historical' social representation *(research question 3iii)*. Moreover some FGSA manifested a more 'vulnerable' attachment to the nation, evidenced by their constant desire to affirm their national loyalty (Jacobson, 1997b). This may be attributed to awareness of historical

social representations of discrimination from the WBM. British national identification cannot provide satisfactory levels of acceptance and inclusion (the belonging principle) to those BSA who accept and internalise historical social representations of exclusion and 'otherisation' from the WBM *(research question 3iii)*. To that extent, they function as social representational constraints upon identity processes.

On the other hand, historical representations can be strategically *utilised* as a means of deriving maximal benefits from self-identification with a social category (Klein & Azzi, 2001). For instance, some SGSA participants utilised the social representation of the WBM's exclusion of FGSA in order to contrast the 'negative past' with a 'positive present'. Thus, the historical representation was reproduced in order to evidence *positive social change*. This seemed to have favourable outcomes for self-efficacy, since it highlighted satisfactory present levels of competence and control, and present-day acceptance and inclusion in the nation *(research question 3iii)*. This is consistent with IPT's central thesis that the individual has considerable agency in constructing and managing identity and that social representations will be strategically employed in order to optimise the principled operation of identity processes (Breakwell, 2001, 2010; Klein & Azzi, 2001). However, the availability of this strategy is likely to depend upon (i) the hegemony of the social representation itself, since hegemonic representations are less easy to re-construe (Jaspal & Coyle, 2009a); (ii) the extent to which the social stimulus, which is socially represented, can actually enhance identity processes *(research question 1i)*. Thus, those individuals who perceive scope for identity enhancement through self-identification with a given social category will be less inclined to allow historical representations to inhibit self-identification and may, conversely, re-construe the social significance of these representations, as manifested by some participants' accounts. In making sense of national and ethnic identities among BSA, it may be important to incorporate knowledge of FGSAs' migratory histories, whose accounts are imbued with historical social representations of early settlement and intergroup relations (Ramji, 2006). Furthermore, the present thesis builds upon this literature by exploring SGSAs' awareness of these representations. This multi-dimensional analysis has provided more thorough insight into the development of BSAs' meaning-making in relation to their British national and ethnic identities.

The issue of social change is central to the study of identity construction and management (Davies, 2000; Lyons, 1996; Reicher, 1997). More specifically, the thesis offers tentative suggestions regarding the conditions under which change may be construed by individuals as threatening for identity. Change at the intrapsychic level or in one's social surroundings may logically threaten the continuity principle of identity, which motivates individuals to maintain a link connecting past, present and future. However, IPT is clear in its assertion that social change constitutes a fundamental aspect of human existence and that it may not necessarily entail threats to continuity (Chandler, Lalonde, Sokol, & Hallett, 2003; McAdams, 2001). Threats to continuity arise from the individual's inability to establish a theoretical link between past, present and future. Crucially, it is argued in the present thesis that this may occur when change threatens other psychologically salient principles of identity *(research question 1ii)*. For instance, SGSAs' accounts of 'otherisation' and discrimination subsequent to the terrorist attacks on September 11th 2001 suggest threatened belonging, on the one hand, but this was similarly construed in terms of a threat to the continuity principle. This change in interpersonal and intergroup relations was regarded as a sudden, unexpected and *undesirable* change in the identity structure, due primarily to its negative impact for the belonging principle. Insofar as change threatens belonging (a psychologically salient principle), it may be regarded as a potential threat to the continuity principle. Indeed, this assumption is further reinforced by the tendency of some SGSA participants in study II to downgrade and attenuate the significance of FGSAs' accounts of discrimination from the WBM (McAdams, 2001). Despite FGSAs' accounts of discrimination, the improvement in intergroup relations with the WBM was not consistently construed by participants as a threat to continuity. Rather, it could be celebrated in terms of *positive* social change, because this change did not jeopardise other psychologically salient identity principles (e.g. belonging). Indeed, those individuals who perceive scope for identity enhancement will ambitiously embrace the possibility, while those who regard this as futile may be more susceptible to threats to the principles in question. Crucially, these situations will threaten the continuity principle where change is implicated.

Turning to temporality in identity processes, the present thesis presents a rationale for temporally delineating the identity principles, in some contexts, in order to explore and compare perceptions of present and future levels of the principles. The potential advantages

of delineating present and future levels of self-efficacy have been suggested in theoretical analyses of intergroup relations (e.g. Jaspal, 2011a, 2011b). The data reported here provide empirical support for this. Although present levels of self-efficacy may be satisfactory in relation to Britishness, the perception of discrimination from the WBM seems to be associated with the perception of decreased *future* self-efficacy *(research question 3iii)*. This essentially facilitates the identification of potential threats to identity in the long-run.

The psychological coherence principle of identity

One of the primary contributions of the present thesis lies in its treatment of the psychological coherence principle of identity, which was first introduced in a study of the management of religious and sexual identities among British Muslim gay men (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a). It is argued that this strand of theorising can provide insight into the socio-psychological mechanisms underlying the management of national and ethnic identities among BSA. Given the relative benefits of both British national and ethnic identities for the self-concept (Cho, 2000; Phinney et al., 2001), participants generally laid claim to both identities, albeit to differing levels. However, 'tension points' induced by their knowledge of potentially contradictory social representations associated with either identity could jeopardise the psychological coherence principle. The results of the thesis further elucidate the heuristic value of incorporating the psychological coherence principle into IPT and of delineating it conceptually from the continuity principle of identity.

Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010a) have argued that low levels of psychological coherence between inter-connected identities can result in identity threat, which is aversive for psychological well-being. This demonstrates the long-term implications of living with incompatible though inter-connected identities. Theorising on the coherence principle can make an important contribution to debates regarding the nature of group attachment (particularly in relation to national and ethnic identities). It has been found that the nature of national attachment among BSA tends to be instrumental while that of ethnic attachment seems to be more sentimental (Kelman, 1997; Vadher & Barrett, 2009). The results presented in the thesis suggest that the coherence principle motivates BSA to attribute differential meaning and value to inter-connected and potentially competing national and ethnic identities, which operate at the same level of abstraction *(research question 1iii)*. This

point is demonstrated in participants' attribution of 'realistic' functions to Britishness, given its perceptible impact for the acquisition of materialistic goals (self-efficacy), and of 'symbolic' functions to ethnic identity, which can provide feelings of temporal continuity (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a) *(research question 1iii).* Because the two identity components acquire differential meanings and hence distinct functions within the self-concept, they can co-habit the identity structure cohesively. In short, the identities do not encroach upon each other's 'territory' within the structure, which essentially safeguards the psychological coherence principle *(research question 3i).*

Moreover, the principle provides a bridge between theorising within sociology regarding 'hybridisation' and psychological approaches to multiple identification (Verkuyten, 2005). Many SGSA participants manifested hybridised ethno-national identities, consisting of elements of both Britishness and ethnicity. The present thesis provides preliminary insights into the formation of this mode of ethno-national self-identification. Hybrid identifiers in the study appeared to select psychologically coherent elements from either identity, which created a 'symmetrical' identity structure *(research question 3ii).* Coherence may constitute the psychological rationale for manifesting hybrid ethno-national identities, given that the *symmetrical* selection of elements associated with either identity ensures that the coherence principle remains intact (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a) *(research question 3i).* Moreover, theorising on the coherence principle elucidates the psychological dynamics of hybrid identities at the intrapsychic level. Indeed, social psychologists have questioned *how* these identities are actually formed and managed (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a; Verkuyten, 2005).

Hybrid ethno-national identities are best described in terms of an amalgamation of psychologically coherent elements of both national and ethnic identities *(research question 3ii).* In addition to elucidating the probable psychological antecedent of hybridisation, the psychological coherence principle allows the researcher to identify potential socio-psychological problems that may be associated with this mode of self-identification in the long-run (cf. Hall, 2002; Harris, 2006). Although hybridisation seems to favour coherence, when hybrid identifiers are exposed to social representations (e.g. from the media; from FGSA) that problematise this mode of self-identification, the principle may in fact become vulnerable to threat *(research question 2iii).* This can reverse the initial benefits for the

principle. This is evidenced partly by the finding in study IV that the perception of media representations which problematise the compatibility of national and ethnic identities seem to increase perceived 'connectedness' between these identities and decrease psychological coherence. Moreover, in study II SGSA reported feelings of decreased coherence subsequent to exposure to social representations from FGSA problematising their ethno-national identity configuration *(research question 3i)*.

In study I, FGSA expressed awareness of potential incompatibilities of national and ethnic self-identification. It has been observed that individuals may employ one identity as a heuristic, interpretive lens to regard other potentially competing identities, when self-aspects associated with these competing identities are, for some reason, evaluated negatively by the individual (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a) *(research question 3ii)*. For instance, the practice of cohabitation with one's extended family may be regarded by some FGSA as a negative aspect of ethnic identity. This could be attributed to the internalisation of more individualistic norms within the identity structure subsequent to settlement in Britain (Ballard, 1994a). In order to deprecate and to de-value this potentially undesirable aspect of ethnic identity, FGSA seemed to employ Britishness as a heuristic lens for considering and evaluating this particular norm attributed to ethnic identity. This essentially entails the reproduction of social representations from one identity in order to contest those of another (Breakwell, 2001).

IPT's attention to the multiple motivational principles of identity provides detailed insight into the management of components of the identity structure. It is conceivable that the extent to which a given identity component is perceived to enhance identity processes will predict the position of that component within the 'identity hierarchy' *(research question 2iii)*. This further elucidates the concept of 'core-ness' in identities (Hofmann, 1988). In this thesis, it has been acknowledged that Islamic religious identity may be 'core' among many BSA of Muslim background and that other identities (i.e. Britishness) may be perceived as subordinate to this 'core' religious identity. It is noteworthy that among British Pakistanis religious and ethnic identities are said to be highly inter-related, which has encouraged some researchers to regard these identity components as a single variable (e.g. Robinson, 2009). This may explain the tendency among the British Pakistani participants in study IV to regard their ethnic identity as 'core' *vis-à-vis* British national identity. Crucially, British Pakistani

participants also tend to perceive ethnic identity as more readily enhancing identity processes than Britishness. It is reasonable to hypothesise that identity 'core-ness' will be governed by the extent to which the identity is perceived to enhance identity processes. Thus, a more *psychologically beneficial* identity component will feature more prominently within the identity hierarchy, while a less beneficial component (judged in terms of its ability to enhance identity processes) will occupy an inferior position within the hierarchy or it may well be dropped from identity altogether *(research question 2ii)*. Indeed, this is observable in Jaspal and Cinnirella's (2010a) study of gay identity among British Muslim gay men. Although most men reported engaging in homosexual practices, many eschewed gay identity because it was regarded as threatening rather than enhancing the principled operation of identity processes.

On a similar note, it is unsurprising that when a self-aspect associated with one identity (e.g. the practice of arranged marriage as a self-aspect of ethnic identity) is seen as being in conflict with that of another identity, the self-aspect associated with the 'core' identity is generally prioritised *vis-à-vis* that of the subordinate identity *(research question 3ii)*. The self-aspect from a subordinate identity is simply not permitted to problematise the integrity of the 'core' identity. This may be interpreted in terms of a given favouring of the 'core' identity, which is more able to enhance identity processes than subordinate identities. Amiot et al.'s (2007) hypothesis that inter-relations between identities are established in the final stage of identity integration seems to overlook the possibility that, in cases involving a 'core' identity, 'integration' or coherence can be achieved by retaining the 'core' status of one identity and utilising it in order to evaluate the contents of the subordinate identity. This can constitute the final stage of the 'integration' process.

Managing the multiple motivational principles

As outlined in chapter II, the inter-relations between the motivational principles of identity, both salient and latent, remains an unresolved theoretical issue in IPT research (Breakwell, 1986). The present thesis provides some preliminary insight into the potential relationships between the principles in the domain of national and ethnic identification among BSA.

Social representations in a given social context can play an important role in rendering particular identity principles psychologically salient to an individual (Breakwell,

1986). Here it is argued that discriminatory and exclusionary social representations, as well as the social desirability of integration in the national group, collectively, can render the belonging principle salient among BSA. This may result in the subjective prioritisation of the principle; individuals will actively seek to enhance this principle, provided that they perceive scope for enhancing the principle (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, b). It is argued in the thesis that the distinctiveness principle can function at the intergroup level of human interdependence in order to stimulate feelings of acceptance and inclusion from relevant others, which enhances the belonging principle *(research question 1ii)*. Among British Indians who express awareness of Islamophobic social representations the distinctiveness principle may become active at the intergroup level, resulting in intergroup differentiation from British Pakistanis, as a means of enhancing the belonging principle of identity. Although the belonging principle is vulnerable to threat due to awareness of Islamophobic social representation, it does nonetheless lend itself to enhancement provided that individuals are able to accentuate intergroup differences from British Pakistanis. Furthermore, awareness of Islamophobic representations among British Indians may expose them to potential threats to self-esteem since they perceive their immediate ethnic ingroup to be susceptible to stigma (Crocker & Major, 1989; Jaspal, 2011b). The perception that their ethnic ingroup is 'homogenised' with a stigmatised outgroup may plausibly inhibit a positive self-conception on the basis of this group membership. Accordingly, it is argued that the distinctiveness principle acquires salience partly as a means of enhancing the belonging and self-esteem principles of identity *(research question 1ii)*. Although this finding is consistent with the intrapsychic strategy of manipulating the salience of identity principles (Breakwell, 1986), it advances IPT by elucidating the potential 'direction' that the strategy of principle salience will take in response to stigmatising 'group homogenisation'.

The accentuation of distinctiveness as a means of enhancing the belonging principle exemplifies how psychologically subordinate principles can transiently acquire salience in order to enhance identity principles of psychological primacy (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, b). As demonstrated in previous IPT research, this can result in greater psychological endorsement of the identity-enhancing stimulus or category (Vignoles et al., 2002). Decision-making *vis-à-vis* migration and settlement in Britain among FGSA men was shaped partly by the perceived benefits for the self-efficacy principle, given that the principle had

formerly been susceptible to chronic threat, though constantly activated by patriarchal social representations, in the homeland context. The *imagined* enhancement of self-efficacy through migration and settlement in Britain seems to have resulted in positive social representations of migrants to Britain among SARS. Awareness of these positive social representations, resulting from enhanced self-efficacy, can positively impact the self-esteem principle, given the rise in 'izzat' (respect and honour) from the SARS, as well as *positive* distinctiveness from this group. Thus, self-efficacy is enhanced by the experience of migration, which in turn constitutes a means of enhancing the more salient principles of self-esteem and distinctiveness *(research question 1ii)*.

It is noteworthy that, although FGSA, in particular, derive psychological benefits from their distinctiveness from the SARS, this can conversely result in negative outcomes for the belonging principle in the long-run. Indeed, there is an acknowledged tension between the distinctiveness and belonging principles in the socio-psychological literature, which is articulated in the optimal distinctiveness model (Brewer, 1991). On the one hand, Britishness does differentiate FGSA from SARS, due to the aforementioned identity benefits associated with membership in this national category. On the other hand, FGSA participants reported feelings of exclusion and 'otherisation' from SARS, as a result of such 'excessive' distinctiveness. Thus, it appears that Britishness is accentuated in the homeland context and employed as a means of deriving positive distinctiveness from SARS and greater 'izzat' (self-esteem), but that the national category can eventually induce threats to the belonging principle. Individuals actively seek an equilibrium between the distinctiveness and belonging principles of identity (Brewer, 1991), but Britishness may in fact result in greater distinctiveness than belonging. This 'direction' of identity salience may nonetheless be preferred given the aforementioned benefits of self-efficacy associated with Britishness, although on the whole it is not entirely positive for identity processes.

The present thesis elucidates the inter-relations between the motivational principles of identity specifically within the context of group identification. This makes a relevant contribution to the more individualistic analyses of much IPT research (e.g. Breakwell, 1986; Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a). It is plausible to conclude that the belonging principle of identity is pertinently associated with those identity principles, which are affected by one's membership in either national or ethnic groups *(research question 1ii)*. Indeed, the results of

the multiple regression analyses reported in study IV point to the importance of the belonging principle in both group memberships (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986; Vignoles & Moncaster, 2007). It is argued that a sense of belonging in a given social group enables individuals to derive identity benefits from their group membership. For instance, SGSA may feel unable to derive a positive self-conception from national pride if they do not perceive feelings of belonging in the national group, possibly due to otherisation. On the other hand, this does not mean that threats to identity at the level of the (British) national group will necessarily be experienced by BSA group members (cf. Branscombe & Doosje, 2002). BSA seem to engage in the intergroup strategy of multiple group memberships by strategically shifting psychological salience from membership in the national category to membership in the ethnic category. Crucially, individuals accompany this shift in salience of group membership with supporting social representations (e.g. strategic disidentification with the national group by citing social representations of British colonialism in the Subcontinent). This differs from the social identity complexity approach forwarded by Roccas and Brewer, (2002), in that it focuses not upon the overlap between group memberships, but rather the strategic self-categorisation in these multiple groups in order to derive optimal benefits from these group memberships. Accordingly, this provides a novel perspective to the debate on multiple identification.

ADVANTAGES OF MULTI-METHODOLOGICAL ECLECTICISM

A multi-methodological approach has been employed in the present thesis in order to investigate the construction and management of national and ethnic identities among BSA. This has consisted of a critical realist variant of qualitative thematic analysis for use in the first three studies (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and various statistical procedures in the final study. While many theses opt for *either* quantitative or qualitative analyses, the present thesis aims to bridge the gap between both methodological camps within social psychology by demonstrating the theoretical, empirical and methodological advantages of multi-methodological research of this kind. This is particularly pertinent to the study of evolving, mutable and historical social representations in identity construction and management (Breakwell & Canter, 1993).

The critical realist approach facilitates research from both realist and more social constructionist perspectives. Such epistemological eclecticism was vital for understanding how individuals might be affected psychologically by social constructions reified in social representations, as well as motivational issues in self-identification. Clearly, this perspective requires realist insights. Conversely, it was acknowledged that individuals may strategically reproduce social representations in order to perform particular rhetorical functions in the interpersonal context of an interview (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010b; Moloney & Walker, 2002; Yew & Wolff, 2004). In this case, realist assumptions must be complemented by social constructionist analyses, which provide insight into the performativity of linguistic expression (Burr, 2003). Thus, for studies I and II, the critical realist perspective was of paramount heuristic value. Furthermore, in study III the empirical aim was to explore social constructions of BSA in the British Press, which highlights the importance of a social constructionist approach to media analysis. However, the data derived from this study were nonetheless employed in order to inform the construction and development of the questionnaire distributed to participants for study IV. Thus, the over-arching assumption was that, although media representations are themselves social constructions, they are disseminated to large sections of the general population and thereby enter human consciousness. They become reified in social representations (Breakwell & Canter, 1993; Moscovici, 1988) and, thus, inform meaning-making *vis-à-vis* national and ethnic identities, affecting the construction and management of these identities. While social constructionists are logically concerned with social construction and the performativity of talk and text, the present thesis employs constructionist analyses to enhance our understanding of the ideological pool of meaning, which subsequently informs human meaning-making and psychological motivation. This reflects our interest in the relationship between construction and cognition. Naturally, this bridging of social constructionism and realism requires a fluid epistemology (critical realism), as well as a methodological framework able to accommodate a critical realist epistemology (thematic analysis).

While the first three studies of the thesis provide rich and in-depth data which are highly sensitive to contextual issues, the quantitative study reported in chapter VII of the thesis provides an empirical snapshot of general tendencies across the sample. It is believed that these more generalisable quantitative results complement the qualitative findings by

contrasting general tendencies with the more idiosyncratic, though theoretically insightful, observations. For instance, study IV provides empirical support for the observation of studies I and II that the self-efficacy principle is more associated with Britishness, while continuity seems to be more associated with ethnic identity (Jaspal & Cinnirella, in press, a). Moreover, it confirms the hypothesis that exposure to particular social representations will induce specific psychological responses, such as identification or disidentification. Conversely, the qualitative findings curb the limitations of the quantitative study, which, due to the design of study IV, does not provide detailed insight into the effects which context can have for psychological coherence of national and ethnic identities, for instance. However, studies I and II do indeed outline some of the contextual issues implicated in the maintenance of psychological coherence, complementing previous work in this area (e.g. Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a).

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The broad range of methodological and epistemological approaches available to researchers working in British social psychology today means that it is possible to reflect upon the appropriateness of the framework within which one's research is located *vis-à-vis* other frameworks. The thesis draws upon both qualitative and quantitative approaches to identity construction and management among BSA and employs critical realism, an eclectic epistemological approach to the data that provides insight into social construction and perception. Nonetheless, the present research does feature some potential limitations in relation to the research design which are outlined and discussed in this section.

Given the constraints on resources, it was deemed advantageous to limit the sample of participants to British Indians and British Pakistanis. Moreover, this was considered a justifiable decision, since these two groups are most representative of the superordinate ethnic category British South Asian. However, the omission of British Bangladeshis in the present research constitutes one potential limitation of the research, since this might have made further empirical and theoretical contributions to the present research. It has been observed in writings on intergroup relations between Pakistanis and Bangladeshis that Bangladeshis have been subjected to discrimination due to their perceived internalisation of 'Hindu customs' (e.g. their distinctive national dress) (Hossain, 2008). Moreover, while

India and Pakistan have seldom enjoyed peaceful political relations, relations between India and Bangladesh have been considerably warmer due *inter alia* to their alliance during the Bangladeshi War of Independence in 1971 (Sisson & Rose, 1990). Thus, it is foreseeable that the intergroup dynamics between British Indians and British Pakistanis reported in the present thesis might be qualitatively distinct among British Bangladeshi and relevant ethnoreligious outgroups. Furthermore, sociological research has highlighted the distinct socioeconomic and demographic profile of the British Bangladeshi community, such as their relatively low education rate and the prevalence of poverty in the Bangladeshi community in Britain (Berthoud, 2002). This could shape national attachment due to their potential inability to derive feelings of self-efficacy unlike other BSA groups, for instance. However, the present study does provide a detailed account of identity construction and management of British Indians and British Pakistanis.

In chapter III, a detailed self-reflection was provided, in which the researcher identified aspects of his identity which may have impinged upon both data generation and data analysis. One potential mishap emerged during the process of data generation in study I due to the discussion of sensitive topics such as the notion of 'arranged marriage' about which FGSA and SGSA might hold diverging views. Given that participants generally positioned the researcher as a SGSA, it was important for the researcher to monitor closely any utterances regarding these sensitive issues, since they could be regarded as criticism of the practice of arranged marriage with potentially negative outcomes for interpersonal dynamics in the interview setting. Indeed, some FGSA participants manifested suspicion regarding the researcher's position *vis-à-vis* arranged marriage, despite his attempts to maintain a degree of personal distance from the issue. This in itself was a methodological limitation. It potentially restricted the generation of rich data reflecting participants' perceptions of arranged marriage, since participants seemed to attempt to defend the practice rhetorically. One means of addressing this limitation would be to employ a research assistant within participants' generational ingroup (i.e. a FGSA) in order to conduct the interviews. This might minimise suspicion regarding the researcher's 'agenda' and create an interactional dynamic based around discussion and description, rather than adamant defence.

In study III, the primary aim was to provide some insight into general media representations of BSA in the British tabloid Press. We focused upon the two biggest selling

tabloid newspapers in Britain, which incidentally constituted the two most popular tabloid newspapers among the sample of participants in study IV. Although a rationale is provided for focusing upon these two outlets (see chapter VI), bearing in mind the space constraints in a doctoral thesis, the study could have been further enriched by including an analysis of alternative British tabloid newspapers, such as *The Daily Star* and *The Daily Mirror.* Although few participants reported reading these particular tabloid newspapers (see chapter VI), these outlets do nonetheless constitute sources of social representations regarding Britishness and the compatibility of the national group with potentially competing identities (e.g. ethnicity and religion). Moreover, it has been observed that, although broadsheet newspapers are often more subtle in their representational practices, they can reproduce 'othering' and stigmatising social representations of ethnic minorities (Richardson, 2004). A small proportion of newspaper readers in study IV reported reading *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*, suggesting that for some BSA at least these broadsheet newspapers do constitute sources of social representations. The inclusion of broadsheet newspapers could have provided further insight into the more subtle means of constructing BSA as 'Other' to the WBM, given that these outlets are generally thought of as less overtly discriminatory in their representations of minority groups. This would have added to our analysis of the more fine-grained subtle rhetorical strategies employed in media reporting of BSA. Furthermore, a larger corpus of data would have facilitated more generalisable content analyses of media representations, which would complement the more fine-grained qualitative analyses presented in the thesis. However, it is noteworthy that, while the focus upon two particular outlets constitutes a limitation, this was deemed necessary in order to provide a suitably detailed account of media representations of BSA within the space constraints of a doctoral thesis.

The fourth and final study of the thesis provided insight into the more generalisable identificatory and perceptual tendencies manifested by a sample of BSA participants. However, it is clear that these data cannot be generalised to the broader BSA community in an unproblematic manner, since this was not a representative sample but a purposive one. While there were attempts to recruit participants in two geographical areas, namely the Midlands and the West London area, it is possible that the experiences, perceptions and modes of self-identification among BSA residing in other geographical localities could be

distinct. For instance, the two localities selected for participant recruitment both have substantial BSA populations, resulting in a partial sense of 'community' among BSA in these areas. However, in geographical areas with sparse BSA populations (e.g. Cardiff, Bristol), there might plausibly be less of a sense of 'community' among BSA, potentially resulting in differences in national and ethnic attachment and in intergroup relations. Thus, a more generalisable participant sample would have provided a more multi-faceted, complex snapshot of the construction and management of national and ethnic identities among BSA. This is a limitation, which can be addressed in future research in additional geographical localities within larger sample sizes.

In terms of the analyses employed in study IV, the aim was to identify general relationships between variables and to describe and explain particular differences between, and tendencies observable in, subgroups of the superordinate category BSA. Given the exploratory focus of the thesis, correlations, *t*-tests and multiple regressions were deemed the most appropriate statistical tests (see chapter VII). However, as a consequence, it was impossible to provide any concrete empirical insight into causality, particularly in exploring the relationship between media representations and identity construction (see chapter VII). While the cross-sectional survey design served the aforementioned aims of the thesis, an experimental design could potentially have elucidated the direction of causality (Davis & Rose, 2000), which is tentatively alluded to in chapter VII. An experimental design would have enabled the researcher to expose BSA to carefully extracted media representations and discern their impact for identity, the identity principles and psychological well-being. In short, a limitation of study IV is that it is impossible to infer causality in an entirely unequivocal manner, although it is possible to provide tentative suggestions regarding the likely direction of causality on the basis of previous theory and research in related empirical areas.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The present section may be considered in terms of a continuation of the previous section concerning the limitations of this research, since future research should ideally address the limitations outlined above. For instance, future research into identity among BSA ought to engage with British Bangladeshis in order to facilitate comparison with the results of the

present research with British Indians and British Pakistanis. Moreover, the limitation regarding the research design in study IV, which does not facilitate inferences concerning causality, could be addressed by conducting an experimental empirical study with BSA. Cinnirella (2010) describes his experimental study of exposure to media representations and social identification among a sample of White British participants. The same design could be employed in future research with BSA using similar measures to those employed in the present thesis (i.e. Cinnirella's British National Identity Measure). This research would complement the present research, as well as the existing research with the WBM, by providing insight into the causal relationship between exposure to media representation and identity construction among BSA, an under-explored group.

Studies I and II employ theoretically active variants of qualitative thematic analysis, which is driven by IPT. Future research might complement this theory-driven research by exploring the qualitative accounts of BSA using more phenomenological approaches, such as interpretative phenomenological analysis, which can build up 'rich experiential descriptions heavily grounded in the participant's own words' providing 'a more interrogative alternative account' (Smith & Eatough, 2007, p. 37). Given that the present research was explicitly concerned with exploring the inter-relations between national/ ethnic identities and identity processes, the interview questions were intended to tap into these inter-relations. It is noteworthy that the present thesis does not propose IPT as the sole theoretical approach capable of elucidating important issues within this field; rather, this IPT study contributes to the emerging, multi-layered portrait of BSA identity. Accordingly, it is readily acknowledged that other theoretical frameworks, such as integrated threat theory (see chapter II), might make positive contributions to the field. Future research should engage in more phenomenological research in order to discern other potentially important theoretical 'paths', enabling researchers to explore identity construction and management among BSA from alternative theoretical approaches. By providing 'rich experiential descriptions' of experience and perception, exploratory phenomenological approaches, such as interpretative phenomenological analysis, might elucidate fruitful theoretical points of departure.

As stated in chapter VI, the thematic analysis of the small corpus of articles yielded four superordinate themes, of which only two are presented in the present thesis due to space constraints. The analysis of this corpus elucidately the prominent role of metaphors in social

representations of BSA, since this provided a means of objectifying and essentialising aspects of BSA 'existence' (e.g. behaviour, customs) and their relations with Britishness. Metaphor is a cognitive, affective, linguistic and socio-cultural device for framing particular social and psychological phenomena and their systematic analysis can elucidate how these phenomena are or might be understood by laypeople (Cameron & Maslen, 2010). Social representations theory, the theoretical perspective employed in the present thesis, regards metaphor use as an integral process of objectification. This position can obscure some of the prominent differences between the use of metaphor, in particular, and personification (another process of objectification), for instance (Moscovici & Hewstone, 1983). Future research ought to engage with corpuses of newspaper articles using qualitative variants of metaphor analysis, a methodological approach geared towards the identification, description and analysis of metaphor use in text and discourse (e.g. Cameron & Maslen, 2010). This micro-level fine-grained analysis of linguistic representation would complement existing social representations research, potentially providing a bridge between this theoretical approach and micro-level discursive approaches such as discursive psychology (Coyle, 2007a).

Turning to the central theoretical perspective of the present thesis, there remains the important issue in IPT research concerning what actually constitutes a threat to identity and, conversely, how identity can be enhanced (Breakwell, 1986). This entails the identification of which principles should be jeopardised in order for identity to be threatened or enhanced in order for identity to be 'safe'. Vignoles (2000) suggests that identity elements which best satisfy the motivational principles of identity *as a whole* will be perceived as most central to the identity structure (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2002). According to this approach, the more a given identity element is perceived by the individual as a source of self-esteem, self-efficacy, distinctiveness, meaning, continuity, belonging and psychological coherence, the more central it will be perceived to be. Indeed, this assumption has received considerable empirical support using multi-level modeling approaches (Vignoles, Chryssochoou & Breakwell, 2002; Vignoles et al., 2006).

Conversely, it is conceivable that a given identity element could be perceived as central to the identity structure when it is seen as enhancing an identity principle, *which is psychologically salient to the individual or group*. Indeed, social representations can render

particular identity principles salient to the individual, such that the enhancement of this particular principle will have positive outcomes for the self-concept, as argued in the present thesis. For instance, in chapter VII, it has been demonstrated that the perception that ethnic identity serves the continuity and distinctiveness principles is positively associated with perceived centrality of this identity component, while there was no correlation between self-efficacy and centrality, for instance. Indeed, Jaspal and Cinnirella (in press, a) have argued that for BSA ethnic identity may be more associated with the continuity principle rather than self-efficacy. This suggests that centrality might not necessarily be predicted by the extent to which a given identity element enhances *all* of the motivational principles of identity, but rather those principles which are more associated with a given identity element.

The recent integration of the Schwarz Value Survey (Schwartz, 2005) and IPT has elucidated an alternative hypothesis concerning principle salience among individuals (Bardi, Jaspal, Polek & Schwartz, forthcoming). It is hypothesised that value priorities among individuals may mediate the relationship between identity enhancement and perceived centrality of the identity-enhancing identity element. Thus, individuals who hold particular values (e.g. tradition), which are generally stable and resistant to change, may prioritise some motivational principles (e.g. continuity) over others. This could in turn elucidate why some identity elements are seen as being more central than others, connecting with debates regarding 'core' identities and multiple identification (Deaux, 1993; Hofmann, 1988; Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a). Future research might test hypotheses derived from the synthesis of the Schwartz Value Survey and IPT, which would establish an individual-difference dimension to IPT. Moreover, this line of research would further elucidate *which* principles need to be jeopardised *among whom*, in order for identity to be threatened.

GENERALISIBILITY AND TRANSFERABILITY OF THE FINDINGS
Many of the theoretical points reported in the present thesis are likely to be generalisable to other contexts. For instance, the present findings regarding the psychological coherence principle correspond to, and in many ways extend, those reported in studies of identity management among British Muslim gay men (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010a). Moreover, one would expect the strategy of utilising multiple group memberships in order to optimise identity processes to be applicable to other identity configurations (Breakwell, 1986).

Understandably, there is concern regarding the *empirical* generalisability of qualitative research, given that it typically involves smaller sample sizes than quantitative research (Coyle, 2007b). However, many of the findings reported in the present thesis correspond to those reported elsewhere both in social psychology and in related disciplines, suggesting potential generalisability. While study III provides insight into some of the most important social representations reproduced in a limited sample of tabloid newspapers, the results have considerable overlap with existing media studies of both tabloid *and* broadsheet newspapers (Richardson, 2004; van Dijk, 1991). This suggests potential generalisability. Some of the key substantive findings reported in studies I, II and III are tested quantitatively in study IV – all of the hypotheses were confirmed, suggesting the existence of potentially generalisable phenomena in this sample of BSA participants. However, it is noteworthy that a convenience sample of participants was recruited from two geographical areas in Britain. Thus, a more generalisable study would ideally recruit a more representative sample from the BSA population in Britain, in terms of key demographic factors, e.g. socio-economic background and caste (Jaspal, 2011b)

The findings of this thesis may be transferable to Indian and Pakistani diasporic groups in other countries, such as Australia, Canada and the United States, all of which have large South Asian communities (Ghuman, 2000; Naidoo, 1984). The necessary caveat would be that the ideological acculturative position of these countries may be distinct from that of Britain. For instance, Canada seems to have embraced multiculturalism, although this acculturative position is increasingly problematised in the British context (Modood, 2007). In short, the findings of the present thesis may be useful for research into South Asian diasporic communities elsewhere, although this important caveat must be taken into consideration.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

In reflecting upon the policy implications of the present research, we focus upon two main recommendations.

The present research suggests that Britishness may not be psychologically available to all individuals, partly due to the perceived criteria for self-inclusion in the national group and the perception of discrimination from influential members of the group, namely the

WBM. The perceived unavailability of Britishness is contingent upon *social representations*, to which BSA are habitually exposed. Breakwell (1986, p. 61) has stated that 'rather than relying on the natural erosion of the [problematic] social representation, positive steps could be taken to eradicate it'. Accordingly, it is argued here that the task of policy makers is to render membership of the national group available to those who do desire self-inclusion in the group by eradicating social representations that problematise national identity among BSA. This would entail informing BSA and other ethnic minority individuals about the inclusiveness of Britishness, emphasising the contributions of ethnic minority groups to Britishness, which are eloquently outlined by Bradley (2008). This would likely enhance feelings of belonging, which may be weakened by 'otherising' social representations, and a sense of inclusion in the 'making' of Britishness (Bradley, 2008). Moreover, the psychological coherence principle needs to be protected from threats which ensue from the perception that Britishness is somehow contradictory to ethnic identity. Encouraging the social representation of Britishness as a 'civic' national identity in principle would likely accentuate perceptions of its compatibility with ethnic identity (Modood, 2005, 2007). Naturally, the belief in behavioural criteria for inclusion in the national group may be conducive to a more civic national identity, as suggested in the present thesis. It is reasonable to recommend the dissemination of such inclusive social representations in Citizenship classes in British schools, in order to facilitate the inclusion of young minority individuals from a relatively early age.

The thesis presents empirical evidence of the link between discrimination and decreased national attachment. Thus, while it is necessary for policy makers to concentrate their efforts upon changing social representations among BSA, the same can be said of the social representations that are disseminated to the British public as a whole, such as media representations. Negative media representations will likely accentuate intergroup differences in a negative manner, inducing various forms of intergroup conflict (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010b). Intergroup misunderstandings are unlikely to be conducive to a strong sense of Britishness among BSA. Given the empirically demonstrable clout of media representations in shaping national group attachment, it may be sensible to sensitise journalists to the importance of adhering to the Code of Conduct of the National Union of Journalists. While article 10 of the Code of Conduct discourages the 'abuse' of social representations of one's

'race, colour, creed' (National Union of Journalists, 2007), study III has demonstrated that these representations can be invoked through the use of subtle rhetoric. Frequently, this information may be irrelevant to the particular newspaper article (van Dijk, 1991). Policy makers might attempt to enforce this Code of Conduct, which could have a lasting, positive impact for intergroup relations and thereby facilitate a British national identity among those who desire it.

FINAL CONCLUSIONS

The present thesis provides a detailed and multi-faceted account of the construction and management of national and ethnic identities among BSA, focusing upon social representation, identity processes and socio-psychological action. The emphasis was on exploring participants' perspectives and group attachments in terms of subjective experience and meaning, albeit regarded through the heuristic lens of identity process theory.

The thesis suggests that individuals may develop 'criteria' for self-inclusion in national and ethnic groups in order to construct and manifest their national and ethnic identities. This will generally be tailored in ways which facilitate self-inclusion and permit the exclusion of 'Significant Others', although this process is contingent upon dominant social representations. The shifting ingroup and outgroup boundaries of the national and ethnic groups seem to fluctuate in accordance with identity processes.

It is suggested that even the most sceptical national and/ or ethnic identifiers will endeavour to utilise these identities strategically in order to enhance identity processes. There is evidence of strategic manoeuvre between these identities in order to deflect threatening stimuli, such as negative social representations associated with either group membership. This illustrates the centrality of human agency in identity construction and management.

The evidence presented in this thesis reiterates the utility of identity process theory as a robust socio-psychological model of identity, threat and coping. Use of this theory elucidates the impact of national and ethnic identification for the motivational principles of identity, which in turn facilitates the prediction of these modes of identification. The utility of the model in the domain of national and ethnic identification is evident in its demonstrated ability to address social representation ('the social') and the intrapsychic level of cognition

('the psychological'). Indeed, both the social *and* psychological levels are fundamental to the investigation of national and ethnic identification and the management of these identities.

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Appendices

Appendix I
Interview Schedule (Study I)

1. I want to ask you something about who you are and what makes you *you*. The way I want to explore that is by getting you to answer the question 'who am I' in as many ways as you can think of.
   - Maybe your ethnicity/ culture
   - 'You' specifically within the British context vs. Elsewhere
   - Hyphenated identities

2. What do you think makes a true X (e.g. Indian, Pakistani, Briton, British Indian)?
   - Explore (ethnic/ national) authenticity

3. Which nation, if any, do you feel a part of? Why so?
   - Does this change when you travel to India/Pakistan?
   - Has this changed over time?
   - Do you think you are viewed as a part of this nation by others?
   - Explore the opposition between 'British' and 'English'
   - Maybe invoke British national identity at this point

4. How important is your nation to how you see yourself?
   - Any particular reasons; instrumental/ affective
   - Are any other identities more important?

5. I'd like you to tell me a little about your very first experiences in the UK.
   - Why did you decide to move? Feelings about country of origin.
   - Do you remember how you felt and what your expectations were prior to moving? How does this compare with how you felt when you settled in the UK?
   - Discuss legislation that that affected you or your family
   - Knowledge of English language
   - How do you see the future?

6. How do you think you were positioned in society when you came?
   - Did you associate mostly with White British/ Indians/ Pakistanis? Did this change over time?
   - How did you feel about White Britons? Has this changed?
   - Knowledge of English language
   - Any instances of discrimination, for instance?
   - How much contact do you have with India/ Pakistan? Can you describe it?

7. Could you describe your relationship with other groups (and compare that with your relationship with White Britons)?
   - Has this changed over time?
   - Do you see these groups differently? If so, explain.
   - Influence of 7/7 or 9/11, Islamophobia

8. If somebody asked for your opinion of Britain, what would you say?
   - Explore connotations of place terms; 'British' and 'English'

9. How do you feel about Britain's image abroad?
   - When people criticise it, e.g.?
   - What do family members in India/ Pakistan say and think?
   - Involvement in international conflict, humanitarian crises etc.
   - Flag-burning, criticism of politicians/ Royal Family

10. How do you/ did you feel about the history of India/ Pakistan?
    - British rule/ colonialism
    - The 1947 Partition
    - Indo-Pak relations

Appendix II
Interview Schedule (M.Sc. thesis)

1. I want to ask you something about who you are and what makes you *you*. The way I want to explore that is by getting you to answer the question 'who am I' in as many ways as you can think of.

2. Could you tell me a little bit about your (ethnic) culture?
   - How important do you feel your attitude is to how you see yourself?

3. Could you tell me a little about life at home and how it compares to life outside of the home?
   - Differences in cultural upbringing, e.g Asian music, TV
   - Could you tell me about your friends? Are they mainly Indian, Pakistani, white, black?

4. If I were to ask you what the word 'mother tongue' means to you, what would be your response?
   - Which language is your mother tongue and why do you feel it is?

5. Which languages do you speak and with whom?
   - in and outside of the home
   - this could also include different 'types' of English or Punjabi

6. How would it feel to address (somebody) in Urdu/Punjabi as opposed to the language that you usually speak to them in?
   - Would you do this under any particular circumstances?

7. Can you think of any topics that you might discuss in one language but never in the other?
   - With the same person/ different people?

8. Can you think of any instances where you mix (Punjabi) with English? Can you give an example of this?
   - How does this make you feel?
   - Why do you think you might do this?

9. From your perspective, what would it be like if you did not know (heritage language)?
   - How would that affect your role within the Punjabi community/ extended family?

10. How do you feel about the languages that you speak?
    - What value do they have for you?
    - How do you think others view them?

- Would you use them all outside the home?

11. How would you describe the kind of language that you use with your friends in comparison with the kind that you use with teachers?
    - Inter-generational differences, inter-ethnic etc
    - Words, expressions that you use
    - To whom is this language accessible?

Appendix III
Revised Interview Schedule (Study II)

1. I want to ask you something about who you are and what makes you *you*. The way I want to explore that is by getting you to answer the question 'who am I' in as many ways as you can think of.
   - Maybe your ethnicity/ culture
   - 'You' specifically within the British context vs. Elsewhere
   - Hyphenated identities

2. What do you think makes a true X (e.g. Indian, Pakistani, Briton, British Indian)?
   - Explore (ethnic/ national) authenticity

3. Which nation, if any, do you feel a part of? Why so?
   - Does this change when you travel to India/Pakistan?
   - Has this changed over time?
   - Do you think you are viewed as a part of this nation by others?
   - Explore the opposition between 'British' and 'English'
   - Maybe invoke British national identity at this point

4. How important is your nation to how you see yourself?
   - Any particular reasons; instrumental/ affective
   - Are any other identities more important?

5. I'd like you to tell me a little about **what you know about your parents'** very first experiences in the UK.
   - Why **do you think they decided** to move? Feelings about country of origin.
   - **How do you think they felt and what were their** expectations prior to moving? **How do you think this developed over time**?
   - Discuss legislation that **you think** affected you or your family
   - Knowledge of English language

6. How do you think other groups in society see you?
   - **Do** you associate mostly with White British/ Indians/ Pakistanis? **Has this** changed over time?
   - How **do** you feel about White Britons? Has this changed?
   - Any instances of discrimination, for instance?
   - How much contact do you have with India/ Pakistan? Can you describe it?

7. Could you describe your relationship with other groups (and compare that with your relationship with White Britons)?
   - Has this changed over time?
   - Do you see these groups differently? If so, explain.

- Influence of 7/7 or 9/11, Islamophobia

8. If somebody asked for your opinion of Britain, what would you say?
   - Explore connotations of place terms; 'British' and 'English'

9. How do you feel about Britain's image abroad?
   - When people criticise it, e.g.?
   - What do family members in India/ Pakistan say and think?
   - Involvement in international conflict, humanitarian crises etc.
   - Flag-burning, criticism of politicians/ Royal Family

10. How do you/ did you feel about the history of India/ Pakistan?
    - British rule/ colonialism
    - The 1947 Partition
    - Indo-Pak relations

Appendix IV
Questionnaire (Study IV)

Identity and the media

This questionnaire features 6 short sections about attitudes towards the media, ethnic identity, national identity and generally well-being. It should take approximately 15 – 20 minutes to complete. You may leave out any questions you do not wish to answer.

Section A
This section features some general demographic questions

1. Age _____
2. Sex: male   female
3. Where were you born?
   Britain   India   Pakistan   East Africa   Other_____
4. How many years have you been living in Britain? _____
5. Do you read any national newspapers? Yes   No
6. If so, which newspaper do you usually read? _____
7. How often do you read a national newspaper?
   Daily __   Few times a week__   Once a week__   Few times a month__
   Never__

Section B: The British Press
We would like to ask your opinion about the British Press. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements (1= completely disagree; 8 = complete agree)

1. The Press gives a positive impression of British Asians
Completely Disagree							Completely Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

2. The Press makes British Asians out to be violent.
Completely Disagree							Completely Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

3. Indians and Pakistanis are distinguished from one another in the Press.
Completely Disagree							Completely Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

4. The Press often blames high crime figures on British Asians.

      Completely   Completely
      Disagree   Agree

          1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8
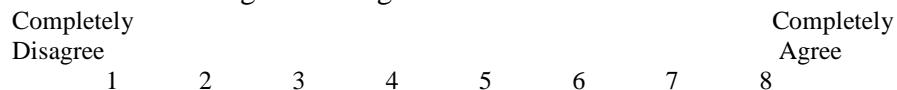
5. The Press often gives the impression that British Asians go against British values.
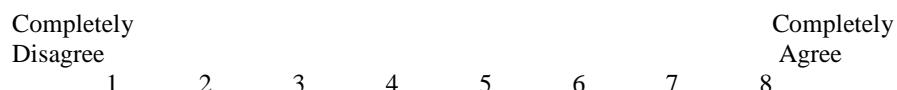
      Completely   Completely
      Disagree   Agree

          1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

6. The Press often makes out that British Asians manage successfully to be British and Asian at the same time.

      Completely   Completely
      Disagree   Agree

          1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8
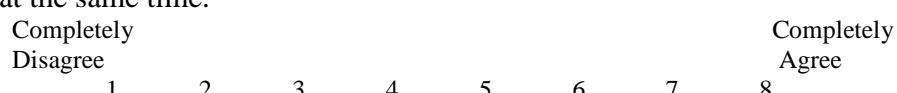
7. The Press often implies that terrorism is a problem associated with British Asians in general.

      Completely   Completely
      Disagree   Agree

          1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

8. The Press often makes out that British Asians get special treatment in Britain.

      Completely   Completely
      Disagree   Agree

          1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8
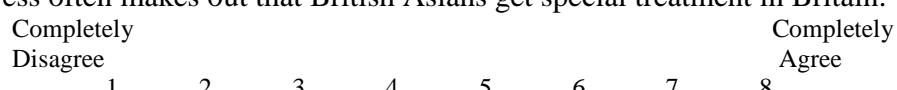
9. Complaints about racism from British Asians are not taken seriously by the Press.

      Completely   Completely
      Disagree   Agree

          1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8
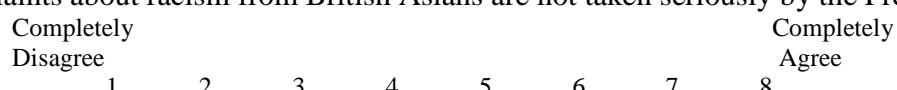
10. The Press often gives the impression that British Asians do not speak English properly.

      Completely   Completely
      Disagree   Agree

          1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

11. The Press often gives the impression that British Asians do not belong in Britain.

      Completely   Completely
      Disagree   Agree

          1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

12. The Press often highlights problems with being British and Asian at the same time.

      Completely   Completely

Disagree   Agree
       1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8
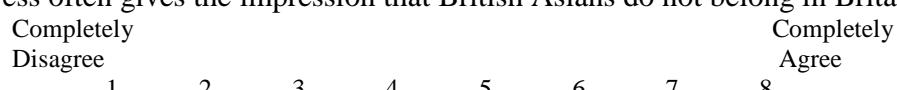
13. British Asians are able to influence the Press.

Completely   Completely
Disagree   Agree
       1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8
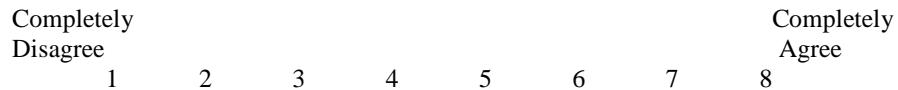
Section C: Britishness

This section features some questions about being British. Please indicate to what extent you would answer 'yes' or 'no' to each of these questions (1=not at all, 8=extremely)

1. To what extent do you feel British?

Not at all   Extremely
       1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

2. To what extent do you feel strong ties with other British people?

Not at all   Extremely
       1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

3. To what extent do you feel pleased to be British?

Not at all   Extremely
       1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

4. How similar do you think you are to the average British person?

Not at all   Extremely
       1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

5. How important to you is being British?

Not at all   Extremely
       1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

6. How much are your views about Britain shared by other British people?

Not at all   Extremely
       1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

7. When you hear someone who is not British criticise the British, to what extent do you feel personally criticised?

Not at all   Extremely
       1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

8. When you think about being British, to what extent do you feel a connection with the nation's past and traditions?

     Not at all   Extremely

                 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

9. When you think about being British, to what extent does this gives you a feeling of having a secure future ahead of you?

     Not at all   Extremely

                 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

10. To what extent does being British help you to do and achieve things you could not do and achieve if you were not British?

     Not at all   Extremely

                 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

11. To what extent does being British make you feel unique and different from others?

     Not at all   Extremely

                 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

12. To what extent does being British make your life seem meaningful?

     Not at all   Extremely

                 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8
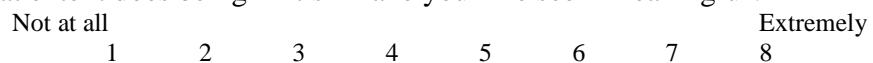
Section D: Ethnic identity

In this country, people come from many different countries and cultures and there are many different words to describe the different <u>ethnic groups</u> that people belong to. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Asian, Indian, Pakistani, Afro-Caribbean, English and many others. These questions are about *your* ethnicity and *your* ethnic group and how you feel about it.

1. Which <u>ONE</u> of the following terms best describes the way you see yourself when you think about your ethnicity?

   Asian   Indian   Pakistani   Punjabi   Gujarati   Kashmiri   Mirpuri

   Other_____

2. To what extent do you feel _____ (whatever you answered in Q1)?

     Not at all   Extremely

                 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

3. To what extent do you feel strong ties with other members of your ethnic group?

     Not at all   Extremely

                 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

4. To what extent do you participate in cultural activities and events associated with your ethnic group?

Not at all   Extremely
1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

5. To what extent do you feel pleased to be part of your ethnic group?

Not at all   Extremely
1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

6. How similar do you think you are to the average person in your ethnic group?

Not at all   Extremely
1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

7. How important to you is being part of your ethnic group?

Not at all   Extremely
1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

8. How much are your general views shared by other people in your ethnic group?

Not at all   Extremely
1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

9. When you hear someone who is not part of your ethnic group criticise your ethnic group, to what extent do you feel personally criticised?

Not at all   Extremely
1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

10. When you think about being a member of your ethnic group, to what extent do you feel a connection with your ethnic group's past and traditions?

Not at all   Extremely
1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

11. When you think about being a member of your ethnic group, to what extent does it give you a feeling of having a secure future ahead of you?

Not at all   Extremely
1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

12. To what extent does being a member of your ethnic group help you to do and achieve things you could not do and achieve if you were not a member of your ethnic group?

Not at all   Extremely
1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

13. To what extent does being a member of your ethnic group make you feel unique and different from others?

Not at all   Extremely
1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

14. To what extent does your ethnic group membership make your life seem meaningful?

    Not at all   Extremely

         1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

Section E: Connections between identities
In this section we would like to ask you about the relationships between your identities.

1. To what extent do you feel that being British and being a member of your religious group are connected?

    Not at all   Extremely

         1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

11. To what extent do you feel that being British and being a member of your ethnic group are connected?

    Not at all   Extremely

         1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

12. To what extent do you feel that being a member of your religious and ethnic groups are connected?

    Not at all   Extremely

         1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

4. How compatible is being British with being a member of your ethnic group?

    Not at all   Extremely

         1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

5. How compatible is being British with being a member of your religious group?

    Not at all   Extremely

         1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

6. How compatible is your ethnic group membership with your religious group membership?

    Not at all   Extremely

         1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

Section F: Well-being
This final section asks you questions about your general feelings and well-being

1. On the whole I am satisfied with myself.

    Completely   Completely

    Disagree   Agree

         1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

2. At times, I think I am no good at all.

    Completely   Completely

    Disagree   Agree

         1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

    Completely   Completely

Disagree   Agree
          1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.

Completely   Completely
Disagree   Agree
          1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

5. I feel that I do not have much to be proud of.

Completely   Completely
Disagree   Agree
          1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

6. I certainly feel useless at times.

Completely   Completely
Disagree   Agree
          1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

7. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal level to others.

Completely   Completely
Disagree   Agree
          1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

8. I wish I could have more respect for myself

Completely   Completely
Disagree   Agree
          1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

9. I generally feel that I am a failure.

Completely   Completely
Disagree   Agree
          1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

10. I take a positive attitude towards myself.

Completely   Completely
Disagree   Agree
          1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

Appendix V
Sample interview transcript (Study I)

Interview with first generation British Indian participant (28/12/08)

Interviewer: Just to begin, I wanted to ask you something about who you are and what you feel makes you 'you'. To tackle this I'd like you to answer the question 'who am I' in as many ways as possible. How would you answer this question?

Participant: Well, I'd say that I'm just human, a good human.

Interviewer: OK, but is anything else more important to you? What do you think makes you unique, for example?

Participant: People they say 'I'm Indian' and people they say 'I'm British', that shouldn't make any difference and it doesn't make any difference to me.

Interviewer: No difference at all?

Participant: No, not at all.

Interviewer: Why is this? Is there any reason why this makes no difference to you?

Participant: You see, my family is mixed. It's not Hindu, it's not Sikh. My father belongs to a Sikh family and my mother belongs to a Hindu family, and we learned both religions and in school as well, so I don't really mind, no.

Interviewer: OK, that's fine. I understand that you don't mind this and that you have a mixed background, but I just wondered how exactly you would describe yourself. How would you describe yourself?

Participant: Well, if somebody says 'are you Hindu' because my name is Hindu then I will say 'oh yes, I'm Hindu' and if somebody says, err I would say that I'm Hindu, because my mother is Hindu and my father doesn't really have a turban so my religion is Hindu.

Interviewer: Say if you were talking to another Hindu and they asked you who you are, what would you say?

Participant: I'd describe myself 70% as Hindu and I can't say 100% because as my family background is mixed, I can't say that. I can't say I'm completely Hindu or completely Sikh.

Interviewer: OK but what if a Hindu from somewhere else in India asks you who you are and what makes you you, what might you say to them?

Participant: Some people are completely Sikh and others are completely Hindu but I'm not one of them, I'm not just one thing, so there might be more religious people, more Sikh people than me. But generally I'm Hindu.

Interviewer: OK, and why do you choose 'Hindu' in particular? Could you describe yourself as both?

Participant: No, I couldn't say Hindu-Sikh because that sounds silly. But I suppose that's what I am really, because I am both and I'm more Hindu but also I have a Sikh background so maybe I'm Hindu-Sikh but if somebody asks me then I'd just say Hindu to someone, you know?

Interviewer: Would you say the same to a Sikh?

Participant: Umm, yes, I would. But we also blend in well into Sikh groups, I mean, communities too. I go to the Gurdwara and to the Mandir, both, without any problem and I am fine in both. In the Gurdwara I am Sikh and in the Mandir I am Hindu. There's no problem.

Interviewer: And do you think that you're the same as other Hindus in India or are there any differences?

Participant: There are so many different ways of believing in Hinduism and praying. Some people pray to Ganesh for example but I don't know much about Ganesh at all. We know that he's a Hindu God but we don't know much about him. Some say that they pray for Krishan ji and I don't know much about that either. So there are so many differences between us. Some people pray to the monkey God Hanuman ji, I am one of them, so it's possible that other Hindus belong to a different type of Hinduism and I'd say 'no, I'm not like you'. Possibly because I don't know about the things they believe in. I don't have the knowledge about the religion. I couldn't get a complete knowledge about Hinduism when I was growing up so that stopped me from really becoming completely Hindu. That's because half of the family was Sikh and others were Hindu. That's not so good because you can't get the knowledge about just one thing. People can't be something if they haven't got full knowledge, and people can't take an interest in something like Hinduism because they haven't got the light of knowledge, or possibly because they have been taught not to want to. That's the way it was with me. I was in two different religions from the start and that stopped me really from knowing or feeling anything for just one of them, like Hinduism.

Interviewer: How about Sikh people, do you think you're the same as them or different?

Participant: Well, that's exactly the same type of thing, because my uncles and my grandfather was Sikh but he had six sons and two are Sikh and four are Hindus, so how can he say that he is completely Sikh or completely Hindu. I suppose there shouldn't really be any problems because after all Sikhism is born from Hinduism. If you are educated and you know that the religion is born from that religion like me then you think of it as more or less just one religion. People make a big issue out of the differences but in fact there is not so

much of a difference. As I said, it's all about knowledge. If you know about it then you'll understand.

Interviewer: But do you feel the same as other Sikhs?

Participant: Not always. In the Gurdwara near our house a lot of the Sikh people, you know, at the temple many people want Khalistan, not Punjab. They say 'long live Khalistan' and 'down with India' and these things, and they talk less about religion and more about the Khalistan nation, which I don't agree with at all. I go there to pray and to be spiritual but they talk about fighting against Indian rule and getting an independent Khalistan. I am not like those Sikhs because I believe in India as one country, no more divisions, because it has been divided more than enough, you know? This is a big difference.

Interviewer: Yeah, I see. So you don't have these nationalist views about Khalistan but believe in Punjab, err, being a state of India.

Participant: Yes, I do. I don't want Khalistan to get independent. I don't like politics and I don't like fighting. I only want, yes, like this.

Interviewer: OK, and besides being a Hindu, is anything else important to you? Say if a Gujarati Hindu, for instance, asked you what's important to you, what might you say?

Participant: The fact that I'm a Punjabi Hindu. Because language is also a very big issue and barrier between us, even though we are all Hindu, language is a big thing. They are saying something but I just don't understand that language and it doesn't sound right to me. Say if I hear them maybe I can understand a bit but it doesn't feel natural to me, like their language sounds really strange and forced and sometimes a little annoying. Their traditions are different and their cultures are different, and that will not make me so interested in them, and I just can't connect with them on that level. If someone from the Gujarati community is there sitting with me and a Punjabi Hindu is sitting there, even if they say 'we are from India' but they're from a different provision, basically it's like a different country. That's because of the different language and different religion. It's just not comfortable.

Interviewer: What about other people that speak Punjabi, like Muslim Punjabis from Pakistan, how similar are you to them?

Participant: Both are the same, I guess, to me. Possibly the Muslim Punjabi at least when he speaks I'll understand him more and the language is exactly the same as mine, so we can share the same jokes and the same sentences and the way of living is exactly the same because we are both from Punjab and we've both lived there. But the religion again, the different religion, I have no knowledge about the Muslim religion and they just pray all the time and the same thing with them. So both Gujarati and Muslim are exactly the same to me in a way. They both believe in different things and their traditions are too different for me to feel anything close with them. I've got Muslim friends though and they at least speak Punjabi and we just laugh and joke and sometimes when I'm at their house I just think 'oh they are Indian, they are exactly like me' until I am leaving their house and they say 'inshallah' and

remind me that they're Muslims. They are from Ludhiana and were there until the Partition so they are Punjabi like me and speak Punjabi and know all about village life, and when we sit down we are just the same. They are so advanced and modern, not like most Muslims that you can't tell until they say something to do with religion. The culture and language is so similar. But like Gujaratis they might pray to something or some god that I don't know much about. But Muslims like they pray to their own way which I don't know anything about. The good similarity between a Muslim and me is that the Muslim speaks Punjabi like me which I understand fully but the Gujarati person's language is alien and I don't know anything about that.

Interviewer: OK, you talked a little bit about beliefs in different gods in Hinduism, but overall do you think that all Hindus from all over India are similar and say compatible for marriage, for example?

Participant: Well, no. They are not. My niece recently got married to a Gujarati boy and it, and marriage is a commitment between two people, possibly they are very happy, but on the other hand, it's a commitment between two families and they are not comfortable. Because the Gujarati people speak a different language and the way of living and eating and the religion everything is so different and if some people want to know about different religions and different food but I'm not so interested in different people's religion and culture. I can't even adjust to this if it's me. I wouldn't be able to accept that at first at least. It would be hard. But my niece is happy with that boy and that's fine, I have no objection, but I'm not comfortable because of the way they live and they way they talk and the way they pray, it's not similar to me at all. So if that was my daughter then I'd be quite sad, you know? We are just not the same. To me it's more or less the same as marrying a White boy because they are all very different from us, in a way.

Interviewer: How do you think things might have been if she'd got married to a Pakistani boy, for example?

Participant: Yes, that would have been a big problem, because even a Gujarati person speaks a different language but never mind at least they believe in the same religion. And they speak English too. And they're Hindus, so they do a few things differently but still I've got some knowledge of their religion because it is still Hinduism at the end of the day, but the Muslim family do things that I know nothing about. I can't adjust to that. Even one per cent. At least Hindus do things I can manage but how can I manage with Pakistani people's Farsi and the Koran and all that stuff. It's too difficult. Not just language but there are so many other things that I can't manage with. Their diet, the beliefs. The beliefs are too extreme for me. Jihad. The ones I talk to all hate Britain and British people and they don't say that the attacks were wrong here. Some say that they deserve it and I can't live my life arguing with Muslims all the time so I wouldn't want that at all. In fact, I would agree to my children marrying someone White but not a Muslim.

Interviewer: But why is the religion so difficult to handle?

Participant: For me, religion becomes a big thing because yeah, the boy might say he is not very religious and he's Muslim but how about the family? What if they are all religious? Say if they pray five times a day, even I am not saying that I will do it too, but I can't stand people who do that. All the time praying in front of me and my daughter, if she married a Muslim I mean. I am a Hindu person and we generally pray in the morning and that's it. OK, a person can understand that but I can't wash myself five times a day and pray and I can't stand my partner or my daughter's partner doing it all the time everywhere. So that would bring things that we're not ready to do, if our children marry a Muslim. It's so difficult to adjust to.

Interviewer: Besides praying a lot, what other impressions do you have of Muslims?

Participant: Like the way they eat, whatever they eat, any kind of meat, which I will never accept because I was not brought up like this. I've got a lot of contact with Muslim families and they eat buffalo and I'm their friend and if they make buffalo I won't eat any of the food they make, never mind buffalo, in their house, because that makes me feel sick. I have never ever tasted it and I don't do that. So things like that. They enjoy eating things like that. Deep down that upsets me if I'm around them, deep down I am uncomfortable. And if I say 'oh it's alright' then deep down I am pretending, because I'm not comfortable from inside with Muslims and I can't live with them or love them in the same way truly.

Interviewer: OK, now if we think about other groups, like White British people, how do you feel about them? Do you have much in common with them?

Participant: They are according to my point of view, I think they're very open and they don't hide things. They are very true. They are very selfish. They have no ties and they are independent. We are different from them. Because we look after each other. We just hold ourselves and we sacrifice things for our families. We work very hard for our families and we do care about things like divorces and the consequences of this for our family. Even if we know we are in a bad situation the family is not according to me but we just worry about our responsibilities and our community, whereas English people they are independent people and they just leave everything behind and they just selfish and look after themselves. They look after themselves and we are very different from that angle. But there are so many things I can say about them, like if they are honest and if they really like something then they will just say it to you to your face, and you know where you stand. But we hide so many things and we say different things and we think different things. I can't say that English people are completely good people but they are polite and they are more honest than Indian people. Indian people are polite but are not that honest as they are. We sacrifice but they don't. Say when their children are 16, then they tell their kids to go and look after themselves, but we think that children are our property and sometimes they abuse us and say that Indian people they just own their children and that we make our children do things they don't want to, they think like this English people do. But don't ever forget that after the age of 16 they go and say 'you go and live somewhere else, not here'. We look after our children until they get married and settled down and even then we still look after them, make sure they have their own home and their cars and help them out with their children when they are small and our children have to work. We give our whole life and we sacrifice our whole life for them, and

whatever we got we just give it to them, and they just enjoy and we just look after their future. We give them money and they don't give their kids any money. We just look after them. They don't care. There is the difference.

Interviewer: How do you know that English people are like this? Have you seen any examples of this?

Participant: Yeah, every day. Like there are laws that say that you can't tell your kids what to do when they 16.

Interviewer: I see. Could you think of any more examples?

Participant: Plenty. Even my husband for example, maybe he does and has done things that are unacceptable for me. Things that I don't like but I have to accept them because I don't want to break up my family. So if the family is broken and that will affect my children, so I am an Indian mother and I should look after my children and look after my children. English people just run from one husband to the second to find a better life, but how do they know that the second one is sure to be better than the first?

Interviewer: Do you think all English people are like this?

Participant: I met so many people and I know that many people are like that. The majority of the ones I've met are divorced and remarried or unhappy because they are alone. People like you when they are 23 or 24 they cook themselves, but do you? English parents take money from their kids for living and for room and stuff, but you know Indian parents don't do that. How many English people do you know whose mothers cook for them three meals a day and who don't charge even a penny? And when their kids go out they can't get money from their parents like we Indian parents give our kids ten pounds or whatever. All Indian people I believe are like this but English they don't. A friend of our family, Diana, she was married with one little girl at home and she ran off with the milkman. She didn't think even for one minute that my baby is at home and I've got to stay with my husband or at least my daughter. She left for herself and then her daughter didn't want to know her afterwards. So that's a broken family. An Indian woman would have stayed with her kids and tolerated her husband for her kids because we live for our families.

Interviewer: How about Pakistani people, what are they like?

Participant: They are exactly the same as Indian families, I believe. Possibly even more than us. They love their children and uphold their izzat [family honour] a lot. They are like us Indian people. Their izzat and their families are very important to them. Some of them are willing to leave everything for the sake of it.

Interviewer: OK, I see. Now we've talked about your culture and your beliefs, and a bit about English people. So in light of this, if I was to ask you which nation you feel a part of, what would you say? Which nation?

Participant: British. Yes, definitely British.

Interviewer: Could you explain that? Why so?

Participant: Because I love the way they treat people. They respect human beings and system, the law, and it's very good. I don't mind people being selfish because they are not asking anything from you, it's just the way they live their lives. They use their own money and their own way and own life, which is not wrong. They can do that. I just expressed my view because I can use my money as I want. Indian people like to spend their money and their efforts on their children. But as I said they are very honest about the system and the law is very nice and very good for all people. They respect people. And I love this about British people and I think this is the way things should be. The hygiene and the cleanliness and the law, everything, it's all beautiful. Wonderful. If you call 999 they will come here and help you. It doesn't matter whether you are White or a Muslim or an Indian. They see you as a human being. You call the police and they come straight away. I saw it when I had my first child in '80. My husband called the ambulance and by the time he got back from the payphone the ambulance has already arrived. They treated me so well. In India first they want to see the money and then they'll do your operation. If you haven't got the money they haven't got time for you. In Britain you are not Indian or anything you are a human.

Interviewer: So you feel British. But how about when you go back to India and spend time with your family and friends there, how do you feel then? Still British or anything else?

Participant: I can't forget the first 23 years of my life. I spent that time there. In India. Whatever we've got here, we never had there. I always remember when I see people suffering as we did in India, the life we lived there I can't forgot. I always remember and the other members of my family they are living the same way that we did. I think all the time. Why can't we have everything as we've got in England? Why can't they have that too? I feel so sorry for them and I feel that I should do more to help them to have the life that we do. Because there is corruption there and there is no good law. People are educated but there are no jobs. They can work but there is no work, so I feel so sorry but then I think 'we were in exactly the same situation before we left many years ago'.

Interviewer: But when you think about these things while in India and you speak to other people in your village in India, do you feel British still or do you feel more Punjabi or Indian, for example?

Participant: Oh yes, yes, yes, definitely Indian. I'm more British than Indian. A lot of special things have happened here in England, like I got married to my husband and I had my two children. They went to school here and got an education here and graduated here. My special moments have happened here, you know? England has given me and my children a good life. Our future is here and we can go to India on holiday but we know we're going back to England afterwards so this is home. I'm British.

Interviewer: OK, I see. That's interesting. Earlier on you were talking about being Hindu-Sikh and being brought up as both Sikh and Hindu, so how do you feel about being British and Indian, for example? Or would you choose British?

Participant: Of course, I lived there for long so I'm Indian and people see me and say 'she is Indian' and even in Britain people say 'Indian' but I feel very proud to be British. When I came here to marry my husband soon afterwards I got my British passport and then I gave up my Indian passport because I didn't want to have dual citizenship. For me it was very difficult. I heard stories of Uganda and I knew people could get thrown out of the country because they had both British and Ugandan passports and I know that this can never be a good thing but it has many risks. I didn't want to take silly risks. It was important for me to have a British passport and with that I knew that I can go anywhere, I can go to India and I can help my family. With an Indian passport as well maybe things could turn ugly sometime. People were saying that Margaret Thatcher was racist and these things all made me think 'No I will keep my passport as British not Indian', so I have always thought 'I'm British' and I still do.

Interviewer: I see. You're British, but you said that people in India see you as just Indian. Could you describe this a little more? Do they too view you as British too or just Indian?

Participant: Oh my family obviously for them I'm Indian. The skin is Indian and when I go out I blend with people and they know and I know so much about India. Indian family. I blend a lot. I suppose there are some differences though. Thirty years living here in this country there are so many habits which are British. The language and hygiene things and the way of dressing up, and the living standards are different too. I am cleaner than them and I take more care when cleaning and things, and they notice that. The standards are lower there and sometimes it's difficult for me to readjust and they see that and find it strange. My children were born here and they're English-speaking so obviously when we go back to India we speak some English together too and that's something that makes them think we're a little different [..] Mostly I blend in well but it's when I'm with my husband and children that they see that I'm quite British too myself. If I'm alone then they accept that I'm Indian and just Indian

Interviewer: Really?

Participant: Yeah, I mean there are a few things I say nowadays that doesn't match their image of an Indian person because thirty years is a long time, you know. And they can maybe identify that. Also if I dress up like I do here with the English clothes and English hairstyle and stuff then yeah they would notice that too. I feel more comfortable wearing those clothes now after so long. I don't wear Indian clothes as much. Also here in this country I don't wear so much jewellery like in India. But in India if I wear jewellery and salvar kamiz then on top of that my colour is like theirs, so other people can't really tell that I'm British and they would see me as an Indian like them. Then I blend with them very well. But when we talk, then I know proper, proper Punjabi and I can understand every single word they speak, and I can speak like them but sometimes we have a habit of saying 'alright, yes, yes' in

the middle of sentences and when we talk like this then the other person can guess that I'm not Indian, but British. Even when someone is not from my village we can tell.

Interviewer: OK, and obviously when you left your village there were people who remained in the village and still lived there. Can you explain how they view you? What can you tell me about their feelings and their views towards you?

Participant: Because they think, because they haven't seen England or anywhere, they think wherever people go and work and bring in money, that's a superior place. They gave a nice job and nice money. That's all. They think that I've got money and they just dream because not everyone knows what's happening over here, and so obviously they believe it's a better place than there and people know that. They think people earn a lot here and it's a nice place and we've got good people. So people think I'm better and I've got more things and I'm a better person. And they show me a lot of respect. Respect is all I ask for. I don't need their money or anything, just their respect. You know, in my family there were a lot of us and my father was working and he sent us all to boarding school. It's really, really hard work. He just managed to put together just enough money to send us to different schools and then I came here and worked hard and helped them in India and their situation improved and they told people that I'm here and everyone began to respect me because they realised that I've really helped my family out a lot. People in my village can see the big differences as well between how the village was before I left. We didn't even have a toilet in the house. It was very different to now. Now there is a phone there, they have satellite TV and everything basically. So people know what I've done and they just look around see it and respect me. They can really see the difference, it's a big difference.

Interviewer: And when people acknowledge the differences in the village, do you think they still see you as Indian or do you see you differently? What do you think?

Participant: People when they see me they think I'm Indian but that I work in England. That's all they think. That's it really. People know that 'oh she's Indian but she went to England' and they know that there are so many jobs here and people get lots of money and people can improve their standard of living there and it's better place to work and live, but deep down they see me as an Indian. They think I'm Indian. Yes and they see me as a village girl and that's the tradition. When I was younger there are not that many people left from that time, you know? When I was young and they were about my age I mean. And still I mean people when they live in the village, they know whose daughter I am and they know my brother and he is quite younger than me and they just think 'oh that's his sister who went to England a long time ago to work and to help her family' and they respect me a lot for those reasons. One, I'm his older sister and also because I left my family to go and help my family and to sacrifice my whole life for them. Even people who weren't alive when I left, people who didn't have the chance to meet me before I left, because they were born after my marriage after I left. People that I know from before my marriage are not really there anymore, they are not alive any more.

Interviewer: I see. That's interesting because they see you as an Indian who left India to work essentially, but how do you think they see your children?

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Participant: British, yes. Completely British. They know that my children are mine, they are Participant's but that they were born here in England. They are British children, they know that. My children do fit in differently. Even after so many years I fit in my village, with my village people, like an Indian, that's how you do not fit in with them because you are British. You speak English first and you don't know much about our culture and traditions. The colour is the same but the inside is different. Very different. People, you can't adjust when we take you there. The food is different and children are not used to that and the lifestyle is quite different.

Interviewer: And how similar do you think British-born Indians are to yourself?

Participant: Our views don't match that much, but it does depend on the person. Some people are sensible and they listen to what we say and they understand that we love our children but some kids who are born here think we just want to rule them and they forget all about their language and traditions and start living like White people. I've been living in this country for thirty years but your age group people don't think I'm similar to them because you call us 'freshies' and say these things and basically think I'm very different because I'm Indian and I speak English with an Indian accent and my views are more traditional maybe. There is a big gap between us. There is a difference in age, views, way of living and way of thinking.

Interviewer: I understand. And how do you think White British people see you? Do you think they see you as British?

Participant: No, they don't think I'm British, no. Look, even Indian children who are born here don't think we're British. Even they call us 'freshy' and these things and call us names. Even they don't [accept us] so how will White people accept us as British? People say that everything is equal and people say that they don't mind that we're Indian and that we're here, but there is deep down a big gap because of skin colour. There is a major gap.

Interviewer: Why deep down?

Participant: Deep down because say if there is one White British person and you were born here and that person's born here, but people always say 'British Indian' or 'Indian British'. They don't ever say 'British' but they always have to add the Indian thing because to them you're not British if you are Asian. You can only be British Indian at best. Why? British Indians are born here. You were born here but why do they not call you British? It's because there really is a difference. Because of the skin colour, there is a difference. There's a big gap. When you describe Asians, you describe them with a gap. We say we're British but they don't accept us, but I still believe that we are British.

Interviewer: Have you had any personal experiences that make you think this?

Participant: No, but my children tell me these things in school. Obviously in school they are with White people all the time and they told me that teachers treat them differently, and

sometimes they had difficulties making friends because people didn't treat them the same as White people. Even teachers were like that. You know, there is a way of living and the culture is different and this society knows that. Something is different. The language, the way of living and the different food. These differences are there.

Interviewer: So would you describe both Indians born here and White people as one thing? Are they both British or something else?

Participant: British is anyone who has got the British passport so I think we are British too. English is a person who is White person. I wouldn't call myself English or my children. They are not English because they are not White, but they are British because they were born here and they have a British passport and the same rights and the same schooling and everything. If ever they take this away from us, the rights and the freedom to do whatever they do then we are not British anymore. It can all change if that happens. The BNP and people like this, they want it to be like this only and they want to make British just for the White people here, not for Asians or Muslims or anyone, that's all.

Interviewer: But can you explain why you think that White British people don't truly accept you as British? Not the BNP in particular, I mean, White Britons in general.

Participant: As I say there is a gap between us and that English people are really different, they think possibly that there's a gap. I'm Indian and the Indian person is different and they think that too. We both think that about each other. So it's the same thing. They only celebrate one Christmas, but everyone is Christian and look how many different religions, how many different languages, how many different traditions we have, and they can't understand this. They get confused and so they just think 'Asian'. That's why we can't be British for them because we don't believe in some of their celebrations and our way of thinking is so different, you know?

Interviewer: So what makes someone British? What makes them truly British? What things are important?

Participant: Number one, what's very important is to be able to read and write and at least understand English. How can you call yourself British if you don't even know ABC? Only they should get the passport. There are so many different languages out there but just one language should make people British and that's English. So many languages are there and so how can we all be one people if people can't even understand each other? You should know English well to be British. If you know the language, that's the main thing about being British, then you can watch programmes on the TV and enjoy and learn nice things just like other British people and you can read and get knowledge. Most importantly, you can understand what other British people say and then you can learn more. If you don't know the language then how can you pick up nice things or bad things or whatever. Language is very, very important.

Interviewer: And do you know many people who do not know English?

Participant: Yes, many people. I worked with so many Indian people and they've been living here for a long time and are a very successful business people and they have been living here for forty years and they can't speak even a single word of English and they can't even fill out a form. That's not right. People like that aren't truly British. People who came from India years ago they don't know even a single word of English. They can't even ask for directions. They don't know anything and they don't deserve to be called British. They don't deserve the passport. They can learn English. If the foundation is strong and if they know the basics then possibly they can just improve, but they have never ever been to school. They don't know anything. That's not right. They should give the British passport to a person who can understand, and read and write English. In India everywhere the basic education is very important and if the person is not keen to learn the basic things then what can that person achieve in England, living here and working here? Why do they want to come? If they cannot be successful in India then how can they be successful here? The British passport office should say 'go and learn English first and then set up a business and work here'. How can a person find a job here and even be British if he doesn't know any English? That's how the big problems start.

Interviewer: How about you? When you came here did you encounter any problems? Can you tell me a little bit about your first experiences here in England when you arrived?

Participant: My circumstances were different. I just came to get married and that's how people in India do things. Mine was arranged which my whole family traditionally do this way. That's how it happened. Nothing else. That was all arranged and I agreed and that's how it's done.

Interviewer: And when did you first realise that you were going to get married in England?

Participant: Six months before that. When my husband's family went to India to visit my family there and to find a girl for him and they went to the relatives. My husband's relatives and mine were in one place, so when they came to see me, we talked and my parents agreed to get us married six months before. Then after that I got the passport and things like that. I wrote letters to my husband and he wrote me some letters, and we never saw each other and saw the photos. His family saw me and then his sister came to see me again and then we got engaged and then I came here after six months and then we got married here.

Interviewer: And what were your thoughts about coming to live in England at that time? Do you remember how you felt?

Participant: Yes, because I was in boarding school at Guru Nanak University in Jalandhar and there are so many people and different families from England studying there, and I heard about that and they used to come there to see us and then I realised that I was going to London and it was really exciting, because I had never ever seen anything like that before. Obviously if a girl gets married in India, they go to a different town, it doesn't really matter whether it's near or far, people just send their daughters, daughters just go, because you have to get married and it can be difficult for people to find suitable husbands, so they just take the opportunity and go wherever. When the girl gets married she has to go. It's not really my

choice to stay near my father or things like that, so people get married, so it's just like that. So I was sad also. I was excited and sad but I knew I could come here and work and send money to my family so that helped me feel better when I felt sad, you know?

Interviewer: And what exactly did you find exciting about England?

Participant: Everything, the lifestyle and the opportunities. Everything was better than where I was. There are things that I miss now and I didn't realise I would miss them when I left. Just small things like the smell of the village and the sounds that you hear in the village that you don't have over here. I miss the sense of community that you just don't have over here because everyone is busy living their lives and they don't have any time for anyone else. They say in Northern England that there's more closeness between people and that people are friendlier than in London but I don't see that at all. In my village it was. Everyone's house is everyone's and there are no boundaries between them. People used to come to our house to watch TV. I can still remember that when we first got a TV in the '70s, all the village children would crowd around to see. Here people are very straight to your face and tell you that they are too busy too. Even Indians have become 'rukhe' [distant and very individualistic] since they've come here and settled. They've become White themselves. They've lost the sense of community and they don't have time. They are too busy with their own lives, own kids and not about the community.

Interviewer: Had you ever met any White British people before you came?

Participant: Yes, and then I did B.Ed. and there were so many British and English people. They come there every year to come to Kashmir and to see Sri Nagar. And people from here, from Fiji and Canada and America, they were my room-mates in Kashmir and in Jalandhar, where I was a student also. So I know more or less what English people were like. I had a good impression of England, yes. Even from the aeroplane the view from the aeroplane was beautiful and in India where we used to live were very different. It was nice and even the lights seemed brighter than in India and the people were really different because we're very dark and here in English everyone was so White. All White. Everyone was White then. There were just English people around where we lived, mainly White, not so many Indians and Pakistanis so I was quite surprised but it was nice. Beautiful houses. Nice hygiene, clean, and it was so so nice.

Interviewer: And did you have any hopes or expectations when you first arrived in England?

Participant: I was a very brave person and I only knew that I'm going to work, something I knew I could do and hoped to do, and earn lots of money and help my family in India and live a good life. And I achieved this already. Overall there were not many difficulties to be honest. My husband was a very, very nice person and he was very supportive and he didn't have much money but he was very, very good. He was a good father to my children and he was a good husband too. His family was as well. I don't believe in depending on anybody and I never did. I'm a different type of person. I believe in hard work and if you're fit enough to work, you can work, and I did that here. And I earned good money too, and I was very happy. I know that if I'd worked this hard in India I would never have made it and my family

wouldn't be as well off either. And I helped my brothers and sisters and I helped my parents and I helped my cousin too and so many other people, and whatever I could do, I did. Deep down I feel so light and happy and I can give my children a good time now as well. My husband and his family were good and I did a lot for myself. I really have lived a very good life, much better than I could have in India. I was okay in most ways because I was just in my own community working and so I was okay and could make a lot of family for my family.

Interviewer: So what kind of contact did you have with White Britons?

Participant: When I came here, I was very shy because we were so err theoretically, grammatically, I could understand everything, read and write everything, but it was very difficult for me, because people don't really speak English all the time over there. Nowadays they do because there are so many English schools but I never went to an English school. I went to an ordinary school, so we used to speak our own language, Hindi or Punjabi, even when I came here we used to speak Punjabi at home. Very rarely, English. So there was no much experience then so when we used to speak English, we'd get a little shy and so we'd avoid contact and talking to English people. Sometimes we'd misunderstand but pretend to understand and then maybe English people thought we were rude or ignorant or something, I don't know. We just avoided being near English people and spoke much more Punjabi than English. But my husband used to speak English at the time at home and his brothers and sisters used to speak it together. I mean, if you know the basics then there's no problem and later on I was okay with it. I didn't understand everything but slowly it got better, but you know even now people, Scottish people, when they speak their own English it's very difficult for me to understand what they're saying but if they speak slowly then maybe I can understand a bit.

Interviewer: You've said that you used to feel shy about speaking English and associating with White British people, but can you remember any other feelings you experienced because of this?

Participant: Yeah, I used to feel a difference. If you don't know the language properly then you can't enjoy things and I never used to enjoy English people's company much and the music on TV I didn't really like because I didn't understand any of the songs or any of the programmes and it was really boring for me, you know? I didn't like it. My husband had friends from work but I didn't mix with them so well and the neighbours were not really my kind of person that I work have long conversations with because of the language barrier. We didn't really click and so I started to think that English people were really, really different from me. Sometimes this made me miss India a lot and my life there but then when I actually sit down and think about my life there then no way, then I don't miss it because we have everything we need here and here my children have a good life, and India couldn't give me that.

Interviewer: I understand. So you prioritise that more than being able to mix in with British society?

Participant: Yes, but you know, when I came here I was in the house because I had my first baby quite soon after marriage and after one or two years I couldn't go anywhere at all and couldn't meet outside people. I was just living with the family. By the time I came out then I knew more or less everything because I learned more or less everything, but enough to get by, but not really enough to create a strong friendship with the others.

Interviewer: So who did you associate with mainly? With Indians, Pakistanis or other groups?

Participant: Well, when I came, the first two years I was with the family all the time, so I never ever met any English people really. Just Indians. The family and family friends. Even my doctor was Indian. Everyone in my circle was just Indian, no English people. Later on then I needed money because I came here without money. As I said, my husband didn't have much money and we were living in a joint family and so I went out to work because I wanted money then. It was very difficult to live without money because I couldn't ask my family to send me any money because they relied on me to send them money, not me to send them any money. So I was never fussy about which work I'd do. I never thought 'oh I don't want this job or that job'. Any job at all I just did it because I was desperate to get money so I worked in a factory and I met mostly Asian people and Punjabi-speaking people basically, so I had no difficulties settling in there and I worked with them for years. And now I'm working with English people for the first time in thirty or so years.

Interviewer: And working with Indian people, how would you describe that experience? Upon reflection what do you think?

Participant: I didn't want to work with them at all because I was trained as a teacher. I wanted to work in my own field but if I have done a B.Ed. in India then I have to do a six-month course here which was impossible for me to do. The question was: where am I going to leave my child? Here I came here after all that hard work in India and all of my dad's struggles to send us to university when people can't even dream of sending their sons to study let alone their daughters and then the British people say that my degree is no good for them. How do you think that made me feel? It was hard for me because I came here and wasn't the advanced, educated person that I was in India. Here in England I just became a typical Indian or Pakistan like the rest of them but I knew deep down and even my work friends knew that I'm a graduate. An educated woman. The system here left no difference between us. That was hard and disappointing for me.

Interviewer: So in retrospect what was it like to work within the community?

Participant: They were not my kind of people at all. I hated it, because as I said, I was a teacher and they had never ever been to school and there was a big gap in communication, education, everything. The way they talked, the way they walk, they sit, they eat, everything was very different, you know? It wasn't my kind of thing. I didn't like it but I worked with them. Most of the time, if I work eight hours then six hours I hardly spoke to anyone at work. Two hours if I needed to talk about something to do with work then I used to. Otherwise we never talked because I didn't want to. I worked there for many years and even they

considered me as a friend but I never truly enjoyed that because it was not my kind of company and environment where I worked. Education is a very big difference between people. If you are not educated then they won't say anything that you like. The way of joking is bad and like in rural areas of India where nobody is educated, they say this kind of stuff. The way they eat is bad and the way they do everything just reminds me of people that we used to keep away from in India, but here in India there are no divisions. Now these people are my bosses. The atmosphere they create is bad.

Interviewer: What do you mean by 'people you used to keep away from'? Do you mean 'caste' or something like this?

Participant: No, no. I'm not exactly arranging a marriage with anybody so it's nothing to do with the caste system. I didn't mean that. No, when you work somewhere, my opinion is that you should look at the kind of people you work with and what the person talks like, what they wear for example and their tact and their jokes and stuff. I don't think that religion and the caste system have that much to do with all this. They were of a low caste but I'm just concerned with their level of education. This makes a big difference when you work together. Only the personality really counts, not the caste that they're from. If there is a personality and education gap then you can't reach each other.

Interviewer: If you had worked with White British people do you think things might have been different?

Participant: Now I work with white people so looking back, I lived and was born with Indian people and I wanted a change from all that so I'm happier working with White people, actually. If you work with Indian people you speak Punjabi all the time and you can't learn English as well as with English people. It's very easy now for me to keep my English up because I've got to speak it with my colleagues, but I remember working in the factory, I didn't even know when President Bush came to England to visit England or the major events that were going on around us in England. I wasn't in England. Basically I worked in India because I was just around the most peasant-like people you could get in India. That wasn't living in England for me, or it became that, but that wasn't the image of life in England that I'd had. Money is important though, as I explained. But now gradually I've picked up a lot of things and I've improved a lot and it makes me feel that I have missed out almost thirty years of English life. Speaking English for eight hours a day has allowed me to learn a lot more. I believe in that. My views are changing a bit and I can see myself accepting things that I thought were horrible before, after seeing what English people are like, it makes me realise that our family problems are a lot smaller, you know? This made me views different. If all of my colleagues are English people obviously I have to dress up like them and talk like them and so many other different things that we do as work mates.

Interviewer: And after working with your Indian colleagues, what kind of things have changed in you as a person? Have you ever thought about this?

Participant: Yes like their way of speaking Punjabi has changed my Punjabi a lot. Things I've never heard for years and years because we were in boarding school and university and

we spoke more posh Punjabi and mainly English for education, then I came here and they reminded me of things I hadn't heard for years, things that they only used to say in the village. I realise this because when I go back to India and speak to my brothers and sisters they laugh so much and don't understand how I talk in this way and have picked up low-class words that they would never use. They laugh a lot because it's so strange that I've gone to this advanced country where I've earned so much money and helped them so much but really I've picked up bad Punjabi, and bad speaking habits. They always think 'oh my God, how do you talk?' They see the difference and then they tell me about it. That's how I know I've changed after working with them.

Interviewer: What do you say?

Participant: Slang language. Bad words which we never ever say because we are middle class in India and we have more money and education than them. And even though I was born there in the village, our education wasn't in the village at all. With educated people you talk much better, as you know. There are words that we just would never use but now I do. When I came here and worked for so long with uneducated people and they speak their own version of their language and I'm so used to listening to them and I forgot the right words and nice words and picked up their words. When I say the same words at home, they always tell me I sound like I've been living with 'churre' [a Scheduled Caste group] in India and not in England.

Interviewer: OK, so you've worked with Indians and now you work with British White people. Have you had much contact with other groups?

Participant: Yes, as I said to you before, I've had a lot of contact with Pakistani people here in Derby. They speak Mirpuri which I had never ever spoken in my life before and now I've learnt it quite well through speaking to them and they always speak their language and I speak mine, and we understand each other. Sometimes when I speak Hindi on the phone with them, they assume that I must be Muslim because they think I'm speaking Urdu, and we get along perfectly. It's religion that differentiates us. If you are living with a Pakistani person or an English person for so long you change a lot

Interviewer: How would you describe your relationship with Pakistani people, in general?

Participant: I have a nice relationship with them after working with them for so long as well. I do Herbalife [selling dietary and health products] with them and most of my customers are Pakistani. There are so many differences between us and our views and their views are more conservative and more reserved than ours, and mine are completely different and much more open. I have alcohol at home with my family and friends and my husband's friends are my friends and Pakistanis are completely different in that sense. Men and women are separate all the time and they do not look at alcohol. But I just work with them, that's all, and our views do not really get mixed up in any bad sense and so we don't need to explain or justify ourselves to each other. It's just a work relationship that I have with them, not really personal. We don't mind how we think, but there is a big difference between us. But I have a better

personal relationship with White people now that I work with them because I like some of their views quite a lot and I can see that sometimes they live a better life than ours.

Interviewer: In what sense?

Participant: As I said, White people are selfish and we are not reserved or selfish but there is a lack of this care and bother in English people. Sometimes this can be good, you know? We live our whole lives for our children and then our children say they're British first and they want to live like English people and they think they know best for themselves. English people allow that and they don't let their kids' decisions bother them in the same way as we do, and this is better. Less stress and I sometimes think that if I could do that maybe I'd be a happier person. So it's a mix of many things. Some things I like and some things I don't. We have a good social relationship as well because people just talk about their own things and you listen and then you talk about yourself too, but just to pass time really. But with Indian people it's different. They go deep down and want to get to know you and the family and everyone around you, and there's more closeness there, but English people are a bit more distant and reserved and they don't really do that, you know? Sometimes I miss that a bit because in India, as I said, there's more concern for others but here I didn't find that so much. English people talk to pass time, with us.

Interviewer: OK, I see. That's interesting. Now, just to conclude really, I'd like to ask you what you know and how you feel about the history between British people and Indian people. Things that happened between the two nations. I'm just interested in this because you've told me a little about your feelings towards British White people and I thought we could explore this in more depth.

Participant: Well, I used to teach history to children in India. I was a history teacher so I know quite a lot about it. Britain ruled India for a very, very long time and they took a lot of things and money from India. But look, I blame the person, I mean, nobody can come into my house and rule my place unless I let them come in myself, then somebody can do that. How could Britain go that far and do that? The rulers in India were corrupt and they are corrupt now too, so that was their mistake. It was not Britain's fault. Obviously they want the best for their country and they didn't care about India. So how can I blame them? Indians let them come in and Indian soldiers and police officers were traitors when Britain ruled there so how can I blame England? People just blame Britain and burn the flag and do these silly things, and that is a big insult to Britain actually, now. I remember a few years ago when the Queen went to visit Punjab and I was ashamed when lots of Sikh politicians and people in the Gurdwaras there asked the Queen to apologise. I was very ashamed that they gave us a bad name here too and everyone thought that they are so stupid. Why should the Queen be responsible for what happened all that time ago? The Queen refused and the whole situation is embarrassing. The Queen is in this new Britain that isn't the same one as all those years ago. The Queen represents this country, not that one. British people then and now were brainy and bright people and selfish. But Indians are corrupt and they lied and that's how Britain came in, so I won't say it's India that's bad. They said 'come' and Britain came and then they said 'go' and they left. Whose fault is that?

Interviewer: Yeah, I remember hearing about the Queen's visit too. OK. What about other things like the Partition? What was Britain's role in that, if any?

Participant: The Partition happened because India is a very very big country and the British people knew that the situation had gone wrong now and that they were getting kicked out, but they could make the country into two and make it weaker then the power would go down and would divide, and that would make Mother India weaker. They wanted to weaken the country. It was a very, very brainy thing that they did and a big game that they played. It was 100% their fault to divide India into two parts, not Indian people. Still there are so many Muslims living in India happily with no problems. They are Indian, Sikhs are Indians, so why couldn't Pakistanis be Indians too? What is the difference with them? That's because deep down we are all Indians but the British caused big problems and India and helped to make a new Pakistan. As I said, they are very clever people and Indians were stupid, both Muslims and Hindus, and they fought because of them. But it happened just because Britain wanted it.

Interviewer: And how does that make you feel now? It may or may not directly affect you, but I just wondered what feelings you have because of this.

Participant: I don't really have a negative impression of British people because of that, no, not really. History is history and everything is fair in love and war because they wanted to rule India and they tried their best. Nobody can come as I said. Indian people invited them and there were some weak points and so the British lived there for so many years. Then some people like Mahatma Gandhi thought that it was wrong and he said 'leave' and eventually they left. But now if any White people like the BNP and these people say that we should go to India and our children born here should go away too, and then I can ask them 'why did you stay in India for three hundred years? Who told you to stay there?' Only some British people forget that they stayed in our country for that long and then they say bad things to us. We work and pay taxes but they took taxes in India, so why should we go? I always think this when I see the BNP on TV and I hear about the things they say. It makes me think that people can forget these things easily or maybe English people don't know this, I don't know, but I do know that Britain was there for a long time and they split the country into two countries, so how can they say 'go' to Indian people like me who work fairly and pay taxes?

Interviewer: Yes, that makes sense. I understand. But what about India and Pakistan. If Britain was responsible, don't people generally know that? Why is there still tension?

Participant: Because they are stupid. They were stupid from the start and they are still playing stupid games. And politicians especially. They are mad people. They are not thinking about people or the countries. They just want their chair, that's all. They want to get to the top and they are so selfish, politicians. Nothing is wrong with the people. Pakistani people and Indian people were one and deep down they are very similar but the politicians make the flames bigger.

Interviewer: Do you think your friends and family in India share your views?

Participant: It depends. Mostly they say that India took everything from India and they were very bad there, but then I just tell them that when Britain ruled India some things were better than now, you know? Look how much corruption there is now. They cannot blame that on Britain too, can they? When Britain was there the country was better in some ways, cleaner and the system was good too, but look at now? In some ways, I mean. Sometimes you can say it was very, very bad and racist and they mistreated poor people. But I tell them this because they don't seem to know. People always say that English rule was bad though because they don't understand how people can come from so far away and rule India. There was at least discipline then but now look.

Interviewer: But what kind of criticism do you hear?

Participant: When the Partition happened, innocent people died, imagine how many people became homeless and how many people died. That is very sad. I have seen people suffering from this years after it happened. I was born in 1956 but we knew people who had been separated from their families in the Partition and who were still suffering because of that. One man in my family was a victim of this too and he suffered a lot. His whole life he lived by himself without his family, I mean, and when we think about it. We haven't seen this ourselves, but we've heard what it was like, and it's painful for us. Very bad for us, as you can imagine. It happened because of Britain but when it actually happened then it had nothing to do with British people, Muslims and Hindus started to kill each other. People fought. It no longer had anything to do with Britain and I tell people that. But still it hurts even me when I think that this could happen in our villages and in Punjab especially and so you can blame Britain on a certain level. Common people don't even know what happened and they just think it was Hindus and Muslims and don't even know how Britain was involved and it's also sad to think that my dad used to tell me that before 1947 he used to have mostly Muslim friends and then overnight all of them were gone. He never forgot that, all his life. He went on remembering his friends. Half of our village was emptied overnight because it was a very Muslim village and all the mosques became mandirs. So thinking about these stories is sad but you have to move on, but at least you know that us living in this country is nothing compared to Britain's rule of our country. But yes, people don't know this unless they go to school and read and learn about the history, but everyone knows that Britain ruled there for years and years, that's true.

Interviewer: Have you seen scenes of flag-burning on TV? Why do people do this?

Participant: It's not people that do that. People who burn flags were not even born then, you know? Politicians are bad. Like people who do Jihad, but they don't even know what the meaning of that is. Somebody brainwashed them. Yes, it's not really their fault completely. They are completely mad because of the people who are brainwashing them and we are all going down with them because of the bombings and things like that.

Interviewer: Why are you all going down? Isn't this mainly related to Islamic terrorists?

Participant: Look, people died in the terrorists attacks and people, Asian people, have been suffering because there is a lot of fear, you know? We all feel worried about sending, like I

don't like my son to go to clubs in Derby at night, even though he is your age. He is a grown up boy now and that's not the point. I don't like it because English people drink a lot and then they start fighting in the street, like in football games, and I don't like it. Plus, because of the bombings and Islam and terrorism, now White people don't care whether you are Muslim or Sikh or Hindu or Christian, they just beat you if they are drunk and if you look at them or something. I heard bad stories about that.

Interviewer: What do you think the future look like? In relation to this, I mean.

Participant: I don't know. I think Muslims are causing problems for us and that English people hate us more because they think we are like them, they only see brown skin or beards or something. I don't know. They don't completely accept us because of the skin colour and also because of the terrorism from Muslims. That's all, really.

Interviewer: OK, Participant. Thanks for your help with this. I think we can stop there.

Appendix VI
Measurement of variables & reliability

Perceptions of the British Press Scale

Cronbach's alpha was used to test the reliability of the scale.

Table 22: Cronbach's alpha for the original British Press scale

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.812	.838	13

Table 23: Item-total statistics for the original British Press scale

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Good Impression	61.22	136.065	.707	.652	.780
Violence	61.58	131.385	.717	.733	.776
Differentiation	62.14	192.150	-.508	.375	.883
Crime Figures	61.41	141.774	.596	.559	.790
British Values	61.36	129.282	.801	.687	.769
British Asian	61.32	142.258	.579	.429	.791
Special Treatment	61.42	138.315	.626	.532	.786
Racism	61.37	135.244	.688	.558	.780
English Language	61.54	144.289	.509	.384	.796
Belonging	61.46	133.220	.692	.542	.779
Coherence	61.80	144.760	.426	.288	.802
Influence	61.39	134.499	.637	.550	.783
Terrorism	61.44	162.778	-.019	.075	.840

The Cronbach's alpha including all items was .81. However, there was a problematic item within the scale. The item-total correlation for terrorism was unacceptably low at -0.19. The exclusion of this item increased the Cronbach's alpha (α=.84).

Table 24: Cronbach's alpha for the revised British Press scale

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.840	.860	12

Cinnirella's (1997a) British National Identity Scale

Previous studies using this scale have reported high internal reliability (α=.83), suggesting that it provides a reliable single overall British identity score (Cinnirella, 1997b). With the inclusion of items measuring the identity principles, the Cronbach's alpha was in fact higher (α=.88) than that reported in previous studies using the scale, suggesting high internal reliability.

Table 25: Cronbach's alpha for the British National Identity Scale

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.881	.878	12

Table 26: Item-total statistics for the British National Identity Scale

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
How British	51.36	141.656	.751	.686	.861
Strong Ties	51.97	142.975	.727	.643	.862
Pleased British	50.65	145.146	.733	.632	.863
Similar	52.09	147.791	.573	.578	.872
Importance	50.49	158.973	.393	.290	.881
Similar Views	51.89	146.295	.672	.607	.866
Criticism	51.11	144.623	.659	.511	.866
Past Tradition	52.60	150.416	.582	.478	.871
Secure Future	50.76	145.463	.575	.511	.872
Achievement	49.38	163.330	.263	.296	.888
Distinctiveness	50.89	159.423	.400	.311	.880
Meaningful	51.68	146.539	.581	.471	.871

Ethnic Identity Scale

Given the high internal reliability of Cinnirella's (1997a) British National Identity Scale, we decided to adapt this scale in order to measure ethnic identity. The Cronbach's alpha score on the original scale was reasonably high (α=.82).

Table 27: Cronbach's alpha for the original Ethnic Identity Scale

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.820	.827	13

Table 28: Item-total statistics for the original Ethnic Identity Scale

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
How Much	59.76	108.312	.652	.543	.795
Strong Tie Ethnic	59.77	104.987	.678	.597	.791
Cultural Activities	60.43	110.032	.469	.324	.807
Pleased Ethnic	59.99	108.263	.373	.249	.818
Similar Ethnic	60.27	107.526	.564	.516	.799
Importance Eth	59.84	109.410	.580	.452	.800
Views Ethnic	60.42	105.631	.575	.468	.798
Criticism Ethnic	59.34	111.347	.446	.376	.809
Past Ethnic	59.82	110.834	.472	.360	.807
Sec Future Ethnic	61.53	115.070	.253	.266	.825
Achiev Ethnic	62.51	120.163	.161	.400	.829
Distinct Ethnic	60.26	115.307	.286	.229	.821
Meaning Ethnic	59.49	105.139	.594	.514	.796

By excluding the item 'To what extent does being a member of your ethnic group help you to do and achieve things you could not do and achieve if you were not a member of your ethnic group?', the alpha score improved somewhat (α=.83).

Table 29: Cronbach's alpha for the final Ethnic Identity Scale

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.829	.839	12

Connectedness scale

A scale was constructed to measure the 'connectedness' of social identities. The national-religious and national-ethnic items were significantly correlated.

Table 30: Correlation matrix for the national-religious and national-ethnic connectedness items

		Connectedness (national-religious)	Connectedness (national-ethnic)
Connectedness (national-religious)	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.366**
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.000
	N	213	212
Connectedness (national-ethnic)	Pearson Correlation	.366**	1.000
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	
	N	212	212

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

Psychological coherence scale

A scale was constructed in order to measure the principle in relation to the three aforementioned social identity configurations. The national-religious and national-ethnic items were significantly correlated.

Table 31: Correlation matrix for the national-ethnic and national-religious coherence items

		Coherence (national-ethnic	Coherence (national-religious)
Coherence (national-ethnic)	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.725**
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.000
	N	214	214
Coherence (national-religious)	Pearson Correlation	.725**	1.000
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	
	N	214	214

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

Rosenberg's global self-esteem scale

The global self-esteem measure consists of the 10-item Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale. (Detailed methodological discussions of this measure appear in Rosenberg, 1989). Internal reliability for the scale was exceptionally high (α=.91).

Table 32: Cronbach's alpha for the global self-esteem scale

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.910	.915	10

Table 33: Item-total statistics for the global self-esteem scale

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Satisfied	50.30	117.164	.783	.695	.895
Respect	51.18	123.905	.444	.260	.916
No Good	50.38	114.956	.787	.710	.894
Good Qualities	50.09	118.453	.773	.664	.895
Ability	50.35	117.859	.712	.550	.898
Pride	51.18	118.371	.513	.354	.914
Useless	50.62	117.392	.725	.608	.898
Worth	50.19	119.885	.710	.557	.899
Failure	50.42	117.856	.701	.546	.899
Positive Attitude	50.24	118.446	.704	.578	.899

Appendix VII
Letter to participants explaining study

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National and ethnic identities among British South Asians

Dear Participant

We invite you to participate in a study that explores national and ethnic identification among British South Asians. This study is being conducted as part of my PhD and is supervised by Dr Marco Cinnirella. We are social psychologists at Royal Holloway, University of London. In this study, we wish to understand how you feel about your identities and other groups in society. Moreover, we are interested in how identity and group attitudes relate to your psychological well-being.

Research Procedure
Your participation will involve answering a number of questions relating to identity, group attitudes and well-being in a one-to-one interview. The interview will be recorded using a digital recorder and transcribed for analysis. There are no right or wrong answers, and you will not be evaluated on your responses.

Confidentiality
It is important for you to know that the information that you provide will be kept in **complete confidentiality and anonymity**. Your name will not appear on any transcript or other document. Furthermore, **nobody** will know if you have participated in this study. In addition, the data from this study will be kept in a locked facility at the university for up to 5 years after publication. Only Rusi Jaspal and Dr Marco Cinnirella will have access to the data.

Issues surrounding participation
Please note that by participating, you will be helping us to understand the links between identity, group attitudes and well-being. This will contribute to greater knowledge in this area of social psychology. Though not anticipated, if there are any questions which make you feel uncomfortable, you are under no obligation to answer those questions. Moreover, your participation is **voluntary** - you are free to withdraw from the study at any point in time without penalty.

Questions?
If you have any questions about this research, please contact Rusi Jaspal (rusi.jaspal@gmail.com) or Dr Marco Cinnirella (m.cinnirella@rhul.ac.uk).

Thank you very much for your participation in the study.
Yours sincerely,
Rusi Jaspal

Consent form

National and ethnic identities among British South Asians

Please indicate

I have read the information sheet about this study (YES/NO)
I have had the opportunity to ask questions (YES/NO)
I have received satisfactory answers to any questions (YES/NO)
I give permission for the interview to be digitally recorded (YES/NO)
I understand that any data that is used will be presented in an anonymous fashion (YES/NO)
I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, without giving a reason (YES/NO)
I understand that I have the right to choose not to answer any question for whatever reason (YES/NO)
I agree to participate in this study (YES/NO)

Signed…………………………………………

Name (please print) ……………………………………….

Date …………………………

Principal researcher: Rusi Jaspal, M.A. (Cantab), M.Sc.