Citizenship AND BELONGING: WHAT IS Britishness ?

A research study

COMMISSION FOR RACIAL EQUALITY

This project was commissioned from ETHNOS Research and Consultancy by the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) in 2005.

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SUMMARY

I. AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

The Commission for Racial Equality commissioned ETHNOS to carry out research on the ways in which British people of different ethnic backgrounds living in England, Scotland and Wales think about 'Britishness', and about 'success'.

The aims of the research were to:

- obtain a more detailed understanding of the process of integration;
- investigate Britishness, and bring society closer to answering the question, 'what is Britishness?';
- explore whether and how Britishness plays a role in integration, and what constitutes success in society; and
- stimulate debate about Britishness and success.

II. METHODOLOGY

The research design combined three approaches:

- focus groups;
- word association exercises; and
- sentence completion exercises.

The sample included 96 people from various ethnic backgrounds:

- White English
- White Scottish
- White Welsh
- Black Caribbean
- Black African
- Indian

- Pakistani
- Bangladeshi

The sample was equally divided between England, Scotland and Wales. It included an even split of men and women. Ethnic minority participants were a mix of first, second and third generation migrants. All research participants were British citizens. Most groups were moderated by researchers of similar ethnic backgrounds to those of the participants.

III. FINDINGS

WHAT IS BRITISHNESS?

Most of the research participants shared a common representation of Britishness, ranging over eight dimensions:

- **Geography:** Britishness was associated with the British Isles, and with typical topographic features, such as the Scottish Highlands, lochs, Welsh valleys, and rolling hills.
- **National symbols:** Britishness was symbolised by the Union Jack and the royal family.
- **People:** Three different ways of thinking about the British people emerged: for some participants, the British included all British citizens (that is, those who hold UK passports), regardless of region or ethnicity; for others, the British were exclusively associated with white English people; and for others still, the British included people of very diverse ethnic origins.
- **Values and attitudes:** These included upholding human rights and freedoms, respect for the rule of law, fairness, tolerance and respect for others, reserve and pride (generally valued by white English participants and criticised by white Scottish and white Welsh participants, as well as those from ethnic minority backgrounds), a strong work ethic, community spirit, mutual help, stoicism and compassion, and drunkenness, hooliganism and yobbishness.

- **Cultural habits and behaviour:** These included queuing; watching and supporting football, cricket and rugby; and consuming food and drink such as 'fish and chips', 'English breakfast', 'Yorkshire pudding', 'cream teas', 'cucumber sandwiches', 'roast beef', 'Sunday lunch', 'curries' and 'beer'.
- **Citizenship:** For Scottish and Welsh participants, and for most participants from ethnic minority backgrounds, Britishness was very much associated with holding a UK passport. This was not salient among white English participants.
- **Language:** English was seen as a common language that unites the British people. The array of British accents (in terms of regional and class differences) was also seen as typically British.
- **Achievements:** Britishness was associated with political and historical achievements (the establishment of parliamentary democracy, empire and colonialism); technological and scientific achievements (the industrial revolution, medical discoveries); sporting achievements (the invention of many sports); and 'pop' cultural achievements.

IDENTIFICATION WITH BRITISHNESS

While the content of 'Britishness' was shared across most groups, there were important differences in the ways in which participants personally related to, and identified with, Britishness.

As UK passport holders, all the participants *knew* they were British citizens, but not everyone attached any *value significance* to being British. In Scotland and Wales, white and ethnic minority participants identified more strongly with each of those countries than with Britain. In England, white English participants perceived themselves as English first and as British second, while ethnic minority participants perceived themselves as British; none identified as English, which they saw as meaning exclusively white people. Thus, the participants who identified most strongly with Britishness were those from ethnic minority backgrounds resident in England.

Ethnic minority participants also drew on other sources of identification: religion (for Muslims only); ethnicity (region, country or continent of origins, and their associated cultures); and race or colour (for black Caribbean and black African participants only). These various identities became more or less salient in different situations. They were seen as being compatible with Britishness.

THE MEANING OF 'SUCCESS'

Success was a unifying concept: participants from very different backgrounds had a common view of what constitutes success, of the qualities needed to succeed and of the ways in which success may be measured or assessed. Success was equated with achievement, and as the outcome of personal qualities; those who show ambition, determination, drive, persistence, single-mindedness, creativity and who work hard, regardless of ethnicity, religion or class, can all be successful.

Success may be manifested either in the private sphere – in which case it was associated with quality of life (manifested through good health, financial freedom, happiness and a good family life); or in the public sphere – in which case it was associated with outstanding achievements (manifested through wealth, fame, leadership and making a positive contribution to society). Success in the public sphere was discussed in relation to five areas: sports, business, politics, entertainment, and science and technology.

There were few differences between groups in their representation of success. However, ethnic minority participants appeared to place greater value on the idea of making a positive contribution to society as a whole rather than achieving success for oneself. This was probably linked to their minority status, rather than to cultural differences *per se*.

There were both similarities and differences among the people considered to be 'successful Britons' by the different groups. This probably reflects the fields in which the various ethnic groups have already demonstrated achievements, rather than cultural differences in representations of, or attitudes to, success. Participants from all groups were able to think about 'successful Britons' from ethnic groups other than their own.

1. INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) is a publicly funded, non-governmental body set up under the Race Relations Act 1976 to tackle racial discrimination and harassment, and to promote equality of opportunity and good race relations. It works both in the public and private sectors to encourage fair treatment and equal opportunities for everyone, regardless of race, colour, nationality, or national or ethnic origins. It does this by:

- providing information and advice to people who think they have experienced racial discrimination or harassment;
- working with public bodies, businesses and other organisations to promote policies and practices that will help ensure equal treatment for all;
- running campaigns to raise awareness of race issues, and to encourage organisations and individuals to play their part in creating a just society; and
- making sure new laws take full account of the Race Relations Act and the protection it gives from discrimination.

The CRE commissioned ETHNOS to carry out research on various dimensions of the concept of 'Britishness', with a range of British people from different ethnic backgrounds living in England, Scotland and Wales. ETHNOS was also asked to explore the meaning of 'success', and whether the notion of 'successful Britons' has any relevance for different groups.

AIMS AND ASSUMPTIONS

The aims of the research, as identified in the tender brief, were to:

- gain a more detailed understanding of the integration process;
- investigate Britishness and bring society closer to answering the question, 'what is Britishness?';
- explore whether and how Britishness plays a role in integration and ideas about 'success' in society; and
- stimulate debate about Britishness and success.

This research should make an important contribution to understanding whether and how Britain's multicultural society can be truly integrated, cohesive and successful. What values and loyalties, if any, must be shared by communities and individuals in all parts of Britain? How should differences and incompatible values between different communities be handled? How is a balance to be struck between the need to treat people equally, the need to treat people differently, and the need to maintain shared values and social cohesion? The research should also contribute to elucidating the processes through which the British national story (and its attendant notion of Britishness) gets told, maintained, challenged and changed by different groups.

Collective thinking about these issues has become necessary against a background of postwar migration, devolution, globalisation, the end of empire, moral and cultural pluralism, and closer association with Europe. It has been given added relevance and urgency in the light of the recent terrorist attacks in the UK. These have brought to the fore, and exacerbated, any perceived differences between British Muslims, on the one hand, and people of white British and non-Muslim ethnic minority backgrounds, on the other. The attacks have been interpreted by many people, regardless of their ethnic or religious backgrounds, as evidence that (at least some sections of) the British Muslim population have loyalties that lie beyond the British nation state and are linked to a worldwide Islamic network whose interests may be at odds with those

of Britain. There is a danger that such perceptions could undermine the hard-won achievements of British society with respect to multiculturalism and integration. Such issues deserve careful and systematic exploration.

A number of theoretical assumptions underpin the research. Critically, the study is based on the view that Britain is not only a territorial and political entity, but also an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 2000). It is precisely in the notion of Britishness as a psychologically represented social system that this research is interested. Thus, 'being British' is something which may or may not be relevant to people, independently of their nationality, and which may be mobilised in some situations but not in others. From this perspective, as the Parekh Report (Runnymede Trust, 2000) identified, the fundamental questions about the national story are: what is Britain's understanding of itself? How are the histories of England, Scotland and Wales understood by their people? What do the separate countries stand for, and what does Britain as a whole stand for? Of what may citizens be justly proud? What should be preserved, what jettisoned, what revised or reworked? How can everyone find recognition and develop a sense of belonging in Britain? Do people believe it is at all important to share a common British value system?

To answer these questions, we start with the assumption that Britishness, like any other concept denoting a social identity, is very much a fluid concept, which can be associated with a range of different, and indeed contradictory, meanings. Yet, while it is open and flexible, the concept of Britishness is also grounded in a particular historical, political, economic, social, ideological and cultural reality. This rootedness in a long-term past, as well as in contemporary social institutions, endows the concept of Britishness with a certain rigidity: not everyone can claim Britishness for themselves, and not everyone wants to be associated with it. Power relations (some of which are related to ethnicity, religion, class, age, generation, and gender) are fundamentally involved in the definition and maintenance of the notion of Britishness. By probing when people ascribe Britishness, why and to whom, as well as when and why they identify themselves as

British, when and why they resist the label, and when and why such decisions are contested, and by whom, the research will offer insights into the relationships between those who protect the boundaries of Britishness and those wanting admittance.

The legitimacy and appeal of Britishness will also vary over time, and across groups, much as a function of the 'cognitive alternatives' which are available for people to develop a positive social identity. For instance, it may be that partial devolution in Scotland and Wales means that Scottish, Welsh or even European identities become more attractive than a British identity. Similarly, Islam may provide a valid alternative source of social identity for many Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in the UK against a background of multiple disadvantage and discrimination in these communities, in much the same way that Rastafarianism earlier became a salient and positive source of identity among young black Caribbean men faced with racism and discrimination.

Finally, the research explores the notion of 'success'. This part of the research has the immediate and practical aim of feeding into an awards ceremony celebrating the achievements of great Britons. But it is also interesting for the light it sheds on how people from different backgrounds and regions think about Britishness. Indeed, if the term 'success' is shorthand for what people value most highly, then a discussion about it would be a useful way of finding out more about any similarities and differences in the values held by diverse social groups. Asking participants to tell us who they think are 'successful Britons' also throws light on whether only white people, for instance, can legitimately hold this title.

2. METHODOLOGY

RESEARCH DESIGN

The research involved a series of ten focus group discussions with participants representing a cross section of the English, Scottish and Welsh populations. Each focus group participant was asked to do two exercises on their own – word associations and sentence completions – as well as taking part in a discussion with other members of the focus group.

Focus groups are an ideal method to explore such complex and sensitive topics as people's sense of identity, their representations of Britishness, their sense of belonging in British society, their perceptions of successful integration and their views of success more generally. Focus groups allow access to a range of opinions and experiences relatively quickly, but leave scope for participants to expand, in their own words, on themes of importance to them. Because each participant prompts other group members into discussing their own views, the dynamics of focus groups stimulate reflection and can produce more perceptive insights from each participant than they might have produced without the benefits of group interaction.

However, group dynamics can also obscure important individual differences of opinion and experience. By asking each participant to do the exercises individually, we were able to give everyone an equal voice and elicit similar data sets from all participants. Since we were grouping together people from different ethnic backgrounds in some focus groups, it was particularly important to be able to retrieve distinctions between ethnic groups analytically through individual data points. Moreover, individual written tasks (such as the projective techniques used in this research) are better suited to tap into emotions and

non-conscious mental associations than are focus groups, which strongly rely on verbal and argumentative skills. Combining the two approaches offered useful insights into the range of ways in which the participants thought about Britishness.

Each focus group consisted of between nine and eleven participants. The sessions lasted between 90 and 120 minutes in total, with the group discussions taking up about three-quarters of the time, and the individual exercises requiring about a quarter.

TOPIC GUIDE FOR FOCUS GROUPS

The full topic guide for the focus groups may be found at Appendix A. Broadly, the discussions covered the following issues:

- Britishness: What is British? Who is British? Can we talk of Britishness at all? Who decides on what and who is British?
- Britishness and other national identities: What are 'Englishness', 'Scottishness', 'Welshness' and 'Europeanness'? How do they relate to Britishness?
- Britishness and ethnic identity: Are these identities compatible? How do they coexist? When do they manifest themselves? Who bestows identities? Can identities be resisted? What are the benefits and disadvantages of each identity?
- Britishness and success: What is the meaning of success? Who embodies success? What does it take to be successful in Britain? What do successful British people have in common? What and who is a successful Briton?

All focus group discussions were recorded, transcribed and analysed.

INDIVIDUAL TASKS

Word association

Word association can throw light on the less conscious, less rational ideas and emotions associated with certain concepts. As a first task in the group sessions, we invited each participant to write down, as quickly and reflexively as possible, the first three words that came to mind when they read the following words: 'British', 'English', 'Welsh', 'Scottish', 'European', 'ethnic minority', 'success', 'integration', 'community', 'identity' and 'culture'. The answers were not influenced by group dynamics, as the exercise was done before the group discussions.

The associations were analysed to determine the conceptual universes the participants described and the emotions they conveyed, and similarities and differences between the word associations were identified according to key socio-demographic attributes.

Sentence completion

Participants were asked to write down five different endings for each of seven 'trigger' sentences:

- I am _____
- Scottish/Welsh/English people are _____
- Britishness is _____
- I feel British when _____
- Successful Britons are _____
- Integration is about _____

Participants from ethnic minority backgrounds were also asked to complete the following sentence:

- I feel like an ethnic minority when _____

The answers were influenced by the focus group discussion, which was held before this exercise.

Responses were analysed to see if there were any recurrent themes and what these indicated. In the case of the 'I am' trigger sentence, we were interested in the correlations between participants' answers and their ethnicity, nationality, religion, class and sex, and in how salient these were in their sense of self.

SAMPLING

Given the aims of the research, the nature and size of each ethnic minority community in England, Scotland and Wales, and the time frame and scale of the research, we used the sampling frame shown below.

Group	Ethnic background	Gender	Generation[1]	Area
1	White English	Mixed	UK-born: 3rd or more	Manchester
2	White Scottish	Mixed	UK-born: 3rd or more	Glasgow
3	White Welsh	Mixed	UK-born: 3rd or more	Cardiff
4	Black Caribbeans Black Africans	Mixed	UK-born: 2nd and 3rd	London
5	Indians	Mixed	UK-born: 2nd and 3rd	Birmingham
6	Pakistanis Bangladeshis	Men	Non UK-born: 1st	London
7	Black Caribbeans	Mixed	Mixed: 1st, 2nd and 3rd	Cardiff
8	Indians Pakistanis Bangladeshis	Women	Mixed: 1st and 2nd	Cardiff
9	Black Africans	Mixed	Mixed: 1st, 2nd and 3rd	Glasgow
10	Indians Pakistanis Bangladeshis	Mixed	Mixed: 1st and 2nd	Glasgow

[1] First generation refers to those who came to the UK as adults; second generation to those who were born in the UK or schooled in the UK, having arrived as children; and third generation to the children of the second generation.

As well these formal sampling criteria, we made sure that participants in all groups reflected a balance in terms of social class, religious identification and length of residence in Britain. All the participants were UK citizens. Overall, there was a good mix of professionals, skilled and semi-skilled workers, students, retired people and housewives. Thus, although the opinions and experiences described in the report are based on a sample of 96 individuals from ten focus groups, there is no *a priori* reason to believe that their views should be skewed in any particular direction. However, it is worth noting that we did not conduct a white focus group in London, where most of Britain's ethnic minority population live.

THE RESEARCHERS

When dealing with sensitive topics, such as Britishness and ethnicity, it is important to consider whether the ethnicity of the researchers might affect participants' answers. To maximise trust, reduce self-censorship and ease disclosure, we matched as closely as possible the ethnicity of the researcher to the ethnic backgrounds of the participants. All white groups were moderated by a white woman, all black African and black Caribbean groups by a black British man, and most South Asian groups by a British Pakistani man.

3. WHAT IS BRITISHNESS?

This chapter describes how research participants from different parts of Britain perceived 'Britishness'. Taken together, the focus group discussions, the word associations and the sentence completions showed that there was a common representation of 'Britishness', organised around the following dimensions: geography, people, national symbols, citizenship, values and attitudes, cultural habits and behaviour, language and historical achievements.

Participants from all the focus groups, regardless of nationality, ethnic background, religion, area, sex or age, shared most of these concepts. What differed markedly between groups, as we discuss more fully in subsequent chapters, was participants' attitudes to, and their identification with, Britishness.

BRITISHNESS: A COMMON IDEA

Getting people to engage with the notion of Britishness is not easy. In the discussions, most of the participants said how rarely, if ever, they thought about Britishness; how 'tricky' and 'complicated' the topic was for them; and, in the white groups, how Britishness seemed to have lost any genuine meaning for them.

> *It's complicated for us to talk about [Britishness] because people don't tend to think about it. It's only now you're asking that we're thinking about it. (South Asians, Glasgow)*

> *What do you mean by Britishness? That's quite tricky. It's not something you think about. (Black Africans and black Caribbeans, London)*

> *Participant 1: I don't think our children will know what being British is all about.*

Participant 2: Absolutely not. There will be no tradition.
Participant 3: I feel this country is not even our country. Being British, I don't know what that means now. That's how I feel. I don't get it. I just don't get it. I don't get it. (White English, Manchester)

It's really hard for me to say what Britishness is, because when I think about it I think about what it means to other people rather than what it means to me. When I try and think what it means to me, then probably nothing at all. (White Welsh, Cardiff)

Yet, behind these statements, there also appears a widely shared and nearly consensual representation of Britishness. The patterns emerge from the collation of the different views from the different data sources, rather than from each individual having clearly formulated views on the topic. The representation of Britishness is articulated around eight themes, which we examine below.

GEOGRAPHY

Island nation

Britishness was fundamentally linked to the idea of an 'island nation'. Much of the feeling of being a nation state with a distinct culture and history seemed to be anchored in the fact that Britain is an island cut off from Europe – physically and metaphorically – by the English Channel.

We're an island nation. I think that has shaped a lot of our culture, our identity and our views on the rest of the world. (White English, Manchester)

I see Britain as a shape, a map of Britain [....] I don't class Britain as part of Europe. I think it's the fact that this island is separate from the mainland. (Black Caribbeans, Cardiff)

Much emphasis was placed on the small size of the British Isles, particularly among white participants, and used to underscore the extraordinary achievements of the British people.

I think it's good how we perform for a small country on the world stage, how we are seen as a world power. (White Scottish, Glasgow)

To take such a tiny country like we've got and to lead the world... That was Britishness! (White English, Manchester)

In terms of economic growth, for a small nation, we are still registered the fourth richest in the world. That is something to be proud of. (White Welsh, Cardiff)

Topography

Distinctive features of British landscapes – many of them very local in flavour – were also part and parcel of how participants thought about Britain. The 'countryside' was a prominent notion, perhaps especially among white participants, and participants from the older generation. More specific ideas, such as lochs, mountains, glens and the Highlands in Scotland; mountains, valleys and daffodils in Wales; and rolling hills, white cliffs and lakes in England, were used to describe that basic part of Britishness associated with its unique topography. This was more obvious in the word associations and sentence completions than in the group discussions, and it was more frequent in relation to Scotland and Wales than in relation to England.

NATIONAL SYMBOLS

The ways in which Britain was imagined relied extensively on a few potent national symbols, chiefly the Union Jack and the royal family. These were by far the two most frequent and spontaneous associations with Britishness generated across all groups. Nearly all group discussions began with a 'laundry list' of national symbols and the word associations and sentence completions were replete with references to both symbols.

The Union Jack

Across all groups, the Union Jack was immediately mentioned as one of the most potent symbols of Britishness. This was seen positively, by most, as a force for unity (as opposed to the St George's flag, for instance, which both white and ethnic minority participants saw as having been appropriated by the far right, and therefore as being divisive). The Union Jack was closely associated with the national anthem, which was mentioned much less frequently than the flag, but was highly loaded emotionally because of its function as a kind of national rallying cry during intense emotional situations, such as state funerals and Olympic Games.

The royal family

The royal family – the monarchy in general and the Queen in particular, but also lesser royals and places, such as Prince Charles, Lady Diana and Buckingham Palace – were all seen as part of the representation of Britain. These symbols made imagining Britain easier, even though they had very little perceived relevance in people's lives.

Other national symbols mentioned were the Houses of Parliament, the bulldog and Beefeaters. In many ways, a number of daily habits – such as queuing or eating fish and chips – had acquired a symbolic value for all the participants, but these are discussed below under different headings.

PEOPLE

At the heart of the idea of Britishness, we found the 'British people'. However, there was much debate over who the British people are and who they are becoming, over who can be regarded as British and who cannot. The debate was most alive in relation to both nationality and ethnicity (including religion). Three different views of who the British people are emerged from the data: the British as English, Scottish and Welsh people; the British as exclusively white English people; and the British as a multicultural and diverse people.

British: English, Scottish and Welsh

With respect to nationality, the most basic, objective and uncontroversial conception of the British people is one that includes the English, the Scots and the Welsh. However, this formal definition was not the one that was psychologically active for most participants. English participants tended to think of themselves as indistinguishably English or British, while both Scottish and Welsh participants identified themselves much more readily as Scottish or Welsh than as British. Some were happy to combine both identities (they felt Scottish or Welsh, but held a British passport and were therefore British); others saw themselves as exclusively Scottish or Welsh and felt quite divorced from the British, whom they saw as the English.

British: white English

It was clear that, of the three nations that make up Britain, England – in particular, white English people – was most strongly associated with Britishness. In fact, throughout the discussions, many participants switched seamlessly and unconsciously between 'Britishness' and 'Englishness'.

> *Britishness for me is like England. I would associate more an English person to be British than a Scottish person [...] People think that British people must mean English and white. They don't think we are really British. We're Scottish and ethnic minorities, so it's hard for some people, mainly those are not educated, to see us as British. (South Asians, Glasgow)*

> *I think about white English people. That's what I picture in my mind. (South Asians, Cardiff)*

> *There is a difference between being British and being English. English is being indigenous, being white and from this country. But being British, the primary thing that comes to my mind is that you have a British passport.*

The second thing is that you live here and you function here, in this society [...] I am British. I am not English. (Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, London)

I think I've only answered things that are English [in relation to Britishness]. I didn't really think about Wales and Scotland, to be honest. (White English, Manchester)

British: multicultural and diverse

For many participants, Britishness was also specifically associated with ethnic diversity. These associations were equally present among white and ethnic minority participants, and they were manifest in all the data sets. However, their emotional and evaluative significance were very different for white participants (for most of whom ethnic diversity had negative connotations) and for ethnic minority participants (who saw ethnic diversity as something positive).

Britain is a multicultural place now. Anybody can be British. (White English, Manchester)

Britishness is more and more blackness. I think it's all just mixed with people from other countries. It's getting quite confused and I think they've still got to grasp what it is. Before it was predominantly a white country, but now you've got so many different cultures, it's multicultural. (White Welsh, Cardiff)

I think it's very important for people to accept that Britain is a multicultural society. The sooner they realise that, the better. Some people still think it's white, but it isn't. (South Asians, Glasgow)

Everyone who lives within Britain, born here or not, they are British. (Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, London)

It would seem that participants associated Britishness with white people when, implicitly or explicitly, they were referring to the past, and with ethnic minorities and multiculturalism either when they were thinking of the present or the future, or when they were thinking about citizenship (in other words about their passport).

For many ethnic minority participants, in particular, maintaining the difference between the English and the British was crucial, because this provided them with some space to belong. Many of them argued that Britain was inherently multicultural, that Britishness was fundamentally about the coming together of very diverse people. From this perspective, Britishness is more a nationality, a citizenship, rather than a way of life linked to an ethnic group. It is a symbolic space, which is potentially inclusive and diverse.[2]

Very few participants had any sense of the British people as an amalgam of very different peoples over time. Most took for granted that indigenous British people are simply white Anglo-Saxon. For those who recognised the ethnic and cultural pluralism at the heart of Britishness, it was easier to normalise the ethnic diversity we have in Britain today, rather than to see it as an exceptional and problematic state of affairs.

> *Going back through our heritage, we have had the same sort of developments. We have been invaded by Vikings, by French, Germans, Irish, Danes. All sorts of European nations have come over here, we have been a seafaring people so there have been black people and Chinese people far longer than most other places and there has never been a problem, but it only seems to have arisen with the mass immigration that came after the break-up of the empire. (White English, Manchester)*

> *The British are not one thing, they are different: Asians, Europeans, Africans, all sorts of people. British people have got a history of mixing with all other people coming over and becoming British, part of the society, from many, many hundred years. We are the latecomers [....] If you look at the history of Britishness, these people fight within themselves over a religion. They were Catholic, then Protestant, then they came out with the religion of being Church of England. All this is now a part of Britain, same as Islam! What's wrong with it? Nothing wrong! Another part of Britain that's new. (Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, London)*

[2]This seemed to be more important for ethnic minority participants who lived in England than for those who lived in either Scotland or Wales, where they were happy to take on those national identities. This is discussed in greater depth in the chapter on identification with Britain.

VALUES AND ATTITUDES

The discussions around British values and attitudes were very informative. At the most basic level, white or ethnic minority participants who had lived in Britain for a long time and had been schooled in Britain produced much richer discourses on British values and attitudes than those who socialised mainly with members of their own community or were recent migrants. Among the latter, observable behaviour rather than more abstract values and attitudes was more likely to be mentioned.

So, what did participants think were the central values and attitudes one had to adhere to and live by in order to be considered British?

Freedoms, rule of law, fairness, tolerance and respect

The upholding of human rights and freedoms (such as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion and protection of minorities), respect for the rule of law, fairness, and tolerance and respect for others seemed to be the most common British values and attitudes identified by our research participants.

> *We are still seen as fair, you know. We give everybody a chance in the eyes of British law. You go anywhere else in the world and you're presumed guilty before you are proved innocent [...] The good thing about Britain is the rule of law, the fair play and giving people a chance. (White Scottish, Glasgow)*

> *We are still a country of free speech. (White Welsh, Cardiff)*

> *It's a lawful, law-abiding country. (South Asians, Glasgow)*

> *It's a good country. Good people. Good law and order [...] The British are fair-minded people. (Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, London)*

Reserve

Most of the research participants associated British people with reserve. This was sometimes seen in a very positive light, as when British people were described as being polite, courteous and careful not to offend or be confrontational. It was sometimes seen in a negative light, as when British people were described as being hypocritical or reluctant to discuss what they really thought, as having a 'stiff upper lip' and being cold. White English participants were most likely to see reserve as a positive trait, while Scottish and Welsh participants, as well as ethnic minority participants living in England, were more likely to see it as a negative trait.

> *Britain is all about etiquette and manners. British people don't like to offend others. It's just not British to offend them. We would not say anything nasty to someone's face. (White Scottish, Glasgow)*

> *British people can be a bit stiff, can't they? Not really express themselves, what they are thinking [...] It's a kind of reserve, but it could be an excuse as well: 'Oh, I don't want to say it to his face, I don't want to offend him', but I'll tell my mate about it! European people, they confront each other and it's over, whereas British people, they'll keep it to themselves... (White Welsh, Cardiff)*

> *They're quite polite. They hold back in public definitely. They don't speak their mind. (South Asians, Cardiff)*

> *They have this false smile. You know very well what they think but they won't tell you to your face. (Black Africans and black Caribbeans, London)*

Ethnic minority participants often contrasted the warmth and friendliness they saw as characterising their own communities with the colder and less effusive interpersonal relations they associated with white British culture.

Pride

Another set of attitudes revolved around the notion of pride. Again, white English participants tended to see this as something positive, in the context of a healthy patriotism or memories of great achievements. By contrast, white Scottish, Welsh and ethnic minority participants tended to see pride as a sense of superiority, paternalism, dominance, arrogance and narrow-minded nationalism.

> *They don't regard us in the same level. I think they see us as inferior. They don't regard us as an equal nation. They think of Scotland as an unruly child and that's the way that they treat us [...] The English have a superiority complex. They see themselves as the conquerors. They don't have any regard for the locals or their customs. (White Scottish, Glasgow)*

> *They're very patriotic. All this Rule Britannia and this flag waving! (Black Caribbeans, Cardiff)*

For many South Asian and black African participants, there was a tendency to perceive pride through the filter of British colonial history.

> *Participant 1: They look down at people.*

> *Participant 2: They think they are more superior, like they still rule the world [...] There is that bit about arrogance, that being patronising to other people, that's my experience, particularly of London and the Southeast. (Black Africans, Glasgow)*

> *They dominated people, wherever they went. They dominated other countries. (Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, London)*

Work ethic

Britishness was also associated with a strong work ethic. 'Hard work' and 'hard-working' were frequent associations in the word association exercise and appeared to represent an ethos shared by both white and ethnic minority participants.

We are hard-working. Whatever the Victorians have built is just tremendous. Still today, I think we have some of the longest working hours in Europe, the Brits. (White Scottish, Glasgow)

We work hard. We're hard-working people. (Indians, Birmingham)

Community spirit, mutual help, stoicism and compassion

The British were also described as displaying a strong community spirit and a sense of togetherness. British people were perceived as being willing to extend a helping hand to others in times of trouble. While this characteristic was deemed to be less true of the English, it certainly lay at the very heart of Scottish, Welsh and ethnic minority (especially South Asians and black Africans) participants' sense of themselves.

They help us. If you have any problems, they help us. They're helpful, yes. (Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, London)

I think we care for each other. We look out for each other. Very friendly and amicable and helpful people. (White Scottish, Glasgow)

The tsunami in Asia and the bombings on the London underground were seen as demonstrating and reinforcing these traits of compassion and stoicism.

They were very cool after the bomb attacks. (Black Africans, Glasgow)

With the tsunami, they showed compassion. (Black Africans and black Caribbeans, London)

Drunkenness, hooliganism and yobbishness

Finally, the British were also thought of in less savoury terms: abusive alcohol consumption, drunken behaviour, hooliganism and general 'yobbishness'. There were repeated comments, in most focus groups, about the central role of alcohol in British culture, and much concern about 'lager louts', for which British people have earned a bad reputation.

I don't like 17-year-olds going down the pub and getting absolutely plastered, which is also part of British culture. (White Welsh, Cardiff)

You're not always proud to be British. When you see these football hooligans abroad, these yobs that are completely out of control and going on a rampage, you'd do anything not to have anything to do with them. (White English, Manchester)

CULTURAL HABITS AND BEHAVIOUR

Queuing

Being British was related to various cultural habits and behaviour, such as queuing, which was seen as emblematic of Britishness; a small, everyday manifestation of the great British values of respect and fairness, of law and order, of politeness and courtesy. Queuing was understood as a sign of civilisation among all groups.

When you go from Britain to Pakistan and when you land, you say: 'Oh gosh! it's all chaotic'. Everyone is jumping in the line and they stand up before the plane lands. There's no rules and regulations. No one follows rules. That's the kind of things that I find difficult and that's the Britishness that we take with us. (South Asians, Cardiff)

I can't stand people who jump the queue! For me, that's a real important part of being British because it says something about us as a people and about how we respect other people and how we like some order. (White English, Manchester)

Football, cricket and rugby

Love of sports was seen as something very British. Being British involved (at least for men) being an avid follower of sports that were invented by the British and exported to the empire or Commonwealth: football, cricket and rugby.

Not only did these sports appear frequently in the word associations, but one of the most important times where British identity was said to come to the fore was during international sporting contests: the Olympics, but also the World Cup and international test matches (which are held on a national basis, but with which all British people identify).

Food and drink

Equally important were food, drink and the rituals that accompany them: 'fish and chips', 'English breakfast', 'Yorkshire pudding', 'cream teas', 'cucumber sandwiches', 'roast beef', 'Sunday lunch', 'going to the pub', 'curries' and 'beer' appeared to have come somehow to define the British way of life.

> *I like families going to the pub on a Sunday and having a roast. (White Welsh, Cardiff)*

CITIZENSHIP

For many Scottish and Welsh participants, and for most ethnic minority participants, Britishness was very much associated with holding a passport, with being formally recognised as a British citizen. White English participants took this aspect of Britishness very much for granted and so did not discuss it.

> *Passports! Everyone wants a British passport, don't they? (Indians, Birmingham)*

> *Being British, the primary thing that comes to my mind is that you have a British passport. (Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, London)*

> *I am Scottish first, but I am also British. I have a British passport. That's a fact. (White Scottish, Glasgow)*

LANGUAGE

English was seen as a common language that united the British people: to be British is to speak English. White participants in the focus groups insisted that people from ethnic minorities and new migrants should speak English, arguing implicitly that if they don't, or don't speak it well, they cannot be properly regarded as British.

> *The language. English. We have spread it the world over, but this is a very British thing [...] And we know when someone opens their mouth that they are British, they're not American. You say tomato, I say tomato, kind of thing. (White English, Manchester)*

The English language, through its many accents, was also seen as a manifestation of regional and class differences, something which was also thought of as essentially British.

Participant 1: The English accent. Very ladidah!
Participant 2: Yeah, but also working class accent, Cockney, not just posh.
Participant 1: That's like the upper class and the lower class people.
Participant 3: Also where you come from because somebody came up to me at the airport and said: 'You're from Birmingham? You've got a Brummie accent, I can tell by your accent.'
Participant 2: There's a northern accent as well. (Indians, Birmingham)

Cos we're different, see, we're England, Wales and Scotland, we all have different accents as well, that's what makes us different. (Black Caribbeans, Cardiff)

ACHIEVEMENTS

Political and historical

Britishness was associated with great historical and political achievements, but only among white participants (whether they were from England, Scotland or Wales), not those from ethnic minority backgrounds. All the discussions were in the past tense.

Britain hasn't done anything recently since the wars to relate to, to take hold of and be proud of. When I think of British things, I do tend to think of what went on years ago, when they fought for freedoms, when we were a great industrial nation, when we ruled the world. But we are no longer a great nation. (White Welsh, Cardiff)

We were the empire over which the sun never set. We invented parliamentary democracy. (White English, Manchester)

If you look at the size of Britain, it's achieved a hell of a lot. There's a lot of history. I like the fact that for the size of the nation, when the Romans came, we actually managed to tell them to bugger off and they left. (White Scottish, Glasgow)

Ethnic minority participants did not see these 'achievements' in the same positive light as white participants; they found it hard to divorce Britishness from its colonial history. This was clear both in the group discussions and in the word association and sentence completion exercises.

> *Question: What kinds of things do you associate with being British?*
> *Participant 1: I think of colonies.*
> *Participant 2: Colonialism.*
> *Participant 1: Yeah, the British empire.*
> *Participant 2: Exploitation! (Black Africans, Glasgow)*

Technological

There were frequent mentions in the focus groups and the word associations of the industrial revolution and the many technological inventions by the British (for example, Fleming and penicillin; Bell and the telephone; and Dyson and the new vacuum cleaner). Again, this perception of Britishness was very much confined to white participants, regardless of nationality.

> *Britain was the workshop of the world. We were very, very strong, and that's the origin of Great Britain. It's not so much the conquests and the empire as such, although some people may see it that way. But I don't as far as I'm concerned. For me, it's just a great industrial nation. And we can be proud of that. (White Welsh, Cardiff)*

> *If you go to these industrial museums, you would be absolutely amazed at the things that you forgot that we have produced: the transportation of cotton and coal through the barge system, the building of viaducts, the ship canals. (White English, Manchester)*

Sport

We have discussed the associations of Britishness with sport. However, for some participants it was the fact that the British created a number of sports and exported them to the empire or the Commonwealth that was really significant.

> *Our sporting heritage; we are good at some sports, but mainly we have invented so many of them: cricket, rugby, golf, you name it. (White Welsh, Cardiff)*

Culture

The idea of 'Cool Britannia' seemed to have left a mark on our participants. Among the younger generation, Britain was seen as 'cool' and dynamic, and this was strongly linked to its vibrant pop culture. Music – for example, the Beatles, Robbie Williams and Charlotte Church – was seen as particularly important in that respect.

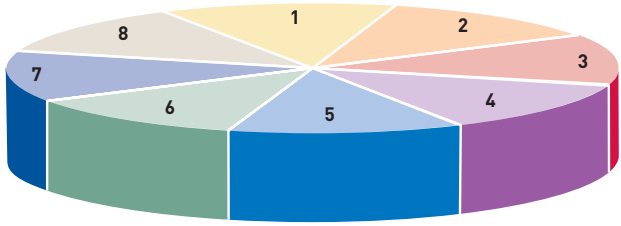
> *We could be proud of our pop culture in terms of fashion, music, the Beatles, Charlotte Church. (White Welsh, Cardiff)*

While discussions of 'British humour' were remarkably absent from the data, Meera Syal was mentioned several times, pointing to the importance of humour in pop culture and everyday British life, and to the contribution people from ethnic minorities have made in this respect.

SUMMARY

Britishness was represented in terms of eight dimensions, which were shared across the different groups. Generally, participants articulated richer discourses around the dimensions of values and attitudes, people, and cultural habits and behaviour. However the relative importance of each dimension, the attitudes towards each element, and the identification with Britishness as a whole, all varied between groups.

FIGURE 1: WHAT IS BRITISHNESS?



1 Geography
Island nation
Topography

2 National symbols
The Union Jack
The royal family

3 Cultural habits and behaviours
Queuing
Football, rugby and cricket
Food and drink: fish and chips, tea, going to the pub, curry

4 Citizenship
Passport

5 People
English/Scottish/Welsh
White English people
Multicultural

6 Values and attitudes
Democracy: freedom, the rule of law, fairness, tolerance and respect
Reserve
Pride
Work ethic
Community spirit, mutual help, stoicism and compassion
Drunkenness, hooliganism and yobbishness

7 Language
National language
Accents: British, regional and class

8 Achievements
Political/historical
Technological
Sporting
Cultural

4. IDENTIFICATION WITH BRITISHNESS

In this chapter, we explore the extent to which people identify with the notion of Britishness as described in the previous section. Identification is the psychological process by which people come to see themselves as members of a group, rather than as a collection of unrelated individuals, and the emotional value they place on this membership.[3] The discussion highlighted the relative importance of Britishness as a social identity for each group, as well as the alternative or additional sources of identification or 'group memberships' (nationality, religion, ethnicity, region, etc) which people draw on to establish who they are, both in their own eyes and in those of others. The discussion pointed to the compatibility or incompatibility that people saw between their various social identities. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the social dynamics that make particular social identities more salient in certain situations than in others.

WHO REGARDS THEMSELVES AS BRITISH?

At the most basic level, all British passport holders know they are British citizens. However, not everyone attaches any value significance to being British. In Scotland and Wales – and this was true among both white and ethnic minority participants – there was a much stronger identification with each country than with Britain.

> *Participant 1: I don't see why [Scottish] people are so hung up on saying they are British because it's what we are.*
> *Participant 2: But I don't want to be British. I want to be Scottish!*
> *Participant 3: I don't think of myself as British.*

[3]Group identification is a fundamental part of people's own identity. Sharing a common social identity helps people to bind together. It may also lead to tensions between groups if, and when, memberships of different groups are seen as unacceptable or impossible.

Participant 2: I don't either.
Participant 1: I do. I think of us as part of Britain.
Participant 2: No, but we're Scottish.
Participant 1: Yeah but we're British. We're British. Your passport says you are British. (White Scottish, Glasgow)

I'll always say I'm from Scotland. I'll never say I'm from Britain. (Black Africans, Glasgow)

I'm Scottish and I'm from Glasgow. I know that the Zambia's my country and that's where I am from. I'm African. But people here have made me feel welcome; that's why I don't disassociate myself from being Scottish. (Black Africans, Glasgow)

Participant 1: Scotland, Ireland, Wales are actually proud to be part of their own culture rather than proud of the British culture, whereas England is proud to be part of all of the cultures, or they see themselves as under the umbrella of British culture. We don't. [...]
Participant 2: I don't see [Britishness] as part of my identity. (White Welsh, Cardiff)
Participant 1: Welsh people see themselves as Welsh predominantly. My husband, he doesn't call himself British, he calls himself Welsh.
Participant 2: I'm Welsh.
Participant 3: Yes. I am Welsh first. If somebody ties me down, then I'll say I'm British. I'm proud to be Welsh, but not so proud to be British. Britishness for me is just a name. End of story. (White Welsh, Cardiff)

I feel more, rather than being British, more Welsh. (South Asians, Cardiff)

Participant 1: We see ourselves as being Welsh and not British.
Participant 2: Because even though I was born here, I meet people and they say: 'Where're you from?' and I don't say Britain. I say I'm from Wales. I don't even mention Britain! I just say Wales!
Participant 3: We see ourselves as being Welsh, not British.
Participant 4: Yeah, I'm black Welsh, you know, if you're born in Wales, you're black, you're black Welsh. (Black Caribbeans, Cardiff)

Thus, across all Scottish and Welsh groups, regardless of participants' ethnic backgrounds, national identification was much stronger than identification with Britain, although those identities were not seen as incompatible or mutually exclusive.

The situation was different in England, where there was a sharp difference in the ways in which white English and ethnic minority participants thought of themselves. Most white English participants saw themselves as English, first and foremost, but also as British. By contrast, most ethnic minority participants (except for black Africans, as discussed below) saw themselves as British, to the exclusion of any identification with England, since they strongly associated England with white English people.

> *Participant 1: I don't have as much pride in being British, as I did in being English.*
> *Participant 2: I don't make such a big difference between English and British. I think I'm English or British, both.*
> *Participant 3: Well, whilst I am proud to be British, I am more proud to be English. Englishness comes first. (White English, Manchester)*

> *Participant 1: We are British. We are not English. English is white people. British is everyone [...]*
> *Participant 2: I feel British because I'm living here from quite a long time and my children are born and brought up here, born and educated here, and my next generation will be in this country. So I feel I am very much a British. (Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, London)*

> *We are British Asians. We are certainly not English, even if we live in this country. (Indians, Birmingham)*

> *The first thing that comes to mind when you say English is a white person. You don't see a black person as English. (Black Africans and black Caribbeans, London)*

Thus, perhaps against expectations, it would seem that ethnic minority participants (except for black Africans) who lived in England were the ones who most strongly identified themselves as British. However, their identification, as with all other social groups, was not exclusively with Britain: it also drew on other 'memberships'. We now turn to these alternative or complementary sources of social identification.

OTHER SOURCES OF IDENTIFICATION

No one regarded themselves as exclusively British. As we have seen, the most potent source of identification for Scottish and Welsh participants from all ethnic backgrounds, as well as for white English participants, was their nationality (Scottish, Welsh or English), rather than 'Britishness', although both were seen as compatible and complementary by most participants. Other important sources of identification, besides nationality, included religion, ethnicity and race.

Religion

Religion was a dominant source of identification for Muslim participants. It would seem that the emotional significance attached to Islam has grown in strength over the recent past, as issues in the public domain (such as the conflict in Afghanistan, the war in Iraq, and the terrorist attacks in New York, Washington and London) have been construed as antagonistic relations specifically between Muslims and Christians.

> *I am British from head to toe, but I'm a Muslim British. (Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, London)*

> *Participant 1: I'm Muslim before anything else. Before Welsh, before British, before Pakistani. It's before anything.*
> *Participant 2: I would also say I'm Muslim first. (South Asians, Cardiff)*

This is my home. I was born here. This is where I was brought up so therefore I can't break my bond with being a Welsh person or being in Wales. At the end of the day I've been brought up as a Welsh Muslim so to speak, even though such a thing might not exist in words, but that's what I feel. I've been brought up as a Welsh Muslim so to me, being a Muslim comes before anything. (South Asians, Cardiff)

When I'm filling in forms, I put down British Muslim. (South Asians, Glasgow)

The same emotional link was not found in relation to other religions or denominations.

Participant 1: I would say I'm British Indian. I wouldn't say I'm British Sikh.
Participant 2: But I would say I'm British Muslim. I would also say I am Pakistani, but it's less important than Muslim.
Participant 3: I'm Catholic but to me that's indifferent. It doesn't make a big difference to me. I would normally say that I'm British Indian, not British Catholic or Catholic Indian or what have you. (South Asians, Glasgow)

I'm Church of England but that's not something I think about much. (White English, Manchester)

Thus, Islam was the only religion that formed a salient part of its believer's identity. While some British Muslims may give priority to being Muslim over being British and see these identities in a hierarchical way, no one in the sample saw Islam and Britishness as fundamentally incompatible. Moreover, many Muslim participants deplored the fact that they were, as they saw it, implicitly or explicitly being asked to 'choose' between these two identities, both by the British people and by the British government. They felt very strongly that this test of their 'loyalty' was both misguided and unfair, since nationality and religion are not mutually exclusive.

I am British from head to toe, but I'm a Muslim British. So that's what the establishment doesn't like. They want us to leave the Muslim side and stand on the British side. (Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, London)

My whole family, immediate family, my children have gone to school, colleges, university, employment. I cannot see how people can say that they are not British, while their families are here and living here, buying things here and spending things here. If it was Mr Blunkett there on your place, I'll ask him: 'What do you want? Shall we dance with you? Go to bed with you?' That's not Britishness! Britishness is to feel a part of the country, which we are already part of the country because we contribute work, we reach out to the people, we rub shoulders with the people. The only thing we don't do is we don't dance with them. We don't go to see the striptease, or we don't sit around and about or hang around bars. That is the only difference and if people think we are not British for that, then I'm very sorry for this. (Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, London)

I've been brought up as a Welsh Muslim, even though such a thing might not exist in words but that's what I feel: a Welsh Muslim [...] Religion is just different to nationality and being asked to choose... It's just kind of absurd if someone comes up and asks you: 'Are you a Muslim or are you British?' It doesn't make much sense and you cannot compare or you cannot put one thing [above the other]. You're not supposed to be put into the position to put one thing above the other because they are both different, but this is happening a lot lately. (South Asians, Cardiff)

Perhaps most critically, British Muslim participants argued that the very question made them feel like 'outsiders' and served to reinforce their attachment to their faith.

You really feel like an outsider when they ask you to almost choose [between Islam and Britain]. Why should I choose? Nobody asks you to choose between being a Church of England and a British. (Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, London)

I felt British until this media barrage came on to the Muslim community. It's questioning me, whether I'm British or not because someone is setting

the boundary of what it means to be British and they are trying to make us fit into that system or be left out of it; but the thing is we've been here all these years already and I wouldn't change now and they start aggressive talk and it's not very nice what's going on around us now. So until now, I did feel quite British, but it's making me question myself. (Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, London)

Ethnicity

Just as white Scottish, English and Welsh participants identified strongly with their own country, most ethnic minority participants also saw their place of origin (or their parents' place of origin) as an important part of who they were. Sometimes, the identification was with a continent (Asia or Africa); sometimes, with a country (for example, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Ghana, Zambia or Nigeria); sometimes, with a region (for example, Punjab, Kashmir, Gujarat or Sylhet). However, there were differences between Asian and African participants: while the former generally felt both British and Asian (Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi), the latter were more likely to feel exclusively African. The difference may be largely related to their different migration histories, with Asians being more established in Britain than Africans.

Question: Do you feel British?
Participant 1: Yes, I feel British.

Question: Do you feel Pakistani or Bangladeshi as well?
Particicpant 1: I'm British first!
Participant 2: Yeah. British first.
Participant 3: Both for me. First is British and then Bangladeshi.
Participant 4: British Bangladeshi for me as well.

Question: How about you sir?
Participant 5: British and Bangladeshi, cos I've been here for quite a long time. So I'm already British. My children are born here, brought up here. They are already British. (Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, London)
Participant 1: I'd say I was Gujarati if anyone asked me. I wouldn't say I was Hindu.

Question: What's special about Gujarat? Why does it mean so much to you?
Participant 1: It's because obviously there's religion, Hinduism, and then there's lots of different people that are Hindu still.
Participant 2: What she means is that you can decide that you are Hindu and you want to believe in Hinduism, so tomorrow you can turn round and say: 'I'm a Hindu'. But it's not like that for us. We're Gujarati. You can't change that, you can't convert into it, if that makes sense? (South Asians, Cardiff)

You just feel you are both cultures. You feel passionate about both cultures. (South Asians, Glasgow)

The English are just ignorant. They feel that because some people come here, you have to forget about where you come from, you have to behave like English, you have to be English. That's why I don't consider myself English. I am not going to forget about my heritage and where I come from. It plays a big part in my life. That's why they are ignorant. They think: You come here, you change, you are English. You do what we do, you eat what we eat, kind of thing. (Black Africans and black Caribbeans, London)

I'm African. If someone asks me, I say I'm African from Ghana. I don't classify myself as black British. (Black Africans and black Caribbeans, London)

Thus, identification with ethnicity was strong among all ethnic minority participants. This was because ethnicity was deeply connected with the emotional space of 'home': food, family, traditions, a sense of belonging to a community, and, in some cases, language. It was associated with ease and familiarity.

Race and colour

Black Caribbean and black African participants tended, in the main, to be comfortable with using 'black' to describe themselves, but a number of black African participants had negative perceptions of the term. Some

argued that race-based categorisation of black Caribbeans and black Africans has prevented these groups from developing an identity that is free of the negative connotations associated with race.

> *If black was not associated with all the negative things, we would probably choose to call ourselves black. But, you see, names have meanings, so once someone puts a tag on you, then they use it against you. You'll definitely not like it. It's just the negative connotation of it and people use it against you. (Black Africans, Glasgow)*

Others, however, wanted to challenge the dominant view of black as negative and reclaim 'blackness' for themselves, in a positive light.

> *What does colour mean? Don't be scared of using the word black! Black is a beautiful colour! It's a beautiful colour! (Black Caribbeans, Cardiff)*

This was mostly the case for black Caribbean participants, most of whom had lived in Britain all their lives and felt British. We therefore found that most black Caribbean participants identified as black British in England, as black Scottish in Scotland and as black Welsh in Wales.

> *Britain is different to England. My perception is that English to me means white, but British doesn't necessarily mean white. So British hasn't got a racist connotation as English has [...] I'm black British. I'm not English. (Black Africans and black Caribbeans, London)*

> *I'm black Welsh, you know, if you're born in Wales, you're black, you're black Welsh. (Black Caribbeans, Cardiff)*

Participants of African descent, by contrast, mainly rejected the black label as a marker of identity and strongly identified with Africa.

Finally, white British and British Asian participants never explicitly talked about race in terms of colour during the focus group discussions.

THE SALIENCE OF IDENTITIES

While some aspects of people's identities are relatively stable, identity is essentially a fluid construct, sensitive to context. It is important therefore also to capture a sense of the ways in which identities become more or less salient as a function of the situations in which people find themselves.

As a general rule, it was very clear that participants became aware of their identity when they were faced with difference. From the group discussions, word associations and sentence completions it would appear that the main situations of difference where British national, ethnic or religious identities came to the fore were mainly those of:

- international conflict (for example, the war in Iraq, negotiations in Europe, disagreements over the relationship with America);
- competition (for example, the World Cup and the Olympics);
- travel abroad (for example, when British people holiday abroad, when British Asians visit their country of origin and realise they have become more British than they had thought);
- uprootedness and conspicuousness (for example, when immigrating, when one is alone in an office staffed with people from other ethnic, religious or racial backgrounds);
- racism, discrimination and rejection (for example, when one is refused a job, or when one is verbally abused); and
- self-presentation (for example, when completing ethnic monitoring forms, or when being asked if one is British, or when the 'cricket test' is invoked).

This is by no means an exhaustive list; it is merely intended as a frame to help understand when and why particular identities come to the fore.

CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, while all research participants shared certain aspects of the representation of Britishness described in the previous chapter, not everyone had a deep emotional attachment to it or felt British themselves. White participants in England, Scotland and Wales all related more to their nationality than to their citizenship. Ethnic minority participants in Scotland and Wales also associated more with their Scottish and Welsh nationalities than with Britishness. Only ethnic minority participants in England (except for black Africans) felt very strongly, if not exclusively, British, since Britishness was lived as one of many other identities based on religion, ethnicity or race.

Among these complementary sources of identification, religion seemed to be a particularly salient and stable part of British Muslim (that is, Pakistani and Bangladeshi) participants' identity. Religion did not play a similar role in the lives of Hindu, Sikh, Church of England or Catholic participants in the sample. Ethnicity was another important source of identification for most ethnic minority participants, although for black Africans and black Caribbeans, race (primarily defined in terms of colour) might have been more important than ethnicity *per se*. Neither ethnicity nor race played a significant role in the identity of white participants. However, for ethnic minority participants, Englishness was clearly associated with race or colour (white).

Surprisingly, this was not true of either Welsh or Scottish identity, both of which were seen as potentially inclusive and open to diversity. It is worth emphasising that the various sources of identification (except for race or colour) on which ethnic minority participants drew to establish and state their identity were never seen as mutually exclusive by ethnic minority participants themselves, although they were often perceived as such by white participants.

Finally, it was clear that, while some identities were more stable than others, all identities depended to some extent on context, and that contexts that brought to the fore a feeling of 'difference' triggered a heightened awareness of identity.

5. THE MEANING OF 'SUCCESS'

In this final chapter, we turn to the notion of success. The main issues we explore are people's views about success (what the dimensions of success are, and what makes a person successful), who can be regarded as a 'successful Briton', and whether and how the notion of success may have typically 'British' dimensions. The aims are both practical and immediate (to inform a Morgan-Stanley awards ceremony rewarding 'successful Britons'), and strategic and long-term (to contribute to a wider debate about 'success' in British society).

We answer these questions by drawing on data from the focus group discussions, word associations and sentence completions. The focus group discussions loosely explored various themes around success. The word associations tapped into the connotative associations for the word 'success'. The sentence completions investigated the personal qualities associated with 'successful Britons'. Names of 'successful Britons' were also generated through all three research methods and these are presented and analysed below.

ACHIEVEMENT

At the most fundamental level, participants simply equated success with achievement. Achieving goals was what defined a person's success, whether the goals were modest or ambitious, private or public, whether in the fields of sports, business, politics or the arts, and whether the achievements brought fame and wealth or simply fulfilment.

> *Just achieving your goals, whatever they are. (Black Caribbeans, Cardiff)*

> *For me it's about having succeeded in overcoming obstacles in your life. It doesn't matter what they are, but you have managed to deal with them, big or small, and that makes you successful. (South Asians, Glasgow)*

Success is a drive. You drive yourself to go further, and I find that really interesting. You are satisfied with what you have achieved but you try to get to the next step, you just want to go further. (South Asians, Cardiff)

PERSONAL QUALITIES

Without fail, research participants attributed success to personal qualities, rather than to situational factors. One would have expected to find cultural differences whereby people from individualist cultures would be more predisposed to attribute success to personal qualities than people from collectivist cultures, who would be more predisposed to attribute success to situational factors.[4] This was not sustained by the evidence. All groups tended to make individualistic attributions for success. Indeed, when we asked participants to tell us what they thought success was about and what made a person successful, their answers revealed a rich representation of success structured around the qualities a person must have in order to succeed.

Across all the groups, there was a consensus that, in order to be successful, one must be 'driven', 'ambitious', 'motivated', 'determined', 'persistent', 'hard working', 'focused', 'single-minded' and, in some fields, 'creative'. Thus, success was seen as requiring *sustained effort* from people. It was not achieved overnight. It could not be guaranteed by birth or class. This strongly suggests an individualistic ideology whereby success is potentially open to all who care to 'go get it'.

[4]Collectivist cultures are described as being hierarchical, while individualist cultures are described as being egalitarian. Collective cultures are said to give primacy to collective goals over individual ones, while individualist cultures give primacy to individual needs and desires over the needs and requirements of the group. There is a greater emphasis on obedience, the maintenance of social harmony, respect for authority (especially older people and men), reliability and self-discipline in collectivist cultures, and greater emphasis on creativity, self-reliance, independence and self-fulfilment in individualist cultures. Importantly for this discussion, in collectivist cultures, there is open acknowledgement of the role of others in shaping each person's life, while in individualist cultures, there is a belief that individuals are essentially the products of their own making. A different set of attributional processes are said to be linked to both types of cultures, with people from collectivist cultures being more likely to attribute their success to situational factors and people from individualist cultures being more likely to attribute their success to their own personal skills and merits (Fiske et al, 1998; Hui & Triandis, 1986; Ichheiser, 1949).

This interpretation is supported by the strong emphasis research participants put on the notion of being a 'self-made' person (at least in relation to successful people in the public domain).

> *Richard Branson, for me, is the most successful man I can think of because he's built an empire out of nothing. It's not really the money aspect of it. It's basically the empire that he's built up. It's a talent. He's achieved a lot. That in itself is success because not everybody can do something like that. It is quite remarkable. (South Asians, Glasgow)*

> *Everyone can be successful, people from every background. But they need to work hard and to want to make it. (Black Africans and black Caribbeans, London)*

MEASURING SUCCESS

While achieving goals was common to all definitions of success, the criteria used to measure success were entirely different when success was considered at a personal level and when it was considered in relation to people in the public sphere. Both the private and the public perspectives were present in all the groups. Some participants immediately and spontaneously thought about success in private terms; others did so in public terms. No significant differences were found between ethnic groups in that respect.

Private sphere

The criteria for evaluating success were relatively few, and consensually shared across groups: success, they all said, was about feeling emotionally fulfilled and happy, having a good family life, having a satisfying job, being financially free (if not very wealthy), enjoying good health and being respected. Success was not about grand achievements, it was about quality of life.

Happiness was a major part of success in the private sphere (unlike the public sphere, where fame was thought to destroy happiness). The theme of happiness was found across all groups, but it was significantly more present in the word associations and sentence completions of white participants and black Caribbean participants than those from other groups.

> *When you asked, the first thing I thought is 'myself'. I'll tell you why: because I'm happy about what I'm doing. I'm satisfied. I'm at peace so I think that makes me successful. Why should I look at others to find success? It comes from within. You have to compete against yourself, not others. (South Asians, Glasgow)*

> *Just being happy with what you've got. (Black Caribbeans, Cardiff)*

> *To live your life successfully is just to be happy. (White Scottish, Glasgow)*

A key part of one's happiness and success seemed to be tied to having a good family life and bringing up 'good kids' in a world where this was seen as difficult.

> *I think bringing up good kids, I think that would reflect your success as a person, like what you have achieved morally and what you have become and where you stand. (South Asians, Cardiff)*

> *Anybody that can hold a family together [is successful]. (Black Africans and black Caribbeans, London)*

> *Raising a family, I would regard that as more successful than being world class at football. (White Scottish, Glasgow)*

> *If I was to be successful in my life, I would like to be happy, for one thing, to me that would be successful. I'd like my family to be united and to me that would be an achievement. (White Welsh, Cardiff)*

Success was strongly associated with money. 'Money' and 'wealth' were among the most frequent associations in both exercises. However, there were distinctions in terms of the amount of money and the functions of money when research participants thought about success in the private or the public sphere. In the private sphere, money mattered to the extent that it bought peace of mind. People wanted 'financial freedom', 'financial security', 'comfort', 'no money worries', rather than wealth. They wanted enough money to buy a 'nice house', a 'good car', to pay for 'holidays', to educate their children, to protect their health, to afford a few luxuries: money was linked to quality of life.

> *Money is relative to you. What I'm saying is that if there's a man and his wife is a cleaner and he's come from nothing and he's made a comfortable life, I regard him as successful. (White Scottish, Glasgow)*

> *We've got a small house but I love it. We go on holidays abroad twice a year. That's what I wanted to achieve and we've got it. (Black Caribbeans, Cardiff)*

> *I think my father-in-law is really successful for what he did. He came from India and he's got a fortune and he's really successful now and it's all to do with his hard work. (Indians, Birmingham)*

Money was also an outward sign of success. But for many participants, success was measured more broadly in terms of 'social recognition', being 'well respected', being 'popular'. This applied both to the private and the public spheres.

> *Being liked by others, being popular, having friends. If people think I am a good person, that's success to me. (Black Africans and black Caribbeans, London)*

Some participants suggested that concern about 'social recognition' was more prevalent in South Asian communities. We did indeed find that the drive to make a positive contribution, and to receive recognition for it, was more important among ethnic minority participants generally

than in the white groups (see below). This may be because some ethnic minority participants felt the need to act as 'ambassadors' for their community, to succeed on behalf of 'all black people', as indicated in the word associations.

> *Asians, I think they are obsessed with money and achieving position and status. I think they have a different kind of ambition. It's more about social recognition. Asians have a deep desire to feel important, to honour their communities. With British people, it's more focused on money than prestige. (South Asians, Glasgow)*

Finally, being in good health appeared as a dimension of being successful, although this was only mentioned in the word association exercise and not in the group discussions or sentence completions. We would speculate that the mismatch between the word associations on the one hand, and the focus groups and sentence completions on the other, probably indicates that the association between success and health was more a matter of producing ready-made, stereotypical associations – good health leads to happiness – rather than participants articulating a well thought out and important perceived connection between the concepts of health and success.

Public sphere

While some research participants spontaneously associated success with the private sphere, others immediately thought about the public sphere. The criteria for evaluating success grew in number and became more varied. Achieving goals remained the basic criterion, but being 'happy', 'raising a good family', being financial free and secure, and being 'healthy' disappeared. New measures of success came into play, such as 'fame', 'wealth', 'contribution to society' and 'leadership'.

Almost by definition, 'fame' was part of the perception of success in the public sphere. Unless someone had achieved a degree of visibility and fame, participants would not mention them. However, not all famous

people were deemed to be 'successful', with some 'celebrities' seen as having divorced fame from any sense of achievement or contribution. Some participants even associated fame with 'sorrow', 'unhappiness' and 'misery', because of the loss of privacy that it entailed.

> *I don't actually think of celebrities as successful. There are plenty of famous people that are not very successful at all, in my view. (South Asians, Glasgow)*

Similarly, wealth was a key criterion for evaluating success in the public sphere. Making 'a lot of money' was perhaps the most recognisable sign of success, even when this was not linked to a distinguished contribution.

> *Beckham is successful because he's a great player and he's made an awful lot of money. (White Scottish, Glasgow)*

> *Some of them players are on a hundred and fifty grand a week and they don't even need to go on the pitch to get that. (Black Africans, Glasgow)*

'Leadership' was specifically associated with success in the public sphere. This was clear both from the list of people (for example, Winston Churchill, Tony Blair, the Queen and Margaret Thatcher), and the attributes (such as 'courage', 'determination', 'role models', 'standing your ground', 'power' and 'influence'), associated with the term 'successful Britons'.

> *Politicians who don't dance to the tune of the press [are successful]. Like Tony Blair, he's strong enough to hold the country together. And he's got a record of successes and he's been able to stand strong in spite of the opposition to his support for Bush about the war in Iraq. He still stands strong. And after the bombings of 7/7, he was ready to stand up against the media and other people that wanted him to bend... (Black Africans, Glasgow)*

While there were very few differences between the various groups in their perceptions of success (with most people across all ethnic groups sharing very similar views as to what constitutes success), important differences appeared in the importance participants placed on having a *positive impact* on their community, making a *social contribution* and *representing* Britain. For all ethnic minority participants, these dimensions of success were much more developed than for white participants (unless one considers science and technology as social contributions or positive impact, which only white participants did). This was manifested both in the word associations and sentence completions of ethnic minority participants (for example, 'positive impact on others', 'people who help the community', 'make a difference'), and in their group discussions.

It's being identified in the community for the work that you've done.' (Black Caribbeans, Cardiff)

Successful people have achieved something for Britain. (Black Africans and black Caribbeans, London)

Ken Livingstone is a politician who has stood for the rights of the marginalised. There have been attempts to silence or negate him into the background, but he still fought his way back. He's one of the people I'd like to identify with... (Black Africans, Glasgow)

For me it would be someone who is full of knowledge and has gone to the extent of really learning something and putting it towards improving the human race. Not just one society or one community, but the whole human race. (South Asians, Cardiff)

Participant 1: People that have changed the world for good.
That's successful.
Participant 2: Gandhi.
Participant 1: Mother Teresa.
Participant 3: Nelson Mandela. (South Asians, Glasgow)

People serving humanity. (Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, London)

All these people run as councillors, stand up as councillors, they are successful British because they all take part in the British life. That is the British life. They are doing things for the British society. (Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, London)

These quotations also suggest some differences between different ethnic minority participants, with South Asians being strongly focused on success in the world of politics, and often on a very large scale, and black Caribbeans being more focused on success in the world of sports (see also names of 'successful Britons' below). This probably reflects the fields in which these groups have already been successful and which are therefore thought to be within reach, rather than a fundamentally different attitude to success in each community.

FIELDS OF SUCCESS AND 'SUCCESSFUL BRITONS'

All the data sources showed that success in the public sphere was associated with five main areas: sports, business, entertainment, politics, and science and technology.

Generally, white participants thought of a broader range of 'successful Britons' than ethnic minority participants. White participants were also much more likely to include prominent figures from the past than ethnic minority participants. They were also the only group to consider inventors and scientists as 'successful Britons'. While white participants did not spontaneously mention people from ethnic minority backgrounds in their list of 'successful Britons', once prompted, they came up with the names of many successful Britons from ethnic minorities.

South Asian participants could only think of one successful Asian sportsman, Amir Khan; one successful Asian businessman, Charan Gill; and one successful Asian politician, Mohammed Sarwar. There seemed to be a generation and gender divide, too, among the South Asian participants, with older participants being more likely to identify political figures than younger ones, and than women in general. Black Caribbean and black African participants produced a long list of black sports people, but only two black politicians, and a number of prominent figures in the entertainment, music and media industries.

Regardless of their ethnicity or the field of success considered, participants were likely to think as much on a national scale (in terms of English, Scottish and Welsh successful people) as on a specifically British scale.

Two people were immediately and spontaneously mentioned by all the groups as being 'successful Britons': David Beckham and Richard Branson. This was true regardless of participants' ethnicity, nationality, sex or age. Again, this confirms the idea that achievement, fame and wealth were central to most participants' idea of success in the public sphere.

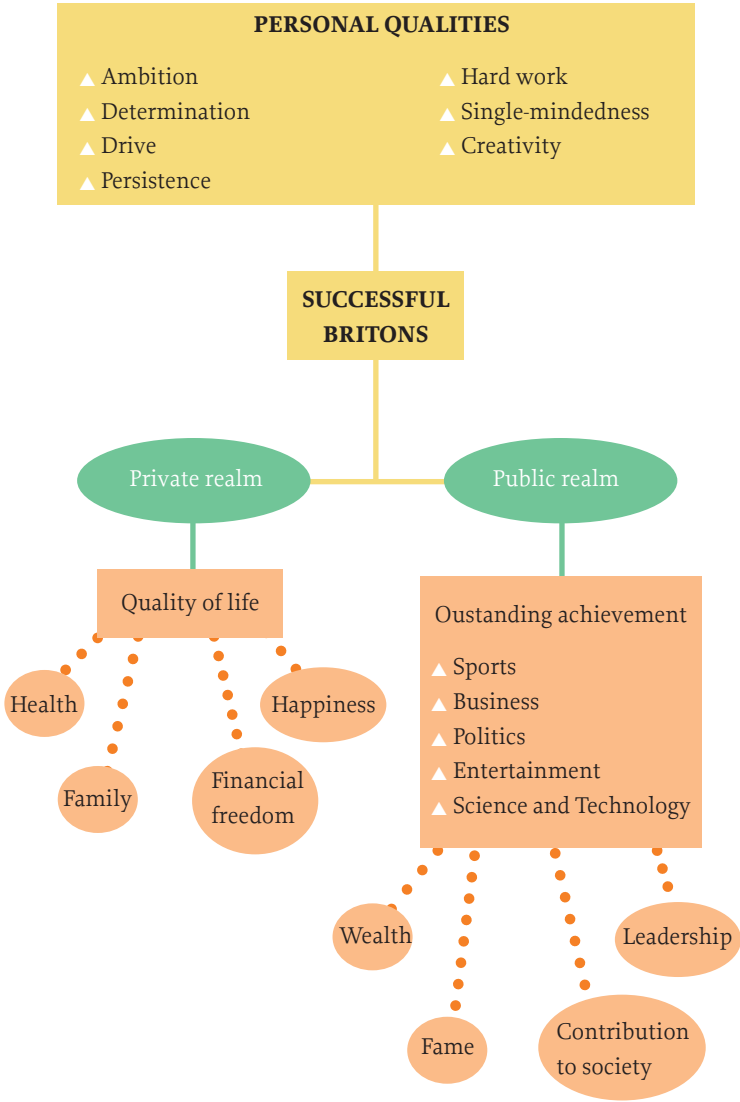
TABLE 2: 'SUCCESSFUL BRITONS', BY FIELD AND ETHNIC GROUP

	White	South Asian	Black
Sports	David Beckham Alex Ferguson Steven Gerrard Steve Redgrave Chris Eubank Prince Naseem Amir Khan Daley Thompson Colin Jackson Lenox Lewis Bobby Moore Bobby Charlton Helen McArthur Paula Radcliffe Donald Campbell	David Beckham Chris Eubank Amir Khan	David Beckham Alex Ferguson Kelly Holmes Steve Redgrave Chris Eubank Daley Thompson Colin Jackson Linford Christie Frank Bruno Ryan Giggs
Business	Richard Branson Charan Gill Ann Summers Anita Roddick Mohammed Al Fayed	Richard Branson Charan Gill	Richard Branson
Politics	Winston Churchill Tony Blair Mohammed Sarwar Margaret Thatcher Henry VIII Bernie Grant Douglas Barder Guy Gibson	Tony Blair Mohammed Sarwar Harold Wilson Margaret Thatcher The Queen Ken Livingstone Paul Boateng Edward Heath George Galloway	Winston Churchill Tony Blair The Queen Ken Livingstone David Lammy William Wilberforce

	White	South Asian	Black
Entertainment	Charlotte Church Catherine Zeta-Jones Anthony Hopkins Ted Mathews Richard Burton Kate Moss Sean Connery John Conte Posh Spice Robbie Williams Michael Palin	Meera Syal Sanjeev Bhaskar Cat Stevens Anthony Hopkins Colin Farrell	Charlotte Church Jamelia The Beatles Kate Moss Mark Owen Nigel Walker Lenny Henry Trevor MacDonald
Science and Technology	Alexander Graham Bell James Dyson Alexander Fleming James Watt		

Note: names in bold orange were mentioned more than five times, names in bold red were mentioned by at least two groups.

FIGURE 2: THE MEANING OF SUCCESS



CONCLUSIONS

The representation of success that emerged from the focus group discussions, word associations and sentence completions suggests that success was equated with achievement. Success was perceived very much as an outcome of personal qualities and it was felt that those who show ambition, determination, drive, persistence, single-mindedness and creativity, and who work hard, regardless of ethnicity, religion or class, can all be successful.

Success could be manifested either in the private sphere – in which case participants associated it with achieving a good life (that is, with good health, financial freedom, happiness and a good family life), or in the public sphere – in which case it was associated with outstanding achievements (indicated by wealth, fame, leadership and a positive contribution to society).

We found few noticeable differences between participants on the basis of ethnicity in the way they represented success. This was surprising. We would expect people from collectivist cultures to be more likely to attribute success to situational factors (such as family background, social class, networks, luck), and people from individualist cultures to be more likely to attribute success to individual or personal factors. We would also expect people from ethnic minorities to be more acutely aware of the structural constraints impeding their success (for example, lack of bridging social capital, institutional racism and discrimination) than those from the majority population. No such differences were found.

We may speculate about the reasons for such similar representations of success across all groups. It may be that migrants tend to be disproportionately entrepreneurial compared with either people from their country of origin or people from the host population. This, in turn, may be explained by the fact that those who have migrated have made such considerable investments in their new lives, and have had to give

up so much that they dearly valued about their home culture that they cannot afford – psychologically, socially and economically – to fail. They *must* succeed, both for themselves, for their immediate family and for the wider communities which they have left. They must also believe in their own ability to 'make it'. In other words, they must espouse an individualistic ideology in relation to success. On the other hand, the similarities in findings could also be interpreted as evidence that people from ethnic minorities have become acculturated and now share British notions of success. According to this hypothesis, the similarities in representations of success would be seen as a manifestation of integration. However, this is impossible to determine from the data alone.

The one area where ethnic minority participants did differ from their white counterparts was in the value they placed on making a 'contribution to society'. Ethnic minority participants were more likely to think that success was not only something that had to be achieved exclusively for oneself, but that successful people were those who contributed to improving life for the many.

These findings may be explained by the fact that people who belong to social groups that are devalued, and which they cannot simply move out of (for example, ethnic minority groups in this case, although the same would be true of women, disabled people, gays and lesbians), often try to raise the profile of their entire social group, in order to enhance their sense of self. Working to achieve success for one's social group as a whole is a rational strategy for groups that have been historically dominated and marginalised. This explains why people from ethnic minorities may value making a contribution to society more than white people, who do not need to enhance their sense of self through positive collective action. From this perspective, any difference between groups in relation to success has to be explained by their position in society, rather than by their *cultural* outlooks and values *per se*. Again, however, there is nothing in the data that allows us to draw definitive conclusions on the reasons for the differences.

What is clear from the data is that success is a unifying concept: people from very different backgrounds have a common view of what constitutes success, of the qualities needed to succeed and of how to measure or assess success. If, as hypothesised, success may be seen as an indicator of the ideals to which people aspire, and of their most cherished values, then it would seem that people from very different backgrounds may yet have more in common than they think. Evidence for this also comes from the fact that participants from all social groups had no problems in generating the names of 'successful Britons' from an ethnic background other than their own (although this sometimes required prompting from the researchers). In this sense, success transcends cultural boundaries.

Finally, there were similarities and differences in the names of the people considered to be 'successful Britons'. Again, we believe this reflects the fields in which the various ethnic groups have already demonstrated achievements rather than any fundamental cultural differences in representations of, and attitudes to, success.

APPENDIX A

TOPIC GUIDE FOR FOCUS GROUPS

CITIZENSHIP AND BELONGING: WHAT IS 'BRITISHNESS'?

Discussion guide for lay respondents

This discussion will cover your views and ideas about the extent to which 'Britishness' is an important idea in society, what 'Britishness' might be, how you yourself relate to the idea of 'Britishness', and how/where it exists in the UK. Finally, it will cover your ideas about the relationship between successful Britons and success.

The discussion will be recorded and will be completely anonymous and confidential. You will receive £35 as thanks for your time.

Introduction

- Ethnos – independent research company
- Confidentiality
- Recorded (audio-taped)
- Incentives
- Importance of research
- Time
- Housekeeping
- Personal introduction

Exploring attributes of 'Britishness' (30 mins overall)

Introduce word association exercise
12 words (10 mins)

Is there such a thing as Britishness? Does it make sense to talk about a 'British identity'? What does this mean or describe for you?

What kind of people do you think of when thinking of 'the British'?

What makes these people British?

Explore both positive and negative aspects of these attributes:

- A way of looking/dressing?
- A way of thinking (i.e. a set of beliefs)?
- A certain set of values?
- A set of related/unrelated ideas?
- A set of behaviours?
- Anything else?

What are the bad things about the British? And the good?

Are there particular core aspects to British identity that are universally recognised?

What aspects of Britishness do you see in yourself?

Who do you think 'decides' on what is or is not British? Are there levels of Britishness?

Britishness vs other national/supranational identities (20 mins)

Are there any differences or similarities between Englishness and Britishness?

How about Scottishness and Britishness?

And Welshness and Britishness?

Of the three, which is the most British and why?

Explore:

- Qualities
- Beliefs
- Value sets
- Approaches
- Behaviours, ways of interacting

Has (partial) devolution affected this at all?

Can you think of any aspect of Welsh/Scottish/English culture that is NOT very British?

Europe

What do you think about European identity (is there such a thing as a European)?

What would you say are the key traits of being European?

Are there any similarities between being British and European? What about being English/Scottish/Welsh and European?

Britishness and ethnic identity (20 mins)

If I asked you what [ethnic] group you belong to, what would you say?

Do you think of yourself as English/Scottish/Welsh or not? [delete as appropriate to country in which discussing]

Would you say that your [ethnic] identity is an important or relevant part of the way in which you think about yourself?

We are interested in whether you feel your ethnic identity may be more important at some times rather than others.

How would you think of yourself when you are?

Explore:

- At home with family
- At work (both places that are/have worked and applying for work)
- Socialising with friends
- At sporting events
- In institutional settings (explore police, benefits office, school, banks etc)
- Whenever ethnicity is being challenged or undermined
- Any other

Do you find that sometimes other people treat you as an [ethnic group]?

- Who?
- When?
- How do you feel about that?

Is this ever something that you resent or actively try to resist? How/in what ways?

Costs and benefits of British/ethnic identity (20 mins)

Do you feel there are benefits to identifying as [your ethnic group]?

What is the nature of these benefits?

Explore:

- Psychological (sense of psychic security feeling located in a friendly and welcoming community, security from knowing where one is, even if rest is hostile – explore Islamophobia, etc)
- Social (having friends from own background to do things with, seeking potential partners of same background, etc)
- Economic (employment by others, support from others, etc)
- Political
- Cultural (religion, mores, values, beliefs)

Does this identification involve any 'cost' to you? Explore:

- Time involved in supporting these ties (if over long distance)
- Financial – in lost job opportunities, in maintaining contact to support ties, etc
- Psychological – in terms of maturation in UK, possible 'struggle' with identity in youth and the fallout from this in terms of self-identity and how one feels about oneself
- Cultural – 'giving up' some of your beliefs, values and approaches
- Discrimination and exclusion – if one 'actively' identifies with ethnic group. But would happen anyway?

Do you feel there are benefits to identifying as British?

What is the nature of these benefits?

Explore:

- Psychological (sense of psychic security/pride, feeling located in a friendly and welcoming community)
- Social (having friends from own background to do things with, seeking potential partners of same background, etc)
- Economic (employment by others, support from others, etc)
- Political
- Cultural (values, beliefs – and possible religion)

Does this involve any 'cost' to you?

What do people think of the relationship between their ethnic identity on the one hand and (their) British identity on the other?

Explore:

- Conflicting
- Mutually reinforcing
- Separate and discrete
- Both areas of conflict and areas where mutually reinforce each other
- Combination of the above

Britishness and success (10 mins)

Carrying on the theme 'success', I want to look at what you think it is to be successful in Britain today. Firstly, who are the people that you think are successful? (List)

Why do you think they are successful? Explore:

- Financial
- Personal achievement
- Fame/notoriety (explore 'fame for fame's sake' as one extreme)
- Spiritual/moral or religious leadership
- Political
- Other

Are there any other people that you see in your everyday lives that you have not mentioned, but who you think are successful?

Overall, what do you think goes to make a 'successful Briton'?

Are there any common characteristics that you can see in the people who you think are successful?

Earlier I asked you to think about what goes to make up Britishness for you. Is it easier to think about Britishness if we think about 'successful' Britons?

Given everything we have discussed I would like you to think about a few final sentences.

Introduce sentence completion exercise (10 mins)

Close and thanks

APPENDIX B

WORD ASSOCIATION TASK

NAME: _____

PLEASE WRITE DOWN THE FIRST THREE WORDS THAT COME TO MIND WHEN YOU READ EACH OF THE WORDS IN THIS BOOKLET. DO NOT SPEND TIME THINKING ABOUT EACH WORD. JUST WRITE DOWN WHAT SPONTANEOUSLY COMES TO MIND. DO NOT CHANGE YOUR ANSWERS. THANK YOU.

NOTES FOR THE CRE: We provide the example of the target word 'British' only. An identical format was used for the other target words, which were: 'Scottish', 'Welsh', 'English', 'European', 'Ethnic minority', 'Success', 'Identity', 'Community', 'Difference', 'Culture' and 'Integration'. Each target word was printed on a separate page.

BRITISH

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

APPENDIX C

SENTENCE COMPLETION TASK

NAME: _____

PLEASE COMPLETE THE SENTENCES BEGUN BELOW. FOR EACH ONE, PLEASE TRY TO WRITE DOWN AS MANY SENTENCE ENDINGS AS YOU CAN. THANK YOU.

NOTES FOR CRE: Each sentence beginning was repeated five times. All sets of five identical sentences were printed on separate pages. The sentence beginning with 'Scottish/Welsh/English people are...' was adapted to match the region where the research was carried out. The sentence beginning with 'I feel like an ethnic minority when...' was only used with non-white British. The sentence completions were done after the group discussions had taken place.

I am... _____

Scottish/Welsh/English people are... _____

Britishness is... _____

I feel British when... _____

I feel like an ethnic minority when... _____

Successful Britons are... _____

Integration is about... _____

APPENDIX D

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