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Non-Technical Summary

There has been extensive recent debate on the success or otherwise of 'multiculturalism'. One key claim has been that multiculturalism has undermined minority groups' willingness or ability to sign up to the national identity of the country in which they live. National identification is widely regarded in the literature as an important indicator of the social cohesion within societies and to have implications for the incorporation or alienation of minorities. However, there is relatively little evidence on the extent or nature of minority group identity patterns. In addition, the focus on minority identity has left the identification of the majority population implicit. But if minorities are being encouraged to sign up to a 'national story' it is clearly important to understand the extent to which that identity is held or endorsed by the majority society itself.

Using the rich data on ethnic and national identification found in the first wave of Understanding Society, we therefore address the following questions:

1. What is the strength of identification with a British identity across the UK's ethnic groups? How does it vary across generations?
2. How do minorities' British and minority ethnic identities co-vary, and how does that change across generations?
3. What is the pattern of the White majority' British and country identification?

To answer these questions we use appropriate analytical techniques that control for other influences on identity formation such as age, sex, education and political involvement.

We find first that minorities express strong British identities – stronger in fact than the White British majority, and that these increase across generations. Second we show that minority identification does not necessarily imply a loss of majority identity. Indeed the most common pattern in our sample of minorities was to hold strong majority and minority identities at the same time. By contrast we show that among the White British majority there is not only substantial variation in identification, but that with the exception of those born in Northern Ireland, individual country identities (Wales, Scotland, England) tends to be prioritised over British identities.

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Abstract

Public and academic debate has revealed concern with the extent and implications of national identification among minority groups in Western societies. In this paper we present new analysis of Understanding Society that expands the limited evidence on minority identification. Drawing on Berry's acculturation framework, we explore patterns of dual minority and majority identification among the UK's minority ethnic groups. We find that minorities tend to hold strong British identities; but that there are variations in identity acculturation across minority groups and by generation. We also show that there is substantial heterogeneity in the identities of the White British population.

Keywords: identity, UK, British, minorities, second generation

JEL classification: J15, Z12

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1. Introduction and overview

There has been extensive recent academic and political debate on the success or otherwise of 'multiculturalism'. On one side there has been a celebration of the inclusiveness of multicultural society to accommodate diverse populations within a common framework (Parekh 2000a; Parekh 2000b); while on the other, there has been an explicit anxiety about the extent to which different ethnic groups are following different paths, and thus the potential exclusiveness of strong minority ethnic and religious identities (Cameron 2011; Huntington 1993). By signing up to majority identity, minorities are typically seen as adopting the national story of the majority society, providing evidence of acceptance of shared national values, and an implicit rejection of ethnic or cultural distinctiveness that may challenge that national consensus. Conversely, maintenance of strong ethnic identities is often read as problematic for an integrated society. However, claims about the dangers of maintaining distinct minority identities, such as self-separation and alientation are typically not based in clear empirical evidence. The evidence there is, moreover, tends to focus on the experience of Muslim's religious identity in specific national contexts. We have, in fact, little current understanding of the extent to which national identification is weak or strong across minority groups facing a common context, or of the factors which influence it. We therefore lack the basis for properly conceiving if there is a crisis of shared understanding or whether, according to the more sanguine perspective, difference is accommodated alongside a common national identification (Modood 1997).

It is important to recognise that identities are, however, not necessarily binary or oppositional (Verkuyten 2007). People can maintain multiple identities at different levels of 'abstraction'. Indeed, there is evidence that different identities may reinforce one another, rather than exclude other possibilities; and that dual identities are associated with more positive adaptation (Sam and Berry 2010). At the same time, maintaining some form of positive personal identity, whether national or minority, is associated with psychological well-being. It is therefore individually important to have an attachment to a group (national or ethnic) identity; and consequently it is also socially important, as individual dislocation may lead to alienation (Berry 1997). For understanding the position of minorities within a majority society, and evaluating the competing positions on the success or failure of multiculturalism, it is pertinent, therefore, to consider the extent to which minorities maintain a majority identity at all, whether minority identities are maintained at the expense of majority identity, and how far dual identities are both held and are mutually reinforcing.

In addition, the focus within the literature and popular discourse on minority identity integration or assimilation has tended to neglect or obscure the extent to which an overarching national identity is indeed one that is of significance or importance to the dominant group themselves. Clearly, there is a potential contradiction in espousing a national identity as a critical component of demonstrable belonging, if this is not the preferred identity of the majority population (Wyn Jones et al. 2012). Thus it is important to contextualise minority diversity within the diversity of the majority population.

To address these three issues, of strength of national identification across minority groups, dual identities and the identity and heterogeneity in identity of the majority population, we exploit a unique new data resource, *Understanding Society*. The rich measures of ethnic and national identity in this study enable us to shed light on and evaluate the competing claims made in relation to multiculturalism and identity. We first consider the strength of British identities among the UK's minority groups, compared to those who self-define as ethnically White majority, and explore the factors that are associated with stronger and weaker identification. Second, utilising Berry's acculturation framework (Berry and Sam 1997), we explore the extent to which minorities maintain single or dual identities, and the nature of those identities. And third we use the same acculturation framework to analyse the identity expression of the White majority population, exploiting the within-country diversity of the UK and the different potential affiliations on offer. That is, we use the fact that the UK's British population comprises English, Welsh, Scots and Northern Irish, and these populations can be expected to orient themselves to British national or separate country identities in different ways. In this way we advance our understanding of the UK's ethnic and national identities across the whole of the population and of their patterning according to other characteristics. We show that minorities maintain strong British identities that also increase across generations. And while the two acculturation analyses are not symmetric, in that they uses different measures, we reveal that the dominant identification strategy for minorities is that of 'integration' (or dual identity), while the majority population tends to prioritise single country or 'separated' identities.

2. Background

In the context of increasing immigration and the changing composition of European populations through both immigration and demographic change, there has been extensive public debate both in the UK and internationally on the success or otherwise of 'multiculturalism' and the liberal multiculturalist project (Kymlicka 1996). Modood (2007) has defined multiculturalism as "The recognition of group difference within the public sphere of laws, policies, democratic discourses and the terms of a shared citizenship and national identity." However, there have been ongoing debates about the extent to which group recognition is compatible with the egalitarian principles of liberal democracies (Barry 2001). Huntingdon's (1993) claim that there are limits to the extent that it is possible for different 'cultures' to co-exist, a concern particularly targeted on religious difference, has found a more recent resonance, in the retreat from multiculturalism and political anxiety about the extent to which difference (especially difference as marked by Islam) and shared identity are fundamentally incompatible. See for example, the discussion in Verkuyten and Zaremba (2005).

In the UK, despite its tradition of being internally inclusive while externally exclusive in relation to minorities (Joppke 1999), and the attempts to defend and reconceptualise the multiculturalist ideal (Modood 1998; Parekh 2000b), there has nevertheless been a growing political unease about its purported implications, even if with little justification. See, for example, the discussion in Heath and Demireva (2013).

In this recent political anxiety, the multiculturalist project has been linked with separatism, religious fundamentalism, and alienation from core national values. In his speech to the Munich conference in 2011, for example, the UK Prime Minister David Cameron argued that, the biggest threat to national security came from 'home-grown' Muslims who lacked national identity and a feeling of belonging:

> The biggest threat to our security comes from terrorist attacks – some of which are sadly carried out by our own citizens. It's important to stress that terrorism is not linked exclusively to any one religion or ethnic group.…Nevertheless, we should acknowledge that this threat comes overwhelmingly from young men who follow a completely perverse and warped interpretation of Islam and who are prepared to blow themselves up and kill their fellow citizens.…The root lies in the existence of this extremist ideology. And I would argue an important reason so many young Muslims are drawn to

> it comes down to a question of identity. … Under the doctrine of state multiculturalism, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and the mainstream. We have failed to provide a vision of society to which they feel they want to belong. We have even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run counter to our values.…All this leaves some young Muslims feeling rootless. And the search for something to belong to and believe in can lead them to this extremist ideology.…In our communities, groups and organisations led by young, dynamic leaders promote separatism by encouraging Muslims to define themselves solely in terms of their religion. All these interactions engender a sense of community, a substitute for what the wider society has failed to supply.…So first, instead of ignoring this extremist ideology, we – as governments and societies – have got to confront it, in all its forms. And second, instead of encouraging people to live apart, we need a clear sense of shared national identity, open to everyone.… It's that identity – that feeling of belonging in our countries that is the key to achieving true cohesion.(Cameron 2011).

I have quoted at length because there are a number of key points that are made and that are open to empirical investigation. The overwhelming assumption of this critique of multiculturalism is that national (in this case, British) identity and belonging comes at the expense of minority identification – and *vice versa*. It also focuses primarily on those who are seen to be most at odds with assumed national values of tolerance and inclusion, namely young UK Muslims; and assumes that their alienation or lack of identity develops over generations. Increasing national identity is perceived as the critical path by which to address extreme disaffection, that has been fostered by multicultural policies. These claims are not unique to Cameron, but their explicit statement in an international forum highlights the reach of the specific criticisms of multiculturalism, namely arguments regarding value incompatibility within the population and the political salience of shared identity.

What then is the foundation for these claims? First, there is a claim that state multiculturalism has separated minorities from a sense of (British) national identity. Despite the common academic belief in national identity as central to cohesion, a social glue that binds individuals together (Moran 2011; Reeskens and Wright 2013a), the evidence relating to minority or immigrant identification is not extensive. As Reeskens and Wright (2013a) put it “studies of immigrants’ national allegiance are thin on the ground. This is critical, largely because

debates over immigration almost invariably tie 'successful' incorporation to immigrants' loyalty to their adoptive nation" (p.2). What evidence there is does not suggest that immigrant minorities, and Muslim minorities specifically, have weak national identification (Karlsen and Nazroo 2013; Manning and Roy 2010; Masella 2013; Reeskens and Wright 2013a). However, these analyses do not necessarily capture the relative position of Muslim minorities, either through focusing on that group alone (Karlsen and Nazroo 2013), or through evaluating only religious, but not ethnic differences (Reeskens and Wright 2013a). Manning and Roy (2010) do provide a comparison across ethnic groups, but employ a simplified measure of national identity which can be confounded with citizenship. The patterns of national identification across groups as well as the correlates of such identity merit further attention utilising recent nationally representative data, particularly in relation to the perspective of a current crisis in multicultural societies.

Related to the issue of problematic national identification is the claim that British identity among minorities, and especially among second generation Muslim men, may actually decline with generation. Or at least that it fails to 'substitute' for declining identification with parental ethnicity. There is a developing literature that suggests that in terms of markers of identity, while Muslims maintain strong religious (and to a lesser extent ethnic) identities across the generations (Platt 2013a; Platt 2013b), the tendency across all minority groups is for national, majority-oriented identity to increase with time and especially among the second generations, while minority identity declines (Güveli and Platt 2011; Manning and Roy 2010; Platt 2013a; Platt 2013b). This is despite Rumbaut's (2008) claims about the development of 'reactive ethnicity', or arguments that we are seeing a religious revival (See e.g. the discussion in Voas and Fleischmann (2012)). At the same time, in terms of attitudes towards majority society and its inclusiveness, it is striking that it has been the (non-Muslim) Caribbean group in the second generation that is most likely to appear alienated, at the same time as having the least invested in alternative identities (Heath and Roberts 2008; Heath and Demireva 2013; Platt 2013a).

In addition, there is the implication that, by supporting the maintenance of ethnic culture and identity, multiculturalist policies have directly undermined the potential for the development and maintenance of overarching national identities. But it is now widely recognised within the literature that identities are not necessarily singular, as some earlier theories maintained (Gordon 1964), which implied only one axis on which change can occur (Van De Vijver and

Phalet 2004). Instead, they may be multiple (Berry 1997; Verkuyten and Yildiz 2007); and rather than oppositional may in fact be reinforcing (Nandi and Platt, forthcoming). Those with dual (or, in Berry's terms, integrated) identities in fact have consistently shown better adaptation to receiving, dominant societies than those with single identities (Berry and Sam 1997; Sam and Berry 2010).

Moreover, acculturation, including identity acculturation, is not a one-sided process (Berry 1997), as was typically implied by the earlier assimilation literature (Gordon 1964). More recently the literature relating to assimilation has recognised that the relations implied within the process of assimilation are not singular (Brubaker 2001); and the limits and potential for assimilation, as well as the factors that shape 'choices', including socio-economic ones have been more fully developed. In particular, the potential of a national identity effectively to accommodate minority or immigrant groups within its existing terms is an important component of the extent to which minorities can and will identify with it (Moran 2011). It has been shown that ethnic conceptions of nation are less able to provide such inclusion than civic ones (Reeskens and Wright 2013b). Yet the nature or content of the national identity to which immigrant or minority groups are invited to adhere is often left implicit in debates on the extent of belonging (or not); or is briefly summarised in statements of values that have not necessarily been demonstrated to be those to which the majority strongly accord. More specifically, in the UK context, particularly with increasing moves towards devolution, an overarching identity may not be one that is seen as especially meaningful to large sections of the population. Not only in the smaller countries of the UK (McIntosh, Sim and Robertson 2004), but also within the largest country of England, country specific nationalities that have more of an ethnic than civic component may speak increasingly powerfully to majority conceptions of 'national' identity (Ethnos 2005; Wyn Jones et al. 2012).

In this paper, therefore, we aim to explore, in more detail than has previously been attempted, the questions posed within the debate on minority identification and its implications, utilising the particular strengths of a large-scale, nationally representative UK data set, *Understanding Society*: the UK Household Longitudinal Study. Specifically, we address the following questions:

1. What is the strength of identification with a British identity across the UK's ethnic groups? And how does that vary with other salient characteristics implicit in identity

formation and maintenance, such as generation, socio-economic position and political engagement?

2. How do minorities' British and minority ethnic identities co-vary, and how is that variation related to other salient characteristics?
3. What is the pattern of the White majority's British and country identification? How do the two identities co-vary? And how is that related to other salient characteristics?

Our analysis of Britishness exploits a scaled identity question, and utilises a straightforward approach that focuses simply on the strength of identification and compares all distinct minorities with a reference point of the White British majority. By using a scaled question we are able to build on previous literature exploring binary measures of national identity that may also be associated with legal citizenship (Manning and Roy 2010; Platt 2013b), and capture a more affective component (Reeskens and Wright 2013a). We also are able to focus on identification as such, rather than related concepts such as belonging (Burton, Nandi and Platt 2010; Platt 2013a). In addition, we are able to explore a much richer set of potential influences on strength of British identity for both minorities and the majority, including immigrant generation, economic position and political engagement, as well as demographic characteristics. This enhances understanding of national identification across the population. The recent date of our measures, also enables us to speak more definitively to the current context.

For Questions 2 and 3, we utilise an adaptation of Berry's (Berry and Sam 1997) acculturation framework to assess the relationship between majority and minority identities in a culturally plural society. The concept of acculturation was established to describe the changes that take place in cultural patterns for *either* group when two differentiated cultural groups come into contact (Berry 1997; Berry 2005). It has typically been used to describe the changes in immigrant culture following migration to a very different context. There is also an important distinction between change at the group level in behaviours and practices and individual, psychological (identity) acculturation (Berry 1997; Phinney 1990). It is the latter we focus upon here.

While Berry's framework is well-recognised and has been referenced in other literature on ethnic identity and multiculturalism (see e.g. (Diehl and Schnell (2006); Heath and Demireva (2013)), our approach is novel and extends existing research in two ways. First, for analysing

minority group acculturation (Question 2), we utilise comparable scaled measures of both national and ethnic identity that are collected independently and tap into affective but individualised dimensions of identity (Phinney 1992). From our analysis we can ascertain the extent to which identities are mutually reinforcing and how this varies with ethnicity; as well as whether there are any groups that are particularly likely to lack identification with either majority or minority. We anticipate that there will be variations across groups, but that the strongest pattern will be one of joint minority and majority identification. We also anticipate that if any group is more at risk of marginalisation, it is likely to be the Caribbean group, where, as discussed above, research has consistently demonstrated that a section of them feel excluded from the dominant society but, with a longer period since the main migration period of the group and history of geographical, social and family contact with the majority, do not necessarily have strong investment in an alternative identity (see also Peach (2005)).

The second major innovation in our analysis is that we introduce a comparative analysis of the majority population within the same framework (Question 3). This allows us to engage with the heterogeneity of the majority rather than representing it as a monolithic, normative reference point. It takes seriously the imperatives of the new assimilation theory and of acculturation theory to acknowledge that these processes are two-sided. This is the first occasion we are aware of when Berry's framework has also been used to explore differentiation within the majority population.

As with the investigation of Britishness, both parts of the analysis allow us to explore those characteristics that are linked to different identity patterns, and the extent to which they are consistent across the analyses. We hypothesise that those with stronger alternative sources of identity – such as those from more privileged social groups, as well as those who are younger, who are less likely to have established strong identities, will have less invested in national and ethnic identities, but that strong political engagement may be linked to expression of identity.

In the next section (Section 3) we describe our date and our measures. In Section 4, we address Question 1, and the analysis of Britishness across minority and majority populations. In Sections 5 and 6 we explore acculturation patterns for minorities and majority respectively. Section 7 brings together our key findings and provides some discussion.

3. Data and Measures

Data

We use data from the first wave of *Understanding Society*, a longitudinal survey of a nationally representative sample of approximately 28,000 households in the UK with an additional ethnic minority boost sample (EMBS) of around 4000 households. See: www.understandingsociety.ac.uk. All adult (aged 16 or over) members of sampled households are eligible for interview, and those aged 10-15 complete a questionnaire targeted towards their age. All members of the original households (i.e., responding households in the first wave) and any children born to the women in these households are permanent members of the sample and are followed over time, with annual interviews, to wherever they move within the UK. All those living in households with permanent study members are also interviewed as long as they are co-resident with a study member. While more waves of data are now becoming available, this analysis utilises Wave 1 adults (16+) only, since it is these data that contain our key measures of national and ethnic identity. We also restrict all analyses to those who carried out full interviews, i.e. we exclude proxy respondents.

In addition to questions on age, sex, marital status, ethnic group, religion, labour market activities, partnership and fertility status, this multipurpose survey includes questions on attitudes and identity, including political beliefs, Britishness, strength of identification with parents' ethnic group and national identity. The range of question coverage, the ethnic minority boost sample and the large regional samples across the survey as a whole make *Understanding Society* particularly suitable for our analysis.

Understanding Society has a complex sample design (Berthoud et al. 2009; Lynn 2009). The main sample has two parts – the Great Britain sample and the Northern Ireland sample. The Great Britain sample has a clustered stratified sample design and the Northern Ireland sample a simple random sample, but the Northern Ireland sample is selected with twice the selection probability of the Great Britain sample. The EMBS was designed such that the sample would result in at least 1,000 adult interviews from the UK's five major ethnic minority groups: African, Caribbean, Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani. The EMBS was selected from areas where the density of the target ethnic minority groups was greater than five per cent and which covered around 83 per cent of the target ethnic minority population. See Berthoud et al. (2009) for further details. Note that the EMBS did not cover any areas in Northern Ireland. Around 40,000 households were screened in the sampled areas in order to identify

households where at least one resident, or their parent or grandparent, was from an ethnic minority group, broadly defined to include minorities outside as well as in the five target groups. Almost all ethnic minority groups had a 100 per cent selection probability once screened, resulting in a responding sample of just over 4,000 households containing around 10,000 adult household members.

One of the main aims of *Understanding Society* is to provide a longitudinal data source for ethnicity related research. So, in addition to increasing the minority group sample size through the EMBS, five minutes of additional question time was allocated to questions that are of particular importance to ethnicity related research. These questions were asked of the EMBS and a comparison sample of 500 households randomly chosen from the main sample. As the EMBS was chosen from areas of relatively high ethnic minority concentration and as behaviours, experiences and outcomes may vary for ethnic minorities living in areas of low and high ethnic minority concentration, these extra five minutes of questions were also asked of members of ethnic minority groups from the main sample who were living in areas of lower ethnic minority concentration than those sampled for the EMBS. Thus, we have extra five minutes of responses for a representative sample of minority and of white majority respondents. We refer to the households eligible for the extra five minute questions as the "extra five minute sample" (EFMS), and they form the basis of our first (Question 1) analysis (Sample 1: N=7,762).

For the analysis of identity acculturation among minorities (Question 2), we used a sample of ethnic minorities only. This covers all those from the EFMS who identified themselves as minorities. This is because only those in the EFMS were asked about the strength of their British identity and only those who identified as minorities were asked about the strength of their identitification with their parents' ethnicity, which are the two key measures we use to construct the minority identity acculturation measure. (Sample 2: N=6,550) Note that the samples for Question 1 and 2 do not include residents of Northern Ireland.

For majority patterns of identity (Question 3), we include only those who identified as of White majority ethnicity. (Sample 3: N= 24,101).

In this paper we define all those who self-reported their ethnic group as White – British/English/Scottish/Welsh/Northern Irish as White majority, all other groups, including other white groups are defined as minorities.

We next discuss the variables used in the analysis

Dependent variables: British, ethnic and national identity

Our key dependent variables are Britishness, and two sets of variables to measure ethno-national acculturation patterns.

In the first wave of Understanding Society, the EFMS[1] was asked the following question: "Most people who live in the UK may think of themselves as being British in some way. On a scale of 0 to 10 where 0 means 'not at all important' and 10 means 'extremely important', how important is being British to you?". Respondents were shown a 10-point-scale and asked to identify their position on it. We use this as our measure of Britishness in Section 4 and to construct our evaluation of strong British identity in Section 5.

The non-White majority members of the EFMS were also asked to report the strength of identification with their father's ethnic group and also that of their mother's ethnic group if that was different from their father's, using a similar question format: "On a scale of 0 to 10 where 0 means 'not at all important' and 10 means 'extremely important', how important is being [your father's ethnic group] to you?" We use this measure to construct our dual identity classification in Section 5. Specifically, we distinguish between those who have a strong or weak British identity, by using tthe median Britishness score (described above) as the cut-off. Similarly we identify individuals with a strong or weak minority ethnic identity as those who are above and below the median on the parental ethnicity identification measure. We discuss this further in Section 5.

In addition, the entire sample was also asked a question on national identity, which preceded the ethnic group question and was intended to enable respondents to distinguish their ethnic group responses from the desire to assert their national identity – or citizenship. See further ONS (2009). The national identity question took the following form: "Looking at this card,

[1] In the first six months of the 24 month fieldwork period, the entire sample was asked this question but we only include the responses of the EFMS.

what you do you consider your national identity to be? You may choose as many or as few as apply", with the categories of English, Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish, British, Irish and Other available to be chosen singly or in combination. Those who reported "Other" were then asked to report what that other identity was.

We use responses to this question for our analysis of acculturation within the White majority population in Section 6. Specifically, since the question enabled multiple responses we can utilise those who reported a British identity on its own, or alongside another UK country identity (English Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish), or the country identity on its own, or solely a non-UK national identity to construct our fourfold acculturation measure.

Independent variables

Our primary independent variable for the Britishness and minority acculturation analyses is ethnicity or ethnic group. We had a number of different choices of how to measure ethnic group. The first measure was based on the 2011 UK Census ethnic group question. These categories are loosely based on country of origin and do not capture heterogeneity within these countries (or in some cases regions). They have been criticised on the basis that they conflate heterogeneous populations under one heading (for example in the Black African group); and that, additionally, they do not adequately cover groups with different migration and settlement histories and different patterns of association, which are often linked to religious distinctions. See also the discussion in Longhi, Nicoletti and Platt (2013). Thus, for example, Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus of Indian origin may not regard themselves as belonging to one ethnic group and may differ in their identification and behaviour. One solution has therefore been to construct ethno-religious groups (Johnston et al. 2010), which has the additional advantage that it enables the concurrent distinction between ethnicity and religious affiliation. Since respondents were also asked about their religion, and if no current religion the religion they were brought up in, we used this question in combination with the ethnic group question (after collapsing the 17 categories into 8) to construct a measure of ethno-religious groups that may better reflect distinct group identities. This resulted in a 17-category ethno-religious group variable, each of which categories had sufficiently populated cells for analysis.

Other covariates

From the psychological literature we would expect identity to vary with age (and lifestage) and sex. We therefore include age measured in six bands, and sex to our models, along with

marital/ cohabitation status, measured as single never married, cohabiting, married or in a civil partnership, separated widowed or divorced. We also include a six category variable of region of residence, to capture region-specific effects.

We also expect identity to vary with social class / socio-economic position, educational level and political identification. That is, those who have more invested in other, socially and culturally valued aspects of identity, such as high educational qualifications, paid work, and high social class, may have commensurately less invested in national or ethnic identification – they achieve their psychological resources elsewhere. We therefore include measures of highest qualification (four categories), employment status, and occupational class as measured by the eight-category National Statistics Socio-economic Classification or NS-SEC (Rose, Pevalin and O'Reilly 2005). Since the Britishness analysis shows that NS-SEC is associated with identification for the White majority but not minorities we only include this measure in the analysis of Britishness (Section 4) and majority acculturation outcomes (Section 6).

We also expect that those with high levels of political engagement may find their political identity and engagement subsumes issues of national or ethnic identity – but they also may be inter-related and feed into each other. For example, a strong commitment to Scottish devolution is likely to show up both in political engagement and in (Scottish) identity. We therefore utilise a measure of political party affiliation in the Britishness and minority acculturation analysis. Given that there are different political parties across the different countries of the UK, to separate out political engagement from country-based affiliation as measured in our dependent variable, we include instead a measure of political support.

As discussed, we already expect that minority identification will vary with immigrant generation, though this is one of the factors we are explicitly testing. We therefore include a measure of immigrant generation status, UK-born or not, for minorities only.

Finally, there is some evidence that identification and engagement / belonging are sensitive to the responses of the majority to minority group (Heath et al. 2013), though the relationship does not appear straightforward (Platt 2013b). Thus it is easier to identify with a polity that feels inclusive than one that feels punitive towards your group or towards minorities. We therefore additional include experience of discrimination in the minority group analyses.

Descriptives of all variables used in the analysis for each of samples 1, 2 and 3 are illustrated in Tables 1, 2 and 3.

Weights and complex survey design

The data include weights to account for the unequal selection probability and non-response across the sample as a whole, which were utilised in the analysis of sample 3 which only includes those who self-identified as White British. Additional weights are provided for the EFMS, however we decided not to use these weights in the analyses of Questions 1 and 2 (with samples 1 and 2). This is because self-identified White British persons in the EMBS households receive a zero cross-sectional weight. The justification for the zero-weighting was that these persons were selected into the sample only because they happen to live with others who satisfied the selection criterion for the EMBS and hence their independent selection probability is zero. The problem with this strategy is that the selection criterion is not based on self-identification as an ethnic minority. Rather, a household was selected into the EMBS if there was any one who was from, or whose parents or grandparents were from, one or more of the ethnic minority groups shown on the screening question (Berthoud et al. 2009). So it is possible that an individual in these EMB households who self-identifies as White majority but who has a parent or grandparent from one of the qualifying groups. We know from the literature that if some groups are over-represented in the sample but we include these group dummies in the model specification then, assuming that the model is correctly specified weighting is not necessary (Solon, Haider and Wooldridge 2013). As the EFMS has an over-sample of ethnic minorities and we include ethno-religious group dummies in our models we would argue that using weights is not necessary. We accept that by not using weights our estimates may be biased due to differential non-response.

For all samples we estimated standard errors that took into account the clustered and stratified sample design (McFall 2013).

Table 1: Descriptive statistics of sample 1 for comparing British identity of different ethno- religious groups

		Proportions
Age group	16-19 years	0.09
	20-29 years	0.23
	30-39 years	0.26
	40-49 years	0.20
	50-59 years	0.11
	60-69 years	0.12
Sex	Male	0.46
	Female	0.54
Region of residence	London	0.48
	North	0.16
	Midlands	0.16
	East, South	0.16
	Wales	0.02
	Scotland	0.02
Area ethnic minority density	High	0.85
	Low	0.15
Country of birth	Not UK	0.59
	UK	0.41
Current marital status	Never married	0.33
	Cohabiting as a couple	0.06
	Married or in a Civil Partnership	0.50
	Separated, Divorced or Widowed	0.11
Current employment status	Not Employed	0.52
	Employed	0.48
Highest educational qualification	No educational qualifications	0.24
	O-levels or equivalent	0.25
	A-levels or equivalent, higher degree	0.23
	College or university degree	0.28
Last year avoided/ felt unsafe/ was attacked/was insulted	No	0.58
	Was physically attacked or verbally insulted	0.18
	Avoided or felt unsafe	0.24

Table 1: Descriptive statistics of sample 1 for comparing British identity of different ethno religious groups (continued)

		Proportions
Political beliefs	None, don't know or can't vote	0.36
	Conservative party, strong supporter	0.04
	Conservative party, not strong	0.08
	Labour party, strong supporter	0.17
	Labour party, not strong supporter	0.25
	Other party, strong supporter	0.03
	Other party, not very strong supporter	0.08
Ethno-religious groups	White majority Christian	0.11
	Caribbean Christian	0.082
	African Christian	0.084
	Other Ethnic group Christian	0.058
	Indian Muslim	0.024
	Pakistani Muslim	0.12
	Bangladeshi Muslim	0.12
	African Muslim	0.03
	Arab-Turkey Muslim	0.012
	Indian Hindu	0.072
	Indian Sikh	0.037
	White majority, No religion	0.031
	Chinese No religion	0.014
	Other ethnic group No religion	0.019
	Other ethnic -religious combinations	0.1
	Mixed	0.067
	Other white	0.023
NS-SEC	Large employers & higher management	0.023
	Higher professional	0.066
	Lower management & professional	0.17
	Intermediate	0.11
	Small employers & own account	0.063
	Lower supervisory & technical	0.049
	Semi-routine	0.18
	Routine	0.098
	Never worked & LT unemployed	0.24
	Observations	7762

Table 2: Descriptive statistics of sample 2 for analysing British and ethnic minority joint identification among ethnic minorities in Great Britain

		Proportions
Age group	16-19 years	0.095
	20-29 years	0.24
	30-39 years	0.27
	40-49 years	0.2
	50-59 years	0.1
	60-69 years	0.095
Sex	Male	0.46
	Female	0.54
Region of residence	London	0.52
	North	0.15
	Midlands	0.16
	East, South	0.13
	Wales	0.015
	Scotland	0.015
Area ethnic minority density	High	0.91
	Low	0.09
Country of birth	Not UK	0.68
	UK	0.32
Current marital status	Never married	0.34
	Cohabiting as a couple	0.046
	Married or in a Civil Partnership	0.51
	Separated, Divorced or Widowed	0.1
Current employment/ main activity status	Not Employed	0.26
	Employed	0.47
	Taking care of family	0.11
	Full-time student	0.15
Highest educational qualification	No educational qualifications	0.23
	O-levels or equivalent	0.24
	A-levels or equivalent, higher degree	0.23
	College or university degree	0.29
Last year avoided/ felt unsafe/ was attacked/was insulted	No	0.58
	Was physically attacked or verbally insulted	0.17
	Avoided or felt unsafe	0.25
Political beliefs	None, don't know or can't vote	0.37
	Conservative party, strong supporter	0.032
	Conservative party, not strong	0.067
	Labour party, strong supporter	0.18
	Labour party, not strong supporter	0.26
	Other party, strong supporter	0.027
	Other party, not very strong supporter	0.069

Table 2: Descriptive statistics of sample 2 for analysing British and ethnic minority joint identification among ethnic minorities in Great Britain (continued)

		Proportions
Ethno-religious groups	Caribbean Christian	0.098
	African Christian	0.1
	Other Ethnic group Christian	0.069
	Indian Muslim	0.028
	Pakistani Muslim	0.14
	Bangladeshi Muslim	0.14
	African Muslim	0.035
	Arab-Turkey Muslim	0.015
	Indian Hindu	0.086
	Indian Sikh	0.044
	Chinese No religion	0.017
	Other ethnic group No religion	0.023
	Other ethnic -religious combinations	0.11
	Mixed	0.079
	Other white	0.026
	Observations	6550

Table 3: Descriptive statistics of sample 3 for analysing British and country/national joint identification among the White majority in the UK

		Proportions
Age group	16-19 years	0.02
	20-29 years	0.11
	30-39 years	0.15
	40-49 years	0.2
	50-59 years	0.18
	60-69 years	0.18
	70+ years	0.16
Sex	Male	0.46
	Female	0.54
Region of residence	North East	0.045
	North West	0.12
	Yorkshire & Humberside	0.086
	East Midlands	0.077
	West Midlands	0.083
	East of England	0.099
	London	0.064
	South England	0.15
	South West	0.096
	Wales	0.056
	Scotland	0.091
	Northern Ireland	0.036
Current marital status	Never married	0.15
	Cohabiting as a couple	0.12
	Married or in a Civil Partnership	0.56
	Separated, Divorced or Widowed	0.17
Current employment/ main activity status	Not Employed	0.35
	Employed	0.58
	Taking care of family	0.045
	Full-time student	0.021
Highest Educational Qualification	No educational qualifications	0.27
	O-levels or equivalent	0.3
	A-levels or equivalent, higher degree	0.2
	College or university degree	0.23

Table 3: Descriptive statistics of sample 3 for analysing British and country/national joint identification among the White majority in the UK (continued)

		Proportions
NS-SEC	Large employers & higher management	0.05
	Higher professional	0.07
	Lower management & professional	0.27
	Intermediate	0.15
	Small employers & own account	0.09
	Lower supervisory & technical	0.079
	Semi-routine	0.18
	Routine	0.12
Political support	Not a strong supporter of a political party	0.67
	Strong supporter of a political party	0.33
Country of birth - Religion	England	0.79
	Scotland – Protestant	0.063
	Scotland – Catholic	0.019
	Scotland – No religion or Other Religion	0.014
	Wales	0.056
	Northern Ireland – Protestant	0.028
	Northern Ireland – Catholic	0.0085
	Northern Ireland – No religion or Other religion	0.0015
	Other Country	0.024
	Number of observations	24101

4. Britishness

We first address the question of whether Britishness varies across ethno-religious groups, and if so how. Figure 1 shows the distribution of strength of Britishness, on a 0-10 scale, across the different ethnic groups.

Figure 1: Distribution of Strength of Britishness, by ethnic group

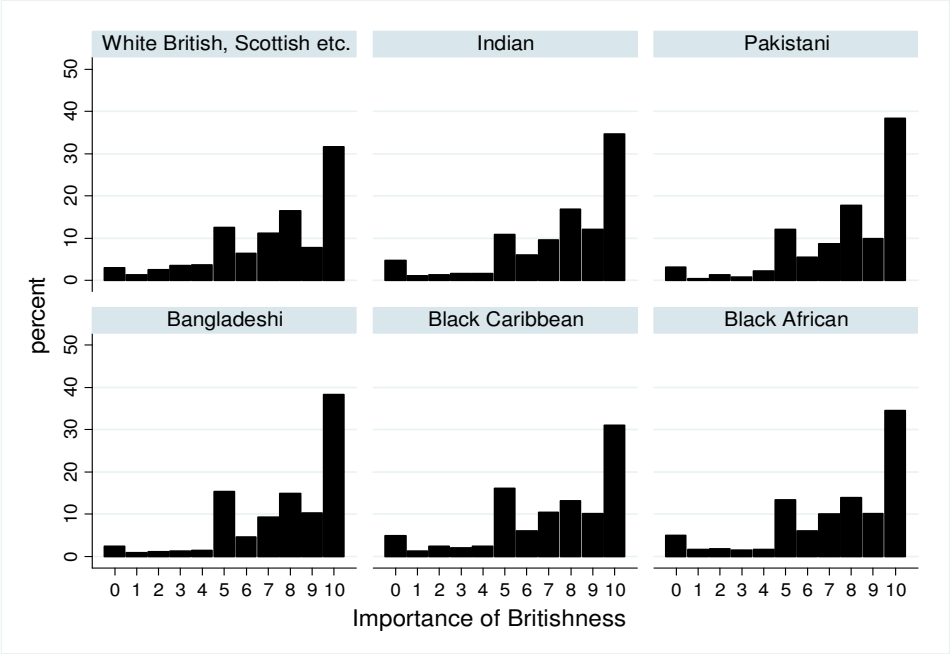


Figure 1 shows that there is generally a skew to the right. That is, people tend to identify strongly (compare also the distributions on different measures in Platt (2013a)). However, even though this pattern is general, the skew appears to be more pronounced for the Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups, and less pronounced for the Black Caribbeans.

Descriptive statistics provided in Table 4 reveal that, while the mean scores across groups are relatively similar, there is, for most groups a clear increase between the first and UK born generations, and in many cases the mean scores on Britishness for UK born minorities are significantly higher than for the White majority.

Table 4: Mean Britishness score by ethnic and ethno-religious group and generation

	UK born		1st generation	
	mean	se	mean	se
White majority Christian	7.17	0.099	6.87	0.591
Caribbean Christian	7.00	0.164	7.35	0.163
African Christian	7.57	0.203	7.07	0.149
Other Ethnic group Christian	6.62	0.349	6.46	0.208
Indian Muslim	8.00	0.269	7.74	0.300
Pakistani Muslim	8.00	0.122	7.72	0.124
Bangladeshi Muslim	7.76	0.173	7.83	0.122
African Muslim	7.47	0.567	7.73	0.221
Arab-Turkey Muslim	6.73	0.756	6.88	0.439
Indian Hindu	7.86	0.207	6.99	0.193
Indian Sikh	7.73	0.206	7.95	0.262
White majority, No religion	6.35	0.213	6.50	0.495
Chinese No religion	6.42	0.565	5.00	0.450
Other ethnic group No religion	6.76	0.309	5.97	0.379
Other ethnic -religious combinations	7.57	0.181	6.34	0.156
Mixed	6.83	0.155	5.75	0.277
Other white	4.65	0.694	4.74	0.321
All ethno-religious groups	7.24	0.051	7.02	0.055

We test whether these differences are robust to the inclusion of relevant covariates through estimating an ordinary least squares model of Britishness, controlling for a range of relevant additional characteristics, as discussed in Section 3.[2] Table 5 shows the full set of estimates.

[2] We have also estimated a logit model of dichotomized Britishness score (higher or lower than the median) and the results are similar.

Table 5: OLS estimates of the relationship between ethno-religious group and strength of British identity

		Coeff	se
Age group (Omitted: 40-49 years)	16-19 years	-0.690***	0.165
	20-29 years	-0.655***	0.119
	30-39 years	-0.344***	0.101
	50-59 years	0.392**	0.124
	60-69 years	0.526***	0.131
Sex (Omitted: Male)	Female	0.061	0.069
Region of residence (Omitted: London)	North	-0.219+	0.118
	Midlands	-0.15	0.113
	East, South	-0.395***	0.117
	Wales	-0.351	0.326
	Scotland	-1.627***	0.314
Area ethnic minority density (Omitted: high)	Low	-0.03	0.132
Country of birth (Omitted: not UK)	UK	0.772***	0.095
Current marital status (Omitted: Never married)	Cohabiting as a couple	-0.118	0.175
	Married or in a Civil Partnership	0.116	0.109
	Separated, Divorced or Widowed	0.021	0.138
Employment status (Omitted: Not Employed)	Employed	0.028	0.091
Highest educational qualification (Omitted: College or university degree)	No educational qualifications	0.762***	0.122
	O-levels or equivalent	0.545***	0.11
	A-levels or equivalent, higher degree	0.307**	0.106
Last year avoided/ felt unsafe/ was attacked/ was insulted (Omitted: No)	Was physically attacked or verbally insulted	-0.277**	0.094
	Avoided or felt unsafe	-0.044	0.081
Political beliefs (Omitted: None, don't know or can't vote)	Conservative party, strong supporter	1.138***	0.175
	Conservative party, not strong	0.883***	0.125
	Labour party, strong supporter	0.866***	0.101
	Labour party, not strong supporter	0.568***	0.092
	Other party, strong supporter	0.271	0.202
	Other party, not very strong supporter	0.302*	0.133

Table 5: OLS estimates of the relationship between ethno-religious group and strength of British identity (continued)

Ethno-religious groups (Omitted: White majority Christian	Caribbean Christian	0.192	0.17
	African Christian	0.724***	0.19
	Other Ethnic group Christian	0.09	0.217
	Indian Muslim	1.215***	0.248
	Pakistani Muslim	1.245***	0.165
	Bangladeshi Muslim	1.218***	0.176
	African Muslim	1.256***	0.257
	Arab-Turkey Muslim	0.856*	0.39
	Indian Hindu	0.765***	0.197
	Indian Sikh	1.096***	0.223
	White majority, No religion	-0.335	0.225
	Chinese No religion	-0.353	0.386
	Other ethnic group No religion	-0.083	0.275
	Other ethnic -religious combinations	0.262	0.17
	Mixed	-0.085	0.178
	Other white	-1.436***	0.32
NS-SEC (omitted: Routine)	Large employers & higher management	-0.113	0.224
	Higher professional	-0.423*	0.186
	Lower management & professional	-0.084	0.14
	Intermediate	-0.139	0.149
	Small employers & own account	-0.14	0.174
	Lower supervisory & technical	-0.166	0.198
	Semi-routine	0.152	0.122
	Never worked & LT unemployed	0.1	0.131
	Constant	5.804***	0.238
	Observations	7762	

These results clearly show that after adjusting for age and education, those of minority ethnicity typically express a stronger British identity than the White majority. This is true of UK and non-UK born, though the non-UK born express a lower sense of British identity. That is, as you would expect, the British born express a higher sense of British identity. It is also striking that all the Muslim groups, of whatever ethnicity, are particularly likely to identify more strongly as British, with over a point stronger identification on the 11 point scale. This is consistent with related literature using different data and measures (Karlsen and Nazroo 2013; Manning and Roy 2010; Platt 2013a; Platt 2013b), but it is important that here we use a direct measure of national identity that better reflects the political conceptualisation, and is less likely to be confounded with citizenship or behavioural measures, as well as covering the full range of ethno-religious groups.

What we also note is that for those with some political commitment to one of the two main parties, there tends to be a stronger identification with Britishness. This suggests that engagement with national politics re-inforces feelings of being part of the nation. This is consistent with expectations, but clarifies that, across ethnic groups, political commitment is linked to, rather than being a substitute for, national identification. Other findings are in the expected directions with higher educational qualifications and relative youth being associated with relatively weaker British identification.

However one may treat the implications of British identification, if, as is argued, it is an important indicator of commitment to national values and a national story, then it seems clear that minority groups are not separated from that story. It is also clear that UK born minorities have a greater average identification with Britishness.

However, that does not tell us whether British identity is supervalent to ethnic identity or whether the two tend to be maintained together. In the next two sections we explore patterns of joint identification, utilising different measures for minorities and majority but a common framing or theoretical approach: that offered by Berry's (1997) discussion of acculturation.

5. Patterns of Acculturation in Minority identities

In this section we consider the acculturation patterns of the UK's ethnic minorities. Berry (Berry and Sam 1997; Berry 1997; Berry 2005) described how when two different cultures come into contact with each other, rather than the linear process of assimilation described in traditional theories, acculturation was the dynamic interplay of behaviours and identity representing acculturation 'strategies'. These strategies involved the adoption or not of majority culture and identity and the maintenance or not of minority culture and identity, where such adoption and maintenance was conditioned by reception and reaction in the receiving society.

Berry and Sam (1997) thus identified four potential pathways that behavioural and identity acculturation could take among immigrants and their descendants who come into contact with a very different cultural context. These are illustrated schematically in Figure 2, with their associated labels. Integration, involved a high degrees of both own cultural maintenance and majority society engagement.

Figure 2: The four potential acculturation outcomes

		Cultural Maintenance Is it considered to be of value to maintain one's identity and characteristics?	
		Yes	No
Contact Participation Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with larger society?	Yes	Integration	Assimilation
	No	Separation	Marginalization

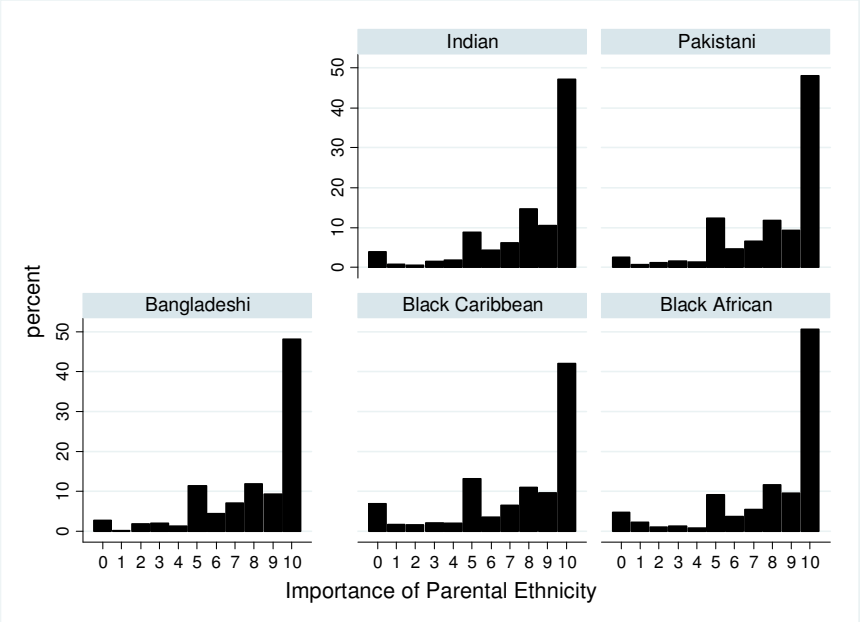
"Assimilation" referred to a situation which involved loss of minority culture with the adoption of majority culture. "Separation" was used to describe the exclusive maintenance of minority culture; and "marginalization", was the situation where there was loss of minority culture but with no compensating gain or investment in majority culture. Berry (1997 drawing on Graves 1967) additionally distinguished between group level acculturation, as a change in the culture of the group and psychological acculturation, as a change at the level of the individual identity. It is psychological acculturation that is our focus in this paper. Psychological acculturation can occur independently of group level processes and also will be more closely linked to individual adaptation.

The literature exploring acculturation outcomes has demonstrated that integration has consistently been associated with the most adaptive outcomes, in terms of effective psychological, social and economic adjustment to and engagement with the majority society. Conversely, marginalisation has been associated with the least adaptive outcomes, with separation and assimilation falling in between. It has been argued that culturally plural – or multicultural societies – are most likely to support integration strategies and therefore optimal long-term adaptation (Berry 1997).

In our analysis, we allocate individuals to the four levels of the quadrant based on their response to the Britishness question discussed in the previous section and their response to a

comparable question asked about identification with parents' ethnic group, again on an 11-point scale. Figure 3 shows the distribution of identification with the respondent's parents' ethnic group.

Figure 3: Distribution of responses to question on strength of identification with parents' ethnic group, by respondent's ethnic group



Like the distribution for Britishness shown in Figure 1, responses on identification with parental ethnic group are skewed to the right, indicating a strong enduring commitment to origin identity. But, also like Figure 1, it is clear that there is a distribution of responses across the range. Note that this question is only asked of those who express their identity as something other than White British/Scottish/Welsh/Northern Irish, and therefore our sample is restricted to the minority groups, and thus the gap in the top left-hand corner of the figure (Sample 2, as discussed in Section 3).

To measure acculturation, we take the median value for each of the British identity and parental identity questions and place those with values above the median for both of these in the integration category, those with above median Britishness, but below median ethnic identification are classed as assimilated. Those with above median ethnic identification but median or lower Britishness scores go in the separated category, while those with median or lower scores on both measures are in the marginalised category. This allocation and the ensuing distribution is illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Measurement of identity acculturation among the UK's minority ethnic groups

		Cultural Maintenance Maximum of strength of identification with father's and mother's ethnic groups	
		> Median	<=Median
Contact Participation Strength of identification with being British	> Median	Integrated (43.7%, N=2,859)	Assimilated (12.9%, N=842)
	<=Median	Separated (22.1%, N=1,450)	Marginalized (21.4%, N=1,399)

As can be seen, from Figure 4, integrated is the most common strategy among the minority groups overall, with assimilated being the least prevalent.

To model these outcomes we estimate a multinomial logistic regression model, which takes 'separated' as its reference category. This enables us to estimate, for the different groups, the greater or lesser probability of being 'integrated', 'assimilated' or 'marginalised' relative to this reference group. The results of the multinomial regression are given in Table 6.

Table 6: Estimates from a multinomial logit of identity for minority UK residents
Estimated coefficients (and standard errors in parentheses) of having an integrated, assimilated, marginalized identity relative to a separated identity

		Integrated	Assimilated	Marginalized
Age group (Omitted: 40-49 years)	16-19 years	-0.36+	-0.28	0.12
		(0.19)	(0.26)	(0.20)
	20-29 years	-0.39***	-0.38*	-0.14
		(0.12)	(0.16)	(0.14)
	30-39 years	-0.28**	-0.18	-0.07
		(0.10)	(0.14)	(0.12)
	50-59 years	0.13	0.18	-0.04
		(0.14)	(0.18)	(0.17)
	60-69 years	0.45**	0.31	0.20
		(0.17)	(0.22)	(0.20)
Gender (Omitted: man)	Woman	0.02	-0.33***	-0.23**
		(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.08)
Region of residence (Omitted: London)	North	-0.09	-0.59***	-0.04
		(0.12)	(0.16)	(0.14)
	Midlands	0.22+	0.11	0.28*
		(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.13)
	East, South	-0.19	-0.06	0.04
		(0.12)	(0.16)	(0.13)
	Wales	-0.02	0.16	0.20
		(0.41)	(0.48)	(0.39)
	Scotland	-0.42	-1.06*	0.10
		(0.30)	(0.43)	(0.28)
Area ethnic minority density (Omitted: High)	Low	-0.15	0.04	-0.02
		(0.15)	(0.20)	(0.15)
Country of birth (Omitted: not UK)	UK	0.44***	1.06***	0.52***
		(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.11)
Current marital status (Omitted: Never married)	Cohabiting as a couple	-0.02	-0.06	0.10
		(0.18)	(0.24)	(0.18)
	Married or in a Civil Partnership	0.02	0.00	-0.09
		(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.12)
	Separated, Divorced or Widowed	-0.02	-0.03	-0.13
		(0.15)	(0.19)	(0.17)

Table 6: Estimates from a multinomial logit of identity for minority UK residents (continued)

Estimated coefficients (and standard errors in parentheses) of having an integrated, assimilated, marginalized identity relative to a separated identity

		Integrated	Assimilated	Marginalized
Current employment/ main activity status (Omitted: Employed)	Not Employed	0.03	0.20	-0.03
		(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.12)
	Taking care of family	-0.06	-0.14	-0.27*
		(0.12)	(0.15)	(0.14)
	Full-time student	-0.06	-0.25	-0.02
		(0.14)	(0.20)	(0.15)
Highest educational qualification (Omitted: College or university degree)	No educational qualifications	0.54***	0.47**	-0.14
		(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.13)
	O-levels or equivalent	0.46***	0.22	-0.09
		(0.10)	(0.14)	(0.12)
	A-levels or equivalent, higher degree	0.17+	0.23+	-0.02
		(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.11)
Last year avoided/ felt unsafe/ was attacked/was insulted (Omitted: No)	Was physically attacked or verbally insulted	-0.12	-0.09	-0.04
		(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.11)
	Avoided or felt unsafe	-0.11	-0.07	-0.14
		(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.09)
Political beliefs (Omitted: None, Don't Know or Can't Vote)	Conservative party, strong supporter	0.67**	0.85**	0.24
		(0.22)	(0.27)	(0.25)
	Conservative party, not strong	0.41**	0.87***	0.50**
		(0.16)	(0.19)	(0.17)
	Labour party, strong supporter	0.36***	0.36**	-0.26*
		(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.12)
	Labour party, not strong supporter	0.26**	0.28*	-0.08
		(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.10)
	Other party, strong supporter	0.59*	0.79*	0.72**
		(0.25)	(0.31)	(0.25)
	Other party, not very strong supporter	0.31*	0.68***	0.41**
		(0.15)	(0.19)	(0.16)

Table 6: Estimates from a multinomial logit of identity for minority UK residents (continued)

Estimated coefficients (and standard errors in parentheses) of having an integrated, assimilated, marginalized identity relative to a separated identity

		Integrated	Assimilated	Marginalized
Ethno-religious groups (Omitted: Pakistani Muslims)	Caribbean Christian	-0.82***	-0.60**	0.03
		(0.17)	(0.22)	(0.19)
	African Christian	-0.47**	-0.31	-0.43*
		(0.16)	(0.22)	(0.19)
	Other Ethnic group Christian	-0.71***	-0.40	-0.08
		(0.18)	(0.24)	(0.20)
	Indian Muslim	-0.14	0.34	0.02
		(0.26)	(0.32)	(0.32)
	Bangladeshi Muslim	-0.26+	-0.02	-0.24
		(0.16)	(0.21)	(0.19)
	African Muslim	-0.20	-0.28	-0.10
		(0.23)	(0.35)	(0.29)
	Arab-Turkey Muslim	-0.18	0.02	0.13
		(0.30)	(0.44)	(0.36)
	Indian Hindu	-0.45**	-0.69**	-0.61**
		(0.17)	(0.23)	(0.21)
	Indian Sikh	-0.16	-0.36	-0.55*
		(0.23)	(0.28)	(0.28)
	Chinese No religion	-0.64+	-0.96*	-0.02
		(0.34)	(0.48)	(0.30)
	Other ethnic group No religion	-0.84**	-0.16	0.30
		(0.26)	(0.33)	(0.27)
	Other ethnic - religious combinations	-0.74***	-0.28	-0.19
		(0.16)	(0.21)	(0.18)
	Mixed	-0.69***	-0.22	0.44*
		(0.18)	(0.23)	(0.20)
	Other white	-1.32***	-1.14**	0.31
		(0.26)	(0.38)	(0.24)
	Constant	0.74***	-0.69**	0.17
		(0.20)	(0.26)	(0.24)
	Observations	6550		

Notes: Analysis adjusted for survey design. Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

Since the interpretation of the results in these terms can be complex, and the overall effect size hard to infer, we report the predicted probabilities of each outcome by ethnic group and generation. Given the different distributions across the first and UK-born generations for the different groups, and the expectation that acculturation outcomes will differ between generations, we report these estimated outcomes for the first generation in Table 7; and for the UK born in Table 8. We also focus just on the main ethno-religious group categories setting aside the residual 'other' categories.

Table 7: Estimates of acculturation outcomes from fully adjusted OLS model, by ethno-religious group: first generation

	Separated	Integrated	Assimilated	Marginalized
Caribbean Christian	0.29	0.36	0.09	0.27
African Christian	0.27	0.47	0.11	0.16
Other Ethnic group Christian	0.28	0.39	0.10	0.23
Indian Muslim	0.20	0.48	0.15	0.18
Pakistani Muslim	0.19	0.54	0.10	0.17
Bangladeshi Muslim	0.23	0.49	0.12	0.16
African Muslim	0.22	0.51	0.09	0.18
Arab-Turkey Muslim	0.20	0.48	0.11	0.21
Indian Hindu	0.28	0.51	0.08	0.14
Indian Sikh	0.23	0.56	0.09	0.12
Chinese No religion	0.28	0.41	0.06	0.25
Other ethnic group No religion	0.26	0.31	0.12	0.31
Other ethnic -religious combinations	0.29	0.38	0.12	0.21
Mixed	0.24	0.33	0.10	0.33
Other White	0.32	0.24	0.06	0.39

Notes: Outcomes estimated at mean values of other covariates, based on estimated coefficients reported in Table 6

We can see that across all groups, the most common outcomes is 'integrated', i.e. to hold both strong minority and majority identities. Thus, it is dual identity that is the norm for first generation minorities. However, this is particularly the case for Indian Hindus and Sikhs and African and Pakistani Muslims. It is less the case for the Caribbean Christians, even in the first generation. The mixed group is a slightly anomalous group in this generation as the majority of the UK's mixed population are second generation, and very youthful.

If we look at those who are separated, it is the Caribbean, Christians, Indian Hindus and African Christians who are most likely to maintain these exclusive identities in the first generation, though this is still less common for all these groups than an integrated identity. Having a solely strong British identity ("assimilated") is less common as might be expected among the first generation minorities; but, given that, it seems to be slightly more common

among Indian Muslims. Finally, "marginalization", that is, holding neither a strong British nor a strong ethnic identity is most common among Caribbean Christians.

Turning to the UK born, similar findings are found in Table 8.

Table 8: Estimates of acculturation outcomes from fully adjusted OLS model, by ethno-religious group: UK born minorities

	Separated	Integrated	Assimilated	Marginalized
Caribbean Christian	0.19	0.36	0.16	0.29
African Christian	0.17	0.46	0.20	0.17
Other Ethnic group Christian	0.18	0.38	0.19	0.25
Indian Muslim	0.12	0.44	0.26	0.18
Pakistani Muslim	0.12	0.52	0.19	0.18
Bangladeshi Muslim	0.14	0.47	0.22	0.17
African Muslim	0.14	0.50	0.17	0.19
Arab-Turkey Muslim	0.13	0.46	0.20	0.22
Indian Hindu	0.19	0.52	0.15	0.15
Indian Sikh	0.15	0.56	0.16	0.13
Chinese No religion	0.19	0.43	0.11	0.28
Other ethnic group No religion	0.16	0.30	0.21	0.33
Other ethnic -religious combinations	0.18	0.38	0.22	0.23
Mixed	0.15	0.32	0.19	0.34
Other white	0.21	0.25	0.11	0.44

Notes: Outcomes estimated at mean values of other covariates, based on estimated coefficients reported in Table 6.

Generational change is reflected in the reduction in the probability of being in the "separated" group and the corresponding increase in the chances of being in the "assimilated" group. Interestingly, marginalization in identity doesn't appear to intensify across generations. Instead, among the UK born we see a continued preference for dual identities, on average, but some substitution of a solely strong British for a solely strong minority ethnic identity relative to the first generation.

We also considered the role of political engagement in terms of its association with patterns of acculturation. Tables 9 (for men) and 10 (for women) show that (controlling for other factors, including ethnic group, region, and education) having no political beliefs or engagement is associated with either separatism or marginalisation relative to having a political affiliation. Any political affiliation (particular strong affiliation), is associated with greater propensity to have a dual (integrated) identity, or to having a British only (assimilated) identity. Strong labour support, specifically, is associated with a lower propensity to have a marginalised identity. Comparing the two tables, women are slightly less

likely to be marginalised in terms of psychological acculturation and slightly more likely to be integrated.

Table 9: Acculturation patterns and political affiliation among men

	Separated	Integrated	Assimilated	Marginalized
No beliefs, DK, Can't Vote	0.24	0.39	0.12	0.25
Tory, Strong	0.15	0.47	0.18	0.20
Tory, Not very strong	0.16	0.38	0.19	0.27
Labour, Strong	0.21	0.48	0.15	0.16
Labour, Not very strong	0.21	0.44	0.14	0.20
Other, Strong	0.14	0.41	0.16	0.30
Other, Not very strong	0.17	0.38	0.18	0.27

Notes: Outcomes estimated at mean values of other covariates, based on estimated coefficients reported in Table 6.

Table 10: Acculturation patterns and political affiliation among women

	Separated	Integrated	Assimilated	Marginalized
No beliefs, DK, Can't Vote	0.26	0.43	0.10	0.21
Tory, Strong	0.16	0.53	0.14	0.17
Tory, Not very strong	0.18	0.43	0.15	0.24
Labour, Strong	0.22	0.52	0.12	0.14
Labour, Not very strong	0.23	0.49	0.11	0.17
Other, Strong	0.16	0.46	0.13	0.26
Other, Not very strong	0.19	0.43	0.14	0.24

Notes: Outcomes estimated at mean values of other covariates, based on estimated coefficients reported in Table 6.

Overall then we see that dual identities are the 'typical' acculturation pattern for the UK's ethnic minorities. Holding a strong British identity increases over generations as the tendency to have a strong minority identity reduces. We also see that those who appear to be most a risk of marginalization, in these terms of identity acculturation – with the greatest proportion maintaining neither strong minority nor strong majority identities, are the Caribbean group – a group which is recognised as being socially, geographically and in employment terms the most 'assimilated' (Peach 2005), but which may, in line with other findings, contain a section that feels alienated by a society is still strongly stratified along racial and ethnic lines (Heath and Demireva 2013; Heath et al. 2013).

We now turn to look at the extent to which the White majority is also invested in – or alienated from – a British identity and how that maps onto alternative or dual identity formation and maintenance.

6. Patterns of Acculturation in Majority Identities

In this section we once again adopt Berry's acculturation framework to allocate the White, UK-born majority to one of the four acculturation outcomes. While the framework is the same, the measurement, however, is different in order to encompass both the questions asked of this population and those which are relevant to the majority rather than minorities (Sample 3, see the discussion above in Section 3). For both these reasons we utilise a simple multicode measure of national identity, whereby people can identify themselves as one or more of English, Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish, British, Irish or another national identity, as discussed in Section 3. We group the four country-level identities along one dimension and British identity along the other. Thus, as Figure 5 shows, respondents are allocated to the integrated category if they claim both a British and country level identity, separated if they claim a UK country identity only, assimilated if they claim a British identity only and marginalised if they do not claim any UK or British identity as their national identity. This last group is a small group, and includes those who describe their national identity as Irish as well as some who identify with another country, despite claiming White – British/ English/ Scottish/ Welsh/ Northern Irish as their ethnic identity.

Figure 5: Measurement of identity acculturation in the White majority population

		Cultural Maintenance Is it considered to be of value to maintain one's identity and characteristics? National identity=individual UK country (i.e. Scotland or Wales or England or Northern Ireland)	
		Yes	No
Contact Participation Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with larger society? National identity=British?	Yes	Integration (24.7%, N=5,949)	Assimilation (23.7%%, N=5,718)
	No	Separation (50.8%, N=12,258)	Marginalization (0.8%, N=186)

It is clear that the acculturation categories cannot be directly compared with those developed in Section 5 for the minority population either conceptually or in terms of measurement. Nevertheless, we consider this analysis provides some indication of how far the majority reference point for many of the discussions of minority national identity is explicitly invested in a British as compared to separate country identities. We can also explore the factors that

shape the different acculturation patterns, and address how unified majority identity would appear to be.

Rather than differentiating by ethnic group we differentiate by country of birth and by religion / community. Again we use current religious affiliation or, if none, religion / community grew up in to derive these categories. Thus we distinguish seven groups that could be considered to have different historical identities: English, Welsh, Scots Catholic, Scots Protestant, Northern Irish Catholic, Northern Ireland Protestant, Other country of birth. For completeness we also include Scots-Other no religion and Northern Irish-Other no religion (which is a very small group) in our analysis, but do not report the results for these two groups in our predicted probabilities. At the same time we include controls for current residence to distinguish such 'ethnic identities' from the influence of local context – though of course the overlap between the two is substantial.

We again estimate multinomial logit models for the relative chance of being in the integrated, assimilated or marginalized categories relative to being in the separated group. The model estimates are found in Table 11.

Table 11: Estimates from a multinomial logit of identity outcomes for UK White majority

Estimated coefficients (standard errors in parentheses) of integrated, assimilated, marginalized identity outcomes relative to a separated identity

		integrated	assimilated	marginalised
Age group (Omitted: 40-49 years)	16-19 years	0.09	-0.30+	-0.88
		(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.67)
	20-29 years	-0.24**	-0.24**	-0.57
		(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.42)
	30-39 years	-0.08	-0.07	-0.15
		(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.34)
	50-59 years	-0.05	-0.10+	0.24
		(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.28)
	60-69 years	-0.09	-0.18**	0.15
		(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.34)
	70+ years	-0.29***	-0.55***	0.02
		(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.36)
Country of birth – religion (Omitted: English)	Scotland – Protestant	0.06	-0.58***	-0.32
		(0.10)	(0.14)	(0.60)
	Scotland – Catholic	-0.02	-1.09***	-0.29
		(0.14)	(0.23)	(0.96)
	Scotland – No religion or Other Religion	-0.25	-1.35***	-0.53
		(0.16)	(0.25)	(0.95)
	Wales	-0.20+	-0.63***	-15.10***
		(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.43)
	Northern Ireland – Protestant	0.46+	1.30***	0.38
		(0.25)	(0.24)	(1.01)
	Northern Ireland – Catholic	-1.85***	-0.71*	2.26***
		(0.43)	(0.33)	(0.56)
	Northern Ireland – No religion or Other religion	1.40*	0.91	1.28
		(0.55)	(0.56)	(1.13)
	Other Country	-0.19	0.88***	2.46***
		(0.14)	(0.11)	(0.25)
Country/Region of residence (Omitted: London)	North East	0.62***	0.23*	-0.63
		(0.13)	(0.11)	(0.51)
	North West	0.41***	0.12	-1.07**
		(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.40)
	Yorkshire & Humberside	0.56***	0.15	-0.77
		(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.48)
	East Midlands	0.45***	-0.07	-0.80+
		(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.44)
	West Midlands	0.44***	0.16	-1.08*
		(0.13)	(0.11)	(0.51)
	East of England	0.45***	0.01	-1.92***
		(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.56)

Table 11: Estimates from a multinomial logit of identity outcomes for UK White majority (continued)

Estimated coefficients (standard errors in parentheses) of integrated, assimilated, marginalized identity outcomes relative to a separated identity

Country/Region of residence (*cont.*)	South England	0.62***	0.12	-0.64+
		(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.34)
	South West	0.47***	0.14	0.92***
		(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.27)
	Wales	0.08	0.14	-0.77
		(0.16)	(0.14)	(0.77)
	Scotland	0.24+	-0.18	-0.34
		(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.63)
	Northern Ireland	0.54*	0.39	0.59
		(0.26)	(0.24)	(0.65)
Gender (Omitted: man)	Woman	0.16***	0.30***	-0.12
		(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.18)
Highest educational qualification (Omitted: College or University degree)	No educational qualifications	0.20***	0.12*	-0.24
		(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.26)
	O-levels or equivalent	0.39***	0.30***	0.37
		(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.24)
	A-levels or equivalent, higher degree	0.67***	0.76***	0.82**
		(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.29)
Current employment/ main activity status (Omitted: employed)	Not Employed	-0.17**	-0.03	0.12
		(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.25)
	Taking care of family	-0.05	0.03	-0.29
		(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.55)
	Full-time student	0.06	0.22	1.47**
		(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.51)
NS-SEC (Omitted: Routine)	Large employers & higher management	0.26**	0.36***	-0.85
		(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.64)
	Higher professional	0.12	0.26**	-0.14
		(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.40)
	Lower management & professional	0.02	0.10	-0.26
		(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.32)
	Intermediate	0.12+	0.08	-0.36
		(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.37)
	Small employers & own account	0.00	0.16+	0.76*
		(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.30)
	Lower supervisory & technical	0.00	-0.08	0.14
		(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.33)
	Semi-routine	-0.07	0.01	-0.48
		(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.30)
Supporter of political party (Omitted: Not strong)	Strong	-0.10**	0.03	0.12
		(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.17)

Table 11: Estimates from a multinomial logit of identity outcomes for UK White majority (continued)

Estimated coefficients (standard errors in parentheses) of integrated, assimilated, marginalized identity outcomes relative to a separated identity

Current marital status (Omitted: Never married)	Cohabiting as a couple	-0.09	-0.05	-0.59+
		(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.33)
	Married or in a Civil Partnership	-0.11+	-0.07	-0.66*
		(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.27)
	Separated, Divorced or Widowed	-0.02	-0.07	-0.37
		(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.31)
	Constant	-1.27***	-1.12***	-3.82***
		(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.48)
	Observations			

Notes:
Analysis adjusted for survey design but not weighted.
Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

In Table 12, in order better to illustrate the distributions and the impact of the UK country of birth/ community on these distributions we present the estimated probabilities of being in each of the four categories for our key (country of birth/community) groups at mean values of other variables.

Table 12: Acculturation Patterns among the White majority by country/community of origin

	Separated	Integrated	Assimilated	Marginalised
English	0.51	0.25	0.24	0.004
Scottish Protestant	0.56	0.29	0.14	0.003
Scottish Catholic	0.61	0.29	0.09	0.003
Welsh	0.61	0.24	0.15	0.000
Northern Irish Protestant	0.29	0.22	0.49	0.003
Northern Irish Catholic	0.73	0.06	0.16	0.051
Other country of birth	0.39	0.16	0.42	0.033

Notes: Estimates at mean values of age, education, employment status, social class, marital status region of residence. Based on estimated coefficients reported in Table 11

Table 12 shows that (once adjusted for relevant individual level characteristics) almost all groups select a 'separated' identity as their modal choice. That is they choose one of the four countries of the UK on its own as representing their national identity rather than selecting British instead or as well. The exception is Northern Ireland Protestants and those from a non-UK country of birth, where their modal category is, rather, 'assimilated' or British only. Within this overarching pattern there is some variation. While English-born are just as likely to have 'integrated' (British and English) as 'assimilated' (English only) identities, Scots, whether Protestant or Catholic, Welsh and Northern Irish Catholics have lower rates of 'assimilation'. However, interestingly, Northern Irish Catholics are more likely to have assimilated (British only) identities, than an integrated (British and a country) identity. They are also the only group with a non-negligible share (5 per cent) in the 'Marginalized' category. This is likely to be because they are selecting Irish as an identity, so it should not be interpreted as lacking an ethnic/country identity, but rather as not holding any UK identity of any form. Nevertheless, the proportion is still small.

Turning to other covariates, from Table 11 we find that current region of residence has an influence over and above country of birth – or, conversely, country of birth effects persist even following moves to other parts of the UK, as they are not subsumed within them. In

particular, we see that living in Scotland is associated with a lower likelihood of defining oneself as British only (assimilated), even controlling for country of birth. For this sample, higher educational qualifications were associated with a greater chance of selecting a British identity, either with a country level identity (integrated) or on its own (assimilated) relative to holding a country-only identity (separated). Thus, country identities would seem to be identities that offer more to the majority population in the absence of external validation offered by qualifications, whereas for minorities, it was British identity that seemed to invite greater investment among the less well-qualified.

We were also interested in the extent to which political engagement was implicated in identity choices. The predicted probabilities at values of no or some party support and broken down by sex are shown in Table 13.

Table 13: Acculturation Patterns among the White majority, by political support and sex (n=23,771)

	Separated	Integrated	Assimilated	Marginalised
Men no political party support	0.55***	0.25***	0.20***	0.0019***
Men political party support	0.56***	0.23***	0.21***	0.0022***
Women no political party support	0.49***	0.26***	0.24***	0.0015***
Women political party support	0.50***	0.24***	0.25***	0.0017***

Notes: Estimates at mean values of age, education, employment status, social class, marital status region of residence. Based on estimated coefficients reported in Table 11

In fact, while (any) party support was significantly associated with a lower likelihood of an integrated relative to a separated identity, compared to those without any party affiliation, the differences were not large; and all other differences were not statistically significant at conventional levels. In terms of gender differences, women were somewhat more likely to have assimilated identities than men, but the dominant pattern was still separated identities; and again, the differences by political party support were small. Thus, political engagement, though it was posited as potentially heavily implicated in national identity choices, does not appear to be so closely connected to them as it was for the minority groups.

7. Summary and conclusions

Minorities' identification with the majority society in which they live is regarded both in political discourse and academic literature as an important indicator of cohesion and of successfully integrated societies. There have been claims that multiculturalist policies have

inhibited such identification and thus created alienation and exacerbated cultural conflict. Much of this discussion has focused on Muslim minorities and has paid little attention to perceived or actual identity patterns across the range of minority groups within different societies. In this paper, therefore, we set out systematically to investigate British identity across all the UK's ethno-religious group, taking account of other factors that are likely to influence such British identification and comparing with majority society attachment to British identity. Our key conclusion was that minorities express strong British identities – stronger in fact than the White British majority, and that these increase across generations. Moreover, we noted that political identification is positively associated with a stronger British identity. Thus engagement with the polity in different dimensions would appear to be reinforcing.

While it was traditionally assumed that majority identification took place in a linear fashion that implied loss of minority identity with investment in majority national identity, it is now well recognised that individuals can maintain multiple identities, and indeed that among immigrant minorities feelings of connection to both own group and majority society may be most conducive to effective adaptation. However, there remains relatively little nationally representative work on the patterning of dual identities across minority groups.

Moreover, increasing interest in the 'second generation', has demonstrated patterns of both structural assimilation and enduring ethnic penalties. Such work has begun to incorporate identities as one dimension of assimilation or enduring difference. This work suggests again patterns of both adoption of majority identity and retention of minority identity across generations; but remains in its infancy in relation to the systematic exploration of dual identity orientations across generations. Thus a key contribution made by this paper was to investigate patterns of minority and national identity jointly and to explore that patterning across generations, while controlling for covariates.

We found that minority identification does not necessarily imply a loss of national identity. Indeed the most common pattern in our sample of minorities was to hold strong national and minority identities at the same time. Since this is most likely to lead to positive psychological adaptation to the majority society this should be encouraging for all concerned about minority alienation. Moreover, Muslims are not more likely to have a separated (strong minority only) identification than any other group – in fact the opposite is the case. And while there are

between 10 and 25 per cent who are 'marginalised' in identity terms across the minority groups, this is most likely among Caribbeans, and least likely among Indian Sikhs. It was clear that while generational change in the patterning of identities was more of a continuum than a step change, it was unequivocally in the direction of maintaining majority identities more and minority ones less. In particular we see that the probability of having a 'separated' (minority group only) identity, decreases in the UK born generation of minorities.

Our third major contribution was to pay attention to identity and heterogeneity among the majority population. Minorities have been the explicit target of concerns about lack of national identification and the failure of multiculturalist policies to create a coherent sense of national belonging, yet majorities do not themselves sign up to national identification in systematic or consistent ways. Competing identities in a context such as the UK are offered by country level identities, which can be considered more ethnic than civic national identities. By using a similar framework for analysing majority dual and single identification as we did for minorities, we are therefore able to shed greater light on the extent to which national orientation is more widely maintained. We show how country-level distinctions highlight the already composite and multiple nature of assumed majority society.

In summary our paper shows that the multicultural project does not seem to have created the problems claimed for it in relation to collective or oppositional identities. There is substantial heterogeneity in identity formation and strength across ethnic minority groups and within the UK majority. The second generation is moving towards greater 'assimilation' in identity with strengthening endorsement of the British identity; and this appears to be especially the case for British Muslim minorities. However, as around half of the majority population endorse country specific identities, and do not spontaneously identify being British as their chosen national identity, the "national story" may not be one that, for the population as a whole, is linked into a common sense of Britishness. For the majority, political investment is positively associated with country-specific rather than British identities and thus the mutual reinforcement is in the direction of ethnic rather than civic conceptions of nation. This finding thus raises questions as to what exactly is the national story on which carries such an emphasis as the route towards a cohesive society, and how might the White majority be led to sign up to it more strongly?

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