

“Who am I and Where do I Belong?”

**An Exploratory Study of the Construction of
Identities of People from Mixed Heritage
Backgrounds in Britain**

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ABSTRACT

There are many historical and social discourses related to people from mixed heritage backgrounds and their experiences. These have mainly focused on 'race', excluding other aspects of mixed heritage such as ethnicity, culture, nationality, language and faith. Dominant discourses and prevailing psychological theories have constructed this group as marginal and with identity difficulties.

Despite being the fastest upcoming minority ethnic group, mixed heritage identities remains underdeveloped in Britain, in terms of clinical work and psychological research. In particular, broader aspects of the mixed heritage experience outside of skin colour have not yet been thoroughly examined. Nationality was seen as an important representation of these wider aspects, however there has been little focus on the impact of having parents from different countries on mixed heritage individuals.

This study is a qualitative exploration of the construction of identities of people from mixed heritage backgrounds in Britain. Ten participants (age 18-32) with parents from different birth countries were interviewed about, their mixed identities and experiences growing up in Britain, and how they define themselves. The results were analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. Four main themes were identified: "Best of Both Worlds", 'Facing Exclusion', 'Belonging' 'The Importance of Heritage Language'. The key factors that were important to them were: cultural knowledge; heritage languages; grandparents; non-visual aspects of identity; needing all aspects of identity to feel complete; and the ability to self-define. Lastly, an evaluation of the study and possible implications of the findings are presented.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

“I am a prisoner of my own biography: I can’t help but view the American experience through the lens of a black man of mixed heritage, forever mindful of how generations of people who looked like me were subjugated and stigmatized, and the subtle and not so subtle ways that race and class continue to shape our lives.” (Obama, 2006, p.10)

There are many historical and social discourses that have constructed people from mixed heritage backgrounds as marginal and with identity difficulties. I selected Obama’s (2006) quote, not to reflect participants’ accounts, but to indicate the impact historical discourses still has on current everyday thinking. In particular, it indicates the inability of one who identifies as being mixed heritage to escape dominant, branded views that have been constructed by society.

Most studies in this area focus on ‘mixed race’ individuals and problematic identities. By concentrating solely on ‘race’, these studies negate other factors which individuals may experience alongside being from a ‘mixed race’ background. There are multiple forms of being ‘mixed’, such as mixed nationality, mixed faith, mixed language, mixed class backgrounds. This study aims to broaden out the concept of being ‘mixed’ to incorporate this wider perspective, hence uses the term ‘mixed heritage’ to represent an individual’s background, where they come from and what has been passed on from previous generations. In particular it focuses on mixed heritage individuals whose parents come from two different countries.

1.1 Definitions

A range of concepts and terms are used in this subject area, some which can be considered controversial due to differing and compelling views. This section will present key definitions of ‘race’, culture and ethnicity and outlines some of the main critiques with these classifications. The overlap between these terms will then be discussed, followed by further definitions of heritage, dual and mixed heritage, leading to a discussion and rationale of the terms used in this study.

Fernando (1991) summarises 'race' as the biological and physical characteristics of people, culture as the sociological habits and beliefs of people, and ethnicity as the psychosocial sense of belonging. These three prominent terms will be discussed in more detail below.

'Race'

Miranda (2004) defines 'race' as "a social construct that attempts to divide human groups based on physical characteristics" (p.615).¹ Many contest this view arguing that 'race' cannot be purely defined from a biological generalisation primarily relying on the colour of one's skin (Gilborn, 1990; Hall, 2000). Others consider 'race' to be a social and political construct (Davis, 1991; Fatimilehin, 1999; Fernando, 1991; Zack, 1993) based on social and legal definitions that have been enforced rather than any scientific or phenotypic definition and usually refers to genetic or biological ancestry.

Gunaratnam (2003) states that "It is the organizing discursive category around which has been constructed a system of socio-economic power, exploitation and exclusion – i.e., racism" (p.4). She points out that without the concept of 'race', it is difficult for 'minoritised' people to express their experiences of racism². Hence, the use of the term 'race' is still considered to be a controversial and multi-faceted term.

Culture

Miranda (2004) defines culture as "the beliefs, values, traditions, behaviour patterns, and social and political relationships that are shared by a group of people who are bound together by things such as common history, social class, and religion" (p.615).

Krause (2002) believes the difficulty in defining culture is due to it being a concept both inside and outside of a person. As well as the collective idea of culture described above, the same term can also be applied to an individual, representing the behaviour and cognitions stemming from having common thoughts, feelings and interactive patterns which people hold (Leighton & Hughes, 1961). Krause (2002)

¹ The word 'race' is placed in parenthesis when referred to by the author to denote the complexity of the term and to indicate it cannot be construed in any pure context.

² Gunaratnam's (2003) use of the term 'minoritised' rather than 'minority ethnic' demonstrates the impact of racialization in assigning certain characteristics of groups in particular contexts as being in a 'minority'.

suggests this more internalised view implies that these thoughts, feelings, intentions, and motivations are formed and influenced by the social and cultural practices surrounding us. Whilst some cultural structures may be different to others, there may be similar emphases, so that when communicating with others whose cultural backgrounds are comparable to our own, the concept of an individualised culture may literally cease to exist. The extension of culture from an individual level to that shared within families, communities, and even nations, has brought about the idea of multiculturalism, where differences will occur between and within many different groups of people with a variety of diverse backgrounds, viewpoints and traditions.

Whaley et al. (2007) add elements of fluidity and adaptability to their definition of culture by describing it as “a dynamic process involving worldviews and ways of living in a physical and social environment shared by groups, which are passed from generation to generation and may be modified by contacts between cultures in a particular social, historical and political context” (p.564). Krause and Miller (1995) also endorse this flexible definition of culture, however indicate this is not a passive process and individuals have an element of choice and flexibility regarding which cultural ideas they may or may not wish to embrace, and at what points they may or may not want to.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity usually refers to one’s identification with a group which provides a sense of belonging (Fatimilehin, 1999; Fernando, 1991; Miranda, 2004). However, Fernando (1991) highlights that a sense of belonging may depend not only on how one views themselves, but how others may perceive and accept the individual. It can, therefore, be argued that one may identify with and feel a sense of ethnic group cohesion, not necessarily through a shared culture but because of their actual or perceived difference to other groups (Barth, 1973). Hall (1992) considers ethnicity to be a fluid term, which may change dependent on the variable circumstances aforementioned.

The complexity in defining the terms ‘race’, culture and ethnicity has been highlighted above. These words are often used interchangeably in different contexts, including in definitions of mixed heritage. This lack in consistency may lead to confusion and

ambiguity. The following section will develop this discussion further by considering the overlap and practical applications of the terms.

1.1.1. The confusion and overlap between 'race', culture and ethnicity

Ethnicity is a separate construct to 'race' and culture and although it may include elements of both concepts, they are not interchangeable (Fernando, 1991). Hall (2000) expands on this by stating that "Ethnicity by contrast, generates a discourse where difference is grounded in cultural and religious features... the articulation of difference with Nature (biology and genetic) is present, but displaced through kinship and inter-marriage" (p.222).

Pilkington (2003), however, acknowledges a certain degree of overlap between how ethnicity and 'race' may be constructed, and draws attention to individuals who were previously defined as a 'race', who have since become an ethnic group. For example, a phenotypic white Jew born in Britain would ethnically be considered Jewish, however, there is no section in the White ethnic group category in the British 2011 census to represent this. The census form states you may only tick one box per section. Their options would be to tick White British or Any other White background. They have the option to tick Jewish under the religion category, however, this may not be applicable to someone who does not perceive their Jewish heritage to be of a religious nature or may alternatively either wish to select an alternate religious group or affiliate with no religious group.

The Equality Impact Assessment for the 2011 Census in England and Wales (2008) acknowledges that the legal definition of an ethnic group can cause difficulty for some communities. For example, Jews and Sikhs are defined by the Race Relations (Amendment) Act (2000) as an ethnic group because of their shared history. However, some Jews and Sikhs consider themselves to be communities on the basis of their religious traditions and practice, not their ethnic origin.

The House of Lords (2008) defined an 'ethnic group' as "a group that defines itself or is regarded by others, as a distinct community by virtue of certain characteristics that will help to distinguish the group from the surrounding community". They considered two of these characteristics to be essential. Firstly, the group must have a long shared history of which the members are conscious; this allows them to keep the memory alive and to distinguish them from other groups. The second is that the ethnic group must have a cultural tradition of its own, including family and social customs and manners often, but not necessarily, associated with religious observance. They state that other non-essential characteristics which may also be relevant are having a shared geographical origin or descent from a small number of common ancestors; having a common language but not necessarily peculiar to the group; having a common literature within the group; having a common religion different from that of neighbouring groups or from the general community surrounding it; or being a minority, or an oppressed or dominant group within a larger community.

Although such distinctions have been formally acknowledged in Parliament, standardised methods of monitoring, such as equal opportunity forms or the census, tend to remain focussed on categorical distinctions such as racial groups or geographical locations, e.g., White, Asian, rather than on aspects of belonging to ethnic groups.

1.1.2. Challenges related to 'mixed' terminology

The inconsistent use of these terms becomes more apparent when we consider how they interact with each other when shaping an individual's identity. This is more so when two individuals from distinct contexts merge to produce someone from a mixed heritage background. The next section presents definitions of heritage and dual heritage, followed by a discussion of the related challenges to 'mixed' terminology. The final segment considers how the term mixed heritage was derived in this study.

Heritage

There are many differing views over what constitutes the term “heritage”. Traditionally, heritage is defined as the passing down of a historical inheritance which vary from material objects and property, to cultural or religious traditions. The Oxford Dictionary defines heritage as the “valued objects and qualities such as historic buildings and cultural traditions that have been passed down from previous generations” (Oxford University Press, 2012). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) state that, “Heritage is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations” (UNESCO, 2012). This quote demonstrates the view that heritage also comprises a shared identity accumulating from the culture of communities, memories, and how people make sense of themselves within this context.

Dual heritage

The Oxford English Dictionary defines ‘dual heritage’ as “the fact of having parents from different ethnic or cultural backgrounds” (see definitions of ethnicity and culture above). Ifekwunigwe (1997) saw merit to the term dual heritage as it “pinpoints the convergence of different cultures and ethnicities” and “the fact that it is de-racialized also broadens its potential relevance” (p. 128).

There has been a lack of consistency and consensus used by researchers in this field regarding the terms and definitions used, for example, ‘mixed race’, ‘dual heritage’, ‘mixed heritage’, ‘mixed ethnicity’, and ‘mixed parentage’ are sometimes used interchangeably and sometimes seen as distinct. Due to the heterogeneous nature of being from a mixed heritage background, it is difficult to compare studies or form universal conclusions about this group. Nonetheless, Cross et al., (2008) state that “racial, ethnic and cultural identity overlap at the level of ‘lived experience’ to the point that there is little reason to associate each construct with a distinct identity constellation.” (p.156)

Phinney et al., (2007) point out that although the terms may coincide, they are not synonymous, and confusion has occurred when researchers have used these concepts interchangeably (Trimble, 2007). To date, there is no generally accepted or accurate term for people from mixed heritage backgrounds. Fatimilehin (1999)

argued that terms which do not include associations with the word 'race', e.g., mixed parentage and dual heritage, are lacking in specificity as the mixture of duality could refer to religion, class or any other type of social grouping. Phoenix and Owen (1996) agreed that within these terms, there is "an implicit assumption that there was no 'mixing' in previous generations". However, the term 'mixed race' has been widely contested due to the implication that there are 'pure' races (Banton, 1999; British Sociological Association, 2005) and because it carries with it negative historical associations which are offensive to some.

Helms (2007) acknowledges the conceptual blurring between racial and ethnic identity and calls for researchers to clarify their focal points. Terms such as 'ethnic origin' or 'mixed origins' were more in line with the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 and the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002, which uses terms such as 'nationality', 'ethnic' or 'national origins'. However, Ifekwunigwe (1997) believed these terms to be ambiguous, again lacking specificity with little reference to ethnicity and 'race'. She acknowledged the term 'dual heritage' converged the terms culture and ethnicity at the same time as broadening out the definition beyond a racial identity.

Terms using the word 'heritage' were seen to be politically correct and words such as 'dual', 'mixed', 'mixed parentage' and 'multiple heritage' were adopted by government departments, in particular the Department for Children, Schools and Families. The department adopted the phrase 'mixed heritage' to ensure consistency of terminology on the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) literature, Tickly et al. (2004). However, Tickly et al. (2004) acknowledged difficulties with this term, for example, most pupils and parents interviewed were unfamiliar with 'mixed heritage' and were uncomfortable using it.

There is evidence from the Office for National Statistics 2006-07 consultations on user needs for ethnicity, national identity, language and religion information, that the colour term 'Mixed' is offensive to some people whose ancestry includes Caribbean, African or Asian and White people. The term 'Mixed Heritage' is now widely used in public bodies in response to demands for appropriate language from service users. Indeed, testing with members of the public carried out by the University of Kent show

that many people use the term 'Mixed' to describe their ethnic identity and prefer it to other alternatives (Aspinall, 2006).

The 2011 Census Development Programme surveyed 326 'mixed race' full-time students, aged 18-25 years old in 2006. The findings reported that the majority of respondents described their racial/ethnic identity using generic terms, such as 'mixed race' or 'mixed'. Many combined two terms, however others revealed more complex mixed heritages, with over 60% naming two groups and 20% three or more groups, indicating a need to encapsulate the multifaceted aspects of their heritage. 70% of respondents identified themselves using these terms due to their parents being from different racial/ethnic groups, whilst 43% felt it was their 'own sense of personal identity'. A somewhat larger number felt it was very/fairly important to generally identify with their ancestry than to identify with specific racial/ethnic groups (Aspinall, 2008). Over half of the respondents preferred the term 'mixed race', with others selecting 'mixed heritage', 'mixed origins', and 'mixed parentage'. Not many chose 'dual heritage', with some finding it offensive and limiting to only two groups (Aspinall, 2008).

With an awareness of the above challenges with definitions and terminology in this field, the reader should also bear in mind the context in which this research was originally carried out in 2006. At this time, and in accordance with other available publications, the term 'dual heritage' was used specifically for recruitment purposes. Although a large volume of the literature used the term interchangeably with 'mixed race', I intended for the broader definition to be used, regardless to whether participants were from a 'mixed race' or 'mixed ethnicity' background (Ifekwunigwe, 1997). This extensive context is important to bear in mind, as the study attempts to incorporate all aspects of heritage, including 'race', ethnicity, culture, religion, class, parents' nationalities.

The last decade has shown some progress in research and a growing awareness in Britain of people from mixed heritage backgrounds. My preliminary thinking and use of language was influenced throughout the time committed to this study by literature, clinical experiences, and by speaking to people from mixed heritage backgrounds. I learnt that some considered the term 'dual heritage' to be euphemistic, ambiguous

and misleading, and did not reflect the richness and complexity of peoples' multiple identities, which may include birth place, parents' nationalities, religion, 'race', sexuality and other cultural affiliations. Considering this was the aim of the study, I decided to adapt and use the term 'mixed heritage' instead. Although I am unable to go back and change the terminology used during recruitment and interviewing, this linguistic progression is reflected in the write up of this study. However, the topic of terminology is still of much debate and inconsistency that requires further clarification and discussion.

In particular, the term mixed heritage was defined in the context of having two parents from different countries. As Aspinall's (2008) study indicates, with most research and historical discourses of mixed individuals focusing on 'race', there is a strong desire for mixed individuals to identify with something broader than existing categories. They classed this as their 'ancestry' which is linked to terms such as 'heritage' and 'belonging', and given that one's line of descent traces back to your origins, this could be classed as parental countries of birth.

It is acknowledged that this is not a homogenous term, and encompasses much differentiation within this, (e.g. ex-pat communities, different communities, ethnicities, religions and cultures within distinct parts of the country). It is acknowledged there are deficits of not being able to make direct comparisons in such a heterogeneous group, (e.g. there could be a broad mix of parents from different continents vs within the same, to a mix who were both from a minority group vs a mix from one parents from a minority group and one from a majority group). However, it is felt that a broad range of mixes would also draw out different elements which may have previously been excluded in such controlled studies focusing on one area such as race.

At the time of this study, although there was some research beginning to explore alternative areas of mixed heritage to just 'race', there was little research considering the specific impact of parental nationality on mixed heritage people, which will become apparent as the literature in this area is reviewed.

The next section will review where this label originated from and how this led to deep rooted discourses about mixed heritage people. Throughout, I refer to the term 'mixed race' in the traditional form that has been used in the UK and was found to be the most popular term to describe this group from those who were consulted with to inform the 2001 UK Census (Aspinall et al., 2006).

1.2. Historical and societal discourses about 'mixed race'

Towards the beginning of the 17th Century, slavery became legalised in the United States of America, following a general acceptance of the belief that black people were inferior due to having heathen ancestry. In 1664, legal action was first taken in the United States of America against marriages between black men and white women. By 1750, all of the southern colonies had made interracial marriages illegal and termed as the 'anti-miscegenation laws', which remained enforced in up to half of the states for over two centuries. Not only were interracial couples targeted but their offspring.

In 1795, a law was passed for people from interracial relationships to be termed as a 'mulatto' (young mule). This actively linked the child or grandchild to their black ancestry. Consequently, officials decreed that 'mulattoes' must be defined as black, shaping societal views on interracial relationships and the way their offspring were perceived. By positioning them as black, the constructed racial categorisation system officially denied their white heritage and the privileges that would have come with this recognition. The universal concept of the 'one-drop rule' soon followed which defined anyone as black if they had traceable African ancestry.

During this time, the context in the United Kingdom was slightly different. Despite demands for the outlawing of interracial marriages, there was no formalisation of anti-miscegenation laws. However, racism was still overtly prevalent. The government issued advice for British women not to marry "negro", Muslim, Hindu or Chinese men. In the 1920s to 1950s, with the rise in immigration levels, the United Kingdom became more diverse and less ethnically segregated, allowing a natural growth in the number of mixed partnerships. In a bid for equal rights and to cease racial discrimination, the American Black Civil Rights Movement took place between 1954

to 1965. This resulted in the Civil Rights Act being established in 1964, which banned all forms of discrimination based on 'race', colour, religion and national origin.

Park (1928) and Stonequist (1937) were one of the first to introduce an academic theory for the 'mixed race' group. Their theories were influenced by the above universally developed social and historical discourses influencing them at the time. Stonequist (1937) drew a picture of the 'marginal man' who was characterised by confusion, problem ridden and living in a state of limbo. Psychologically, he deemed such persons to experience psychiatric and emotional difficulties, low self-esteem and identity-confusion.

Stonequist's (1937) hypothesis led to beliefs that people of 'mixed race' were able to resolve their 'identity confusion' in two ways. The first being that if they were fair enough to pass as white, they would be associated with a higher status group and would be privy to any privileges that came with this class. However, by doing this they may be denying their black heritage and part of themselves, which may lead to guilt and outcasting by members of their black heritage groups. The alternative option was thought to be less contentious and would be for the 'mixed race' person to identify as part of the black minority group. By self-identifying as belonging to a minority group, they reduced possibilities of further isolation. However, it can be disputed that this position will distance them from their white origins and they would have to deal with the consequences of having a more marginalised status of belonging to a minority group, which is only partially so.

There is an implicit assumption within marginal theory that all people who are of similar skin colour can be categorised in the same group, negating all other backgrounds and the distinctiveness of their individual ancestral heritage. It fails to distinguish differences within the white category, automatically aligning someone with the majority group. By doing so they fail to acknowledge that some groups, such as the white Irish or white Jews, may also be seen as a minority culture. The theory does not take into account other ethnic groupings such as the Asian population, nor does it acknowledge the intricate details of people's backgrounds beyond 'race'.

Owusu-Bempah (2005) suggests that socio-political views have shaped societal views on interracial relationships and the way their offspring have been perceived.

He comments that by positioning people from mixed backgrounds as black, the constructed racial categorisation system officially denied their white heritage and the privileges that would have come with this recognition. Okitikpi (2005) states that health and education professionals have tended to base their work with people from 'mixed parentage'³ backgrounds on basic interpretations of the individual's racial identity and their cultural affiliations, rather than an informed understanding or appreciation of their complex intercultural backgrounds and self-perceptions. It is, therefore, important to understand the context in which the debate surrounding people from mixed heritage backgrounds is taking place.

Parker and Song (2001) investigated ideas behind 'mixed race' categorisations, highlighting the complexities of terminology. Small (1986), Banks (1992, 1995), Maxime (1993) and Prevatt-Goldstein (1999) focused on social work with children of 'mixed race', however, their approaches failed to take into account the entirety of the children's background, which Okitikpi (2005) argued left the children and their families pathologised by professionals. They inferred that emotional or self-esteem difficulties may occur due their 'mixed race' and emphasised the need for them to develop positive identities to counterbalance these difficulties. Prevatt-Goldstein (1999) often referred to children from 'mixed race' backgrounds as "black children with a white mother", whilst Banks (1995) and Maxime (1993) referred to children of mixed parentage as 'black' without any questioning. By doing this they reflect difficulties in understanding the intimate relationships of people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds (Alibhai-Brown and Montague, 1992).

British research originally focussed largely on Tizard and Phoenix's (1995) work with 58 adolescents (aged 14-18 years) from 'mixed parentage' backgrounds, where one parent was White and the other parent was Black African or Caribbean. Their interviews highlighted that 20% of their sample had a "problematic identity" (p. 108) in that they would rather be another skin colour and were unhappy or confused about their parentage. Following this pioneering study, there was an increase in publications and research in Britain in this area, however the majority of these focused on 'mixed race' individuals and racial identities, rather than differing aspects

³ The terminology used when describing studies throughout the thesis reflects the original language used by the authors of the cited research.

of heritage, nationality, culture or ethnicity. This study attempts to address this gap by recruiting from mixed heritage groups with no exclusion or imposed definition of what ethnic or racial categories people came from.

1.3. Identities

Having considered the historical impact of 'race' and skin colour on how mixed heritage people were classified and perceived, the following section looks at aspects of invisibility and hidden factors of mixed heritage that are easy to miss from a simple glance, particularly when there is sameness within cultures. With the vast number of multidimensional combinations of mixed heritage possible, it is not intended as a comprehensive coverage of all the different types of mixes, but to highlight some of the complexities of the term.

1.3.1. Invisibility and hidden aspects of the self

There are many hidden aspects of the self such as one's culture, ethnicity, nationality, sexuality, religion, disability, mental health or parenthood, to name but some. These significant defining aspects of identity may therefore get overlooked or misconstrued, which may cause feelings of invisibility, rejection, being misunderstood or not acknowledged.

Burnham (2005) speaks about 'vis-ability' where one may develop a curiosity to something that may be visible such as aspects of physical appearance, 'race', gender, age or ability. He acknowledges that whilst there is danger in making the wrong presumption about a person purely from visible factors, there are also restrictions in assuming meaning where something may appear to be obvious or overfamiliar to yourself, i.e. assuming sameness.

Having two parents from the same ethnicity but different heritage backgrounds and nationalities, I experience much curiosity as well as assumptions from others. The majority presume I am from a single country in the Asian continent, and my mixed

origins appear to be invisible. Official forms collecting ethnicity data tend to overlook options which suitably encapsulate my mix, so I resign to ticking 'Asian other' and specify 'British Asian'.

Social constructionism suggests that identities are not predetermined or fixed, and instead are formed based on our social, political, economic, and ideological context which fluctuates with time (Ayo & Gabbi, 2010). This positioning fits with my view of mixed heritage identities which are fluid and constantly changing to adapt to the presenting situation. The following model represents one way of viewing multiple aspects of the self from a flexible and interchangeable stance. It allows for more than one identity to exist at the same time, and draws attention to both visible and invisible co-existing components.

The 'Social GRRRAACCEEESSS' model (Burnham, 1992, 1993; Roper-Hall, 1998) is an acronym for Gender, Geography, Race, Religion, Age, Ability, Appearance, Class, Culture, Ethnicity, Education, Employment, Sexuality, Sexual Orientation, Spirituality. Identity is formed from different aspects of lived experiences and each of these differences within an individual can be seen to construct one's personal encounters and in turn their social realities. This may be one's social positioning in their immediate family, wider social circles, their community and society, and broader cultural contexts (Burnham, 2011). This multi-layered model explores individual differences that may be visible or invisible to an observer and draws attention to the fact that not all differences are the same. It also allows us to focus on the unique aspects of an individual in their own right, rather than falling into the trap of cultural stereotyping, where a person is seen only as a representative of a cultural group, rather than as an individual (Rober, 2011).

This model is useful when discovering the complexity of mixed heritage backgrounds as it draws attention to the multiple layers of identity as well as individuals' multiple identities within the social, political, cultural, and economic world surrounding them. Contrary to the marginal theory, individuals do not have to choose between different aspects of themselves. Instead, it allows space for more than one identity to be

present in any individual moment and to be able to change between characteristics in a fluid continuum. This model incorporates the aspect of 'Geography' which is missing in many conceptual models. By doing so, it allows for factors such as nationality, birthplace, and parental origins to be considered and places equal significance on them to other characteristics such as 'race' which, as previously discussed, has historically dominated theoretical concepts of mixed heritage people.

1.3.2. Whiteness and the invisible norm

My belief that 'race' is a social and political construct makes this a difficult topic to write about. However, as previously mentioned, the concept of 'race' allows a language in which the 'minoritised' may talk about racism (Gunaratnam, 2003). The census and official forms ask for data about ethnic groups, yet uses broad, racialised categories under which they classify information, e.g. White, Black African or Black Caribbean, Asian etc⁴. Therefore, for the purpose of this section the term 'white' will be used to talk about the concept of whiteness. Over the last decade there has been a growth in the body of research in this field (Burton et al., 2010; Colmer et al., 2009; Lewis, 2004; Nolte, 2007; Ryde, 2009; Twine & Gallagher, 2008; Wallis, 2009).

Some individuals who may be classified as white may have assumptions made about them such as belonging to a majority group based on their appearance alone. In Western societies, white people tend to be seen as the norm from which non-white people are compared to. This comparison tends to occur in the form of racial categories, in which 'the other' tends to become racialised and the norm do not tend to be seen or named (Dyer, 1997). Hence the concept of whiteness is not often explored or spoken about in everyday terms. For those that consider themselves to belong to a minority group (e.g. white Jewish, white Irish) this may pose a dilemma where they are assumed to be the 'same' as the majority group, however they feel 'different' inside. They may also identify as belonging to a minority group due to their heritage and may therefore feel misjudged or discriminated against due to others' assumptions (examples can be read in Totsuka [2010]). This may be of particular

⁴ See Appendix 9 for Census Ethnic Group Categories.

significance to people from mixed heritage backgrounds which are associated with majority cultures or the majority 'race'.

Wallis and Singh's (2012) small scale study on 11 participants, where six described themselves as white British and five as white-other discuss the stereotype as white being linked to privilege, which was seen as an advantage of not suffering racism. However, those from white-other backgrounds spoke of experiences of racism and dissociating from this stereotype in their categorisations of 'otherness' and in fact seeing themselves as belonging to a minority group. The study considers different shades of whiteness which represented multiple layers of inclusion and exclusion, where some considered themselves to be whiter or more British than others. It was also found that participants preferred to talk about their cultural differences rather than their skin colour and enjoyed the privilege of being able to choose which diversities they spoke about, highlighting the multiple layers of identity they held. By investigating parental nationality and heritage, rather than 'race' as the majority of mixed heritage studies have done so to date, this study will give a forum for other hidden factors such as nationality, culture, ethnicity to be discussed. It also acknowledges that people can be from mixed heritage backgrounds without visual indicators to affirm this.

Macan Ghail (2000) argues that contemporary theorists have underplayed the significance of other cultural and religious issues by focussing on colour when talking about difference. He argues that by doing so, other white groups that have official recognition as a minority group by the 1976 Race Relations Act, (such as the white Irish or white Jews) have little public recognition, hence maintaining their minoritised position. Hickman's (1995) work analysed how practices and discourses in Britain has contributed towards a masking of internal national, regional, and ethnic differences. She concludes that constructed narratives based on the homogeneity of whiteness succeeded in obscuring and recognising experiences of both present and historical forms of racialised exclusions and calls for further deconstructions of whiteness to address this imbalance.

The invisibility of ethnicity may occur in different forms. Contrasting to concepts of whiteness above, assumptions may be made about people from all different ethnic groups leading to similar feelings within different cultures.

Arisaka (2000) considered aspects of invisibility amongst Asian women. She concluded that the category 'Asian' in itself did not work well as a basis for identity because of its fragmented meanings; one being that Asia covers a vast geographical area. She scrutinises how the term Asian is used to cluster first generational immigrants, yet similarly it is used to classify second, third and fourth generations. The latter may have little knowledge of Asia in comparison to their current host countries and would have acquired national identities that are not reflected in this non-distinct classification. This study will explore the relationship between mixed heritage individuals and their immigrant parents' countries of birth, whether they conceptualise this as part of their national identities alongside Britain as their host country and place of birth. Arisaka (2000) points out that the term 'Asian' does not cover the non-uniform array of political views, cultures, languages, class, or traditions of this incredibly diverse group, and in doing so maintains the invisibility of distinct sub-cultures whilst are more pertinent to individuals.

To understand how mixed heritage individuals construct their identities, we must understand the different types of identities they contend with. In light of the previous literature, the following section will give an overview of racial, ethnic, social and national identities.⁵

⁵ It should be noted that other types of identities may be equally relevant to individuals, however with the constraints of a thesis it is not possible to cover a wider range.

1.3.3. Racial identity

The process of identity development has previously been constructed as a straightforward linear process, involving predicted cognitive and behavioural stages (Erikson, 1980). Most models of identity development, particularly those describing the experiences of 'mixed race' children, tend to portray a process of moving towards a mature position of realisation and self-awareness, having gone through periods of confusion and conflict (Katz & Treacher, 2005).

Erikson's (1980) eight stage developmental model was the first of a series of stage-based models (Atkinson et al., 1993; Cross, 1971; Helms, 1990, 1995; Phinney, 1990) to explain the process of identity development. Such models indicate that through the process of attaining a mature identity one would develop resilience to external challenges such as racism, due to an inner sense of self-fulfilment. This assertion, locates the responsibility for resilience within the individual, failing to acknowledge the social and political context which surrounds, influences, and interacts with them. The model also fails to take into account how other factors such as culture, ethnicity and heritage play a role in the shaping of identities.

Cross's (1971, 1991) five-stage model of the development of nigrescence in Afro-Americans was one of the first models of racial identity development. The model highlights feelings of guilt, anger and confusion that the person may experience during the process of acknowledging their Black heritage and encountering racism. Similar to Erikson's (1980) stages of change model, Cross (1971, 1991) presents the idea that there is an end point to identity and racial development; in his model this is the internalisation of and commitment to nigrescence.

Cross' (1971, 1991) model commences with the pre-encounter stage, in which one initially reviews the world as White-orientated, where associations with White are seen to be positive, and objects associated with Black is bad or questionable. In the second stage, the individual experiences either verbal or visual acts of racism, which elicits feelings of rage, guilt and degradation. The third stage of immersion-emersion describes the individual becoming absorbed in being Black and in turn rejects anything to do with being White. Cross (1971) describes the fourth stage, the internalisation phase, as the most difficult and complicated. Here, the individual

begins to resolve their feelings of guilt and anger and realises that both Black and White groups have both positive and negative attitudes. The final stage of internalisation-commitment, sees the individual becoming involved in social and political action, whilst making commitments to changing their community. Identity development is a more haphazard process in which we move forwards and backwards depending on our surroundings, the people we interact with at any one time, our needs and inconsistent desires.

Racial and cultural identity involves varying processes of awareness, knowledge, confusion, acceptance and integration within different social and family contexts (Katz & Treacher, 2005). Hence, every child will have different experiences depending on their differing situations and environments, which will inevitably arouse different reactions and responses from the child. For example, a mixed heritage child growing up in a rural, all white environment may have a contrasting experience to a mixed heritage child growing up in a multi-cultural inner-city suburb. Katz and Treacher (2005) assert that as society projects their fears and confusion into people from 'mixed race' backgrounds, they themselves may project back a stronger sense of identity and knowledge of where they come from.

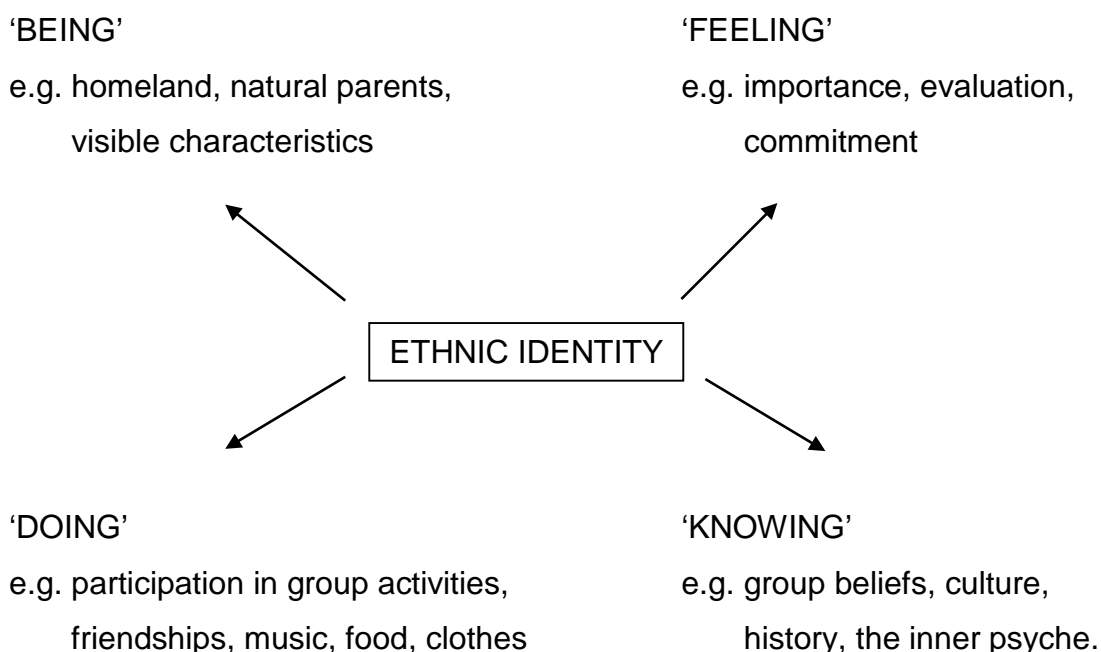
Root (1992) addresses these critiques by taking into account personal factors of/in their personal identity development such as gender, class, sexual orientation, disability and culture and acknowledging that they interact with each other. Root (1992) comments on the 'degrees of openness' within the family network to which they accept members of other cultures and 'races'. The attitudes of family members and communities may result in marginalisation of those who express an alternative belief. This would be particularly pertinent should this be prevalent in mixed heritage families who are unaccepting of the other party's differing background (e.g. racial, religious, national, ethnic identity).

1.3.4. Ethnic identity

Root (1992) introduces the idea of 'situational ethnicity', acknowledging that not only can identity change with time, but also the number of roles an individual may adapt to a particular situation. She views 'adaptability' as essential to multi-ethnic children who may be forced to choose between polar positions, seeing this as a psychological strength. Williams et al. (2002) points out the importance of strong cultural identifications with a particular ethnic group, suggesting this protects against internalising symptomology.

Fishman (1980) stated that ethnicity is often experienced as 'being' part of a kinship and that the heritage of ethnicity creates obligations and opportunities for 'doing' or behaving in a manner that ethnicity will be preserved. Fishman (1980) believed that the 'doing' is more adaptable than the 'being' as behaviour is more likely to change, and that ethnicity can also be experienced as 'knowing' the ideologies, beliefs, and history of the ethnic group. Social psychologists added a fourth dimension of 'feeling' to this model; what it 'feels' like to be a member of that ethnic group. Verkuyten (2005) incorporates this in in the following model below.

Figure 1: The Four Dimensions of Ethnic Identity (taken from Verkuyten, 2005, p.198)



At the time of the study, this model was yet to be referenced to the mixed heritage group; however appears to be a useful way to understand how mixed heritage individuals express differing elements of their ethnic selves. In particular, it gives a framework to conceptualise how aspects of their parents' nationalities plays a role in their 'being', relating to a sense of inheritance and kinship with their heritage countries, whilst interacting and relating to other components of their identities. The model allows for elements from more than one heritage country to be expressed at the same time, e.g. a mixed heritage individual may know about the British education system, however also have a historical knowledge about their fathers' country of birth. It is questionable whether the depth of this knowledge will be equal and the model does not give any indication of how to measure this, however the two may exist spontaneously, not only in one category but across categories. This shows that ethnic identity is flexible and fluid, and is changeable dependent on which aspects of the individual may choose to invest in, e.g. listening to music from their mothers' birth country, having physical characteristics from their fathers' side, however feeling British all at the same time.

Phinney (1990) explores 'the state of ethnic identity' in considering a person's identification at a given time. She highlights the importance of 'self-definition' or 'self-labelling' of one's own ethnicity and how individuals feel about their ethnic identity. This indicates their sense of belonging and the importance of this identity to them. Being able to self-define is an important fact to consider with mixed heritage individuals, having gone through a history of being subjugated and labelled, the element of choice and ownership would be significant to their mixed identities.

Similar to Fishman's (1980) model, the amount of ethnic involvement of the individual can be represented through their participation in the specific traditions and cultural associations with their ethnic group. This may include factors such as use of language, cultural celebrations, music, dress, food, involvement in religious activities or membership of associated groups. However, Phinney's (1990) model of ethnic development does not consider the impact of knowledge regarding the culture and history of one's ethnic group as indicated above by Fishman (1980). Knowledge of one's ethnicity "offers an explanation of where one is and where one is from." (Verkuyten, 2005, p.199)

1.3.5. Social identity

There has been limited theoretical and empirical research regarding the concept of social identity (Simon, 2004). According to Turner et al's (1986) self-categorisation theory, people define their identity in relation to other groups and hence may emphasise certain qualities in one context and not in another due to social desirability. This aligns with the 'mixed race' theories discussed previously, where individuals may have chosen to align themselves with either Black or white groups to break free from prevailing racialized discourses.

Tajfel's (1978) social identity theory, addresses aspects of identity influenced by belonging to particular groups. He suggests our social identities come from our belonging to social groups, the knowledge we have of these social categories and their emotional and evaluative significance (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel et al., 1986). The theory suggests that we understand and discover things about ourselves by knowing what categories and groups we belong to and has been influential in work addressing minority identities (James et al., 1994; Hutnik, 1991; Osbeck et al. 2007; Verkuyten, 2005).

Tajfel et al. (1986) found that individuals identify with groups that they perceive themselves to be a member of and treat others in the group as being similar to them in some relevant way. However, individuals are only able to do this if they can tell who belongs to their group or which group they themselves belong to. This may prove to be difficult for people of mixed heritage backgrounds where the answer is not clearly defined, and challenging for those around them. Robyns (1994, 1995) describes four main attitudes towards creating a cultural group and the possible loss of identity. One of these attitudes the group may adopt should they feel threatened by the presence of a new comer is "the defensive stand"; emphasising the differences of the outsider hence keeping them afar. Mixed heritage individuals may therefore struggle to not only join clearly defined groups, but also to be accepted by them. They may also feel that they belong to several groups which reflect their multiple identities, which may cause group rivalry or exclusion.

1.3.6. National identity

National identity is closely linked to ethnic identity in the sense that they both address the question, “Where do I come from?” Answers are usually positioned in connection to a ‘birth connection’ (Cornell and Hartmann 1998; Horowitz 1985) to one’s ancestral history. In comparison to socially and politically constructed ethnic identities, national identity can be tied to factors related to one’s origins, such as place of birth, who one’s parents are, and where they were born. It involves feelings of belonging to, and attitudes towards the wider society (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Rumbaut (2005) points out the considerable complexity that children of immigrants may encounter when asked seemingly straightforward questions related to their ethnic self-definition, particularly when the parents’ countries of birth differs from the child or from each other.

I have a first-hand experience of growing up in a family where both my parents were born and raised in two different countries. My mother is from Trinidad in the West Indies and my father is from Mauritius in the Indian Ocean. However, both my parents also classify themselves as Asian and Muslims. They met and married in England, where they have lived for approximately 45 years. They both have British passports and classify themselves as British citizens. When people ask me, “Where are you from?” two thoughts are automatically triggered in my mind. “Do they want to know where I am from originally, or are they asking where do I live in England?” I wonder about the context in which this person is asking me this question. Are they enquiring about my heritage, my nationality, or my postcode? In most cases when people ask about my heritage, I answer, “I’m half Trinidadian and half Mauritian.”

Rumbaut’s (1994) Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study researched patterns of continuity and change in the ethnic identities of children of immigrants in America between 1992-1996. They sampled 5,262 students from the eighth and ninth grade, representing 77 nationalities. Half of the students were born in America with at least one foreign-born parent, the other half were themselves immigrants before the age of ten. 58% of the youths self-identified by their own or their parents’ foreign national origin. This was the most stable and ‘fixed’ type of self-identification compared to 47% of the group identifying as pan-ethnic, and only 15% self-identifying as

American, the most unstable and 'fluid' group. A follow-up survey with the same youths measured how important ethnic self-identity was to them, using a three-point scale of 'very important' to 'not important'. Over 71% of those who had identified with their parents' foreign national origins reported that ethnic self-identity was "very important" to them, showing the highest level of attachment and allegiance. In comparison, 53% of the pan-ethnic group and 42% of the American group rated the same, indicating the weakest identity with the lowest stability and salience scores.

The results indicate the importance of parental national origins to the ethnic self-identities of this group who self-categorised with a strong sense of foreign national origins. This highlights a less-aculturated group with an increased self-awareness of their parents' countries of birth and how that impacts on them. Identities from this group appeared to be most stable amongst females, those who spoke the parental language at home, those from more cohesive families, those who had experienced less discrimination, and for those with parents born in the same country. Those whose parents came from the same country of birth were more likely to encompass their parental national origin as part of their own identity, or at least partially identify binationally alongside the host country.

Individuals whose parents came from different countries of birth were more likely to simplify the complexity of their 'mixed origins' by adopting either a pan-ethnic (minority) or American (majority) identity. Rumbaut (1994) suggests this resolves a conflict of identifying with either parent over the other. This source of identification allows the person of mixed heritage to avoid having to choose between two parental 'birth connections' and instead focuses on shared traits. However, by choosing to associate with more generic identities, the specificities of ancestral identities become diluted, which may result in a lack of intergenerational continuity.

The intergenerational identities formed by the current British mixed heritage generation are particularly salient. Through observing their parents' experiences of migration and assimilation with British culture, they form their own, unique understanding and meaning of this process. Their interpretations may be shared through a collective family narrative, or they may have their own individualised and separate viewpoint. This may elicit feelings of shame, embarrassment and the desire

to detach from their parents' cultures and migrational histories and grow towards forming stronger attachments and identifications with the majority culture. Others may develop a strong sense of pride, curiosity and identify with their parents' native identities and feel it important for that not to be lost. This study will endeavour to explore these complex feelings further as it identifies participants from the current British mixed heritage generation and explores their identities and sense of belonging in relationship to their parental nationalities.

Rumbaut's (1994) study found that children's' early perceptions of their parents and family significantly correlated with their ethnic identification. Those who were embarrassed and not proud of their parents were less likely to identify with their parents' national origins and more likely to identify with a hypernated-American or pan-ethnic identity. Other factors found to influence their national identification include individuals' responses to discrimination their parents may have encountered both in the past and present; parental levels of pride and affirmation in their own national identity; and parental achievement or status in both their birth countries and new host country. Rumbaut (1994) found that immigrant parents who were higher status professionals were more likely to influence their children's selection of a foreign national identity than lower status parents.

1.4. Immigration and multiculturalism

The above studies show the impact of immigrant parents on their children's interethnic identities. Those whose parents came from different countries were particularly affected by their parents' experiences of immigration. Whilst recognising this experience will vary depending on the individual, research shows many associated challenges with the process. The next section will therefore give a brief overview of the impact of immigration and different models of adaptation.

Marris (1980) highlights the breaking of lifelong attachments and changes to the intra and extra psychic meanings of how immigrants view their experiences and new surroundings. Various forms of psychological distress have been reported, for instance psychosomatic symptoms such as palpitations, dizziness, insomnia, anxiety and depression (Warheit et al. 1985); post-traumatic stress disorder (Zamichow,

1992) and psychological conflict, culture shock, marginality, social exclusion (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989; Shuval, 1982). There is a loss of social and cultural aspects of one's identity through the process of migration (Falikov, 2005).

Berry's (1990, 1997) model of acculturation represents four acculturation strategies – integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalisation. Two social group identification dilemmas were identified that immigrants would have to determine. The first being, how or if they would be able to retain their ethnic identities linked to their countries of origin. The second being, how much they would be able to identify or be allowed to integrate into the mainstream dominant culture and develop national group identity. Phinney (1996) acknowledged this would also be a concern for following generations, and as underlined by Rumbaut (1994) above, particularly those whose parents come from two different countries.

During the formative years of acculturation theory between 1950-1980, it was assumed that immigrants who maintained their original language and cultural practices would be at higher risk of developing mental health difficulties, having experienced acculturative stress (Berry, 2003; Falikov, 2005; Hovey et al., 2006). However, this view was later challenged and acculturation was seen to be a positive influence on immigrants stress levels (Griffith, 1983; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990). Falikov (2005) identifies that some stresses of cultural dissonance are reduced as immigrants gain the language and cultural competence in their new host countries. The degree of acculturation, in which one may preserve their heritage culture or adapt to the host society will vary according to each individual's unique experience of the process, which would in turn impact on them differently (Liebkind, 2001).

Alternation theory asserts that it is possible to know two cultures and languages and to appropriately use this knowledge in different contexts without the need to compromise one for the other, so that individuals are able to switch from one to the other as they choose (Falikov, 2000b; La Framboise et al. 1993; Rouse, 1992). Falicov (1998, 2002) describes this as living 'in two worlds' rather than living between two worlds'. This theoretical stance incorporates the view of multiculturalism in which different cultures are able to co-exist at the same time. These adaptable skills can be applied not only to immigrant parents but their mixed heritage children, where they

are able to incorporate more than one culture, language and tradition from which they are able to fluidly alternate from one to the other depending on the setting without the need to choose one to preside over the others. However, there is limited research that has specifically addressed this.

Berry (1998) and Feliciano (2001) believe there is immense value in individuals maintaining their culture of origin whilst gaining a second culture, such as the integration of traditions, customs and languages rather than assimilating from one culture direct to another. Assimilation theory proposes that one can form a positive relationship with the dominant society without retaining one's ethnic identity, which contrasts with alternation theory which suggests that a moderately strong, positive relationship can be established whilst maintaining an equally robust relationship to one's culture of origin. The later theory echoes Redfield et al.'s (1936) definition of acculturation, which allows for a two-way dynamic interaction of both cultures and allows adaptation in either group that is mutually beneficiary. The following research examines the impact of the above methods of integration of immigrant populations.

1.5. Inter-faith relationships

When thinking of dual heritage/'mixed race', people tend to focus on the ethnic backgrounds but not the faith backgrounds (Kamal, 2009). Having acknowledged the interchange between 'mixed' terminology such as 'race', ethnic groups and faith, it was felt important to include a separate section specifically focussed on mixed faith relationships to review whether the literature highlights similar findings to other mixed heritage studies.

Over half of the children from mixed heritage backgrounds under the age of 16 have parents who are married or are cohabiting (Aspinall, 2003; Murphy, 2006; Owen, 2005). Over the last few decades, there has been an increase in the number of inter-faith marriages or people cohabiting in inter-faith relationships (Graham et al., 2007; Morgan et al., 1996; Voas, 2008). However, there are few mixed heritage studies solely focused in this area (Caballero et al., 2008). This may be due to the fact that the term mixed heritage itself does not tend to be associated with inter-faith relationships (Kamal, 2009). Like parental nationality, faith can also be an invisible

component of mixed heritage identities which may be why it has received so little attention.

Most inter-faith studies incorporate aspects of the individual's culture, 'race' or ethnicity, which may also be of a mixed nature (Arweck & Nesbitt, 2010; Ata, 2003; Bangstad, 2004; Froese, 2008; Speelman, 2001; Voas, 2009). This may reflect how individuals from mixed heritage backgrounds are not able to separate aspects of their faith from their ethnicity or other aspects of themselves when describing their heritage background. In fact, it may be an important defining element of their mixed heritage, particularly as individuals may consider their religions in terms of an ethnic group as acknowledged by the Race Relations (Amendment) Act (2000).

Aspinall et al.'s (2006) study investigated the categories and terminology associated with mixed heritage people. 47 responses to questionnaires showed that individuals tended to categorise themselves by their parents place of birth, (e.g. "my mother is Italian and my father is Iranian") or by a mixture of parents place of birth and religious faith, "my mother is a UK born Muslim of Irish (mother) and Pakistani (father) parentage". This highlights how entwined aspects of mixed-faith, nationality and mixed-ethnicity are, and how these multiple layers of identity interact and influence one another. This study again highlights the importance of the under-researched area of parental birth countries and the link to how some mixed heritage individuals choose to identify themselves.

Horowitz (1999) researched how a family from two different faiths, (Judaism and Christianity) negotiated the traditional practices of each background during the month of December, which incorporated two different observances of Hanukkah and Christmas. She found that couples faced difficulties where they differed in holiday traditions and had to find ways to integrate practices whilst respecting their partner's needs, heritage, and identity. The intensity of the couple's efforts to overcome individual differences highlighted the significance of their relationship and was seen to work more collaboratively together whilst solidifying partnerships.

Arweck and Nesbitt (2010) studied the intersection of faith and ethnicity, and the religious identity formation of young people in mixed-faith families using ethnographic research methods. They examined whether young people had 'multiple cultural competence' (Jackson & Nesbitt, 1993) where they are able to manage and adapt different aspects of their identity depending on their social and cultural context. 185 interviews were carried out; 112 were conducted with adults and 73 with young people. The young people from inter-faith families reported to have fluid identities where particular social contexts brought different aspects of themselves to the foreground. For example, one participant with a South Asian parent reported to feel 'more English' in school and 'more Indian' when with their South Asian part of the family or in either Sikh or Hindu places of worship.

None of the young people reported any difficulties having two faiths present in their family. However, feelings of exclusion was found in settings where they were not able to speak the language of one side of the family, or where they felt they missed out on the personal and social benefits to attending a place of worship regularly. Young people also felt a sense of being different when others such as fellow students or teachers at school made comments about them that clashed with their own perceptions of themselves. For example, one young person identified with Islam, however her teacher assumed her to be 'white Christian'. In these cases, young people perceived these remarks as racist or acts of bullying.

The inter-faith families from the above study did not have any explicit negotiation of boundaries in regards to their religions, ethnicities, or cultures and hence the idea of being different was not present for the majority. This was because most parents had distanced themselves from their respective faiths, by not being overtly socialised into them or because they had decided to detach themselves from them. Most parents left their children's religious education to school to teach, or for them to pick it up through their general life, such as at family gatherings. It was found that most parents wanted their children to know about and experience a wide range of religions, and consequently the young people did not feel any parental expectations to follow any particular religious path.

1.6. Being British and from a mixed heritage background

Coinciding with the rapidly growing number of British people from mixed heritage backgrounds, both media and general academic interest in personal testimonies of people of mixed parentage started developing in both the United States of America and in Great Britain (Alibhai-Brown, 2001; Basit, 2009; Katz, 1996; Tizard & Phoenix, 1993; Wallace, 2004; Wilson, 1987).

Basit's (2009) study examined the views of 442 young male and female citizens, between the ages of 14-24, from majority and minority ethnic groups, (including 'dual heritage' and 'British Muslims) and in different stages of education, employment and unemployment by use of a survey. 40 follow up interviews were conducted investigating key concepts of identity and citizenship. The research showed that education and career was the main priority for these young people. Most individuals reported to have multiple identities which they were comfortable with, however, some from minority ethnic backgrounds felt their notion of being British citizens were challenged by others, due to racist attacks or stereotyping, particularly in the aftermath of terrorist attacks in Britain.

Barrett et al. (2006) designed a study to understand how British Bangladeshi and mixed heritage adolescents living in London negotiated the demands of living with multiple cultures and how they 'managed' their multiple identities in different situations and contexts. Their 'mixed heritage' group were from a diverse range of different heritage mixes, including some from 'mixed race' backgrounds. Similar to Jacobson's (1997) findings, the Bangladeshi participants prioritised their Muslim identity to their ethnic one. Barrett et al.'s (2006) study also showed that participants tended to converse with their parents at home in their parents' mother-tongue, however, they invariably used English when talking to members of their own generation at school, even if they were the same origin as themselves. Additionally, three-quarters of these participants had at least one Bangladeshi amongst their three best friends, which may show the importance of having people from similar backgrounds amongst their peers.

Barrett et al. (2006) found that as well as language, food tended to be context specific, with participants eating food from their parents' countries of origin at home and more fast food outside of home. This may have been a way of their identifying and expressing different parts of their identities within differing social contexts. Both groups of participants had a sense of belonging to their parents' national origins when supporting international sporting events, i.e., young people from Bangladesh and Jamaica supporting these countries in the cricket or Olympics, rather than England. Amongst the mixed heritage group it was found that those with separated parents tended to express a sense of biculturalism, showing the ability to navigate between two different social worlds when going back and forth to different family groups. However, none of the participants felt 'between two cultures'. Instead identities were seen as fluid and contextually contingent. These findings contrast with the research below.

The 2005 annual national Count Me In census of psychiatric inpatients in England and Wales, identified that people of mixed backgrounds had a variety of experiences of mental health services. Following these results, Magee (2011) conducted a study between 2007-2010 in the London Borough of Camden and Islington researching issues regarding access and the experiences of people from mixed heritage backgrounds subject to assessment under the Mental Health Act 1983. Their mixed heritage participants consisted of a Black/White mixed group due to their recognition of the established inequalities affecting Black African and Caribbean population, i.e. high numbers of hospital admissions and experience of detentions under the Mental Health Act 1983 and forensic services.

Their findings reported inaccuracies in staff recordings of ethnicity which may have had ramifications for the relationship with mixed heritage service user and the quality of care provided to them (Magee, 2011). It was identified that data incompleteness could lead to poorer outcomes and experiences associated with being from a mixed heritage background, such as labelling someone from a background they would not identify with.

Tickly et al. (2004) found that the attainment levels of mixed heritage children, specifically described as 'White/Black Caribbean' pupils is below average in both primary and secondary schools, as are the rates of progress in Key Stages 3 and 4. Children described as 'White/Black African' was reported to be close to average in primary schools, but below average in secondary schools. However, attainment levels for pupils describes as 'White/Asian' were above average. Tickly et al., (2004) suggests these concerning statistics for mixed heritage children were linked to; levels of deprivation, (which was measured on the uptake of free school meals) poor teacher expectations, and behavioural difficulties related to peer group pressure. Consequently, the study reports an over-representation of the first two groups of mixed heritage children described being permanently excluded.

Banks (2001) also contends that teachers need to develop reflective cultural and national identifications if they are to function effectively in diverse classrooms to help students from different cultural backgrounds to construct clarified identifications.

The above studies reflect areas of importance for British people from mixed heritage backgrounds. In particular, aspects of culture, multiple identities, minority status, discrimination, mental health, and education were highlighted. It should be noted that parental nationality was an important factor to be considered further in both Barrett et al.'s (2006) and Banks (2001) studies.

In line with reviewing British mixed heritage studies British, it was felt that the national statistics and trends of this group should be reviewed. This can be found in the following section.

1.6.1. Census data

2001 was the first year that the British census included a category for 'mixed/multiple ethnic groups' in its recordings. This change took place in response to difficulties experienced in the 1991 census, in distinguishing from those categorised under the 'Other' section, and due to demand from the public to include more explicit categories of 'mixed' groups (Aspinall, 1996).

Owen (2005) conducted a statistical analysis on the 2001 and 1991 census⁶. The following figures are taken from his findings. The 2001 census in the United Kingdom estimated 677,118 people selected one of the mixed categories to identify their ethnic origin. Owen's (2005) analysis showed this was 1.2 per cent of the total population and almost three times the figure recorded in the 1991 census, reflecting the vast growth in the mixed population over the decade. In the same period, the total British population had only increased by four per cent. The mixed population represented 14.6 per cent of the minority ethnic population, almost doubling the figures in 1991. In England and Wales, the figures indicated higher numbers of people from mixed backgrounds within the younger age groups, namely from 0-19 years, with particularly large numbers between the ages of 0-9 years of age. In 2001, almost four per cent of all under fives in England and Wales were of mixed origin, which constituted one quarter of the minority ethnic population.

Owen (2005) suggested that the census showed that the areas of location for people of mixed origin were not evenly spread, with the ten most common places to live being in inner-London. He found that in the top 30 locations, 24 were London boroughs, three were metropolitan districts and two urban unitary authorities, strongly suggesting that the mixed population is generally concentrated in urban areas and particularly in London. This also indicates that there are large numbers of areas in the United Kingdom with very low percentages of the mixed population, which contrasts with the few areas with high percentages.

Unfortunately, due to changes to reported ethnic group categories, there is a loss of comparability between the 2001 and 2011 data. The 2011 Census introduced a question on nationality identity for the first time. English identity (either on its own or combined with other identities) was the most common identity chosen at 67%, (37.6 million people). British identity (either on its own or combined with other identities) was selected by 29% (16.3 million people), (Office for National Statistics, 2012). It was found that 1 in 10 people (9% or 2.3 million) who were living as part of a couple were in an interethnic relationship in England and Wales in 2011. This had increased from 7% in 2001, and that people from the Mixed/Multiple ethnic groups were most

⁶ Data from the 2011 Census was not available at the time the thesis was originally written.

likely to be in an inter-ethnic relationship (Office for National Statistics, 2014). Again, similar to the 2001 Census, the 2011 statistics showed that the Mixed/Multiple ethnic groups had the youngest age profile of all the ethnic groups, with 45% under the age of 16 in comparison with 19% of the overall population (Office for National Statistics, 2014).

1.7. Summary and rationale

Government census statistics identify that British society is moving towards a position in which an increasing percentage of the population will be mixed, and that people from mixed heritage backgrounds form the largest increasing minority ethnic group in Britain today (Office for National Statistics, 2003, 2014). However, a review of literature at the time of study indicated that, despite these projected figures, this was a significantly under researched topic in Britain.

Existing research has focussed on 'mixed race' studies following historical and social discourses constructing people from such backgrounds as marginal with identity difficulties. By concentrating solely on 'racial identity', these studies negate other personal aspects which individuals may consider to be important, such as national, cultural, ethnic, and faith identities. These identities often get overlooked by others as they are unseen elements of the self.

This study aims to broaden the concept of being 'mixed' to incorporate a wider perspective and hence uses the term 'mixed heritage'. Heritage is seen to represent an individual's background, where they come from, and what has been passed on from the previous generation. Some may call it 'ancestral history', which may include some, if not all, of the additional unseen factors mentioned above that shape one's identity, as well as racial identity.

Theoretical models and assimilation studies suggest the importance of national heritage to the formation of immigrants' identity and sense of belonging. Several studies have shown that mixed heritage individuals identify by parental nationality (Aspinal 2008, 2006; Rumbaut, 1994; Barrett et al., 2006). It is therefore surprising that there are so few studies considering the impact of parental nationality on people from mixed backgrounds and how this shapes their identity and sense of belonging.

This study therefore aims to bridge this gap in the field and bring a greater understanding to the area. The study will attempt to understand and give meaning to the experiences of people from mixed heritage backgrounds whose parents come from two different countries. The sources people draw on to construct their identity will be explored as well as their sense of belonging, and what impact growing up in Britain has had in this process. The implications of these findings will be considered for future developments and planning in health, social and educational settings.

Thus the main research questions to be addressed in this study are:

- a) How do people from mixed heritage backgrounds define themselves?
- b) What were the experiences of growing up in Britain with a mixed heritage background like?
- c) What were the important factors contributing to these experiences?
- d) How have these factors influenced and informed their identity now?

METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative methodology to explore the individual experiences of people from mixed heritage backgrounds growing up in Britain. Willig (2001) states that qualitative research focuses on meanings within contexts and involves the researcher actively engaging with the data. A qualitative approach is particularly useful for exploring areas in which little systematic knowledge exists (Murphy & Chamberlain, 1999) and, hence, would allow me to build on the limited British literature focused on people from mixed heritage backgrounds. Elliott et al. (1999) state that, in qualitative research, the researcher attempts to develop understandings of the phenomenon under study, based as much as possible on the perspective of those being studied. In doing so, this study gives voice to a minority population which has a history of being labelled and hypothesised about, giving them the opportunity to speak about their actual experiences.

Qualitative research focuses on participants' accounts and allows for the collection of detailed information that is not determined by a structured set of questions or measures developed by the researcher (Willig, 2001). This gives the participant more control over the content of the interview and in deciding what they may want to contribute. A semi-structured interview schedule was used when meeting with participants to offer some structure to the interview, whilst at the same time allowing for flexibility according to responses. Smith's (1996) Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was used to analyse the data collected from the participant's interviews.

Chamberlain (2000) considers how qualitative research adopts an ontological position, making assumptions about the nature of reality and adopting a stance on how 'real' the objects of their research are considered to be. Chamberlain (2000) describes how there are two positions that can be taken in response to this. The first is the 'realist' stance which proposes that reality exists independently of our representations of it and can be observed straightforwardly and unproblematically. The opposing position is the 'relativist' stance in which there are no absolute truths and individual experiences are constructed in respect to a specific social context. IPA lies in between these two polarities and allows one to take a critical realist

position in assuming a relationship between people's words and their mental state, which then impacts on their behaviours and emotions.

2.1. Interpretative phenomenological analysis

“The aim of IPA is to explore the participants' view of the world and to adopt as far as is possible, an 'insider's perspective' of the phenomenon under study. At the same time IPA also recognises that the research exercise is a dynamic process. While one attempts to get close to the participant's personal world, one cannot do this directly or completely. Access is both dependent on, and complicated by, the researcher's own conceptions which are required in order to make sense of that other personal world through a process of interpretative activity” (Smith, 1996, p.264).

Willig (2001) considers that although IPA aims to explore in detail the participant's experience from their perspective, there is also the recognition that this exploration must involve the researcher's own world views as well as the interaction between the participant and researcher. The analysis can, therefore, only ever be an interpretation of the participant's experience.

IPA allows for new concepts and undeveloped ideas which have not previously been established to emerge. Shaw (2001) explains how IPA allows researchers to learn from people's first hand experiences rather than from existing theories that may be outdated. Smith's (2004) paper discussed how IPA studies usually deal with significant existential issues of considerable value to the participants and researchers. It is, therefore, an appropriate method of analysis to investigate factors related to identity development. Indeed identity has emerged as a key organising principle in many IPA studies conducted in the past (Smith, 1996), and IPA has proven to be effective in this field of investigation.

Smith (2004) suggests that within an IPA framework, there is a link between what an individual states in an interview and the beliefs or psychological constructs that they hold. At the same time, it is assumed that the meaning or meanings of an individual's beliefs are influenced by the social contexts that they are individually exposed to (Smith, 1996). Reid et al., (2005) also suggest that IPA draws on a constructionist

perspective and positions experienced within a social and cultural context. I therefore, attempted to take into account the social, cultural and historical background that the participant came from whilst constructing a theoretical framework based on the individual's own language and conceptualisations.

IPA recognises that there are elements of the phenomenological world of the participants that are social constructs. Willig (2001) recognised that participants' accounts of their experiences are not direct explanations of what they are actually thinking. She argues that the discourse received is not only mediated via the dialogue between the participant and researcher but also by the researcher as they analyse the transcripts themselves.

Many concepts used in this study such as race, culture and ethnicity have been socially constructed to reflect social, historical and political attitudes and beliefs. This study aims to understand how people from mixed heritage backgrounds define themselves and their experiences in relation to the development of their identity. It was, therefore, important to choose a qualitative methodology that would allow access to the accounts of these individuals.

IPA shares common ground with discourse analysis (Potter & Wetherell, 1987) in its recognition of the importance of language. It focuses on the meaning that individual's assign to their experiences, whilst acknowledging the researcher's process of interpretation in analysing their accounts (Smith et al., 1999). Willig (2001) considers the limitations of IPA, in particular emphasising the restrictions of data being conveyed through language. Burr (1995), however, points out that discourse studies do not explain why individuals adopt particular positions within specific situations and some have been criticised for overlooking the individual's psychological and subjective dimensions.

2.2. Procedure

An ethics application was approved by the University of East London (Appendix 1) before commencing recruitment for this study.

2.2.1. Recruitment

Participants were recruited by advertisement and word of mouth. Recruitment posters (Appendix 2) and contact details were placed in public places such as universities, events and websites related to mixed heritage issues. Local newspapers and youth centres were also contacted, however, neither got involved in the recruitment process. A community sample was recruited for this study. Having self-identified with the recruitment criteria, participants contacted me and expressed an interest in the study.

Prospective participants were sent an initial introduction letter (Appendix 3) and an information sheet (Appendix 4) explaining the study. They were also sent a consent form (Appendix 5) and a screening form (Appendix 6). The screening form addressed the selection and exclusion criteria for the study, outlined below. In addition, participants were asked how they defined their mixed heritage and whether they had thought about their identity before.

2.2.2. Selection and exclusion criteria:

- Participants must have parents from two different countries
- Participants must be between the ages of 18-35
- Participants must be born and brought up in Britain
- Participants must speak fluent English

These requirements attempted to exclude confounding variables such as being born in another country. This factor would have influenced their view of their nationality which would have impacted on how they defined their cultural identity. Previous studies have shown that people of mixed heritage were more likely to be assured of their identity with age (Fatimilehin, 1999). The age range recruited from will still be in the process of forming their identities and thinking about what kind of person they are and want to be (Arnett, 2000). They would be of a suitable age to accurately reflect

on their experiences of adolescence and childhood and would also have grown up in a social and political environment that is not too dissimilar from that which we are living in now and would, therefore, be talking about a relatively recent past.

Twenty people expressed an interest in the study. Five people did not meet the recruitment criteria as they were not born in Britain. A further five respondents were excluded from the study; four were not able to attend an interview within the specific timeframe allocated and one respondent had not fully completed their form making it invalid. Having selected the participants, a convenient time and location was decided for the interview following a discussion between myself and the participant. This dialogue also provided an opportunity to answer any questions the participant had. Participants were recruited from different parts of England.

2.2.3. Participants

A total of ten participants took part in the study. They were recruited from a variety of sources. Six found out about the study through a friend, one responded to an advertisement email at university, one responded to an advertisement email at work, one responded to an advertisement placed on an internet site aimed at people from mixed heritage backgrounds and one responded to an email via a race and culture forum.

The participants were from a range of mixed heritage backgrounds (see Table 1). There were four males and six females. The age range of the group was 18-32, with the mean age at 26.6 years of age. Two participants had young children of their own and seven were currently in a relationship. Half of the group's parents had divorced, with all separations taking place before they had reached 18 years of age.

Pseudonyms have been used below to ensure the participants' anonymity.

Table 1: Details of Participants

Participant	Age	Mother's country of birth	Father's country of birth	Number of Children	Parents separated
1 – Jay	28	Portugal	Pakistan	0	No
2 – Tarik	27	Uganda	India	1	No
3 – Karen	26	Denmark	England	0	Yes
4 – Jessie	31	Ireland	India	0	Yes
5 – Dylan	32	Wales	India	0	No
6 – Roxana	30	Wales	Iran	0	Yes
7 – Anthony	23	England	Ghana	0	No
8 – Sophia	26	Wales	Iraq	0	No
9 – Nikki	25	Italy	Ghana	1	Yes
10 – Chloe	18	Barbados	England	0	Yes

2.2.4. Interviews

A qualitative approach was used to collect participants' responses, using semi-structured interviews to allow for free expression on the part of the participants, whilst allowing me to concentrate on particular areas of interest (Bernard, 1988; Patton, 1990; Sudman et al., 1982). I conducted all the interviews myself. The interviews lasted between an hour to an hour and a half, and took place in a quiet setting in either my university, the participant's workplace or the participant's home. There was no one else present in interviews other than the participant and myself. Before the interview began, the participant's consent to take part was verbally confirmed and they were reminded they could pause or leave the interview at any time.

I attempted to use open-ended and non-directive questions, with the aim to allow interviewees to talk about their experiences with minimal interruption. Prompts and follow up questions were used to clarify or explore comments further.

2.2.5. Ethical considerations

Participants were made aware of the confidential nature of the study, both verbally and in writing. All interview transcripts were made anonymous, as was all electronic data, by the use of codes rather than the names of participants. Personal data identifiable to participants was kept anonymous during the write up of the study. Participants' data and any relevant documents were securely kept in a locked filing cabinet. This information will be shredded on completion of the write up of this study, as will all names and details of participants, and transcription tapes will be destroyed. All electronic data was protected by use of a password. The interview was conducted in a sensitive manner. I advised participants both verbally and written, that they may withdraw from the study at any time during the process. Participants were made aware that should they become distressed or draw my attention to any sort of difficulties during the interview, we would discuss whether the interview should continue or end at that point.

2.2.6. Transcription

All interviews were tape recorded and transcribed verbatim. Smith and Osborn (2003) state that the level of transcription for IPA is generally semantic and so transcripts included questions asked, speech errors and utterances, however, they did not focus on emphasis or tone of voice. All transcripts were anonymised and coded to enable identification of participants. Each line of the transcript was numbered to aid the analysis.

2.2.7. Process of analysis

The analysis followed the procedure as described by Smith et al., (1999), which uses a process of thematic analysis, the generation of codes and themes, then moving from specific to general and descriptive to interpretative.

I familiarised myself with the participants' accounts by reading and rereading the transcripts a number of times, as illustrated by Smith et al., (1999). Each transcript was then looked at in further detail and any concerns or experiences of the participant were summarised on one side of the transcript. The transcript was reread again and a record was made on the other side of the page documenting any inferences made about the nature, meaning and context of the participants'

experiences on the basis of what had been said (see Appendix 7 for an Example of a Worked Transcript).

A list of emergent themes was compiled and connections were made between them, as explained by Smith et al. (1999). These subordinate themes were clustered together and were coded to make sense of their shared meanings. Each theme was re-examined and comparisons were made across the themes to allow for the identification of superordinate themes. The connections between the identified themes were checked to ensure they reflected in detail the participant's account; some themes were concepts which were given *in vivo* terms used by the participants to capture their essence.

The list of superordinate themes from the first transcript were then used to inform the analysis of the other transcripts. This allowed the possibility to identify new and different material as well as to find responses that coincided with existing themes, as described in Smith et al. (1999). Any new themes that emerged were then tested against previous transcripts. A summary table was produced to reflect the structure and content of the analysis. (See Appendix 8 for the Initial Table of Themes: Table 2). Once all the transcripts were analysed, a final master list of themes was constructed. (See Table 2 for the Final Table of Themes).

CHAPTER THREE: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Four main superordinate themes emerged from the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis and have been summarised in the table below.

Table 2: Summary of the Results of the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

Superordinate Themes	Subordinate Themes
3.1. “Best of Both Worlds”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3.1.1. “I love being a mix” • 3.1.2. Choice and flexibility
3.2. Facing Exclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3.2.1. “Looking at you as an outsider” • 3.2.2. More than ‘race’
3.3. Belonging	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3.3.1. Dual affiliations • 3.3.2. Recognition and familiarity • 3.3.3. Sameness amongst mixed heritage backgrounds
3.4. The Importance of ‘Heritage Language’	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3.4.1. Connected to culture • 3.4.2. Language passing through generations

The following chapter explores each theme further. Extracts from participants’ interviews are used to illustrate each theme.

3.1. Theme 1: “Best of both worlds”

It's good to be mixed because you get the best of both worlds... you get a broader experience and you get knowledge of all different things. (Nikki: 770)

Two main themes were identified in the following analysis. The first theme, “I love being a mix” draws on participants’ positive accounts of being from a mixed heritage background. The second theme, “Choice and flexibility”, focuses on the importance for some participants to have the option to identify with different aspects of their mixed heritage backgrounds, as well as the need to control when and how this is done.

3.1.1. “I love being a mix”

I must say I love being a mix... my cultural knowledge is already doubled, tripled. (Jay: 505)

All participants considered having a mixed heritage background to be positive and indicated it gave them a sense of having something additional. They described a unique awareness of different cultures and having acquired specific knowledge and skills. Fishman (1980) suggested the importance of knowledge of the history, ideologies and beliefs of one’s ethnic group constitutes one’s ethnicity. For some, ‘cultural knowledge’ meant a detailed understanding of the different countries their parents came from. This included learning about different foods their extended families ate and knowing how to prepare these meals. For others, the notion of culture incorporated knowledge about languages, religions and traditions.

The more they knew about their heritage backgrounds, the more they were able to connect with others who originated from their parents’ countries of births. This may be familial, when visiting extended family abroad; in local communities; or in circumstances leading to being accepted by faith groups or peers who came from that country or spoke their native language. This feeling of acceptance may have been based on the extent of knowledge they had to share; their ability to practice traditions; or their ability to speak the language. In most cases, the more knowledge

they had in these areas, the more they felt part of, or the ability to belong to something mutual with a collective.

Participants spoke about culture interchangeably with the concept of heritage, valuing experiences of acquiring 'cultural knowledge' from family members, and using this shared understanding as a means of connecting with others. Several spoke of a sense of pride at upholding familial traditions, such as being able to prepare a meal that their grandparents used to make. They found it pleasing when grandparents reciprocated with a sense of pride that they were continuing their customs, which also acted as a reinforcer to acquiring further knowledge. For some participants, going back to their parents' countries of birth not only gave them the opportunity to meet family and experience traditions first hand, but it also allowed them to feel like they belonged to something wider. This is discussed further in the theme 'Belonging'.

It gives you, has given me... a kind of real glimpse of two cultures, quite intimately in a way that I think is quite hard to get unless you're in that unique situation. (Jessie: 122)

All participants felt that having parents from two different countries gave them a unique and increased level of insight into more than one heritage background that others would not be able to appreciate. They talked about having a broader experience, getting to know more than one culture in an intimate, exclusive way, and a richness that they felt made them stand apart from other people. This brought about a range of positive associations such as feeling clever, distinctive, and standing out in a positive way.

Several participants believed that having a mixed heritage background made them more open-minded and presented them with different options which helped them to understand and identify with the concept of being different. They felt this enabled them to interact and adapt with different groups of people, due to their being open to difference and being able to see things from another perspective.

I think it's kind of made me really open minded but (pause) it made me always question normality because it almost felt there was no normality. And yeah probably a lot more open minded and less judgemental. (Jessie: 282)

You question a lot of things. You don't take a lot of things for granted. Like the way, say information is presented, um perhaps on the news or them magazines you're always, you're always aware that there's another point of view. (Anthony: 641)

Several participants considered these skills gave them a greater understanding of people from minority backgrounds. This was spoken about in a broad sense to incorporate many aspects such as 'race', ethnicity, and sexuality. Where people from mixed heritage backgrounds themselves are construed as the fastest growing minority group in comparison to the majority culture, it is not surprising that participants were able to identify with others from less dominant positions.

There was always something quite liked about being different... It's quite like attractive as well. (Sophia: 149)

Some participants, like Sophia, commented how others found their mixed heritage identities to be attractive, intriguing, different, and interesting. They valued being different to the norm and being noticed by others. However, this positive attention was not always consistent, and neither was the experience of all participants. Different elements such as when and how mixed heritage individuals chose to define themselves played a factor in how they perceived the interest of others, as well as the kind of interest they attracted. This will be explored further in the next section as well as the Facing exclusion theme.

3.1.2. Choice and flexibility

It really depended on the context that I was kind of thinking about it in... luxury of being able to choose when I'm like defined. (Sophia: 442)

All participants spoke about having flexible identities that might shift or change depending on the setting or the people they are with. As mentioned above, some felt their mixed heritage backgrounds provided them with more options of expressing different cultures, looks, languages or traditions that they had been exposed to. This ability was not confusing for them, rather it gave them a sense of agency, choice and control. It was important that they had an element of choice about how they defined their mixed heritage and being able to select which components of their identity they wanted to express at particular times, and which elements they didn't. The concept of choice brought a sense of empowerment to individuals and allowed them to be flexible and try different types of identities within themselves. However, the degrees of choice actually experienced by individuals varied substantially.

In the above quote, Sophia associates choice as a 'luxury'. Half of the participants were conscious that they had the option to conceal their mixed heritage backgrounds should they wish. They compared themselves to others who did not have this choice due to more obvious visible differences. Some expressed guilt, or conversely fortune, that they had more freedom to control which elements of themselves they displayed or engaged with. Their reflections showed an awareness that some people from mixed heritage backgrounds experienced extreme levels of discrimination due to their visual differences from the majority culture. A few who had not experienced overt difficulties due to their mixed backgrounds, felt a lack of entitlement to use the term. There appeared to be an underlying awareness of prevailing historical discourses and narratives of hardships associated with the label.

Some questioned whether they deserved to call themselves mixed heritage, as they hadn't experienced any problems associated with it, almost as if they had to earn it. This links with Wallace's (2001) concept of legitimacy for people from mixed heritage backgrounds and the pressure they may feel from their respective heritage groups to adopt mannerisms, traditions, cultures of the group to be accepted. This pressure

from others may impact on the mixed heritage individual's sense of belonging, as well as experiencing rejection and discrimination.

Factors that influenced their choice of whether to withhold their mixed heritage identities included who they were talking to, their surroundings or the cultural, social and political context they were in.

How I define, it, it depends who's asking and how they ask. (Roxana: 9)

Roxana described being able to visually hide her mixed heritage background, however, like other participants, found her surname raised curiosity to her origins. She found her response was dependent on the context and how she would be perceived by the person asking the question. Sometimes, she found it advantageous to disclose her mixed heritage background, however other times she felt she did not want to align herself with a country which had political associations, and hence would temporarily dissociate from her father's birthplace.

There appeared to be a level of threat associated with being from a mixed heritage background. The fear attached to this was ultimately linked to people's fears of others' perceptions of them, being judged, not accepted and ultimately excluded. In these circumstances, people lost the power to define themselves and the ability to choose. Other participants commented how integration 'saps energy' and sometimes it's easier to just 'blend in', and so doing allowing themselves to be subjected to others' labelling them. This is discussed further in the next theme, 'Facing Exclusion'.

For Karen, the only white participant, she found the opposite effect. She was proud of her mixed heritage background and wanted people to know that she was not part of the majority culture. However, she found because she was white and was able to blend in visually, people did not fully accepted her mixed status, which upset her.

I think other people think of the Danish being less of a half... it's a bit annoying... people assume it has less of an impact maybe than it does... Maybe because it's another European country. They think it's kind of less different than I don't know... but I think there are, you know there are still the same, there are still differences in that things are done in a different ways, a different language is spoken. (Karen: 28)

However, in contrast to the expressions of guilt felt by some participants at not having experienced racism, Karen identified with these experiences. Similar to the majority of participants, Karen was often asked “Where are you from?” and also whether she was Polish. Although more subtle, Karen often felt as an ‘outsider’, positioned as an immigrant, and felt others were anxious about her not being part of the majority culture as visually expected. At times like this she felt excluded.

Along with the element of choice came a notion of flexibility that participants did not feel they had to stick with one way of expressing their identity or heritage. This is consistent with alternation studies from Berry (1998); Redfield et al. (1936) and Feliciano (2001), where individuals valued the traditions, customs, and languages of their culture of origin whilst gaining the benefit from an additional culture. Instead, similar to Root's (1992) idea of situational ethnicity, identity was thought of as a more fluid and not a fixed concept. It was changeable depending on the circumstances, what participants wanted to convey about themselves, and how they wanted to be perceived by others.

Identity feels much more fluid... it means I can fit in quite easily. I think I really do fit into groups quite easily because I, I'm so used to just kind of adapting quite quickly. (Jessie: 134)

I think it's quite flexible because I think your, your surroundings you know that, that largely make up your culture are, are changing and, and so the person that you are today won't necessarily be the person you are tomorrow. (Tarik: 128)

Similar to the 'mixed heritage' participants in the study by Barrett et al. (2006), Jessie and Tariq felt able to 'manage' their multiple identities and navigate moving between different social and cultural worlds with ease. Several participants felt they were able to acclimatise quickly to new social situations and groups. Tariq's approach to constant growth and adaptation in light of his current environment reflects Falicov's (1998, 2002) alternation theory. He adopts the culture of his surroundings and adds it to his existing cultural knowledge from his heritage backgrounds and integrates the two in a way that cultivates and expands both approaches.

Not only was it important to be able to choose which aspect of their identities they wished to express, all participants felt it was important to have the cultural knowledge of both of their families as well as mainstream customs, living 'in' two worlds (Falicov, 1998, 2002). All participants discussed the value of their multiple heritages, and a feeling that they would not feel complete within themselves or be able to fully express their identities without all aspects of their mixed backgrounds (Falicov, 2000b; La Framboise et al. 1993 and Rouse, 1992).

Most participants felt able to control other aspects of their mixed heritage backgrounds such as which traditions and religions they chose to uphold. The majority of participants were not practicing a religion, however chose which of their parents' religious festivities or cultural practices they wanted to partake.

My Mum doesn't celebrate Christmas... but I used to love celebrating with my Dad... but it's a bit you know, choosing what I like out of the traditions kind of thing. (Chloe: 94)

Chloe indicates an element of choice, however following her parents' separation and lack of contact with her father, this option was removed from her. Chloe's parents separated when she was younger, following which she did not have regular contact with her father for a long period of time. She felt this affected her cultural heritage learning. She acknowledged that irregular contact with this side of her family left her feeling left out and inquisitive to their cultural practices. She also felt that her parents' separation and subsequent relationship was not amicable, which impacted on her feelings towards her father and his family. As she grew older she wished to repair

this relationship and catch up on all the traditions she had been missing out on, however found the significant time that had passed made this difficult.

Half of the participants' parents were divorced, with all separations taking place before they were 18 years old. Official statistics show that over half of mixed heritage children have married or cohabiting parents (Owen, 2005; Aspinall, 2003; Murphy, 2006), which is consistent with national divorce rates in Britain (Online National Statistics, 2014). Of these participants, all remained at home with their mothers. Three of their parental couples separated during their teenage years, with the fathers having regular contact with their children. The two participants whose parents separated when they were younger, did not have contact with their fathers whilst growing up. These figures are again similar to the national average of children living in the United Kingdom with a lone parent being 22%, and 90% of lone parent families headed by a woman.

The majority of these participants did not feel their parent's separation were relevant to the development of their mixed heritage identities and therefore did not provide much information when asked. However, Jessie wondered whether she had less access to her fathers' culture and whether she was subsequently less influenced by that half of her heritage. She found it hard to separate what was cultural, personality, or due to their relationship. It was therefore important to her to keep her father's surname should she get married to reflect her Indian heritage. Like other participants mentioned above, Jessie felt she could mask that side of her heritage should she choose to, and therefore wanted something visual to represent her Indian side.

Karen was raised by her mother from the age of four and did not have any further contact with her father. As she grew up in England, she was able to acquire knowledge about her fathers' birth country and its traditions despite his absence. However, she was left wondering whether there was a stronger cultural influence from the parent you lived with, having more exposure to their traditions and practices, and whether the amount of contact you had with the separated parent's family made a difference. Contrastingly, Roxana found asking her father about his culture was a way of connecting with him after he left home, which in fact strengthened their relationship.

3.2. Theme 2: Facing Exclusion

Eight out of the ten participants had been directly excluded or discriminated against at some stage. Some felt this was due to their physical appearance; others felt it was because of their surname, their parents' nationalities, their chosen friendship groups, or their religion. These findings are consistent with research on 'mixed race' individuals and their experiences of standing out, being labelled, and facing racism (Tizard & Phoenix, 1993; Renn, 2004; Alibhai-Brown, 2001; Katz, 1996).

3.2.1. "Looking at you as an outsider"

Like the idea of being from a mixed heritage is kind of an idea of being outside, an outsider in some way. (Sophia: 806)

Sophia highlights a feeling of exclusion from the dominant culture that was experienced by the majority of participants at different points of their life. The idea of being on the periphery and not fitting in, not only identifies feelings of not belonging to the majority group, but also exacerbates a sense of being different. Considering Robyns (1994, 1995) concept of groups adopting "the defensive stand" to defend against a perceived threat of diversifying cultural groups and suffering a possible loss of identity, people from mixed heritage backgrounds are at risk of being pushed out due to their perceived difference.

Seven participants reported to have experienced bullying at school. They attributed this to being made to feel 'different' and excluded due to how they looked, their skin colour and their surnames.

You can't avoid it. I mean, er, at an early age you know you're different. You know the reasons why... you're a different colour from other people... It's quite obvious um when people don't know how to pronounce your name you know straight away when again something's different. (Jay: 111)

Yeah mainly at school when I try to think about being bullied and stuff it was to do with that, my name and my Dad being... Paki tended to be kind of the, the phrase that you'd, you'd hear bounded about... gollywog was another one... Maybe it was to do with how I looked as well. (Roxana: 691)

Similar to the previous theme, participants' ability to choose how they related to their different heritage identities was dependent on how others' categorised them based on overt defining characteristics. These participants however were not able to hide or change their physical attributes. At school, they were also unable to withhold their parental nationalities due to their surname which was known to all. Some also had distinctive first names which provoked bullying. Racism is often experienced by mixed children in secondary schools (Ali, 2003; Morley & Street, 2014; Tizard & Phonex, 2002). These studies show the importance of support and positive affirmation by parents and schools in tackling racism and educating children about different heritage backgrounds. Tickly (2004) acknowledges the need for consistent terminology in schools and a clearer ethos of respect and systematic approach to tackling racism.

Readers should bear in mind the political climate in which the interviews were conducted. Participants were interviewed in 2006, a year after the 7th July 2005, (7/7) bombings, hence there was much sensitivity, recent fear and confusion within the UK. Within four weeks of the 7/7 bombings, religious hate crimes rose by 600 per cent from the previous year (Greater London Authority, 2006). Attacks targeted Muslims, Asians (including non-Muslims), and people perceived to come from such backgrounds. Citizenship Surveys also indicated a rise in racial prejudice after the bombings (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2006).

Following the recent terrorist attacks, all male participants mentioned feeling excluded from British society at some point, as the suspicion and fear of others led them to feel different and separate.

You're a bloke, you've got brown skin and you've got a rucksack. I've never felt more kind of um apart from the rest of society and that's a horrible thing really... to then be kind of, have a, have the, a lot of society kind of um, the majority of society push you to the, to the outside and looking at you as an outsider is an, you know is a really horrible thing. (Dylan: 871)

Dylan describes others' stereotypical views being imposed on him and is misjudged to be a terrorist due to the way he looked and the bag he was carrying. Social identity theory highlights the 'us' and 'them' notion within intergroup relations, enabling group members to derive a shared self-concept in their social gatherings (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Unfortunately, the majority group identified with the role of 'victim' in this circumstance, making Dylan the perceived 'perpetrator'. Groups tend to emphasise the differences of the outsider to justify keeping them separate. Dylan experiences 'the majority' of society placing him 'apart' and being pushed out by the country he considers as his home. Young males in Basit's (2009) study reported similar findings where harassment, bullying and racial harassment affected their sense of citizenship and belonging.

Dylan experienced being labelled as a terrorist due to his skin colour and people assuming he was Muslim. Participants whose parents' came from Middle Eastern, Asian, or African countries, where Islam is more widely practiced, were aware of how others may perceive or associate them with global issues. As Roxana indicated in the previous theme, some participants were fearful of political, religious, or racial stereotypes associated with their parents' origins, and the implications this may pose. If being a citizen of a nation state is significant to one's individual status and identity (Castles, 2004), then it is not surprising that Dylan was left feeling confused and displaced concerning his national identity.

Anthony reflected that terrorism was portrayed as a religious problem; however, after his brother got stopped and searched by police, he became more aware that some of the terrorists were African, which meant they looked like him. He felt a division forming between the dominant society and 'minorities', which left him identifying his mixed heritage background with belonging to a minority group, and not having 'our

own country'. Anthony's statement shows concerns of unsettlement, fears of being expelled, and being viewed as 'the other'.

Tariq was the only participant who had strong religious affiliations, and as a practicing Muslim, the 7/7 attacks brought up similar feelings of confusion regarding his national identity.

That was the first and most direct instance, um, that, er, you know awoke this, this whole issue of identity... the whole notion of er, being a British Muslim or being a Muslim in Britain and how that all works. (Tariq: 49)

Tajfel (1981) mentions religious groups are least likely to assimilate their beliefs to the majority societies, particularly if it involved compromising elements of their values. Tariq reflects on his 'Muslim identity' which deemphasises nationalism, 'race' and culture and promotes unity rather than divisions. This contrasted with his current feelings of having to prioritise between his national, religious and ethnic identities. Not only did this contradict his religious beliefs but society was creating a split in his previously cohesive identity.

External circumstance have put such a strong spotlight on me, as a, as a Muslim um as a British Asian um, I, I have to respond... it feels shameful. It feels weak um to, to sit there passively and not do anything about it... maybe there's, there's some scars left over, you know that have jumped, jumped a generation thinking that, my Mum and Dad were kicked out of their country... Is it impossible that I could be kicked out of this country? (Tariq: 1046)

Similar to previous accounts mentioned, Tariq attributes fear associated with his parents' nationality and linking their experiences of being expelled from their countries to a transposed feeling of being excluded in Britain. Osler and Starkey (1996) link citizenship to belonging to a community and accepting its fundamental framework of laws and values. However, where Tariq's views contradicts that of the perceived majority, this leaves him questioning not only his rights as a British national but it generates feelings of instability, lack of assurance and challenges his previous feelings of affiliation and belonging to the country.

3.2.2. More than 'race'

I don't think my racial identity plays a part in my life unless someone else sees it like that... I dislike seeing the world as a race world. I like to see the world as much more complicated than that, at a cultural level... When I defined mixed heritage I think I defined it in terms of nationality. (Jay: 476)

Being able to self-categorise their heritage was important to all participants. It allowed them to choose how they wanted to be seen and to fit into groups. Several perceived their mixed heritage backgrounds to comprise of more than just a racial group. They spoke about difficulties integrating within different group situations due to others trying to fit them into racial categories. This may have been within friendship groups, immediate and extended families or on encountering strangers. This took away their sense of choice to define themselves, often left them feeling shocked, hurt, angry, confused and defensive. They were left feeling excluded.

Jay's comment above highlights the importance of nationality in terms of defining his mixed heritage. On forms, he refers to himself as 'Mixed Origin', however in conversation he defines himself as 'half Portuguese, half Pakistani'. Other participants also used interchangeable terminology, however four also specifically mentioned nationality in the same manner. Other terms used were 'British', 'Black British', 'British Jewish', 'British Asian', 'Mixed race', 'Mixed parentage', 'Mixed heritage', 'Dual heritage' and 'East African Asian'.

Nikki found that people tended to want to know her parents nationality and was often asked "Where are you from?" or "Where are your parents from?" Her parents' nationalities were an important factor in her identity, and likewise she wanted to ensure that her son also acquired a strong sense of where he was from. Therefore he has flags of each of his parents' mixed nationalities displayed on his bedroom wall. When asked where he is from, he also explains his heritage in terms of his parents' mixed nationalities.

The participants thought their mixed heritage backgrounds consisted of elements other than just their racial identity. Participants felt that others excluding aspects of their heritage, which left them unable to express their identities fully. They felt judged, categorised and defined in terms other than what they would have described themselves. It was important for participants to recognise the richer and wider spectrum that their inheritance encompassed. This included their parents' cultures, their nationality, their different languages, their religions, customs and traditions.

There's a lot of like very, very negative images of, well perceptions of sort of people who come from like ethnic minorities like in music and stuff and a lot of people from my sort of background feel like they have to sort of emulate that sort of, sort of lifestyles and that and I think being aware that you know I'm not just like a Black, knowing that I've come from like a Ghanaian background allows me to disassociate myself with a lot of negativity. (Anthony: 866)

Anthony describes being more than 'a Black' and in using this term relates to popular cultural representations of 'Black music culture'. He actively seeks out to differentiate himself from these stereotypes and finds relating to his 'Ghanaian background' allows him to express a broader aspect of himself, linking this to his richness of his heritage acquired from his father's birthplace. Fishman's (1980) model of ethnic identity acknowledges the different aspects of the self which incorporate one's ethnicity. The 'Social GRRRAACCEEESSS' model (Burnham, 1993; Roper-Hall, 1998) reflects the different layers of identity one possesses, and in particular brings light to those characteristics that are non-visible.

Participants felt all these components were important in expressing themselves and did not feel complete without this comprehensive outlook. Jones & McEwen's (2000, 1996) conceptual model of multiple dimensions of identity encapsulates this view that different elements of the self, cannot be represented singularly; it can only be represented in relation to the other aspects of oneself. Linked to this, some participants encountered experiences where parts of themselves were discounted and they found themselves being categorised and labelled.

He [a stranger on the street] goes, "Well, you're a mulatto aren't you" and I was like, "No"... I was so angry and part of me was like and I was standing there for ages like, "Did that just happen?"... The anger was how dare you tell me what I am... then to disagree with me and then totally dismiss how I class myself to totally dismiss it. That made me angry like, really angry. (Nikki: 552)

Linked to previous themes about empowerment, Nikki's anger was a product of not being accepted and her judgement being questioned by someone else. She was not allowed to define herself, instead her identity was challenged and discounted. Acts like this can often leave feelings of subjugation and leads to loss of control over individual choice and entitlement to self-definition. Chloe experienced similar feelings when she encountered marginalisation by groups who tried to categorise her by racial categories.

Black people don't want to accept me because they'll, they, I'm light skinned and whatever and I'm more you know to the white side and do you know what I mean, things like that and then there's white people that don't want to accept you because I have got Black in me. (Chloe: 129)

Similar to Park (1928) and Stonequist's (1937) 'marginal man' hypothesis, Chloe felt confused trying to integrate with both Black and white peers and being rejected by both sides. Having encountered racism and exclusion, she was left feeling insecure, embarrassed, confused, hurt and alone. Chloe was brought up by her Black mother and could not understand why she was being rejected by her 'own' people. For a period of time, Chloe described not affiliating with her father or his family, and denying her English heritage, classifying as Black British. Comparable to Nikki's account, Chloe was not able to define herself as she recognised herself, hence was left feeling unaccepted and like an outcast.

Several participants mentioned visits abroad and being viewed by their family in a different light to how they saw themselves. This may have been due to lack of cultural knowledge of food, traditions, clothing, inability to speak language, but also because of skin colour.

You definitely feel like a foreigner. It's funny because over there, they see me as being white, whereas over here the majority of people would see me as being Black. (Anthony: 199)

Similar to Chloe, Anthony experienced being judged and stigmatised based on his skin colour. Being used to perceptions of 'being Black' by the majority white culture in Britain, he was struck by the stark comparison to be seen as white in Ghana. It was a completely different experience. With a stark contrast where the majority of people in Ghana were Black, being positioned by them as white, left him still a minority, however with a different colour based privilege due to the associations that came with having lighter skin, e.g. that he was wealthy, had power, attractiveness.

3.3. Theme 3: Belonging

Participants spoke about feelings of acceptance and a feeling of belonging to somewhere fixed and stable.

There are loads of positive things about being from two heritages but I think there is the huge thing about belonging... It's that feeling... feeling that it's really solid actually... Like this is solid, it's not moving. (Jessie: 1141)

The idea of identifying and being a part of something featured strongly in all participants' accounts. In particular, participants linked this sense of belonging to family and others from mixed heritage backgrounds. All participants spoke about the concept of belonging. For some it represented a place, such as the physical homeland of their forefathers, or their family home. Others related to a feeling of belonging, acceptance and being part of something certain. For others it was about sharing common features such as the social or cultural knowledge of others around them, feeling comfortable or having a sense of ownership and entitlement which allowed them to connect.

3.3.1. Dual affiliations

Growing up in one's country of birth automatically gives you a sense of the intricate details of the culture, language and social and political systems. Having all grown up in Britain, some of the main factors participants reported to have shaped their identities to be: people they encountered, having a British accent, and the curriculum within the education system that they were taught. These basic socio-cultural aspects were considered to influence the way they thought about things which in turn was reflected in their actions and choices in life.

However, all participants likewise reported a high affiliation with their parents' countries of birth and relating cultures, which coincided with their British heritage. Falicov (1998, 2002) describes alternation theory's concept of being able to live in two worlds simultaneously without having to compromise either culture. Participants appeared to hold a sense of belonging to more than one country at once, whilst using both sets of knowledge in one context at the same time.

I live here so I automatically pick up you know, British lifestyle kind of thing but I've been raised as, to have a Caribbean kind of background. (Chloe: 19)

I'm British. I was born and bred here... England is home to me... but... it's not really my history because none of my parents are from here. So, apart from what I learn in school, it doesn't really mean anything to me... because when I look at my history I look at my Italian and Ghanaian side. (Nikki, 917)

Both Chloe and Nikki indicate a sense of automatically acquiring a British inheritance having been born into British society; however this coincides with a strong, historical allegiance to a heritage which existed before them. Chloe acquired cultural knowledge of her family background, food, traditions and mannerisms through her mother which was important to her.

Participants did not indicate any difficulties integrating their different heritage backgrounds; however Chloe felt there was not enough support by the education system to aid her cultural heritage learning and found learning from home was not enough. She described locating sources of information to find out more about her heritage through buying books, watching relevant films, and talking to friends' parents from the Caribbean. Comparing herself to peers from the dominant society, she felt disadvantaged, as she had to invest extra time and energy incorporating and learning about her 'Black' history, whereas she felt they could learn about their full heritage backgrounds through the school curriculum. Chloe felt that by not addressing both sides of her cultural heritage learning, that the school was denying her of who she is.

To just say that I'm British and, and would feel to me like I'm bypassing that and it would feel um unfair to people who actually... went through a lot of difficulty and, and prejudice um for being Welsh, even in Wales. Um and I think that I'm quite proud of where I'm from. (Roxana: 36)

Some participants, like Roxana felt a need to acknowledge the political history that came with their heritage. Roxana felt a connection with the political upheaval and discrimination that was experienced in Wales, allowing it to form part of her ancestral identity and cultural inheritance. She described a feeling of belonging to that particular historical narrative, as it shaped her idea of where her mother came from.

3.3.2. Recognition and familiarity

You can get kind of welcomed and I think you know it's quite nice to feel that you belong with a group or you know that you're kind of, people kind of recognise you and take you in as one of them. (Sophia: 693)

The majority of participants who had visited their parents' countries of birth felt a sense of comfort in meeting their extended families. Similar to Barrett et al.'s (2006) study, some participants felt they had common ground with family members such as looking alike, whilst others noticed similar mannerisms.

He was kind of a similar build to me and which is different to my mother's side of the family, who are more...stocky um rather than being kind of tall, thin or lithe um in a way. I just noticed my Dad, my Dad's cousin sitting in a way that I do. Just the way he walked. (Dylan: 53)

Dylan found these similarities reassuring and was pleased to meet people who not only physically resembled him but appeared to have the same gentle nature as him. He reflected on a sense of ease and familiarity with these interactions which he had not felt before. He found it incredulous that he had never met these individuals before, however felt so comfortable around them and had much in common. There appeared to be an overall theme of appreciation and value experienced by all participants at the opportunity to connect with their extended families. Like Dylan, Jessie also described the importance of her extended families' physical attributes to her. She was able to identify with their darkened features, and identified with a new concept of beauty which contrasted with the social stereotype of being tall and blonde in Britain. Jessie found this good for her confidence and described feeling more attractive when around people who were more similar to herself.

It was really important that sense of belonging, if we don't speak the same language and don't really know each other, just sort of having a base that you feel you come from. (Jessie: 376)

Several participants described a sense of loss at not being able to have extended contact with family members due to the distance. However, despite restrictive factors such as time, distance, a lack of shared language, and not really knowing each other, Jessie still felt a sense of acknowledgement within her extended families and described feeling accepted straight away. Her opening quote of something solid indicated a feeling of stability, a base. Linked to her comment above, Jessie indicates a feeling of unconditional regard that despite whatever limitations, her heritage will always be there and she would be welcomed. Indeed, Wallace (2001) contends that the most significant finding from her research was for people from mixed backgrounds to have a stable, mixed-heritage frame of reference from which they could then construct and explore their heritage in a more dynamic way.

Many participants shared a similar feeling of ownership, of having something personal that belonged to them.

It was just a rich experience just thinking wow, there's such a, such a belonging here, um there's, there's such a unity, there's such a strength... there was that familiarity, um, that, that made you feel like yet, this is mine.
(Tarik: 459)

Amongst my own people, returning to some sort of personal past.
(Anthony: 541)

Seven participants explicitly spoke about their grandparents, with the majority making strong references to their grandmothers as a central concept to a sense of 'home'. Grandparents appeared to represent leadership of the external sense of belonging to the wider network of others who were similar to them. Several spoke about that sense of stability and reliability in a physical home that had always been there. Their home was recalled not only visually, but sensually, with memories of smells of home cooking, and emotions that were connected to moments shared there. Grandparents were linked to childhood and where participants learned family traditions from. In a sense, they represented their family heritage to them and was linked to a sense of comfort and familiarity, which was seen as a source to belong to.

Interestingly, Pitcher (2009) investigated the role of adoptive grandparents and found they were significant, not primarily for practical support but in their symbolic function; they represented approval and acceptance. In many other cultures, grandparents either live with their children and grandchildren, and have an important role in the family structure, e.g. many are involved in their grandchildren's upbringing and provide intergenerational teaching (Kenner et al., 2007).

Tariq also reflects on a physical sense of belonging and entitlement to his parents' homelands, describing the significance of this marking where he came from. This was similar to feelings of entitlement (discussed in the Importance of language theme) that some participants felt in terms of acquiring their parents' national

languages. Tariq describes how he can signify his vision of connecting generations of his family, from his ancestors in the past, to his children in the future.

I'm just gona buy one acre of my land because that's where I came from...even if like my offspring just visit that once, they could put their, their fingers in the earth and say, "You know what, this, this, this is where I came from". (Tarik: 574)

3.3.3. Sameness amongst mixed heritage backgrounds

In the previous theme, some of the participants spoke about experiencing a certain ease when around people from either similar backgrounds as themselves, such as extended family members. In this strong theme, participants spoke of comparable feelings of comfort when around others also from mixed backgrounds, in a sense of sharing similar experiences and finding others they could automatically relate to.

You're all in the same boat and identity isn't an issue is it when you're around people who are the same as you and that's the predominant culture. (Roxana: 261)

I think the support and kind of, (pause) just meeting other people who are like you. It doesn't have to be the same combination but just other people with similar experiences have been really helpful. (Jessie: 136)

It's important to make the distinction that the participants from mixed heritage backgrounds felt this striking connection with people from all different types of mixed heritage backgrounds. It did not matter which countries they came from, which languages they spoke, or which religions they were, as long as they had this familiar personal history of being mixed. Some participants spoke of a 'shared understanding' that was subtle, yet unique. As well as friendship groups, participants were able to find these similarities in a variety of forums, such as books written by people from mixed heritage backgrounds and internet sites which included literature and discussions with others from a mixed inheritance.

Roxana's quote on the previous page, mentions "the predominant culture". Participants were used to being in a society where people from mixed backgrounds tended to be classified as a minority group; therefore, being part of a main, prevalent group appeared to be a different kind of experience. They commented on feeling safe to speak and joke about topics that others may not have understood or misinterpreted. In accordance with Tajfel et al.'s (1986) social identity theory, individuals chose to belong to groups they felt reflected them and perceived to be a part of. They also felt able to explore their heritages with their mixed peers and felt able to connect with and learn about their own cultures through these interactions.

3.4. Theme 4: The Importance of 'Heritage Language'

The term 'heritage language' has been used to refer to an immigrant's, indigenous, or ancestral language that a speaker has a personal relevance and desire to (re)connect with (Wiley, 2005). Although some participants' heritage languages are partially defined through their English-speaking parent, this chapter will be focussing on the minority languages spoken natively by the immigrant parents.

In this theme, heritage language is seen as an important connection between culture, heritage and intergenerational identities. This was particularly relevant for the nine participants who had at least one parent who did not speak English. Heritage language was spoken about in a variety of forms, such as a means of connecting to one's heritage, a way of connecting with others, and as a route to accessing different ways of thinking. In particular, the role of passing heritage language down through different generations was discussed. Participants who could speak their parents' languages felt particularly connected to their heritage, whereas those who did not felt an element of loss to their cultural identities.

3.4.1. Connected to culture

The majority of participants thought the more heritage languages they had, the more they would be able to understand their heritage. Heritage language was recognised to hold certain concepts that were specific to culture which some felt would be lost without this knowledge. It was therefore seen to have a fundamental role in connecting individuals with their culture.

The more language you know, the broader amount of thinking you have then. I think like if you can speak a different way, you can think a different way... with languages you have um sort of different sayings don't you... so you'd have a better understanding of that culture if you speak the language. (Anthony: 441)

Fishman (1996) conveys that language carries symbolic meanings, and states its significance in representing national and cultural identity. Anthony links language as a means to understanding culture, as per the 'doing' and 'knowing' aspects of Fishman's (1980) concept of ethnicity model. The notion of heritage languages broadening out participants' experiences and exposure to their ancestries was a common theme.

The language so um it involves entitlement to say that you're from somewhere. (Roxana: 257)

Roxana described knowledge of her parents' languages as providing a sense of entitlement to her heritage identities. Similar to Anthony, and as discussed in other themes, the more knowledge she had of her ancestral origins and the more varied ways of expressing this through knowledge, activities, traditions and cultural associations, then the more able she felt to connect with and have a sense of ownership to her heritage backgrounds. As Peirce (1995) argues, Roxana's investment in her heritage language could be seen as an investment in her mixed-heritage identity. Wallace (2001) acknowledged people from mixed heritage backgrounds are often required to demonstrate they have the necessary "cultural credentials" (p. 99) to be fully accepted into their heritage groups.

Tariq and Nikki both felt it was important for their children to learn their grandparents' languages. They wanted their parents to be involved in the imparting of this knowledge onto their children and felt this would help strengthen connections with their families' cultures and traditions. So sequentially, their children's grandparents would be as important a part of their lives as their own grandparents had been to them. There was a proud notion that to inherit this connection was to gain a sense of insider knowledge and richness. Most participants expressed that should they have children they would also want these same components of their heritages passed on also.

I don't speak or understand any Italian like my son does. My Nan's been teaching him because I said, "It's disgusting that no one taught us when we were little"... I teach him Ghanaian and then his Dad speaks to him in, in Jamaican. (Nikki: 452)

Tariq and Nikki also saw heritage language as a protective factor to promote inclusion for their children to enable them to fit in with peers and family members. Participants particularly connected this to their own experiences of exclusion which they wanted to prevent their children from experiencing.

I've found it an advantage in my life, um, to have more languages ... my daughter might not suffer, um, some exclusion that I may have suffered, um, from, from, other Asians. (Tarik: 201)

Burck (2005) also considers language to establish meaning, as well as contexts within which individuals both position themselves and are positioned. She asserts that language speaking is essential in the constructing of ethnicities, cultural identities, and racialised identities; whilst positioning in a language results in unequal power relationships. Tariq experienced such dynamics in his experiences of not being able to fully integrate with some Asians who spoke a different mother tongue to him. He was able to mix with others from different religions, nationalities and ethnicities, however described a barrier with language where he felt particularly excluded and unable to overcome without actually acquiring the knowledge to speak the heritage language itself.

Some participants who were able to speak one of their parents' languages found it difficult to express all the different parts of their identity within a new cultural context and felt part of themselves was missing in dialogue. Limitations in expressing their emotions, self-confidence or sense of humour were expressed, where they did not have adequate phrases to encapsulate what they were trying to portray.

That it was always the kind of small, more subtle things...I think, like to think that sometimes I am funny... Less easy to be humorous or to have an argument... just being really frustrated... maybe that was a bit about kinda feeling clever in English but (laughter) not in Danish. (Karen: 191)

I haven't got enough knowledge to follow through in a conversation and that so. You don't want to get out of your depth do you? (Anthony: 488)

Studies have shown that monolingual mixed heritage individuals who were not able to speak their heritage languages felt distant and detached from extended family members, as they were not able to communicate with them at a deeper level (Pao, Wong and Teuben-Row, 1997; Shin, 2010; Wallace, 2001). The 'mixed-heritage' participants in Mahadir et al.'s (2015) study expressed related feelings of loss, self-doubt and inadequacy because they were not able to communicate in their heritage languages.

All nine participants whose parents spoke heritage languages expressed similar feelings of wanting to communicate in a richer and more fluid manner with extended family. Although there was much desire to connect with family, the language barrier made Anthony disengage for fear of not being able to follow up conversations or concerns he may appear uneducated. Karen in particular spoke about not wanting to portray a false impression of herself, where she may not appear as funny or smart as she knew herself to be.

Tarone (1977) highlights "the crisis which occurs when language structures are inadequate to convey the individual's thought" (p. 195). Similar to Anthony's earlier comment, sometimes Karen was not able to find a phrase in her second language to express an English sentiment. Interestingly, she also found the contrast, where she

knew a word in Danish that she could not find an alternative expression for in English. On these occasions, she found adapting language to try and fit around a concept still did not capture the precise meaning, so she taught her friends the Danish word for them all to use instead.

3.4.2. Language passing through generations

Heritage language was seen as an important way of connecting with family members across generations. Participants considered parental influence on their learning of their family's language. It appeared that the more involved their parents were in teaching them from a young age; the more likely they were to succeed in acquiring their heritage languages and cultural values.

My Mum who speaks Farsi really, really well, she learnt when she married my Dad, she tried to keep speaking to me in Farsi to keep it kind of going ... So she was really instilled in us a kind of value... it was something to be proud of. (Roxana: 196)

My Mum, when they met was quite good at throwing herself into learning to cook Middle Eastern food and she learnt Hebrew um and she kind of encouraged my Dad to speak Hebrew to me at home. (Sophia: 99)

Interestingly, both Roxana and Sophia's mothers married husbands from the Middle East and acquired their heritage languages. They were also both from Wales, however were brought up in English speaking towns, so did not acquire Welsh as a language. Though they practiced separate religions to their husbands, both mothers learnt and were keen to actively promote the paternal cultures within the home through language, cooking, and celebrating religious traditions.

Mixed couples may encounter difficulties whilst attempting to teach their children heritage languages in a majority culture society. Shin (2010) highlights the different positions of the native languages of the mixed couple in the language hierarchy. Factors to consider may include the impact of the majority language and culture of the country they are living in; the minority status of each spouse in comparison to

each other; and gender, ethnic, and/or 'racial' dynamics between the couple, as well as how these are negotiated. There may also be social and political reasons preventing parents from passing down heritage languages to their children (Shin, 2010; Campbell & Christian, 2003). For example, there may be stigma attached to marrying outside of their ethnic or religious group, or some may have fled their native countries of origin as refugees and had chosen to abandon their heritage language to assimilate with the host country.

In contrast to these accounts of mothers being the driving force behind teaching heritage languages from an early age, several participants spoke about their fathers deterring them from learning their national languages. Reasons for this were concerns it would disrupt their schooling or that it would affect their ability to integrate with the mainstream culture. Participants expressed feelings of disappointment, anger and a sense of a missed opportunity.

My Dad was very insistent at an early age that he wasn't going to teach us any of those two languages... Mum's the, uh, the primary parent involved in passing a second language onto children. And so um, so she didn't teach me any Portuguese, which was unfair. Which they now agree was a total mistake but uh, it's too late to fix that now... I was pissed off. Um, I'm quite annoyed.
(Jay: 126)

I totally appreciate that but my Dad didn't speak to us because I think he wanted us to blend in and not feel different um. But I feel that we kind of lost out. It would feel great to be able to speak it now. (Jessie: 262)

Burck's (2005) study found that parents' anxiety about children 'fitting in' to the community influenced their decisions whether to maintain first language teaching at home. Several of the participants' fathers shared these concerns regarding assimilation for their children. Some fathers from Burck's (2005) study, contrastingly used language for educational purposes and to promote cultural identity. Mothers were viewed to use language in a relational sense, e.g. to express emotions, intimacy, and use in play.

Tariq's parents were the only couple that both actively taught him their heritage languages, with the understanding that it was linked to their cultures and that he would be able to communicate effectively with their families. Some participants shared this viewpoint and therefore took the initiative to try and learn their heritage languages as adults by themselves.

I kind of made attempts at various points to like start learning a little bit just from self, you know self-teaching books and stuff but I never got on you know further than learning a few words. (Sophia: 286)

This theme considers language being passed through generations. So far connections between parent and child have been considered, however, it was noted that all participants spoke of the importance of their grandparents. In particular, some linked their grandparents to passing down cultural knowledge in the form of language, traditions and religion (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003; Wiley, 2005; Shin, 2010). It therefore felt important for them to be able to communicate and learn from their grandparents. Furthermore, the ability to speak their grandparents' language was linked to feelings of pride and pleasure for both parties.

My Danish Grandma is very kind of proud of how well I speak Danish and thinks well it's wonderful... it means a lot to her ... I make quite a lot of an effort to keep it going a bit and I think she appreciates being able to know me a bit better because I can speak to her in her own language. (Karen: 894)

Conversely, several participants who had not acquired the heritage language to communicate with their grandparents expressed feelings of loss. Others however, were able to find alternative ways to communicate and connect with their grandparents via other family members or through shared cultural aspects such as food, film or religious ceremonies.

Me Nan and Granddad can't speak English so it's amazing how we can understand them but I can't understand Italian. I can just understand them. Where they try and talk English and it doesn't make any sense to anybody else but we understand... My Mum spoke to us in English and my

*Grandparents would cook Italian, so and we would do all the Italian things.
(Nikki: 479)*

My Grandmother was um, er spoke Hindi but not to us... and she was strongly Hindu, so she used to go to temple once a week and occasionally we would take her. (Dylan: 130)

3.5. Summary of Analysis and Discussion

The analysis found four main themes. It is important to acknowledge that these themes overlap but also summarise complex concepts that need further attention.

The best of both worlds focused on participants' universal pride towards their ancestry. They described a richness in having unique, intricate knowledge of more than one heritage background. This evoked curiosity in both themselves and by others. The mixed identities were seen to be flexible and adaptable, dependant on social, cultural or political situations. Mixed heritage identities were seen to be fluid, dynamic and complex, enabling some to blend in with ease. An element of control in choosing which parts of their identity to convey and when, was important.

The facing exclusion theme indicated elements of discrimination based on others' perceptions of mixed heritage appearances, and being positioned as an 'outsider'. Participants felt minoritised and lacking control of how they were categorised. It was important for all aspects of their heritage identities to be acknowledged, and having a choice in which features they wanted to portray. Non-visual aspects of identity were important and participants felt they needed all parts of their mixed heritages to feel complete.

The belonging theme highlighted how participants comfortably and simultaneously managed their multiple heritages. Many regarded themselves as British being born here. However, there were similar feelings of affinity to parents' birth countries. Grandparents were an important symbol of belonging and source of cultural knowledge learning. Comfort and similarity was found amongst others from mixed heritage backgrounds.

The final theme importance of 'heritage languages' was unexpected, however of great importance. Not only were heritage languages essential for communication with extended family, but they also held and expressed elements of ancestral culture.

These themes have wider implications in terms of research, clinical practice, and education which will be discussed in the following section.

FURTHER DISCUSSION

4.1 Evaluation and Critical Review

4.1.1. Challenges related to terminology

As stated in the introduction, my thoughts and views on terminology have progressed over the last five years. For the purpose of recruitment, I decided to use the term 'dual heritage' in the most simplistic term to enroll people whose parents came from two different countries. I was aware this left me with a heterogeneous sample of people from a variety of mixed backgrounds, however, I was interested in the unique experiences of this group and using an IPA design, it was my intention for my themes to be dictated by the participants, rather than having a top-down approach.

I noted that two of my participants were from the same ethnic category, mixed Asian and mixed White, whereas the others came from a mixed ethnic background. My criteria was informed by the 2001 census categories which had four ethnic groupings, the final being any other mixed background, which would have included these two participants' mixed ethnic backgrounds. "The Other Mixed' category is particularly heterogeneous, encompassing many different identities, including Mixed White ethnic identities" (Office for National Statistics, 2006). Despite the heterogeneity of the sample, common themes were identified in participants' accounts. Indeed, one of the themes concerns a feeling of similarity with other people from mixed heritage backgrounds regardless of their specific cultural backgrounds.

It is, nonetheless, important to consider the possible impact of terminology used in the recruitment process. The research flyer used the term 'dual heritage', therefore, it is likely that those who responded are people who relate to this term. Being a self-selected sample, they would have been more likely to have a personal interest in the topics advertised for recruitment and a want to talk about it.

Having reflected on the wide array of growing literature, mine and participant's accounts, speaking to people from mixed heritage backgrounds, including my work in clinical settings, and people's everyday use of terminology in this field, I began to

reflect on the limitations of the term 'dual' and acquired the term 'mixed heritage'. Through all of the above, I learnt that some considered the term 'dual heritage' to be euphemistic, ambiguous and misleading. In addition, I found the term 'dual heritage' implied a restriction of two groups or mixes and felt this did not reflect the richness and complexity of peoples' multiple identities, which may include birth place, parents' nationalities, religion, race, sexuality and other cultural affiliations.

4.1.2. Personal experiences of being mixed heritage

Reflexivity can be defined as the realisation that the researcher will have biases, interests, predictions, values, assumptions, experiences and characteristics that will affect the whole research process (Banister et al., 1994; King, 1996). Indeed, Nightingale and Cromby (1999) urge the researcher to explore how their involvement influences, acts on and informs the research. From an IPA perspective, Smith (1995) reflects on an assumption of qualitative research that meanings are conveyed within the social context of the interaction between the interviewer and interviewee. It was, therefore, important to consider the impact of myself as the interviewer.

I had disclosed in my interview sheet that I was from a mixed heritage background, so I was aware that interviewees were arriving at their interview with preconceived ideas about me, what I may represent, and what our interaction may be like. For example, they may have thought that it would be easier to speak to someone from a mixed heritage background (which the findings seem to point to, i.e., points on page 59 about having a shared understanding) or on the contrary, they may have felt less able to share information for fear of being judged.

At the end of the interview, I reflected on this similarity with the participants. The following reflections were obtained:

I feel I'm talking to an insider if you know what I mean. (Dylan: 1041)

I felt like you kind of understood where I was coming from. (Anthony: 1229)

You can understand. (Nikki:1314)

It felt better knowing... subtle kind of thing like drawn to people... shared experience. Understanding... more able to say stuff about me. (Jessie: 1079)

Whilst this may be viewed as an advantage, Hurd and McIntyre (1996) warn that 'sameness' between the researcher and the researcher may sometimes distance the researcher from a critically reflective position and allow particular viewpoints to be privileged. I was, therefore, aware of trying to maintain a reflexive distance. For example, I found myself identifying with experiences, thoughts and questions presented by the participants and found myself reflecting on the lines of enquiry I took. When interviewing participants, I considered the questions I asked and wondered whether the themes I was drawing on were relevant to the research or to satisfy my own personal interest in the subject area.

Similar to the interviewee accounts, I felt a personal connection with my participants and with the study itself. I wondered how much of this was due to my personal and clinical interest in this area or whether this was my own feelings of connectivity and shared understanding with a group of people similar to me. The disadvantages of this connectivity is the danger of assuming knowledge which could lead to losing curiosity, or participants assuming I automatically understood their position and not explaining to the depth they may otherwise have done; however, the advantages are participants may feel more able to open up to me, and feeling more comfortable to share sensitive information with someone similar to themselves.

I was aware that by researching a group that was already stigmatised and marginalised by society (Stonequist, 1937; Park, 1964), I could perpetuate existing discourses that people of mixed heritage are 'different'. To address this I was particularly careful with the language I used when talking to participants and in writing up this study. I found this often paralysed me when writing, getting caught up in trying to find the politically correct term to use, when often there is not one; and as mentioned in the previous section, I found my use of language progressed throughout the time committed to this study.

I found myself closely involved with the material, which was sometimes a painful process. It was difficult to read about historical events based on racism and genocide towards people from mixed heritage backgrounds and other minority groups, and again, at times I found it difficult to find the 'right' words to discuss such profound topics. On occasion, I had to distance myself from the overwhelming feelings this stirred up within me, as I noticed this influenced the direction of my writing and research. During these periods, I found the process of articulating my thoughts difficult due to the emotion attached to them and feared that I was not able to capture the immenseness of the topic being discussed. Similar to my participants, I found that often there are no words to describe how we feel and we search for existing terms and concepts to try to express what we want to, and often the words we use do not encompass our experiences at all, but it is the best that we can do.

I found it difficult to speak about the concept of 'race' in relation to culture, ethnicity and heritage, as it is widely used amongst the vast collection of literature and people's accounts but there is no consensus of what is the 'right' way to use the term, and I often got caught up in finding the most suitable words to describe what I wanted to say. All of these reflections made me aware that there were many different viewpoints and ways of discussing this topic and it was often confusing, and difficult to decipher at times.

4.1.3. Limitations of IPA

IPA has limitations that need to be considered in relation to the research. Willig (2001) notes the significance of data being conveyed through language, so that access to participants' lived experiences is dependent on the individuals' capacity to articulate their thoughts, feelings and behaviours. Furthermore, Willig (2001) argues that language constructs may constrain experience rather than describe it. An individual who has no word for a phenomenon may experience it differently. This research attempted to take into account the current social and political context surrounding people of mixed heritage backgrounds by being aware of issues related to this specific group, such as the recent stigmatising in light of the 7/7 bombings, and the media's discourse positioning them as a minoritised group.

IPA's emphasis on small numbers and in-depth analysis (Reid et al., 2005) highlights the issue of generalisability of the study. Willig (2001), however, suggests that although we may not be aware of who or how many people share a particular experience, once it has been identified using qualitative research, these experiences are available to others, both socially and culturally, which can help to inform the knowledge we hold about them: "If we assume that our participants' experiences are at least partially socially constituted... we could claim each individual mode of the appropriation of the social... is potentially generalizable." (Willig, 2001, p. 17)

There were limitations in using an IPA design; by organizing the data collected into themes, much of the information was left out which an alternative method of analysis, e.g., Grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), would develop a deeper, higher level understanding, by studying experiences to explain a process. It would also have been interesting to see the difference recruiting using the term 'mixed heritage', as opposed to 'dual heritage', and to examine the use of terminology in more depth by means of discourse analysis (Foucault, 1972).

4.2. Implications from this research

4.2.1. Implications for research

Data from the 2001 census shows that the mixed ethnicity group has the youngest age structure, with half being under the age of 16 (Office for National Statistics, 2005). There is therefore a need for longitudinal studies that will study children from mixed heritage backgrounds as they grow and develop. As they mature, factors affecting their relationships and their experiences raising their own children are essential, yet scarce within the current literature. This may be due to the majority of this population currently being under 25 years of age.

Current research tends to be shifting more towards examining factors which promote positive identities and resilience in mixed heritage individuals, rather than focussing on deficits or difficulties within this group (Magee, 2011; Barrett et al., 2006; Tizard & Phoenix, 1993; Parker & Song, 2001; Ali, 2003; Alibhai-Brown, 2001; Ifekwunifwe, 1997; Wallace, 2004, Wilson, 1987). However, this study highlights feelings of exclusion, which were encountered by the majority of participants. The 2001 census reported that in 2002/03, adults from a 'mixed race' or Asian background were more likely to be victims of crime than individuals of any other ethnicity. Almost half (46%) of individuals from a 'mixed race' background had been a victim of crime in the last 12 months when the survey was taken (Office for National Statistics, 2005). Furthermore, statistics from the same source show that young adults are more at risk of being victims of crime and factoring in area of living, mixed heritage individuals are the most vulnerable group and more likely to be targeted in areas of violent, personal⁷ and household⁸ crime and racially motivated incidents. Clearly this is an area that needs to continue to be carefully monitored and addressed by government, local authorities, schools, community groups, and police commissioners.

I was mindful that the majority of research in this field focuses on 'mixed race' individuals. Coming from a background of mixed ethnicity myself, and having met an increasing number of individuals of a cultural mix rather than a racial one, I thought it was essential to open up my study to find out more about other distinctions to do with heritage, culture, religion, nationality and ethnicity. I believe that should not such a

⁷ Personal crime being common assault, robbery or theft from the person or another theft

⁸ Household crime includes vehicle theft, burglary and vandalism

diverse group have been investigated, that spurious findings such as the importance of heritage language learning would not have perhaps been given as much space to emerge. Further research could be carried out on alternative mixed heritage structures. For example, there is little research on inter-faith couples or individuals of mixed religious backgrounds, and discussions related to multiple mixes of ethnicity, 'race' and religion are very rare to find in the existing literature (Caballero et al., 2008). This study attempted to begin such discussions by looking at the complexity of how these multiple identities of religion, ethnicity, 'race', culture, and nationality co-exist, however, I recognise the limits of how much a small scale research can address.

I would also have recruited within a narrower age group, as it was clear there were different themes emerging at various stages of individual's experiences, such as, reflections on parenthood versus exclusion at school. The concepts of identity and sense of belonging covered a wide range of topics, which was useful for a preliminary study, however, it would be interesting to expand on some of the themes obtained, such as feelings of exclusion, the importance of language, or investigating the interaction between culture and religion, and how they impact on one another.

I acknowledge the importance in disseminating the findings of this study through publication, as it would add to the growing research on mixed heritage individuals, in particular, as there is little research signifying the importance of parental birth countries to one's cultural heritage identity and feeling of belonging.

4.2.2. Implications for clinical practice

In relation to the media's portrayal of minoritised groups and existing discourses portraying mixed heritage individuals as being confused, or torn between two cultures (Stonequist, 1937; Park, 1964), there is a definite need to continue working towards destigmatising the experiences of people from mixed heritage backgrounds and a greater appreciation of the positive aspects of mixed heritage identity, as indicated by the experiences of participants from this study, e.g., having a wider knowledge base, skill set, being able to choose which aspects of their identity they wanted to express. This study amplifies the complexity of their experiences and brings attention to the

multiple layers contributing to their identities. Considering the wider system and the social discourses surrounding the person within this current climate, there is a need for more family and community work to help think about the individual in context of their surrounding environment. This would include thinking about mixed heritage parents in parent training programmes and family projects, influencing adoption and foster carer training, and training programmes for healthcare professionals and social workers.

Factors promoting positive identities and resilience should receive greater attention. These include the importance of heritage languages, intergenerational links, socialising with people who are also from mixed heritage backgrounds. Mental health professionals can engage in preventative work, and raising awareness of this group's needs, via consultation with communities, schools, and policy makers, to assist mixed heritage children in accessing this support. Clinical work could also assist in the event of family breakdowns, by creating a safe space for individuals to process their feelings and for younger children to have clear, unbiased explanations to what has happened and indeed, what changes are currently happening, so they don't blame themselves nor become anxious for fear of the unknown.

In view of the stigma attached to this group, clinical work should be offered in a range of settings, such as in schools, and community projects and psychologists should liaise with appropriate workers within these contexts. The findings indicate that people from mixed heritage backgrounds find it useful and supportive to mix with people with similar experiences. Appropriate forums should be set up where this may take place, such as the running of groups or setting up a mixed heritage project with access to role models and others from mixed heritage backgrounds.

Conversations should be opened up about people's mixed heritage backgrounds in the clinical room and in staff settings. Psychologists and appropriate workers should also encourage clients to self-define themselves when entering services and their definitions should be used when working with them. More comprehensive ethnic monitoring is needed within services to identify mixed heritage people and not overlook them as a group. This will also provide a more accurate account of the number of people from this group accessing help. Their progress should be

monitored and followed up in order to provide more accurate information regarding service provision and to ensure equal opportunities.

This research has identified a need to shift from linear stage models to contextualise identity to a more flexible and dynamic model. Katz (1996) proposes that a post-modern narrative approach would be more appropriate for people from mixed heritage backgrounds with complex, changeable identities. Such approaches should be incorporated in the curriculum of training courses for psychology and related disciplines, as an alternative to traditional stage models. Miranda (2004) speaks about cross cultural competence in clinicians, focusing on a personal awareness of our own attitudes, knowledge and skills of our abilities, and understandings that allow us to function in British culture but also within and across various ethnic, cultural and linguistic groups. Without an awareness of ourselves and our assumptions, biases and skillset, we would not fully be able to comprehend or interact with those of our mixed heritage clients.

4.2.3. Implications for schools

Despite government initiatives to address concerns of institutionalised racism in British schools, there is still a widespread feeling that the needs of minority ethnic children are not being met (Commission for Multiracial Britain report, 2000). The attainment levels of mixed heritage children in schools are on the whole below national average, however, the statistics differ dependent on the child's socio-economic circumstances (measured by uptake of free school meals), gender, and mixed heritage classification. Permanent exclusion rates from schools are also overrepresented by the 'White/Black Caribbean' and 'White/Black African' student groups (Tikly et al., 2004).

There are already existing models of effective practice in schools, following DfES recommendations following the Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Minority Ethnic Pupils project (2003). These include recommendations of strong leadership, effective teaching and learning, having high expectations, adopting an ethos of respect with a clear approach to racism and bad behaviour and parental improvement. However, the research findings show there is a need to rethink school

syllabuses (DfES, 2003). There is a need to address the gaps of cultural heritage learning in schools and to develop a curriculum that reflects mixed heritage specific experiences in Britain, so pupils from mixed backgrounds can feel included and have a relevant and personal connection to what they are learning.

I would like to recognise that many schools have responded to DfES initiatives to address reports of underachievement of minority ethnic students by developing a diverse curriculum, however, there are few initiatives specifically targeted towards children from mixed heritage backgrounds which have been set by the DfES, schools or Local Education Authorities (LEAs). By learning about their own histories, schools and families alike, children from mixed heritage backgrounds may be aided in self-development and gaining a sense of knowledge about all sides of their identity, not just one, so they may continue to successfully manage their flexible identities and escape stereotypes in a confident and knowledgeable manner. Having display posters and highlighting popular role models in class are a good way for children to identify with being 'different' to the majority and having a sense that they may also achieve as many well-known individuals in the spotlight.

Most schools have policies on anti-racism and bullying, however, issues regarding mixed heritage children need to be thought about and incorporated into existing structures. This may be from challenging incidents of name calling and use of inappropriate terminology for children from mixed heritage backgrounds, to encouraging discussion with children to bring awareness to this group. Clinical psychologists and other mental health professionals can be involved in setting up services in schools to address peer-group pressure which has been reported to cause bullying, and behavioural difficulties in mixed heritage individuals (Tickly et al., 2004). Therapy spaces can be created to manage and process difficult feelings, and training can be given to staff members to raise awareness to the significant issues encountered by mixed heritage children in schools, as well as challenging pre-existing stereotypes that teachers may hold about mixed children being under achievers (Tickly et al., 2004). In line with this, schools will need to accurately record mixed ethnicity in order to accurately identify achievement levels and underperformance, exclusion rates and equal opportunities.

School may be involved in developing children's heritage learning by liaising with parents to find out what religions are practiced or which languages are spoken at home and may be able to assist in providing a service or space to give children the opportunity to inherit education and skills that may not necessarily be on the curriculum but are, nonetheless, are important to the development of their identities. This may be done by linking with community groups that may be able to provide this service, or providing information to parents, or beginning conversations to assist further thinking into mixed heritage development.

4.2.4. Wider implications

There is a role to continuously challenge stereotypes by publishing more articles and disseminating countering opinions, whilst raising awareness of the issues encountered by mixed heritage individuals. A variety of media forums should be addressed, such as the internet, social blogs, newspapers and magazines, television, and public conferences.

Psychologists can influence government policy making by providing consultation regarding appropriate official terminology and raising awareness that mixed heritage individuals are a diverse group of their own, with specific needs, and do not fall under the 'Other' category, where they are currently getting lost. Locally, psychologists can consult with health commissioners local education authorities, social work agencies regarding adoption and foster care placements, as well as advice on parenting mixed heritage children, and finally, community and faith groups to support funding applications for appropriate services that are able to address this group's needs.

Above all, attention needs to be drawn to the experiences of people from mixed heritage backgrounds, and understanding they are more than a label, and to take time to understand each individual's unique heritage background and specific needs in accordance to this. As Caballero (2007) states:

"The challenge is to identify what generalizations are useful, what complexities need to be acknowledged and how both of these can be practically engaged with. Working from specific understandings, rather than assumptions, is a start."

(Caballero, 2007, p.24).

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Appendix 1: Completed Ethical Approval Form for University of East London

UNIVERSITY OF EAST LONDON

APPLICATION FOR THE APPROVAL OF AN EXPERIMENTAL PROGRAMME INVOLVING HUMAN PARTICIPANTS

Please read the Notes for Guidance before completing this form. If necessary, please continue your answers on a separate sheet of paper: indicate clearly which question the continuation sheet relates to and ensure that it is securely fastened to the report form.

<p>1. Title of the programme: Doctorate in Clinical Psychology</p> <p>Title of research project (if different from above): “Who am I and Where do I Belong?” An Exploratory Study of the Construction of Identity of Second Generation People from Dual Heritage Backgrounds in Britain</p>
<p>2. Name of person responsible for the programme (Principal Investigator): Zara Hosany</p> <p>Status: Trainee Clinical Psychologist</p> <p>Name of supervisor (if different from above): Dr Ken Gannon</p> <p>Status: Clinical Tutor</p>
<p>3. School: Psychology Department/Unit: Clinical Psychology</p>
<p>4. Level of the programme (delete as Appropriate):</p> <p>(c) Postgraduate (taught)</p>
<p>5. Number of:</p> <p>(a) experimenters (approximately): One</p> <p>(b) participants (approximately): Ten</p>
<p>6. Name of experimenter (s) (including title): Miss Zara Hosany</p> <p>Nature of experimenter (delete as appropriate):</p> <p>(b) student</p>
<p>7. Nature of participants (general characteristics, e.g University students, primary school children, etc):</p> <p>10 people of dual heritage background will be interviewed; half of the sample will be from a mixed-race background. The group will be between the ages of 18-35. The participants would have been born and brought up in Britain and speak English.</p>

8. Probable duration of the programme:

from (starting date): July 2006

to (finishing date): April 2007

9. Aims of the programme including any hypothesis to be tested:

The aim of this study is to explore the development of identity of people from dual heritage backgrounds. Identity will be examined from both a personal and social aspect. The sources people draw on to construct their identity will be explored as well as the impact that growing up in Britain had in this process. The implications of these findings will be considered for future developments and planning in health, social and educational settings.

10. Description of the procedures to be used (give sufficient detail for the Committee to be clear about what is involved in the programme). Please append to the application form copies of any instructional leaflets, letters, questionnaires, forms or other documents which will be issued to the participants:

Participants will be recruited by advertisement and word of mouth. Mail shots may also be used. All participants will be given an Information Sheet and Consent Form (see attached documents). Participants will be initially screened by use of a socio-demographic questionnaire (SDQ) to see whether they fit the referral criteria. This will briefly ask questions about age, gender, parental occupation, area of residence and carers. In addition, all participants will be asked to write a spontaneous description of their ethnic group. Further information regarding ethnicity will be obtained by asking participants to indicate their own and their parents' ethnicities using categories from the 2001 census classifications.

Once the participants have been selected and consent has been obtained to participate in the study, a time for carrying out a semi-structured interview will be scheduled. Semi-structured interviews will be used to gather information whilst allowing for spontaneity and will be shaped by the participant's responses. All semi-structured interviews will be conducted by myself. Please refer to the attached draft interview schedule for proposed themes that may be covered.

The interviews will last approximately one hour to an hour and a half. They will be recorded and later transcribed. As this study is qualitative in design the analysis chosen to best achieve the aims of this project is Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). This method of analysis will draw out emerging themes which the participants share but will pay attention to individual's personal accounts, so their unique experiences will not get lost. The use of IPA will allow me to construct broad research questions which will allow me to be flexible yet structured in my questioning and collect expansive data focussed around the responses of the participant. Hence, follow up questions can be asked which can often provide richer answers for the interviewer but may also serve to validate the participant in their personal experience.

11. Are there potential hazards to the participant(s) in these procedures?

YES

If yes: (a) what is the nature of the hazard(s)?

There are no physical hazards to the participants. It is possible that consideration of issues regarding heritage and previous experiences may cause distress to the participant.

(b) what precautions will be taken?

The interview will be conducted in a sensitive manner. Should any participant become distressed or draw my attention to any sort of mental health needs, I will assess whether the interview should continue and the participant will be advised that they may withdraw from the study at any time.

12. Is medical care or after care necessary? NO

If yes, what provision has been made for this?

13. May these procedures cause discomfort or distress? NO

If yes, give details including likely duration:

14. (a) Will there be administration of drugs (including alcohol)? NO

(b) Where the procedures involve potential hazards and/or discomfort or distress, please state what previous experience you have had in conducting this type of research:

As a Trainee Clinical Psychologist I am skilled in handling and recognising discomfort or distress. I have experience of carrying out interviews in a mannerism that is sensitive to the participant's needs.

15. (a) How will the participants' consent be obtained?

At the point of contact, an information sheet and consent form (see attached forms) for participants to sign will be handed out. Consent will be verbally confirmed at the time of interviewing.

(b) What will the participants be told as to the nature of the experiment?

Participants will be given an information sheet (see attached forms) which will include a basic outline of the study and the aims. The research process will be transparent and the participants will be given as much information as they request.

16. (a) Will the participants be paid? NO

17. Are the services of the University Health Service likely to be required during or after the programme? NO

18. (a) Where will the experiments take place?

The research will take place at the University of East London.

(b) What equipment (if any) will be used?

A tape recorder will be used during interviewing and a transcribing machine will be used during the analysis.

(c) If equipment is being used is there any risk of accident or injury? If so, what precautions are being taken to ensure that should any untoward event happen adequate aid can be given:

NO

Do you consider yourself to be from a Dual Heritage background?

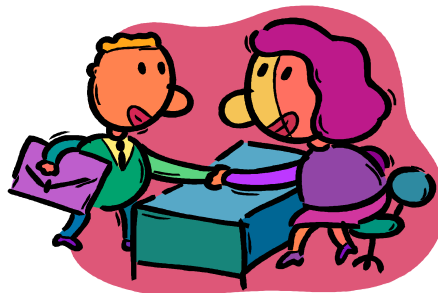


- Are you 18-35?
- Do your parents come from two different countries?
- Were you born in Britain?
- Are you interested in exploring your identity?

If so, you are eligible to take part in a study called

“Who am I & Where Do I Belong?”

Contact Zara Hosany on 0208 223 4171 or
email dualheritage@hotmail.com for further
details



Appendix 3: Information sheet for participants & letter of introduction

Information Sheet for participants

“Who am I and Where do I Belong?”

An Exploratory Study of the Construction of Identity of Second Generation People from Dual Heritage Backgrounds in Britain

What is the study about?

This study is about how people from dual heritage backgrounds talk about their experiences of developing their sense of self whilst growing up in Britain. I am interested in the factors that may have influenced this process such as your family background and the groups you belong to. I am interested in talking to you about your interests, your positive and negative experiences of having a mixed heritage and how you feel about this.

Why am I doing this study?

There are a large number of people like you and I from dual heritage backgrounds and we belong to a rapidly increasing group. There is however very little research considering our experiences of developing and managing our multiple identities and acknowledging they are different if not more complex to that of people from mono-heritages. Your valuable experiences will help people, like myself, who work in settings such as health, social and educational services, to adapt and develop services for people from dual heritage backgrounds.

What happens if you take part?

I will arrange a suitable time to meet with you to talk about your experiences of developing your identity and growing up in Britain. For future reference, our discussion will be tape-recorded to help me remember what you say. However, everything we discuss will be kept confidential. Our meeting should last for approximately one hour to an hour and a half.

Do I have to take part?

No, you do not have to take part in this study. If you decide you do want to take part, you will not be under any obligation to answer any questions you do not feel comfortable with and are free to change your mind about participating at any point.

What happens to what we discuss?

Following the individual interviews, I will write a report based on the experiences people have shared with me. I will not use your name or any information that may identify you in the report. The report may be published in a public journal. You will be contacted to be notified of this before publishing.

All of the information discussed will be stored securely during the study and the information will be destroyed at the end of the study.

Should you take part in the study, I will offer you a summary of the results and the opportunity to discuss any issues that came out of the interviews.

How can you find out more?

If you have any further questions about the study you can leave a message for me on 0208 223 4174 and I will phone you back as soon as possible. Alternatively you can email me at dualheritage@hotmail.com.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet.

I look forward to meeting those of you who will like to take part in the study.

Zara Hosany
Clinical Psychologist in Training

Letter of Introduction

Dear respondents,

Please find enclosed your information pack regarding the study, “Who am I & Where Do I Belong?” You will find the following contents:

- A yellow poster summarising the study and for you to pass on to anyone you may know who would also be interested in taking part.
- A blue Information sheet for you to read and keep.
- An orange form called “Getting to Know You” for you to complete and send back to me.
- A pink “Consent Form” for you to read, sign and send back to me should you decide you want to take part in the study.
- A white self addressed envelope for you to send back the requested information to me.

Please contact me should you have any further questions you would like answered.

Zara Hosany
dualheritage@hotmail.com
0208 223 4171

Appendix 4: Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

“An Exploratory Study of the Development and Construction of Identity of Young Second Generation People from Dual Heritage Backgrounds Growing Up in Britain”

Name of Researcher: Zara Hosany

This form is to show that you have agreed to take part in this study. Please read each statement below and select whether you agree or not.

1. I have read the information relating to the above research and have been given a copy to keep. YES/NO
2. The nature of the research has been explained to me and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it. YES/NO
3. I understand that the information I give will be kept strictly confidential. It has been explained to me how the information will be used and what will happen to it once the research has been completed. YES/NO
4. I agree that the information I give may later be published and I understand that my details which may identify me will not be used. YES/NO
5. I agree to my interviews being tape-recorded. YES/NO
6. I agree to take part in this study. YES/NO

Signature

Date

Full Name of Participant

Signature

Date

Full Name of Researcher

Appendix 5: Screening Form

Getting To Know You

	Yes	No
1) Are your parents from two different countries? • Mother's country of birth • Father's country of birth	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2) Are you aged between 18-35? • Age	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3) Are you British? • Country of birth	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4) Have you grown up in Britain? (If no, between what ages did you live in Britain?)-.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5) How do you define your mixed heritage?		
6) Have you thought about your identity before? (If yes, in what way?)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7) Are you interested in participating in this study?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8) When are you available to take part? (Please tick as many as apply to you) Mon am <input type="checkbox"/> Tues am <input type="checkbox"/> Wed am <input type="checkbox"/> Thurs am <input type="checkbox"/> Fri am <input type="checkbox"/> Sat am <input type="checkbox"/> Sun am <input type="checkbox"/> Mon pm <input type="checkbox"/> Tues pm <input type="checkbox"/> Wed pm <input type="checkbox"/> Thurs pm <input type="checkbox"/> Fri pm <input type="checkbox"/> Sat pm <input type="checkbox"/> Sun pm <input type="checkbox"/>		
9) How did you hear about this study?		
10) What interested you in taking part in this study?		

Thank you for taking the time to fill in this screening form. Please return in the enclosed self addressed envelope. You will be hearing from me soon. If you require any further information please contact me on 0208 223 4174 or email dualheritage@hotmail.com

Zara Hosany

Appendix 6: Interview Schedule

“Who am I and Where do I Belong?”

An Exploratory Study of the Construction of Identity of Second Generation People from Dual Heritage Backgrounds in Britain

1) Definitions

- How do you define your mixed heritage? (Refer to previous info submitted)

2) Family

- What was it like growing up within a dual heritage setting?
- What languages /cultures / religions / traditions etc. were you exposed to?
- How did this impact on you?

3) Britain

- What was it like growing up in Britain?
- What languages / cultures / religions / traditions were you exposed to?
- How did this impact on you?

4) Identity

- What was your experience like of growing up in Britain as a second generation person from a dual heritage background?
- Did these experiences differ at different stages of your identity development?
- What factors were important in shaping different aspects of your identity?
- How has this contributed to your identity now?
- What personal features of yours have contributed to the developing of your identity? e.g. physical features, name
- How have others reacted to these features?

5) Sense of belonging

- What kind of groups would you say you belong to?
- What attracts you to them?
- How has your dual heritage affected your choice of partners or friends?
- Do you know many people from mixed heritage backgrounds?
- What kind of experiences have you had with others in relation to your dual heritage?
- What roles do you play within different settings? e.g. family vs friends

6) Self reflection

- How often do you think about your dual heritage? What kinds of things cause you to think about it?
- Do you express or consider your heritage through different aspects of your daily life? e.g. through work, pursuit of leisure interests, food or study
- How have your experiences been shaped by external circumstances such as war and political or media statements?

Closing interview

- How did you find the interview?

Parental occupation/ Participant's occupation/ Area live in

Appendix 7: Example of worked transcript

	746	DH4: Um. I thought about this a lot over the last few years because I, because <u>up</u>	
up until 28 - all white Boyfriends	747	until the age of 28 I always had sort of White boyfriends, yeah. Um and many	
	748	(inaudible) (laughter). And I think at 28 I met somebody who has never lived	
	749	in Iraq but has Iraqi parents um, brought up in Britain and I really enjoyed that	similarities
	750	aspect of sort of being together was the fact that. I think <u>there was a lot of</u>	unsaid 'stuff'
Never said ... just felt common ground	751	<u>stuff that we just never said but always felt kind of, I don't know, common</u>	common ground
	752	<u>ground?</u> Um, I know, to be honest I <u>do really miss that</u> when we split up	
	753	about a year and a half ago. Um, but I <u>really appreciated</u> he was somebody in	
Appreciated (outside & difference)	754	that kind of intimate relationship that was, well <u>just had experience of kind of</u>	
	755	being a bit of an outsider and difference. I think a lot of it doesn't need to be	Outsider unspeak
Doesn't need to be spoken about	756	<u>spoken about</u> . A lot of it is just kind of. Even <u>it's just humour</u> , sort of like	Humour - 'micky'
- Humour - take the mickey	757	you (laughter). It sounds awful but he'd <u>take the mickey</u> out of the ways his	
	758	parents' friends spoke, with the heavily strong Iraqi accents when they speak	
	759	English and things like that and I think it's just a kind of <u>shared understanding</u>	shared understandi
Shared understanding because in the same'	760	that it's o.k. to do that with me because I'm the <u>same</u> , Indian parents' speaking	
	761	English and it's just a kind of, I don't know, a kind of <u>common experience</u>	Common ex. pience
Common experience - appreciated it	762	which felt really nice and I think he really appreciated it as well. You know,	
	763	something he'd not make a big deal about like he was Iraqi but just the fact	
- British Iraqi	764	that he was <u>British Iraqi</u> , sort of um and. Yeah and I think <u>being with</u>	British offe
	765	<u>somebody who is White</u> and sort of very White British now, it's definitely	
Always partner white British	766	something that, not a challenge but something I'm aware of <u>um</u> and I guess I	
	767	<u>would never say this but ideally I would be rather be with somebody who was,</u>	
about someone from mixed background	768	<u>somewhat of a mixed background</u> but, can't make a (inaudible) for some	
	769	reason um.	
	770	Z: Mmm and what, what do you think you would gain from sort of being with	
	771	someone from a mixed background?	
Subtle	772	DH4: Um. (Pause). I don't know. I think it's so <u>subtle</u> um but maybe just a kind of	Subtle
	773	maybe <u>more of an understanding of past experience</u> or maybe just more <u>shared</u>	
- Understanding of past exp. - shared experience	774	kind of experiences and maybe also an <u>understanding of why I am certain</u>	shared understanding
	775	<u>ways now and you know, vice versa</u> but um. Um I think it is something that	
	776	can come with years and I've sort of seen it with my Mum. She came from a	
Mum has knowledge with here	777	<u>very small place in Ireland</u> um and <u>completely I think knows a lot about Indian</u>	parental influence knowledge
	778	<u>culture and you know just being kind off with all sorts of different kinds of</u>	

Appendix 8: Initial table of themes

Superordinate Themes	Subordinate Themes
'I'm Made Up of Both'	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Flexible identities• Physical appearance• What's in a name?• Definitions & terminology
'Grass Roots'	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Family influences• Belonging
'Lost in Translation'	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Blending in• Language
'The Outsider'	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Being different – negative• Segregation• Racism
'Luxury of Being Able to Choose'	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Choice• Being invisible
'Best of Both Worlds'	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Being different - positive
'All in the Same Boat'	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Sameness• Affiliations & comfort

Appendix 9: 2001 Census Ethnic Group Categories

Person 1 - continued

15 How would you describe your national identity?

☞ Tick all that apply

- English
- Welsh
- Scottish
- Northern Irish
- British
- Other, write in

16 What is your ethnic group?

☞ Choose **one** section from A to E, then tick **one** box to best describe your ethnic group or background

A White

- English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British
- Irish
- Gypsy or Irish Traveller
- Any other White background, write in

B Mixed/multiple ethnic groups

- White and Black Caribbean
- White and Black African
- White and Asian
- Any other Mixed/multiple ethnic background, write in

C Asian/Asian British

- Indian
- Pakistani
- Bangladeshi
- Chinese
- Any other Asian background, write in

D Black/African/Caribbean/Black British

- African
- Caribbean
- Any other Black/African/Caribbean background, write in

E Other ethnic group

- Arab
- Any other ethnic group, write in

17 This question is intentionally left blank → Go to **18**

18 What is your main language?

- English → Go to **20**
- Other, write in (including British Sign Language)

19 How well can you speak English?

Very well Well Not well Not at all

- Very well
- Well
- Not well
- Not at all

20 What is your religion?

- ☞ This question is voluntary
- No religion
- Christian (including Church of England, Catholic, Protestant and all other Christian denominations)
- Buddhist
- Hindu
- Jewish
- Muslim
- Sikh
- Any other religion, write in

21 One year ago, what was your usual address?

- ☞ If you had no usual address one year ago, state the address where you were staying
- The address on the front of this questionnaire
- Student term time/boarding school address in the UK, write in term time address below
- Another address in the UK, write in below

OR Outside the UK, write in country