


ETHNIC IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE IN THE DIGITAL CULTURE

Hassen ZRIBA

 : <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7968-0229>
University of Gafsa, Tunisia

© The Author(s) 2021

ABSTRACT

The discursive relationships between language and identity have been problematic. It is a generally accepted wisdom that the two concepts are closely interrelated by which I mean that language reveals one's identity and identity colors one's language. However, in the contemporary digital culture, such a language-identity relation acquires additional importance and complexity. Yet, if we study language-identity relations within multi-ethnic and multicultural contexts, like that of contemporary Britain, further problems originate. Hence, a fundamental hypothesis of this article is that the digitalization of language and identity creates further niches to alternative expressions of ethnic identities through specific linguistic constructions. I test this hypothesis within the British multicultural context.

The paper I partly relies on the analytical tools offered by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with particular reference to the more culturally adapted approach developed by the British linguist Norman Fairclough, namely his popular approach Textually-oriented Discourse Analysis (TODA). This study is based on a representative corpus extracted from different social media that is, or claims to be, related to ethnic issues in Britain. The research employed method is an electronic questionnaire which yielded a number of interesting results.

© 2021. All rights reserved.

ARTICLE INFO

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received:
07 June, 2021
Accepted:
05 September, 2021
Published:
30 October, 2021
Available online:
30 October, 2021

KEYWORDS

Ethnic identity,
digital spaces,
discourse analysis,
language, culture

Introduction

At the onset of the twenty-first century, it has been a widely acknowledged fact that technology and technological inventions have metamorphosed the world in manifolds, exciting and unforeseen ways. Almost, technology with its dazzling inventions and manifestations permeated every aspect of our contemporary life. Web-based technology is pivotal in such a metamorphosis. Hence, web users' behaviors, conduct, and identities have witnessed drastic alterations. The new digital spaces changed the conventional ways of language use and identity expression.

The discursive relationships between language and ethnic identity have been problematic. It is a generally accepted wisdom that the two concepts are closely interrelated by which I mean that language reveals one's identity and identity colors one's language. However, in the contemporary digital culture, such a language-identity relation acquires additional importance and complexity. Yet, if we study language-identity relations within multi-ethnic and multicultural contexts, further challenges originate. Hence, a fundamental hypothesis of this study is that the digitalization of language and identity creates further niches to alternative expressions of ethnic identities through specific linguistic constructions. I test this hypothesis within the British multicultural context. I partly rely on the analytical tools offered by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with a particular reference to the more culturally adapted approach developed by the British linguist Norman Fairclough, namely his popular approach Textually-oriented Discourse Analysis (TODA). Though considerably reliant on linguistic discursive approaches, this article is basically on the cultural meanings of the potential uses of language in the expression of ethnic identities within increasingly multicultural/multilinguistic communities.

Research questions

This interdisciplinary article explores the role of traditional culture in the evolving expressions, practices, and images of race and ethnicity in the digital age. The work examines cultural forms in exclusively digital environments as well as in the hybrid environments created by mobile technologies, where real-life becomes overlaid with digital content.

This study attempts to answer the following questions:

- *How is the relationship between language and identity understood and conceptualized by digital spaces' users?*
- *To what extent do offline cultural repertoires influence the online articulations of the users?*

- *How do British ethnic minorities use the new expressive features of digital spaces to experience, represent, discuss, and debate their identities?*
- *How have digital technologies or digital spaces become racialized?*

Methodology

The corpus of this article is based on an electronic questionnaire distributed to different social media groups that claim to be about or related to ethnic communities in Britain. Two major online groups are targeted as the sample of this article. They are *People from UK*, and *Love GREAT Britain*; they were selected randomly so that the researcher's bias is lowered down as much as possible. The unique criterion for the selection, however, is that the Facebook groups are British or frequented by British users. The used online platform is Typeform, which comparatively, has advanced features and tools despite its being free. For instance, Typeform, unlike other platforms, allows up to 100 respondents to send their feedback, which is a reasonable sample to the objectives of this study.

Participants

The article relies on a random sample that involved one hundred respondents online that subscribe to the Facebook groups *People from UK*, and *Love GREAT Britain*. The anticipated diversity of cultural origins and regional belongings or is meant to secure an acceptable representativity of the participants. It is assumed that they should have different attitudes regarding the nature of Britishness and the relationship of the latter to the English language.

According to the received feedback, the traits of the population are as follows: 54% of the respondents were male, 75% belonged to the extended age group 18-49, and 64% of the South Asian racial category. Also, expectedly, 70% hold a South Asian religious belief (primarily Muslims and then Hindus).

Data Analysis Procedure

To the aim of this study, 100 respondents were retained. The respondents answered the questionnaire within two weeks. The data was collected online and later analyzed based on descriptive statistics and frequency distribution.

This questionnaire, along with a critical analysis of relevant literature, offered, I believe, ample data that illuminated the major theoretical assumptions of the article. However, it is crucial to state that this type of online surveys and questionnaires has several shortcomings despite its considerable advantages. On the one hand, online surveys and questionnaires tend to be less expensive, less time-intensive, faster, and more accessible than other “conventional” methods. Online surveys are powerful, flexible tools that can be a great addition to research, notably the research that broaches digital phenomena. On the other hand, surveys and questionnaires may not be appealing to the targeted population. The absence of the research may discourage respondents to fill the surveys commendably. Yet, the problem of the verification of the identity of the respondents remains the most remarkable problem with online surveys and questionnaires. Despite the use of stringent identity verification, most online surveys will include, variably, some bogus respondents. However, despite those shortcomings, online surveys and questionnaires’ benefits still circumvent their drawbacks.

The Discourse of “Linguistics”

Yet as a technique of research, I propose to use it as a quantitative tool for the sake of qualitative analysis. It is supposed to produce numerical data (quantitative and statistical) of the media in question (websites and race-related reports). I suggest using the textual analysis methodology of Norman Fairclough (TODA) to generate qualitative data. What follows is a review of that qualitative methodology. However, I argue that it is possible to use Fairclough’s model of Critical Discourse Analysis for social research.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a branch of Linguistics that tries to focus on the relation of language to power and the way the former is employed to disseminate the effects of the latter. The job of a discourse analyst is to uncover the various linguistic structures used to maintain the status quo. For instance, Ruth Wodak, in *Language, Power, and Ideology* (1989) argues that the relationship between ideology and language is not such a simple one. Language is an important tool to entrench ideological assumptions. Thus, the role of the discourse analyst is to resist the ideological work by uncovering how ideology and power work in and by language. The discourse analyst is to be critical and engaged. Critical Discourse Analysis transformed the study of language into an interdisciplinary field. Language became a tool that can be used by scholars with various backgrounds, including media criticism. Most importantly, it offers the opportunity to adopt social perspectives in the cross-cultural study of media texts. Thus, CDA is rather a sociolinguistic approach that is politically committed. Elzain Elgamri, surveying the

works of major discourse analysts, concludes that CDA principles can be outlined in seven points as follows:

- *CDA is not only about both interpreting and explaining texts.*
- *Texts gain their meanings using the dialectical relationship between text producers and receivers, who interact with various degrees of choice and access to those texts and ways of interpretations.*
- *Texts acquire their meaning by being situated in particular cultural, social, and ideological contexts.*
- *Producers of texts operate within particular discursive practices that originally emanate from specific aims and interests that could involve exclusions and inclusions, depending on the intended objectives.*
- *Discourse and language as a social practice represent, signify and constitute other social practices such as domination, prejudice, the exercise of power, and subsequent resistance.*
- *Power and domination relations are always produced, reproduced, and exercised through discourse.*
- *No arbitrariness is involved in linguistic features and structures: they are intended, regardless of the consciousness or unconsciousness of the choices involved.*

Norman Fairclough's approach to language is textually oriented. In this article, I use Fairclough's model of TODA to analyze the various linguistic and semiotic strategies used by online agents to disclose how their identities are tied to their linguistic performances and competencies and vice versa. Fairclough asserts that the relationship between language (text) and the social world is a vital one. In 2003, he wrote that texts have causal effects upon, and contribute to changes in, people (beliefs, attitudes, etc.), actions, social relations, and the material world. It would make little sense to focus on language in new capitalism if we didn't think that texts have causal effects of this sort, and effects on social change. Fairclough believes that linguistic practices are discursively shaped and enacted; the internal features and properties of discourse are to constitute a principal element of their interpretation.

He is thus interested in how social practices are discursively shaped, as well as the resultant discursive effects of social practices. The relationship between discourse and social practices is a dialectical one since they seem to entrench each other. Fairclough's work is an attempt to uncover the discursive practices that are hidden between the lines of social texts. He wants to disclose the unsaid ideological assumptions that shaped such textual discourses. He argued that "What is 'said' in a text always rests upon 'unsaid' assumptions, so part of the analysis of texts is trying to identify what is assumed". The job of the committed discourse analyst is not only

to confine himself/herself to textual data but extra-textual social and discursive processes have to be unveiled and analyzed. According to Fairclough, the representational meaning of the text (which is a socio-discursive activity) includes in its clauses three major types of elements: Processes, Participants, and Circumstances. For instance, in a sentence like "I read a book yesterday," the Process is "read", the two Participants are "I" and "a book" and the Circumstance is "yesterday". This pattern allowed the discourse analyst to cover all partners in any discursal activity.

To speak about the links between ethnic identity and language in contemporary Britain, it is necessary to highlight the role played by the different elements in the production and consumption of discourse. These parts are the official authorities and media (participants), types of representation (processes), and finally temporal (Contemporary) and geographical (Britain) settings. Fairclough's TODA consists of three inter-related processes of analysis reflecting the three inter-related dimensions of discourse. As stated above, these processes are Processes, Participants, and Circumstances each of which is a reflection of a certain dimension of discourse. Processes refer to the means and tools by which the object is produced by mainly human subjects. Participants include those who produce or consume the discourse in question. And finally, Circumstances make up the socio-historical conditions and backgrounds which govern these processes. According to Fairclough, each dimension of discourse needs a different kind of analysis:

1. Text analysis (description),
2. Processing analysis (interpretation),
3. Social analysis (explanation).

This three-step methodology allows the analyst to take into account the linguistic and the semiotic signifiers of the text (either oral or written) as well as identifying the socio-cultural and political choices that generated them. Fairclough's model provides multiple points of analysis that range from the textual, the interpersonal, and the social. Such a trinity of analysis emanates from Michael Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Halliday argued that there are three levels of analysis: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. To apply Halliday's model at the level of grammar (Textual), a discourse analyst has to systematically examine:

1. Lexicalisation
2. Patterns of transitivity
3. The use of active and passive voice
4. The use of nominalisation
5. The choices of mood

6. The choices of modality or polarity
7. The thematic structure of the text
8. The information focus
9. The cohesion devices.

Thus, textual and grammatical analyses are indispensable in uncovering the ways power is diffused and maintained textually. Grammatical and semiotic structures are sociocultural selections that serve certain extra-textual targets. In the description phase, Fairclough describes and identifies the various syntactic, lexical, and semiotic components of the text. The internal and intrinsic dynamics of the text are quite revealing of the prior choices of those who produced it. In the interpretation step, he refers to the situational and inter-textual contexts of the text. Those contexts are paramount in interpreting the text and the strategies included in its production and reception. Ultimately, Fairclough moves to the explanation phase in which he analyzes the social structures that contributed to the production of the interpretative frameworks of reference of the text. Those are the historical and social conditions governing both texts and their immediate processes of analysis. Fairclough's TODA model is the theoretical part of the methodological tool that is used in the analysis of the data of this article. The data generated by the online questionnaire is analyzed; the immediate interpretative frameworks are identified and appraised; and finally, the sociohistorical factors and forces that promoted their generation are churned out and explained.

Discussion

The expression of ethnic identity through virtual outlets offers unlimited possibilities for cultural articulations. These e-possibilities would create cordial lingua franca of multicultural and multi-ethnic syncretism, generating multiple sources of identifications and socio-cultural empowerments. The virtual space is, in many respects, empowering and secures a sort of flexibility so much needed by the British ethnic minorities. They seem to enjoy greater freedom of expression and more command over their discursive formations.

The conducted questionnaire yielded several findings. Overall, it seems that language is a prime source of identity and identification in contemporary British society. In our survey, 67 % of the respondents affirmed that English in particular and language, in general, constitute a fundamental and even constitutive aspect of British national identity. Moreover, they agree that Britishness is a source of identification for the large majority of the British ethnic groups. Hence, 80 % regard Britishness as more an ethnic identity than a civic one. The diagram below states the

detailed account of the questionnaire's data. The question was "Do you consider English a constitutive element of Britishness?" and the answers were as follows:



Diagram 1: Relationship between English language and British identity

This is not a surprising finding anyway. Yet, it confirms the fact that multiculturalism and language politics are closely related; they feed each other. Hence, no multiculturalism is tenable without the full recognition of the validity of the languages of the different ethnic minorities constitutive of the multilingual mosaic of Britain. Language is, hence, a vital medium through which social agents experience and relate to their environments. Bonny Norton explained this crucial relational aspect of language and identity. He wrote that identity is understood as "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (2013: 45). Identity is then a constitutive concept of the human consociation and language is vital in such a consociation. There has been a wealth of literature which deals with the nature, aspect, and future of the relationship between language and identity (Pavlenko, A. and Blackledge, A. (Eds). 2004).

Another crucial concern was the nature of British national identity or Britishness. There are different conceptualizations of the nature and character of Britishness. I investigate some of those conceptions briefly. In September 2002, BBC News produced an article in which the editor analyzed the meanings and dimensions of the concept of Britishness. One fundamental question was "Apart from the sea, what keeps the British together?" (BBC News, 2002). The article is entitled "What is Britishness anyway?" and it attempts to present the various conceptualizations of the British national identity. The article argues that the concept of identity in general and Britishness, in particular, are not easy to understand let alone define and explain. It is postulated that "there are so many

definitions of what “Britishness” is” (2002). It is shown that, in general, the issue of Britishness gathered momentum with the arrival of different ethnic minorities to Britain. Hence, Lord Tebbit, commenting on the racial aspect of the concept, suggested that “Nobody used to talk about Britishness in the 1940s and 1950s; it is a phenomenon of large numbers of non-British people coming into the country. The question is about foreigners and how foreigners are persuaded to adopt British customs and styles.” (BBC News, 2002). It appears that the concept of Britishness is so entrenched within the political and cultural discourses of British race relations. The concept has powerful racial overtones.

Yet, another important aspect of the issue was broached in the article; that is the political and civil dimension of Britishness. After all, the then British Home Secretary David Blunkett adopted the ideological assumptions of the notorious “Cricket Test” to suggest that Britishness is a civil and political identity more than being a racial and ethnic one. The cricket test, also known as the Tebbit test, was a controversial policy introduced in April 1990 by the British Conservative politician Norman Tebbit to check and measure the loyalty of immigrants and their children to the British national identity and British cultural system. Arguably, David Blunkett suggested that such a test is a possible indicator of the level of integration in the central value system. The values, he talked about, were mainly political and civil not explicitly cultural. Hence the definition of the British national identity has been a hard task. The elements of that identity were multifarious. I present a non-official consideration of the concept of Britishness.

The race equality think tank Runnymede Trust published a report entitled *The Future of Multicultural Britain* (2000) also known as the *Parekh Report*. The report constructed Britishness in terms of cultural diversity and ethnic heterogeneity. The Parekh Report is composed of three major parts. The first part, entitled “A Vision for Britain”, is of vital importance since it tries to rethink the foundations and contours of British identity. The report in general was engaged in revising and “Rethinking the National Story” to highlight its inclusive and multi-ethnic character. The report stresses the fact that Britain just like all other nations and communities is an “imagined community”. The “imagined-ness” is set against the essentialist and static conceptions and constructions of national identities. The logic is that if the nation is imagined it can be re-imagined. The identities out of which the community is composed are in a state of flux or to use the report’s phrase “identities in transition”.¹

Historically, the report shows that all the historical events and acts, upon which an understanding of traditional Britishness was based, were neither unanimous nor unproblematic. For instance, the Act of Settlement (1701) and the Act of Union (1801)

¹ Ibid, p 27.

were, according to the report, “continually contested”. Parekh criticizes the unidirectional and race-oriented concept of Britishness. He stresses that conventional conceptualizations of the notion/nation are systematically constructed to include the mainstream white majority while excluding the other non-white minorities. He writes:

“Britishness, as much as Englishness, has systematic, largely unspoken racial connotations”², and he added that for those non-white minorities, whose native countries were once under the British imperial system, “Britishness is a reminder of colonization and empire”³.

However, Parekh argues that compared to Englishness, Britishness is a preferred source of identification for them as Englishness entails whiteness. Ethnic minorities tend to combine Britishness with other identities, thus, creating what can be called hyphenated identities such as British-Indians, British Muslims, and so on.

Parekh and his group consider that 21st century Britain is at a crossroads regarding its identity. They declare:

“Britain confronts a historic choice as to its future direction. Will it try to turn the clock back, digging in, defending old values and ancient hierarchies, relying on a narrow English-dominated, backward-looking definition of the nation? Or will it seize the opportunity to create a more flexible, inclusive, cosmopolitan image of itself? Britain is at a turning point. But it has not yet turned the corner. It is time to make the move”⁴.

For Parekh, the concept of Britishness is “less unified, more diverse and pluralistic, than imagined”⁵ which means that ethnic minorities with their diverse cultures can take part and find a place in the imaginings of British national identity. Just as British national identity is dynamic and diverse so are those of ethnic minorities; they make up heterogeneous and multidimensional entities.

What Parekh lays down in his report is an attempt to refine and redefine the concept of Britishness to stress its pluralist and civic character. This makes the concept more dynamic and inclusive. Civic values are considered as the basis of this

² Parekh, B. (ed). (2000). *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain*. London: The Runnymede Trust, p 38.

³ Ibid, p38.

⁴ Ibid, p15.

⁵ Ibid, p36.

new Britishness. In multicultural Britain, cultural difference is recognized and thus there has been a gradual shift from a mono-cultural Britishness to a multicultural one. The report stresses six tasks that are to be addressed. These tasks are:

- “* the need to rethink the national story and national identity;*
- * the need to recognise that Britain comprises a range of ‘majority’ and ‘minority communities which are internally diverse and which are changing;*
- *the need to strike a balance between the need to treat people equally, the need to respect the differences, and the need to maintain shared values and social cohesion;*
- *the need to address and remove all forms of racism;*
- *the need to reduce economic inequalities;*
- *the need to build a pluralist human rights culture.”⁶.*

Indeed, the *Parekh Report* is a turning point in the definition of British identity. It is to use Pilkington’s phrase “Radical Hour”⁷ in which a new reading of British identity and history is to emerge. According to Parekh, multiculturalism has to be acknowledged as an irreversible fact in contemporary Britain. The new multi-ethnic Britain is accordingly envisaged as a “community of communities and a community of citizens”⁸. Such a new conception seems to strike a balance between different concepts: cohesion, equality, and difference. Thus Britain is a community that shares common values and conceptions of the world, but it is also composed of many communities which stress its diverse nature. This co-existence of cohesion (unity) and diversity (difference) seems to make the two ends meet: the majority is satisfied by cohesion and the minorities get their diversity recognized. The myth of ethnic essentialism and distinctiveness is debunked for the sake of a new conception of race relations. Andrew Pilkington writes:

“Thinking of Britain as a community of communities challenges the conventional view of Britain as divided into two seemingly homogenous groupings, a White majority, and ethnic minorities, and urges us instead to recognise that Britain comprises a number of fluid, overlapping and internally diverse national, regional and ethnic communities which cut across any simple majority/minority division”⁹.

To conclude the *Parekh Report* is an attempt to revise race relations in contemporary Britain with a special focus on the irreversibility of the multicultural

⁶Parekh quoted in Pilkington, A. *Racial disadvantage and Ethnic Diversity in Britain*. Palgrave Macmillan: London, 2003, pp265-266.

⁷Pilkington, A (2003). *Racial disadvantage and Ethnic Diversity in Britain*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

⁸Parekh. Op. cit, 2000, p 56.

⁹Pilkington. op.cit, p. 266.

nature of the nation. With the formula of Britain as “a community of communities and a community of citizens”, the report presents a new understanding of the cultural and ethnic realities that emphasize diversity while asking for a set of common values that preserve the inter-and intra-cohesiveness of Britain. What we can deduce from this brief account of the definitions and meanings of the concept of identity in general and British identity in particular, is that no comprehensive definition is tenable and no claims of objectivity or scientificity are plausible.

Back to the findings of the questionnaire, the respondents believe that Britishness is more cultural than civic. The cultural parameters of identity seem to exceed its civil or political components. The diagram below presents the various attitudes to the question: “Is Britishness a cultural or civic identity?” This yes/no question narrows down the multidimensional nature of the British national identity into a binary structure to check the validity of official claims that Britishness is mostly a political and civil identity.

There is a dominant discourse that argues for the cultural nature of Britishness. Our representative sample confirms this fact. The digital consideration and expression of ethnic and cultural identity do not impact the nature of such an identity in considerable ways. Only 40% of our respondents declare that web-based spaces offered more flexibility in the expression of their ethnic identity. 60% of the sample either reject or doubt such flexibility.

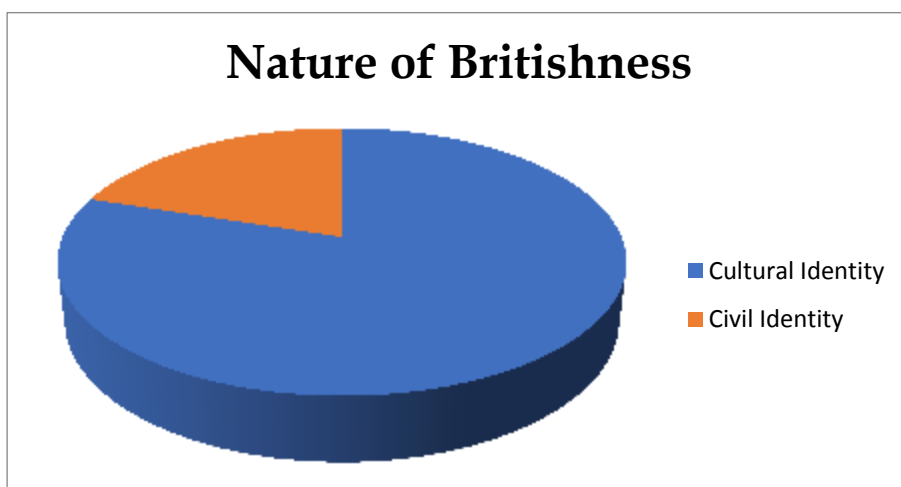


Diagram 2: The nature of the British national identity

One major drawback of the digital formation and expression of ethnic identity (and, in fact, any identity) is the increasing absence of face-to-face and real interaction of social and cultural agents. Hence, the digital experience is greatly contingent on

the constraints of the digital world. There seems to be a new mode of communication and interaction that can be called “Textlationship”¹⁰ that demolishes any authentic human interaction. Such a Textlationship is exclusively based on digital contacts which diminishes the possibilities of real-life social changes.

Conclusion

This article is a critical interpretive reading of the ways British ethnic minorities expressed their ethnic identities within a multicultural British society. It is shown that identity and language play crucial roles in the processes of ethnic identification.

Despite the cultural and linguistic diversity of contemporary Britain, our questionnaire affirms the claims that Britain is still regarded as a predominantly white and monocultural community. It appears that British multiculturalism is a mere political ideology for political and media consumption while the realities of the field confirm the hegemony of the British WASP¹¹ identity and culture.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Contact Information

E-mail: hassen_zriba@yahoo.fr

¹⁰ A relationship or association between people who text each other frequently, but rarely if ever interact with each other directly and in person.

¹¹ This acronym stands for White Anglo-Saxon Protestant.

References and notes:

- Fairclough, N. (2003) *Analyzing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. New York: Routledge.
- Kress, G. (1990) "Critical Discourse Analysis," Robert Kaplan, ed., *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, II.
- Elgamri, E. (2008) *Islam in the British Broadsheets: The Impact of Orientalism on Representations of Islam in the British Press*. Reading, UK: Ithaca Press.
- Janks, H. (2007) "Critical Discourse Analysis as a Research Tool", University of the Witwatersrand: Johannesburg, South Africa, 2007. (<http://www.unisa.edu.au/hawkeinstitute/cslplc/documents/cdaresrchfnl.pdf>) retrieved in 22/02/2008.
- Norton, B. (2013) *Identity and Language Learning: Extending the Conversation*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Parekh, B. (ed). (2000) *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain*. London: The Runnymede Trust.
- Parekh, B. quoted in Pilkington, A. (2003) *Racial disadvantage and Ethnic Diversity in Britain*. Palgrave Macmillan: London, pp 265-266.
- Pavlenko, A. and Blackledge, A. (Eds). (2004) *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Pilkington, A. (2003) *Racial disadvantage and Ethnic Diversity in Britain*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wodak, R. (1989) *Language, Power, and Ideology: Studies in Political Discourse*. Amsterdam: Benjamins Publishing.

APPENDIX

Questionnaire sample

Thank you for taking part in this questionnaire! That means a lot to the researcher in question. Please, be sure that your data and expressed attitudes will be confidential and will be used exclusively for academic reasons.

1) Age

Which category below includes your age?

- 17 or younger
- 18-20
- 21-29
- 30-39
- 40-49
- 50-59
- 60 or older

2) Race

Are you White, Black or African-American, American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, or some other race?

- White
- Black or African-American
- American Indian or Alaskan Native
- Asian
- Native Hawaiian or other Pacific islander
- From multiple races
- Some other race (please specify)

3) Religion

What is your religion?

- Christian
- Muslim
- Jew
- Buddhist
- Sikh
- Atheist
- Other (specify please)

4) Gender**What is your gender?**

- Female
- Male
- Other (specify)

5) Marital status**Are you now married, widowed, divorced, separated, or never married?**

- Married
- Widowed
- Divorced
- Separated
- Never married

6) Education**What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?**

- Less than high school degree
- High school degree or equivalent (e.g., GED)
- Somecollege but no degree
- Associatedegree
- Bachelordegree
- Graduatedegree

7) Employment**Which of the following categories best describes your employment status?**

- Employed, working 1-39 hours per week
- Employed, working 40 or more hours per week
- Not employed, looking for work
- Not employed, NOT looking for work
- Retired
- Disabled, not able to work

8) Household income**How much total combined money did all members of your household earn in 2018?**

- \$0 – \$9,999
- \$10,000 – \$19,999
- \$20,000 – \$29,999
- \$30,000 – \$39,999
- \$40,000 – \$49,999
- \$50,000 – \$59,999
- \$60,000 – \$69,999

- \$70,000 – \$79,999
- \$80,000 – \$89,999
- \$90,000 – \$99,999
- \$100,000 or more

9) Is the English language a prime source of identity and identification?

- Yes,
- No
- Don't know
- Other

10) "Do you consider English a constitutive element of Britishness?"

11) Is Britishness a cultural identity?

- Yes,
- No
- Don't know
- Other

12) Is Britishness a civic identity?

- Yes,
- No
- Don't know
- Other

Thank you for your participation!