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Points of View and the reconciliation of Identity Oppositions: examples from the Maltese in Britain

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This paper presents the findings of a case study of Maltese migrants to Britain. In the absence of a cohesive community, Maltese migrants to Britain are required to negotiate a new social reality at the individual level. Previous research has demonstrated that individuals can relate to alternative perspectives in different ways (Sammut & Gaskell, 2010). The present study demonstrates that individuals with different points of view negotiate different identities that serve to position them functionally within one or both social realities. Individuals with monological points of view elaborated exclusive identities that positioned them well in a single social setting. Individuals with dialogical points of view elaborated hierarchical identities, holding their own bicultural identities as superior. This had further positioning ramifications. In contrast, individuals with metalogical points of view elaborated non-hierarchical, chameleon or individualistic identities, by which they positioned themselves functionally in both social settings. For metalogical types, belonging to one group meant that one was neither more nor less a member of the other group. These findings thus add a third type to Duveen's dual-typology of identity strategies in the reconciliation of oppositional categories.

Human interpersonal relations take place in a constructed social reality characterized by a diversity of opinions and views. No one can today have a belief and hold it true without at the same time knowing that others disagree, possibly fundamentally so (Giddens, 1991). Intercultural encounters are in no way a recent phenomenon, and have taken place for as long as humans have roamed the planet (Chryssochoou, 2004). However, they are nowadays more pronounced due to technological advances that have made the public sphere truly global (Giddens, 1991; Wicker, 1997). In such a state of affairs, adopting a particular perspective is not only an expression of privately

held beliefs; adopting a perspective is an act of positioning that has identity ramifications. On the basis of their views, individuals are identified as liberals or democrats, communists or anarchists, fundamentalists or agnostics. Individuals negotiate their identities on the basis of the outlooks they adopt and the relations they assume with others. In the process of adopting an outlook against another, individuals relate with some and oppose others, establish ties with some and distance themselves from others, and come to belong with some and not with others.

The human ability to relate to others on the basis of their own perspective has been identified as a critical relational dynamic in the social sciences. According to Mead (1938), the human ability for intersubjectivity, that involves the capacity to take the perspective of the other, brings about a constructed social reality. More recently, evolutionary psychologists have argued that 'Theory of Mind', that is the ability to infer the mental states of others, is a critical phylogenetic human characteristic (Leslie, 1987). Hewstone et al. (2005) argue that perspective taking is a mediator of successful contact outcomes in intercultural relations.

Yet, on the other hand, the inability to relate to and understand the lifeworlds of others is not a scarce occurrence either. When individuals socialized in different cultures encounter one another and interrelate, they are required to adjust to the novelty of the Other and their ways of thinking about the world. The ways of the Other represent an alternative to the individual's own way of thinking, challenging one's own perspective possibly fundamentally (Chryssochoou, 2004). At times, in intercultural encounters, individuals may be faced with new values and new practices that they may not fully understand and that they might even find despicable. Individuals may not comprehend why others behave as they do, or how they themselves should behave in some new context (Chryssochoou, 2004). This necessarily creates anxiety in social situations (Chryssochoou, 2004), for how can human subjects take the perspective of another that they may find irrational, abhorrent, or bizarre (Asch, 1952/1987; Benhabib, 2002)?

Sammut and Gaskell (2010) identified three types of points of view–monological, dialogical, and metalogical–that individuals adopt and that vary according to the degree of openness of a point of view in relation to another. The term points of view is used interchangeably with, but favoured over, the term perspective. This is due to the fact that points of view, unlike perspectives, are by definition

relative and epistemologically relational (Kant, 1798/2006; see Mischel, 1969 and Harré & Secord, 1972). In social psychology, the term originates with Asch (1952/1987) and was re-proposed for social psychology in general by Harré & Secord (1972) and Bilig (1987), and within the theory of social representations in particular by Clémence (2001) and Liu and László (2007)[1]. According to Sammut and Gaskell (2010), a monological point of view is unable to conceive of and dismisses an alternative point of view. A dialogical point of view admits that others may have different perspectives, but will hold these as erroneous *a priori*. A metalogical point of view, on the other hand, is able to appreciate the fact that one's perspective is as relative as another. A point of view thus represents the articulation of an individual's perspective, relative to the object and others' perspectives in relation to that object. As such, a point of view represents the subject's positioning in relation to the object, relative to others.

This paper looks at the identity implications of these identified point of view types, drawing on an empirical study undertaken with Maltese migrants to Britain. This study sought to investigate the social psychological functions of points of view. This paper, focusing on identity functions, demonstrates that national identities may also be typified by the degree of openness that an individual has in relating to another. In so doing, this paper furthers Duveen's contribution to the study of social identities by identifying the characteristics of a third identity type in addition to the two outlined by Duveen. This third type is similar to what others have called bicultural (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987) or chameleon identities (Camilleri & Malewska-Peyre, 1980). This paper will argue that what characterizes this third variant is the subject's ability to negotiate diversity and reconcile identity oppositions successfully and harmoniously. This negotiation can occur in two ways. Firstly, an individual can negotiate a hyphenated (Chryssochoou, 2004) identity. Secondly, an individual can negotiate an individualistic identity (Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, and Senécal, 1997) that transcends identity categories. These identities are associated with metalogical perspectives that enable individuals to position themselves functionally in contrasting social realities.

[1] see Sammut & Gaskell (2010) for a fuller explanation

MALTESE NATIONAL IDENTITIES IN BRITAIN

The present study focuses on national identities. Like gender, national categories are pervasive across cultures. This study looked at Maltese immigrants to the United Kingdom. Chryssochoou (2004) argues that different contexts entail different meanings of nationality and different contents associated with it, as well as circumscribe different levels of identification with the category due to the different projects that nationality incarnates in these contexts. The findings of the present study are thus particular to the group being studied in the context in which this negotiation is taking place. However, the case of Maltese migrants to Britain is relevant and insightful due to the fact that the negotiation of perspectives and identities by Maltese migrants to Britain necessarily takes place at the individual level. This is because in the absence of a Maltese community the negotiation of perspectives and identities cannot be mediated by a community of fellow migrants.

Being Maltese in Britain is in itself a laden issue for the Maltese, due to a reputation that past Maltese communities in Britain acquired in the sixties and seventies and that led to their eventual demise (Dench, 1975). Following the Second World War, Maltese citizens embarked on mass migration to Britain and established a sizeable community there. In Britain, a number of Maltese engaged in the provision of services that back in Malta, they had provided to the British garrison, namely culinary services and sexual services. A Maltese café society thus sprung up in Britain that attracted seasoned criminals to work in the pimping trade. In due course, and as a result of this association with criminality, the Maltese community received significant hostile press that led to its disintegration, as Maltese migrants sought to assimilate into British culture rather than preserve their culture of origin. Due to eventual measures to curb migration to Britain, and Malta's eventual independence from the United Kingdom, the Maltese community in Britain never recovered (Dench, 1975), such that it is difficult to speak of a Maltese community in Britain at present. Whilst these events have largely been forgotten by the British over the years, traces of collective memory (Halbwachs, 1950/1980; Echebarría Echabe & Gonzales Castro, 1998) remain for the Maltese such that a Maltese identity in Britain remains, for the Maltese, a laden issue.

CULTURAL IDENTITIES AND INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS

In culturally plural societies, individuals necessarily face perspectives that do not only differ from their own substantively, but possibly also fundamentally. This means that individuals may not only disagree, they may fail to agree because they fail to understand one another. The need to live together, however, imposes an obligation to learn the practices of other cultures. As Chryssochoou notes, "[t]he experience of migration inevitably redefines frames of reference and calls upon people to reposition themselves with them" (2004, p.4). Maltese migrants to Britain are thus required to accustom themselves to a British way of life, with which they might not be familiar and about which they may hold preconceptions. For this reason, this acculturation may be welcomed by some for whom pull factors attract them to a new *modus operandi,* to the extent that they might seek to 'naturalise'. For others however, it may lead to considerable acculturative stress. Whilst some migrants may go on to become permanent participants in society, they might only ever participate as 'sojourners' for a set purpose (Berry et al., 2002). With Malta's accession in the EU, the option of sojourn has been extended to the Maltese, as have become able to move to Britain to purse set objectives, like work or study, with no obligation to naturalise or develop a preference for British culture.

In any case, culture contact leads to identity strategies that individuals engage in to preserve identity coherence in the face of diversity. Camilleri and Malewska-Peyre (1980) identify three identity strategies based on two axes: (a) the prevalence of pragmatic versus ontological concerns, and (b) the relative need for preserving a coherent identity, that individuals resort to for identity preservation. In strategies of simple coherence, individuals valorise either ontological preoccupations or pragmatic ones. Individuals, in this way, suppress either of the two axes. Some may, however, adopt a 'chameleon identity' (Camilleri & Malewska-Peyre, 1980) that enables them to switch rapidly between the two axes in the event of changing, culturally-prescribed circumstances. In strategies of complex coherence, individuals may elaborate complex rationalisations to reduce contradictions between the two cultures or superimpose one on top of another. This enables the elaboration of bicultural identities (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987), or superordinate identities (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Finally, individuals also use individual or collective strategies to

avoid stigmatisation and deprecation of their identity, such as acceptance, denial or idealization (Camilleri and Malewska-Peyre, 1980).

The use of identity strategies serves to maintain identity coherence in acculturation. In the case of the Maltese in Britain, identity strategies may be particularly salient given the lack of a community. Individuals have only their own individual resources to fall back on in dealing with the requirement for acculturation. But as not everyone adopts the same identity strategies, not everyone seeks intercultural contact in the same way. Berry (1984) distinguished four acculturation strategies that individuals may adopt–integration, separation, assimilation, marginalisation–based on individuals' orientations towards one's own group and those towards another cultural group. What distinguishes these acculturation strategies is the extent to which individuals negotiate positive interrelations with the new culture as much as with their culture of origin. Given the requirement for intercultural relating that Maltese migrants to Britain necessarily face, the points of view they adopt towards British life and Maltese life essentially describe their acculturation strategy.

The difficulty in successful intercultural relations lies in the requirement for forging ties with others whose practices and worldviews one may not understand. A number of respondents in this study claimed that they struggled with things such as entertainment, what to do when spending time with friends, going to pubs and alcohol consumption. Entertainment practices differ widely between the two cultures not least due to different meteorological climates. Consequently, the two cultures have different objectifications of social reality based on different social representations. In a case where one is unfamiliar with the social representations of another, one may well find that they are facing a perspective of another that they are unable to take. The problem of intercultural relations is thus a problem of clashing worldviews, or social representations, and subjects' consequent incapacity for successful perspective-taking.

SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS AND SOCIAL IDENTITIES

The spelling out of the relationship between social representations and social identities is undoubtedly one of Duveen's lasting contributions. Duveen proposed that social representations furnish a semiotic code for the ontogenetic construction of

social identities (Lloyd & Duveen, 1990). According to Duveen, children are born into a social world that is constructed in terms of social representations that structure the interactions children have with others. To become competent, functioning members of society, children re-construct for themselves the social categories provided by the social representations that circulate in that society (Duveen & Lloyd, 1986). The particular significance of certain social categories like age, gender, or class, as well as nationality, is embedded in the social interactions of the everyday life of children, that offers 'scaffolding' to the young child's project of social re-construction (Duveen & Lloyd, 1986) and their development of a social identity (Tajfel, 1981). In this way, growing up in Malta enables individuals to develop a social identity that incorporates 'Malteseness' in their being.

Social representations are significant elements in children's cultural environments as they confer positions in the social system (Duveen & Lloyd, 1986; Breakwell, 2001). In society, individuals cannot be just human beings; they are male or female, young or old, Maltese or British, and so on. According to Duveen (2001), social identities can therefore be construed as positions within a culture. Such positions offer individuals characteristic points of view by which they relate to others. Identities, Duveen argues, are constructed externally not simply elaborated internally. Identities afford individuals particular points of view on the social reality in which they are embedded.

Breakwell (2001) explicates how identity dynamics determine the individual's relation to social representations. Identity is negotiated in a socio-historical framework that on the one hand comprises interpersonal networks, social categories and relationships, and on the other hand social influence processes that create an ideological milieu for identity. Relational processes that bring together individuals and the perspectives of others, such as the points of view under consideration, are critical in the negotiation of identities. According to Breakwell (2001), the structure of identity is regulated by processes of accommodation and assimilation of new elements that are encountered by individuals, such as new and alternative cultural perspectives. When such perspectives can be accommodated easily, the acculturation experience becomes a positive learning experience (Chryssochoou, 2004). This aspect of identity is particularly pertinent to the present inquiry. In negotiating a new life in Britain and adopting a point of view that enables their participation in this new reality

relative to their previous one, Maltese migrants need to assimilate or accommodate new aspects of this reality. The extent to which they are able to do this determines the nature of the acculturation strategy they adopt. In intercultural encounters, individuals negotiate their perspectives on the world and their ways of seeing and constructing the world from their particular point of view (Howarth, 2007; Liu & László, 2007).

The openness towards alternative views and objectifications is thus fundamentally implicated in the construction of identities. When the processes of assimilation and accommodation are unable to provide continuity and coherence, identities are threatened (Breakwell, 2001). This would then require the use of identity strategies, as outlined above, to preserve coherence under acculturative stress. Immigration, by bringing people of contrasting worldviews face to face, brings about shifts in representational fields with consequent changes in understanding, positioning and the boundaries that divide groups (Chryssochoou, 2004; Deaux & Wiley, 2007). The immigrant encounter with new meanings precipitates a negotiation of perspectives and positioning in different groups, by which immigrants seek to achieve functionality in their new life (Chryssochoou, 2004). In the case of Maltese immigrants, this is particularly salient in the absence of a native community in Britain.

A number of theories have been proposed that conceptualize identities in intercultural situations. The Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) posits that individuals may develop inclusive, nested identities, by recategorising individuals in superordinate social categories that transcend divisions. A contrasting model suggests that individuals can negotiate oppositions by decategorising and identifying human subjects as individuals, rather than as members of particular social categories (Brewer & Miller, 1984). It seems therefore that the negotiation of identity oppositions is critical in the construction of positive intercultural identities.

OPPOSITIONAL CATEGORIES

Duveen and Lloyd's (1986) study of gender identities demonstrates on the one hand how the same social representation can support distinct social identities (Duveen & Lloyd, 1990). Furthermore, it demonstrates how the distinct male and female social

identities that children develop enable them to negotiate the inherent oppositional dichotomy in different ways. Duveen and Lloyd (1986) discovered that representations of gender were structured around a figurative nucleus of a bipolar opposition that offered boys a measure of clarity and simplicity by which all things masculine tended to cohere and to separate from things feminine. For boys, what was masculine inherently marked what was not feminine and vice-versa (Duveen, 2001). For girls on the other hand, notwithstanding the degrees of hierarchy and power with which the bipolar opposition was imbued, the difference between genders presented an image in which hierarchy was masked. Girls' gender identity allowed them to accept a discrepancy between the gender of the figure they were presented with and the gender marking of the setting in which the figure was located. Although girls did recognize the gender markings of occupational and domestic settings, they did not construe these as establishing exclusive categories. However, girls negotiated the inherent gender hierarchy by overvaluing their same gender group and devaluing the opposite gender, rather than establishing exclusive gender categories as did boys (Duveen & Lloyd, 1986; Duveen, 2001). Consequently, Duveen (2001) argues, identities are as much a system of exclusion as of inclusion (Duveen, 2001). The categories that Maltese migrants to Britain are required to negotiate pertain to nationality. Maltese migrants to Britain need to reconcile their Malteseness in a British context in which, given the historical context outlined above, such a category is for them a laden issue. The option of not engaging at all is not available to the Maltese in Britain. Accordingly, Maltese migrants can negotiate an exclusive identity by adopting monological perspectives that position them functionally within a single social reality, or they may somehow entertain both categories to acquire functionality in the new context without losing their ties to their native culture. The present inquiry looked at the identity implications of adopting particular types of points of view, in terms of the negotiation of oppositional categories, the identity-threat strategies employed, and the ensuing nature of the negotiated national identity.

METHODOLOGY

For the purposes of this study, thirty argumentative interviews were undertaken with a number of Maltese migrants to the UK. Thirty qualitative in-depth interviews were undertaken with a total of forty respondents who at some point in their lives migrated to Britain from Malta. Out of these forty, eight had since returned to Malta, for various reasons. Respondents were interviewed either alone or with their partners in the case of joint migration. There were ten cases in the latter condition. Migrants' stay in Britain ranged from less than a year to fifty years. Respondents were recruited through snowballing, and were asked about their points of view regarding their life in Malta and their life in Britain. The study explored respondents' reasons for moving to Britain, their views about Britain, their views about Malta, and what they thought the future held for them.

Respondents were interviewed at a convenient location suitable for purpose, such as at home or in an office. An interview guide was drawn up for the purposes of the interview. Interviews followed a semi-structured, conversational format, guided by the researcher's own understandings of Maltese and British mentalities, as well as the settling down process in Britain. This was undertaken in Farr's (1984) spirit of the 'inter-view', requiring respondents to justify their decisions to move to one country or another in view of the circumstances in both countries. Kuhn and McPartland's (1954) Twenty Statements Test was also administered to respondents prior to interviews. Responses given for the TST were coded into categories that described the definition respondents used to characterise themselves. One-way ANOVAs were conducted for each of these categories as dependent variable with point of view type as independent variable, to test whether the null hypothesis of no statistically significant differences between means of each category across point of view types could be rejected. Data analysis for the interviews followed Flick's (2006) Thematic Coding procedure for comparative studies.

The first step in the data analysis was to draw up a short description of each case, followed by a deepening analysis of single cases. Interviewees were categorised according to their point of view type, on the basis of case descriptions. For the purposes of this classification, the following operational definitions of points of view were utilised:

Monological A point of view that positions the subject functionally and exclusively within one context.

Dialogical A point of view by which a subject positions herself functionally within one context, and that claims understanding of another context but where functional positioning within the other context requires the fulfillment of certain requisite criteria.

Metalogical A point of view by which a subject positions herself functionally within more than one context.

The categorisation was undertaken by two independent raters. The inter-rater reliability measured by Spearman's rank correlation coefficient (2-tailed) for the final classification demonstrated high convergence between raters (r_s = 0.905, p = <0.01). Out of the 40 respondents interviewed in this study, 11 were classified as monological, 17 as dialogical, and 12 as metalogical. Data analysis of single cases was subsequently undertaken to identify a thematic structure that served for identifying variance in themes across types of point of view. These variances constituted the findings of the study.

FINDINGS

The present paper focuses on the theme of identity, which in the study was found to differ across types of point of view. No structural identity differences were found between point of view types using the Twenty Statements Test (TST). There were no statistically significant differences between mean scores across point of view types. A comparative analysis of the Thematic Structure of elaborated identities, however, revealed, distinct differences between point of view types in the openness to identify with the ways of life of the other, i.e. the British.

Monological Types

Respondents who expressed a monological point of view favouring Britain argued that they found the process of settlement into British culture seamless. They claimed that they felt they never fit into Maltese culture even though they originate from there.

They described their situation in Malta as that of a 'fish out of the water', whereas no such feelings accompanied their settlement in Britain. They claimed that their experience did not change them as they were always closer to the British in character than they were to their fellow compatriots. The acculturation strategy of assimilation characterised this group best. Other respondents expressed a similarly monological point of view favouring Malta. They argued that settling in Britain was hard and remains so because the ways of life of the British are at odds with their own. They sought to associate with fellow Maltese migrants because in a community of Maltese they could be themselves.

In elaborating their identities, with reference to Camilleri and Malewska-Peyre's (1980) identity threat strategies, respondents with monological perspectives used strategies of simple coherence and strategies to avoid stigmatization. They elaborated an oppositional, exclusive identity. What made these respondents Maltese was also what made them not British, or vice-versa. Respondent 18, for example, claimed that:

> I have no inferiority complex for being Maltese, but I don't define myself as Maltese […] I am grouped with British by some at work, maybe because I am more fluent in English
>
> (Respondent 18, Male, in Britain for 3 years)

He went on to detail how he was proud of his success at adapting to British life, of his Sunday morning paper and his British radio preferences, and he admittedly had a preference for foreign friends. He felt a Londoner, and that now makes him different from Maltese. Similarly, Respondent 34, a female who was in London for less than a year and who has since returned to Malta, claimed that when she was there she felt in her element but that in Malta she feels, and she always has felt, like a fish out of the water. Conversely, Respondent 23, who has resided in London for five years, and who claimed that everyone in London is in the same boat as everyone was a foreigner, asserted that:

> I'm reminded every day that I'm a foreigner; I was accepted, I'm not disadvantaged because I'm a foreigner; I don't feel more or less than them, but I do feel different […] I feel Maltese, a bit Londoner, I'm a Maltese living in London; I think like a Maltese I see things like a Maltese, not like a Londoner
>
> (Respondent 23, Male, in Britain for 5 years)

Respondent 1, who is female and who has been studying in London for over a year, claims that due to the fact that she is Maltese she has different leisure preferences to the British, and due to this she has become isolated. Her being Maltese means she does not appreciate the pub, and this meant she could not make friends like her classmates do. Her problem was resolved when other Maltese moved into her location. They all faced the same problem so they hung out together, did things together and provided each other with social support that they could not get elsewhere in Britain because they were not British. The strategy described by this respondent, according to Berry's acculturation model, was that of separation; whereas the former's preference was for assimilation.

Dialogical Types

Dialogical respondents entertained both national categories simultaneously. They claimed that they required some adjustment to fit into British society, but they persevered and managed, and have now come out the other end much stronger. They defined themselves as Maltese living in Britain; Maltese adapted to British life. They claimed to function well and are proud of their achievements. Some claimed that there are certain things in Malta that prevent them from going back; whilst others claimed that there are certain things that prevent the from settling permanently in Britain.

In terms of identity threat strategies, these respondents used strategies of complex coherence, enabling them to negotiate a bicultural identity that was not similarly exclusive. They identified themselves as Maltese Londoners, or Maltese in Britain. They felt part of Britain even though they were not British, but they could still identify themselves as Maltese. However, whilst they articulated a bicultural identity, as in Duveen's gender studies their identities still masked an oppositional categorization process. For these respondents, their identities are defined in contrast to

a strictly and solely Maltese identity. Their added identification of Britishness provides them with added value that, as Maltese alone, they previously lacked. Their adaptation to British ways means that they have become different, and better, people:

> I feel a Maltese adapted to British culture; I have absorbed a different culture, of people I meet; and I've become a better person, more mature
>
> (Respondent 19, Male, in Britain for 3 years)

In contrast to monological types however, they do not go as far as holding that their newly acquired Britishness makes them not Maltese.

> I always tell my partner that my people are there; there's certain things like the language, things like, to understand how a Maltese would write 'Have you seen enough?' on the back of their car, if you're British you don't understand that, there's something Maltese about that; I understand that, I feel I belong there, but to live there, some things bug me
>
> (Respondent 30, Male, in Britain for 7 years)

And as respondents 19 further stated:

> it would be a mistake to change completely
>
> (Respondent 19, Male, in Britain for 3 years)

Nothwithstanding, their newly elaborated identities had similar irrevocable consequences on their ability to fit back to Maltese culture as for those who became fully Britainised. Their acquired ‘Britishness’ meant that in contrast to them, the Maltese lacked an awareness that they themselves now had, and for this reason they were no longer like them, and that it would be difficult for them to fit back in Maltese culture.

Metalogical Types

Metalogical types demonstrated a dual appreciation of life in Malta and the UK. It was amongst metalogical repspondents that Berry's strategy for integration became evident. For these individuals, acculturation was a positive learning experience. They cited situational reasons for being in the UK, rather than dispositional ones. They were proud of who they were and where they came from. They also appreciate Britain and the fact that they were able to fit in to British culture; and that British society actually made this possible. They claimed that the two systems are different, but each system has its advantages and disadvantages. Where they take up residence depends on what matters at a given point in their lives. They feel as much at home in Malta, or with the Maltese, as they do in Britain, or with the British.

The identity characteristics of metalogical types distinguish them markedly from the others. Those respondents who had an oppositional identity (monological types) felt they belonged either with the British or with the Maltese. Those who elaborated a hierarchical identity (dialogical types) identified with both groups, but belonged more with one than with another. Metalogical types however, elaborated a dual identity by which they felt equally Maltese and British. Respondents did this in two ways. Some described their identities in terms of individual traits that enabled them to fit different social groups equally successfully. These individuals claim their character traits enable them to fit different groups with equal ease. This finding is similar to Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, and Senécal's (1997) individualistic acculturation strategy, where some prefer to be seen as individuals rather than members of a cultural group, and relate to others in a de-categorised manner (Brewer & Miller, 1984). Respondent 29, for example, a male who has lived in Britain for over 12 years, described a kind of transcendental identity that made him feel ultimately Maltese in spite of the fact that his thinking is more Anglo-Saxon. He could therefore identify equally well with both social groups. Respondent 11, a male who has lived in Britain for four years, claimed that he doesn't feel he belongs strictly anywhere–he claimed he belonged to himself.

Others described themselves as half and half, and claimed they could fit as well with the British as with the Maltese. Moreover, their being half and half made

them no less British and no more Maltese than the British and the Maltese themselves. They can be Maltese with the Maltese, and British with the British. This describes a hyphenated identity (Chryssochoou, 2004) or what Camilleri and Malewska-Peyre (1980) term a chameleon identity. Respondent 17, for example, who has been in Britain for over 25 years, feels both Maltese and local. She claimed thus:

> I still consider myself Maltese because people remind me due to my accent, which I still have […] but not an outsider; I consider myself a local, until they comment about foreigner then I'd stand up for foreigners; but I don't consider myself a foreigner
>
> (Respondent 17, Female, in Britain for 25 years)

In terms of Camilleri and Malewska-Peyre's identity threat strategies, these respondents experienced no opposition between the two identity categories, and for this reason, transiting between the two was not a factor of acculturative stress. No identity preservation strategies were discernible amongst metalogical types. Respondent 27 explained thus:

> I've been here 50 years, I speak the language, I meet British people, I like British things, football, but only because I'm here; if I were in Malta I'd be into Maltese things
>
> (Respondent 27, Male, in Britain for 50 years)

When asked about where he feels he belongs, respondents 27 argued that he feels he has:

> two countries - two homes; so I stayed here because I had a good living […] I feel at home in both countries; don't know how to answer the question of where I belong
>
> (Respondent 27, Male, in Britain for 50 years)

Respondent 5, who is female and who has been studying in Britain for three years, similarly claimed that in Britain she had an alternative home. She described how this was alternative because when she was in Malta she was a different person than she was when she was in Britain.

DISCUSSION

This study reveals that the spread of types of point of view was not systematic with regard to length of stay in Britain or opportunity for contact, as some individuals retained monological perspectives with the passage of time. Others retained metalogical perspectives in spite of the passage of time. Variation in point of view types was also evident amongst more recent migrants. Moreover, no differences in the identity structure emerged, as the TST data revealed. What distinguishes the three variations in practical terms is the ties they forge with those categorized as ingroup and those categorized as outgroup. Clearly, the ties individuals with a monological perspective forge with others are very different from those forged by dialogical or metalogical types. Whilst there was no indication that a common ingroup identity (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) was serving respondents for acculturation purposes, possibly due to Britain being perceived as Euro-sceptic by respondents, as a number of interviewees indicated, different identities were negotiated across point of view types. Individuals with monological points of view developed exclusive identities through strategies of simple coherence and defensive strategies opting either for mere 'sojourn' or fully intending to 'naturalise' (Berry, et al., 2002). The acculturation strategy of monological types was either that of assimilation or separation.

Individuals with dialogical perspectives developed hierarchical bicultural identities through strategies of complex coherence, that however limited their ability to function within the two social realities and that, as Duveen noted, overvalued one group and undervalued another. Their acculturation strategies, however, were similar to monological types. These findings support the identity threat strategies identified by Camilleri and Malewska-Peyre (1980) and the two-dimensional acculturation model outlined by Berry et al. (2002).

Individuals with metalogical perspectives, on the other hand, developed inclusive bicultural identities. Furthermore, due to the fact that transiting between the

two cultures was not experienced as acculturative stress and posed no threat to identity, those with metalogical perspectives required no discernible identity strategies to deal with such threat. This eventuality is not documented by Camilleri and Malewska-Peyre (1980), and not associated with chameleon identities. The acculturation strategy of metalogical types was either integration or individualism. The latter has been identified as an acculturation strategy by Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, and Senécal (1997) in their extension of Berry's (1984) model. This finding further supports this revised model over Berry's own–that excludes a reference to the individualistic strategy, and is in line with Brewer and Miller's (1984) postulation of de-categorisation in the construction of positive intercultural identities. The identity variations across points of view are summarised in Table 1.

	Monological	**Dialogical**	**Metalogical**
Identity threat strategies	Simple coherence	Complex coherence	N/A
Acculturation Preference	Assimilation/Separation	Assimilation/Separation	Integration
Identity types	Oppositional	Hierarchical	Chameleon/ Individualistic
National Categories	Oppositional	Hierarchical	Non-conflictual

Table 1: Variations in identity functions across points of view

CONCLUSION

Duveen and Lloyd (1986) note that: "[i]ndividuals are related to society through their participation in social groups" (p. 221). The findings of this study clearly support this position. Individuals participate in society by forging ties with some and not with others, and by belonging to some groups and not others. In intercultural relations, such participation describes their acculturation strategy. In negotiating access and participation to social groups and in managing ensuing threats to their original identities, individuals go on to negotiate identities that are more or less inclusive. Whether they develop inclusive or exclusive identities depends on how they resolve the oppositional categories they face as members of a particular society.

This study has documented how monological types retain oppositional categories in their identity negotiations. These individuals go on to develop an identity characterized by a dichotomous, oppositional, and exclusive social

categorization. What makes one a member of one group automatically excludes one from membership of an oppositional group. Dialogical types somewhat reconcile the opposition between categories, in a way that is not automatically exclusive. However, they retain the categories hierarchically, where one group is overvalued and the other undervalued. The role and relevance of these strategies for resolving oppositional categories was originally identified by Duveen in his studies of gendered identities.

The present study furthers Duveen's typology by identifying a third variation, where the two social categories that serve for the elaboration of national identities are reconciled in an inclusive identity that is neither oppositional nor hierarchical; one where membership in one social group does not make one more or less a member of another group. On the basis of this inclusive identity, subjects are able to position themselves successfully as full members of both groups. Those who adopt metalogical points of view engage with different social categories according to their respective merits. This is, as Sammut and Gaskell (2010) note, the hallmark of a metalogical point of view. This study has thus demonstrated that the nature of subjects' participation in social groups and their ensuing social affiliations, determined by the social identities they contract, is fundamentally implicated in the perspectives subjects adopt relative to others.

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