



TECHNIUM
SOCIAL SCIENCES JOURNAL

Vol. 12, 2020

**A new decade
for social changes**

www.techniumscience.com

ISSN 2668-7798



9 772668 779000

Social Identity as a Tool of Sustainable Public Deliberation

Annamaria Csiszer

Istanbul Gelisim University – Department of Political Science and International Relations – Associate Professor

acsiszer@gelisim.edu.tr

Abstract. Social consultation in general, and communication in particular is an important form of information exchange between the public and government. The use of the 2014-2020 development funds is a crucial question in nowadays social dialogue in Hungary which is worth an analysis in order to get information about interaction between representatives and represented. In most cases the communication between the government and its citizens is a one-way communication, online and offline consultations provide space for inclusive public deliberation. My paper focuses on development policy communication, its effectiveness, its quality and its results. I am especially interested in the mental process that occurs in the head of the team, responsible for the creation of the social consultation and between the beneficiaries (citizens and professional organizations) who are targets and objects of social consultations. I build the theoretical part of my work around the phenomena of identity both from social and psychological perspectives. Backing up my conceptualization with a qualitative interview survey carried out among the participants of the social dialogue – being either representatives of the government or citizens of the country. Finally, drawing a conclusion of the lessons of a public consultation.

Keywords. Identity, deliberation, development, sustainability, communication

1. Theories of Identity

In the theoretical part of my paper I intend to analyse the question of identity, which I find crucial concerning the execution of a public consultation. The identity of opinion leaders, commenters, have a tremendous effect on the way how they perceive reality, how government decisions can be influenced by their identity, and their willingness to participate in a social consultation. My aim is to discuss the questions of identity from a social-communicational and a social psychological point of view.

1.1. Identity from a Social Communication viewpoint

For the conceptualization of identity from a sociological viewpoint I intend to use Manuel Castells' s delineation (Castells 2006: 6-68) that I find one possible, useful alternative. As the author defines identity is the source of aims and life experiences, constituted through the upbuilt of life aims, via the available set of cultural attributions. In the course of identity formation the mentioned aggregation has priority over the other sources of aims. According to the thinker one individual can possess different identities, that can easily become the resource of stress and contradiction both in the scope of self-advocacy and social action. Castells differentiates between the concept of *identity and role*. In his viewpoint roles are defined by norms set up by

social institutions and organizations, therefore the sources of aims for individuals are declared by their personal identity, that is formed in the course of individualization. On the other hand, the author considers internalization the main motif of identity formation, that he describes as a seed, around which individuals build up the system of their life aims. Roles construct functions, while identity sets up aims. Aims that can be regarded as factors capable of symbolically identifying motivations of identity. The essence of Castells's identity approach is that all identities are a result of construction, therefore can be deconstructed, in other words it can be exposed, how, for what aim, from what source, controlled by whom or what has been engendered. From this comes that identity is a system that distances itself from its environment, but interacts with it, characterised by all the specific features of a system. As a result, identity is influenced by impacts coming from its environment, thus having a correlation between the owner of the identity and its environment. Identity at the same time, can be regarded as the basis of division between 'me' and 'you', 'mine' and 'yours', 'personal' and 'gentile'. In this sense we can talk about separation and division. The phase of separation stands in the outline of identity, while division means the affirmation of this evolved system. Therefore, division equals symbolic recognition of aims, and opposes some other kind of target system. Based on Husserl's separation and division concept, can be argued to develop lifeworld: that is the web of cultural attributes bearing symbolic content (Dunlap 1968: 93-112). From a functionalist perspective identity is differentiation of 'me' and 'you', regardless of being the result of separation or division.

Collective agents appearing in public sphere discussions – opinionating in public consultations – are present as a result of communication technologies, not as a starting point. Collective agents present in physical reality are capable of entering online social communication, while agents in coalition emerging in virtuality are constituted as a result of virtual communication. In case constitution of collective and coalition communication agents occur, it can be an origination of further communication. Mechanic transmission – Internet as a device – is a necessary but not sufficient condition of the communicative act, since for the engendering of the communication act at least two agents are necessary on the mentioned platform. The act of mechanic transmission, therefore, is feasible as the functioning of a code, not as the operation of an agent. Online public discussion takes place in a system – in a social system. This ascertainment involves the potential premise of agents's online communication, being social communication, which is realized, in condition of agents' discourse being available for other agents either directly, or indirectly.

2. Social Psychological Aspects of Identity

In the first part of my overview on social psychological aspects of identity I tend to focus on the contribution of *Identity Process Theory* (IPT) to the social psychology of identity. When we talk about public consultations, opinion expression, participation in public life the question of identity construction is especially worth analysis. The identity of opinion shapers can drastically influence the outcome of a public consultation, of any social deliberation. There are a great deal of researches in social psychology that address identity, focusing on various levels and dimensions of it.

Social identity is a key concept in contemporary social psychology. This notion characterises individual's identity as a group member rather than a unique and distinctive individual (Turner 1986:237). Social identity theory can best be characterized as a theory that foretells specific intergroup behaviours based on detected group status differences, the discerned legitimacy and stability of those status differences and the perceived possibility to move from one group to another (Tajfel & Turner 1979: 33). Since the mid 1970s numerous social psychological theory

were influenced by the Social Identity Approach (Tajfel, 1978), accordingly by Self Categorization Theory (Turner at all 1987). Two key hypotheses of these theories are remarkable, namely that individuals tend to derive positive attributes through identification with social categories, moreover they commit themselves to three strategies: "*individual mobility, social creativity and social competition*" in order to preserve positive distinctiveness (Tajfel and Turner 1979: 40). Henri Tajfel with his Social Identity Approach intended to evolve a theory of intergroup relations, engaging himself in only one aspect of the self, namely, in "*an individuals self-concept which derives from his knowledge on his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership*" (Tajfel 1978:63).

Identity Process Theory (ITP) (Breakwell, 1986; Jaspal and Breakwell, 2014) on the other hand, provides a holistic model of (1) the structure of identity, specifically its content and value dimensions and the centrality and salient features of identity components, (2) the interaction of social and psychological factors in the composition of identity content, (3) the correlation between identity and action. Core assertion of the theory is that, in order to understand the procession that drive identity construction, it is important to analyse individuals' reaction when identity is threatened (Beakwell, 2010: 60). The theory states that the structure of self-identity has to be conceived in terms of its content and value/effect dimensions and that this structure is governed by two universal processes, *assimilation-accomodation* and *evaluation*. The assimilation-accomodation process refers to the engrossment of new information in the identity structure (beginning to refer to oneself as Hungarian, or as member of a specific group – like those who express opinion, via a public consultation) and identity conditioning, which takes place in order for it to become part of the structure (regarding oneself as member of a specific group, not as member of another one). The evaluation procedure collates meaning and value on the purports of identity (viewing oneself as member of a specific group or community as a positive characteristic feature).

Breakwell originally discussed four identity precepts which direct the universal processes of identity: (1) continuity across time and situation (*continuity*), (2) uniqueness or distinctiveness from others (*distinctiveness*), (3) feeling assertive and in control of one's life (*self-efficacy*), (4) feelings of personal values (*self-esteem*) (Breakwell 1986:22). More recently Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010) proposed the 'psychological coherence principle' which connotes the determination to establish feelings of compatibility between interrelated identities. Based on previously discussed researches it is obvious to presume that the more a given social group membership preserves the identity principles, the stronger one's identification with that social group becomes (Vignoles et al. 2006: 314). Therefore, IPT offers the background logic that lay behind potential motivations from which identification is derived.

The core concept of ITP states that if universal processes do not gratify the motivational principles of identity, then identity is menaced and the individual endeavors to overcome that threat. A tackling strategy is defined as "*any activity in thought or deed which has as its goal the removal or modification of a threat to identity*" (Breakwell, 1986:78). Conquering identity threat can principally effect the ways in which individuals engage with other groups.

According to Jaspal coping techniques can function at three levels: intra-psychic, interpersonal and intergroup. '*Compertamentalism*' is an intra-psychic strategy which involves the cognitive differentiation of identity elements in the individual's mind (Jaspal 2012: 770). *Passing* belongs to the interpersonal strategies, where individuals succeed in "*gaining exit through the threatening position through deceit*", while entering "*a new interpersonal network on false premises*" (Breakwell 1986:116). *Group action* is an intergroup coping strategy which requires the mobilization of group members in a collective injunction to attenuate threats to identity.

Social psychological approaches to identity have tended to focus upon distinct dimensions – group versus individual; social versus psychological; cognitive versus rhetorical; consequences versus antecedents. Each of these approaches has made fruitful contributions to our understanding of the social psychology of identity, but none provides a holistic explanation of identity. Conversely, Identity Process Theory seeks to integrate the various dimensions that are clearly central to identity and provides an elaborate explanation of what motivates identification with social categories, – socially and psychologically – when identification with valued social categories is somehow disrupted by changes in one’s social and psychological environment.

3. Elaboration on the Significance of Social Identity Concept

The reason why I decided to discuss the significance of social identity more in depths, within the framework of social psychology, can be derived from the paradoxical nature of the discipline – social psychology. Which in one hand is a psychological phenomenon, that deals with the mental properties of the individual, on the other hand, the social phenomena, that discusses processes, properties, products originating from the correlation between individuals. In the development of European social psychology, individualism can be described as the outstanding metatheory of the mainstream since the 1950s. It is stated unarguably that the difference between ‘*cognition*’ and ‘*social cognition*’ is based on the exerting of the same principles of individual psychology to different kinds of ‘stimuli’ – the idea of ‘*social processes of perception*’ is less identified, meaning the cognition for individuals is basically social, ‘inter-individual’, similarly to a psychological intra-individual activity, the former being psychologically creative. According to Fletcher (1971) individualism is not a receptive theory and has long been disproved. Other scientists from Durkheim to Mead (Fletcher 1971) imply that at the level of metatheory the problem of the relation between psychological and social or the individual and the group has been eliminated by the doctrine of social psychological collaboration.

I do not intend to fully elaborate on the above concept, rather to briefly summarize the most general notions of the metatheory, based on Turner (1986: 239-240):

- 1) Individuals in their diversity cannot be opposed to, in reality, differentiated from society: individuals are society and society is the innate nature of human individuals. The deception that the individual may be opposed to society ensues from a rightful but different contrast between a specific individual and others resulting in the idea of uniqueness; but individuality itself is a social characteristic of the individual and the terms of such an ambiguity are both within society. The ‘pre-social’, ‘asocial’ ‘isolated’ individual does not exist, except as a fictional discreteness.
- 2) There is a sequential mutual dialectical interaction and functional interrelation between individuals’ psychological procedures and their activity, conjunctions and products as society. Mind and society, individual and group are reciprocal preconditions, collaterally evolving attributions of each other. According to Turner: “*Such a functional interaction holds both phylogenetically and ontogenetically*” (Turner 1986:239).
- 3) Social psychological and social scientific interpretation of social behaviour, therefore, do not stand for different levels of occurrence in the sense that one is more ‘basic’ than the other: their phenomena are interactive viewpoints of the same human procedure. Social psychological processes are or appertain to the psychological or subjective respect of society. McDougall emphasises that “the task of social psychology as part of psychology is *not* to provide social explanations of behaviour, *nor* to provide psychological explanations, but to *explain the psychological aspects of society*” (McDougall 1927: 24). This compounds the idea that structures and processes whereby

society is psychologically constructed and mediated by individual minds. "Individual minds are not individualistic in the ideological sense of being defined by some pre-social psychological dynamic but involve a socially structured field" (Asch 1952:253). As a result, it can be argued that individual purports society, so much as society implies individual. Thus "the nothing but stance of individualism, that society contains nothing but individuals, is refuted and stood on its head by the argument that individuals are more than we had ever supposed, parts which can psychologically contain the whole" (Asch 1952:257).

- 4) The key product of social psychological coaction is 'socially mediated cognition', namely the detection of a 'shared, public, objective world'. Individuals' social interaction is built on 'psychological representations of the interaction', shared by the interacting halves.

4. Social Identity and the Analysis of Group Behaviour

The main aim of the previous part has been to validate the reason why the discipline of social psychology is capable of theoretically framing such a socially sensitive topic as public consultation. In the following, I intend to elaborate on the specificities of social identity theory, that can be one possible theory being used to describe a socially discursive event as a public consultation from a psychological – social psychological – perspective.

The *Social Identity Theory* itself provides an analysis of intergroup relations and social conflict (Turner&Giles 1981: 9), the principle of which is that individuals aim at developing positive social identity by advantageously comparing in-groups to out-groups. According to Tajfel the theory is anti-individualistic in the sense that does not deal with intra-individual and interpersonal processes (Tajfel 1979:183), rather concentrating on psychological processes 'to cognitive – evaluative representations' of social structure and ideological belief systems, and in general assumes a 'dynamic interaction between psychological processes' and the social context (Tajfel 1979:183). Although, the significance of the notion was rather ambiguous, as it did not deal with the issue of social psychological interaction, only focused on the individual need for self-respect with the social uniformness of intergroup behaviour. Unsurprisingly, Turner elaborated on social identity which could function as the psychological contraption that 'depersonalized' self-detection and made group behaviour possible (Turner 1982:18). This recognition led to the construction of *self-categorization theory* that discusses group occurrence in terms of the structure and operation of the social self concept (Turner 1985: 77). The principle notions of the theory are the following: cognitive representation of the self take the form of 'self-categorization', that is the cognitive classification of the self as equivalent to some class of stimuli opposed to some other class of stimuli (Turner: 1986:241). In the social self-concept there are three levels of abstraction: self-categorization as a human being, in-group out-group categories, and personal self-categorization (Turner 1986:241). Self-categories form based on correctly discerned intra-category similarities and inter-category differences and also emphasise such similarities and differences as the becoming 'salient' (Tajfel 1969:80). The effect of the salience of one level of self-categorization, is to reduce to the lowest possible amount the intergroup similarities and the intragroup differences which function as the cognitive basis of more superordinate and subordinate levels. There is a dissentient relationship between the in-group-out-group and personal self-categorization such that self-detection varies along a perpetuity delineated at one pole of the perception of oneself as an exceptional person, and on the other pole by perception of the self as an in-group, resulting in the *depersonalization of individual self-perception*. (Turner 1986).

5. Identity and Language

The interactionist literature on identity highlights the contexture, negotiation, and communication of identity through language, both directly in interaction, and discursively, through various forms of media (McAdams 1995: 365-96). Individuals produce identity through their everyday interactions. Elaborating on Hunt, it can be stated that discussion about identity has two basic branch of learning, one concerning respect for situated identities and an engagement to basic moral tenets, the second one dealing with ways in which people handle failure to endorse these moral principles, through disowning responsibility and other 'attributional tactics' (Hunt et al 1994). Identity work is a micro-level performance of social (dis)order (Howard 2000:372). Opposed to normative order, identity can also be regarded as a flexible resource in verbal collaboration. Antaki et al (1996) identify identity change through the course of conversation, they analyse how 'contextual variations shift identity claims'. They argue that individuals being engaged in dialogue not only admit contradictory identities, but also conjure up group differences and similarities. Verkuyten (1997) criticizes social identity theory by asserting that individuals construct and destroy borders of various categories in defining themselves. Language thus bridges the cognitive and interactive traditions. Hermans (1996) suggests elaboration on a voiced notion of identity that involves collective voices and encourages greater recognition of the dynamics of dominance and social power. Rapley (1998) correctly presents this last point in his survey. He analyses the speech of an Australian politician, focusing on three questions, namely, 'How speakers construct themselves as representatives of the audience they want to persuade'; 'how the appearance of truth/fact is constructed in political rhetoric'; 'finally, how the speaker structured her case as representative of and credible for the audience'. Rapley stresses how the politician treats identities as discursive supply in strategic manipulation of identity claims to membership category legitimacy. The scientist draws the conclusion that 'identity work' and 'facticity work' reciprocally aid each other and are rather inseparable items of successful mobilization conversation.

6. Identities and Space

Concerning the fact that in my paper I deal both with offline and online public consultation, I find it important to discuss the social psychological aspects of identity in connection with virtual space and literal space. Many recent research on identity deal with the question of space. Cuba and Hummon reflect on "place identities", that rest on the sense of being at home. Their key question deals with the effects of mobility on place reception and interrelations between place identities and stages of a life course. (Cuba & Hummon 1993a). Lindstrom extends the previous theory with a structural element, by analysing correlation between place stratification and place identity (Lindstrom 1997). Moving forward to a more abstract level of space analysis, Ruddick's notion can be found, who argues that "public space is not simply a passive arena for predetermined social behaviors but rather an active medium for the construction of objective and subjective identities" (Ruddick 1996:135)

Through the above mentioned theories of space now we arrive to the most relevant space arena in reference to my current work, that is *cyberspace*. The most widely discussed topic by social psychologists, in connection with cyberspace is whether individuals play with their identities in virtual space or not? Playing in the sense of adopting virtual, online identities, distinct from that of the offline identity, when appearing virtually, therefore invisibly. Kendall's researches result in a negative answer. In a two-year long participant observation experiment he concluded that participants insist on questing essentialized groundings for the selves they get together and

the selves they offer. Where change occurs, it is characteristically a gender-switch, but even though, they distance themselves from online experiences (Kendall 1998).

McKenna and Bargh (1998) carry out a somewhat different experiment, achieving the same result. While Kendall's participants were white man, McKenna and Bargh studied individuals with culturally stigmatized identities. Internet newsgroups provided space and possibility for anonymous interaction, where membership of the newsgroup becomes a significant part of (offline) identity. Frequent participants were more likely to experience self-acceptance and to reveal themselves to their environment. Both surveys prove for correlation between online and offline identity and for a constant preference for stable identities.

7. Research Results

In the following, I tend to elaborate on the public consultation initiated in the topic of the use of 2014-2020 development funds by the Deputy State Secretariat of Cohesion Policy Communication of the Government of Hungary. The research plans to underpin and implement the concepts and findings of rational deliberation, and the way identity influences opinion formation that were discussed in the theoretical part of my writing. The research plans to focus on a specific aspect of social communication, namely the relationship between individual and group, the effect of identity on the willingness of opinion formation and its public expression, the building of trust between government and citizens. I am also interested in, whether a public consultation can reach all segments of society, or only a politically interested and socially active few.

In the research part of my paper, I intend to discuss the results of a qualitative interview research, in the framework of which semi-structured interviews were carried out with the preparatory team members of the public consultation (with all the 7 members who worked on the realization of this public deliberation), and also with 8 members among the participants (the commenters) of the public consultation. The commenters – as interview subjects – were selected with random sampling, and I tried to have at least one commenter among those that contributed to both phases of the consultation, and I also tried to have them from each Operational Programme. According to my hypothesis the possibility of public consultation, especially its online version has changed to a great extent the structure of social communication between represented and representative, and the relationship towards time and space.

From the semi-structured interviews it turned out that the preparatory team members expected a lot more public activity, based on their initial calculations deduced from western-european best practices.

"We checked the amount of comments received for similar public consultations in France, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands, and deduced a number that should be valid for Hungary on a proportional bases. That number, taking into account the number of inhabitants was approximately 10.000. The actual amount of received comments (the highest amount was 202, for Environmental and Energy Efficiency Operational Programme in the first round of the consultations) were far beyond our expectations" (quotation from a preparatory team member). Despite the little activity, they were satisfied with the fact that commenters took their task seriously, gave valuable contribution, and all of the suggestions and ideas could be incorporated in the revised policy texts.

"We consider it as a success, however that citizens gave valuable comments, most of them concentrating on the priorities and the general scope of the document" (quotation from another preparatory team member).

They had a positive feeling about the growing trust and respect between them and the deliberating citizens, as a result of the online public consultation.

In order to reflect on the questions concerning the relationship between citizen and government in the online sphere, and the changing structure of social communication, we have to take into consideration that the mentioned changes occur simultaneously with the spread of the concept of postmodern. Both the emergence of the Internet and that of the postmodern theorem occurred in the 1960s. It can be stated that they are mutual results of one another, since it cannot be declared which characteristic feature (plurality, individualization) can be derived from the Internet and which from the postmodern theorem itself. The present research considers the Internet as a postmodern organism.

During the course of interpersonal communication it is essential to analyse the relationship, the coupling itself. Our times are characterized by the possibility of the individual to create impersonal, superficial relationships, and to deepen the already existing personal relationships. The deepening of personal relationships has been appreciated, therefore the claim for information exchange has increased. Which relates to the shrinkage of private sphere, since the more information an individual shares about him/herself the less he can sustain his own world. The deepening of a relationship and the intensifying of information exchange can also be understood as a result, not as a necessity. The consequence of the process of individualization, the core element of which is the differentiation between me and you, me and the other. On the other hand, interaction with the other is a tool for the representation of I. Because of these dense interrelations, and as a result of the real or putative contradictions, the declaration of a logical causality becomes impossible.

Online communication connects identifications, and dissolves the lack of time and space dimension into the virtual dimension. This phenomena modifies communication, hence, it gives the pretence of a proximate communication situation, while entrance and exit from virtual reality is totally arbitrary, there are no stints, therefore proximation is more like indirectness. For example in an online consultation situation the waywardness of the response time breaks the continuity. As basically we talk about a virtual sphere, the role of symbolic significations is crucial, as everything we experience in real communication, that we reconstruct through imaging in online communication (Green 2003).

According to the interviews carried out and analysed so far, it can be declared that individuals communicating online aim at abolishing distance.

Virtuality can be understood as such a space which has no physical expansivity, only symbolic. As a consequence of this we can talk about the notion of distance-presence, which refers to the presence of online-I presence. From this comes that there is also an offline I, so the I probably becomes doubled. The interviewed commenters reviewed that during the online consultation they intend to express themselves similarly to a personal face-to-face meeting, but in fact in online consultation situation the emphasis is rather on factual communication – research data, scientific findings – than on expression of emotions.

”Although I was very angry that my suggestion has not been implemented in the final version of the text after the first consultation process, although I find it a crucial element...it is very difficult to express anger in writing, in online communication, so I decided to support my view with scientific data... and polite opinion expression looks much better if they reread it, or anybody from the public, it matters the picture that I form about myself, through my comment” (quotation from an interviewed commenter – own translation).

Concluding my research it can be declared that the interviewed commenters felt that their opinion expression has transformed the texts’ content to a great deal, their suggestions – underpinned by scientific research data – were incorporated into the specific Operational Programmes’ final version. From this derives that public sphere functions as a controller of government decisions. In general can be reassured that online consultation provides space for

inclusive public deliberation, by generating networks of interest. Although the interviewed policy makers confirmed they expected greater public activity, the online discussion itself mirrored a high quality of deliberation through respectful parlance.

References

- [1] Antaki, Charles et al (1996) Social Identities in Talk: Speakers' Own Orientation. In: *British Journal of Psychology* 35. p. 473-492.
- [2] Asch, Solomon (1952) *Social Psychology*. Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- [3] Breakwell, Glynis (1986) *Coping with Threatened Identities*. London: Meuthen
- [4] Breakwell, Glynis (2010) "Resisting representations and identity processes" In: *Papers on Social Representations* 19. 6.1-6.11
- [5] Castells, Manuel (2006) *The Power of Identity*. In: *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*. Volume II. Wiley-Blackwell.
- [6] Cuba, Lee & Hammon, D. (1993) *Constructing a sense of home: place affiliation and migration across the life cycle*. In: *Sociological Forum* 8. p. 547-572.
- [7] Dunlap, Lowell A. (1968) Hume, James and Husserl on the Self. In: *Telos*. Fall 1968. Telos Press Publishing. p. 93-112.
- [8] Fletcher, Ronald (1971) *The Making of Sociology*. Vol 2. *Developments*. London: Michael Joseph
- [9] Green, Nicola (2003) *Community Redefined. "Privacy and Accountability"* in: Nyíri, K. (ed) *Mobile Communication*. Essays on Cognition and Community. Vienna: Passagen Verlag
- [10] Hermans, Hubert (1996) *Voicing the self: from information processing to dialogical interchange*. In: *Psychological Bulletin* 119. p. 31-50.
- [11] Howard, Judith A. (2000) *Social Psychology of Identities*. In: *Annual Sociological Review* 26. p. 367-393.
- [12] Hunt, Scott et al (1994) *Identity talk in the peace and justice movement*. *Contemporary Ethnography* 22. p. 488-517.
- [13] Jaspal, Rusi & Cinnirella, Marco (2010) *Coping with Potentially Incompatible Identities: Accounts of Religious, Ethnic and Sexual Identities from British Pakistani Men Who Identify as Muslim and Gay*. In: *British Journal of Social Psychology* 49 (4). p. 849-870.
- [14] Jaspal, Rusi & Breakwell, Glynis eds. (2014). *Identity Process Theory: Identity, Social Action and Societal Change*. Cambridge University Press.
- [15] Kendall, Lori (1998) *Meaning and Identity in "cyberspace": the performance of gender, class and race online*. In: *Symbolic Interaction* 21 (2) p. 129-153.
- [16] Lindstrom, Bonnie (1997) *A sense of place: housing selection on Chicago's North Shore*. In: *The Sociological Quarterly* 38. p. 19-39.
- [17] McAdams, Dan (1995) *What do we know when we know a person?* *Journal of Personality* 63. 365-396.
- [18] McDougall, William (1927) *The Group Mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- [19] McKenna, Katelyn & Bargh, J. (1998) *Coming Out In the Age of The Internet: identity "demarginalization" through virtual group participation*. In: *Journal of Personality Social Psychology* Volume 75 No 3. p. 681-694.
- [20] Rapley, Mark (1998) 'Just an Ordinary Australian': self-categorization and the discursive construction of facticity in 'new racist' political rhetoric. In: *British Journal of Social Psychology* 37. p. 325-344.

- [21] Ruddick, Susan (1996) Constructing difference in public spaces: race, class and gender as interlocking systems. In: *Urban Geography*. Volume 17. Issue 2. p. 132-151.
- [22] Tajfel, Henri (ed) (1978) *Differentiation between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. London: Academic Press.
- [23] Tajfel, Henri (1979) Individuals and Groups in Social Psychology. In: *British Journal of Social Psychology* 18. p. 183-190.
- [24] Tajfel, Henri (1981b) Social Stereotypes and Social Groups. In: J.C. Turner and H. Giles (eds) *Intergroup Behaviour*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- [25] Tajfel, Henri & Turner, John (1979) An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict. In: Austin, W.G. & Worchel
- [26] Tajfel, Henri & Turner, John (1986) *The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behaviour*. In: Austin, W.G. and Worchel, S. (eds) *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Chicago: Nelson. p. 7-24.
- [27] Turner, John (1982) Towards a Cognitive Redefinition of the Social Group. In: Henri Tajfel (ed) *Social identity and Intergroup Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 15-40.
- [28] Turner, John (1985) Social Categorization and the Self-Concept. A Social Cognitive Theory of Group Behaviour. In: E.J. Lawler (ed) *Advances in Group Processes Vol 2*. p. 77-122. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- [29] Turner, John & Giles, Howard (1981) *Intergroup Behaviour*. Oxford: Blackwell
- [30] Turner, John & Hogg, Michael & Oakes, Penny & Reicher, Steve & Wetherell, Margaret (1987) *Rediscovering the Social Group a Self-Categorization Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell
- [31] Verkuyten, Maykel (1997) Discourse of Ethnic Minority Identity. In: *British Journal of Social Psychology* 35. p. 565-586.