EXPERIENCES OF YOUNG ADULT MUSLIM SECOND GENERATION IMMIGRANTS IN BRITAIN: BEYOND ACCULTURATION

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Experiences of Young Adult Muslim Second Generation Immigrants in Britain: Beyond Acculturation

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After 9/11 and 7/7 research increasingly focuses on young British Muslim Second generation immigrants. It is unfortunate that mostly research explain bicultural individuals experiences from some specific theoretical lens. In this research effort has been made to understand and explore their living experiences from their own perspective. We believe this research will contribute in the existing literature. Therefore, we request embargo on electronic copy for a period of 2 years in order to get time to publish it.

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ABSTRACT

This research is an attempt to understand the living experiences of young adult Muslim SGIs, in Britain. This research advocates to understand their living experiences from the perspective of social identity approach which discusses multiple dimensions of identity, unlike acculturation theory which focuses on a mono dimension of identity. This research introduced a *multiple social identity model* for Muslim SGIs. Contrary to the previous literature, the first study, the interview study, revealed that they explained their conflicts with their non-Muslim British peers and with their parents on the basis of non-shared identity. With their non-Muslim British peers they shared cultural (national) identity, therefore, they explained their conflicts in terms of different religious values (practices); with their parents they shared religious identity, therefore they explained their conflicts in terms of different cultural (ethnic) values and practices. They argued that their parents practise various cultural practices in the name of Islam, and Muslim SGIs distinguished Islam from their parents' culture, and identified with the former, not the latter, and attributed their conflicts to their parents' cultural values. In addition, they explained that their religious identity enables them to deal with conflicts with peers and parents. The second study, the focus group, successfully validated the findings of the first study, and it broadened the understanding of the fact that SGIs and their parents both explained their religion in their own cultural context. Their religious (Muslim) identity also promotes their relationships with their non-Muslim British peers and parents, which contributes positively towards their British identity, and more specifically they define themselves as British Muslims. In the third study, the survey study, the hypotheses were developed on the bases of the qualitative studies. It was expected and found that British and Muslim identities were positively correlated; they had non-significant identity differences with the Muslim identity and significant identity difference with British and ethnic identities from their parents. Ethnic identity difference from their parents was the only found predictor of their attribution of their conflicts to their parents' cultural values.

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PROLOGUE

My research on second generation immigrants (SGIs) has an interesting link with my childhood memories. My father was employed by a US consulate and he had an opportunity to migrate to the US, but my parents declined as they said "children who are raised there do not have any identity, all lifelong they search for their identification as people [Americans] never accept them as part of their country, they are always treated as outsiders". This memory flashed up when first I introduced with this topic. The title – second generation immigrants – what does this indicate? Does it not indicate that children of immigrants are also considered as immigrants? When I googled the definition of SGIs, and read about them, the material indicated that they are considered as a part of a minority who struggle to live within and between two sets of cultural values: their parents' and their host country's cultural values. The first question which arose in my mind was, are they not American, or British? And I found this Mexican American folk tale:

> "How much is the parrot?" a woman asked. "Wow, ma'am," uttered the owner, "this is a very expensive parrot, because he speaks both Spanish and English." "Oh really? Can you get him to speak in both languages?" "Sure you can. Look, it's quite simple: If you pull the left leg he speaks English." And he pulled the parrot's left leg. "Good morning," said the bird. "And if you pull the right leg like this, he speaks Spanish." And the parrot said: "Buenos Dias!"
>
> (West,1988 as cited in Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002 p. 492)

This gives a very profound message that they are dealing with two different worlds. I tried to put myself in their shoes and tried to imagine what their life looks like. Young British Indian Nadani Chandramohan gives words to her experience of living in two worlds:

I hold my roots

While I shed my leaves.

I try to keep my face in place.

But sometimes it goes,

And my true colour shows.

At home I am foreign

In school I am foreign.

What is there, is what I see,

I can only be ... me!

I felt myself utterly motivated to travel to unknown oceans to discover their experiences of life. I started to explore their living experiences and what I found is more complex than what we already know:

We shall not cease from exploration

And the end of all our exploring

Will be to arrive where we started

And know the place for the first time.

T.S. Eliot -- "Little Gidding" (the last of his *Four Quartets*)

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Muslims history in Europe, Identity and Adaptation

Overview

This chapter will be divided into four broad sections. In section one, Muslim history in Europe, I will explore the history of Muslims in Europe. This section will discuss from where and when Muslims came into Europe, how conflict arose between their religion, Islam, and the Western world, and what challenges the Western world has faced in order to integrate Muslims into their societies (1.1). Later on, this section will more specifically reflect upon the history of Muslims in Britain, and will expand on the family lives of Muslim immigrants who came into the UK from diverse countries and who practise ethnic/ heritage cultural values at home (1.2). This section will also elaborate the struggle of the children of immigrants (second generation immigrants) who are brought up within and between two set of cultural values, i.e. their parents' and the host country's cultural values (more precisely, their struggle between two cultural identities: ethnic and national) (1.3).

In section two, Identity, I will define the concept of ethnic identity in relation to immigrants, and the debates regarding the definition of ethnicity in the existing body of literature, (1.4). After this, those theories which focus on the formation of ethnic identity in second generation immigrants (SGIs') will be discussed (1.5). Later on, in the light of social identity approach, this section will explain how the formed ethnic identity affects SGIs' self-concept, which ultimately affects their relationship with the broader society. In addition, how ethnic identity is understood in social psychology, and how the term ethnic identity is defined in this discipline, will be discussed. This section will particularly focus on how social identity theories in social psychology facilitate the study of the living experiences of Muslim SGIs (minority group) by considering more than one important social identity, e.g. hyphenated

identities and multiple identities, when they are faced with discrimination and prejudice from society at large (majority group) (1.6).

In section three, adaptation, I will draw on another prominent theory, acculturation, which is used extensively to study SGIs' struggle of adaptation in the host country in reference to two cultural identities i.e. ethnic and national identities in cross-cultural psychology (1.7). Moreover, this section will also elucidate that SGIs' are not just facing problems of adaptation with the larger society, but are also experiencing intergenerational conflicts which have been studied in the field of mental health psychology. In this discipline, researchers employ the theory of acculturation to understand the intergenerational conflicts among SGIs and their strategies to deal with them (1.7.4).

In section four, recap of the chapter, I will advocate that after 9/11 and 7/7, religious identity becomes important in order to understand the living experiences of Muslim SGIs and discuss that social identity approach provides the platform to discuss multiple dimensions of identity, unlike acculturation which focuses upon only single dimension of identity (1.8).

Section One

Muslims history in Europe

Overview

In this section, I will introduce Muslim history in Europe, and how Europe faces the challenge of cultural integration of Muslim immigrants, especially for their children who are born and brought up in Europe. Moreover, how their children experience tension between religious and national identity will be discussed. Later, this section will explain from where and when Muslim immigrants came into Britain, and describe the statistics of Muslims in the UK, and the family culture of Muslim immigrants in the UK, which may invoke the sense of living within and between two sets of cultural values in the children of immigrants.

1.1 Muslims in Europe

History

The history of the presence of Muslims in Europe is as old as the history of Islam itself. Muslims came into central and Southern Europe as traders and diplomats over many centuries. However, their arrival in Europe can be divided into three distinct phases: (a) the period of Islamic Spain and Muslim rule in Sicily, (b) the spread of Mongol armies during the thirteenth century, and (c) the period of Ottoman expansion into the Balkans and central Europe.

The first phase was ended by the Normans in Sicily in the eleventh century AD, and in 1492 in Spain when the Spanish reconquista[1] was started and turned into a successful foothold for the Muslims. During the next two phases, Muslim communities were built in Volga in the Caucasus and the Crimea; and in Finland, and the area in between the border of Oland and Ukraine. Similarly, the third phase settled the Turkish people in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Romania and Greece. Currently, it is stated that Europe is experiencing the fourth phase which is namely the establishment of Muslim communities in Western Europe as a twentieth–century phenomenon which has not appeared out of nowhere but was built on the above-mentioned history (Nielsen, 1999).

In the fourth phase, most of the Muslim immigrants came into Europe under the immigration policies which were introduced in between 1950 and 1960 by Europe after World War II in order to attract labour of different nationalities. For example, the majority of the Muslims in the UK came from Pakistan and India, in France, Germany and the Netherlands most of the immigrants migrated from North Africa, Turkey and Indonesia, whereas in Belgium, Moroccans and Turks are in a vast majority. Turks and Moroccans are also settled in the Netherlands. Besides these countries, political refugees also came into Europe from

[1] **Reconquista**, Campaigns by Christian army, in medieval Spain and Portugal to recapture territory from the Muslims (Moors), in the early 8th century.

Scandinavia, the Balkans, Iraq, Somalia, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Tunisia and Libya (Archick, Belkin, Blanchard, Ek, & Mix, 2011). Therefore, these immigrants brought new religious groups into largely Christian counties, and they formed their communities, built their mosques, Islamic centres and organisations (Maliepaard, 2012).

The rate of Muslim immigrants has increased in Europe since the 1960s and they are ethnically and linguistically diverse as they came from varied regions of the world, for example, the Middle East, Africa, Asia, Turkey and the Balkans (Kettani, 2010). It is estimated that in 27 member European Union countries, and two non-EU members (Norway and Switzerland) a total of 15-20 million Muslims live as part of a European population of approximately 500 million. The largest Muslim population (between 6 and 8 percent) live in Belgium and France followed by Denmark, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands, Austria, and Switzerland (between 4 to 5 percent). However, in Spain, Italy and Norway, the proportion of the Muslim population is small but significant (between 2 and 3 percent). A study by the Pew Research Centre Forum on Religion and Public life in 2011 mentioned that the Muslim population would particularly increase in the next two decades in Sweden, Belgium, Austria, the United Kingdom, Norway, France, and Italy because of continuous immigration and a high fertility rate in Muslims. European countries have continued political debate related to Islam because Islam is always treated as a foreign religion (Doebler, 2014).

Conflict over Islam in Europe

Currently, conflict over Islam has become more intense because European countries have turned into secular states, which means that the Church and state are two different things. This separation has a reciprocal purpose, to protect each other at the time of any undesirable events against their religious and political interests. Government should protect religious institutions if anything happened against their religious interest; similarly, the church should

protect the government if any undesirable religious activity occurs or is practised against political interest (Loobuyck, Debeer & Meier, 2013). Though politically the French Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England has always demonstrated a positive attitude towards having a dialogue with Muslims, they consider Islamic ideology incompatible with their secular state (Waardenburg, 2003).

In 2010, a political dispute regarding the prohibition of the Muslim veil (full face cover) in France, Belgium and other European countries is one example of dissent towards religious values in Europe. Another historical event was witnessed in Switzerland in 2009, when there was a Swiss public vote against allowing Muslims to build minarets for their Mosques. And the act of the publication of the cartoon of the Prophet Muhammad (Nauzubillaha)[2] in the European Newspapers between 2005 -2006 was considered very offensive by many Muslims. This prejudiced attitude towards Muslims can not only explained by the 9/11 incident which is considered nowadays to increase heatedness towards Muslims all over the world, and the term "Islamophobia", or fear of Islam, began to spread in media and a huge budget was devoted to academia in the non-Islamic world to study Islamic terrorism. However, religious conflict has been observed in European countries since 1989 at the time of the case of Salman Rushdie's Satanic Verses in Britain, and the ban on Muslim headscarves in France later that year, when three Muslims girls were banned from entering school with headscarves (Laurence, 2013). Moreover, various studies on the relationship between attitudes of majority groups towards minority groups who belong to different religious groups has been conducted by American researchers since the mid-1960s (Allport 1966; Glock & Stark, 1966; Allport & Ross, 1967; Stark & Glock,1969; Herek, 1987).

However, currently, Islamic radicalisation has been observed in Europe, for example the Madrid bombing by an Al Qaeda-inspired group of North Africans in 2004, the murder of a

[2] Nauzubillah is an Arabic word which Muslims say before reporting something negative about Islam, this means' I seek refuge from ALLAH ' .

Dutch filmmaker in 2004 by a young Dutch Muslim, and the 7/7 attacks on London's mass transport system by British Muslims. These incidents not only make European governments think about the security of their countries, but a debate has violently emerged in politics over Islamic values which are at odds with Western society. Though most of the Muslims are not involved in radical activities, these incidents raised questions for European governments on how to integrate Muslims into mainstream European society in order to reduce radicalisation (Azzam, 2007).

Cultural integration

European countries introduced certain policies to integrate immigrant and minority groups into their societies. For example, the UK and the Netherlands hold a multiculturalist approach which promotes tolerance and equality and permits immigrants to practice their 'back home' cultural and religious values in order to maintain their distinctiveness. However, France encouraged a more assimilation approach, which encourages immigrants to adopt French cultural norms and values, whereas Germany and Austria did not focus on integration and they treated immigrants as 'guest workers' (Yanasmayan, 2011). Therefore, in order to improve Muslim integration in the Western society, European countries introduced new citizen laws, language requirements, local Muslim Imams who know western culture and traditions, and improved educational and vocational opportunities for Muslims. Multiculturalism is encouraged in various western countries but it is also criticised, and this critique is often considered synonymous with criticism of Muslims. This sort of political climate gives birth to discrimination, withholds religious freedom from Muslims, and evokes a sense of alienation in them (Green, 2012). This leads to Muslims protesting against discrimination and forcing governments to give them freedom to practise their religion. Though multiculturalism supports diversity, the threat is presumably there that Muslim

communities in Europe may not be treated as equal citizens and will not be considered as common members of a community (Hellyer, 2006).

Tension between Religious and National Identity

Usually, when people are born in any country and brought up there they usually start practising the local culture, uphold the society's norms and inherit the local values naturally. However, Muslims are often asked by their co-citizens to re-think who they are. Do they have a western identity (British, French, and German etc.) or are they Muslim? This usually happens because mostly Muslims practice their Islamic values, e.g., wearing Hijab, eating halal, praying five times a day, which makes them distinct from other western citizens. Their co-citizens ask them to prove that they are European (British, French, Spanish etc); however, Muslims often point out that there is no definite definition which explains what fully European is (Waardenburg, 2000, 2003). Therefore, the sense of alienation in the children of Muslim immigrants in their own native country (Europe) operate in their lives as to identify themselves as Muslim first (Roald, 1998; Franz, 2007). This identification of being Muslim first indicates their sense of deprivation and discrimination which may be a cause of the promotion of their radicalised Islamic activities in Europe. For example, in the 7/7 London bombing attacks three out of four of the terrorists were British-born Muslims (Franz, 2007). According to the UK Census (2011), Muslims are considered the largest religious minority, and 47% of all Muslims living in the UK are British born.

1.2 Muslim Immigrants in Britain

Overview

History

The early history of Muslim immigrants in Britain is related to the expansion of British and colonial involvement in India (Nielsen, 2004). The first Muslim immigrants came from the Indian subcontinent, travelling to the UK in the 17th century, when the East India Company

came into existence and a large number of men were recruited as lascars[3]; they refused to go back and instead settled in Britain. The next wave of Muslim immigrants came to Britain when the Suez Canal was opened in 1869, and through Aden a large number of Yemeni Arabs and Somali entered as seamen. These immigrants settled in the port cities, for example Cardiff, South Shields, Liverpool, Hull and London.

Later on, at the time of World War I, more than one million men from the Indian subcontinent were recruited by the Imperial service. Troops and a huge number of labourers were sent to the Western Front, and as a result various injured Indian soldiers were brought to Britain. A rapid increase in their migration was seen in the mid-20th century, after the Second World War, as the British Empire came to an end (Visram, 2002). At that time, most immigrants originated from South Asia; geographically, half of them migrated from urban areas, and the other half from the rural areas of Pakistan and India (Shaw, 2000). Another large Muslim group, Turkish Cypriots, migrated to Britain from Cyprus in the middle of the 1950s. Later on, in 1960, almost 50,000 Muslim Pakistani migrants came to Britain from the Mirpur district due to the construction of the Mangla Dam, which submerged nearly 250 villages in Mirpur. Other smaller groups migrated from Malaysia, West Africa, Morocco, Iran and the Arab world. A decline in immigration was seen after the Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1962), but immediately before the application of this Act a sudden rise in entries was observed in 1961 and 1962 (Nielsen, 2004).

From the above short history, it is clear that Muslims in Britain represent a diverse population in its ethnic, linguistic and social constitution. Initially Muslim men migrated to Britain and worked for long hours because they did not have the comfort of their family. To start with, they lived in communal houses, and when they had saved enough money they brought not only their wives and children to Britain but also their cultural values. Therefore, their

[3] Lascars were military men who worked on European ships and mostly came from the Indian subcontinent between the 16th century and the middle of the 20th century.

presence contributed to the expansion of cultural and religious diversity. They built religious and cultural institutions in order to pass their cultural and religious traditions on to their children and grandchildren. In the mid-1960s they obtained ‘a separate institutional and economic infrastructure’, which helped them to secure recognition of their separate religious and cultural identity, but their religious identity stopped them from adopting various cultural norms which they considered against their religion. However, the process of interaction between Muslim and British communities had started (Ansari, 2004).

Statistics

According to the 2011 census of Britain, Islam is the second largest religion in the country. The total Muslim population reached 2.7 million, which is 4.8% of the total population of England and Wales. In England and Wales, two thirds of Muslims are from South Asia, among them 38% are of Pakistani origin, 15% are Bangladeshis, 6.6% are from Arab countries, and 4.8% are classified as ‘other white’ (e.g. Turkish, Turkish Cypriot or Bosnian). Among them 68% of Muslims had Asian ethnicity, 14% white or Arab, and 10% black, and the rest were of mixed or other ethnicity. However, in Scotland, Muslims represent 1.4% of the population and the third largest non-Christian religious group (76,737). Most of them are of South Asian descent, particularly from Pakistan.

Family Culture of Muslim Immigrants

Muslim immigrants came to the UK from diverse cultural groups. In these cultures, the domestic unit is collective in nature. The relationship between family members is expressed in a formal hierarchy where each person has a clearly defined role which is determined by age and sex. Mostly, older men have authority over women and younger men at home. The older man, the head of the household, usually decides about the future of the others in the household. For example, he decides what career a son or daughter will choose, where they

will get married, and in which city they will work. Women are mostly subordinate to men, and cannot make many choices (Shaw, 2000).

Being Muslim, most of these immigrants give priority to always eating halal food, to not drinking alcohol, not having premarital and extra-marital sexual relationships, praying five times a day, and fasting during Ramadan; women cover their head with a scarf. They practise their Muslim values at home, where their children are exposed to their parents' cultural values (Shaw, 1997, 2000).

1.3 Children of Immigrants/Second Generation Immigrants

The children of immigrant parents are referred to as Second Generation Immigrants (SGIs) in the literature. They are classified as a minority group because of their parents' minority status in multicultural societies (Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones, 2006; Berry, 1997). As discussed earlier, multicultural societies are those societies where different ethnic groups live together and maintain their ethnic and cultural distinctiveness (Sam & Berry, 2006). Therefore, researchers have explored the issue of ethnic identity in SGIs from various angles in developmental psychology, social psychology, cross-cultural psychology and mental health disciplines.

Section Two

Identity

Overview

In order to highlight the role of ethnic identity in the lives of SGIs, first the history and the definition of ethnic identity will be introduced in order to get a review of existing debates. Furthermore, understanding of ethnic identity in social psychology will be explained which also sheds light on how the researcher defined the term 'ethnic identity' in this research.

Then I will draw upon the ethnic identity formation in second generation immigrants in the light of theories of identity formation, and the relationship between ethnic identity and the

self-concept will be discussed with the lens of social identity approach (including, social identity theory and self-categorization theory). Finally, I will address further research in social psychology which explains the role of SGIs' dual, hyphenated, hybrid and multiple identities to protect their well-being at times of experiencing prejudice and discrimination from society at large.

1.4 Ethnic Identity

History

The term ethnic is used in the Greek Testament and refers to Heathens and Pagans which means non-Christian and this term was used in this way until the nineteenth century. In 1896, French nationalist and scientist Georges Vacher de la Pouge used it in order to define the cultural, psychological, and social characteristics of a group of people, to create a distinction from the concept of racial identity. In the beginning, the term 'race' and 'ethnicity' were used interchangeably for defining the biological and cultural characteristics of an individual. In 1922, Max Weber, the sociologist, differentiated racial and ethnic identity by suggesting that a blood relationship was necessary for racial identification but not for ethnic identification (Trimble & Dickson, 2005).

Later on, in anthropology, this term was used instead of 'race' because to understand human beings in terms of 'biological characteristics' was not considered enough to understand complex human behaviour and other factors e.g., culture, society, and language. This term was scholarly used by American sociologist, David Riesman, in 1953 in a polite way to refer to Jews, Italians, the Irish and other people who were considered inferior by the majority group at the time of World War II. This word was also used because of the shame associated with Nazi racial doctrines, and the term 'race' is now morally and politically not allowed to be used in many areas. Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan in 1975 reported that this word

appeared in the Oxford dictionary in 1972, and refers to a group of people who share characteristics (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996).

Definition of Ethnic identity

There is no widely agreed definition of ethnic identity; different researchers have explained it according to the underlying theory of their research. In general, and for this research, I am explaining the etymological origin of the term ethnic identity. Ethnic has Latin and Greek origins – *ethnicus* and *ethnikas* both meaning nation. Ethos in Greek means customs. If taken together, *ethnikas* and e*thos* mean people who live together and share common customs. The second half of the term, 'identity', came from Latin and was derived from the word identitas which means 'same'. Therefore, if we take both words together 'ethnic identity' means the same people who have common customs, traditions, history, experiences and geographical region (Eriksen, 1993; Hutchinson & Smith, 1996). In social anthropology this term refers to a group of people who create a cultural distinction from other groups, and refers to minority groups in a majority group (Eriksen, 1993). This shows that ethnic identity can be used to understand ethno cultural (national cultural) influences on identity development in SGIs (Trimble & Dickson, 2005).

In psychology, ethnic groups and nation groups are described in terms of importance of kinship i.e. race. The Britannica Concise Encyclopaedia (2002) defines an ethnic group as people who have common connections of race, language, nationality, or culture. Psychologists are reluctant to abandon 'race' altogether, and they researched 'ethnicity' and 'race', naming them as interchangeable (e.g. Delgado-Romero, Galvan, Maschino, & Rowland, 2005; Fouad & Byars-Winston, 2005; Fox & Stallworth, 2005; Reagan & Salsberry, 2005; Romano, Tippetts, & Voas, 2005). It shows that in ethnicity, cultural and biological essentialism has been stressed. However,

> "The notion of ethnic groups as consisting of members that share a common descent has to be rejected, it should be acknowledged that a myth of common descent is a powerful part of people's social realities (as opposed to objective empirical reality). This places practical limitations on people's ethnic group membership choices, although some degree of choice cannot be denied (e.g. Root, 1998). There often – but not always – exists a geographic territory important for the group's self-definition, and there are often other characteristics that coincide with the same group delineations, e.g. language and/or religion" *(*Zagefka, 2009, p. 231).

In social psychology, the problem has been observed that most of the researchers did not define what they meant by ethnicity (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969; Schermerhorn, 1970; Phinney, 1996; Yinger, 1994). It has been argued that academics and researchers should be more sophisticated in their definition of this term. Therefore, more than one decade ago, social psychologists introduced the constructivist approach of ethnicity and argued that 'people are limited by, but they are not prisoners of, their genes, their physiognomies, and their histories in settling on their own identity' (Laitin, 1998, p. 21). Hence, ethnic identity is socially constructed by a practice that can be analysed and deconstructed (Verkuyten, 2003, 2004). Thus, ethnic identities are considered flexible, as something that can be constructed (Verkuyten, 2004). For this research I have adopted the Verkyuyten (2003, 2004) definition as he neither oppose essentialism nor favour de-essentialism rather he gave emphasis to understand the context in which de-essentialism occurred.

In developmental psychology, much interest has been shown in the development of ethnic identity and its psychological implications in SGIs. Currently, the most widely used definition of ethnic identity in developmental, cross cultural and mental health psychology is the one developed by Jean Phinney, developmental psychologist (1990, 2000, 2003). After reviewing more than 70 papers on ethnic identity she stated "widely discrepant definitions

and measures of ethnic identity, [which] makes generalizations and comparisons across studies difficult and ambiguous" (Phinney, 1990 p. 500). She states that

> "ethnic identity is a dynamic, multidimensional construct that refers to one's identity, or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group[4]. Ethnic identity is not a fixed categorization, but rather is a fluid and dynamic understanding of self and ethnic background. Ethnic identity is constructed and modified as individuals become aware of their ethnicity, with in the large (sociocultural) setting" (2003, p. 63).

Therefore, ethnic identity can be used to create a distinction between two groups of people who are culturally different. Weber gave the example of a foster child who was born in a Western country and brought up in China. According to him, this child can identify himself as ethnically Chinese because he was brought up in that culture (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996). However, according to Phinney, SGIs' descent (origin of family which based on similarities between physical structure, cultural values or both) should be considered for defining their ethnic identity because their association with their family culture makes them distinct from the majority group (Phinney, 1990).

1.5 Ethnic identity formation in Second Generation immigrants

Phinney (1989) introduced a model of ethnic identity development for all adolescent immigrants. Her model stemmed from the Identity Statue Theory by Marcia (1980) whose work was based on Erikson's theoretical model of ego identity.

1.5.1 Theories of Identity Formation

Theory of psychosocial development –Eric Erikson

Erikson's (1968) theoretical model of ego identity is widely used in the developmental approach to ethnic identity. In his eight-stage model of psychosocial development, ego

[4] According to Max Weber, Ethnic groups are "those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely it does not matter or not an objective blood relationship exists (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996 p.35)

identity formation is considered important as it plays a vital role in adolescence and young adulthood. For Erikson, identity formation is a process which is located in the individual and his shared culture. In order to experience wholeness, the difference between how one perceives oneself and how others perceive oneself in society should be less. According to him, one's true identity depends on the social support which one receives from different social groups which are significant, e.g., class, nation and culture.

Identity Statue Theory –Marcia James

For refining and extending Erickson's work, Marcia James (1966, 1980) adapted the Erickson model for developing her empirical model of identity formation. Marcia defined ego identity as "a core or centre that gives meaning and significance to one's world" (Marcia, Waterman, Matteson, Archer, & Orlofsky, 1993). She explained that identity has been formed on the basis of the process of exploration and commitment. In exploration, adolescents usually search for alternative directions and beliefs for various dimensions of life e.g., gender, vocation, and religion. As a result of this they gain clarity and hold commitment in connection with certain goals and beliefs in their life and achieve their identity, more like a settling down (Berzonsky, 2003). This shows that exploration is the basic process which lies under the formation of identity. She defined four statuses for describing an individual's identity development. These statuses are Diffusion, Foreclosure, Moratorium and Achievement which are based on high and low exploration and commitment (for detail see Marcia, 1980; Marcia et al, 1993). Diffusion is the state where an individual is not ready for commitment; in foreclosure individuals seem willing to commit with some roles but usually work hard to meet the expectations of their parents; in moratorium individuals enter into crisis as they explore so many choices and are near to making strong commitments; in achievement an individual has gone through all the choices and he/she came up with the identity that he/she chose for him/herself.

1.5.2 Model of Ethnic Identity Development – Jean Phinney

Phinney (1989) introduced her model of ethnic identity development which stems from the ego identity commitment of Marcia but has more specific meaning. According to her model, all immigrant adolescents, irrespective of ethnic group, pass through the following three developmental stages :(1) Unexamined ethnic identity – the individual does not perceive ethnicity as a problem but he/she might have information about his/her ethnicity but does not examine it; (2) ethnic identity search (or exploration) – an individual may have an experience which makes him/her aware of ethnicity and he/she starts to look into what it means to be a group member and collect information. During this process he/she might experience a range of positive or negative emotions, and the last stage is (3) when ethnic identity is achieved – individuals are clear about the meaning of ethnicity in their life. Those individuals who achieved ethnic group membership or ethnic identity are also aware of other ethnicities (Phinney, 1992). They build their ties with a particular ethnic group and they have clear beliefs, standards and goals regarding their ethnicity.

Most of the research in developmental psychology focuses on SGIs' struggle to define who they are, and how their ethnic identity affects their psychological well-being, e.g., self-esteem, ego identity, and school development during adolescence (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1966; Kim, 1981; Arce, 1981; Atkinson, Morten & Sue,1983; Phinney, 1989; Gudykunst & Ting-Toomy, 1990; Hurtado & Gurin, 1995; Sabatier, 2008; Phinney, 1992; Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2000; Kibria, 2000; Roberts, Phinney, Masse, Chen, Roberts, Romero, 1999; Taylor, Casten, Flickinger, Roberts & Fulmore, 1994; Markstrom, Berman & Brusch, 1998).

She further elaborated that when individuals achieve their ethnic membership and view themselves as a part of a minority group they may experience two types of conflicts. First, they try to resolve the stereotype and prejudiced treatment of the majority group which

threatens their self-concept. Second, they experience conflicts between two sets of cultural values: their parents' and mainstream cultural values, and they try to negotiate bicultural value conflicts. This model indicates those notions of ethnic identity formation and development which are linked to self-concept. Much of the work in this area is based on social psychologist Henri Tajfel's theory of social identity. Social psychologists did not study the developmental stages of identity formation like developmental psychologists; rather they study how the formed identity affects their relationship with the broader society. They studied feelings of belonging to a group and the consequences of identification with one's social group in society (Tajfel, 1978).

1.6 Social Identity Approach

Social identity approach (social identity theory and self-categorization theory) mainly defines the process of how people define themselves as members of a social group. This broadly stresses at least three ways in which people interact with other people. First, social identity defines how people relate with other people in terms of their similarities and differences. Second, people have a shared social identity which provides a basis for shared social action. Third, collective history and present provide meaning to any social identity. Precisely, social identity links people to the social world (Reicher, Spears, Haslam, 2010).

In every society some groups are socially devalued (considered as minority groups), and the target of prejudice and discrimination. Social psychologists sought to understand how this treatment devalued (minority) groups' self-esteem (Crocker & Major, 1989; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and how their social identities played a role in coping with the discrimination and prejudice. Moreover, they study how the association of their identities (e.g., ethnic and national or religious and national) are affected by these experiences. Before starting to discuss the specific studies relating to this, it is important to discuss social identity theory and self-categorization theory in detail.

Social Identity Theory

Social identity is "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his [or her] knowledge of his [or her] membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1978, p. 63). People are members of different social groups and determine their collective self-esteem by how they assess their group status (or membership) in reference to other groups (or outgroups members), and this is why people differentiate themselves in order to bolster collective self-esteem (Tajfel, 1978). Generally, ethnic group members identify with a low status group (minority group) which may result in low self- esteem (Hogg, Abrams, & Patel, 1987). According to Tajfel, those individuals who identify with the low status groups (e.g., ethnic minority group) use different strategies to deal with being a member of a low status group: (1) individual mobility – in this strategy, individuals change their group membership by taking on a membership of another group (if boundaries are permeable), and if boundaries are impermeable then individuals may choose; (2) social creativity – they try to redefine their group membership on the basis of those parameters on which they consider themselves superior from other groups, or (3) social competition – individuals actually start fighting against these social hierarchal group memberships (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Although this theory gives a unique understanding of how people link with society it does not provide "the distinction between social identity and other aspects of the self-concept, to explain how the self-system is organized and what makes any one part of this system psychologically active in a given context" (Reicher, et al., 2010, p. 15). Therefore, Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher and Wetherell (1987) introduced the self-categorization theory (SCT) in order to take social identity, specifically a theory on intergroup processes, into a general theory of group processes.

Self-categorization Theory (SCT)

According to the self-categorization theory, social identification is a process of depersonalisation "whereby people come to perceive themselves more as the interchangeable exemplars of a social category than as unique personalities" (Turner et al., 1987, p. 50). This has a number of consequences. Firstly, through the process of depersonalisation, SCT suggests that people expect other group members to agree with them. Secondly, is the process of stereotyping, through which people perceive others from their characteristics and through which they associate them with their groups. When people identify themselves as a member of a particular group they try to comply with the group stereotype (Tajfel & Turners, 1979). Lastly, when they try to conform to their group stereotype people are sometimes not very clear about what to do in a specific context; therefore, on the basis of self-stereotyping people try to collect information from others who are more prototypical (people who are most typical of the in-group), and in this way social influence takes place (Reicher, et al., 2010).

Turner's theory of social influence (1991) suggested a salient shared social identity carries with it the expectation of having similar and desirable ways of viewing reality. Turner and Oakes (1986) posited that people develop a shared social identity on the basis of all forms of productive social interactions which are carried out. Therefore, in the case of disagreement, negotiation becomes more effective if group members identify with their negotiating group (Eggins, Haslam, & Reynolds, 2002; Haslam, 2001). However, people see those who disagree with them on core group issues as no longer members of a common group (Sani & Reicher 1998). Therefore, it may be possible that when in-group people start to disagree with each other they will explain their differences through the identities which one does not hold in common with the other. For example, American Muslims may explain their conflicts with

their non-Muslim American peers on the basis of having a different religious identity. This might be a very different picture to that which has already been discussed in the SCT.

In short, SIT provides us with an understanding of social identity in the context of intergroup relations, and SCT elucidates the underlying process of social identification and studies the consequences of group phenomena such as stereotyping and social influence.

To discuss these theories in more detail is beyond the scope of this thesis. Here I will examine how this approach has been applied to study the experiences of SGIs (ethnic minority group). In reference to SGIs, literature in social psychology provides the insight that they face discrimination and prejudice from being a part of the minority group on the basis of their ethnic identity, which ultimately affects their self-esteem. Therefore, they use their group membership as an effective mechanism to cope with discrimination and prejudice. **1.**

1.6.1. Coping with Discrimination and Prejudice

Various studies advocate that individuals who have identified themselves with an ethnic group (minority group) experienced discrimination and had a poor mental well-being. Besides the three coping strategies which have been discussed above, an increasing body of literature indicates the importance of group identification in coping with discrimination and prejudice among minority groups (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999; Schmitt et al., 2002). This has been addressed in the rejection-identification model.

1.6.1.1 Rejection Identification Model

According to the *Rejection Identification Model*, people in the minority group identified more with their own group in order to protect their mental well-being and to fight against stigma (Crocker & Major's, 1989; Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Major & O'Brien, 2005; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Discrimination is considered as a threat to minority group collective self-esteem (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), and in order to raise their collective self-esteem they identified with their own group strongly. However, if individuals face

discrimination at a personal level, he/she tries to identify less with the group and to increase identification with the majority group in order to escape from discrimination (Bourguignon, Seron, Yzerbyt, & Herman, 2006; Branscombe et al, 1999; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002). Social psychologists also discussed whether if individuals from an ethnic minority group identity with their ethnic group, this identification may contribute positively towards the individual's self-esteem, which in return protects them from the discrimination and prejudice which they had faced because of being a part of the minority group.

1.6.1.2 Ethnic Identity and Self-Esteem

A strong sense of belonging to an ethnic group may contribute positively towards individual self-esteem (Rosenberg 1986). Ethnic identity is more important to minority groups than majority groups, and plays a stronger role in building self-esteem. A recent meta-analysis supports the theory that self-esteem is high among those individuals who associate strongly with their ethnic identity (Smith and Silva, 2011). According to social identity theory, ethnic identity contributes positively towards enhancing the self-esteem of the member of a minority group in a particular situation because it provides the sense of being a member of a group with which they share common history, culture or group norms (Yip & Fulingi, 2002). Moreover, when an individual identifies with the minority group this increases the threat of discrimination, which ultimately affects their self-esteem. Therefore, in this condition strong association with ethnic identity plays a role in overcoming the feeling of perceived discrimination (Greene, Way & Pahl , 2006). In one most recent study Xu, Farver, & Pauker (2015) examine the relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem among young Asian Americans and report that for young Asian Americans who are brought up in the U.S. mainland and are in the minority, their ethnic identity is significantly positively related to self-esteem, and this strong association with their ethnic identity may equip them psychologically to reduce prejudice and discrimination.

On the basis of a social identity approach, several studies were conducted to examine how redefining in-group membership can reduce prejudice. The common in-group identity model elaborates on altering the perception of intergroup boundaries in order to reduce bias from the majority group.

1.6.1.3 Dual identification/Common in-group Identity Model

This model was based on SIT and SCT and introduced by Gaertner, Mann, Murrell and Davidio in 1989. According to this model, a harmonious relationship between identities can be achieved if a subordinate identity (i.e. the minority group) contributes positively towards the superordinate identity (i.e. the majority group which also includes minority group). The people of the minority group want to be a member of a single superordinate group (the majority) rather than two completely separate groups. The latter idea was presented in the *mutual intergroup differentiation model* which discussed how individuals maintain their subordinate identity distinct from superordinate identity (Hwestone & Brown, 1986). They discussed the fact that minority groups want to be a part of the majority group while maintaining their distinctiveness, especially if they have different value systems (e.g., culture and religion), and this is only possible when both acknowledge the value differences of each other. However, according to Gaertner et al. (1989), people of the minority group redefine the definition of the majority group by becoming part of that group and this effort is made in order to reduce prejudice against them. In this way they achieve in-group favouritism from the group which viewed them as an out-group before (see Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000).

After 9/11, Muslim SGIs in America found themselves in a ‘‘community [that] is deemed suspect’’ (Nguyen, 2005, p. 140). Muslims were presented in the media as violent, terrorists and murderers (Shaheen, 2003; Wingfield & Karaman, 1995). This increased the prejudice and discrimination towards those people who identify with Islam. In this context, in order to lessen these negative emotions of the majority groups, research demonstrates that in America

and in Britain, Muslim SGIs manifest their dual identification i.e. American Muslims and British Muslims, and revealed that their Muslim identity contributes positively towards their national identity (Sirin, Bikmen, Mir, Fine, Zaal & Katsiaficas, 2007 ; Maxwell, 2006; Hopkins, 2011). However, Verkuyten (2007) in the Netherlands reported negative relationships between Muslims' religious identification and their identification as Dutch in adolescents, though his research found that a third of participants indicated both high Muslim and high Dutch identifications which helped them to attain a positive attitude from the majority group (Dutch group).

Furthermore, social psychologists also discussed how the socio-political climate psychologically affects the process of identification and young Muslim SGIs express their split (hyphenated) and merged (hybrid) identities when they experience discrimination from the society at large.

1.6.2 Effect of Discrimination and Prejudice on Identities

Since 9/11 empirical evidence suggests that stereotypes regarding Muslims have increasingly emerged. These stereotypes raise discrimination and prejudiced attitudes in western society towards Muslims, and increase their struggle for negotiation between identities. Literature suggests that for those Muslims who are born and brought up in these Western countries or in America, the political climate determines their hyphenated and hybrid identities (Sirin & Fine, 2008; Leonard, 2005).

1.6.2.1 Hyphenated and Hybrid identities and Muslim SGIs

Hyphenated identities

This term was commonly used in America between 1890 and1920 at the time of World War I to disparage German Americans and Irish Americans (catholic) who were born outside America and had loyalties to their country of birth or origin too. Former president Theodore Roosevelt had asked them for their neutrality in World Wars I & II. Therefore, this term

refers to a sense of double patriotism, double (ethnic) cultural belongingness etc. (Wilcox-Ghanoonparvar, 2007). Hyphenated identities are explained in anthropology in a way that culture and space are linked together (Gupta & Ferguson 1992). For instance, Asian-Americans refer to both Asian and American identities and in this term, Asian is the decisive factor because people considered themselves directly linked with the Asian culture. However for social psychologists, hyphenated identities means "social identities do not neatly partition themselves, but instead create points of intersection at which, for example, both gender and ethnicity define the experience" (Deaux, 2006, p.119).

In reference to current political climate for the Muslims SGIs when they faced discrimination from the society research represent their hyphenated identities. Hussain and Millar (2003) reported that 40 percent of the Pakistani population chose to be identified as Scottish-Muslims in Scotland when offered hyphenated identities of different kinds. Similarly, Sirin and Fine (2007) conducted a research with Muslim-American high school students and asked them to draw a map of their identities. They found that most of the boys mapped their hyphenated identities (Muslim- Americans) as fractured while most of the girls mapped fluid movement between their hyphenated identities.

Likewise, in another qualitative research, focus groups and individual interviews with Muslim-Americans illustrated that most of them are happily residing on the hyphen. They explained that "Being on the hyphen" refers to identities that are at once joined, and separated, by history, the present socio-political climate, geography, biography, longings and loss" (Sirin & Fine, 2008, p.6). 11% of participants indicated that they are confronted with the problem of integrating their religious values with their American values. As one participant reported this conflict: "There has always been this struggle of sort of conflating or managing all these identities within me. You know the main conflict comes from Islam and America… there is always this constant struggle between defining my values as a Muslim or

an American" (Sirin & Fine, 2008, p.146).). These individuals faced stereotypes regarding their religion and were considered as suspects in their own country; therefore, due to the global political climate most young male Muslim Americans stayed with the hyphened self (Sirin & Fine, 2008).

Moreover, 9/11 brings an increased awareness of 'Muslimness' in the Western Muslim, especially among younger Muslims (Hoodfar, Alvi & McDonough, 2003). This encourages young Muslims to examine how their religion relates to their other social identities, such as Americans, and reflects them as multi-faceted beings with hybrid identities.

Hybrid identities

At the end of the 18th century, the term hybridity was used to indicate Africans, Asians, Native Americans, and Pacific Islanders as inferior to Europeans, and if they bred with any European it was considered to be a dilution of the European race. In the 19th century when immigration was accepted and promoted, the meaning of this term was changed, and it started to be used as a mixture of culture rather than a mixture of race. This is why consensus has been seen in postcolonial writings over that fact that hybridity can be seen in the offspring of two people from different cultures. Homi Bhabha was considered as a father of cultural hybridity; he posited that colonizers and the colonized are mutually responsible for constructing a shared culture. His theoretical perspective gave liberty to hybridity from the domination of an imposed definition of race (Cohen & Kennedy; 2000; Yazdiha, 2010).

Various studies have been conducted to study hybrid identity in the children of parents from two different cultures, for example, young SGIs in Australia whose parents had Turkish and Lebanese cultural backgrounds reported their idea of in-betweenness as follows:

[P1:] well my sort of cultural background it's mix, like can't say I'm Turk because I'm Aussie sort of thing. You know what I mean? (If she were asked?) I'd say I was mixed. I fit in fine. My best friend is an Aussie. I don't feel like I don't belong.

[P2:] well I can’t decide what I am. Sometimes I’m like 'what’s up bro' and other times I'm like ‘g'day mate'- sometimes I eat woggy food and sometimes I eat meat pies (cited in Butcher & Thomas 2003, p.37)

In British Muslim SGIs, Saeed, Blain & Forbes (1999) conducted research in the UK and they reported that hybrid identities (Scottish-Muslim or Scottish-Pakistani) were more popular identities among their participants than singular identities (Muslim/Pakistani). Likewise, in the US, Sirin & Fine (2008) conducted research with the young Muslim SGIs and found that most of their research participants (61%) constructed maps that reflected a hybrid Muslim-American identity.

In short, research on hyphenated identities indicates that it may possible that an individual has varying degrees of identification with their ethnic and national or religious and national identities. However, at the same time studies on hybrid identities indicate that their strong association with their ethnic or religious identity cannot question their commitment to their national identities. No doubt Muslim SGIs born in Western countries or in America face significant challenges in building their multiple identities because of belonging to several cultures. As social identity approach suggests, people belong to multiple groups (Tajfel, 1978). Therefore, social psychologists not only limit their focus on two identities to understand their intergroup relationship but also discuss their multiple identities. Roccas and Brewer (2002) introduced the social identity complexity model which can be applied to understand the structure of multiple social identities among Muslim SGIs.

1.6.2.2 Social Complexity Model

Roccas and Brewer (2002) argue that people subjectively represent the relationships among their multiple in-group memberships. Individuals perceive their various social identities as overlapping and those individuals who share membership of most of these identities are considered as in-group members and those who share none or few of these identities are

considered as out-group members. Thus this defines a highly exclusive identity category which can be defined only through the interaction of the shared in-group category.

For example, an individual may self-categorise as a Muslim and also consider themselves to be British. If he considered as in-group only those people who share both in-group memberships then his identity structure is simple, in comparison to those who consider their social identities cannot be overlapped, and would result in viewing more people as being in-group. His identity structure is more complex if he is aware of the fact, for example, that not all Muslims are British or not all British people are Muslims, and accepts that other people can hold in-group membership on some categories but not on others. The former shows low identity complexity, while the latter indicates high identity complexity. It is advocated that high identity complexity is positively related with reduced intergroup bias.

Therefore, this model discusses the degree of overlap which is perceived to exist between those groups of which a person is simultaneously a member, and the degree of overlap explains which identities are different and integrate in the one's cognitive representation of one's group memberships.

Situations where the different in-groups do not completely converge indicate individuals' various nested and cross-cutting identities i.e. multiple identities (i.e. ethnic, religious and national) that bring about different outcomes due to being a member of two non-convergent groups. There are various ways in which people structure their subjective representation of multiple group identities. They are explained by the following four different types of identity structure. These identity structures discuss different ways in which the association among multiple in-groups can be subjectively represented: (a) *Intersection*: a few individuals explained that they may experience a sense of membership of more than one social group, but also maintain a single group representation. This means that their two identities overlap with each other ($A \cap B$). (b) *Dominance*: the individual may adopt one identity and the rest of the

identities are subordinate identities (A UB|A). (c) *Compartmentalization*: for a few people, more than one identity is important and they act differently in different contexts. This means in certain social contexts, one identity becomes primary and in other social contexts, another identity becomes prominent and the other one becomes silent (Aor B). (d) *Merger:* A few individuals recognized and embraced group memberships of more than one group which are non-convergent at the same time (AUB). In short, these different types of identity structure explain the inclusion and exclusion of other people as members of the subjective in-group.

In reference to Muslim SGIs, empirical analysis of multiple identities (i.e., ethnic, religious and national) is rare. Muslim SGIs not only identify with their ethnic group, but also with their religious group and the host country (Deković, Pels, & Model, 2006). Recently, Verkuyten, Thijs and Stevens (2012) studied religious, ethnic and national identification among Moroccan-Dutch Muslim adolescents (11–18 years) and found adolescents had positive relations between Muslim and ethnic identifications, and both identifications had a negative relationship with Dutch identification. Similarly, other studies (Phalet & Güngör, 2004; Stevens, Pels, Vollebergh, & Crijnen, 2004; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012) also indicated that Turkish and Moroccan immigrant youths in the Netherlands tend to identify themselves strongly on ethnic and Muslim grounds. However, because they have been brought up in the host national country, they also had the sense of belonging with their host national country, in addition to a strong ethnic and religious identification (e.g., Oppedal, 2006; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Soheim, 2009; Verkuyten et al., 2012).

The above literature review indicates that social psychologists discussed how most minority groups (ethnic minority) use their group membership to deal with discrimination and prejudice, and there is empirical evidence that positive association between ethnic identity and self- esteem may help them to cope with the discrimination which they may face from the majority group.

Research also indicates that members of minority groups use their dual identification (by redefining the in-group membership) in order to reduce prejudice against them. Moreover, literature elucidates that their experiences of discrimination and prejudice can affect the association between their identities, and political scenario can play a vital role in this. In reference to 9/11, research indicates that many Muslim SGIs represent their hyphenated, hybrid and multiple identities.

Although researchers who followed social identity approach studied the association between multiple identities among Muslim SGIs, no such work has been done to date to understand whether, when Muslim SGIs disagree with people, they express their multiple identities and explain their differences on the basis of non-shared identity with their audience or not.

In the next section, I will discuss theory of acculturation in order to understand how their cultural identities: ethnic and national negotiate with each other when they experience the challenge of adaptation. As discussed earlier, SGIs are born and brought up among two cultures: their heritage culture which their parents bring to a migrant country (ethnic culture), and the mainstream culture (national) which exists where the SGIs are brought up. Due to this unique position of living within and between two different cultures, SGIs face the challenge of adapting between these two cultures in their lives.

Section Three

Adaptation

Overview

I will start by outlining the history, definition and major models of acculturation which are applied in the study of the struggle of adaptation of SGIs. In addition, this section will discuss how the research focuses on acculturation in cross-cultural psychology to study bicultural identity conflict among SGIs, and the challenge which this model is facing to study the experiences of Muslim SGIs after 9/11 and 7/7. The final section will explain how research

applies the concept of acculturation to study bicultural value conflicts among SGIs, employing mental health psychology and focusing on the study of their intergenerational conflicts, and their strategies to deal with these conflicts.

1.7 Acculturation

In reference to the research question for this dissertation, it is important to address the concept of acculturation in detail, by exploring the recent literature where the concept of acculturation is applied to examine the experiences of young SGIs.

1.7.1 History & Definition of Acculturation

The roots of acculturation are found in Sumerian inscriptions from Mesopotamia dating from 2370BCE and in the writings of Plato. Neither was in favour of acculturation, in order to preserve the traditional culture. Plato proposed that people should migrate at the age of 40 as acculturative learning is higher in young people, and that immigrants should be restricted in their interactions with the native people, so that cultural values were preserved (Rudmin, 2003).

In more recent times, Powell (1883) is considered to be the first person in English literature who used the term acculturation. According to him, individuals experienced psychological changes because of cross-cultural imitations. After him Boas introduced the term in anthropology in 1888 (Lopez-Class, Castro, Ramirez, 2011). McGee (1898) defined acculturation from the anthropologist view point, stating that primitive society advancement is depended upon connections with other enlightened societies. Later, interest in the concept of acculturation also developed in the disciplines of sociology and Simons is considered the pioneer who introduced the concept of acculturation, in 1901. In sociology the term assimilation was used as a synonym of acculturation, and refers to the concept that an inferior group (immigrants) conforms to the behaviour of a superior group (host culture). Hall

introduced the acculturation theory in the field of psychology in 1904; the concept of acculturation in psychology is known as psychological acculturation (this is defined below). There is one classical definition which is widely used in these three disciplines, drawn up by the anthropologists Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936). According to them, "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (p.149).

According to this definition, it is a bi-directional process and both individuals and groups in contact may change (see Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986; Sam & Berry, 2006). Group-level acculturation is related with "phenomenal order" (Goodenough, 1964). This is defined as "a change in the culture of an ethnic minority group as it adapts to the mores, behaviours, and values of the dominant group" (Kurasaki, Okazaki, Sue, 2002). Individual-level acculturation change has been described by Phinney (1996) as 'the extent to which individuals have maintained their culture of origin or adapted to the larger society' (see Phinney, 1996 p.921; Goodenough, 1964; Graves, 1967).

Individual-level acculturation is also known as psychological acculturation and refers to the concept of acculturation in psychology (Graves, 1967). Psychological acculturation begins when migrants, including immigrants, sojourners and refugees, come into contact with the new society and are likely to experience culture shedding, culture shock and cultural conflicts (Berry, 1997). 'Culture shedding' means individuals unlearn their previous learning and learn new behaviours (Berry, 1992); 'culture shock' (Oberg, 1960) or 'acculturation stress' (Berry, Kim, Minde & Mok, 1987) means that it is not easy to unlearn previous learning, and 'cultural conflict' means that conflicts arise because of an individual's interaction with a new culture, rather than because of a problem existing in the culture (Berry, 1997a).

Psychological acculturation is manifested in psychological and sociocultural adaptation or adjustment. The former refers to individuals' psychological well-being and the latter pertains to individuals' ability to interact and negotiate with other people in a new society, or to 'fit in' with the society (see Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward & Searle, 1991; Ward & Rana-Duba, 1999).

There are different acculturation models which discuss the psychological struggle of migrants in detail from various angles. The following section will explain models of acculturation, which are also known as second culture acquisition models, or acculturation strategies.

1.7.2 Models of Acculturation

According to Rudmin (2003), more than 68 models of acculturation exist in the literature. All these models focused, in one way or another, on whether ethnic minorities accept the culture of the majority group, or that of their own culture, or both or neither, and which type of acculturation is psychologically and socially effective, and which types cause psychological maladjustments.[5]

The acculturation model was first introduced as a unidimensional model. *The assimilation model* (as mentioned earlier, assimilation is synonymous with acculturation) was introduced by Gordon (1964, 1978). He stated that one can acculturate successfully by complete identification with the host country culture and by losing one's own heritage cultural identity. This model is also known as a unidirectional model and explains that immigrant groups change in order to become like the host culture group. However, if an individual follows this pattern of acculturation, she/he might face three major dangers: firstly, it is possible that the majority group will reject the individual; secondly, there is a likelihood that the individual's own group (minority group) will reject her/him; and thirdly, the individual may experience an extensive level of stress during the process of adopting the behaviour of the host culture and

[5] For view the summary table of these 68 models (see Rudmin, 2003) page 13.

shedding those behaviours which were associated with her/his culture of origin (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). It has also been suggested that this model was appropriate for early immigrants to America, but that it is not suitable for the current wave of immigrants into the US and other parts of the world, because it offers only straight line assimilation (Alba & Nee, 1997; Glazer, 1993). Consequently, segmented assimilation was introduced. Segmented assimilation is defined by Portes and Rumbaut (2001):

> one path may follow the so-called straight line theory ... of assimilation into the middle-class majority; an opposite type of adaptation may lead to downward mobility and assimilation into the inner-city underclass; yet another may combine upward mobility and heightened ethnic awareness within solidaristic immigrant enclaves. (p. 188)

Later on, cultural psychologists identified that it is not necessary for immigrants to discard all the beliefs, values and practices of their culture of origin, and the bi-directional model was introduced by Berry in 1980. He emphasised that it is possible for an individual to identify with their host culture without losing his/her identification with their culture of origin (Sam & Berry, 2006). Bi-directional models received more attention than the unidimensional model (which is used widely in sociology) in the field of psychology.

Berry's original *bi- dimensional model* took a pluralistic approach. He argued that a multicultural society must tolerate and accept people with their original identities (Berry, 1986, 1992, 1997a, 2001). Berry suggested that the acculturation process depends on how individuals participate in the cultural life of the host country and simultaneously maintain their own cultural identity. This process may lead to four different outcomes which are also known as acculturation strategies; namely, assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization (see Fig. 1). Individual can use any of these strategies in different situations. Berry (1997a) defined these terms as:

> from the point of view of non-dominant groups [minority groups], when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures, the Assimilation strategy is defined. In contrast, when individuals place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others, then the Separation alternative is defined. When there is an interest in both maintaining one's original culture, while in daily interactions with other groups, Integration is the option; here, there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained, while at the same time seeking to participate as an integral part of the larger social network. Finally, when there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), and little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination) then Marginalisation is defined. (p.9)

This model has been widely used for more than four decades because it provides the recognition of the rights of minority groups. However, at the same time it raises the question of ethno-cultural compartmentalization which means that each ethnic culture maintains its individuality, and is classified as a minority group; therefore, these groups face discrimination from the majority group (Fishman, 1989; Mallea, 1988).

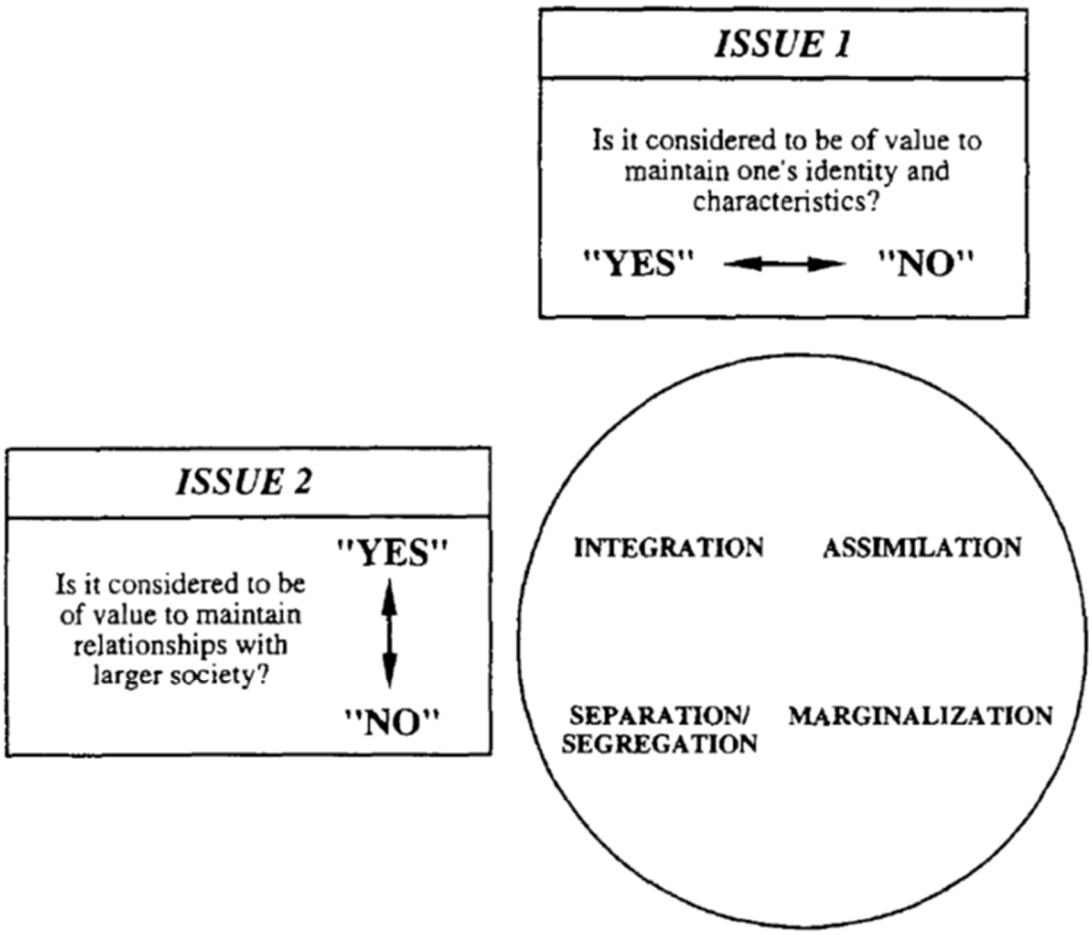

FIG. 1. Acculturation strategies.

Later on, *the alternation model* suggests that immigrants can alternate their behaviours according to situations, because they are capable of living in two different cultures, and they can act according to the situation (Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986). For example, if a situation occurs in the context of the heritage culture, they behave according to the norms, values and expectations of that culture, and vice versa. Therefore, both cultures are considered equal rather than hierarchical. This model posits that those individuals who learn how to alternate their behaviours in the context of two different cultures experience less stress than those individuals who try to assimilate with the host culture (Guzman, 1986; Adler, 1975).

On the other hand, *the fusion model* suggests that different cultures fuse together in pluralistic societies and merge in the form of one new culture. This model focuses neither on acquiring

host culture values nor on maintaining distinctive heritage culture values; it focuses on a metaphor for cultural integration in a way that the heterogeneity of the society becomes more homogeneous and turns into one common culture (Berkson, 1920/1969; Gleason, 1979). However, there are not many examples of this 'common culture' except America, where this term emerged in 1792 and came into common use in 1909 (Rudmin, 2003). The fusion model has one detrimental effect – that people gradually forget about their ancestral history; for example, the original American culture was Indian because Indians were the earliest citizens there, but nowadays the American mainstream culture is not connected to this Indian culture.

In sum, all these models have their own assumptions about how immigrants experience the process of psychological acculturation. They examine what happens when two cultures come into contact, what type of changes (cultural and psychological) take place in both groups, and they also define the process of these changes.

These models were initially used to study the acculturation experience of first generation immigrants; and later on, they were also applied to study the acculturation experience of SGIs. The following section will provide an overview of how the literature discussed SGIs' process of psychological acculturation.

1.7.3 Psychological Acculturation Research on SGIs

In the literature of cross cultural psychology, acculturation theory is widely used to explain SGI' experiences of living within and between two cultural sets of values (see Berry, 2006). Berry, Phinney, Sam and Vedder (2006) conducted an international study with SGI adolescents and young adults. They were interested to study how they lived between two cultures, how well they dealt with bicultural situations, and the relationship between these two questions. For the first question, they tested the bi-dimensional model of Berry and found that 36.4% of participants used the integration strategy, 22.5 % used the segregation strategy, 18.7% used assimilation, and 22.4% showed the diffused profile (those participants were

considered in diffused profile who did not show any clear acculturation strategy and can be categorized as in any of these three assimilation, marginalization and separation). In reference to the second question, they found that males showed slightly better psychological adaptation than female participants, but showed poorer sociocultural adaptations. For the third question, they found that those SGIs who integrated both cultures were well adapted at the psychological and socio-cultural levels. However, those participants who showed affinity with their ethnic culture also demonstrated good psychological adaptation, and those who showed affinity with their national culture showed good socio-cultural adaptation.

Similarly, Phinney and Devich- Navarro (1997) studied African American and Mexican American adolescent SGIs and investigated how they identified with both cultures, and which given model would best explain their process of identification with both cultures (they considered the bi-dimensional model given by Berry, 1997, the bi-cultural competence model given by LaFromboise, et al. 1993[6], and biculturalism by Birman, 1994[7]). Their participants identified with national and ethnic identity as blended (overlap of two cultures which create a new identity), alternating (those who move in between non-over lapping areas) and separated (who only relate with their culture). The authors did not find any evidence for assimilated, fused (two culture merged to produce a new culture) and marginal patterns of ethnic and national identities. Therefore, they concluded that the bi-dimensional model (Berry, 1997a) and the bi-cultural competence model (LaFromboise et al., 1993) explain the acculturation experiences of SGIs.

[6] The bicultural competence model emphasised that bicultural individuals can be competent in both cultures if he/she has certain behavioural characteristics, e.g., acquisition of language, knowledge of cultural beliefs and a positive attitude towards other social groups including the majority and minority (for detail see LaFromboise et al., 1993).

[7] Biculturalism creates a distinction between behavioural competence and psychological aspects (identity). Birman defined four types of bicultural individuals: blended (fused), instrumental (behaviourally oriented to both cultures but identified with neither), integrated (behaviourally oriented to both cultures but identified with only their ethnic culture) and explorers (behaviourally oriented to the dominant culture but identified with only their ethnic culture) (for detail see Birman, 1994).

Similarly, the integrated style of acculturation (integrate with both cultures) is associated with positive outcomes such as better results at schools; positive self-perception was reported in Asian Indian SGIs in the U.S. (Farver, Bhadha & Narang, 2002; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990). In Sweden and Norway, Turkish SGIs who used separated and integrated acculturation strategies had better psychological adaptation than those who used the marginalization acculturation strategy (Virta, Sam & Westin, 2004).

In reference to Britain, few researchers used Berry's acculturation model. For example, Ghuman (1999) found that a large majority of young Asian people retained some cultural values of their parents' culture and some adopted British norms, in fact his research revealed that most of them used the integration strategy of acculturation.

In another study, Stopes-Roe and Cochrane (1990) reported that 43% of young SGIs reported themselves as British first; the rest indicated that they were different from white British citizens because they had their parents' cultural values. Interestingly, they only gave respondents two forced choices: British or Indian/Pakistani. Their research showed that Hindus are most assimilated, and Muslims least assimilated, with British culture. Similarly, Modood, Beishon & Virdee (1994) studied Indians, Pakistanis and African Caribbeans in the context of British policies and found that most of them associated with their ethnic pride and wanted to explore it and maintain their roots with their country of origin. However, Robinson (2000) found that most of the Indian and African Caribbean adolescents preferred integration strategies rather than marginalization.

1.7.3.1 Religion and Acculturation

Undoubtedly, the role of ethnic and national identities has been the focus of acculturation research during the last four decades (Fleischmann, 2011; Phinney, Berry,Vedder & Liebkind, 2006). Before 9/11, there was an absence of literature which addressed the role of religion in the process of acculturation. In the most recent literature, an attempt has been

made to discuss how Muslim SGIs explain their process of acculturation. It is unfortunate that the religious dimension has not earned much attention in the literature, but it is still considered an important part of people's lives, which determines their behaviour with their family as well as with the mainstream culture (Arends-Toth & van-de Vijver, 2004). However, Berry in 2006 suggested that acculturation framework provide the possibility to study young Muslims how they negotiate with their religion while adapting between two cultural contexts (their heritage culture and the host culture). In one recent study, Güngör, Fleischmann, Phalet and Maliepaard (2013) emphasized the same point while giving the overview of the results of their large project on the integration of the European Second generation (TIES). They studied Muslim SGIs in four European countries from different ethnic backgrounds. In one study, with young Turkish Muslims (vs. Moroccan), they found that their participants reported different dimensions of religiosity, e.g, religious identity, beliefs and practices in the acculturation context. They found that young SGIs related to their religion of their heritage culture which was fully mediated with childhood religious socialization, and with parents and religious communities (they studied it retrospectively). They concluded that religiosity is associated with their heritage culture and detached from the host culture.

The International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth by Berry et al (2006) reported that 38.1% of young and adolescent Muslim SGIs identified themselves with their religious identity, in comparison to other three religious groups (Judeo-Christian, Eastern and those with no religion), where between 10% and 19% identified with their religious identity. However, Muslim SGIs had experienced higher psychological and social adaptation than the three other religious groups.

Similarly, Saroglou and Mathijsen (2007) provide evidence of the fact that young Belgian SGIs who had high religiousness identified with their ethnic identity, and those who had low

religiousness and religious doubting identified with the host country; their extrinsic religiosity is positively correlated with acculturation.

There is little literature investigating the role of religion among SGIs during the process of acculturation. This may be because research has provided evidence of the fact that those who are high in religiosity also identify highly with their ethnic identity, and this implies that they do not view their religion as being distinct from their ethnic culture (Cohen 2009, Lechman, Chiu & Schaller, 2004); religiousness may also be considered as a mediating factor in the process of acculturation (Berry et al., 2006; Roysicar & Maestas, 2002)

Besides, there is another interesting domain which discusses the role of their parents' acculturation process in relation to SGIs' own acculturation. This literature suggests that when migrants come into contact with the host cultural group, they find their ethnic identity as a means to define their selves; however, most of them were not aware of their ethnic identity before they migrated. Therefore, when they discover the differences between cultures, they develop their own attitude towards the new culture, which affects their children's psychological acculturation (Sam & Berry, 2006; Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992).

1.7.3.2 Parents' and SGIs' Psychological Acculturation

Research provides evidence that SGIs have direct exposure to mainstream culture through school and the media; therefore, they acculturate more quickly than their parents. This is observed in the discrepancy between the acculturation rate among parents and SGIs. The literature suggests that the acculturation gap between parents and children generates intergenerational family conflicts (Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, & Arnalde, 1978, Sluzki 1979; Ying, 1999).

Indian American adolescent SGIs who had no acculturation gap (integrated or assimilated) with their parents reported fewer family conflicts. Their psychological functioning and ethnic identity were better than those of adolescents who reported an acculturation gap (separated or

marginalized) with their parents (Farver, et al , 2002b). Similarly, Indian adolescents and their parents were found to have similar strategies of acculturation. They identified themselves more as Indian Americans than their parents (Farver et al., 2002a). However, Indian adolescent SGIs in Canada whose parents used an integrated acculturation strategy assimilated themselves more with the mainstream culture (Pawliuk, Grizenko, Chan, Gantons, Matthew & Nguyen, 1996). Similarly, most parents and adolescents of Asian groups in Canada used an integrative acculturation strategy (Kwak & Berry, 2001). Most Caribbean, Chinese, Greek and Italian SGIs' parents in Canada identified more with their own cultural values than with the host country's cultural values; however, it was the opposite for SGIs (Lalonde & Cameron, 1993).

In contrast, there was no relationship between the acculturation level of Chinese adolescent SGIs and their parents' level of acculturation in Canada. The level of acculturation was also found to be unrelated to the social adjustment of the Chinese adolescent SGIs. However, those Chinese adolescent SGIs who related to their parents' culture showed better adjustment in families (Costigan & Dokis, 2006).

In sum, the difference between the parents' level of acculturation and their children level of acculturation is an important factor to understand their family conflicts. It is evident that not all parents practise their ethnic values, nor do all SGIs follow the mainstream cultural values (Chun & Akutsu, 2003).

The above mentioned acculturation literature reveals that SGIs discuss the process of negotiation between their two identities, ethnic and national, in a complex way, and that they are able to develop competence in both cultures in order to manage interpersonal relations and to handle acculturative stress. In addition, acculturation literature also studies socio-cognitive processes such as cognitive skills and personality factors when determining the process of acculturation which contributes to the development and maintenance of bicultural

identity (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). The socio-cognitive process was highlighted by Benet-Martínez and her collaborators (for detail See Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee & Morris, 2002; Haritatos & Benet-Martínez, 2002; Hong, Benet-Martínez, Chiu & Morris, 2003; Hong, Morris, Chiu & Benet-Martínez, 2000). Their work is closely based on the cultural frame switching process which was introduced by Hong et al. in 2000[8]. Benet-Martínez and her colleagues (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee & Morris, 2002) investigated the personality perspective of individual differences in bicultural experiences. They pointed out the complex and multi-dimensional nature of being bicultural by investigating the relationship between personalities, and cultural and socio-cognitive variables (i.e., switching between contexts) (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005).

Furthermore, researchers argue that the available acculturation scales are based on behavioural acculturation and neglect value acculturation (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993; Cuellar, Arnold & Maldonado, 1995; Inman, Ladany, Constantine & Morano, 2001). These scales measure behavioural and psychological adaptation via language, knowledge of culture, food, well-being, mental health, and life satisfaction. It has been argued that behavioural acculturation may occur without any change in values because behaviour can be influenced by the surroundings, or individuals may just acquire those behaviours because of their knowledge of the surrounding culture (Mariño, Stuart & Minas, 2001; Celenk & Van de Vijver, 2011; Cabassa, 2003; Alegria, 2009).

According to Broesh and Hadley (2012), research on acculturation has not focused on cultural values. Immigrants who arrive from non-European countries have a different set of cultural values from those of European countries. Their children are brought up within and between two different sets of cultural values: one cultural set of values to which they are

[8] Hong et al. (2000) introduced new theoretical dynamics and posited that bicultural individuals are cognitively different from those individuals who live in a monoculture because bicultural individuals frequently engage in reacting to different cultural cues.

exposed by their parents at home, and another cultural set of values to which they are exposed by their peers in school and through the media. Therefore, the literature indicates that the children of migrants experience cultural value conflicts with their parents, and various value-focused scales were developed to study value acculturation (Szapococznik, Scopetta, Kurtines & Arandale, 1978; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980; Gibbson, 1991; Baptiste, 2005).

The following section will discuss SGIs' experience of bicultural value conflicts in the process of psychological acculturation.

1.7.4 Psychological Acculturation and Bicultural Value Conflicts

The acculturation model facilitates the study of the psychological and socio-cultural adaptation of those people who have come from culture A and start living in Culture B, but researchers have not found it necessary to use a cultural model in order to understand what exactly is meant by 'culture' in acculturation theory (Broesh & Hadley, 2012; Chirkov, 2009). In almost all acculturation models, culture is understood as a 'monolithic whole' (Broesh & Hadley, 2012). In the recent acculturation literature, Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga and Szapocznik (2010) have made an attempt to define 'culture' as 'shared meaning, understandings, or referents held by a group of people'.

In anthropology, culture is defined in varied ways. For example, Kroeber & Kluckhohn (1952) defined culture as:

> "patterns, explicit and implicit of and for behaviour, acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiment in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of tradition…ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other, as conditioning elements of future action" (p.181).

In addition, culture is manifested in ‘symbols, artefacts, modes of communication, values, behaviours, institutions and social system’ (Carrol, 1982; Hall, 1959; Malinowski, 1932, 1944; Parsons, 1977; Whit, 1949; Young, 1942 as cited in Lytle, Brett, Barsness, Tinsley & Janssens, 1995). Similarly, this complex word ‘culture’ is used with various meanings in research and in politics. For example, Eagleton in 2000 (as cited in, Kirmayer, Guzder &Rousseau, 2014, p.2):

> “distinguished its three broad meanings: (1) as the social matrix of every aspect of human biology and experience, (2) as the ways in which human groups or communities with a shared history or identity are distinguished from each other, and (3) as the cultivation of our collective creative capacities, expressed in large part by language but also through music, the arts, and other media”.

In this research the use of the word “culture” is closer to the second point given above. That is:

> “culture involves ‘otherness’ – the marking off of a group or community as distinct from others, defined in terms of some shared lineage, geographic origin, or other characteristics, including language, religion, and way of life. This meaning of culture includes the notion of ethnicity, from the [Greek] ethnos or nation (Banks, 1996). Ethnicity is shaped by the ways that groups are defined within a culture and by the sense of distinctiveness that comes from encountering others different from one’s own familiar group or community” (as cited in Kirmayer, Guzder, & Rousseau 2014, p.2).

Therefore, culture is described in terms of binary opposites, such as collectivism as opposed to individualism, a hierarchical structure as opposed to egalitarianism, or in terms of masculinity vs femininity (Deutsch, 1973). These dimensions may manifest in different indicators, such as values, cognitions, behaviours, attitudes, institutions and systems (see Lytle et al, 1995). Individuals are affected by all these cultural dimensions.

In short, every country has its own cultural values which are influenced by various elements, for example religion, attitude towards sex and gender, or towards the boundaries of the self and family structures. In the context of SGIs, their parents belonged to a different culture and have their own set of cultural values which are primarily influenced 'by the mythology and the philosophy of their country of origin' (Dasgupta, 1986). Therefore, SGIs experience cultural value conflicts because they are raised in a different culture.

At this point, it is important to explain how the term 'cultural value conflict' is defined in the literature. Recently, Inman, Ladany, Constantine, and Morano (2001) defined cultural value conflict as:

> "an experience of negative affect (e.g. guilt, anxiety) and cognitive contradictions that result from contending simultaneously with the values and behavioural expectations that are internalized from the culture of origin and the values and behavioural expectations imposed on the person from the new culture" (p. 18).

In other words, SGIs may experience guilt and anxiety because they are struggling with two different sets of cultural values. This definition is useful for those researchers who are interested in exploring how guilt and anxiety affect the experiences of bicultural value conflicts among SGIs. However, my perspective is similar to that of Szapocznik & Kurtines (1993), who stated that "Individuals are embedded within a family that is itself embedded in a culturally diverse context" (p.400). They introduced the theory of 'contextual metaphor' based on the initial work of Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1986). According to Szapocznik and Kurtines (1993), "the concern with the individual in a cultural macro context does not fully recognize the micro context (e.g., the family) that links the individual to her or his culture" (p.401). In other words, individuals are nested within their families and their families are nested within the culture.

Acculturation literature discusses SGIs' cultural value conflicts in the context of the collectivist cultural values of non-European countries versus the individualistic cultural values of European countries. The following section will explain that SGIs' parents belong to a culture where collectivism is manifested in their values and behaviours. However, SGIs are brought up in a culture where individualism is manifested in values and behaviour.

1.7.4.1 Collectivism and Individualism

The literature (Deepak, 2005; Cole, 1998; Sorell & Montgomery, 2001) reveals that SGIs' parents came from different regions, such as Asia, Africa, and South America, where collective cultural values are practised. The values of collective culture are family-oriented; individuals see themselves in the context of their family and perform gender-specific roles and duties (Hofsteade, 1980). For example, South Asian families mostly adhere to the following values:

> "non-confrontation, respect for elders, moderation in behaviours, devaluation of individualism, harmony between hierarchical roles, filial piety, structured family roles and relationships, humility, obedience, high regard for learning, modest about sexuality, not demonstrative with heterosexual affection, less need for dating, strong sense of duty of family, protect honour and face of family, marrying within versus outside ethnic group, importance attached to preserving the original religion" (Das & Kemp, 1997 p.30).

However, western cultural values (e.g., in the U.K., U.S.) are individualistic. According to Wellesz (1973), this European or American perspective of individualization is rooted in the philosophical and cultural shifts which occurred during the 'Western Enlightenment period':

> "During this period, the Cartesian duality of body and mind raised rationality above the emotional or animal nature of emotions, and evolved a belief in the self as unique, singular and exclusive, with the right to live and die with self-determined dignity.

> Dignity, however, is largely a New Testament and Christian contribution based on the the supreme value of God-given soul" (Lukes, 1973, p. 46, as cited in Kurasaki et al., 2002, p. 50).

Therefore, western culture emphasised individuals' own values and attitudes, as a result of which individuals are emotionally detached from their families and are more self-reliant (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1998).

In short, non-western cultures stress such values as filial piety, parental authority and respect for the elderly, and western culture stresses individual autonomy and freedom (Kwak & Berry, 2001; Fuligni, 1998). Children of immigrants who were born into Western culture and brought up in an autonomous and liberal-oriented environment, such as the UK or US, find it easy to relate to the values of Western culture, rather than to their heritage culture (Motsuoka, 1990). However, SGIs' parents put tremendous pressure on their children to follow their heritage cultural values (Inman & Tewari, 2003); sometimes, due to this, they come into conflict with their parents.

SGIs' intergenerational cultural value conflicts have also been discussed in the literature of psychological acculturation. In the following section I will discuss this relevant literature.

1.7.4.2 Intergenerational Cultural Value Conflicts

Intergenerational cultural value conflicts among SGIs have been mostly studied in the field of mental health psychology. This discipline focuses on the effect of intergenerational cultural value conflicts on the mental well-being of SGIs, and on the coping strategies SGIs use to handle these conflicts.

Research on SGI American-Indian women shows that there are specific areas of conflict experienced as a function of their families' "traditional customs and practices", which are very different from the liberal and autonomous US culture. For instance, their traditional customs include disapproval of pre-marital relationships, arranged marriages, parental

control, and gender discrimination. In other words, SGI American-Indian women mostly face conflicts with their parents on the issue of dating a man with whom their marriage has not been decided by their parents; when their parents propose a man for them to marry; or going out late at night, which their parents allow their sons to do (Varghese & Jenkins, 2009). When parents of American-Indian women SGIs expect their daughters to behave according to their heritage culture, a conflict of cultural values arises for the daughters, who question why they do not have the freedom which is available to their peers. Consequently, SGIs face a pressure to live within and between the parental and mainstream cultures (Garrett, 1996) and face conflicts. There might be multiple factors responsible for triggering these conflicts in American-Indian families. For example, their parents might not have allowed them to express their opinion and wanted them to follow their own instruction. This shows that there is an absence of open communication between the children and their parents, and this also expresses the parents' authoritative behaviour. Sometimes parents also require their children to enter into arranged marriages and this triggers conflict between parents and children (Dugsin, 2001). The conflict of arranged marriages is also emphasized by Das and Kemp (1997), who found that American-Indian SGI women came into conflict with their parents because these SGIs wanted to choose their own life partners, as all their peers do in the mainstream culture; however, their parents expected them to enter into arranged marriages. Moreover, American-Indian SGI women experienced cultural value conflicts related to gender role expectations and intimate relationships including dating (Inman, Constantine & Ladany, 1999; Inman, et al 2001 ; Dhruvarajan, 1993; Inman, 2006). In Indian culture, parents put more restrictions on girls than boys: girls are expected to be submissive even if they are earning, because earning is not considered their primary responsibility; instead, they are expected to look after the home and children. On the other hand, parents often allow their adolescent boys to stay out late at night and are less condemnatory towards pre-marital sexual

behaviour (Segal, 1998). Indeed, boys are considered the future bread winners and patriarchs of their households, and it is considered part of their upbringing that they should have some autonomy, given that they are expected to make decisions for their prospective families (Segal, 1998; Durvasula & Mylvaganam, 1994).

Liu & Iwamoto (2006) studied Asian-American men and found that Asian cultural values related to gender role conflicts. For example, parents expected their sons to get higher grades. They were also expected to secure good jobs, which was associated with the family's good name. Furthermore, parents also restricted their sons' emotionality, and sons should not ask for help as to do so would be to demonstrate weakness.

Kaduvettoor-Davidson & Inman (2012) studied cultural value conflicts among American-Indian women SGIs, most of whom were Hindus (57.3%) and Christian (30.9%). They measured cultural value conflicts with regard to intimate personal relationships ('attitudes toward dating, premarital sex, and marriage'), and gender role expectations, such as expectations with regard to their family. The authors found that the level of religiosity predicted their subjects' cultural value conflicts, for example with regard to gender role and gender role expectation. However, they reported that parents of SGIs do not see religion and culture separately but as intertwined; therefore, SGIs also perceived religious values as intertwined with Asian values.

In addition, the literature illustrates that Asian-American SGIs, including Indians and Chinese, experienced family conflicts when their parents practised different parenting styles at home in order to adhere to their Asian cultural values (Park, Kim, Chiang & Ju 2010; Chao, 1994; Kawamura, Forst & Marmatz, 2002; Pong, Hao & Gardner, 2005; Xu, Farver, Zhang, Zeng, Yu & Cai, 2005; Chao, 2000 ;Varghese & Jenkins, 2009).

The research also explains SGIs' intergenerational conflicts in terms of an intergenerational acculturative gap. Szapocznik & Kurtines (1993) stated that children of immigrants

acculturate faster than their parents because they have been raised within western culture; however, their parents acculturate slower because they were not raised within western culture. An acculturative gap is defined as "the discrepancy in acculturative status between immigrant parents and youth" (Szapocznik, Santisteban, Kurtines, Perez-Vidal & Hervis, 1984, as cited in Hwang, 2006 p.397) and can be understood as discrepancies between parents' and children's adherence to parents' heritage cultural values. Hwang (2006) explained this phenomenon more in depth and coined the term 'Acculturative Family Distancing' (AFD), defining it as "the problematic distancing that occurs between immigrant parents and children that is a consequence of differences in acculturative processes and cultural changes that become more salient over time" (p.398). The literature states that an increased generational acculturation gap is associated with parent-child conflicts, including over education, career choice, dating, and marriage (see Tsai-Chae & Nagata, 2008; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993; Lee, Choe, Kim & Ngo, 2000; Ahn, Kim & Park, 2008).

In short, the literature studied intergenerational conflicts from various perspectives. For example, most of the research explores the nature of intergenerational cultural value conflicts, and studies them in the context of different factors such as parenting styles and acculturative gap. In addition, the literature reveals that intergenerational cultural value conflicts have detrimental psychological effects (e.g., depression, anxiety, lower self- esteem) on SGIs' mental health (Greenberger & Chen, 1996; Lau, Jernewall, Zane & Meyers, 2002; Lee et al., 2000). There is a recent trend in mental health which addresses how SGIs deal with intergenerational cultural value conflicts.

1.7.4.3 Dealing with Intergenerational Cultural Value Conflicts

In the literature, a model for coping with stress was introduced by Folkman and Lazarus in 1984. It was used to study how SGIs deal with their intergenerational cultural value conflicts. Folkman and Lazarus (1984) defined coping as "constantly changing cognitive and

behavioural efforts to manage specific external or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person" (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984 p.141). The researchers proposed two ways of coping: emotion- focused coping (e.g. avoidance, minimization, distancing) and problem- focused coping (e.g. strategies for altering environmental pressure, resources, procedures and learning new skills).

Asian American SGIs used more problem-focused coping than emotion- focused coping, especially when they came into conflict with their parents (Lee & Liu, 2001; Ahn, et al, 2009; Kuo, Roysircar & Newby-Clark, 2006). However, Asian American SGIs used more emotion-focused coping when they perceived that their family conflicts were intense and they did not have much control over the situation (Lee, Su, & Yoshida 2005; Su, Lee & Vang, 2005).

In brief, research also discussed SGIs' psychological adaptation or well-being in the context of mental health. This research revealed which coping strategies Asian American SGIs used more to cope with intergenerational cultural value conflicts other than 'identity coping strategies', to deal with bicultural conflicts (see Section, 1.3.4).

Section Four

Recap of the Chapter

Overview

In this section, the chapter will be concluded by noting that religion was significantly highlighted in the lives of Muslim SGIs after 9/11and 7/7. It will be argued that social identity theory provides a broader prospective to understand the experiences of the Muslim SGIs. This is because it provides a platform from which to discuss their multiple identities, i.e. religious, ethnic, and national. However, the theory of acculturation only addresses two cultural identities, i.e. ethnic and national, which limits its applicability in understanding the experience of Muslim SGIs. Furthermore, this section will highlight how the question for this research has arisen from the existing body of literature.

1.8 Conclusion

International immigration in the post-colonial era brought many Muslims into Europe from different countries, and their presence raised the debate about the place of Islam in Europe. Islam has been controversial in Europe since 1989; however, debates on it became increasingly heated in literature after 9/11 and 7/7. European countries discussed in length how they should integrate Muslims into the European secular states. Different countries employed different strategies to inculcate them into mainstream culture, e.g., assimilation is advocated in France and multiculturalism receives much attention in the UK (See section 1.1).

However, the question is not only limited to how to integrate migrant Muslims culturally. A more challenging situation was faced in reference to their children, who were born in these European countries and known as second generation immigrants (SGIs) in the literature. These children, especially Muslim SGIs, faced discrimination and prejudice, especially after 9/11, and faced a political challenge of identification. The challenge to identify themselves as Muslim or European has been discussed in the literature, particularly how SGIs faced the dilemma of identification between their ethnic and national identity because they were living within and between two sets of cultural values. The literature discussed their struggle of living in developmental, social, cross-cultural and mental health psychology.

In developmental psychology, there is interest in understanding the development of ethnic identity. Jean Phenney was considered a pioneer in this field. She defined ethnic identity and described its developmental stages (see section 1.5.2). This discipline discussed that the development of ethnic identity (identification with their parents' culture) is challenging for SGIs because they are brought up in the host country's culture but they are also exposed to their parents' culture at home. Therefore, the literature placed them in the ethnic minority group because of their cultural ties with their family of origin. There is a huge controversy

over defining the term ethnic identity. Even though it was introduced to replace the term 'racial identity' after WW-II, both terms are still used interchangeably in the literature. Though initially Phinney argued that the term 'race' is used to distinguish between people on the grounds of biological differences, later on she used the term 'ethnicity' to refer to groupings on the basis of both 'race' and 'culture of origin', and her approach turned out to be much closer to essentialist (who claim that people naturally belong to certain groups) which shows prejudiced thinking (Zagefka, 2009).

In social psychology, before the last decade, no such attention had been given to defining this term. This shows the insensitivity of the social psychologist towards this 'term'; in other words they are reinforcing racist lay theories (Zagefka, 2009). In 2003, social psychologist Verkuyten argued that ethnic identity can be constructed in context (and he observed de-essentialism in certain conversations with ethnic minority groups) but this does not mean that people from minority groups did not view themselves with the essentialist perspective, as is revealed when people from ethnic minority group discuss their intrinsic association with their family of origin. Therefore, he emphasized that essentialism does not mean oppressive, and de- essentialism does not mean a progressive approach. He stressed that the important thing is to understand the context in which de-essentialism has been used by the ethnic groups.

Generally, in social psychology, the experiences of minority groups (SGIs) have been discussed widely because these groups face prejudice and discrimination which ultimately affect their self-concept, self-esteem and well-being. Therefore, in order to overcome prejudice or discrimination, the literature suggests that they identify themselves with their ethnic minority group in order to protect their well-being, and represent their dual identification to reduce intergroup bias. Literature also discussed that these experiences affect relationship between their identities and they represent their hyphenated, hybrid and multiple

identities (see section 1.6.1 & 1.6.2). However, literature does not discuss how Muslim SGIs explain their relative position of multiple identities with their audiences.

Besides the identification challenge, the literature also focuses on SGIs' experiences of living within and between two sets of cultural values – their parents' cultural values and British cultural values, and how they deal with those challenges. Their struggle of adaptation with both cultures has been widely studied with the lens of acculturation theory in cross cultural and mental health psychology.

The acculturation theory was conceptualized in the field of anthropology and sociology in the early 20th century. It has been used dynamically to understand the experience of those individuals who belonged to different cultures but came into continuous contact with each other. Over the period of time, theories of acculturation evolved from the unidirectional model of sociology to the bi- dimensional model of psychology (see section 1.7.1 & 1.7.2). The psychological acculturation literature primarily addresses the migrant, including immigrants, sojourners, and refugees. Later on, the same models have been applied to SGIs in order to understand their psychosocial struggle. Though the segmented assimilation model was introduced in sociology to understand their acculturation process, it did not get much recognition in the field of psychology. In psychology, on the basis of the bi-dimensional model, a few other acculturation models, e.g., the alteration model, the bicultural competence model and the bicultural identity integration model, emerged to understand the experiences of migrants (including their children, SGIs). It is generally understood in the acculturation literature that biculturalism (integration of ethnic and national identities) is the more adaptive approach than other three (assimilation, segregation, marginalization) for ethnic minority groups living in a multicultural society. Noticeably, the acculturation process is complex. However, Rudmin (2003) stated that there was no strong evidence that biculturalism is more adaptive than other strategies. He stated:

> "theories showed varied and inconsistent terminology, poor citation of earlier research, conflicting and poorly tested predictions of acculturative stress, and lack of logic, for example 2 cultures in contact logically allow 16 types of acculturation, not just 4. Logic explains why assimilation = negative chauvinism= marginality, why measures of incompatible acculturative attitudes can be positively correlated, and why bicultural integration and marginalisation are confounded constructs. There is no robust evidence that biculturalism is most adaptive". (p. 3)

Though the discussed acculturation research on SGIs provides an understanding of the complexity of the phenomenon, Berry and Sam (1997) said "we adopt a universalist perspective on acculturation" (p. 296). This means that the bi-dimensional model understood that the acculturation process is the same for all groups. By stating this they ignored the effect of historical, political and social realities for the immigrants. This has been criticized by Bhatia & Ram (2001) "to suggest that such a process is universal and that all immigrants undergo the same psychological processes in their acculturation journey minimizes the inequities and injustices faced by many non-European immigrants" (p.9). Similarly, the empirical review presented in this chapter highlighted the need to consider other social identities, for instance religious identity, which had been neglected in this body of literature before 9/11, and little recognition has been achieved after this (Güngör et al, 2013).

This neglect might also occur because most of the acculturation research was conducted by white, non-Muslim males from European countries, who seldom discussed the limitations of their own ideologies about diverse ethnic and religious groups which might affect the development of their theoretical work (Gans, 1997).

In sum, despite the various limitations of the acculturation theory, it has been widely used to understand the dynamic and complex living experiences of SGIs, and in return it informs about the their psychosocial adjustment. Indeed, due to the changes in the current political

scenario which affects people and particularly Muslim SGIs in Europe and America, there might be a call to broaden the horizon to understand this specific population.

1.8.1 Summary

In brief, the disciplines of developmental, social, cross-cultural and mental health psychology research studied SGIs with the lens of a minority group not only because of having parents (family or origin) from another cultural background (ethnic group) but also because there is empirical evidence that most of the SGIs also identify with their parents' ethnic background. Past literature focused on SGIs' identity formation during adolescence when they are trying to define themselves and make comparisons between the two cultural worlds in which they are living. For example, a 19-year-old bicultural Indian American said:

> Being "bicultural" makes me feel special and confused. Special because it adds to my identity: I enjoy my Indian culture, I feel that it is rich in tradition, morality, and beauty; confused because [both] cultures have very different views on things like dating and marriage.
>
> (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee & Morris, 2002 p. 496)

Phinney, one of the prominent names who has conducted extensive research on how these SGIs develop their ethnic identities, said: ''increasing numbers of people [migrants] find that the conflicts are not between different groups but between different cultural values, attitudes, and expectations within themselves'' (Phinney, 1999 pp.26-27).

This explained that this process is not easy and straightforward because the cultural values of two distinct nations are different (for details see section 1.6.7). This process might be more complex and challenging for those Muslim SGIs who are born or raised in non-Muslim countries (Ketner, Buitelaar & Bosma, 2004). This is possibly because they are members of two minority groups (religion and ethnic: their heritage and culture), and might have experience of discrimination or a perceived sense of discrimination.

Social psychologists have explained that minority groups use their group membership to deal with discrimination (Branscombe, Schmitt & Harvey, 1999; Major & O'Brien, 2005; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). After 9/11, research suggests negotiation between their cultural identities became more challenging for Muslim SGIs because they were perceived as a threat to society **(**Cainkar, 2004**)**. These individuals were suddenly recognized as grounded in their religion and this political climate invoked a sense of Muslimness in various Muslim SGIs in the West and in America (Hoodfar, Alvi & McDonough, 2003). These sort of political environments which bring stereotypes against them affect their identities (i.e., ethnic, national and religious), and various studies reported that Muslim SGIs represent their hyphenated, hybrid and multiple identities (Sirin & Fine, 2008; Verkuyten et al., 2012). Interestingly, researchers have shown interest in studying the representation of their multiple identities but no interest has been taken in understanding the relative position of multiple identities (Muslim, ethnic and British) with their audiences when they disagree with them.

Apart from this, the past literature also suggested that SGIs face acculturation challenges, not due to the change of land (which is true in the case of their parents who migrated and experienced the challenge of adaptation), rather they experienced involuntarily dominance of a majority group (their own homeland), while also being referred to as a part of a subgroup (ethnic minority) because of their parents' ethnicity (Pope-Davis, Liu, Ledesma-Jones & Nevitt, 2000; Saxton, 2001; Sulieman, 2002). Therefore, the acculturation literature provides extensive evidence of how, being a part of minority group, they use their identities to cope with different situations, choosing which identity or identities provide them with the best psychosocial adjustment.

Acculturation research studied how migrants use different identities to manage their acculturative stress. Interestingly, those acculturation models, which were first developed to study the acculturative strategies of the SGIs' parents, are now widely used to study the

acculturative processes of young SGIs. Therefore, the acculturation literature provides extensive evidence of how, being a part of minority group, they use their identities to cope with different situations, choosing which identity or identities provide them the best psychosocial adjustment. Among various strategies they suggested that integration strategy is the most effective to live in the multicultural countries (for detail See Section 1.6).

A young female Chinese-Canadian said:

> [I'm] Chinese-Canadian… I can speak Chinese…I guess it's like a mix of both cultures, like I watch both Chinese shows and English shows, and then I do Chinese activities, like I celebrate Chinese New Year, but I do a lot of stuff here too like hockey, watch English shows, so yeah it's a mix of the two.
>
> (Kankesan 2010 p. 44)

This extract is an example to understand that literature suggests SGIs who integrate with both cultures (their heritage culture and their host culture) had better psychosocial adjustment. Acculturation research mostly relied on cross-national designs (as mentioned earlier) which compare SGIs from western and East Asian countries in terms of their psychological process of cultural identification, which ultimately affects their psychological well-being as well as their social adjustment. Therefore, by and large the literature addressed the experiences of non-Muslim SGIs, and young Muslim SGIs are under-represented in the acculturation literature. As the diversity of the population continues to rise in the UK, it is important to understand how religious identities play a role in the lives of immigrant populations and of their children, either at the intragroup or intergroup level.

Unsurprisingly, slight scholarly interest in this group has been observed post- 9/11 & 7/7, and few studies discuss how religiousness, in addition to ethnic and national identities, affects SGIs' psychological and social adjustment (See Section 1.6.5). This might be because for those Muslim SGIs who live in the West, their affiliation with this social identity (Muslim)

has increased its visibility, and they have faced many social and political challenges because Muslims have been generally perceived as a threat to peace after 9/11. Due to this anti-Muslim climate it has been observed in the acculturation research that SGIs have become more Muslim and promote their dual or collective identities, for example, Muslim Americans (for detail see Sirin, et al, 2007). However, acculturation views religion and ethnicity as intertwined because during adolescence when ethnic identity is developed, SGIs view religious practices as being associated with ethnicity, therefore most acculturation literature views religion as part of ethnic culture (Phinney & Ong, 2007; Friedman & Saroglou, 2010; Hopkins & Gale, 2009; Güngör, et al, 2013). This reinforces the fact that the acculturation literature studies only mono dimension of identity: culture in term of national and ethnic. Moreover, when researchers addressed their intragroup conflicts (intergenerational conflicts) with the lens of acculturation, they discussed the differences between their cultural values and their parents' cultural values but did not explicitly reflect upon with which group (minority or majority) they identified themselves with at the time of experiencing intergenerational conflicts other than two above mentioned identities (see Section 1.7.1).

1.8.2 Research question

The primary research work which has been done to date on second generation immigrants in psychology has demonstrated their living experiences from three theoretical perspectives: ethnic identity formation theories, social identity approach and acculturation theory. Ethnic identity formation theorists introduced multiple models of ethnic identity development for these adolescents, and also studied the effect of ethnic identity on their mental well-being. Research suggested that when they identified with an ethnic minority group they experienced discrimination and prejudice from the majority group, which ultimately affects their self-concept. This area has been explored from the perspective of the social identity approach.

Social psychologists have mostly studied young adult SGIs, and not only their ethnic but also dual, hyphenated, hybrid identities and multiple identities: national, ethnic and religious. Based on a social identity approach, literature discusses how minority groups used their group membership in order to cope with discrimination and prejudice, and also examines the association between their identities and how this association is affected by the experiences of prejudice and discrimination among SGIs.

On the other hand, acculturation literature suggests SGIs born and brought up within and between two set of cultural values – parents' cultural values and host country cultural values – often found these two sets of cultural values incompatible with each other. Therefore, this literature studies their problem of adaptation within and between two set of cultural values, and discusses how their cultural identities, national and ethnic, are negotiated at the time of experiencing bicultural value conflicts.

The core distinction between these three views is that the social identity approach focuses on multiple identities (e.g., ethnic, national, and religious) and how these multiple identities intersect with each other. However, the other two focus on a single dimension of identity, such as ethnic or culture (i.e, host country culture or heritage culture).

In short, literature studies specific experiences of bicultural individuals with a specific theoretical lens, and tension has been observed between these theoretical perspectives, as social identity approach focus on multiple dimensions of the identity and the other two stressed the mono dimension of the identity. Therefore, this warrants further exploration to understand whether acculturation theory or a social identity perspective can be applied to study the living experiences of young adult SGIs. Therefore, there is a need to study their experiences from their point of view, as this might better inform us about their unique living experiences. This is precisely what this research sets out to do.

CHAPTER II

Methodology

Overview

This chapter discusses the research methodology used and how this guides the data collection, and analysis.

2.1 Research Methodology

I believe there is no point in debating quantitative vs a qualitative approach (see Kerlinger, 1973; Campbell, 1974; Berg, 1989). I found these scholars to be in a no-win position, and agree with all those who support using both (e.g., Weinstein & Tamur, 1978; Reichard & Cook, 1979; Miller & Fredericks, 1991; Howe, 1985, 1988). I also agree with Miles and Huberman (1994), who argue that "the question, then, is not whether the two sorts of data and associated methods can be linked during study design, but whether it should be done, how it will be done, and for what purpose" (p.41.)

I argue that the methodology is usually determined by the research question (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). My research question is exploratory in nature, and aimed to understand how SGIs explain their living experiences in the Britain. Later, to develop an understanding of the phenomenon and for the purposes of verifying the initial findings, hypotheses are generated and tested. Therefore, a multi- method research strategy is used to address the different but closely linked research questions at different stages of this dissertation.

Morese & Niehaus (2009) defined multi-method design: "mixed method design refers to the use of two (or more) research methods in a single study, when one (or more) of the methods is not complete in itself" (p.9). Core research, in this dissertation, follows the grounded theory approach with two supplementary studies. The following section will explain why a grounded theory approach is used for conducting this research.

2.2 Grounded Theory Method

Grounded theory (GT) is inductive in nature (see Strauss & Glaser, 1967). As previously mentioned (see section 2.2), difference has been observed among theoretical perspectives which explained bicultural individuals living experiences, as social identity approach focus on multiple identities and acculturation theory emphasized on the single dimension of the identity.

Instead, my research allows me to develop a theory to understand SGIs' experience from their own perspective, without imposing an existing theoretical framework on the SGIs. This approach is consistent with a grounded theory approach.

Historically, GT was introduced by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in the 1960s. The original work of Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggests that researchers should collect data with a 'blank mind', without reviewing the literature, and let the theory develop from the data, which is characterized as an objective or positivist paradigm.

Interestingly, both researchers followed different approaches. Glaser followed the positivist approach, and Strauss's work was influenced by an integrationist and pragmatic approach. Therefore, later, both split and introduced their separate GT methods (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998, 2008).

Strauss presented his own perspective on grounded theory method with his co-researcher Corbin in 1990. Strauss's work was influenced by Herbert Blumer and Robert Park, and inspired by pragmatism, which is informed by symbolic interactionism: "a theoretical perspective that assumes society, reality, and self are constructed through interaction and thus rely on language and communication. This perspective assumes that interaction is inherently dynamic and interpretive and addresses how people create, enact, and change meanings and actions" (Charamz, 2006, p.9). Strauss and Corbin's (1990, 1998, 2008) grounded theory method followed an ontological assumption: reality is subjective and a result of multiple

factors. Strauss and Corbin (1990) defined the grounded theory approach as “a qualitative research method that uses a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon” (p.24). The researchers suggested that individual data sets can be studied by different researchers from different angles. It all depends on the research question. Hence, from a single datum, different theories can emerge.

However, Glasser (1992) criticized Strauss and Corbin’s approach, stating that it destroys the central objective of grounded theory. He argued that these researchers made it prescriptive. Glasser’s (1992) grounded theory method reveals the epistemological assumptions, logic and systematic approach which reflect his quantitative training at Columbia University with Paul Lazarsfeld. His theory is also known as classic grounded theory. He defined grounded theory as “a general methodology of analysis linked with data collection that uses a systematically applied set of methods to generate an inductive theory about a substantive area” (Glasser, 1992, p.16). His grounded theory method emphasized that research questions should emerge from the data, and later more data should be collected to develop theory. According to him, all researchers should produce the same findings, and from these findings they should draw the same conclusions (Glaser, 1992). It is what he considered objective truth. In short, Glaser emphasized “all is data”.

There is one more constructivist or interpretivist view on grounded theory methodology, introduced by Kathy Charmaz in 1990. Charmaz (2006) argued that “Glaser and Strauss talk about discovering theory as emerging from data separate from the scientific observer. Unlike their position, I assume that neither data nor theories are discovered. Rather, we are part of the world we study and the data we collect. We construct our grounded theories through our past and present involvements and interactions with people, perspectives and research practices” (p.10). She argued for the pragmatic approach of grounded theory but used interpretative analysis to explain reality.

In short, three major grounded theory methods are observed in the literature. All serve the same purpose – to develop theory. Although they introduced different approaches to data collection and analysis, they maintained the essentials of the original grounded theory and adhered to the four fundamental principles of classic grounded theory, which are: 'discovery never verification, explanation never description, emergence never forcing and the matrix operation' (Stern & Porr, 2011).

Like all other qualitative research methods, grounded theory method has its own limitations. There is a risk for novice researchers who may not use it effectively due to lack of practice (Thomas, 2003). Researchers may sometimes have difficulties in thinking abstractly, which may hinder theory development (Glaser, 1978; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This problem may occur because most researchers are trained in qualitative data analysis, which aims at accurate description and not at abstract conceptualizations. It is also difficult for the researcher to start with a 'blank mind', as researchers' minds are usually influenced by the literature (Strauss & Carbin, 1990). However, creativity is encouraged in the use of grounded theory (Glaser, 1978; 1998; Turner, 1981).

Grounded theory has some similarities with other qualitative research methods, for example phenomenology and ethnography. Sources for collecting data may be the same, such as interviews, field observations and autobiographies. Like other qualitative researchers, grounded theory researchers may also combine qualitative and quantitative techniques for collecting data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

However, the grounded theory method is different from other qualitative research methods due to its emphasis on the development of substantive and formal theories. A formal theory emerges from the analytical comparison of phenomena in a variety of situations (see Strauss & Corbin, 1990), and it can be used in many different contexts (Strauss, 1987). Formal theory has a broad social implication. It is applicable to a broad range of problems and across

various situations in different ‘groups and places’ (see Strauss & Corbin, 1998). According to Glaser and Strauss (1965), “in its turn, substantive theory may help in formulating formal theory. This may also contribute to the formulation of new formal theory grounded on careful comparative research… consequently, if one wishes to develop a systematic formal (or general) theory of awareness contexts, he must analyse data from many substantive areas” (p.276).

However, substantive theory is specific to ‘groups and places’. Most researchers start their research by studying a specific phenomenon in a specific group of people and end up formulating a substantive theory for that particular group of people. A researcher may produce a substantive theory on a substantive area on which he/she was conducting research. Substantive theory may provide a brick to develop formal theory (see Glaser & Strauss, 1965, 1967).

In short, grounded theory aims to develop ‘substantive theory’. Substantive theories provide explanations in a specific area. These theories can aid ‘general’ theories or ‘formal’ theories which are more generic in nature. To reach this level, researchers mostly conduct analyses at the abstract level and conceptualize the same idea from different perspectives in various different contexts and groups (see Glaser & Strauss, 1970).

There is no consensus about which grounded theory method should be adopted by the researcher. This all depends on the research question. The issue is not who is right about grounded theory and whether the researcher agrees with Glaser and Strauss (1967), Strauss and Corbin (1990), Glaser (1992) or Charmaz (1990). The issue is “what you will take from them and do with it and how you will argue for, advocate, and defend your own position” (Chesler,1996, cited in Evaes, 2001, p. 662). Most importantly, the only thing required is the language to join in the debate in the context of researchers’ work (Kahn, 1996, cited in Eaves, 2001). Likewise, Glaser (2001) stated “difference in perspectives will just help any one

researcher decide what method to use that suits his/her needs within the research context and its goals for research" (p.2).

This dissertation will be guided by Glaser & Strauss (1967) for data collection, and Strauss and Corbin's (1990, 1998, 2008) interpretation of grounded theory for generating research questions. My research question is informed by previous literature and not by the collected data, which is suggested by the Glaserian approach. Therefore, it is close to the approach of Strauss and Corbin (1990), who argued that researchers cannot start with a 'blank mind' and that their minds are influenced by the previous literature or experience; therefore, the researcher can review the literature before starting research in order to identify a gap in the existing literature.

My dissertation is also influenced by Charamz's (1990) constructionist grounded theory because I see myself as a 'dialectical and active' researcher. However, it is important to mention that Charamz does not agree with the addition of quantitative analyses because she believes in constructing reality and is not convinced of the notion of 'objectivity' which is stressed by Glaser and Strauss collectively and individually (see Charamz, 1990).

The dissertation will follow the following definition of grounded theory:

"a grounded theory is one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore, data collection, analysis, and theory stand in reciprocal relationship with each other. One does not begin with a theory then prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge." (Strauss & Corbin, 1990. p.23)

In other words, a theory is grounded in data which was collected from participants who experienced the phenomenon concerned.

The aim of using grounded theory in this dissertation is to generate substantive theory to add to the previous literature. In this dissertation, substantive theory emerged from the data by constant comparative analysis in the first one- to- one interview study. Interpretation will be focused on in relation to SGIs' bicultural value conflicts and their ways to deal with those conflicts. My dissertation might provide very specific substantial theory, which might be the stepping stone for formal theory that could be generalized across other SGIs. I agree with Strauss & Corbin's (1990) view point: "Researchers working in this tradition also hope that their theories will ultimately be related to others within their respective disciplines in a cumulative fashion and that the theory's implications will have useful application" (p.24).

2.2.1 Data collection in Grounded theory

According to Glaser & Strauss (1967), "Beyond the decisions concerning initial collection of data, further collection cannot be planned in advance of emerging theory" (p.47). In other words, the initial data collection is based upon the research question, and I did not devise any specific plan in advance for data collection because data collection is based upon the emerging theory which was developed through the constant comparison of the collected data. In contrast to other research methodologies where data collection is predetermined, in grounded theory it is flexible. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), "theoretical sampling is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyses his/[her] data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his/[her] theory as it emerges. This process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory" (p.45).

When I started collecting data for this dissertation, my aim was to collect data from SGIs in general; therefore, convenience sampling was used. This was based upon the easy accessibility of the sample, and it is mostly used at the start of a project (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). However, after conducting a few initial one-to-one interviews with SGIs who were

Muslims but whose parents came from different cultural backgrounds, for example Palestine, Pakistan and India, the emerging theory guided me to explore further bicultural value conflicts among Muslim SGIs; therefore, 'theoretical sampling' was carried out, and data collection was narrowed down to focus on this particular population in the UK (see Chapter III).

As for this dissertation data was typically collected through one- to- one interviews, later on two supplementary studies used focused group interviews, and a survey study was also conducted to develop the studied phenomenon of bicultural value conflicts among Muslim SGIs. This triangulation (Denzin, 1970) between qualitative and quantitative data was also used to confirm and validate the findings. Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggested "we believe that each form of data is useful for both verification and generation of theory… in many instances, both forms of data are necessary" (p.17-18).

Initial findings are based on one- to- one interview, which are discussed in Study 1 (see Chapter III). Grounded theory provides a procedure for analysing the unstructured interviews in order to develop a substantive theory which is used in Study 1.

The grounded theory method of analysis is referred to as "the constant comparative method of analysis" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p.101). Through this constant comparison, 'coding' is generated which helps in conceptualizing the data and in formulating the theory (see Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In the Glaserian approach, two types of coding are used: substantive coding and theoretical coding (see Glaser, 1998, 2007, 2011; Holton, 2007; Hernandez & Andrews, 2012; Walker & Myrick, 2006). However, Strauss and Corbin (1990) introduced three types of coding and a more structured process of coding. They code the data through open, axial and selective forms of coding. Axial coding is considered new and different from the Glaserian approach. However, open and axial coding are considered somewhat similar to substantive coding, and selective coding as being similar to theoretical

coding (Hernandez & Andrews, 2012; Walker & Myrick, 2006). Constructivist grounded theory has its own method of coding. It introduced three types of coding: open, focused and theoretical (see Charamz, 2000, 2006). Its open and focused codings are comparable to Glaserian substantive and theoretical codings, and Straussian axial and selective codings. However, its definition of theoretical coding is very different from them, though Charamz used similar terminology (Evans, 2013). According to Holton, "grounded theory is not about the descriptive units, nor is it an act of interpreting meaning as ascribed by the participants in a study; rather, it is an act of conceptual abstraction which directs attention to and isolates a part or aspect of an entity or phenomenon for the purpose of contemplation" (as cited in Bryant & Charmaz, 2007).

In my study, Strauss & Corbin's (1990) guidelines for analysing qualitative data are used to analyse one- to- one unstructured interviews.

2.2.2 Data Analysis in Grounded theory

I used Straussian grounded theory, which suggested three types of coding that can be developed with the help of two analytical ways of coding: 'making of comparisons and asking of questions' (see Strauss & Corbin, 1990). These two ways of coding ultimately help in conceptualizing and categorizing the data. To use this analytical procedure, first I transcribed one- to- one interviews verbatim and all the interviewees were assigned different names to hide their identities. Later, open coding, axial coding and selective coding were used to explain the bicultural value conflicts in Muslim SGIs.

Open coding

Strauss & Corbin (1990) define open coding as "the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data" (p.61). This process helps in generating 'propositions' (hypotheses) and allows the researcher to understand how different concepts might relate to each another, and to group them into categories (see Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

According to Strauss & Corbin (1990, 1998, 2008), there are three different ways to approach open coding: by line, by sentence or paragraph, or by entire document. I used the paragraph approach for open coding. By using this approach, I brought out the major idea in the paragraph of an interview, gave it a name, and then did more detailed analysis of the named concept/theme. After doing open coding, I moved on to the axial coding.

Axial coding

Strauss & Corbin (1990) define axial coding as "a set of procedures whereby data are put back together in new ways after open coding, by making connections between categories. This is done by utilizing a coding paradigm involving conditions, context, action/interactional strategies and consequences" (p.96). In other words, in axial coding, data is arranged "by making connections between a category and its subcategories" (p.97). I carried out axial coding by generating the different categories from the open coding. I also built links and wrote memos, which are "written records of analysis to the formulation of theory" (p.197). Memos were usually created with the help of code notes, theoretical notes and operational notes. Memos reveal the researcher's voice where the researcher allows him/herself to formulate ideas, to play with and explore them, and ultimately to summarize them in order to communicate them (see Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

It is suggested to those researchers who are interested in theme analysis that they should stop at axial coding. However, those who want to develop theory should move on to selective coding. Because I aimed to develop substantive theory, I therefore moved on to selective coding.

Selective Coding

Strauss & Corbin (1990) define selective coding as "the process of selecting the core category, systematically relating it to other categories, validating those relationships, and filling in categories that need further refinement and development". I had done selective

coding by developing a ‘story line’, which is a ‘core category’, around which the central phenomenon revolves. In other words, with the help of selective coding I derived the central theme of my research. I tried to build a classification of the bicultural value conflicts using the lens of my participants’ understanding. I also tried to reveal the ‘story line’ with the help of simple diagram for easy understanding of the phenomenon (see Appendix VIa).

2.3 Supplementary Studies

In order to validate the findings of the first study and for exploring their experiences more in depth two supplementary studies including focus group and survey study was conducted.

2.3.1 Focus group interviews

Researchers can use different methods and analytical approaches to supplement the results of an initial study; these further studies can follow any approach, such as phenomenology, ethnography and grounded theory (see Morse, 2010; Morgan, 1984). The results of the Study 1 left me with specific questions, and to supplement the results focus group, I conducted further interviews. Focus groups have their origin in market research in the 1920s (Basch, 1987; Bogardus, 1926). Later on, Robert Merton used this technique during World War II to study ‘the public reaction to morale film’, and coined the term ‘focus group interviews’. This became popular in social studies in the 1980s (see Morgan, 1988; Krueger, 1988). This method is suggested for ‘grounded theory development’ because it not only helps in exploring what people think and why, but also facilitates the discovery of how they think (Kitzinger, 1994). For this study, I conducted interviews with focus groups with the aim of expanding the theory as well as a mean of triangulation.

I developed a structured interview to conduct six focus groups and then applied thematic analysis to the interviews. I prefer thematic analysis because it is not embedded in pre-existing theoretical frameworks such as phenomenology or grounded theory, and in practice it is used jointly with other theoretical frameworks (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun & Clarke

(2006) introduced six steps for thematic analysis. The first step is to become familiar with the data, which I achieved through transcribing the interviews. Reading the transcriptions helped me in generating the codes, and themes emerged in collating these codes. Later on, I developed clarity in the collation of codes by drawing a thematic map and relating the themes with the storyline of Study 1 (see Appendix IVd) . In the final stage of my analysis, I related the themes to the research question and the literature (see Chapter IV). It is important to mention that I went into the field with specific questions; I will discuss this point further later on (see Chapter IV, Section 4.2.2).

On the basis of the results of the two qualitative studies, hypotheses were generated and tested through two survey studies. These are discussed in detail in Chapters V. The studies were not conducted merely for the purpose of verification; rather, their findings provide in-depth information about the studied phenomenon.

2.3.2 Survey Study

The survey study was conducted with the rationale of developing a better understanding of the bicultural value conflicts among Muslim SGIs, and in order to verify the initial findings. Quantitative analysis is considered ‘a slight beginning for an adequate theory’ in grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967 p.186). Glaser and Strauss (1967) explained that the researcher should make his/her claim clear to the readers and researchers can use quantitative methods in addition to qualitative methods.

Bearing this point in mind, I developed hypotheses on the basis of the two qualitative studies (see Chapter V). I used a survey study because it is an efficient way of collecting a large amount of data in a short time. It is mainly used to collect information from the desired group of people, which will provide some insight into understanding how the entire group thinks (Leeuw, Hox & Dillman, 2008).

I conducted two surveys in the third study and collected data by using one-to-one interviews and the Internet. These two heterogeneous methods were used because at the time of the collecting data for the qualitative study. Even though both methods were used, data collection remained challenging, the researcher faced difficulties with approaching this specific population (these difficulties will be discussed in Chapter V, Section 5.3.2.1 & in Chapter VI, Section 6.5). For the web survey, a Facebook advert was used to attract people, and an advert was also posted on various pages of Muslim groups on Facebook, for example, the Edinburgh Muslim Community Association, Cardiff University ISOC, Inverness Mosque community, Islam UK, and Scotland of Muslims. The advert link was also posted on a few university websites, for example, the University of St Andrews, and the University of Dundee.

It is important to mention that the second survey was conducted because the results of the first survey were not significant and this might be due to specification errors i.e. the questions were not constructed in a way that could elicit the intended concept (Biemer & Lyberg, 2003). Therefore, another survey was planned with an improved questionnaire. The results and limitations of the survey study will be discussed in detail in Chapter V (See section 5.2.3 & 5.4).

In this dissertation, use of triangulation provides objectivity for the claim of the research, but using a qualitative method, especially the grounded theory approach, makes the novice researcher feel trepidation the first time. Though grounded theory provides guidelines for data collection, analysis and interpretation of the data, each research is unique and there is no formula which can be applied to all studies. Therefore, all responsibility rests with the researcher to determine which is the best; I therefore consider that it is important to discuss reflexivity before discussing each study in detail.

2.4 Reflexivity

Reflexivity refers to "the property of referring to oneself" (Edgar & Sedgwick, 2008 p. 289). In qualitative research, the researcher plays a primary role in data collection and analysis; therefore, his/her own assumptions and behaviour may affect the whole process of research; this is why reflexivity becomes essential (Glesne, 1999; Merriam, 1998; Russell & Kelly, 2002; Stake, 1995). The reflexivity and how subjectivity intertwined in the lives of others are issues which philosophers concern themselves with (Denzin, 1989, 1995, 1997; Atkinson, 1992; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Hobbs & May, 1993; Lather, 1991; Quine, 1969; Rorty, 1979). Denzin (1994) points out, '[r]epresentation … is always self-presentation … the Other's presence is directly connected to the writer's self-presence in the text' (p.503). In reflexivity, 'how knowledge is acquired, organized, and interpreted is relevant to what the claims are' (Altheide & Johnson, 1994 p. 486). In other words, it allows the researcher to be aware of how he/she views data and what inhibits him/her from perceiving their data in a particular way (Russell & Kelly, 2002).

Researchers who use qualitative research methods (e.g. interviews, observations) often acknowledge their own experiences and describe their own roles during the course of the research. This shows that researcher accept themselves being as a part of the research. The subjective research approach explains also those social, political, and cultural elements which contribute to the researcher's experience (Giltrow, Burgoyne, Gooding & Sawatsky, 2005 p. 210). According to Robson (2002,) reflexivity is "an awareness of the ways in which the researcher as an individual with a particular social identity and background has an impact on the research process" (p. 22).

2.4.1 Reflexivity in Grounded theory

Reflexivity exists in grounded theory since "theoretical sensitivity emphasizes the reflexive use of self in the processes of developing research questions and doing analysis" (Hall &

Callery, 2001, p. 263). However, reflexivity received explicit attention in grounded theory in 2001 when Hall and Callery presented an explicit proposal to incorporate reflexivity within grounded theory. However, they view reflexivity narrowly, "attending to the effects of researcher-participant interactions on the construction of data" (p. 257). This reason is consistent with the methodological position of symbolic interactionism which lies in the roots of grounded theory. They posited that data is constructed from the process of interaction between the researcher and the participants, and the way in which the researcher carefully monitors the interviews and provides an interpretation of what is occurring in the interview. However, Mruk and Mey (2007) posited reflexivity in all the stages of the research process. Here, I describe how and where specific reflexive observations and considerations from grounded theory were made in this research. I, Mujeeba Ashraf, set out to study how Muslim SGIs explain their everyday life experiences in Britain. My supervisors provided support and guidance during the data analysis, but I was the first person to make contact with the participants' narratives, and to conduct the comparative coding; therefore, I was always the first to come up with new emerging themes. Moreover, I was conducting this research to fulfil the requirement for a doctoral dissertation; therefore, most of the responsibility of taking decisions in reference to theory emergence rested with me. In the following description, the first person (I) refers to the researcher, and the first person (we) is used when the supervisors shared in making specific decisions or thinking.

I organize this description according to the following types of interactions: (i) Researcher influence on methodological decisions, (ii) Interaction with participants during data collection, (iii) Researcher influence on the data analysis, and (iv) Researcher effect on writing.

2.4.1.1 Researcher Influence on Methodological Decisions

According to Lincoln & Guba (1985) "methodological decisions and accompanying rationales" affect the research process (p.327). I would like to report that to some extent, my personal influence affected the research process in two ways: (i) revising the research question and data collection, and (ii) selection of focus groups and survey study**.**

Revising research question & data collection

In the beginning, the research topic was broadly about the experiences of second generation immigrants in Britain, but after conducting a few initial interviews (n=3) with Muslim second generation immigrants, the emerged themes showed 'religion' as a distinct entity; therefore, we narrowed down the focus of the research, particularly, on Muslim second generation immigrants in Britain (for detail see Section 2.2.1).

Selection of conducting focus group study and survey study

After conducting the interview study, the results warranted validation because of their novelty. I selected a focus group study because I wanted to observe whether, when asked in a group setting, the participants would describe religious values as a separate entity. I also wished to observe how they interacted with each other's responses and how the conversation would build. After conducting two qualitative studies, in terms of completion of triangulation, I used a survey study in order to bring more objectivity to the claims of the research (for details see Section 2.3).

2.4.1.2 Researcher – Participants' Interaction Effect on Research

I did not have any previous one-to-one interaction with research participants as I had communicated with them through the telephone and emails. My perceptions about them influenced their way of interacting with me, particularly when they replied to my 'hello' with 'Aslam-o-Alikum' (Muslim way of saying hello). This provided an insight into the fact that they relate to themselves as being Muslim, and perceive me as a Muslim too. Although I

never mentioned my religion to them, my name itself is a Muslim name and show that I am from an Indian-subcontinent. Similarly, their perceptions regarding myself started building up when I contacted them by email or telephone, and they all learned that I am conducting this research for my Ph.D degree. However, most of the participants asked me after the interviews whether I am British or not? This indicated that during interview they were not aware of my national identity but my South Asian features might indicate to them that I belonged to a South Asian region. This shared race/ethnicity/religious identity may have increased their disclosure level. It has been discussed in the literature that the cultural sensitivity of the researcher builds a quality rapport with the participants, and it is rare that a neutral researcher powerfully affects the data collection (Cox, 2004; Egharevba, 2001; Ridley, 2005; Tuhiwai smith, 2005)

For conducting interviews and the focus group, I prepared myself to gather detailed elaborations about their narratives. I was completely aware that it was possible that whatever they reported to would be easy for me to comprehend, even if little detail was given, because I had various shared identities with them. However, I tried to remind myself and keep aware of the fact that I should collect detailed information and probe them appropriately so their voices should be clear and loud, and to avoid imposing bias on the analysis. I was aware that my gender identity might affect the participants' responses (for both males and females); however, I did not find any difference between genders in the reporting of the nature of the conflicts they experienced and the explanations for having those conflicts. I did not find any evidence that women and men responded to the questions differently.

2.4.1.3 Researcher Influence on Data Analysis

I have not previously been part of the European world, nor knew any Muslim second generation immigrant. I have been employed for over eight years in Clinical Psychology in the education and health sector in Pakistan. Therefore, I have ideas about how conflicts

emerge between people, how it affects their mental health, and how they use different strategies to resolve them. I also know that each individual is unique and behaves according to his/her own situational context. However, I am a Muslim who comes from Pakistan, and most of the research participants' parents came from Pakistan and their parents are Muslim. Therefore, I potentially shared Muslim and ethnic identity with their parents and Muslim Identity with the participants that would assist in the analytical process because these shared identity or identities may increase my sensitivity to the data. I acknowledged and was cognisant of the fact that my own identities may create a barrier to objective and inductive data analysis. Strauss and Corbin (1998) explained that objectivity is important in order to arrive at an unbiased and accurate interpretation. Sensitivity allows the researcher to "perceive the subtle nuances and meanings in data" (Strauss & Corbin 1998 p. 42). Therefore, I feel it is my responsibility to be reflexive about whatever the participants discussed with me. To bring together all the discussed conflicts allowed me to identify the connections between the explanations that emerged in the data in the context of bi-cultural value conflicts. In order to ensure objectivity, I remained open and willing to give voice to the participants. In order to achieve this I constantly compared the emerging themes in one interview with other interviews.

As I mentioned before, being a clinical psychologist I expected that I would obtain some information about the participants' mental health; however, in contrary to my expectations they talked about different identities. In order to enhance objectivity, effort has been made to compare the emerging themes with those participants whose parents were not from Pakistan. However, Strauss and Corbin (1998) proposed that it is impossible for researchers to disassociate themselves from who they are, and what they know, or from the experiences that they have had. In this regard I considered my Muslim and Pakistani identity, which may assist in the development of the concepts that emerged from the data rather than creating a

hindrance. According to Strauss & Corbin (1998) it is acceptable to use your own experiences when developing meaning from the data, provided that this does not result in forced explanations of the data.

2.4.1.4 Researcher Effect on Writing

It has been suggested that researcher writing can be influenced by the expected audience of the research (Mruck & Mey, 2007). We were aware that this was a doctorate degree in social psychology; therefore, we were explaining the emerged themes with the lens of a social psychologist. However, we constantly compared the emerging themes with the already existing theories in the discipline of cultural psychology (e.g., acculturation theory) and in social psychology (e.g., social identity theory) in order to conceptualize the research claims. We chose the social identity theory to explain the emerging themes as we considered the acculturation theory to be inappropriate because of its narrow scope which would allow the researcher to discuss only single dimension of identity and not multiple dimensions of identity (for detail see Chapter III Section 3.4).

Throughout the project I tried to be as reflexive as I could, but even then I realise that many things played an important role in shaping this research; some may as yet be undiscovered, but I am hoping that they will become apparent later on in my academic professional life.

The next chapter will discuss in detail the first study, based on one-to-one interviews.

Chapter III

Study 1: Living Experiences of Muslim SGIs in Britain

3.1 Introduction

This study is interested in young adult SGI's living experiences in Britain. Given that they are considered as bicultural individuals and their conflicts have been previously studied largely from the specific theoretical perspectives, I am less concerned to study their struggle to live in Britain with any particular theoretical lens. Therefore, the objective of this study is to understand when young adult SGIs in the UK experience conflicts between parental vs UK cultural values, in general, and how they resolve (or attempted to resolve) those conflicts. To answer these questions I conducted an exploratory study following a qualitative approach.

3.2 Methodology

3.2.1 Data collection

The data collection was done using [9]'theoretical sampling' (see Chapter II, Section 2.2.1). After conducting two initial interviews with Muslim SGI women and one with a Muslim SGI man, the constant comparison of data emerge some interesting themes which shifted the focus of the study from all SGIs to only Muslim SGIs. Data collection was stopped after, fifteen interviews (eight women and seven men) as saturation of themes was observed. In order to attract participants, advertisements were placed in several Muslim social work organizations in Dundee including: AMINA, the Muslim Women Resource Centre, the Dundee Community Centre, the Yousuf Youth Initiative, and the Dundee Central Mosque. However, only AMINA and the Dundee Community Centre showed their willingness to help with data collection. An advertisement was also displayed in the universities at St Andrews and Dundee, Scotland. Before data collection, each participant was provided with a brief

[9] According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), "theoretical sampling is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyses his/[her] data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his/[her] theory as it emerges. This process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory" (p.45).

description of the nature and purpose of the study. They were told that this was an exploratory study investigating the conflicts experienced by second-generation immigrants in the UK between the values and norms of their family's culture and their host culture, in general. They were informed that this was the first step in the broader research project of my PhD and that the aim was to understand their living experience in the UK from their perspective. Each participant was also informed that her/his identity and information would remain confidential (pseudo names will be used in this dissertation for referring the participants accounts) and written informed consent was taken from each participant. Participants completed a demographic questionnaire including gender, age and the country from where their parents migrated (see Appendix IIIa). Eight young adult women and seven young adult men were interviewed, all of whom were born in the UK. The mean age of the women was 25 (range: 20 to 31) and of the men 30 (range: 20 to 41). While their parents' countries of origin varied, the majority of the parents came from Pakistan (7), and the remaining from Bangladesh (2), Algeria (1), India (1), Iraq (1), Malawi (1), Palestine (1) and Syria (1). All participants belonged to Muslim families, and both the mother and father of all bar two individual participants had migrated from the same country. On open-ended questions regarding their religion and the role of religion in their life, all except one mentioned Islam as their religion; fourteen reported that religion played an important role in their lives; one woman reported that religion played no role at all in her life.

3.2.2 Interviews

Open-ended interviews were conducted with all participants. My interest was to explore generally when they felt conflict between their heritage and UK cultural values, and how they resolved (or attempted to resolve) those conflicts. To obtain answers to this question I used an unstructured interview protocol. The following are examples of commonly asked questions: "I would like you to share with me a time when you felt in conflict about whether to act in

accordance with your parent's cultural values or UK cultural values"; "Think back and go over the day, and see what happened actually on that particular day"; "How is it against your values?" In addition, about resolving conflicts the following probes were offered: "How did you take that decision?"; "Who made you decide this?"; "How do you feel about your decision?" (For the detailed interview protocol, see Appendix IIIb.)

If interviewees gave only a very brief description of a conflict, to get more elaborate descriptions or a comprehensive narrative of the conflict, interviews were completed through probes such as "How did you feel at that time? Can you explain it a little more?" One participant was invited to a brief second interview to gather further details regarding her relationships with her parents. All the interviews were audio recorded and varied in length between 27 and 55 minutes.

Interviewer

The interviewer [researcher herself] is Muslim and an international student (originally from Pakistan) in Scotland, UK. She had not communicated explicitly her religious and ethnic group affiliation to the participants. She did not have any visible signs of Muslim identification (e.g., wearing Hijab) at the time of conducting the interview study, and without this symbolic identification it might be difficult to guess that she was Muslim. However, there was a possibility that the participants guessed her religion and ethnicity as her name is a Muslim name, and other Muslims may easily work out that it is a name from the region of the Indian- subcontinent. Therefore, the chances that participants had some idea about these two identities may affect their accounts. In addition, the analysis which is presented here may be affected by the researcher's Muslim and ethnic identification.

3.2.3 Data analysis

In Chapter II, I mentioned that analysis would be guided by Strauss and Corbins' (1990) grounded theory. Therefore, the focus was maintained on 'constant comparison' of the

categories throughout the data analysis, following the three steps of grounded theory (Chapter II, Section 2.2.2). Data was explored with the help of open coding (see Appendix IIIc), then links between different categories were developed using axial coding (See Table 3.2) and finally, the central theme was derived using selective coding (see AppendixVIa).

Table 3.2 *Axial coding for Interview study*[10]

Conflict with peers	f	Conflict with parents	f
Wearing a scarf	2	School parties	4
Drinking	6	Playing outside the home	1
Facing racism	2	Independence	2
Finding a job	1	Overnight trips	3
Food	1	Looking after parents	1
Gambling, smoking and drugs	2	Having a relationship with someone of the opposite gender	4
		Not being allowed to enter higher education	2
		Hierarchical culture (different way of communication)	1
		Out-culture and out-religion marriage	4
		In-culture marriage	4
		Gender discrimination	3
		Forced marriages	3
		Sexual relationship before marriage	3
		Arranged marriage	1
		Eating bacon	1
		Attending Mosque	1

[10] After open coding, connections were created between categories and two main categories emerged from the data: (i) conflict with peers and (ii) intergenerational conflicts. At the stage of axial coding, memo writing was also involved on the basis of which the results section will be written. This explicitly showed how participants explained their bicultural value conflicts, which helped in developing the story line in the later stages of the research.

3.3 Results

Interviewees explained their experience of conflict in two situations: conflicts with peers (Section 3.3.1) and intergenerational conflicts (Section 3.3.2). However, their experiences are far more complex and different than the previous literature suggests. Therefore, I will explain below how they described their experiences of bicultural value conflicts which will help to formulate a systematic substantive theory in the later stage of the dissertation (Chapter VI).

3.3.1 Conflicts with peers

While living in a society, we all experience conflicts with our friends, colleagues and the wider society in general. We may come into conflict with them due to many reasons, including our different preferences and viewpoints. Here, I will discuss how Muslim SGIs describe these conflicts. In popular conceptions as well as some research (see Chapter I, Section 1.7.4.2), bicultural conflicts over dating, drinking and clothing are presented as cultural differences. For example, SGIs try to navigate the dress codes of British versus their families' cultures, often then disagreeing with their parents on what they should wear. But in this study, interviewees described dress, for instance wearing a headscarf, also as a religious practice. For example, Rukiya [female, 20 years old] recounted in her interview that she decided to wear a headscarf because of her feelings of religious obligation. She said: "I don't know, I just have the feeling it's what God's asked us to do, so I should be doing it at some stage in my life, and I'm ready at this stage, so why not?" [*Extract 1*] She also expressed that her decision to wear a headscarf was in fact not supported by her father: "My dad does not want me to wear a scarf. I mean without a scarf I could look British." [*Extract 2*]

This suggests that she did not perceive it as a part of her parents' cultural norm, but rather she felt that being a Muslim she should wear the hijab. This is consistent with Browns' (2006) interpretation of the religious significance of dress. According to him, Muslim SGIs who wear a headscarf view it primarily as a religious act and a symbol identifying themselves as

Muslim women. For instance, interviewees described wearing a headscarf as a religious practice which put them in odds with their non-Muslim British peers. For example, Rukiya reported: "I came up with a lot of conflict with some people [peers] not being able to understand exactly why it was that I decided to wear a scarf". She continued*:*

> I went through a patch of bullying, which was sort of silent bullying, [when] we used to do things like sewing in school. I was nearly finished making the top and somebody decided to rip it up, and just cut it all the way through with scissors. It was just one of the things that happened to me as a result of that change [wearing a headscarf], and I used to get prank phone calls which were quite nasty and the same people said things that weren't even racist – but they were just nasty, to get me to leave the class. I had my mobile stolen. They threw my mobile somewhere and stole my sim card.
>
> [*Extract 3*]

She also told that when she started wearing a scarf, people were scared of the 'hijab' because of Islmaophobia. She narrated, "It was about 2009. I think at the time there was so much 'Islam-phobia' and people were scared of people going round with scarfs".

Rukyia's experience suggested that her non-Muslim British peers perceived her 'hijab' as dis-identification from them and an Islamist threat. Indeed, previous literature on young Muslim Americans show that non-Muslims perceived 'hijab' as a significant Islamic threat, and national dis-identification (Haddad, 2007; Williams & Khiabany, 2010).

Another Interviewee, Faiza [Female, 21 years old] shared that she received an invitation to attend a party given by her white friend [non-Muslim]. She decided not to attend the party because she considered it against her religion. Faiza stated, "She [her friend] was white and she asked me to her party where there was boys and alcohol. I said no, I kept saying no to her, I told her that it's against my religion and she felt upset." [*Extract 4*]

Similarly, Rehan [Male, 33 years old] said:

> All my friends were white [non-Muslim] so they would all be going out late at night, drinking or clubbing, and because I am a Muslim I'm not allowed to do that so there was a big conflict because if you don't go out with your friends, they outcast you. They never accept you in their circle unless you become like them.
>
> [*Extract 5*]

Precisely, interviewees reported that drinking alcohol is against Islamic norms, and when they refused to attend those parties, their friends either got upset with them or did not perceive them as being one among them. A participant also reported that he experienced conflict with his peers when they asked him to come along with them at non-halal venue for eating. For example, Tariq said [male; 35 years old]:

I can recall in university when some people [non-Muslim peers] have a culture of drinking and having friendship with opposite gender. There was occasion when the class had decided that they wanted to have meal, and they choose the venue you know where there's alcohol the place is not halal and I didn't really want to go there.

[*Extract 6*]

Previous research suggested that Muslims, in particular those living in European countries and America, are living in a multicultural country where the majority are followers of Christianity, and as a consequence they face a certain conflict in adhering to various social practices (e.g., drinking and clubbing) which are against Muslim practices (see e.g., Fleischmann, 2011; Ysseldyk, Matheson & Anisman, 2010).

Participants also reported that they heard from their friends and Muslim people around them about their experiences of racism. For example, Samina [female, 24 years old] told:

> A conflict that sticks out in my mind was, when I was young I remember a lot of racism. I've heard of stories, especially after 9/ 11, about people's Hijabs being pulled off. Nothing like that happened to me, I mean I don't wear the Hijab but I think it was just comments that were said and it would make you feel a bit scared.

[*Extract 7*]

Likewise, Iqra [female,23 years old] reported that she heard a lot of stories from her friends who applied for jobs and appeared with head scarves for interviews and felt that their chances of getting the job were affected due to this religious practice. She said:

Quite recently my friend had been applying to lots of jobs and she felt her headscarf affected some of them. And I've heard in the past like lots of girls that wear their head scarf they'd be asked, 'Are you going to wear that to work?' I know that's more religion than culture but I think like you do feel they see me as different, but I am British if you know what I mean.

[*Extract 8*]

The above two reports indicated that these two interviewees did not face discrimination themselves after 9/11 because they did not symbolically (e.g. by wearing the Hijab) identify themselves with Muslims. However, they reported experiences of their friends and other Muslim SGIs who experienced discrimination due to their religion, because people perceived them as Muslim and not as British.

Here I wanted to explore *how they dealt* with these conflicts. In Rukiya's case, she relied on Islam as a source of psychological strength. She used religious rituals to deal with the situation when her peers at school started ostracising her because of wearing a headscarf. She said, "I just made sure that I was keeping on top of my prayers and doing extra prayers and reading the Quran. I was trying to calm down." *[Extract 9*] In Fazia's case, she explained to her friends that, being Muslim, she could not drink and they understood her situation. She said: "I told my friends about my religion and they understood my position and did not ask me anymore to go out to parties." [*Extract 10*] In Tariq's case, he mentioned that he explained to them [non-Muslim peers] that being Muslim he could not attend lunch at a non-halal venue and his non-Muslim friends chose a halal venue. He said, "I made it clear to them that I don't want an alcohol venue [being a Muslim], so they choose a place, where food was halal". [*Extract 11*] In Samina's case, she said that she is British and had a right to live here and her sense of being British helped her to overcome the frightening feelings which emerged in her when someone talked about their experience of racism. She said, "I think I have the right to live here as well, I was born in this country. It's not everybody who thinks like that, there are only a certain few people who gave comments. I just almost grew this thinking, and now I don't feel scared". [*Extract 12]*

These accounts revealed most of the participants used their religious and British identity to deal with these conflicts. Besides these conflicts, participants also described that they relate with their non-Muslim peers and carry out various activities such as smoking and gambling

during school days. For example, Rahmat explained that when their (Muslim SGIs') parents came from Asia and their children started to go to school in the UK, their children get exposed to smoking (drugs) and gambling, and some of them start to practice these activities because they see some of their non-Muslim peers doing the same. Rahmat said:

> Gambling problem I'm lucky – I've never gambled because once you get addicted to that it's terrible. A lot of people smoke Marijuana and are addicted to it. It's not their fault 'cos it's the environment. It's the company and the school, and all Scottish people do. They're thinking that smoking Marijuana is ok. When Asians [Muslim SGIS' parents] come and we [Muslim SGIs] go to school and start hanging out with the goraya[11] [white non-Muslim peers], we get into it, and start smoking.
>
> [*Extract* 13]

Similarly, another participant [Naseem, female, 28 years old] reported that she considered herself as British and had the opinion that she should be allowed to do all those activities which her non-Muslim British peers do. Naseem said:

> Because I was born in the United Kingdom, I always considered myself from childhood to the late teenage years to be a UK citizen, and to believe that I was able to do all the things that other United Kingdom citizens [non-Muslim British peers] were doing.
>
> [*Extract 14*]

In summary, the above-mentioned examples show that the SGIs and their peers both had British identity but practiced different religions; therefore, the interviewees, Muslim SGIs, explained their conflict with their peers [non-Muslim] as being due to their different religious identity, although few interviewees expressed explicitly that when they practiced their religion their peers did not perceive them as an 'in group' member: British. The narratives also explained that their Muslim identity helped them to deal with the situation either in a passive way (by reading the Quran) or in an active way by explaining to their friends the religious reasons for not being able to drink alcohol. Moreover, their British identity played an important role in overcoming those negative feelings (i.e. fear) which they experienced

[11] Goraya is an Urdu word which usually Pakistani people used to refer to white English people.

when their friends told them about their experiences of racism on account of being Muslim. I shall leave this point for now and will discuss it further in Section 3.4.

3.3.2 Intergenerational conflicts

Over the past decades, research on SGIs has focused on cross-generational conflicts and given more importance to the relationship of a young child with its parents; however, fewer studies are found which address the conflict between adult children and their parents (see Chapter I, Section 1.7.4.2). It is generally understood that all children experience conflicts with their parents for multiple reasons, for example, communication problems, different norms and value sets, different choices in life, and so on.

In the context of SGIs' intergenerational conflicts, most adolescent-parent conflicts studied in the literature arose from being brought up in two different cultural contexts, and as a consequence the adolescents experienced conflict between their cultural identities (national and ethnic identities) (see Chapter I Section 1.7.3.2 &1.7.4.2). Here, I will explain how the adult interviewees in the study, Muslim SGIs, explained and dealt with their intergenerational conflicts.

Consistent with the literature, most of the interviewees came into conflict with their parents because of differences between their national and ethnic identities, due to being born or raised within two distinct sets of cultural values (Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, & Arnalde, 1978; Sluzki 1979; Ying, 1999; Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002b). Describing this cultural difference, Nazir, one of the interviewees, said, "Asian families have a culture and traditions that are separate to what the vast majority of people locally in this country [UK] have." [*Extract 15*]. Similarly, Adnan [Male; 33 years old] said, "Our parents were born in Pakistan, their mentality, their upbringing is completely different from our upbringing in Scotland; our mentality is different compared to Pakistani mentality" [*Extract 16*]. He further elaborated, "Mum and dad come from Pakistan and they're strict. The way they've been brought up is

completely different and they expect that to carry on." [*Extract 17*] Likewise, Arman [male, 26 years old] said that he felt the cultural difference in ways of communicating with friends and parents. He said that he could not talk to his parents in the same way as he talked to his friends, because Muslim SGIs'parents' culture has different ways of communicating with different people. He said, "Their [parents'] culture is different. In their culture, you can't talk to your parents the way you talk to friends. You know, you have to speak to your parents in a certain way, and speak to your friends in a different way". [*Extract 18*]

Another participant revealed that according to their parents' culture they obey them and look after them throughout their life. Waqas [male, 28 years old] said, "I listened to my parents it's a culture [parents' back home culture]. We look after them all of our lives. That's another big culture difference". [*Extract 19*] He reported that he was worried that his children would not take care of him when he was old because with time, Muslim SGIs turned more Scottish, and their ties with their parents' culture became faded. He continued:

> I'm scared for myself, forgetting about any of my parents cultural values, we are turning Western, and we're basically going to be Scottish. What is mainly scaring me in this culture, in this day and age, is where I will be in twenty years? Am I going to be living with my daughter or my son? Are they going to look after me or am I going to be left living in a home?
>
> [*Extract 20*]

These accounts revealed that they observed differences between the two cultures and viewed their parents as Pakistani and themselves as British or Scottish. However, this does not indicate that they faced conflicts because of this identity difference. This led me to explore whether this identity difference explained their conflict with their parents or not, and the interviewees reported that this identity difference was indeed at the origin of conflicts with their parents. Arman [Male, 26 year old], for example, faced a conflict with his parents whenever he expressed his opinion in front of them. He said that being British he had learned to develop opinions, but his parents did not respect this because they are Bengali, and in the Bengali culture children are supposed to obey their parents. Arman narrated:

> I think it's [having one's own opinion] related to western culture, so for me being born and brought up here, [having my own] opinion is related to independence. Their [SGIs' parents] values just follow their parents; they don't respect the independence of the person. They don't recognise that the independence is even there. The way they do it in their culture, it's like slavery.
>
> *[Extract 21]*

Various interviewees reported that their parents did not like their children to attend after-school parties, which is a norm in UK culture, but encouraged them to go to Mosque. Therefore, the children felt left out in school and excluded from their peers' activities. Nazir [Male; 28 years old] reported:

> The kids after school used to hang around together, they used to go to parties or to each other's houses or to the cinema. And I can remember we didn't have that same kind of opportunity. We weren't allowed to, we had to go to Mosque. So you've got conflicts there of not being able to spend time with your own friends.
>
> *[Extract 22]*

Similarly, Samina said:

> When I was going to school, simple things that were the norm for everybody else weren't for me, after-school parties or activities, or extra-curricular activities. I think it was because of my parents I'd have to go to Madrassa and that was a bit, as a child it was difficult because you wanted to be with your friends, you know, what they were up to whether it was activities such as sports activities.
>
> *[Extract 23]*

She also shared that she wanted to go on an overnight trip with her friends, but her parents did not allow her to go on these trips because this was not an acceptable activity in their culture. She told:

> They [parents] were a bit hesitating to send me away. I always wanted to travel and I always wanted to do sight-seeing and to do that with preferably my friends. But then they[parents] always said that I was too young. I was in my teens, I felt that was such a big conflict with my parents' cultural side rather than this country [Britain].
>
> [*Extract 24*]

Another participant, Naseem, explained that when she was young she wanted to play outside, wanted to go out with her friends, and wanted to eat bacon, being British; however her mother, having Pakistani cultural values, did not allow her. She also reported that she always

felt that her social life in her teenage years was different from her other British friends. She reported:

> My mother would say to me, 'oh you're not allowed to go out to play because in our culture girls don't go out to play'. So at that time I used to be confused because I think, 'why is it, that other people can go out and do that and I can't?' because as far as I was concerned, I was a UK citizen just like the rest were. As a teenager it was the same situation, social life again was different to my friends'[British peers]. They were going out, they would go to the clubs, they would drink, they would smoke and what I couldn't understand is, I'm a UK citizen, why was I not allowed to do that? Why I was not allowed to eat bacon?
>
> [*Extract 25*]

Another male participant, Arman, reported that his father forced him to go to the mosque regularly. He said that it is their [parents'] culture that they did not give any freedom to their children to make their own choices and just forced them to do whatever they [the parents] wanted. He told:

> He [father] forced me, he used to force me to go to the mosque. Like instead of saying 'ok, we'll go to the mosque on Monday or Tuesday', or whatever, he would just come into my room and say 'we're going to the mosque' and just take me there without asking whether I should do it or not or explaining to me why we were doing it or whatever. It didn't seem like a spiritual experience. It's like a punishment to go there. So I had no choice. Their [parents'] cultural values just follow their parents'.
>
> [*Extract 26*]

Past literature also finds that SGIs face conflicts dealing with restrictions on social activities due to the different cultural background of their parents (Dwairy, Achoui, Abouserie & Farah, 2006). In the Asian culture, parents are usually more controlling of the activities of their offspring (Dugsin, 2001). However, in Western culture parents give liberty to their children to make choices, for example about participation in social activities (Shaw, 1988). Similarly, interviewees were of the opinion that their parents did not approve of their relationships with individuals of the opposite gender, a norm in UK culture. For example, Kalsoom [Female; 26 years old] said, "I thought if it [having a boyfriend] was that important, they [her parents] shouldn't have brought me up in this country because it is normal in this country." [*Extract 27*] Likewise, Arman said, "I don't have a girlfriend just now but that's

what I'm aiming for, but I don't want my parents to know about that. I can't explain that to my parents because they're not going to understand." [*Extract 28*] Another interviewee, Farina [Female; 23 years old], also mentioned this conflict, "When I liked this guy [her boyfriend] she [her sister] found out and dealt with it in a very good way, but if my parents found out, I think it would be completely different." [*Extract 29*] Similarly, Adnan elaborated, "We're scared of having girlfriends. I did go out with [someone], I wouldn't tell my mum." [*Extract 30*]

In terms of sexual relationships before marriage, Shahzad [male, 20 years old] told that he had a relationship with a girl and his father assumed that he was having a sexual relationship with her without marriage, and his father did not accept it culturally and religiously. However, Shahzad was of the opinion that his father should understand that being British he has the right to spend his life according to his own choices. He said:

> I entered into a relationship with somebody [a girl] and my father would just immediately assume that it was a sexual relationship and sex before marriage obviously is not encouraged in his culture and Islam so therefore he would come down very hard on that. I think parents need to understand our culture [British] and I think this is the biggest conflict at the moment.
>
> [*Extract 31*]

These accounts endorse previous arguments in the literature: the interviewees have conflicts about dating, and hide dating from their parents (Bhopal, 2011; Das & Kemp, 1997; Garrett, 1996; Dugsin, 2001).

A female participant reported that she wanted to purse education but her family (including immediate and extending) was not giving her permission to attend university, because according to their Indian culture girls should get married at a young age. She narrated:

> When I turned 17, they said to me, "You know, it's time for you to get married". And I said I was more interested in studying because that's what I really wanted to do, and my dad was very traditional [he followed his Indian culture] and said that I should get married, and at that time, the whole family, even my extended family, they all said, "She shouldn't be studying, she should just get married".
>
> [*Extract 32*]

This revealed that her parents' and other family members wanted her to get married at the tender age of 17 in order to follow their customs and tradition while she wanted to get further education.

Similarly, interviewees also mentioned that the practice of arranged marriage was a topic generating intergenerational conflicts. For example, Adnan [Male; 33 years old] mentioned that he faced this conflict in his adolescence when his parents arranged a marriage for him. This prompted me to explore why he did not want to be in an arranged marriage, and whether he expressed this disagreement to his parents. I found that he showed obedience to his parents. He said: 'I went ahead with it [the arranged marriage]. I listened to my parents. I did not say 'no' to them'. [*Extract 33*] Later on, he said that his marriage had failed and he realized that he should not have followed his parents and should decide for himself about marriage, as most British do. He continued, "Everybody [British] gets married to who they want. My marriage failed. If I'd never listened to my parents and if I'd gone my own way and got my own girl, whom I wanted to get married to, it could have been beneficial for me". [*Extract 34*]

This revealed that his failed marriage made him realise that he should not follow his parents' cultural values and should marry the person he wanted to marry, as most other British people do.

These statements posited that the participants identify themselves as British and reflect on the cultural differences between themselves and their immigrant parents, in a specific context.

In reference to these conflicts I asked the participants *how they dealt with* these conflicts.

A participant reported that they never discussed their conflicts with their parents as a child and learnt from their surroundings. For example, Nazir reported:

> I never discussed with my parents as a child, 'Why do I have to go to mosque? Why it is it that I can't go to my friend's house for a party? Why is it that I can't go to some discos? Why is it that I can't have a girlfriend?' I was just in an environment where I

> picked things up from other people, the same as through the environment of my family.
>
> [*Extract 35*]

A few of them reported that they lied to their parents or hid their activities from them. For example, Naheed said:

> I was not allowed to go to parties but I just sneaked out and went. Or I would tell my dad I was at my friend's house but I would be somewhere else, or I wore a cardigan for my dad and then when my dad was gone I just took it off.
>
> [*Extract 36*]

Similarly, Arman said:

> They don't want me drinking or partying or whatever so I just go out, maybe once or twice a week. I don't give them any information. I just have to sneak out the house. I don't tell them, and don't mention anything about what I do in the evening.
>
> [*Extract 37*]

Interestingly, an interviewee, Kalsoom, used religious beliefs to deal with the conflicts. Kalsoom, reported that she dated a boy for six years, who was half Pakistani and half white, and wanted to marry him but her parents did not agree with the proposal, and wanted her to be in an arranged marriage. And at that time she felt that it was her religious obligation to obey her parents. Kalsoom reported: "So mum and dad just weren't accepting that guy, and I listened to what my mum and dad said, because in Islam, you're just supposed to listen and obey them. So I accepted what they said." [*Extract 38*]

In short, interviewees' did not identify with their parents' cultural background; instead they identified with British culture in which they were living. They perceived their parents as Pakistani or Palestinian (culturally/ethnically) which contradicts the interviewees' British identity (cultural/national). Hence, due to this cultural identity difference with their parents they experienced conflicts with them. This result is consistent with prior literature (Sung, 1985; Inman, Constantine & Ladany, 1999; Inman, 2006; Varghese & Jenkins, 2009). Similarly, SGIs' attempts to deal with conflicts are in line with the previous literature, which reported that SGIs mostly use problem focused coping, for example acceptance, planning,

and religious beliefs (Lee & Liu, 2001; Ahn, Kim, & Park, 2009; Kuo, Roysircar, & Newby-Clark, 2006).

In-depth analysis of the interviews revealed that the explanation of SGIs' living experinces are more complex than the literature suggests. I found that Muslim interviewees discussed how their parents practise certain cultural practices in the name of Islam. For example, Ahmed said: "I don't feel my parents' culture is totally compatible with my religion. Second generation Muslims are saying that Pakistani culture or Indian culture is not Islamic." [*Extract 39*]

These participants stated that same culture marriage, gender inequality and forced marriages have no basis in Islam, and they referred to these as being their parents' cultural practice, not their own. One interviewee, Kalsoom, discussed how her parents, who were from India, wanted her to get married to a Muslim who was also Indian. She, on the other hand, wanted to marry a Muslim man who had a different ethnicity. Kalsoom reported:

> In April I met Abdullaha but he was Pakistani. In December, [I told my family] 'I've found somebody, he is a Muslim, and I want to get married to him'. They said you won't get married to him because he is Pakistani, and I said, it doesn't matter, at the end of the day he is still a Muslim. They basically said, no, you're not doing that. [*Extract 40*]

This reveals that, in Kalsoom's opinion, being Muslim, her religion gives her freedom to marry a Muslim man from a different ethnicity, but her parents did not support her decision. This conflict was experienced not only by female interviewees. A male participant Arman said that his mother also wanted him to marry a Muslim woman from her own culture [Bengali]. He stated, "She [his mother] doesn't want me to end up getting married to somebody who's not from our culture. They want me to marry somebody, a Bengali Muslim, who has the same kind of values as they do." [*Extract 41*]

In both of the above-mentioned instances, the interviewees revealed that their parents wanted them to marry within their parents' culture. However, another interviewee, Naheed, displayed

this conflict in terms of gender difference. She argued that her parents had different standards when dealing with their sons and their daughters. They gave their sons permission to do various things, but not their daughters. Naheed narrated:

> What annoys me is the difference between boys and girls. My brother married a Scottish non-Muslim girl. I would never have been able to do that even if he converted. If that was me, I would be on lock-down. I'd probably be shipped off to Palestine. The difference between boys and girls [in reference to marriage] is so unfair, it's nowhere in the religion and that's a big cultural problem.
> [*Extract 42*]

In these instances, interviewees created a distinction between their parents' culture and their religion, and, from their perspective, marrying outside their parents' culture is not prohibited in Islam. For example, Naheed explained that it is stated in Iyat (the Quranic verses) and in Hadith (the recorded sayings of Prophet Mohammad [PBUH][12]), that men are permitted to marry women "of the Book" (i.e., Muslim, Christian and Jewish). However, a Muslim woman may marry a non-Muslim man only if he converts to Islam. She continued:

> Boys can marry women that are Christians and Catholics. Obviously in Islam, it says that a woman has to marry a Muslim man but [he] can be a convert. Boys, they can marry a Christian or a Jewish [woman], so they can marry women of the book.
> [*Extract 43*]

This revealed, according to her, that there are some restrictions for both men and women for getting married outside their religion, but she found it unfair that, according to her parents cultural practices, parents permit their son to marry a non-Muslim woman but they do not permit their daughters to marry a non-Muslim, even if he converts, which is permissible in Islam, and she viewed it as a cultural conflict with her parents.

Similarly, a male interviewee, Shahzad [Male; 20 years old], reflected on cross-religion marriage in the following way: "My father wouldn't want me to marry somebody of a Jewish background. I think that was purely the culture thing with my father because of that war going in the Gaza between Israel and Palestine." [*Extract 44*]

[12] Peace be upon him. It is a Muslim way to send blessing to their Prophet Muhammad.

Therefore, both interviewees explained that their parents did not allow them to marry a man/woman outside their religion, not because it is not permissible in Islam, but because of their own cultural reasons.

Likewise, in Kalsoom's case, when her parents did not allow her to marry a Pakistani man (See Extract 40) , she discussed the situation with her friends to find out whether it is prohibited in Islam or not. She stated, "My friends said to me, 'It doesn't say anywhere in Islam that you can't marry out of your culture as long as he is a Muslim; you can still marry him'." [*Extract 45*] This indicated that interviewees view marrying within their culture to be a part of their parents' cultural values rather than their religion.

Besides these conflicts, two interviewees, Kalsoom and Naseem [Female; 28 years old], reported that their parents tried to force them (and in Naseem's case, succeeded) to marry a man they did not want to marry. Both of their parents took them back to their respective home countries, ostensibly to "go on holiday", and they only found out when they arrived that the "holiday" was a ruse to get them married. Naseem reported that in Pakistan:

> My auntie wanted either me or my sister to get married into one brother's house and the other into another brother's house. It was a state of confusion, shock, betrayal and everything, because this was a holiday, it wasn't a trip to go and get married. [My auntie said] you are going to get married before you leave, and if you don't do it, you will be staying here forever.
>
> [*Extract 46*]

Their parents forced an arranged marriage on their daughters; however, interviewees find that forced marriage is in contradiction with Islamic practices, as Kalsoom narrates:

> I have a lot of friends that are a lot into the religion and they gave me a lot of quotes from the Quran and said, you can't just agree to what your parents are saying because that way you're doing something that is against our religion, which is forcing yourself to get married to somebody.
>
> [*Extract 47*]

Similarly, Naseem told me that this terrifying experience elicited many questions about forced marriage and whether it is sanctioned in Islam or is merely part of her parents' culture. She stated, "I used to seek help from people to find out what's going on in my life. Is it part

of religion, or is it not part of religion?" [*Extract 48*] She further said that her current husband helped her to know more about religion and about getting a divorce from the husband she had been forced to marry. She narrated, "my [current husband] guided me through it and he said as a Muslim you should definitely not be going through this." [*Extract 49*] These two cases indicate that the interviewees did not find any religious explanation for forced marriage, and attributed forced marriage exclusively to their parents' cultural values.

One interviewee, Kalsoom, reported that when she learnt that on religious grounds she had a right to marry a Muslim Pakistani man, she told her mother this, and her family took a year to accept her religious argument. Kalsoom narrated: "I explained that [the religious point of view] to my mum and finally, after a whole year of arguing, they finally agreed to let us get engaged, [and] we're getting married next year." [*Extract 50*]

Similarly, Naheed reported that her father did not permit her to marry a Muslim Pakistani because she was Palestinian, but she argued with him that it is religiously right and after a debate he agreed. She said, "I am Palestinian, my husband is Pakistani, at first my dad had said no, I was really strong and I said it's wrong and in Islam it doesn't make sense. So we had a big fight, and eventually he changed his mind". [*Extract 51*]

The above accounts revealed that most interviewees distinguished Islam from their parents' culture; and mostly, interviewees felt that their parents' cultural practices were not directly related to their religion; this is why they experience conflict with their parents' cultural values, as they do not identify themselves with their parents' ethnicity. Furthermore, most of the interviewees used their Muslim identity to deal with these conflicts. In the literature, it is suggested that SGI women face conflicts between their parents' culture and religion – for example, gender inequality and forced marriage – but that they interpret these practices as a part of their parents' culture, and not their religion, Islam, and they used their Muslim identity to address these conflicts because religion gives them more liberty than their parents' culture

(Butler, 2011). However, I suggest another plausible explanation for using religious beliefs – the construction of a shared social identity. Muslim SGIs grow up within the UK culture and with minimal contact with their family's heritage culture. Therefore, when their parents practise various cultural practices from 'back home' in the name of Islam, which, being Muslim, the SGIs did not accept. And explained their conflict in terms of their parents' cultural values. Furthermore, because religion is the shared social identity between themselves and their parents, they used it effectively to deal with their intergenerational conflicts. For example, in Kalsoom and Naheed's case, they explain to their parents that, being Muslim, they should be allowed to marry a person who is Muslim and has a different ethnicity from them (e.g., see Extracts 50 &51).

Among all the interviewees, there was a single interviewee, Shabana, who said that she did not follow any religion, although her parents were Muslim. She said "I don't like religion. I don't believe in religion," [*Extract 52*]. This raised interest in exploring her experience of bicultural value conflicts. She faced a conflict of identity at a young age, and later on, was of the opinion that SGIs should have a shared identity with the western culture. She said:

> The biggest thing for me was cultural identity, where do I belong? You can be some part of the western culture or part of the eastern culture. I think probably what would be more helpful for the second generation is having a shared identity instead of having an "us and them".
>
> [*Extract 53*]

She also reported that she experienced a conflict with her Muslim parents who did not allow her to pursue her education and expected her to marry at a young age. She told me:

> The biggest problem has been around marriage. I grew up in the stereotypical kind of Muslim family and I was unexpected to be educated. I was expected to be married young, which I didn't want to do and that created a lot of conflict.
>
> [*Extract 54*]

She further told that her mother wanted her to marry someone in Pakistan but she refused to marry as she found that they both, she and the man, had different cultural identities and had nothing in common:

> My mum wanted me to marry somebody that was in Pakistan and she made me visit. I didn't feel like I belonged there [Pakistan] and to marry somebody there, I felt we had no shared understanding in our identities and we had no common grounds. I could see it would not work. And I made my decision that it wasn't something which I wanted.
> [*Extract 55*]

Later on, she wanted to marry a man who was not of Pakistani descent. She reported, "When I moved to university I did meet somebody who was white; obviously having a mixed-race marriage caused a lot of tension". She elaborated that both families were opposing this marriage:

> His family was protestant, so his family expected him to marry a protestant white woman and that created tensions. I could see tension on both sides of the family, as my mum was phoning me up and saying, 'How could you marry a white man?'
> [*Extract 56*]

Her manifestation of the conflicts showed that she explained her conflicts with her parents as being due to having different ethnic and religious identities, as she identified herself as British and as an atheist.

In reference to how she dealt with the above-stated conflicts she explained that being brought up in Britain made her able to take her decisions. She said: "In terms of decision making I did fall back a lot on my cultural upbringing". When she made the decision to get married to a white man, she stated:

> I guess for us it was a case of we want to make our own mistakes. We were both very cognizant of the fact it could go so wrong, but we wanted to take that chance, and if we were wrong, it was because of our fault.
> [*Extract 57*]

Her accounts highlighted that she identifies herself as British and there was no shared social identity with her parents, either religious or cultural. Therefore, she used her British identity

to take decision about her marriage according to UK cultural values – namely, it is a "right" for every individual to choose their own life partner.

In summary, most interviewees faced various conflicts with their parents and their peers. The analysis revealed that they explained conflicts with their non-Muslim peers arose because they had different religious identity, and with their parents because of their different cultural background. In terms of dealing conflicts with their peers and parents, most participants discussed that they used their Muslim and British identity in order to resolve these conflicts (e.g., Extract 9, 50). Though this analysis reveals interesting and novel aspects about identity conflict among Muslim SGIs, there is an important concern about the nature of the sample which will be addressed in the following section.

3.4 Discussion

The previous literature represents alterations in identities, values, and behaviours as migrants engage in two contexts: their heritage and host cultural context. For example, various acculturation models define how immigrants and SGIs negotiate between two identities and explain how this negotiation helps them to achieve psychological well-being and adaptability within the host culture (see Chapter I Section 1.7). The emphasis of acculturation models is only on ethnic and national identity and it neglects the importance of other social identities, e.g. the religious identity. It has been mentioned earlier that the bi- dimensional model considers the process of acculturation as a universalities[13] approach for all groups (see Chapter 1 Section 1.8). However, I cannot ignore an important question of the current political situation for the study's sample, Muslim SGIs. After 9/11, the political climate of "Islamophobia" and the current "War on Terror" motivated Muslim SGIs to discuss Islam and exhibit their Muslim identity in non-Muslim countries (William & Vashi, 2007; Haddad, 2007; Sirin et al., 2007). Therefore, I consider this current political scenario as an important

[13] i.e., acculturation process is the same for all groups' disrespect of historical, political and social realities for the immigrants.

factor in their decision to exhibit their religious identity. Undoubtedly, a separate religious identity in addition to ethnic and national identities becomes a challenge for the bi-dimensional acculturation model (Ysseldyk, Matheson & Anisman, 2010).

Muslim SGI interviewees, in this study, explained their conflicts in a more complex way and discussed the relative position of multiple identities (Muslim, ethnic and British) with their audiences. The interviewees expressed that they explained their relationships with their peers and parents on the basis of their shared and non-shared identities. They stated that they shared their British identity with their peers and their Muslim identity with their parents. Therefore, they described that they experienced conflict with their non-Muslim British peers because they have different religious identities, and they experience conflict with their parents because they have a different ethnic identity[14] from the interviewees. In short, the interviewees in the study have multiple dimensions of identity and have multidimensional relationships with others based on these different identities, which are different for different audiences.

Roccas and Brewer (2002) discussed how individuals represent relationships among their multiple group membership. They introduced the social identity complexity model which 'reflects the degree of overlap perceived to exist between groups of which a person is simultaneously a member' (p.88). According to this model, when individuals experience low social identity complexity they find themselves as an in-group member (as they find their norms and behaviour overlapping and convergent with other group members). In comparison, those who experience high social identity complexity see themselves as different from other in-group members because they hold different and cross-cutting memberships. Those who had high social identity complexity expressed their conflict with the identity which is

[14] Here, ethnic identity is defined in term of culture and difference of ethnic identity refers to only those specific situations in which conflict arose.

different from the in-group members or with another identity (for details see Chapter I, Section 1.6.2.2).

However, this research did not focus on their low and high social identity complexity or the degree of overlap between different identities; therefore, the analysis will provide a theoretical explanation of social identity theory (SIT) and its relative self-categorization theory (SCT). This posits that most adults have multiple identities, e.g. one might have the identity of worker, friend, daughter, or mother, and individuals hold multiple identities because every identity has its importance in their life; rather than acculturation models which simply posit single dimension of the identity: culture to explain the experiences of second generation immigrants. In *Social Identity Theory*, Tajfal (1978) posited the processes of social categorization into groups. Tajfal and Turner, 1979 suggested that people usually adopt the norms of the group which they value, and that they do so to such an extent that they compare their distinctiveness positively to other group(s). People are aware that we all live in a world where many groups are recognized as low status/devalued/negatively valued groups. They applied this theoretical lens to understand how contextual factors impact on people's responses to this inequality; they wanted to learn whether they adapt to their inequality or not. They proposed that when people live in a situation where they want to differentiate themselves from another group, either at the individual or group level, they can use different strategies to adapt with their inequality or as a means of coping. First, there is *individual mobility*, when people self-categorize themselves at an individual level and they dissociate themselves from the in-group, but this strategy has the sole aim of improving personal identity and it can only be used if individuals have permeable boundaries. Second, there is *social creativity*, where people remain part of a low status group where they try to engage in activities to improve their group standing without challenging the higher group. The third and

last strategy described was *social competition*, where low status groups are involved in social competition with higher status group with a view of achieving social change.

SIT emphasises the salience of social identity in the interpersonal-intergroup context, whereas the *self-categorization theory* is a more general theory which theorized on the basis of SIT and extended its proposed ideas (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987). SCT argues that the self has multiple social identities, the salience of which changes as the social context changes. It is applicable to understand how and when an individual defines him/herself as a group member rather than as individual and vice versa (e.g. personal, group and human). It provides three insights. First, when and why a particular self-identity becomes more salient for people. Second, when the self operates in a context and people share their identity with others – shared social identity, in which people see others either them or us. Third when people perceive themselves as a part of one group in any given context (they share group membership with other people) and they try to reach an agreement with them and try to act in a way that is relevant to that group's identity.

Interviewees explained that they are born British and have a shared sense of Britishness (national/cultural) with their peers, but that there are situations where they identify themselves as Muslim and carry out their Muslim practices, which bring them at odds with their British non-Muslim peers. This pointed out that they shared a common sense of Britishness with their non-Muslim peers but had different religious identity, Muslim. Interestingly, they (interviewees) carried out their Muslim practices (e.g., continuing to wear the Hijab) and used their religious identity to deal with the situation, either by carrying out prayers or by sharing their religious accounts with their non-Muslim friends (See Section 3.3.1 or Extract 10).

This revealed that interviewees identify themselves with the high-status group (majority group British) and the low-status group (Muslims are categorized as a minority group in the

UK). In this context, SIT argued that a particular self-identity becomes more salient for people in a particular social context. This illustrates that individuals sometimes use *social creativity:* when an individual's in-group identification with a low status group is increased; this occurs when they think that the position of their group can be improved by engaging in activities without challenging the higher-status group (Simon & Brown, 1987; Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992; Bettencurt, Dorr, Charlton & Hume, 2001).

Their in-group identification with their religious group can be understood by contextualizing it in the post 9/11 climate, when Muslim SGIs' either experienced discrimination or had a feeling of discrimination (for instance, interviewee Rukiya experienced discrimination from her peers when she appeared with a headscarf). The research provides evidence that this (discrimination) strengthens their identification with those people who share the same experience (Branscombe & Ellemers, 1998; Ellemers & Van Rijswijk, 1997). This is why interviewees expressed that when their peers did not accept them as a part of their group (British group), they did not stop their religious practices, rather they kept their Muslim identification, and continued their religious practices (e.g., See extract 4).

This can be further understood through rejection-identification model (based on SIT) (Branscombe et al., 1999) which suggests that when minority group faced or perceived discrimination individuals increased their identification with the one's minority group which protect their psychological well-being. This could be more elaborate with the experimental study of Jetten, Branscombe, Schmitt, and Spears (2001) in which they study those who had body piercing under two conditions, in one condition they provided the respondents with the bogus information that mainstream people had prejudice against them, and in the other condition they informed the respondents that mainstream people view them positively as expected those respondents who had provided with negative information they identified

themselves high with other group in- group members than those who had been told that they would expect more positive treatment from the mainstream people.

The previous literature also suggests that individuals who experience stigma, political violence and discrimination are vulnerable to psychological distress (Major & O'Brien, 2005; Matheson & Cole, 2004). In reference to the interviewees, it can be explained that their identification with their religious identity, and their use of their religious identity to deal with conflicts, protect them from various psychological distresses. They could experience such distress as a result of their experiences of discrimination, as, according to the literature, those who identify themselves highly with their group experience less psychological distress (Branscombe et al., 1999; Jetten, et al 2001).

In reference to intergenerational conflicts, the interviewees explained that they experience conflict with their parents because they were born and brought up in Britain. Therefore, in certain situations they identified themselves as British (nationally/culturally), and did not feel aligned with their parents' ethnic practices/cultural practices. Similarly, interviewees also experienced conflict with those ethnic/cultural practices of their parents which their parents claimed to speak or act in the name of religion (e.g., See Extract 40 & 42). The interviewees described that on the basis of their shared religious identity they try to deal with their intergenerational conflicts. This revealed that they shared a common sense of religion,[15] Islam, with their parents, but that they considered themselves different from their parents in terms of culture/ethnicity in certain situations.

The interviewees' accounts revealed that they value their British and Muslim identities when they have conflict with their parents, and dis-identify themselves with their parents' ethnic/cultural identity. All the interviewees' identification with British identity and one interviewees' dis-identification with their religious group can be explained by the fact that

[15] Except one who reported she is atheist

they are living in a multicultural society where, if they identified with their parents' cultural values, they would be placed by the majority group in the minority group, and they might experience discrimination from the majority group. Therefore, they used individual mobility for achieving a positive identity. As mentioned earlier, SIT suggests that people usually adopt the norms of that group which enhance their social identity and an individual may use individual mobility when boundaries are permeable (Turner et al., 1987).

Interviewees' cultural identification with the British group could also be explained by the following study: Ellemers, Van Knippenberg, De Vries, & Wilke (1988) conducted two experiments to investigate whether permeability and impermeability of group boundaries affects social identification or not. In their first experiment, they found that participants in the low status group identified less with their group when the boundaries were permeable rather than impermeable. In the second experiment, they found that only those participants who had high ability and a possibility to move in the high status group identified less with their in group members. In other words, the only participants that moved in the high status group were the ones who found realistic grounds to do so. On the basis of this experiment, it can be suggested that the interviewees identified with the high status group (majority group) as they found the cultural and religious[16] boundaries permeable, based on the notion that they were born and bred in Britain, and they found it legitimate to identify themselves as British. Moreover, the interviewees, Muslim SGIs, grow up with UK culture and minimal contact with their family's heritage culture, they identify themselves culturally as British, and religion becomes the shared social identity between themselves and their parents. They use it effectively to deal with their specific intergenerational conflicts (for instance in Kalsoom and Naheed's case, they convinced their parents that, being Muslim, they can marry a Muslim man outside their own ethnicity). As Turner & Oaskes (1986) suggested, "If, as in the well-

[16] *Religious boundaries considered to be permeable for single interviewee as she did not identify with any religious group.*

known formula, behaviour is a function of an interaction between the person and the situation, then it also follows, in a collective version of the formula, that identical or similar people in an identical or similar situation should tend to display the same behaviour (social consensus, agreement, uniformity)" (p. 244).

The narratives of the interviewees provide evidence that they are in the unique position of holding three social identities, which explained their experience of living with their non-Muslims peers and with their parents. They showed how their multiple identities reflect on their relationships with their parents and peers; they explained their conflict with them when they found an incompatible identity with their audience**.** Their relational identities showed that they experience conflict with their non-Muslim British peers because they differ in religious identity, and they experience conflict with their parents because they differ in cultural/ethnic identity in certain situations. In these situations they expressed that they shared their cultural/national identity with their peers, and their Muslim identity with their parents.

Though these results provide interesting insights about my research question that how they explained their living experiences in Britain but there are some potential limitations which need to be considered which may affect the generalizability of the results.

Firstly, this study is based on Muslim second generation immigrants who were recruited by contacting Muslim organizations in Dundee. I view their association with such organizations as an indicator of their positive attitude towards Islam. Thus it may be possible that someone who gathers data from Muslim SGIs who do not consider their religion as particularly important to them may obtain different results.

Secondly, all participants were recruited from Dundee and St. Andrews and these two places do not have large Muslim communities compared to Edinburgh and Glasgow, for example. I can assume that Muslim SGIs living in Glasgow may have different experiences because they

are living within a large population of Muslims and in a more culturally diverse environment, compared to those Muslims SGIs living in Dundee or St. Andrews. Therefore, this non-representative sample critically raises the question of the validity of the results.

Apart from the validity of the results, these results warrant studying the role of newly found religious identity in addition to other two identities in depth. Therefore, the following two questions will address in order to develop a further understanding of the role of the religious identity in the lives of Muslim SGIs.

First, most of the interviewees were of the opinion that their parents' knowledge of Islam was based on their parents' cultural practices. This raises the point that maybe the interviewees also interpret Islam in their cultural context: British culture.

Second, the interviewees' religious identity played a prominent role in dealing with conflicts; however, there is not sufficient evidence to show what other purpose their religious identity had, other than for dealing with conflicts.

Therefore, the next study will not only revolve around the validation of the emerging themes, but will also attempt to explore the above-mentioned questions.

Chapter IV

Study 2: Multiple Identities among Muslim SGIs in Britain

4.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter III section 3.4, the interviewees' living experiences differ from those presented in the existing literature. Their multiple identities reflected upon their conflicts with their parents and non-Muslim peers because of identity differences with them. Generally, they experience cultural identity difference with their parents and a religious identity difference with their non- Muslim peers, and used their religious identity as a means to resolve or deal with their conflicts with peers and with parents.

These findings are based on the unique conception of the research question, where no theoretical lens guided the research, and in consequence the above-mentioned novel findings were found. These findings were based on fifteen interviews, and all the interviewees were recruited from Dundee and St Andrews. Therefore, it is essential to validate these results by recruiting more participants from other cities in Scotland where Muslims lived in a larger population. As mentioned before, this is important to consider because there is a possibility that those Muslim SGIs who live with diverse groups represent their living experiences differently. In addition, Glaser &Strauss (1967) stated "evidence and testing never destroy a theory, they only modify it" (pp. 28). Therefore, another comparative methodology was considered in order to assess and evaluate whether another study also confirms the initial analysis or whether there is a need to modify it.

The main purpose of this research is to develop a substantive theory to understand the living experiences of Muslim SGIs. Therefore, this study continued the exploration of the themes identified in the first study, as well as those questions which were generated by the end of the first study. First, I sought to explore whether their British culture influences Muslim SGIs'

understanding of religion. Second, I also wanted to investigate what other function religious identity served in their lives, other than helping them to deal with their conflicts.

Strauss and Corbins (1997) emphasized that the data collection method depends on the kind of information that the researchers are aiming to obtain. This research employed a multi-method research strategy (see Chapter II section 2.1); therefore, focus group interviews were conducted as a means of eliciting a multiplicity of views for expanding the theory, as well as for the purpose of triangulation (see Chapter II section 2.3.1) 'Focus groups are useful when it comes to investigating what participants think, but they excel at uncovering 'how or why' participants think as they do' (Morgan, 1988, p.25).

4.2 Method

4.2.1 Data collection

The participants were recruited by advertising on the University of St Andrews website, on various Facebook groups, in the Edinburgh Mosque, the Dundee central Mosque, the AMINA women's resource centre in Dundee and Glasgow, halal eating places, and grocery shops in Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow. Data collection was challenging in the first study – when I approached Muslim SGIs they were not willing to cooperate. This might be because I am an international student and I do not have links with the Muslims here. Consequently, in this study the snowball sampling technique was used to recruit participants. In this technique, researchers ask participants if they know others who meet the criteria that the researcher is looking for (Rothbart, Fine & Sudman, 1982; Sirken, 1970).

For this study, I wanted to recruit young adults, born and brought up in the UK, above 18 years old, and whose parents were Muslim and had migrated to the UK. Initially, I distributed advertisement flyers in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, and St Andrews. When a potential participant contacted me, I asked him/her if she/he knew someone who was also willing to participate. If he/she knew someone and was willing to pass their name and contact details to

me I contacted them personally. Most of the interviewees passed me names and contact information, however for one male group (in Glasgow), one potential participant had arranged the other four.

Altogether, six focus groups were conducted. Three were with women, with five participants in each group, and three were with men, with five participants in two groups and three participants in one group. The gender was the same within each group in order to capitalise on their experiences of bicultural value conflicts. Gender homogeneity may help participants not only to relate to each other's ideas but also to challenge each other's arguments. According to Koewn (1983), "Homogeneous groups are generally more comfortable and open with each other, whereas mixed sex, ethnic, or socioeconomic groups make more difficult to achieve a high degree of group interaction" (P. 66)

Focus groups were conducted in three different places: St. Andrews, Dundee, and Glasgow. Two focus groups, one with females and one with males, were organized in the Clare Cassidy Social Psychology Laboratory at the School of Psychology and Neuroscience, University of St. Andrews. In Dundee, a group with females was conducted at the Dundee Career Centre, and with males at the Dundee Central Mosque. In Glasgow, a group was conducted with women at the Amina Muslim women's resource centre, and with men in the conference room at the Glasgow University library. Information about the focus group interview venue was provided by phone and email. A total of 27 (15 women and 13 men) participated in the focus groups. The mean age of the women was 25 (range: 20–40) and of the men it was 24 (range: 19–40). The participants' parents had migrated from Pakistan (23), Bangladesh (1), Malaysia (1) and Lebanon (2).

4.2.2. Procedure

Moderator

Each focus group was conducted by a female moderator [the researcher herself] and an assistant. The moderator was the same for all the groups; however the assistant was changed for each group because the focus groups were conducted in three different places and no single assistant was available to commute along with the moderator. For two groups held in St Andrews, a Lecturer in Social Psychology performed the role of the assistant, and for the other four, a fellow postgraduate student performed as an assistant. Before the group interviews were conducted, all the participants filled out a demographic questionnaire (see Appendix IVa) and signed a consent form. All the focus group interviews were audio taped, and the assistant took notes. The length of the conducted interviews ranged from 45 to125 minutes.

As mentioned earlier, the researcher was Muslim and had a Pakistani ethnicity. However, at the time of conducting the focus group she did not identify herself visibly with the Muslims (as she did not wear Hijab) and neither her religious affiliation nor her ethnicity had been revealed explicitly to any of the group members. However, the chance of guessing her ethnicity and religion was possible, which has already been discussed in Chapter 3 Section 3.2.2).

Interview protocol

The moderator followed a structured questionnaire (see Appendix IVb) rather than a semi-structured questionnaire in the focus group study. Structure questions helped in getting a deeper understanding of the phenomenon (Kreuger, 1998). I used this approach in order to understand the newly emerged theme about religious identity in more detail. Therefore, the focus group interview revolved around this main topic: the role of religion in the lives of Muslim SGIs'. The following three questions were asked during the focus groups: (1) What

do you think is the value of Islam in the lives of Muslim SGIs? This question was asked to invite participants to discuss the role of Islam in their lives generally. (2) How do you explain the role of religion in Muslim SGIs who are being brought up in between two cultural values: their parents' cultural values and British cultural values? This question was posed to understand whether they reflect upon their conflicts with their parents and with their non-Muslim British peers or not; and to see whether they mentioned that they used their religious identity to deal with their conflicts or not. (3) How does religion help Muslim SGIs to live in Britain? This question focuses on how they explain the other positive effects of their religious identity.

When participants showed difficulty in understanding the question, by saying 'I do not understand can you repeat it again' the questions were repeated a few times at the request of the participants. In addition, a few times questions were clarified by repeating them again. For example, in one focus group, participants started to discuss the spiritual side of religion in the context of the first questions; at that time the moderator clarified the questions by stating 'it is an interesting point to discuss but I am more interested to know what you think is the value of Islam in your lives.'

4.2.3 Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data (see chapter II, Section 2.2.2). Using structured interviews, I embarked on data collection with specific questions in mind. Therefore, the broad themes were predetermined. However, subcategories emerged from the data (see Appendix IV c Table 4.1) and were collated under the broad themes (see Table 4.2), and the thematic map were emerged (see Appendix IVd). The results of the second study validated the results of the first study, and supplemented the results of the first study. The analysis not only presented comparisons among the participants of individual groups, but also showed similarities and differences of opinion between groups. Mentioned earlier in chapter

3 section 3.2.1 that pseudo names will used in this dissertation for referring the participants' accounts. Secondly, unnecessary words and sounds were removed from the accounts of the participants in order to make them more fluent to read (words like 'you know' and sounds like 'aaaa'). Each participant and group had been assigned number for the convenience of the reader to navigate between them.

Table 4.2 *Broader themes and subthemes which emerged from the six focus groups*

Explanation of conflicts based on non-shared identity					
Religious understanding	f	Parents' cultural practices and religious identity	f	Religious identity and non-Muslim British peers	f
Explore Islam to know about prohibitions and logic of Islamic teachings	3	Higher education	1	Hijab and veil	3
Parents interpret Islam with reference to their culture	1	Women socializing with men	1	Alcohol	4
Parents not paying attention to religious values	1	Women work outside the home/job	2	Gay marriages	1
Muslim SGIs interpret Islam with reference to their culture	1	Gender discrimination	2	Acceptance of homosexuality	1
		Household chores	2	Socializing with neighbours	1
		Forced marriages	5	Clubbing	3
		Intercultural marriage	1		
		Marriage ceremonies	1		
		Style of reading Salah	1	Hand shaking	1
		Prostrate shrine	1	Hugging	1
		Picture hanging	1		
				Eating with right hand	1
				BismilAllah before eating	1
				Fasting during Ramadan	1

Table 4.2 Broader themes and subthemes (continued)

Positive contribution of Muslim Identity					
Means to negotiate conflicts	f	Maintaining relationships	f	Representation of dual identification	f
Provide reasoning	2	Looking after their children	1	Dual Identities	4
		Parents forgiving their children	1		
		Looking after their parents and families	1		
		To live in peace at times of conflict with non-Muslims	1		
		Anger control			

4.3 Results

The analysis was divided into two broad themes: 1) Explanation of conflicts based on non-shared identity with parents and peers, and 2) the positive function/contribution of the Muslim identity. These themes subsequently comprised various subthemes which emerged from the data (see above Table 4.2). The first major theme had the following three subthemes: religious understanding, Parents' cultural practices and Islam, and religious difference from their non-Muslim peers. The second major theme had the following three subthemes: religious identity as a means to negotiate conflicts, maintaining relationships with other people, and representation of dual identification: British Muslim.

Overall, the analysis of Study 2 supported the newly emerging themes of Study 1. There was consensus among participants that they have certain different cultural practices from their parents and have a shared Muslim identity; therefore, participants experience conflict with them when they (their parents) act out various cultural practices as a part of Islam. Participants also explained their conflict with non-Muslim British peers as being due to having a different religious identity (Muslim identity) but they also expressed that even with this religious distinction, they shared their cultural (British) identity with them. The analysis

extended the understanding that their religious identity helps them to take various decisions in order to deal with conflicts, either with their parents or non-Muslim peers, and enables them to maintain relationships both with their immigrant parents and with other non-Muslim British peers.

Theme 1: Explanation of conflicts (with parents and peers) based on non-shared Identity

This section will explain how interviewees explain their conflicts with their parents and peers. This theme will be presented as three subthemes. The first subtheme, religious understanding, will explain the interviewees' perception of their parents' religious understanding and their opinion about their own religious understanding. The second subtheme, parents' cultural practices and Islam, will indicate how they explain that their parents act out their cultural practices in the name of their religion, Islam. The third subtheme, religious difference from their non-Muslim British peers, will show which Muslim practices contradict with their non-Muslim British peers.

Sub theme 1: Religious understanding

In the first study, the interviewees mentioned that, being Muslim, they perceived that their parents' religious understanding is influenced by their parents' cultural practices. During the focus group study, I observed the same. There was a general consensus among all the participants that their parents mix culture with religion. Female participants discussed this in the following way:

> Alia (P 1) : I think Islam, which they've [her parents] brought from back home, it's a wee bit different, because if we look at somebody who has been born and bred here they follow Islam differently than someone who has come from back home. I think they use it as a guideline, but they put culture first. They sometimes say "oh, that's wrong in Islam", but it's wrong culturally and not Islamically, and I think they get confused between what's in Islam and what's in their culture.
> Qaadr (P2): I agree with Alia (P 1), they do, like, mix up culture with religion quite a lot.
> Irum (P 3): I think it's hard to oppose cultural things they firmly believe in, and a lot of things are culturally in conflict with religion.
> [Focus group 2: Dundee, Female]

Similarly, male participants agreed that there are certain values which are part of their parents' culture and mistakenly perceived as being part of religion. Ijaz (P4) said:

> The role of religion is sometimes misconstrued. Sometimes wrong knowledge comes from parents regarding religion because of cultural traditions, and some people think such a thing is a part of Islam when it's not. It's just a different cultural [understanding].
>
> [Focus group 3, Dundee, Male]

The participants articulated that their parents would ask them not to do certain activities, for example going out and attending mixed gatherings, but they never gave them any reason for these prohibitions; their parents also presented culture and religion in a way that intertwined them, and this created a lot of confusion for the participants.

> Gohar (P5): I think with the second-generation immigrants there was more confusion in our lives because we had both the impact of culture [parents' culture] and religion, and it's kind of intertwined, so there's a lot of confusion for us. If we're not going with the [parents'] cultural values are we going against Islam?
>
> [Focus group 2: Dundee, Female]

This indicates that some participants perceive their parents' religious understanding to be influenced by their parents' cultural background .This raised the question: could the same explanation be applied to their understanding of religion?

In a male focus group, participants discussed:

> Salman (P 6): I believe that Islam should be taken more seriously than it is, especially within western second generations, where religion is looked at as guidelines which really can be bent or broken, whenever the person believes that they can. That's mainly part of the main problem nowadays. Religion should be followed and adhered to the way it is supposed to be.
> Asghar (P7): People [SGIs and their parents] mistake some of the culture stuff for religious thing, which is a bit wrong. I just think that if we stick to what it actually says in the Quran [the Holy book for Muslims], what we are meant to be doing, I don't think we'll even have any cultural problems, to be honest, from both sides [parent and themselves]. But, because we have bent the rules, that we don't follow religion properly, I think that's why we then have these cultural differences [in understanding religion].
> Atif (P8): I think the main problem is the lack of understanding of Islam. Most people take their culture as religion, which is a big difference. I mean, Western culture, Pakistani culture, Arabian culture, they're three different cultures. They act on their cultures rather than acting on Islamic culture.
>
> [Focus group 6: Glasgow, Male]

This discussion illustrates the fact that participants are of the opinion that they bend their religious rules in the context of their western culture.

In summary, it suggests that they view religion and culture distinct from each other. However, participants in previous studies on female South Asian SGIs who scored high on religiosity tend to retain their parents' cultural values because they perceive religion as embedded in their parents' cultural values (Dhruvarajan, 1993; Inman et al, 2001; Inman, 2006). In contrast, most of the participants of these two studies perceived Islamic values as being different from their parents' cultural values, and they experienced conflicts with those cultural values of their parents which they perceived as being contradictory to Islam.

Sub theme 2: Parents' ethnic/cultural practices and Islam

The SGIs reflected that they experienced conflict with their parents because they adhered to certain cultural practices in the name of Islam, such as not giving permission to females to pursue higher education, gender discrimination, and forced marriages. As participants did not perceive these practices Islamic, they experienced conflict with their parents who imposed their cultural practices on them by presenting them as a part of Islam. They reported that they did not relate to their parents' culture because they had never lived in that culture, so when they encounter certain sources of potential conflict they challenge it, being a Muslim. For example, Amina (P 9) said:

> The culture that [our] parents had is very much coming to a non-existence because they [SGIs] realize they cannot relate to it at all and so the answer is that religion is more at the forefront. The parents' culture is now being challenged when it comes to forced marriages, etc.
>
> [Focus group 2: Dundee, Female]

Some participants said that their parents considered that, according to Islam, women should not be encouraged to pursue higher education. In contrast, these participants considered this to be part of their parents' cultural practices and argued instead that Islam does not oppose women's education. For example, Irum (P 3) reported: "a girl after school wasn't allowed to

go to college, university. It's, maybe, culturally more important if she does other things in the house, but there's nothing in Islam that says you cannot get an education."

[Focus group 5: Glasgow, Female]

They also reported that Islam does not prohibit its followers from socializing with the opposite gender in a group. In the same group, Alia (P 1) said: "Some of your non-Muslim [male] friends might invite you. And if it's a group there is no harm in it, because it's not like you're doing anything *Haraam* [things which are prohibited in Islam]".

[Focus group 5: Glasgow, Female]

They also reported that their parents' had a cultural belief that women could not do work outside the home because working outside the home is considered contradictory to Islamic traditions. For example,

> Salman (P 6): My dad used to think that Pakistani women [should] just work in the house all day long. They can't work, they can't go out alone, or anything like that. They can't be independent. Islam does not say that women cannot work. The Prophet Mohammed's first wife, Hazrat Khadija, she worked. She was the biggest business woman of the time. So, Islam does not say you can't work.
>
> [Focus group 6: Glasgow, Male]

Similarly, they said that in Islam, women and men have equal opportunities, but they found this discrimination in their parents' culture. Alia (P 1), reported:

> Islam talks about equal opportunities, "what a male does, a female should do as well". It's not like it's all male dominant or female dominant…But obviously you learn something else when you look at your culture, when you come back home, it's always like "no, it's the females doing the cooking".
>
> [Focus group 5: Glasgow, Female]

Likewise, they also reported that Islam does not teach that only women should do all the household chores. Islam encourages that men also helped their wives in household activities. However, their parents' culture did not acknowledge this fact and only give pressure on females to look after their home. For example Yasir (P10) said,

> Islam does not say you [male] can't work. And Islam does not say that women, just be in the house and work, and clean the house up, and do the cooking. The prophet Mohammed used to help his wife in the house, with the cleaning, the cooking,

> anything. Picking up, anything, just to help her as much as he could. So, I think that this is one thing which there is, Pakistanis, are just mixed with religion. Like, whenever you talk to a Pakistani grandfather or mother, they're all like, my daughter needs to clean the house, she needs to learn how to cook, she needs to do this, she needs to do that. That's wrong.
>
> [Focus group 6: Glasgow, male]

The participants also reported that Islam is against forced marriages and encourages people to make their own choices; however, their parents' culture does not give that choice to women. Gohar (P 5) reported: "If it's like a *rishta* [proposal] within the family and the girl's not happy but the family is being pressurized into it, that's conflicting. Obviously, Islam gives women a choice but culture is not giving women a choice".

[Focus group 2: Dundee, Female]

Similarly, Salman (P 6) reported that although parents of SGIs forced their children into marriage because it is a practice back home, Islam is against the practice. He said: "Islam says you cannot force anything on your children. You cannot force your children [into] forced marriage. Back home they do it, so they do it here."

[Focus group 6: Glasgow, Male]

The participants also reported that their parents were against inter-cultural marriage and that their parents did not let their children marry outside their culture; however, Islam does not discourage inter-cultural marriage. A female participant, Haleema (P 11), reported: " So parents tend to try and get their children married to people who have the same kind of cultural background. In our religion [Islam] it doesn't say anywhere that should be done or that it is better for your child to do that".

[Focus group 2: Dundee, Female]

They also talked widely about marriage ceremonies and were of the opinion that in Islam there are only two ceremonies for Muslims: *Nikha* [marriage contract] and *Wallima* [reception given by the groom the day after the *Nikha* has been made]. However, Muslims in many cultures celebrate their marriage for more than two days. A male participant, Asghar

(P7), who is of Pakistani descent, said: "According to religion, there's only the *Nikha* and the *Wallima*, these are the two main functions of our wedding. A whole week, one function after another, it's not relating back to religion." [Focus group 6: Glasgow, Male]

They also reported that they came into conflict with some of their parents religious practices which are not in accordance with Islam e.g., Style of reading Salah, prostrate shrines, and picture hanging in the home. In one focus group of females, this was reported in the following way:

> Sadaf (P12): to take just the way we prayed, culturally my mum would have some way she prayed. When I asked my mum 'Why do you do this? I've read how you should pray and I've seen you do it this (different) way', she said to me 'This is the way which my mum told me'. However the way I pray, I try to read about how I should pray. 'What is the way you know?'

She continued:

> The shrine … that is not a religious thing that's from Islam. But again, in Pakistan, it is very common. India and Bangladesh as well. To bow down to shrines and have images on walls, to have the founder of Pakistan, Qaida-e Azam's images hanging on walls are forbidden in the home. I consider it as a conflict because whereas my mum might consider all that acceptable, we wouldn't. I wouldn't and that is what I will teach my children in turn because I can justify it from Quran and Haidth, whereas my parents they just want their culture because their parents had done these things.
>
> Ansa (P 13) : yeah, I agree with her like some people go to darbars [shrines] and they do the prostrate there.
>
> [Focus group 1: St Andrews, Female]

In short, there was a general consensus among participants that they perceived certain parental cultural values are different from, and often incompatible with, Islamic values. They explained that they did not culturally identify with their parents and, they discussed various cultural practices of their parents which their parents impose on them in the name of Islam. Consistent with the literature, SGI Asian British Muslim women suggested that they scrutinized those Asian cultural values which restricted their participation in various activities, and they started to use those Islamic practices which helped them to live their daily lives (Butler, 2011).

Sub theme 3: Religious Identity and Non-Muslim British peers

In addition to this, the majority of the research participants reported that though they shared their British identity with their peers, being Muslim they could not participate in various social activities with their non-Muslim British peers, because they perceived that Islam prohibits them. Examples of these activities include: clubbing and drinking alcohol, physical and sexual contact with the opposite gender, socializing with neighbours who have dogs in their house, and wearing the hijab and veil.

Participants expressed that, being Muslim, they encounter situations in their life when they experience conflict with their peers because of having different religious practices. For example, this was reported in one focus group in the following way:

> Rahmat (P 14): When you're in a group of people [peers/colleagues] that are non-Muslims [British], there's kind of a majority leaning against you, and you're the only person leaning against them, and you must stay strong and say "no, I'm correct; these people are doing things I don't particularly agree with".
>
> [Focus group 4: St Andrews, Male]

Participants mentioned that they have different manners to start eating food (Bismillah)[17], kneeling down while drinking water, and fasting during Ramadan which made them distinct from their British non-Muslim peers. In one female group, a participant reported this in the following way:

> Sadaf (P12): Things like saying Bismillaha before you eat or sitting down to drink water when you are at school; these are things that are in your head. It's like nobody would understand why you're behaving that way. Why you're kneeling on your ankles to drink a glass of water or like when everyone else is eating with their left hand and their fork and knife while you're holding the fork in your right hand.

She continued:

> Sadaf (P12): when you come to events such as Ramadan, I always get asked about it, Even before I wore Hijab, people would ask me 'Oh what's Ramadan' 'Why don't you eat?' and 'What's the point in that?', 'What is Eid?', 'How come you get two Eids and we only get one Christmas?'
>
> [Focus group 1: St Andrews, female]

[17] Arabic word meaning I start with the name of Allah

Moreover, in another female focus group, a participant commented on the fact that, being Muslim, it was difficult for them to socialize with their neighbours for two reasons. Firstly, many neighbours had dogs in their home which participants consider as an unclean practice for them. Secondly, they believed that non-Muslims thought that Muslims were unwilling to integrate with them. Irum (P3), said:

> I've got neighbours who have dogs in the house and if they invite you over then you're always a bit kind of unsure about whether to go, because obviously, dogs' saliva and their sweat is unclean. And I think they will assume that we're unsociable.
> [Focus group 5: Glasgow, female]

Similarly in another group, a female participant expressed that her choices of job and courses are affected by her hijab, because she has to think that whether that place is suitable for Muslim women who wear Hijab or not. For example, Maria (P15) said, "Whether somebody like me would fit into a place with a Hijab or things like that … whether it would be suitable for a Muslim woman. So that might affect job choices or course choices." [Focus group 2: Dundee, female]

They also reported that homosexuality and gay marriage are acceptable in UK civil law but not in Islam, and they expressed their distinct opinion being a Muslim, and expressed that if people think being British means accepting those practices which are not part of Islam they experience conflict with those people.

For example, Maria (P15) reported:

> If being British means, for some people, accepting homosexuality then in Islam we don't accept that as part of our faith but then many members of the government or British people do accept that but sometimes you might face conflict my Islamic values might clash with British [non-Muslim peers] values.
> [Focus group 2: Dundee, female]

In another group, male participants reported:

> Yasir (P10): now gay marriages have come up into law...
> Asghar (P7): Yeah, well, when you were talking about gay marriages, there's probably a reason as to why they [British non-Muslims] would try to legalize that in Britain.
> Salman (P6): That [gay marriages] is so wrong.
> Asghir (P7): I know, we [Muslims] are against it.

[Focus group 6: Glasgow, males]

In line with the earlier literature, the participants expressed that they have different practices being Muslim which distinguishes them from their non-Muslim British peers (Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2012).

In different groups, participants also discussed that their colleagues/peers did not feel that they were one among them because they did not socialize with them, due to certain religious prohibitions e.g., socialising with the opposite gender and drinking alcohol. For instance, in a female focus group, the participants discussed:

> Irum (P 3): If you're working with non-Muslim colleagues, they don't understand it if you don't want to socialise with them. You won't go out with them when they're drinking, or if you don't want to socialise with the opposite sex. They find it a little bit strange. And I think it does actually work against you when you go to get promotion. My little brother was saying that he's worked somewhere and there were people who started after him, but they moved on faster, because they all socialised with one another, so they're all kind of friends, they've got that kind of social connection, whereas he is a Muslim, he had to go to pray when it's prayer time, and he won't go with them if there's alcohol, so they see him as a kind of outsider.
> Alia (P 1) : I think, yea, second generation , we do find it.
> [Focus group 5: Glasgow, Female]

Likewise, in another female group, a participant reported that she experienced problem with her colleagues because they do not know why she is wearing head scarf. For example, Sadaf (p12) said: "I go to work and I wear my Hijab and people [colleagues] find it crazy like 'what is this headscarf for?' They have questions about that but I don't argue back."

[Focus group 1: St Andrews, Female]

They also reported that, being Muslim, they cannot maintain any physical contact with the opposite gender, e.g. hugging, and in one female focus group, a participant expressed that she explained this to her non-Muslim peers.

> Ansa (P 13): Guys would speak to my friends who are girls and they would hug and then they'd come towards me wanting to hug me and I would say 'I am sorry - in my religion I'm not allowed to make physical contact with males.
> Abida (16): Yeah and I think we are experiencing these conflicts.
> [Focus group 1: St Andrews, Female]

In brief, the participants suggested that they did not carry out various activities which their non-Muslim British peers did, because of this, their peers did not identify them as one among them. The participants also perceived that due to this religious distinctiveness they faced discrimination. In line with the earlier literature, Muslim SGIs view themselves as being Muslim and British; however, their Muslim identity makes them distinct from other non-Muslims British in the UK (Ysseldyk, Matheson & Anisman, 2010). Research also suggests that people in minority groups (Muslim group) often report experiences of discrimination, actual or perceived (Branscombe et al., 1999).

Theme 2: Positive contribution of the Religious identity

As the analysis of the first study revealed that most of the interviewees used their religious identity to deal with those conflicts which they experienced with their parents and with their peers, this led me to explore where else their Muslim identity affects their life positively, apart from when dealing with conflicts.

The participants' accounts will explain the positive contribution of their religious identity in the following two sub themes (See also Table 4.2). The first sub theme, religious identity as a means of negotiating conflicts, will explain how their Muslim identity enables them to make their choices, in order to deal with conflicts with their parents and peers. The second sub theme, maintaining relationships with other people, will express how they use their Muslim identity to maintain their ties with family and other non-Muslims British peers, the third sub theme, representation of dual identification (British Muslim) will indicate how they explained their Muslim and British identities together especially after 9/11.

Sub theme 1: Religious identity as a means to negotiate conflicts

Human beings have the cognitive flexibility to live in adversity and search for the means to deal with difficult situations. The participants of the first study revealed that they experienced conflict with their parents and non-Muslim British peers, and most of them described how

their religious identity helped them to deal with these conflicts in general. Similarly, most of the participants agreed that their religious identity helps them to deal with these conflicts. Female participants expressed this in the following way:

> Amina (P 9): I think using Islam is like a happy medium. We're happy to turn to that to help us to deal with the conflicts, either of our parents' culture or the British [Peers]
> Maria (P 15): Islam would be the first thing that I would refer to. I would turn to it to get answers.
> Tahira (P 17): I think Islam does make life simpler for us. It gives us clarity when we are making decisions.
>
> [Focus group 2: Dundee, Female]

In one male focus group a participant, Rahmat (P11), mentioned it in this way: "I think religion helped me, helped me a lot. If I didn't have it, I think I'd probably be in more trouble than I've been in, growing up."

[Focus group 4: St Andrews, Male]

This reflects the fact that participants suggested that religious identity gives them an opportunity to deal with their conflicts, helping them to decide the choices they can make in their lives.

Sub theme 2: Maintaining relationships with other people

As mentioned earlier, I was interested to explore what other role religious identity plays in their life, other than helping them to deal with conflicts. In this reference they discussed how religion functions to maintain their ties with their family members and enables them to live in a more integrated way within British society.

Maintaining family ties

The participants discussed that, being Muslim, they were responsible for looking after their parents and treating them well, even though the participants thought that their parents were wrong. They also mentioned that, being Muslim, they could not break their relationship with them. Irum (P 3) said: "even if it's your parents that are wrong, Islam teaches you still to be respectful, and to give them their rights. In Islam you don't break off ties."

[Focus group 2: Dundee, Female]

In another group, a male participant Adal (P 18) said: “If I wanted to do something really nice for my mum, I would stick to her beliefs and do something for her, in the Muslim way; this brings me and my mum closer to each other.”

[Focus group 4: St Andrews, Male]

Besides their own responsibility for maintaining their ties with their parents, the participants also discussed how, according to Islamic teachings, Muslim parents are responsible for their children’s upbringing and for keeping their family members together. They expressed that even though they and their parents had cultural differences, Islamically their parents were accountable for the way that they were brought up. Alia (P 1) said: “Basically, they [parents] know it’s a [religious] responsibility upon them, or they’ll be questionable or accountable for not looking after their [children], even though there is the clash between our cultures”.

[Focus group 2: Dundee, Female]

In another group, male participants discussed:

> Adnan (P19): I think, when I was younger, there was a lot of things that I probably would have been kicked out my house. But in Islam no matter what happens, you see your family as your number one priority, you always stick with your family. I would say that being from an Islamic family, your parents’ tolerance level is a lot higher than of other cultures. So, let’s say, in a way that’s obviously brought me and my family closer.
> Abas (P 20): Yeah, so they might be really disappointed with you, but they would never sort of give up on you. They would never just kick you out and say “that’s that”.
>
> [Focus group 4: St Andrews, Male]

This illustrates that they see their religion as encouraging people to live with their family and obliging parents to be responsible for their children. This suggests that, being Muslim, both parents and children are equally responsible for maintaining their relationships with each other even though they have cultural differences. This shows that most of them have a shared Muslim identity with their parents. This will be discussed further in Section 4.4.

Maintaining relationship with peers

Most of the participants reported that their Muslim identity helps them to accept other non-Muslims British peers, and that their religion teaches them how to live peacefully with them.

> Asghar (P 7): So if you follow Islam properly, you will accept people the way they are. So, British people [peers] are Christians, atheists, or whatever. They have different beliefs, different cultures, and different actions. They drink. They'll have sex. We don't believe in that, but we [Islamically] cannot persecute them for that either.
> Salman (P 6): The prophet Muhammed, when he was in Medina, he used to live with the Jews for a while. They lived peacefully, Muslims and Jews, together in Medina. So, in the same way, we can live peacefully with other people [e.g., peers, neighbours] as well.
>
> [Focus group 6: Glasgow, Male]

Similarly, female participants shared how, when their peers try to provoke them on some matter, they can handle their anger by taking guidance from the character of the Prophet Muhammad.

> Ansa (P13): When you're in a situation where you can get tense and you can lash out at somebody, you stop yourself. That's Islam. Islam stops you from going to extreme steps.
> Adeelha (P 21) : I agree the main thing is using the Prophet as an example.

However, one participant in the same group expressed that she did not control her anger because of being Muslim. Rather she did it because she considered it morally right. Other participants of the same group agreed with her, but by keeping the emphasis on religion:

> Abida (P 16): But what if you've been brought up to be patient and all these things but you've not [been] told that it's because the Prophet does it? You've just been told that it's because it's the right thing to do.
> Adeelha (P 21): That's fine, but I think if different people can find more peace and more contentment, more positive traits through religion, that's one of the key things from religion to make you a better person than you were without it, but you can do that on your own.
>
> [Focus group 1: St Andrews, Female]

In short, the above extracts communicate those positive aspects of their religious identity which facilitate them to live effectively with their non-Muslims British peers. This is in line with previous studies, which suggested that Muslim minorities in European countries

highlighted that their religious identity was a highly valued resource in making intergroup relationships with other non-Muslim people (Ysseldyk, Matheson & Anisman, 2010).

Sub theme 3: Representation of Dual identification: British Muslim

The analysis of the first study revealed that, being Muslim, various participants experience conflicts with their non-Muslim peers with whom they share their British identity but not their religious one. During focus group few of them expressed explicitly the positive sum of their British Muslim identity.

In a female focus group, the participants discussed that if they did not go out clubbing and drinking with their friends, and did not support a football team, that does not made them less British, and it all depends on how one explains Britishness. For example,

> Fozia (P 22): It doesn't make you less British if you don't support a football team or if you're not going clubbing or drinking. I think maybe you need to define what you mean by being British.
> Abida (P 16): Yeah. I think there's different ways to see ideas.

They further discussed that in the current political situation people asked them to choose between their two identities, Muslim and British, which they find impossible because they could not drop one identity in favour of the other.

> Adeelha (P 21) : I think that's the day [9/11] that changed every Muslim's life, if you lived in the UK. You're almost forced to choose. People would say, 'Are you Muslim or are you British?' and that's almost the same as saying 'Do you have eyes or a nose?' You're a bit of both. You can't choose if you're British or if you're a Muslim.
> [Focus group 1: St Andrews, Female]

This revealed that these participants were at the point that their religious distinctiveness did not make them less British, and they could not choose one identity against other, and make the point that there is no single definition of being British and they can be British in their Islamic way.

4.4 Discussion

Study two was based upon the results of Study one and was an attempt to understand the role of religious identity in the lives of Muslim SGIs, in addition to their British and ethnic identity, in the context of their daily life experiences.

Although there was consensus that they experience conflicts with those ethnic cultural practices which their parents practise as a part of Islam, interestingly the participants showed their agreement with the fact that their parents and themselves understood Islam in their own respective cultural context. Likewise, they expressed religious heterogeneity with their non-Muslim peers. Their accounts reflect upon the fact that they shared their religious identity with their parents and their British identity with their peers. They expressed their dual identification as British Muslim by asserting their religious distinctiveness. They also mentioned that their religious identity not only helped them to negotiate conflicts with their parents and peers but also enabled them to maintain relationships both with their immigrant parents and with other non-Muslim British peers.

The participants of the two studies explained that in certain contexts their British identity becomes prominent and in other situations their Muslim identity becomes prominent. This can be explained with the self-categorization theory (based on SIT) which suggests that people have various social identities (e.g. a woman, an academic, psychologist, etc.) and that the behaviour of each identity becomes prominent in a specific context. But the salience of any given identity is based upon individual past experiences, the degree of identification with these identities, and present expectations and motives. For example, Lea, Spears & Watt (2007) explained that if the topic of discussion is about a European Union between men and women who are from Britain and the Netherlands, it is more likely that they will identify themselves with their national identity, rather than with any other social identity (e.g.

gender). However, if the discussion topic is about feelings in relationships, or football on TV, then gender identity may become more salient than national identity.

The participants expressed the fact that they had never been in their parents' culture and they were living in a British culture which is a social reality for them; therefore, when their parents did not permit them to carry out British practices which were norms of British culture (e.g. after-school parties), in that specific context they identified themselves as British, and not as Pakistani or Iraqi. Similarly, when participants perceived that their parents practised their cultural practices in the name of Islam, they identified themselves as Muslim, and did not identify themselves with their parents' ethnic/cultural identity. Switching between two identities in the context of intergenerational conflict revealed an interesting out-group and in-group identification mechanism which is very complex in its own dynamics, and may serve different functions in the SGIs' lives (See Section 4.3 Theme1 subtheme 2).

This can be understood further as SGIs used shared religious identity as a means of dealing with their intergenerational conflicts, causing their parents to discuss their conflicts with the same lens. As Tajfel and Turners (1979) argued, when social identity is salient, individuals see the world through that lens because he/she subscribes to that group's norms, ideologies, perception of the social structure and stereotypes. Moreover, their shared Muslim identity also works as a binder of the relationship, even though they had conflict with each other's point of view (See Section 4.3 Theme 2 Subtheme 2). Turner & Oaskes (1986) argued that people develop a shared social identity on the basis of which all forms of productive social interactions are carried out.

In those situations where participants' dis-identification with their parents' ethnic/cultural identity and identification with being British (culturally) can be explained with the individualistic strategy of coping: individual mobility (see Chapter 3 Section 3.4). Their immigrant parents are classified as a minority group and research has shown that minority

groups face discrimination, and that members of such groups have a desire to gain a positive social or personal identity (Tajfel, 1978; Turner, 1985; Turner, et al, 1987). This might be the motivating factor for the participants identifying themselves as British. There are many experimental studies which provide evidence that when an individual has the opportunity to gain membership to a higher status group, they avail it and pursue individual mobility (Taylor & McKiman, 1984; Ellemers, et al, 1988: Wright, Taylor & Moghaddam, 1990 ; Lalonde & Silverman, 1994; Jackson, Sullivan, Harnish & Hodge, 1996).

In another context, when participants presented their conflicts with their non-Muslim British peers, they reported that their peers did not identify them as part of the in- group and the interviewees felt that they had been discriminated against because of their religion. As discussed in chapter 3 Section 3.4, in reference to the identification-rejection theory, individuals who identify themselves with a minority group are more likely to perceive themselves as a target of discrimination (e.g., Branscombe et al.,1999; Sellers & Shelton 2003).

On the other hand, they identify themselves as British. Therefore, their identification with the high status group (British) without compromising their low-status group (Muslim) is in line with the findings of Hopkins (2011) explained that British Muslims reflected on their commonalities and distinctiveness from other non-Muslim British, and presented their dual identities as British Muslim. This can be further explained with the common in-group identity model (Gaertner, Mann, Murrell & Davidio, 1989; Gaertner, Mann, Davidio, Murrell & Pomare, 1990; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) which is based on the concept of re-categorization of SIT and SCT and is given in the reference of prejudice reduction. They emphasized that members of groups with a higher status identity (superordinate identity), which also had a lower status identity (subgroup identity), used the strategy of re-categorization, in which "members of different groups are induced to conceive of themselves as a single, more

inclusive superordinate group rather than as two completely separate groups" (Dovidio, Gaertner & Saguy, 2009 p.5). Within this framework, they also explored the second form of re-categorization, a dual identity, in which an individual is simultaneously a member of both groups, the superordinate (e.g. national) and the subgroup (e.g. religious). They conceived this idea from the mutual intergroup differentiation model (Hewstone & Brown,1986; Brown & Hewstone, 2005) which highlighted that people have a desire to protect their group distinctiveness especially if they have different value systems (cultural or religious) this also posited that due to clear distinction conflicts can be developed. However, people want to maintain their subgroup distinctiveness while being a part of the superordinate group, and this can only be achieved with '*mutual intergroup differentiation*' in which groups recognize each other as a member of distinct groups but accept each other's values. This idea is related to Turner's (1981) concept of comparative interdependence, which suggests that in order to achieve high goals groups must facilitate each other.

This idea can be further illustrated by the experimental study in which work team was consisted upon students from two different faculties who had assigned to produce a two-page magazine article. In one condition they assigned role to the teams (one group assigned to work on figures and layouts, and other group assigned to work on text), and no role was assigned in another condition. Their findings indicate that when they worked had a distinct role they worked well for the single project rather than when they did not assigned role. This reflects that intergroup distinctiveness is not required to change in order to achieve effective intergroup contact, rather it depends on altering the perceived negative schema into positive, and in a way category-based judgements also changed (Deschamps & Brown, 1983)

The participants of this study expressed that this dual identity affirms the distinctiveness of the subgroup (Muslim) but at the same time it keeps them connected with the superordinate group (British), they emphasised that their Muslim identity contribute positively in the

Britishness as their accounts represented that their subgroup identity (Muslim) promote their positive relationship with their British peers (See Theme 2 Sub Theme 2).

Analysis of studies 1 & 2 showed how Muslim SGIs' living experiences does not revealed a conventional story of bicultural identity conflict: ethnic and national. Rather the whole process of their identification in different contexts for different audiences is unique. They suggested that they experience conflict with their peers' because they have non-shared religious identity and they experience conflict with their parents because they have non-shared cultural identity. Hence, they shared British identity with their non-Muslim peers and shared Muslim identity with their parents, and represent their dual identification as a British Muslim.

Though these results suggest a significant contribution to the existing literature, the generalizability of these results remains questionable due to researcher own Muslim identity, and because the data was collected only from Dundee, St. Andrews and Glasgow. Although every effort was made to collect data from those Muslim SGIs who were not involved in any religious organization, even then the researcher found that all bar three, including two female and one male, reported that religion played a vital role in their lives. This is important to consider because for those Muslim SGIs who are not connected with their religion, they may explain their conflicts differently. Therefore, in order to improve the generalizability of the study, data is required from other cities of the UK, and from those Muslim SGIs who are not highly connected with their religion. Moreover, both studies on this topic were qualitative in approach, and structured questions were used in the focus group; therefore, there is a need to extend and explore novel findings with a quantitative approach. Therefore, the next study will be a survey study.

This research follows the grounded theory approach and intends to develop a substantial theory for Muslim SGIs regarding their living experiences in the UK. Glasser and Straus

(1967) emphasised the importance of the verification of slightly newly established themes, especially when the researcher thinks that everything looks significant in the qualitative analysis. At that time the researcher should generate the hypotheses in order to verify and extend the theory. Through interviewees accounts I found it interesting to explore further the role of multiple identities when Muslim SGIs experiencing intergenerational conflicts by taking into account less past research on this topic. In the previous literature, SGIs' intergenerational cultural value conflicts have been discussed in three major domains, first in terms of an acculturation gap[18], second in the context of parenting styles and family conflicts, and lastly in reference to gender role. Past research suggest that SGIs parents' collectivist cultural values came into conflict with SGIs' individualistic cultural values (see Chapter 1 section 1.7.4.1). However, there is an insufficient body of literature which studied these multiple identities in the context of intergenerational conflicts among Muslim SGIs. Therefore, the survey study will focus on to study whether their identity difference from their parents' would attribute their conflicts to their parents' cultural values.

[18] Difference between parents' and their children's learning speed of the host culture behaviours.

Chapter V

Study 3: Multiple Identities and Intergenerational Conflicts

5.1 Introduction

In the two foregoing chapters, Muslim SGI participants expressed that they have a different cultural identity from their parents, but that they shared their Muslim identity with their parents.[19] On the basis of this identity difference with their parents, participants attribute their conflicts to their parents' cultural values, and create a distinction between culture and religion. Therefore, this survey study is designed to explore the relationship between their multiple identities and their attribution of intergeneration conflicts to their parents' cultural values. A quantitative study is planned to be conducted because it is considered one step further towards developing a substantive theory, as well as completing triangulation[20] (see Chapter II, Section 2.3.2).

5.2 First Survey

The purpose of the survey is to investigate whether identity differences with their parents explain that they attribute their intergenerational conflicts with their parents' cultural values. As participants discussed, their parents are Muslims who were born and raised in a different culture, and their parents explained religion in the context of their culture back home. Though participants also identify themselves as being Muslim, but they are born or raised in a British culture; therefore, they explained their religion in their cultural context; this is why, they often experience conflicts with their parents' cultural values which their parents practice in the name of Islam (see Section 3.3.2 & Section 4.3).

Since it was assumed that the participants' parents' had high Muslim and ethnic identity, and low British identity, the following hypothesis emerged to be tested:

[19] There was one participant who said she did not follow any religion in one-to-one interview.

[20] Triangulation allows the researcher to collect data by more than one data collection method, which yields more convincing results than a single method or a single source of data (Potter, 1996).

H_1: Participants who reported higher Muslim, lower ethnic and higher British identities (i.e. had high scores in Muslim identity, low scores in ethnic identity, and high scores in British identity) would attribute more of their intergenerational conflicts to their parents' cultural values than those participants who reported lower Muslim, higher ethnic and lower British identities.

Most of the participants also represent themselves as British Muslim, therefore, as a secondary objective the following hypothesis will also be tested:

Secondary Hypothesis

$H_{1:}$ There is a positive correlation between their British and Muslim identity.

5.2.1 Method

5.2.1.1 Recruitment and Screening

This survey targeted at young adult Muslim SGIs , and total 121 young adult Muslim SGIs (young adults above the age of 18), recruited using convenience sampling.

Since a goal of this study was to broaden the sample beyond St Andrews, Dundee and Glasgow, potential participants for the survey were recruited by advertising the survey link on several Facebook groups, and on the websites of the University of St Andrews and the University of Dundee. People were also approached in person at shopping malls in London, Birmingham and Dundee, and at a Muslim Conference in Stirling[21]. A total of 56 people clicked on the survey link, but only 15 completed the survey. A total of 65 were approached in person who filled the survey form. Of these 65 people, only 36 completed the survey. Those survey forms in which fewer than three conflicts were reported were considered incomplete and were discarded. This left a total of 51 survey responses for analysis. Participants were entered in a prize draw to win one of two £50 Amazon vouchers.

[21] Reason for using these two different approaches has been discussed in Chapter 2 Section 2.3.2

5.2.1.2 Materials

A survey questionnaire was developed to elicit the reason for their intergenerational conflicts, which is the focus of this survey i.e. that Muslim SGIs attribute their conflicts to their parents' cultural values. Therefore, the questionnaire for the first survey consisted of 21 items in three sections: five items measured intergenerational cultural value conflicts; nine items measured self-identification with religious, British and ethnic groups (3 items each); and seven items were demographic information (see Appendix Va).

Intergenerational cultural value conflicts

Participants were prompted as follows: 'being a Muslim second generation immigrant, please list at least five conflicts which you have with your immigrant parents.' After each conflict was identified, the participants were asked to rate how much they agreed that the conflict with their parents was due to "your parents' cultural background (e.g. Pakistani, Palestinian)" and "your parents' Islamic background" on a seven-point agree-disagree scale (see Appendix I). The later variable was added because participants create distinction between their parents' cultural and religious values.

Identity

Three items relating to identity centrality from the group identification scale by Leach and colleagues (2008) were adapted to measure the participants' religious, British and ethnic identities. For religious identity, the items were: "I identify with being Muslim"; "Islam is important to me"; "Being a Muslim is an important part of how I see myself." For British identity, the items were: "I identify with being British"; "Being British is important to me"; "Being British is an important part of how I see myself." For ethnic identity, the items were: "I identify with my parents' home country"; "My parents' home country is important to me"; "My parents' home country is an important part of how I see myself."

Demographics

Basic demographic questions related to the Muslim SGIs' gender, religion, family religion and birth status, where their parents come from, to what extent they considered themselves a religious person, and how much of a role religion played in their lives. For the last two questions they were asked to rate their answers on a seven point scale, not at all religious to extremely religious, and not at all important to extremely important, respectively.

5.2.2 Analysis

5.2.2.1 Demographics

In the survey, there were 23 men (45.1%) and 28 women (54.9%). Among them, 48 participants had parents who were both immigrants; two women and one man reported that only one of their parents was an immigrant. All the participants were born in the UK, and their parents belonged to varied cultural backgrounds; however, most of the research participants' parents were from Pakistan (31), and the rest from India (8), Bangladesh (7), Africa (2), Iran (1), Iraq (1), and Palestine (1).

5.2.2.2 Hypothesis Testing

Preliminary Analysis

To test for normality of distribution, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov (K- S) test was applied on three independent variables: Muslim, British and ethnic identity and on two dependent variables: conflict attribution to parents' religious, and parents' cultural values, and data appeared to be highly negatively skewed and positive kurtosies was appeared.

Correlational analysis for not normally distributed data was performed to understand the data before conducting the main analysis.

Table 5.1: *Spearman Correlations between self-identity and conflict attribution (N = 51)*

Variables	a	b	c	d	e
a) Muslim Identity	-	.14	.26*	.06	-.24*
b) British Identity	-	-	.08	.02	.12
c) Ethnic Identity	-	-	-	-.17	.22
d) Aattribution of conflicts to parents' cultural values	-	-	-	-	.05
e)Attribution of conflicts to parents' religious values	-	-	-	-	-

Note: A*ll p-values are two-tailed. *P<0.05, a-c variables were measured on 1-5 Likert scale and d-e variables were measured on 1-7 point Likert scale.*

Table 1 reveals a significant positive correlation between Muslim identity and ethnic identity, and a significant negative correlation between Muslim identity and attribution of conflicts to parents' religious values.

Main Analysis

The independent variables were heavily skewed with 63% of responses on Muslim identity, 45% of responses on British identity, and 29% of responses on ethnic identity being at the scale maximum. Since this form of skew cannot be corrected by transformation, the only choice was to categorise the variables into "very high" (score of 5) and "lower" (score less than 5). Therefore, those participants whose average score was 5 were categorized as a high identifier, and those whose average scores were equal to 4.99 or below were categorized as a low identifier, on each identity scale. This would allow the hypotheses to be tested using ANOVA rather than moving to non-parametric tests. Moreover, Glass, Peckham and Sanders (1972) provide lot of evidence that F-test is robust under conditions of skew, Kurtosis and non-normality. Leven test was used to assess the homogeneity of variance because it is not "typically sensitive to departures from normality" (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001 p.80). Leven's test verified the equality of the variance in the samples (p =.275). Therefore, use of Anova for this data is fairly robust (see Field, 2009, 2013)

Therefore, to test the hypotheses, 2x2x2 factorial ANOVA was conducted between groups in order to assess the main effect of the independent variables (Muslim, ethnic and British

identities) and the interaction of these three independent variables with the dependent variable – that participants *attribute their intergenerational conflicts to their parents' cultural values.*

A three-factor analysis of variance showed no significant interaction between Muslim, ethnic and British identity $F(1, 50) = .47$, $p > .05$. The main effect analysis showed that there was no statistically significant difference in attributing conflicts with parents cultural value based on Muslim identity $F(1, 50) = .18$, $p > .05$; ethnic identity $F(1, 50) = .01$, $p > .05$, and British Identity $F(1, 50) = .57$, $p > .05$. Also, no significant two way interactions between variables were observed. Therefore, the results did not support the hypothesis. It is important to mention that the interpretation is limited due to the highly skewed nature of the variables.

5.2.3 Discussion

The results indicated that neither Muslim identity nor the interaction of Muslim identity with the other two identities (ethnic and British) significantly predict the extent to which participants would attribute their intergenerational conflicts to their parents' cultural values. In other words, there is no significant statistical evidence that their ethnic or religious identity difference from their parents' explains their intergenerational conflicts as being due to their parents' cultural values. And correlation between Muslim and British identity though is in the expected direction (positive) but non-significant. This might happen due to a number of limitations of the study that undermined its goals.

The small sample size (51) made the study under-powered and limited the ability to detect main and interaction effects. Therefore, it is necessary to collect more data in order to find more variability in the responses. For this survey the response rate was low, as the online response rate was only 26% and in person it was 55%. It also became clear, from observing the approach participants took to the questionnaire, that several parts of the instrument could be improved. For example, no list of intergenerational conflicts was given and participants

were asked to write down those conflicts that they had experienced with their parents. It was observed that participants often did not report their own conflicts, but rather asked the researcher for examples, and made use of those. This suggests that the purpose of listing the conflicts was not clear. The questionnaire also assumed that the participants' parents would all be highly identified with their ethnic origins and with their Muslim identity but not highly identified with British identity. i.e in terms of cultural values (given the SGI focus of the study). To address this it would be valuable to explicitly ask participants about their perceptions of their parents' ethic and religious identification. To try to address these limitations a second survey study was conducted.

5.3 Second Survey

5.3.1 Introduction

In order to address the above-mentioned limitations, another survey study was conducted with a revised questionnaire, and with improved strategies for data collection. In this survey the same objective was addressed by considering the identity difference of participants with their parents directly. Participants in the two qualitative studies expressed that they had shared Muslim identity and non-shared cultural identity with their parents, and they explained their conflicts with their parents where their identity differ from their parents. The following hypotheses regarding their identity difference with their parents were generated:

H_1: There will be less difference between the participants' Muslim identity and their perceived parents' Muslim identity.

H_2: There will be a high difference between the participants' British identity and their perceived parents' British identity.

H_3: There will be a high difference between the participants' ethnic identity and their perceived parents' ethnic identity.

H_4. The differences between the participants and their perceived parents' identities (Muslim, British, ethnic) will predict the attribution of conflicts to their parents' cultural values.

Secondary Hypothesis:

H_1 : There will be a positive correlation between British and Muslim Identity.

5.3.2 Method

5.3.2.1 Recruitment and Screening

In addition to approaching participants on the street, in shopping malls and mosques, they were also approached in café's and halal eating places. Data collection was also extended to Manchester in addition to London, Birmingham, Dundee and Edinburgh. The survey link was also advertised on several Facebook group pages and on the website of the University of St Andrews. A sample of 266 Muslim SGIs was gathered (170 in person, and 96 through the online survey). Among 266 participants, 173 participants completed the survey. Those survey forms where participants reported that they did not have any conflicts with their parents were considered incomplete, and those forms were discarded.

The online response rate was 35.41%, slightly better than for the first survey (i.e. 26%). However, 'in person' data collection response rate was 82% which is considerably higher than in the previous study, where the 'in person' data collection rate was 55%. This might be because the female researcher covered her head with a 'hijab' which contributed positively to data collection as potential Muslim SGI participants were more willing to fill in the survey questionnaire. Without wearing the hijab, it is impossible to identify distinctively any woman as a Muslim; this time the researcher's religious identity was visible, therefore, they see her as a part of their group and were willing to participate in research. This simply can elaborate in a way that clothes 'transform flesh into something recognizable' (Entwistle, 2000 p.323 as cited in Hopkins & Greenwood, 2013).

In summary, there were 173 responses for analysis in the second survey. The participants' time was compensated for by giving them an opportunity to enter a prize draw to win one of two £50 Amazon vouchers.

5.3.2.2 Materials

Intergenerational conflicts

As participants had difficulty in specifying intergenerational conflicts in survey one using an open-ended response, the current survey took a different approach. A list of common intergenerational conflicts was provided and participants were asked to select conflicts from the list that they had experienced with their parents. The list covered the following areas of conflict: education and career, independence and freedom, relationships and marriage, gender role expectation, and leisure activities. Items were rated on a Likert scale for frequency (1 = almost never, to 5 = very often) and for severity (1 = not at all, to 5 = extremely). Participants who did not report any conflict with their parents were not included in the analyses (see Appendix Vc).

Attributions of conflict

Participants were asked to imagine the two most significant conflicts and to respond to three items for each type of attribution (to parents' religious values or cultural values). They were asked to indicate how much they agreed or disagreed with the items on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, to 7 = strongly agree). The items relating to religious value attributions items were: "The roots of this conflict lie in my parents' religious views"; "The conflict is due to my religious differences with my parents"; "It is my parents' religious upbringing which lies behind this conflict"; The items measuring attribution to cultural values were: "The roots of this conflict lie in my parents' cultural views"; "This conflict is due to my cultural differences with my parents"; and "It is my parents' cultural upbringing which lies behind this conflict" (see Appendix Vc).

Identity

In the first survey, items related with the SGIs' parents' identification were not included and their parents' identification was assumed high with Muslim and ethnic groups. Therefore, in addition to self-identification items, items related to perceived parent identification were also included. Parents' perceived identification was measured using the same centrality items as those used for self-identification taken from the in-group identification scale (Leach et al., 2008). These three items were adapted to measure the parents' religious, national and ethnic identification, as perceived by the participants. For the perceived parents' religious identity, the items were as follows: "My parents identify as Muslims"; "My parents' religious identity is important to them"; "Being a Muslim is an important part of how my parents see themselves." For perceived parents' British identity, the items were as follows: "My parents identify as British"; "Being British is important to them"; and "Being British is an important part of how my parents see themselves." For perceived parents' ethnic identity, the items were as follows: "My parents identify with their home country"; "My parents' home country is important to them"; "My parents' home country is an important part of how they see themselves" (see Appendix Vc).

Demographics

Basic demographic items related to Muslim SGIs' gender, religion, family religion, birth status and parental ethnicity (see Appendix Vc).

5.3.3 Analysis

5.3.3.1 Demographics

In the survey, 94 men (54.3%) and 79 women (45.7%) completed the questionnaire; they had a mean age of 24. Most of the participants were born in the UK (n = 141), and the remainder (n = 32) migrated with their parents before the age of 11. Five participants reported that each of their parents had migrated from a different country: India and Pakistan (1), Pakistan and Afghanistan (1), Malaysia and Bangladesh (1), Pakistan and Kenya (1), Syria and Lebanon

(1). The rest (n = 168) migrated from the same country. Participants' parents were from varied cultural backgrounds; however, most of the participants' parents belonged to Pakistan (102), and the rest to India (18), Bangladesh (17), Iraq (5), Egypt (6), Iran (3), Syria (3), Malawi (2), Algeria (1), Gambia (1), Israel (1), Italy (1), Kenya (1), Lebanon (1), Libya (1), Nigeria (1),Qatar (1), Somalia (1), Turkey (1), and Yemen (1).

5.3.3.2 Hypotheses Testing

Preliminary Analysis

K-S test of normality showed that data was not normally distributed. In addition to, before testing the hypothesis, in order to find out whether item were reliable or not, the summary of the reliability of the survey questionnaire is presented in Table 5.2. As well as giving the overview of the studied variables, Spearman correlations are presented in Table 5.3. Moreover, descriptive analysis is also presented in Table 5.4 for Participants' and their Parents' perceived identification on Muslim, British and Ethnic Identity Scales.

Table 5.2
Cronbach Alpha Reliability of Survey Questionnaire (N = 173)

Scale	*No of Items*	*r*
Self-identification		
Muslim Identity	*3*	*.92*
British Identity	*3*	*.88*
Ethnic Identity	*3*	*.89*
Parents' perceived identification		
Muslim Identity	*3*	*.92*
British Identity	*3*	*.91*
Ethnic Identity	*3*	*.79*
Reasons for conflicts		
Attributing to parents' cultural values	*3*	*.97*
Attributing to parents' religious values	*3*	*.93*

Table 5.3

Spearman Correlations between self-identity, perceived parents' identity and conflict attribution variables (N = 173)

Variables	*a*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*
a)Muslim Identity	-	.32**	.21**	.63*	.19*	.28*	-.27*	-.29*
b)British Identity	-	-	.31*	.18*	.69*	.35**	-.06	-.06
c)Ethnic Identity	-	-	-	.27*	.48**	.70**	-.23**	-.13
d)Parents' perceived Muslim Identity	-	-	-	-	.15	.36**	-.23**	-.25**
e)Parents' perceived British Identity	-	-	-	-	-	.27**	-.11	.02
f)Parents' perceived Ethnic Identity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.18*	-.21**
g) Attribution of conflicts to parents' cultural values	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.71**
h) Attribution of conflicts to parents' religious values	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Note: A*ll p-values are two-tailed. **P<0.01,*P<0.05, All variables were measured on 1-7 point Likert scale.*

Table 5.3 reveals significant positive correlations between the three identities. Interestingly, participants' Muslim identity is not only strongly positively correlated with their British identity (r=.32) but also strongly positively correlated with ethnic identity (r=.21), and their Muslim, British and ethnic identities are strongly correlated with their perceived parents' Muslim, British and ethnic identities (r=.63, .69 &.70). Moreover, in reference to attribution of their conflicts to their parents' cultural values, there are significant negative correlations between Muslim identity and the participants attributing their conflicts with parents' cultural values (r= -.27), and their ethnic identity also explains significant negative correlation with the attribution of their conflicts with their parents' cultural values (r= -.23).

Table 5.4

Mean, Standard Deviation for the Participants' and their Parents' Perceived identification on Muslim, British and Ethnic Identity Scales

	Group	N	Mean	SD
Muslim Identity	Participants	173	6.63	.85
	Parents	173	6.72	.67
British Identity	Participants	173	5.96	1.28
	Parents	173	5.39	1.52
Ethnic Identity	Participants	173	5.58	1.42
	Parents	173	6.32	.83

SD = Standard Deviation

Main Analysis

In order to test the identity differences between the two groups, t-tests were conducted. Identity differences between the two groups (participants' scores minus the parents' scores) were calculated for Muslim, British and ethnic identities by using the non-parametric Mann-Whitney U test. Results are given in Table 5.5 for testing the hypotheses H_1, H_2 & H_3.

Table 5.5

Mann-Whitney U Test Statistics Comparing the Participants' and their Parents' Perceived Identification on Muslim, British and Ethnic Identity Scales

	Group	N	Mean Rank	z	p
Muslim Identity	Participants	173	170.13	-0.81	.264
	Parents	173	176.87		
British Identity	Participants	173	193.19	-3.721	.000
	Parents	173	153.81		
Ethnic Identity	Participants	173	146.92	-5.05	.000
	Parents	173	200.08		

p<.05, 2-tailed test

A Mann-Whitney U test indicated that there was no significant difference between participants' (mean rank = 170.13) and their perceived parents' identification (mean rank= 176.87) on Muslim identity (U = 14382, p = .264). However, there was a significant difference with their parents on British identity (U=11557.5, p=.000). Participants' identification was higher on British Identity (mean rank=193.19) than perceived parents' British identification (mean rank= 153.81). Similarly, there was a significant difference with their parents' on ethnic identity (U=103366, p=.000). Participants perceived parents' identification was higher on ethnic identity (mean rank=200.08) than participants' ethnic identification (mean rank=146.92).

To test the differences between the participants and their perceived parents' identities (Muslim, British, ethnic) will predict the attribution of conflicts to their parents' cultural values (H_4), the difference between the scores of the participants and their perceived parents

identities on these identification scales were calculated, and step wise multiple regression analysis was used. The assumptions for regression analysis were checked and found to be violated, however failure to comply satisfactorily with the assumptions does not invalidate the analysis, but makes it weaker and caution is required when generalizing the results (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001; Field, 2009).

The analysis established a significant relationship for the difference between their ethnic identifications. Therefore, those participants who were different from their parents in terms of ethnic identification (participants identify themselves low on ethnic identity as compared to their parents because their mean score is smaller than their parents, see Table 5.5), explained more their intergenerational conflicts as being due to their parents' cultural values: $\beta = -.34$, $F(1, 172) = 6.69$, $p < .05$; and also accounted for 19.4% of the variability in explaining that they attribute their conflicts to their parents' cultural values.

However, analysis did not reveal any significant main effect for the difference between the participants' Muslim and British identity and their perceived parents' Muslim and British identities on their parents' cultural values.

The finding validates the one main finding of the two qualitative studies, where participants reported that they did not identify themselves with their parents' ethnicity and attributed their intergenerational conflicts to their parents' cultural values. This finding is also in line with Dinh and Nguyen (2006) who suggested that SGIs' parents preserve their traditional customs and traditions. For example, they maintain traditional gender roles, require obedience to elders, and uphold their collectivist values, while SGIs found these values incompatible with the values of the host culture into which they had been born or within which they were raised. Therefore, they experienced conflict with their parents. The literature also discusses how children of immigrants learn the values of the host culture faster than their parents. Therefore, they have more intergenerational conflicts with their parents because they identify less with

their parents' cultural values, and more with the host country's cultural values (Kwak, 2003; Yau & Smetana, 1996; Phinney, Romero, Nava & Huang, 2001).

5.3.4 Discussion

In reference to identity difference from their parents' findings confirmed H_1, H_2, and H_3 by showing that there was no significant difference in parent's and participants Muslim identities, and parents were perceived to be lower in British identity and higher in ethnic identity relative to participants. The results supported the single expectation that those participants who are different in terms of ethnic identity from their parents attribute their conflicts to their parents' cultural values, and other than this no other significant main effect was found. Though the t-test showed the significant mean rank difference between participants and their perceived parents' identification on ethnic identity, it is interesting to note that their mean score is 5.96 on a seven-point Likert scale (see Table 5.4 for descriptive analysis). This might indicate that they also identify with their parents' cultural values under certain circumstances or situations. I leave this point here and will discuss it further in Chapter 6 Sections 6.4. Results also support that the secondary hypotheses and showed significant positive correlated between British and Muslim identity.

5.4 General Discussion Chapter Five

Both surveys were conducted to investigate whether multiple identities played any role in explaining that they attribute their intergenerational conflicts with their parents' cultural values. In the first survey, all hypotheses were rejected which was considered to be due to methodological limitations. Therefore, the second survey was conducted in order to overcome the various methodological limitations of the first survey (see section 5.4). Several innovations were made in the second survey study. Items were added relating to a list of possible conflicts, the dependent variables (i.e. parents' cultural values and parents' religious values), and parents' perceived self-identification. These changes made the

questionnaire easier for participants to fill in (as evidenced by fewer explanations needed by participants during the completion of the survey) and improved scale reliability.

The second survey statistically confirmed the important findings of the two qualitative studies, confirming that SGIs shared their Muslim identity with their parents but not their ethnic identity, and (one of the important themes from the two qualitative studies), that ethnic identity difference explained SGIs' intergenerational conflicts as being due to parents' cultural values.

This finding can be explained in relation to the two qualitative studies which explained, on the basis of SIT and SCT, that Muslim SGI participants used an individual mobility strategy in order to achieve a positive identity (see Chapter 3 & 4, Section 3.4 & 4.4). These participants were born or raised in the UK; therefore, their affiliation with their parents' ethnicity increased the chances of discrimination which might be the factor for identifying more with their British group than with their ethnic group.

Similarly, their shared Muslim identity can be understood in relation to the two qualitative studies (See Chapter 3 Section 3.4 and Chapter 4 Section 4.4) where their shared identity was understood as a function of resolving their conflicts with their parents as well as a binding factor between their relationships. This idea can also be supported by the statistical evidence of this survey study (during preliminary analysis) where the correlation between their Muslim identity and their parents' religious identity was significantly positively correlated (r=.63), and significantly negatively correlated (r= -.29) with parents' religious values.

Above mentioned results and the findings of the two qualitative studies suggested that the SGIs identify themselves as British Muslims, which also has a statistical support from this survey result, where they showed highly significant positive correlation between their British and Muslim identity (r= .32). This can be explained on the basis of mutual intergroup differentiation model (see Chapter 4 Section 4.4) that these participants identify with the

British group but also maintain their distinctiveness by adhering their religious practices (See Chapter 4 Section 4.3) in order to contribute positively in their British Identity.

Though these results provide insight about SGIs' living experience, the results should be generalized with caution due to certain shortcomings of this survey. Firstly, although the reliability test showed a high reliability of the items, the correlation analysis (Table 3) demonstrated that the two dependent variables were highly correlated (r=.72). This means that the items for measuring the dependent variables, parents' cultural values and religious values, were not unidimensional or sensitive enough to draw a distinction between them, and also calls for caution when interpreting the significant results of the second survey. The sequence of presenting these items might be one factor. This means that rather than presenting all the items for one dependent variable in a sequence first, and then items for other dependent variables afterwards, the items should be presented in a comparison to each other. In this way, a direct comparison between two items about two dependent variables may be helpful in eliciting variability in the responses.

Secondly, highly negative skewness and positive kurtosis indicated that most of the participants scored high on the identity scales which could also affect the results. This might happen for two reasons. First, there were only three items per identity which might be not be enough to obtain variability in the responses; therefore more items should be added to obtain greater variability in the ratings on the identity scales.

Thirdly, when reasons for the participants' conflicts with their parents were asked for, no distinction was made between conflicts with the father and conflicts with the mother. Therefore, it is possible that participants may have had conflicts with one parent because of one reason and with other because of another reason, or they may have had conflict with only one parent. Though the qualitative data did not indicate this, it still might affect their

responses and in return the results of the study. Therefore, items should be generated separately for both parents in order to obtain more accurate responses from the participants. Fourthly, I was interested in the participants' perception of differences between their own and parents' identifications; therefore, actual responses from parents were not elicited. However, the possibility of bias in the self-report scale cannot be eliminated.

In brief, this research is the first attempt to examine the role of multiple identities in explaining the reasons for Muslim SGIs' intergenerational conflicts, as previous research understands their conflicts in terms of their bi-cultural identity conflicts, without illuminating the role of multiple identities (see Chapter I Section1.7.3.2 & 1.7.4.2). The next chapter will provide the overview of the whole research.

Chapter VI

General Discussion

Overview

This chapter will discuss the thesis direction (6.1), provide a recap of the literature review (6.2), review the empirical studies conducted for the purposes of this dissertation (6.3), and discuss the findings of the empirical studies in relation to the existing literature (6.4). It will also discuss the limitations of the study along with the scope of future research (6.5), the implications of the research findings (6.6), and present a conclusion (6.7).

6.1 Thesis Direction

The present dissertation sought to examine how young adult Muslim SGIs explain their living experiences in Britain. In the literature review, it has been noted that the living experiences of SGIs are generally studied from three theoretical perspectives. Perspective one, identity formation, studies their ethnic identity development during their adolescence, and how the experience of perceived discrimination effect their ethnic identity development. Perspective two, social identity, discusses their experiences of prejudice and discrimination in reference to how they used their group membership to cope with these experiences, and how the association between different identities (e.g., ethnic, national and religious) is affected by these experiences. Finally, perspective three, acculturation, focuses on the challenge of adaptation and studies the negotiation process between their cultural identities: ethnic and national.

On the basis of the literature review, I found that developmental and acculturation theories stressed only the mono-dimension of identity e.g., culture (which could be host country culture or the culture of origin). However, a social identity approach discusses the multiple dimensions of identity (e.g., in addition to culture they may have other identities too such as religious, gender, and professional). This might be because each theory studies their specific

living experiences with a particular theoretical lens. This tension drove us to explore how young adult Muslim SGIs would explain their living experiences from their own perspective, whether they discussed them in reference to mono-dimension of identity as stressed in acculturation literature or explain them in reference to multiple dimensions of identity as discussed in a social identity approach

6.2 Recap of the Literature Review

In Chapter one, it has been discussed that controversy over Islam in Europe has been observed since 1989 but it increased after 9/11 and 7/7 when European countries faced the challenge of how they could integrate children of Muslims born in these European countries into the European secular states (see section 1.1). It has been noted that this question is widely discussed in four prominent branches of psychology: developmental, social, cross-cultural and mental health psychology. Mostly each discipline sheds light on their struggle from their own area of interest.

Developmental psychology discussed the developmental stages of ethnic identity of SGIs (identification with parents' culture) because of their cultural ties with their family and country of origin which ultimately affect their self-esteem when they face actual or perceived discrimination from the society at large (see Chapter I Section 1.5). There is a huge debate over defining the term 'ethnic identity' and its roots found in the work of French nationalist and scientist Georges Vacher de la Pouge, who used this term in 1896 in order to create a distinction from racial identity. Later on, this term was actively used after WWII to replace the term 'racial identity'; however, both terms are still used interchangeably in the literature. In reference to SGIs, Jean Phinney, developmental psychologist, initially argued that the term 'race' is used to differentiate people on the basis of biological differences and she used the term ethnicity for defining group of people who are different from each other's on the basis of their culture of origin. Afterwards, she used the term 'ethnicity' to refer to groupings on

the basis of both ‘race’ and ‘culture of origin’, and her approach turned more towards the essentialist approach (see Section 1.4).

However, in social psychology, Verkuyten (2003) argued that ethnic identity can be constructed in context. His definition is also borrowed for this dissertation. He is of the opinion that if members of an ethnic minority do not identify with their parents in one situation it does not mean they would not identify with them in another. In other words, he does not oppose essentialism nor favours de-essentialism, rather he emphasises understanding the context in which de-essentialism occurred (see Section 1.4).

In the social psychology discipline, SGIs’ experiences have been studied with the lens of social identity approach, and it has been discussed how their group membership with ethnic minority group helps them to cope with intergroup (minority and majority group) prejudice or discrimination in their lives. Research also indicates that members of minority groups redefine the in-group membership and use their dual identification to reduce prejudice against them (see Section 1.6.1). Studies also discussed how these experiences can also affect the relationship between their identities and that the political scenario played a vital role in it. Especially, in reference to Muslim SGIs, social psychologists expalined that the current political climate increases the stereotypes against Muslims; therefore, when Muslims SGIs experience prejudice or discrimination at intergroup level the association between their identities (e.g., ethnic, national, and religious) is affected and they represent their hyphenated, hybrid, and multiple identities (see Chapter I Section 1.6.2).

Furthermore, the literature also focuses on SGIs’ struggle of adaptation with both cultures with the lens of acculturation theory in cross-cultural and mental health psychology. Most research addresses how they negotiate between two cultural identities (ethnic and national) and how this helps them to achieve better psychosocial adjustment. The literature also discusses how religion affects the process of adaptation in Muslim SGIs, though this

literature did not provide provision to discuss multiple identities such as religious identity separate from cultural identities (ethnic and national identities) (see Chapter I Section 1.7.3.1).

As mentioned earlier, the social identity approach points towards multiple dimensions of identity and acculturation tends to deal with one dimension of identity which creates a tension. Therefore, this research aims to examine how young adult Muslim SGIs in Britain explain their living experiences from their own perspective. Therefore, in order to address this question, I did not follow any specific theoretical lens and the research followed a mixed-method design.

6.3 Review of Empirical Studies

The first study aimed to explore the living experiences of Muslim second generation immigrants in Britain. As mentioned earlier, this research did not follow any particular theoretical lens; therefore, an unstructured questionnaire was used following the grounded theory approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). [22] In contrast to the existing literature, it was found that participants discussed conflicts not in term of bicultural value conflicts rather *multiple social identity conflict.* They discussed their multiple identities: Muslim, British and ethnic, and explained that their conflicts occurred in cases where they had no shared identity with their peers and parents. In terms of their *non-Muslim British peers*, they shared with them their cultural identity (British), which is also their national identity, and explained their conflicts in terms of non-shared religious identity (Muslim). One example of such a conflict is when their non-Muslim British peers invited them out for a drink and clubbing, which is against the participants' religious values (practices). In terms of their *parents* they shared their religious identity (Muslim) and explained their conflicts in terms of non-shared

[22] Before giving the review of the studies it is important to remember that all the participants except three (one in the interview study and two in the focus group) identified themselves as high in Muslim identity in the two qualitative studies. Moreover, in both surveys more than half of the participants identified themselves as high in Muslim identity.

cultural/ethnic identity . Examples of this type of conflict were when their parents did not allow them to go out for a date, which is a norm for British people, or forced them to practise various ethnic (Pakistani or Palestinian) practices (e.g., forced marriage, same caste marriage) in the name of Islam. In addition, they explained the function of their Muslim identity when dealing with conflicts with their parents (e.g., it provides them with a mutual basis on which to discuss the conflicts) and with their peers (e.g., it provides them with a logic with which to explain their behaviour to their peers).The analysis of the interviews revealed that their Muslim identity played a unique role at times of conflict with their non-Muslim British peers and parents (See Chapter III).

Therefore, in order to understand the role of religious identity (Muslim) in depth among Muslim SGIs in Britain, a supplementary qualitative study, using a focus group, was conducted, based on a structured questionnaire that stemmed from the first qualitative study. The results of the supplementary study not only validated the findings of the first study, but interestingly, the analysis posited that their Muslim identity facilitates them in maintaining their relationships with their family (as it binds them with their family) and with non-Muslim British peers in the UK (as it provides them with guidance on how to live peacefully with them). They highlighted the fact that their Muslim identity contributes positively towards their British identity and they identified themselves as British Muslim. Furthermore, although they shared their Muslim identity with their parents, both participants and their parents explained their religion in their own cultural context.

The two qualitative studies revealed that SGIs explained their intergenerational conflicts in a novel way. As they shared their Muslim identity, but not their cultural/ethnic identity, with their parents (the participants identify themselves as culturally British), by creating a distinction between their parents' cultural and religious values, they attributed their intergenerational conflicts to their parents' cultural values (See Chapter IV). Therefore, the

next survey study sought to understand the role of multiple identities in explaining their intergenerational conflicts.

In the survey study, the objective was to determine whether participants' identity difference from their parents, on three identities Muslim, British and ethnic, explained that they attribute their conflicts to their parents' cultural values or not. Two surveys were conducted to investigate this, the results of the first survey did not support any hypotheses, due to certain limitations, for example, when measuring the SGIs' identity difference with their parents, it was assumed that their parents identified themselves as high in Muslim and ethnic identity and low in British identity, and indirectly the levels of the participants' identity defined this identity difference. The participants also reported various problems in understanding the questions, which expressed the problem of measured construct. Therefore, another survey was conducted with an improved questionnaire. The results of the second survey supported the expectations that the participants had a shared Muslim identity, but not a shared ethnic identity, with their parents. One main theme of the qualitative studies was that the level of cultural/ethnic difference with their parents predicted their conflicts with their parents' cultural values. This was supported by the results, but no statistical evidence was found that their shared Muslim identity predicts their conflicts with their parents' cultural values, which was expected to be moderated with their cultural/ethnic differences. Besides, it has been observed that their mean score on ethnic identity indicated that there might be other situations where they identify themselves with their parents' cultural values. Moreover, the results also showed a statistical support for the fact that their Muslim identity is positively correlated with their British identity.

Thus three studies showed that the participants' living experience cannot be defined by only two identities, but by three: Muslim, British, and ethnic. The substantive theory for Muslim SGIs emerging from this research explained that they have *multiple social identities* and they

explained their conflicts where they are different on these identities from their audience. They described a common sense of Britishness but difference on religious Identity with their peers; and a common sense of religious identity but difference on cultural/ethnic identity with their parents.

6.4 Empirical Evidence for Findings

This research pointed out that the acculturative perspective is not sufficient to understand the experiences of Muslim SGIs in Britain, because this perspective only emphasizes cultural identities: national and ethnic to understand their psychosocial adjustment process in the host country (See Chapter I Section 1.7). However, the Muslims SGIs in this research exhibit their membership of multiple groups, and they define their conflicts where they differ in terms of identity with their non-Muslim peers and parents. With their non-Muslim peers they differ on religious identity and accordingly explain their conflicts in terms of their religious practices. With their parents they differ on culure/ethnic identity and accordingly explain their conflict in term of their parents' cultural practices (See Chapters III & IV). This research highlighted the fact that little attention is paid to religious identity in comparison to ethnic identity and British identity, these two are considered the most important identities to study the living experiences of SGIs previously; however, the results of this research broadly assert the valence of multiple identities. Their accounts revealed that they had shared identities with their peers and parents and they explained their conflicts on the basis of their non-shared identities.

The analysis revealed that participants described their conflicts with their non-Muslim peers as being due to the fact that they had different religious practices from them, and often when they experienced conflict with them they used their religious identity to deal with these conflicts. This is consistent with the previous research findings, which discussed that Muslims cannot mix fully with their host country's culture because of their religious

boundaries (e.g., Alba, 2005; Zolberg, & Long, 1999). People who held religious beliefs used their religious identity effectively because their religious belief offers them a guidance, in the light of which they interpret their situation and take their decisions (e.g. Park, 2007). Previous research has shown that religious affiliation is associated with better psycho-social adjustments (e.g., Berry et al. 2006; Saroglou and Mathijsen, 2007; Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009).

Recently, one study was conducted with Muslim SGIs (Turk, Moroccan, Algerian or Pakistani) which indicated that ethnic and Muslim identity intersect each other, and that those who associate more with them both, as compared to their national identity express more distance with other non-Muslim people in the host country (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012) whereas participants of the two qualitative study explained their religious identity as a subgroup of their superordinate identity (British) and they did not relate their religion with their ethnic identity (related with their parents' culture) at the time of explaining conflicts with their peers and parents. Participants, discussed religion as a separate entity from their parents' culture, and they identified various cultural practices of their parents' culture which they did not perceived as being a part of Islam. There is insufficient literature in which Muslim SGI research participants reported cultural practices of their parents which they did not perceive as being a part of Islam (for exception, see Butler, 1999).

Therefore, this research makes the point that the task of understanding religious identity is complicated and unique, because even among people of the same religion, their religion is understood differently because of many factors, one of which is culture. In addition, the results also suggested that they experience conflict with their parents because of differences between ethnic identification; this finding is well supported within the existing literature, which indicates that the discrepancy between the parents' and the child's ethnic identification contributes to the development of conflicts with parents among second generation immigrants

(Yau & Smetana, 1996; Mahdi, 1998; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Kwak, 2003; Costigan & Dokis, 2006). They also expressed that they used their shared Muslim identity to deal conflicts with their parents. Much research discussed their coping strategies with reference to emotion- and problem- focused coping (See Chapter I Section 1.3.5.3).

Analysis also suggested that they identify themselves culturally as British (national), and during two qualitative studies they dis-identified themselves with their parents' ethnic culture and created a clear distinction between their British cultural identity and their parents' Pakistani or Indian cultural identity. Similarly, the results of the survey showed the statistically significant difference between their self-identification and their perceived parents' identification with British and ethnic identity. The literature provides mixed evidence in terms of their national and ethnic identification; few claimed their high identification with their parents' ethnicity, and few revealed high identification with their national identities (e.g., Mahdi, 1998; Kankipati , 2012; Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009). Similarly, the participants exhibited that they are culturally different from their parents in certain situations, and because of this they experienced conflicts with their parents. However, interestingly, in the survey, participants scored high for their ethnic identification; therefore, this may indicate that under some situations they identify with their parents' cultural values. This could explain why people exhibit their important social identities in almost all situations, but in general the context dictates which social identity they wish to identify with in specific situations (Verkuyten, 2000). In the case of SGIs, ethnic identity is not always present in all situations and contexts; it depends upon the situation and sometimes the group with whom they interact (Wentholt, 1991). On the same lines, Rosenthal and Hrynevich (1985) expressed the view that "adolescents report that their feelings of being ethnic vary according to the situation they are in and the people they are with" (as cited in Verkuyten, 2000 p.510).

Similarly, Back (1996) found that participants in his research identified with the local and subcultural identities, but that they were also aware of the notion of their parents' cultural background. This corresponds with Liang (2004) who reported that the Chinese in European countries maintain their marriage rituals and they carry them all out in their own ethnic group in order to maintain their ethnic and cultural distinctiveness. Thus relating with their parents' culture in different situations may affect them in a positive way (Horowitz, 2000).

Interestingly, overall analysis indicates that they define themselves as British Muslim. The existing body of literature argues that Muslim SGIs define themselves as British Muslims or American Muslims (e.g., Hopkins, 2011; Sirin & Fine, 2008; Sirin et al., 2007). It is reasonable to argue that they were born and brought up in the UK and that the event of 9/11 and 7/7 might play an important role in recognizing their Muslim identity.

The results indicate that they identify themselves with the majority group (British) and a minority group (Religious Identity: Muslim); therefore, when these identities implies in their lives, they experience conflict with their peers and parents where they found their identity difference with their non-Muslim peers, they explained their conflicts in terms of non-shared identity (religious identity) and with their parents they explained their conflicts in terms of cultural identity (British identity).

Thus, the participants revealed a more complex picture of their identification with multiple social groups. Acculturation only addresses single dimension of identity and the social identity complexity model addresses the high and low identification with multiple social identities. This research does not focus on high and low social identity complexity; therefore, the findings of this research are explained with the lens of Social Identity approach. This provides a broader space within which to explain the significance of multiple group identities in an individual's life (See Chapter III & IV Sections 3.4 and 4.4). Therefore, by using SIT it can be posited that the participants, Muslim SGIs, by using *the individual mobility strategy*

identify themselves culturally as a part of majority (British). The use of this strategy might be an attempt to protect them from the discrimination which they might face from the majority group if they identify themselves with their parents' ethnic culture. Moreover they share their religious identity with their parents, as a tool to deal with their parents. In the context of current political scenario they exhibit their Muslim identity, This is explained through *the rejection- identification model*, which states that people in a minority group increase their identification with in-group members when they face or perceive discrimination as a group level strategy, it can be further understood that they used group level strategy, *social creativity*, in order to improve the impression of their group without challenging the majority group. Therefore, they exhibit their dual identification: British Muslim, where their Muslim identity (subgroup) contribute positively towards their British identity (superordinate) which can explained further with mutual *intergroup differentiation* which explains that individuals want to be a part of the superordinate group and at the same time had a desire to maintain their subgroup distinctiveness, and sub group identity contribute positively towards the superordinate identity (for detailed elaboration of these results see Chapters III and IV). Hence, theoretically the present research goes beyond the existing literature by understanding the living experiences of Muslim SGIs from the social identity perspective. It adds to the literature as the participants in this research did not experience bicultural identity conflicts, rather multiple social identities played a role in explaining the conflicts with their non-Muslim peers and with their parents. This research introduces the *multiple social identity model for Muslim SGIs* (Appendix VI a). This model defines, generally, how Muslim SGIs share national/cultural identity with their non-Muslim peers so they define their conflicts in term of religious identity difference. They share religious identity with their parents but have different cultural/ethnic identity from them; therefore, they define their conflicts in term of cultural identity difference.

6.5 Limitations and Scope for Future Research

This research has certain limitations, which were addressed by the end of each study, but here the overall view of all these limitations will be presented, and simultaneously suggestions will be provided for future research.

Firstly, the emerging substantive theory is only generalizable to the sample studied; to improve generalizability, a more theoretical sampling is required. Although attempts were made to recruit participants from different geographical locations in the UK, most participants were recruited through Islamic organizations, halal eating places, and university Islamic societies and mosques. Their presence at religious institutions may indicate their strong positive attachment to their religion. Therefore, the overall results of the research might be affected by this factor, as the participants provided a whole new set of values – religious values – to explain their experience of living between and within two sets of cultural values. Although I attempted to recruit participants from diverse ethnic groups, by chance most of the participants' parents had come from Pakistan. Therefore, the results obtained from these participants may not be valid for other ethnic groups or individuals.

Secondly, this was an exploratory study, and given the small sample size in the qualitative studies, the results should be considered with caution. Here, it is important to mention that potential participants (both women and men) were reluctant to participate in the study; this reluctance could be attributed to their lack of interest in the research, as most of them said that they were not interested in participating in the research. In addition, being a Muslim woman researcher (without any visible identity i.e. head scarf), I found it very difficult to approach Muslim men in mosques and conferences because of segregated seating arrangements. I was not allowed to go inside the men's section, or even stand outside the men's section at mosques and in Muslim conferences. Interestingly, there were very few participants who helped me to collect data through snowballing, and even those whom others

referred to me refused to take participate in my research. Therefore, researchers who intend to do research with this population should be aware of these difficulties and arrange a gatekeeper who will help them to approach this population or identify her/him with a visible Muslim identity. By chance, when the researcher appeared with a head scarf to collect data from this population, she gathered a positive response from others as they showed cooperation and even asked other friends to help her (for detail See Chapter V Section 5.3.2.1).

Thirdly, although the survey study provided an insight into the SGIs' identity differences with their parents, and explained how their ethnic identity differences predict their attribution of their intergenerational conflicts to their parents' cultural values, the various findings of the two qualitative studies could not be validated. They were considered important in order to understand this phenomenon, but remained unanswered in both surveys. For example, no statistical support was found for another theme, that a smaller difference between their perceived parents' Muslim identity and their own could predict that they attributed their intergenerational conflicts to their parents' cultural values, and the expectation that this main effect might be moderated by the difference between their own and their parents' British identity, as they perceived it. Therefore, this indicates the need for the development of a standardized questionnaire to inquire into it further.

Fourthly, though research informed that research participants used their religious identity to deal with those conflicts which they experience with their peers and parents, this research maintained its focus on understanding how they explained their conflicts, and less attention has been given to this. Therefore, future research may explore which identity or multiple identities are most effective in dealing with these conflicts.

Fifthly, the participants' mean score on ethnic identity in the survey study was comparatively high, which indicated that they might identify themselves with certain cultural values of their

parents under some situations. This research focuses on only those situations in which they experience intergenerational conflict; therefore, future research might focus on exploring in which situations they identify with their parents' cultural values.

Sixthly, I tried to avoid the potential mixing of generations, and restricted the sample to second generation immigrants. Therefore, the results cannot be generalized to third and fourth generations because it may be possible that their experiences are different because their parents are also from the country of their birth. That might be interested to explore how they define their multiple identities for different audiences and which identities played an important role in their lives.

Seventhly, this phenomenon may also need to be studied in other religious groups, to find out whether this *multiple social identity model* for Muslim SGIs, can be generalizable to explain the experiences of other non-Muslim British SGIs.

Eighthly, this research maintained focus on exploring the role of three identities which explain their conflicts with their peers and parents, there might be other identities which also explained these conflicts and played role in resolving these conflicts for example, gender, father, mother, vocational, and caste. I consider that these identities into account may more comprehensively elucidate the understanding of their living experiences; therefore, future studies should also consider these identities.

Finally, the literature suggests that a minority group, due to facing negative treatment/discrimination/prejudice from the majority group, are more vulnerable to poor mental health i.e. low self-esteem and poor psychological health (Crocker & Major, 1989; Branscombe et al. 1999). However, this research did not focus on this dimension because of its primary interest in understanding their everyday life experiences. Therefore, future research should focus on mental well-being. It might be interesting to explore how their

multiple identities associated with different psychological disorders and how identities played a protective role at the time of experiencing mental health problems.

Despite these limitations, the results are noteworthy as this research expands understanding and explains how Muslim SGIs explained their conflicts with their non-Muslim peers and parents as a matter of identity difference.

6.6 Implications

Research finding implies that there is a need to study Muslim SGIs and other non-Muslim SGIs beyond the lens of single dimension of identity. Muslim SGIs does not explain their conflicts in term of mono-dimension of identity rather they provide understanding that multiple social identities played role in explaining conflicts with non-Muslim British peers and parents. Therefore, this research posited attention should be paid to study their living experience from the lens of social identity theory which provide platform to study multiple social identities in individuals' life.

It illuminates particularly their identification with the majority group and a single minority group, unlike previous literature which put its emphasis on studying them as part of two minority groups (ethnic and religious). Their representation of dual identification also explains how their religious identity works towards their British identity (national/cultural) in certain social contexts to improve or maintain their intergroup or intragroup relationships.

The findings of the research lay the groundwork for future research on intergenerational conflicts among Muslim SGIs in the UK by identifying the fact that research participants do not see religion and culture as being intertwined. It implies that there is a need to study their experiences more in depth which highlighted that on which factors they create this distinction, as culture/different ethnic background seems to be one factor in this study. Previous and most recent research view these two together, and explained that their religious identity is embedded in their parents' culture. This is why acculturation model used it as

mediating factor, and research from the social identity perspectives claimed that their religious and ethnic identity is positively correlated. However, this research argued that they distinguished their religious identity from their parents' culture and explained it in their British cultural context.

The research findings also suggest a salient clinical implication. As Kim et al. (1999) have discussed, the assessment and evaluation of cultural values in the counselling process appear to be useful. This research suggests that Muslim SGIs interpret religion differently from their parents, who were brought up under a different set of cultural values. One participant put it during the survey data collection: 'Culture affects religion; it is an essential thing.' Similarly, another participant said: 'My parents explain religion in terms of their culture. I was born here and I explain Islam according to my culture.' Therefore, it is important for counsellors and other mental health professionals to understand this difference between generations, and perhaps to include counselling that is relevant to religion, understanding the salience of religion and exploring how it is an important aspect in the lives of Muslim SGIs.

In the present era, Islam is perceived as a global threat and portrayed in the media as giving birth to terrorists. I think that, to respond this, the UK requires a better understanding of Muslim SGIs in order to determine whether their strong identification with their religion is positive or negative for themselves and society at large. This research implies that Muslim SGIs portray religion as a positive which promote their relationships with other non-Muslim peers.

6.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, this research introduces the *multiple social identity model for Muslim SGIs.* This model suggested, generally, Muslim SGIs relate to others on the basis of multiple social identities and make sense of their experiences in term of multiple social identities. They mostly explained conflicts in terms of non-shared identities specifically when Muslim SGIs

share cultural/national identity with their non-Muslim peers they define their conflicts in term of their non-shared religious identity, and when they share religious identity with their parents they define their conflicts in terms of non- shared cultural/ethnic identity. Therefore, this research posited that their living experiences can be understood through a social identity approach which advocates multiple dimensions of identity, rather than acculturation which discuss a mono-dimension of identity.

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APPENDICES

Appendix III	**Material Referred in Chapter III**
Appendix IV	**Material Referred in Chapter IV**
Appendix V	**Material Referred in Chapter V**
Appendix VI	**Material Referred in Chapter VI**

Appendix III

Appendix III a	**Demographic Form for interview Study**
Appendix III b	**Interview guide**
Appendix III c	**Open Coding**
Appendix III d	**Ethical Approval**

Appendix III a

Demographic Sheet for Interview Study

1. Where do you currently live?

_____

2. From which country (e.g., India; Lebanon) did your family emigrate?

Pick the statement below that you feel is most accurate for you:

(i) 'My parents are immigrants, but I was born and grew up the United Kindgom/Europe/North America.'

(ii) 'I immigrated to the United Kingdom/Europe/North America with my parents when I was young.'

(iii) 'Neither statement describes me accurately.'

If (ii), how old were you when you moved to the United Kingdom/Europe/North America?

_____

If (iii), please elaborate:

_____

3. What is your family's religion?

_____

4. What do you consider to be your religion?

_____

5. What role does religion play in your life?

_____

6. Please choose which of the following best describes your sex/gender:

(i) Female/Woman
(ii) Male/Man
(iii) Intersex

7. What is your age?

_____

Appendix III b

Interview Protocol

I am Mujeeba Ashraf from the University of St. Andrews. I am conducting research on the experiences of second generation immigrants. Thank you for giving your consent to participate in the research. I assure you that all of your responses are confidential and will only be used for research purposes. Your responses will be strictly anonymous and we assure you that your responses cannot be associated with your name. If you have any questions regarding recording, anonymity or confidentiality, you are welcome to ask.

(Wait for question)

If participant has any question (after answering it):

Do you want to ask anything more, or should I proceed?

Ok, let me brief you about what I am going to study. You know, like everyone, second generation immigrants often experience conflicts, particularly between their family and UK cultures. I would like you to share with me about a time when you felt conflicted about whether to act in accordance with your family's culture and values or UK culture and values. If you can think of more than one conflict, please share the one which you feel was important for you.

Prompts in general

- I can understand it is quite personal.
- What do you mean by this?
- How did you feel at that time?

  Can you explain it a little more? **If the above prompts do not work, then these can be used:**
- Think back and go over the day, and see what actually happened on that particular day.
- How is it against your values?

- Why is it not permissible in your religion or culture?
- How did you decide this?
- What strategy did you use to resolve the conflict?
- Who made you decide this?
- How did you feel at that time and afterwards? / How do you feel about your decision?
- What was the role of your family in making this decision? (if family involved)
- What was the role of your friends in making this decision? (if friends involved)

If people around knew about the decision:

How did people around you (like friends, family) react at that time?

For relationships:

- Would you like to tell me a little about your relationship with your parents/ siblings/ family/friend?

For emotions:

- You said you felt -----. What other emotions did you feel at that time?
- How did you manage your emotions at that time and afterwards?

Ending:

- Do you want to say anything more? Do you want to share anything regarding Second generation immigrants which you think is very important?

Thank you for your time.

Appendix III c

Table 3.1: Open coding for Interview study

Women	f	Men	f
School parties	3	School parties	1
Sleep-over	3	Independence	2
facing racism	1	Hierarchical culture	1
not being allowed to enter higher education	2	Having a relationship with someone of the opposite gender	3
getting a job	2	Gambling, smoking and drugs	2
playing outside the home	1	Looking after parents	1
Having a relationship with someone of the opposite gender	1	Out -culture and out-religion marriage	3
Gender discrimination	2	In-culture marriage	1
In-culture marriages	3	Gender discrimination	1
Forced marriages	3	Wearing a scarf (they mentioned this for women)	1
Out- culture and out-religion marriage	1	Drinking	3
Drinking	3	Sexual relationship before marriage	1
Wearing a scarf	2	Arranged marriage	1
Eating Bacon	1	Food	1
		Attend Mosque	1
		Having a relationship with someone of the opposite gender 1	1

University of St Andrews

University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee

11 March 2011

Ethics Reference No: *Please quote this ref on all correspondence*	PS7327
Project Title:	Experiences of second-generation immigrants - pretest
Researchers Name(s):	Dr Sana Sheikh, Mujeeba Ashraf
Supervisor(s):	Dr Sana Sheikh

Thank you for submitting your application which was considered at the Psychology School Ethics Committee meetings on the 26th January and 9th March 2011. The following documents were reviewed:

1. Ethical Application Form 09/03/2011
2. Participant Information Sheet 09/03/2011
3. Consent Form 09/03/2011
4. Debriefing Form 09/03/2011
5. Questionnaires 09/03/2011

The University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) approves this study from an ethical point of view. Please note that where approval is given by a School Ethics Committee that committee is part of UTREC and is delegated to act for UTREC.

Approval is given for three years. Projects, which have not commenced within two years of original approval, must be re-submitted to your School Ethics Committee.

You must inform your School Ethics Committee when the research has been completed. If you are unable to complete your research within the 3 three year validation period, you will be required to write to your School Ethics Committee and to UTREC (where approval was given by UTREC) to request an extension or you will need to re-apply.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' (http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/UTRECguidelines%20Feb%2008.pdf) are adhered to.

Yours sincerely

Convenor of the School Ethics Committee

Cc School Ethics Committee

UTREC Convenor, Mansefield, 3 St Mary's Place, St Andrews, KY16 9UY
Email: utrec@st-andrews.ac.uk Tel: 01334 462866

Appendix IV

Appendix IV a	**Demographic Form for focus group**
Appendix IV b	**Interview guide for focus group**
Appendix IV c	**Coding for focus group**
Appendix IV d	**Thematic Map**
Appendix IV e	**Ethical Approval for Second Study**

Appendix IV a

Demographic Form for Focus Group Study

Demographic Sheet

1. Where do you currently live?

_____

2. From which country (e.g., India; Lebanon) did your family emigrate?

Pick the statement below that you feel is most accurate for you:

(iii) 'My parents are immigrants, but I was born and grew up the United Kindgom/Europe/North America.'

(iv) 'I immigrated to the United Kingdom/Europe/North America with my parents when I was young.'

(iii) 'Neither statement describes me accurately.'

If (ii), how old were you when you moved to the United Kingdom/Europe/North America?

_____

If (iii), please elaborate:

_____

3. What is your family's religion?

_____

4. What do you consider to be your religion?

_____

5. What role does religion play in your life?

_____

6. Please choose which of the following best describes your sex/gender:

(iv) Female/Woman
(v) Male/Man
(vi) Intersex

7. What is your age?

_____

Appendix IVb

Focus group Interview Guide

My name is Mujeeba Ashraf, and I would like to welcome you all. I am a postgraduate student at the University of St. Andrews. I am conducting my research on the daily life experiences of British Muslim Second Generation Immigrants. Last year, I conducted my first study on bi-cultural value conflicts in Muslim second generation immigrants. By bicultural value conflicts I mean those conflicts which SGIs experience because of being brought up in between two different cultures: their parents' culture and British culture. The results not only gave me an insight into the experiences of the Muslim second generation immigrants but also left me with a few more questions, particularly about the role of religion among Muslim second generation immigrants.

That is why I am now doing focus groups. Focus groups give freedom to the participants to discuss their points of view with people of similar interests. During this group, I will ask different questions about the role of Islam in developing bi-cultural value conflicts, and I would like each of you to give your own opinion.

I also want to mention that all the information I collect from this group will be recorded, but will be used for research purposes only. Except me and my supervisor, nobody will be able to access this data. Moreover, the data will be presented anonymously—each of you will be given a number, and this number will be used to refer to you. Also, as a focus group member, please respect the confidentiality of the group, and once the focus group is over, please keep what we have discussed to yourself.

If anyone has any questions, you are most welcome to ask now or at any point.

Let's go around and introduce to each other so that we can get to know each other.

Thank you for introducing yourselves.

Ok! Now I am going to ask some questions.

1. What do you think is the value of Islam in the lives of Muslim SGIs?
2. How do you explain the role of religion in Muslim SGIs who are being brought up in between two cultural values: their parents' cultural values and British cultural values?
3. Does Islam help SGIs to deal with conflicts they face due to being brought up in between two cultures?

Thank you to all of you for sparing the time to participate in this focus group discussion.

Prompts

Situation: If someone is dominating the group.

'I appreciate your opinion. I am really interested in hearing how others are feeling.'

Situation: If conversation strays away the topic.

'It is interesting, but I would like to discuss this later on. If you do not mind, may I move to another question?'

General Prompts:

Please tell me more about …

Could you explain what you mean by …?

Can you tell me something else about….?

Appendix IV c

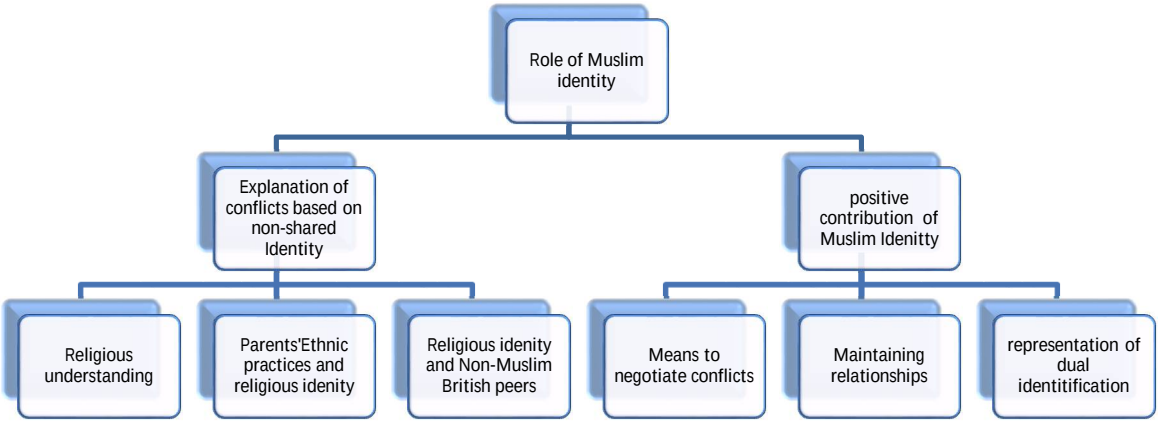
Table 4.1: Focus group coding

Women's focus group	f	Men's focus group	f
Forced marriages	1	Marriage ceremonies	1
Gender discrimination	2	Halal food	2
Intercultural marriage	1	Hijab and veil	1
Higher education	1	Mixed gathering	1
Style of reading Salah	1	Adultery	1
Prostrate Shrine		Gender equality	1
Relationship with opposite gender	1	Division of heritage	1
Picture hanging	1	Cleanliness	1
Socializing with neighbour	1	Respect for elders	1
Acceptance of homosexuality	1	Provide reasoning	2
Political scenario	2	To live in peace at times of conflict with non-Muslims	1
Identity	2	Freedom of opinion at time of marriage	1
Look after their parents	2	Not answering back to parents	1
Hijab and veil	3	Drugs	1
No freedom of opinion at time of marriage	1	Alcohol	3
Hiding from parents	1	Clubbing	2
Alcoholic venues	1	Differentiate between Muslim and non- Muslim	1
Code of living	2	Forced marriage	2
		Arranged marriage	1
Peace	1	Rights of neighbours	1
Tolerance	2	System of law and order	1
Respect	2	Conventions while travelling	1
Gender equality	1	Looking after their parents and families	1
Looking after their children	1	Exploring Islam to know about prohibitions and logic of Islamic teachings	3
Abiding by the rules of country	1	Transfer to next generation	1
Alcohol	1	Islamic code of living	1
Lottery	1	Out-of-culture marriage	1
Selling cigarettes	1	Parents forgiving their children	1
		Parents not paying attention to religious values	1
Honour Killing	1	Gay marriages	1
Free mixing	1	Parents interpret Islam with reference to their culture	1

Table 4.1 Focus group coding (continued)

Women's focus group	f	Men's focus group	f
Explore Islam to know about prohibitions and logic of Islamic teachings	3	Dressing modestly (for women)	1
Eating with right hand	1		
BismilAllah before eating	1		
Fasting during Ramdan	1		
Single identity (RELIGIOUS) brings them less into conflict with the UK society	3		
Clubbing	1		
Hand shaking	1		
Hugging	1		
Dressing modestly	1		
Acceptance by society	1		

Appendix IV d



University of St Andrews
from first to foremost

600 YEARS
1413 – 2013

Project Title	Experiences of second-generation immigrants
Researcher's Names	Dr Sana Sheikh and Mujeeba Ashraf
Supervisor	Dr Sana Sheikh
Department/Unit	School of Psychology
Ethical Approval Code (Approval allocated to Original Application)	PS7327
Original Application Approval Date	11 March 2011
Amendment Application Approval	28 May 2012

Ethical Amendment Approval

Thank you for submitting your amendment application which was considered at the Psychology School Ethics Committee meeting on the 16th May 2012. The following documents were reviewed:

1. Ethical Amendment Application Form 28/05/2012
2. Advertisement 28/05/2012
3. Participant Information Sheet 28/05/2012
4. Focus Group Interview Guide 28/05/2012

The University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) approves this study from an ethical point of view. Please note that where approval is given by a School Ethics Committee that committee is part of UTREC and is delegated to act for UTREC.

Approval is given for three years from the original application only. Ethical Amendments do not extend this period but give permission to an amendment to the original approval research proposal only. If you are unable to complete your research within the original 3 three year validation period, you will be required to write to your School Ethics Committee and to UTREC (where approval was given by UTREC) to request an extension or you will need to re-apply. You must inform your School Ethics Committee when the research has been completed.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' (http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/UTRECguidelines%20Feb%2008.pdf) are adhered to.

Yours sincerely

Convenor of the School Ethics Committee

Ccs Dr S. Sheikh (Supervisor)
School Ethics Committee

Appendix V

Appendix V a	**First Survey Questionnaire**
Appendix V b	**Ethical Approval for First Survey**
Appendix V c	**Second Survey Questionnaire**
Appendix V d	**Ethical Approval for Second Survey**

Appendix Va

First Survey Questionnaire

Project Title

Experiences of second-generation immigrants

What is the study about?

We invite you to participate in a research project exploring conflicts experience by second-generation immigrants. Second-generation immigrants are individuals whose parents immigrated to a new country (e.g., the United Kingdom) OR those who immigrated to a new country when they were young.

Do I have to take Part?

This information sheet has been written to help you decide if you would like to take part. The current study is a survey study. Few questions will ask from you related with your conflicts which you have with your parents due to being brought up in between two cultural values i.e., your parents cultural values and British cultural values. It is up to you and you alone whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part and you will feel uncomfortable, you may feel free to skip any of the question and you are also free to withdraw at any time without providing a reason.

What would I be required to do?

You are asked to respond to brief demographic questions and then asked to respond to few questions (e.g., questions about conflicts which you might have experience with your parents, and questions about your religious, national and ethnic identity). In total the whole study should take no longer than 15-20 minutes to complete.

Will my participation be Anonymous and Confidential?

Only the researcher and supervisor will have access to the data which will be kept strictly confidential. Your responses to be strictly anonymous we will ensure that your responses cannot be associated with your name.

Storage and Destruction of Data Collected

The data we collect will be accessible by the researchers and supervisor involved in this study only. Your data will be stored for a period of at least 3 years before being destroyed. The data will be stored in an unidentifiable format on a computer system.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results may be used in publications; however, none of the data published will be identifiable.

Will I be compensated for this study?

You have an opportunity to take part in raffle. If you want to take part in raffle you need to send separate email including your name and address at the end of the survey. This will help in maintaining your anonymity.

Are there any potential risks to taking part?

There is a chance that answering some questions in the study may be upsetting. If you feel you have been affected by your participation at any point in the study and wish to discuss your concerns further, please feel free to contact the researchers and/or contact your local GP.

Consent and Approval

This research proposal has been scrutinised and been granted Ethical Approval through the University ethical approval process.

What should I do if I have concerns about this study?

A full outline of the procedures governed by the University Teaching and Research Ethical Committee is available at www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec/complaints/

Contact Details

Researchers: Dr Sana Sheikh, Mujeeba Ashraf
ss96@st-andrews.ac.uk, ma56@st-andrews.ac.uk

Participant Consent Form

University of St Andrews attaches high priority to the ethical conduct of research. We therefore ask you to consider the following points before agreeing to take part in this study. If you have any questions in your mind feel free to email the researcher: ma56@st-andrews.ac.uk before completing your survey. The purpose of this form is to ensure that you are willing to take part in this study and to let you understand what it entails. Agreeing to fill this form does not commit you to anything if you do not wish to do, you are free to withdraw at any stage.Material gathered during this research will be treated as confidential and securely stored for at least 3 years on a computer system. Please answer each statement concerning the collection and use of the research data.

I have read and understood the information sheet.

❍ Yes

❍ No

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

❍ Yes

❍ No

I have had my questions answered satisfactorily.

❍ Yes

❍ No

I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time without having to give an explanation.

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

I understand that my data will be kept confidential and anonymous, and that only the researcher(s) and supervisor will have access.

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

I agree to my data (in line with conditions outlined above) being archived and used for further research projects.

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

I have been made fully aware of the potential risks associated with this research and am satisfied with the information provided.

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

I agree to take part in the study

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

I am above age 18

- ❍ Yes (18)
- ❍ No (19)

From which country (e.g., China, France) did your family emigrate?

_____

Being a Second generation Immigrant, please list at least five conflicts which you have with your immigrant parents.

Conflict 1: _____

_____

Reflecting upon conflict (which you stated above) what extend do you agree that your disagreement with your parents is due to the following:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree
You parents' cultural background (e.g., Pakistani, Palestinian)							
Your parents' Islamic background							

Conflict 2: _____

_____

Reflecting upon conflict (which you stated above) what extend do you agree that your disagreement with your parents is due to the following:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree
You parents' cultural background (e.g., Pakistani, Palestinian)							
Your parents' Islamic background							

Conflict 3: _____

_____

Reflecting upon conflict (which you stated above) what extend do you agree that your disagreement with your parents is due to the following:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree
You parents' cultural background (e.g., Pakistani, Palestinian)							
Your parents' Islamic background							

Conflict 4: _____

_____

Reflecting upon conflict (which you stated above) what extend do you agree that your disagreement with your parents is due to the following:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree
You parents' cultural background (e.g., Pakistani, Palestinian)							
Your parents' Islamic background							

Conflict 5: _____

_____

Reflecting upon conflict (which you stated above) what extend do you agree that your disagreement with your parents is due to the following:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree
You parents' cultural background (e.g., Pakistani, Palestinian)							
Your parents' Islamic background							

What do you consider to be your family religion (e.g., Hinduism, Christianity)?

- ❍ Christianity (1)
- ❍ Islam (2)
- ❍ Hinduism (3)
- ❍ Sikhism (4)
- ❍ Buddhism (5)
- ❍ Judaism (6)
- ❍ Any other (7) _____

What do you consider to be your religion (e.g., Hinduism, Judaism)?

- ❍ Christianity (1)
- ❍ Islam (2)
- ❍ Hinduism (3)
- ❍ Sikhism (4)
- ❍ Buddhism (5)
- ❍ Judaism (6)
- ❍ Atheism (7)
- ❍ Anyother (8) _____

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree
I identify as a Muslim.							
Islam Is Important to me.							
Being a Muslim is an important part of how I see myself							
I identify with my parents' home country							
My parents' home country is an important part of how I see myself.							
I identify with being being British							
Being British is an important to me.							
Being British is an important part of how I see myself							

To what extent do you consider yourself a religious person?

Not at all religious (1)	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely religious (7)

How important a role does religion play in your life? Please answer as best as you can.

Not at all Important (1)	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely Important (7)

Pick the statement below which you feel is most accurate about you:

- ❍ My parents are immigrants, but i was born and raised in the United Kingdom.
- ❍ I immigrated to the United Kingdom with my parents when i was young. If it is true for you, please state your age _____
- ❍ Neither statements describes me accurately. Please elaborate _____

Please choose which of the following best describe your gender:

- ❍ Male (1)
- ❍ Female (2)

Your age?

_____

Thank you for participating in our study! You may enter a raffle for a chance to win one of two £50 AMAZON Vouchers. If you would like to be entered in the raffle, please enter your email, name and address in a separate email TO the following address: ma56@st-andrews.ac.ukWOULD you to participate in THE raffle?

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

Have you sent a separate email to the researcher for participating in the raffle on ma56@st-andrews.ac.uk?

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

Participant Debriefing Form

Project: Experiences of Second generation immigrants

Nature of Project

This was an exploratory study in which we were investigating what conflicts second-generation immigrants, particularly in the UK, experience between the values and norms of their family's culture and the UK culture. This research project helps in to understand these conflicts and to further our understanding of how individuals deal with them generally. Please feel free to ask us any questions if you have any queries regarding the study, or if you would like to know more about our study in general.

Storage of Data

As outlined in the Participant Information Sheet your data will now be retained on a computer system for a period of at least 3 years before being destroyed. Your data will remain accessible to only the researcher and supervisor involved. If at any point you wish for your data to be destroyed before this time then please contact the Supervisor who will fulfil your wishes.

Help Organizations

Should any of the questions we asked you today, or any detail of the experiments causes you any concern or stress, please contact either your local GP, or researchers. What should I do if I have concerns about this study? A full outline of the procedures governed by the St Andrews University Teaching and Research Ethical Committee are outline on their website://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec/complaints/

Contact Details

Researcher: Mujeeba Ashraf Principle Investigator: Sana Sheikh

Contact Details: ma56@st-andrews.ac.uk, ss96@st-andrews.ac.uk

Appendix Vb

University of St Andrews

University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee

6 February 2013

Ethics Reference No: *Please quote this ref on all correspondence*	PS9516
Project Title:	Experience of second-generation immigrants
Researchers' Names:	Mujeeba Ashraf and Dr Sana Sheikh
Supervisor:	Dr Sana Sheikh

Thank you for submitting your application which was considered at the Psychology & Neuroscience School Ethics Committee meeting on the 19th December 2012. The following documents were reviewed:

1. Ethical Application Form 22/01/2013
2. Advertisement 22/01/2013
3. Participant Information Sheet 22/01/2013
4. Consent Form 22/01/2013
5. Debriefing Form 22/01/2013
6. Questionnaire 22/01/2013

The University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) approves this study from an ethical point of view. Please note that where approval is given by a School Ethics Committee that committee is part of UTREC and is delegated to act for UTREC.

Approval is given for three years. Projects, which have not commenced within two years of original approval, must be re-submitted to your School Ethics Committee.

You must inform your School Ethics Committee when the research has been completed. If you are unable to complete your research within the 3 three year validation period, you will be required to write to your School Ethics Committee and to UTREC (where approval was given by UTREC) to request an extension or you will need to re-apply.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' (http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/UTRECguidelines%20Feb%2008.pdf) are adhered to.

Yours sincerely

Convenor of the School Ethics Committee

Ccs Dr S. Sheikh (Supervisor)
School Ethics Committee

UTREC Convenor, Mansefield, 3 St Mary's Place, St Andrews, KY16 9UY
Email: utrec@st-andrews.ac.uk Tel: 01334 462866

Appendix Vc

Second Survey Questionnaire

Project Title

Experiences of Muslim Second-Generation Immigrants

I invite you to participate in a research project exploring conflicts experienced by Muslim second-generation immigrants. Muslim second-generation immigrants are individuals whose parents migrated to a new country (e.g., the United Kingdom) OR those who migrated to a new country when they were young.

The current study is a survey study, and only for those individuals who are over 18 years of age. You will be asked to think about conflicts you have had with your parents. Then, you will be asked to respond to a few demographic questions and then a few questions relating to any experience you may have had of conflicts. In total the whole study should take no longer than 15-20 minutes to complete. Your responses will be strictly anonymous. As a way of saying thank you for your participation, you will have an opportunity to take part in a raffle. The raffle involves sending a separate email including your name and address at the end of the survey, and this email has no link with your survey responses. This will help in maintaining your anonymity.

I hope you will find this survey interesting, but if you find anything that you don't want to answer, you can leave the question blank, or you can stop the survey at any time if you do not wish to continue.

The University of St Andrews attaches high priority to the ethical conduct of research. We therefore ask you to consider the following points before indicating your consent by ticking the box at the bottom of the page. If you have any questions, feel free to email the researcher: ma56@st-andrews.ac.uk before completing your survey. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the study you can contact the psychology ethics committee <psyethics@st-andrews.ac.uk>.

Now, by ticking the box below, you consent to participate in the study on the basis that: 1. You are above 18 years. 2. You have been informed about the study and the sorts of questions it involves. 3. You understand that your data will be anonymous.4. You may stop the study at any time by not completing the online responses.

I agree to take part in the study.

- ❍ Yes (Responses required to proceed)
- ❍ No (Will exit survey)

What is your current age?

Age (4) _____

Please choose which of the following best describe your gender:

- ❍ Male (1)
- ❍ Female (2)

From which country (e.g., India, Lebanon) did your parents come?

_____

Pick the statement below which you feel is most accurate about you:

- ❍ My parents are immigrants, but I was born and raised in the United Kingdom. (1)
- ❍ I migrated to the United Kingdom with my parents when I was young. If it is true for you, please state your age at the time of arrival. (2) _____
- ❍ Neither statement describes me accurately. Please elaborate (3) _____

What is your parents' religion (e.g., Islam , Christianity, Hindu)?

- ❍ Islam (1)
- ❍ Christianity (2)
- ❍ Hinduism (3)
- ❍ Judaism (4)
- ❍ Any other (5) _____

What is your religion (e.g., Islam , Christianity, Hindu)?

- ❍ Islam (1)
- ❍ Christianity (2)
- ❍ Hinduism (3)
- ❍ Judaism (4)
- ❍ Any other (5) _____

You will see a number of pairs of statements. For each pair, please fill in the first to indicate your own sense of identity. Please fill in the second to indicate your parents sense of identity.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I identify as a Muslim. My parents identify as Muslims.							
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
My religious identity is important to me My parents' religious identity is important to them.							
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Being Muslim is an important part of how I see myself. Being Muslim is an important part of how my parents see themselves.							
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I identify as British. My parents identify as British.							
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
My British cultural identity is important to me. My parents' British cultural identity is important to them.							
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Being British is an important part of how I see myself Being British is an important part of how my parents see themselves							
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I identify with my parents' home country My parents identify with their home country.							

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
The culture of my parents' home country is important to me.							
The culture of my parents' home country is important to them.							

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
My parents' home country is an important part of how I see myself.							
My parents' home country is an important part of how they see themselves							

The statements below relate to a number of different areas in which you may or may not have experienced conflict. For each area, please indicate, first, how often you have experienced such a conflict and, second, how serious the conflicts were in general.

	Frequency					Seriousness				
	Almost Never 1	Rarely 2	Sometimes 3	Often 4	Very Often 5	Not at all 1	Slightly 2	Moderately 3	Very 4	Extremely 5
Think about any conflict you may have had with your parents about education and career: for example, what you should study at school/college/University, or what job you should do. Indicate how often you had conflict over such issues and also how serious the conflicts were in general.										
Think about any conflict you may have had with your parents about freedom and independence: for example, what you should wear, or what type of social events you should attend. Indicate how often you had conflict over such issues and also how serious the conflicts were in general.										
Think about any conflict you may have had with your parents about relationships: for example, who you should have as a boy/girl friend or who you should marry. Indicate how often you had conflict over such issues and also how serious the conflicts were in general.										
Think about any conflict you may have had with your parents about gender role expectations: for example, what you should do being a young woman/man. Indicate how often you had conflict over such issues and also how serious the conflicts were in general.										
Think about any conflict you may have had with your parents about leisure activities: for example, what films you should watch, or how much time you should spend on the internet, or what type of music you should listen to. Indicate how often you had conflict over such issues and also how serious the conflicts were in general										
Any other										

Now try to imagine the two most significant conflicts which you have had with your parents. Imagine them as clearly as you can and think about the reasons why the conflict came about.

Once you have the two conflicts clearly in your mind, please carry on to the next page which contains questions about the reasons for the conflict.

Once you have answered questions for the first conflict, please carry on to the next page where you will answer the same questions for the second conflict.

Conflict 1

On this page, I want you to answer some questions relating to the first conflict you have imagined. For each question, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
The roots of this conflict lie in my parents' religious views.							
This conflict is due to my religious differences with my parents.							
It is my parents' religious upbringing which lies behind this conflict.							
The roots of this conflict lie in my parents' cultural views.							
This conflict is due to my cultural differences with my parents.							
It is my parents' cultural upbringing which lies behind this conflict							

Conflict 2

Now please answer the same questions again, relating to the second conflict you have imagined. For each one please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
The roots of this conflict lie in my parents' religious views.							
This conflict is due to my religious differences with my parents.							
It is my parents' religious upbringing which lies behind this conflict.							
The roots of this conflict lie in my parents' cultural views.							
This conflict is due to my cultural differences with my parents.							
It is my parents' cultural upbringing which lies behind this conflict							

Thank you for participating in my study! You may enter a raffle for a chance to win one of two £50 AMAZON Vouchers. If you would like to be entered in the raffle, please send your email, name and address in a separate email to the following address: ma56@st-andrews.ac.ukWould you like to participate in the raffle?

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

Have you sent a separate email to the researcher for participating in the raffle to ma56@st-andrews.ac.uk?

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

Participant Debriefing Form

Project: Experiences of Muslim Second Generation Immigrants

Nature of Project

This is an exploratory study in which I am investigating the conflicts which second generation Muslim immigrants experience with their parents and also the reasons why those conflicts arise. Is it due to cultural differences arising out of the fact that you were brought up in a different country to your parents, or is it due to differences in religious identity? Please feel free to ask any questions if you have any queries regarding this survey, or if you would like to know more about my study in general.

Storage of Data

Your data will now be retained on a computer, anonymously, for at least three years, and possibly longer if required for the purposes of publication.

Help Organizations

Should any of the questions I asked you today, or any details of the survey cause you any concern or stress, please contact either your local GP, or the researcher.

What should I do if I have concerns about this study?

A full outline of the procedures governed by the St Andrews University Teaching and Research Ethical Committee are outlined on the website://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec/complaints/

Contact Details

Researcher: Mujeeba Ashraf
ma56@st-andrews.ac.uk

University of St Andrews
from first to foremost

600 YEARS
1413 – 2013

Project Title	Experiences of Muslim second generation immigrants
Researcher's Name	Mujeeba Ashraf
Supervisor	Professor Stephen Reicher
Department/Unit	School of Psychology & Neuroscience
Ethical Approval Code (Approval allocated to Original Application)	PS9516
Original Application Approval Date	22 January 2013
Amendment Application Approval	26 September 2014

Ethical Amendment Approval

Thank you for submitting your amendment application which was considered by the Psychology & Neuroscience School Ethics Committee on the 25 September 2014. The following documents were reviewed:

1. Ethical Amendment Application Form 26/09/2014
2. Advertisement 26/09/2014
3. Questionnaire 26/09/2014

The University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) approves this study from an ethical point of view. Please note that where approval is given by a School Ethics Committee that committee is part of UTREC and is delegated to act for UTREC.

Approval is given for three years from the original application only. Ethical Amendments do not extend this period but give permission to an amendment to the original approval research proposal only. If you are unable to complete your research within the original 3 three year validation period, you will be required to write to your School Ethics Committee and to UTREC (where approval was given by UTREC) to request an extension or you will need to re-apply. You must inform your School Ethics Committee when the research has been completed.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' (http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/UTRECguidelines%20Feb%2008.pdf) are adhered to.

Yours sincerely

Convenor of the School Ethics Committee

Ccs School Ethics Committee
Prof S Reicher (Supervisor)

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Appendix VI

Appendix VI a Multiple Social Identity Model

EXPERIENCES OF YOUNG ADULT MUSLIM SECOND GENERATION IMMIGRANTS IN BRITAIN: BEYOND ACCULTURATION

Mujeeba Ashraf

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews

2016

	Muslim SGIs' Shared Identity	**Muslim SGIs' Non-Shared Identity**	**Muslim SGIs' Conflict Explanation**
Peers	National (cultural)	Religious	Religious
Parents	Religious	Ethnic (cultural)	Ethnic (cultural)

Fig: 2 Multiple Social Identity Model for Muslim SGIs