Narratives of wellbeing from the perspective of Somali mothers and daughters. An intergenerational exploratory study.

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Summary

Part A of this thesis consists of a narrative review of relevant literature. It begins with a description of the search strategy, which includes search terms used. Key terms are defined before wellbeing is contextualised through international cross-cultural research. Next, there is a critical overview of wellbeing through the use of differing theories and frameworks. This includes wellbeing theory and a framework for the wellbeing of transnational Muslim families. These are discussed in relation to their suitability for understanding the experiences of the UK Somali diaspora. The core themes emerging from the narrative review in relation to the Somali diaspora is discussed. This leads into a discussion about gender as well as women and girls whose experiences are overlooked within the literature. The final section of the review provides a summary of the literature review and existing gaps before leading into the presentation of the academic and professional rational for the study presented in part B.

Part B is the empirical study which seeks to explore narratives of wellbeing from the perspective of Somali heritage mothers and daughters living in Bristol and Cardiff. This section begins with a summary of relevant literature before delving into the relevance to educational psychology (EP) practice. A comprehensive overview of the methodology and procedure are provided. Qualitative methodology is adopted through the use of semi-structured interviews. Ten interviews were held in mother and daughter dyads which were analysed using reflexive thematic analysis. The results section follows which details 4 main themes, two of which include subthemes. A thematic map is presented to provide a visual overview of the results. Next, a discussion follows which places emphasis on existing frameworks and relevant literature in relation to the three research questions that the study aimed to answer. Finally, implications for the practice of EPs are presented along with strengths and limitations and future directions of the research, before the study is concluded.

Part C is a critical appraisal of the research process divided in two parts. The first part begins with an exploration of the development of research questions rationale, as well as a critical reflection of the methodological considerations. The second part includes a discussion of contributions to knowledge and ideas for dissemination. The relevance of this thesis to the work of educational psychologists is also outlined.

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Part A: Major literature review

Word count: 12,080

Part A: Major literature review

Introduction

Wellbeing is a broad term that can be considered to be a multi-faceted construct. Whilst there are many definitions of wellbeing with varying degrees of subtle differences, it is a subjective term that is typically synonymous with positive mental health (Dodge & Daly, 2012). The World Health Organization (WHO) defines positive mental health as "a state of wellbeing in which the individual realizes his or her own abilities, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to his or her community" (World Health Organisation, 2011). This conceptualization of wellbeing goes beyond the absence of mental ill health, encompassing the perception that life is going well (Ruggeri, Garcia-Garzon, Maguire, Matz, & Huppert, 2020). From this perspective, it is a sustainable condition that allows the individual or population to develop and thrive. It is likely that each individual aspires to achieve and maintain an acceptable and sustaining life equilibrium, a state of wellbeing. However, there is not just one simple definition that fits all model. Wellbeing is a multidimensional, non-static process which can be viewed through the lens of an individual's life story and values (Clark & McGillivray, 2007). Globally, wellbeing is conceptualised and sought after in varying degrees relating to domains such as culture, gender, religion, wealth and status among others (Dockery, 2010). The cultural domain of wellbeing is believed to be understood through the study of cultural differences across the globe (Diener,2009). This is because people in different cultures are believed to have different conceptions of wellbeing. Diener (2009) argues that the cultural domain of wellbeing is less explored within the international field of wellbeing research. This doctoral thesis aims to explore narratives of wellbeing with a focus on cultural perspectives through the views of Somali heritage families. The review begins with an overview of wellbeing from a global viewpoint. This is followed by an exploration of key constructs of wellbeing within cross-cultural research. The UK Somali diaspora's experiences are then discussed to contextualise the experiences of Somali heritage families. Although there is a focus on a specific cultural and ethnic group, it is acknowledged that individuals have subjective experiences that maybe entirely separate or different from their cultural and ethnic group. The relevance to Educational Psychology practice will be outlined before a rationale is given along with the research questions that are generated from the review.

Purpose

Supporting wellbeing is a significant part of the Educational Psychology (EP) role. Although a large research base on wellbeing exists, there is limited cultural representation of wellbeing that is specific to the EP role. As such, this literature review was based on the frequently overlooked cultural dimension of wellbeing through the perspective and experiences of the Somali diaspora in the United Kingdom (UK). Constructs of wellbeing were explored from a cultural and transnational perspective in order to diversify the wellbeing literature through a focus on Somali families.

This review aims to establish answers to the following questions:

1. What is wellbeing?
2. What does the literature say about UK Somali diaspora families?
3. How do the experiences of the diaspora affect the wellbeing of Somali families?

Narrative review

A narrative review is adopted to allow for a broad range of themes to be covered within the research field pertaining to wellbeing and the UK Somali diaspora. Grant and Booth (2009) argue that narrative reviews can answer multiple questions and are "at different levels of completeness and comprehensiveness." This approach allows for the review of existing themes and debates within the oversaturated field of wellbeing and the relatively small literature base pertaining to the UK Somali diaspora. The scale of the assessment of narrative reviews (SANRA) was used to support the researcher's understanding of narrative reviews and to review the progress of the narrative review (Baethge, Goldbeck-Wood, & Mertens, 2019).

Search terms and sources

A total of four databases were used to conduct the search: American Psychological Association (APA) Psych Info, Scopus, Applied Social Science Index and Abstracts (ASSIA) and Google Scholar. The following keywords were entered into each database.

- Somali/ Somal*
- Diaspora

- Family/ families

- Gender

- Women OR mother OR daughter

- Intergenerational OR generational

- Transnational OR transnationalism

- Culture/ cultural

- Wellbeing OR Mental health

- United Kingdom OR the UK OR UK

- Education*

- School* wellbeing

The decision was made not to include allied concepts of wellbeing such as life satisfaction and other synonymous terms so that the review could focus specifically on the term wellbeing in how this is described and explored within cultural contexts.

Search strategy

Given the focus on diversifying wellbeing research by focusing on culture, it was important to allow for international search results linked to wellbeing. However, given that this doctoral thesis intends to carry out research with the UK Somali diaspora, search results linked to this population group was limited to the UK. The AND/OR commands were used between keywords to promote searches closely linked to the questions asked of the literature. This strategy allowed for searches specific to wellbeing and culture as well as the Somali diaspora whilst distinguishing between UK specific and international results. Following a number of initial searches, an inclusion and exclusion criteria was developed to elicit as many suitable results as possible.

Inclusion criteria

- International research on wellbeing

- UK specific empirical research with the Somali diaspora in the last twenty years

- Research carried out through qualitative or mixed methods

Exclusion criteria

- Research papers based primarily on physical health or specific mental disorder

- Research papers about the Somali diaspora that include quantitative data alone

Given that the Somali civil war took place in 1991, it was felt that literature from the last twenty years would better reflect the post war migration and resettlement experiences of this community group. Research papers based on quantitative data alone were excluded as these did not contribute to discourses about wellbeing or the Somali diaspora through narratives. Search results which included qualitative and quantitative data were included to prioritise narratives. The decision to limit the research to the UK Somali diaspora was also because this allows consideration of the broad social and cultural context of the UK when exploring wellbeing as this will ensure relevance to the empirical research that will follow on from the review. It is acknowledged that by doing so, some potentially relevant research carried out with the global Somali diaspora is overlooked. However, upon review of the included literature searches it was clear that the questions asked of the review could be answered sufficiently from this selection. Backwards and forwards snowballing was also utilised by looking through reference lists to identify any additional research that could be included. The review draws on unpublished reports such as theses and local governmental reports, which are also known as grey literature. Both measures are recommended strategies considered optimal for conducting a narrative literature review (Green, Johnson, & Adams, 2006). This process resulted in 57 sources being included within the literature review.

Definitions

A transnational citizen refers to an individual who maintains economic, familial, social and political membership in a country that extends beyond the borders of the country they live in. For example, individuals who connect with cultures and ideas of more than one country (Dictionary, 1989).

Diaspora refers to the spread of people away from their homeland (Dictionary, 1989).

Contextualising wellbeing from a global viewpoint

The international landscape of wellbeing research is dominated by western regions (White, 2010). This can be problematic when these ideas are assumed to apply to all people. In an effort to combat this, two major research projects were carried out in the UK. These are the 'Measuring human well-being' by the World Institute for Development Economics research (UNI- WIDER) and 'Well- being in developing countries' (WeD) by Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) research group. The purpose of the 'measuring human well- being' project was to provide insight into how human wellbeing is conceptualised. The volume highlights the global focus on utility as the basis and determiner of wellbeing. For instance, the view that what an individual has access to, is likely to govern and determine their wellbeing. It acknowledges that income has for generations remained the metric for utility and by extension wellbeing. In the last decade there has been a shift to viewing wellbeing as multidimensional; the view that all aspects of human life determine wellbeing through a range of phenomenon (Clark & McGillivray, 2007). A more general consensus of wellbeing reflects activities, states of being or achievements that generally allow individuals to live a good and content life. The allied concepts of wellbeing typically include quality of life, fulfilment, capability, life satisfaction, happiness and social welfare (Clark & McGillivray, 2007).

The work of wellbeing in developing countries (WeD) was undertaken by anthropologist Sarah White as part of the ESRC research group. Within this work, wellbeing is viewed as a process rather than a state of being or an outcome. This body of research further develops constructs of wellbeing as multidimensional by reconceptualising wellbeing as context specific. Much of White's (2010) work around context specific wellbeing places emphases on the underpinnings of historical, geographical, and cultural domains that relate to an individual and their wellbeing. The viewpoint that wellbeing and opportunities for achieving it ultimately differ on the basis of social positions such as culture, gender, age and ethnicity suggests that taking a meta-approach that considers an individual's identity markers and geographical context is essential. The premise of this work is based on challenging notions around what wellbeing means for different groups of people by taking an intersectional approach.

Cultural views of wellbeing

The WeD research group carried out international fieldwork projects in less economically advanced countries such as Bangladesh, Kenya and Zambia. A significant link between relationships and wellbeing was noted in the research group's work with people from villages in developing countries. Many participants shared with the research group that wellbeing was not simply about a 'good life' but about choosing to 'live a good life', made easier by connections within the local community. The sentiment here echoes the importance of values in how people choose to live and the sentiment that individuals choose to feel at ease about their place in the world, often made easier with the support of larger groups of people, living under similar circumstances. It became clear within this project that the local measure for quality of life and wellbeing was relatedness. Participants made references to the importance of good marriages, support in old age and maintaining political connections as foundational (White, 2010) . Given that low quality of life and social exclusion highly correlate with personal isolation and lack of social connectedness, this is not surprising (Camfield, Choudhury, & Devine, 2009). However, the unique dimension here is that where poverty and deprivation exist, relatedness and relationships act as a protective factor for wellbeing. Particularly within developing countries where resources are less accessible.

Cross cultural wellbeing; individualistic or interdependent

Within the literature pertaining to cross cultural studies of wellbeing, there are different constructs of and measures for wellbeing across global regions. This has significant implications for how countries are ranked on wellbeing as it brings into question the legitimacy of the international ranking system since wellbeing is unique to each global community. Particularly since countries in the East and in Africa tend to score the lowest on their perceived levels of wellbeing (Helliwell, Layard, Sachs, & Neve, 2021). The literature in cross cultural wellbeing research points to a stark contrast between independent, individualistic cultures and interdependent, collectivistic cultures (Kitayatna, Duffy, & Uchida, 2007). Individualistic cultures typically prioritise the needs of an individual over the collective needs of a group. Autonomy and independence are valued highly in such cultures (Kitayatna et al., 2007). On the other hand, in collectivistic cultures the individual is considered to be inherently connected with others. Relationships and group membership is therefore highly valued as collective

goals are typically prioritised over personal goals (Singelis, 1994). In individualistic cultures social behaviour is typically determined by the subjective attitudes and views held by individuals. In this case, there is a greater sense of subjectivity around how people work towards their wellbeing. In collectivist cultures on the other hand, social behaviour is typically determined by the goals, attitudes and values that are shared by wider groups of people and society. In this sense, wellbeing can be viewed as a shared process or experience (Singelis, 1994). This does not mean that both modes of being do not exist in all cultures, however research indicates that individual independence is highly correlated with Western European, Nordic and Anglo-Saxon cultures. On the contrary, social interdependence is more strongly stressed in East Asia and Africa (Joshanloo, Vliert, & Jose, 2021).

Two viewpoints: hedonic and eudaimonic wellbeing

There are two polarised traditions of wellbeing research within the literature. These are hedonic and eudaimonic wellbeing (Westerhof & Keyes, 2010a). Hedonic wellbeing refers to pleasurable living and eudaimonic wellbeing refers to meaningful living (Joshanloo et al., 2021). According to McMahon, Parnes, Keys, and Viola (2008) a hedonistic conceptualisation of wellbeing is more consistent with the values of modern western culture. Specifically, in relation to liberal modernity, the foundation of which is the ascent of individual over communal agency. It could be argued that modern conceptualisations of wellbeing and positive psychology favour a hedonic concept of wellbeing. This is evidenced by the fact that almost all large- scale international surveys of wellbeing use hedonic measures (Ed Diener & Tay, 2015; Joshanloo et al., 2021). There have been claims that some western psychologists are reluctant in accepting eudaimonic wellbeing as an equal contender of hedonic wellbeing (Joshanloo et al., 2021). Despite this biased view, the hedonic conceptualisation is not regarded as the superordinate goal in many interdependent, collectivistic cultures (Lee, Lin, Huang, & Fredrickson, 2013). In some of these cultures, the emphasis on pleasures and positive emotions are viewed as too temporary of a criterion for wellbeing to be measured against (Joshanloo, 2014). In many ways this sentiment echoes the teachings of Islam and Buddhism in that this life is seen as temporary and a place to prioritise spiritual and ethical values above pleasure. Many cultures view negative feelings and hardship as

experiences that are inevitable in life. These are seen as key life lessons that have the potential to be enriching and are necessary for growth (Joshanloo, 2013; Joshanloo & Weijers, 2014). From this perspective, it could be said that collectivistic cultures take up a balanced approach towards individual happiness because other values such as peace, justice and wisdom are prioritised. Many Asian and African communities view this as culturally more important than hedonic ways of living (McGregor, 2008).

Wellbeing Theory

In recent years, the view that opposing perspective of wellbeing such as hedonic and eudaimonic viewpoints can be brought together to optimise individual's wellbeing has gained traction through Wellbeing Theory (Forgeard, Jayawickreme, Kern, and Seligman, 2011; Henderson and Knight, 2012; Kern and Butler 2016). Wellbeing theory stems from positive psychology, a discipline which developed to create separation between mental illness and wellbeing. Historically, wellbeing has been understood in contrast to mental health, specifically mental illness. As such, the focus on treatment plans and medication to alleviate symptoms of mental illness was a measure to promote happiness and wellbeing (Csikszentmihalyi & Seligman, 2000). This deficit model is limiting in terms of identifying, recognising and supporting wellbeing, hence positive psychology theorists sought to challenge this. Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi (2014) argue that the "disease and deficit" outlook leads to reductionist narratives of wellbeing, that centre discourses about 'what is wrong' and 'how it can be cured' instead of helping people to live more fulfilling lives. They argue that the focus on adversity and negative psychological states are unhelpful and as such an emphasis on positivity is crucial.

Wellbeing theory developed from an integrated approach based on hedonic (pleasurable living) and eudaimonic (meaningful living) components (Seligman, 2011). Together these are referred to as human 'flourishing'. Butler and Kern (2016) define flourishing as "optimal psychosocial functioning that arises from functioning well across multiple psychological domains". Wellbeing theory purports that happiness and wellbeing consist of five factors which contribute to human flourishing. Each factor can be individually measured in relation to how well it enables an individual to flourish in their life. The domain areas, which make up wellbeing theory are positive emotions, engagement, relationships, meaning and accomplishment (PERMA).

The positive emotions factor refers to the subjective experience of an individual's happiness. Engagement refers to an individual's temperament, talents and capacity to engage with different things in life such as music, sport and other interests. This concerns optimal experiences, which result in contentment within these engagements. Both positive emotions and engagement are closely linked to hedonism, they relate to the choices and interests that are intended to make individuals feel happy (Forgeard et al., 2011). Relationships refers to the degree of satisfaction and altruism in social relations, these allow individuals to express and receive love, support, kindness and gratitude. Meaning refers to the feeling of being part of a greater purpose. The feeling of being part of something that is considered greater than the individual's existence. Examples of this include ethics, spirituality, religion and commitment. Both the relationship and meaning factors stem from principles of eudaimonism embedded in meaningful living beyond individual desire and happiness (Henderson and Knight, 2012). Accomplishment refers to feelings of joy, success and victory, which are linked to self-realisation. This factor is linked to the hedonistic principle of improving oneself by striving for the achievement of objectives set for oneself (Peterson, Park, & Seligman, 2005). Research examining hedonic and eudaimonic measures suggests that a life rich in both types of pursuits is associated with the highest degree of wellbeing (Peterson et al., 2005). Consequently, wellbeing theory has led to the development of a PERMA model, which has been used across disciplines to measure an individual's perceived wellbeing based on the five domains (Goodman, Disabato, Kashdan, & Kauffman, 2018).

Summary part 1- A balanced theoretical position

On review of the existing literature around wellbeing, it is evident that much of the large-scale international research is dominated by western regions (White, 2010). Within this body of research, income is used as a crude metric for determining wellbeing. However, the literature around cross cultural wellbeing research brings to light alternative ways of measuring wellbeing. For example, by examining wellbeing through a multidimensional perspective, which views all aspects of human life through a range of phenomenon unique to the cultural context in which individuals live (Clark & McGilivray, 2007; White, 2010; 2016). Wellbeing theory allows for the adoption of a multidimensional approach in studying wellbeing that can incorporate elements of

culture as well as differing viewpoints of happiness and meaning. This is because it developed from an integrated approach to wellbeing based on both hedonic and eudaimonic factors, which resulted in the five core domains known as PERMA. This theory therefore has the potential to encapsulate elements of wellbeing that stem from practices associated with hedonistic, individualistic cultures and eudaimonic, collectivistic cultures. Based on this, wellbeing theory can be seen as a helpful and balanced theoretical position that can represent non-western views of wellbeing. However, a key limitation of wellbeing theory is that the PERMA domains are measures of internal factors related to the self, that subsequently do not capture or allow for the impact of external context of peoples' lives that have the potential to inhibit their wellbeing. Examples of this include structural barriers and inequalities that many immigrants residing in western countries have been known to face (Abrego, 2009; Jordan & Graham, 2012; Mazzacato & Schans, 2011; Tiilikainen et al., 2019;). An important point since the Somali diaspora is known to be a large immigrant grou.

Transnational family wellbeing

Tiilikainen, Al-Sharmani, & Mustasaari, 2019, developed a conceptual framework of wellbeing based on the work of Sarah White (2010; 2016) on wellbeing in international cultures. Their framework was developed for a specific community group; transnational migrant Muslim families residing in western countries. The majority of these families were either former refugees, immigrants or migrants. Transnational families maintain active cultural, political and social ties with more than one country, typically their country of origin and country lived in. They connect with the ideas and cultures of these countries as well as any other country that might be linked to their unique migration history (Desai, 2005).

For many years, constructs around wellbeing and transnational families have become widely researched as a result of the recognition that wellbeing and outcomes for families and society are interlinked (Tiilikainen et al., 2019). In the field of migration, constructs of wellbeing have not been systematically conceptualized or investigated (Tiilikainen, Al-Sharmani, & Mustasaari, 2019). Some studies have looked at care and parenting in migrant families from the perspective of children's outcomes. Much of this research conceptualises wellbeing through child outcomes- educational, health and

psychological (Abrego, 2009; L. P. Jordan & Graham, 2012; Mazzucato & Schans, 2011). Within this research base, particular emphasis is placed on functioning, utility and psychological wellness of migrant families in their host countries. Factors that are likely to hinder or limit positive outcomes for migrant families have also been researched (Sammanani, 2014). However, these studies have neglected to consider the impact of collective and individual agency in creating and maintaining social, material and cultural components of wellbeing. This is an important dimension to consider for this population group who are often individuals that relocate due to forced migration and as such a broader understanding of the factors that contribute to their wellbeing should be considered beyond tangible outcomes and internal measures. It is for this reason that for the purpose of this doctoral thesis, wellbeing is defined and understood from the work of Tiilikainen et al., 2019, p.5 whose framework for wellbeing is defined as follows:

> "Wellbeing is conceptualised through three dimensions: material, relational and ethical. The material dimension of wellbeing refers to the tangible needs and resources of individuals and families, and the public goods and services that they access or lack, all of which are relevant to their welfare and their families. The relational dimension refers to the belonging and personal relations and ties, for example with family members, local networks, and religious and cultural communities. The ethical dimension is concerned with values, norms, and systems of meanings that are pertinent to people's lives. They include religious beliefs, cultural norms and practices, general attitudes and discourses (e.g. on racialized minorities), laws and regimes of knowledge that shape, influence, or regulate (e.g. through state institutions) people's lives".

Figure 1- conceptual matrix of wellbeing (Tilikainen et al., 2019).
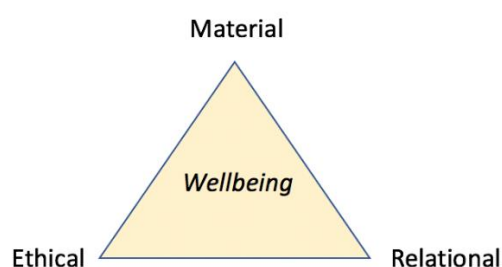
Tiilikainen et al's., (2019) definition of wellbeing was adapted specifically for the population group of transnational Muslim migrant families. The work originally stemmed from the wellbeing in developing countries (WeD) research group who developed research in this area by focusing specifically on cultural perspectives of wellbeing in Asian and African countries (White, 2009). Tiilikainen et al., (2019) developed this work in their focus with predominantly migrant families living in western countries in Europe and North America.

These three dimensions of wellbeing encompass individual factors that relate to how individuals feel and what they experience subjectively as well as accounting for broader systems that either promote or inhibit the wellbeing of transnational family members. This is especially important within the family context so that individuals do not become an extension of the family by proxy of being a member. It includes the external factors that enable or obstruct experiences that impact wellbeing as the framework sees wellbeing not as an outcome measured by a list of indicators, but instead a multidimensional process that allows transnational Muslim families to fulfil needs, confront challenges and pursue aspirations in the context of their material, relational and ethical experiences.

In the context of migrant communities, various cultural perspectives of wellbeing exist between population groups. Attempting to understand cultural perspectives requires an outlook based on exploring how accounts of wellbeing are explained by different individuals (Wright, 2010). This is in line with the shift away from what individuals have but rather what is claimed as an account of wellbeing and how people think about and experience their lives. Transnational citizens (individuals who actively connect with the culture and ideas of more than one country) may feel that home is more than one geographical location, and this can shape how they view wellbeing. This is because constructs of wellbeing are intrinsically connected to the places in which they are generated and how individuals make sense of their experiences (S. White & Blackmore, 2016). For example, it may be that some transnational citizens from Asia or Africa who live in western countries view wellbeing through a combination of hedonic and eudaimonic measures. Similarly, they may work towards achieving their own wellbeing

through the attitudes, beliefs and practices associated with independent or interdependent collectivist cultures. The diversity within the transnational citizen's experience serves as a reminder to challenge the dominant perspective of wellbeing (income and utility as major indicators). This view should be challenged to understand the experiences of individuals from non-western and diverse backgrounds.

In Tiilikainen et al's., (2019) work, interdependence is believed to link to all three components of wellbeing- material, ethical and relational. For this population group, wellbeing may be understood, measured and promoted within this interconnected triad that individuals may experience differently, but with a collective effect on the entire family. What a migrant family member has access to, such as income, supports the entire family unit (material). The way that individuals relate to others in the spaces they occupy can support the wider family through establishing and securing connections with others (relational). Similarly, family members typically subscribe to the same belief system thus influencing others and the entire family in terms of the standard of ethics, belief systems and their practice (ethical). Research shows that individuals with an interdependent outlook are more likely to seek opportunities to fit in, belong and promote the goals of others in order to occupy their place (Berry, Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002). This reflects the experiences of transnational migrant families who through their continuous movement try to find places of comfort, community and opportunities to improve their life circumstances as a collective (Joshanloo, 2013). The individualistic and interdependent cultural domains are crucial consideration points for both family wellbeing and perceived levels of life satisfaction that is attributed to a community group or culture.

Somali diaspora

The next section begins by contextualising the UK Somali diaspora's history before delving into the key themes from the literature. These are discussed with reference to Tillikainen et al's., (2019) framework for the wellbeing of transnational Muslim families.

The UK Somali diaspora

One of the largest diasporas in the world is Somali, estimated at 1.2 million and living in countries such as the United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States, Canada and

Kenya (Hammond et al., 2011). Diaspora describes people who have left their home country to foreign countries around the world, usually involuntarily as a result of exile, persecution, war and migration (Roble & Rutledge, 2008). In 1991, a civil war broke out in Somalia due to resistance to a government military group led by then president Siad Barre. Much of the conflict between the government and opposition groups was rooted in clan-based, military and political rivalry (Kusow, 1994). The civil war led to clan-based violence, persecution, poverty and a total state of anarchy across the country. This resulted in significant numbers of Somalis fleeing the country for safety. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the Somali civil war led to the displacement of 990,000 Somali refugees internationally (Albu, 2019). The war is largely responsible for the global Somali diaspora, which continues to grow exponentially. This is also due to high numbers of secondary migration and the number of first and second-generation immigrants who have obtained host country citizenship.

To date, Somalia remains a country with no functioning government, battling poverty and political instability. Somalia is almost entirely dependent on international remittance, largely from the global Somali diaspora (Hassan, 2017). The UK has the largest and longest-established Somali community in Europe, Somali presence in the UK dates back over a hundred years, when sailors from the northern region of Somalia first settled in the port cities of London, Liverpool and Cardiff (Hammond, 2013). This was as a result of Britain's colonisation of the region. Migration from Somalia continued during and after World War II, with a proportion of arrivals falling under the economic migrant category. Following on from the 1991 civil war, a significant number of refugees arrived. Crucially, a second wave of migration to the UK began around 2000, as a large number of Somalis obtained refugee status in other European countries such as Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands before migrating for a second time, to the UK. The reasons for this were diverse. Many families migrated to join family members, some sought to get away from unemployment or discrimination in the country they originally migrated to and others sought diverse cultural spaces (Van Liempt, 2011a). The most recent figure estimated that there were 108,000 Somali-born individuals living in the UK in 2018 (Office for National Statistics, 2018). This figure is limited to UK citizens born in Somalia and as such actual figures of Somali heritage individuals living in the UK

is expected to be considerably larger when accounting for first and second-generation Somalis, many of whom are British nationals.

Narratives of trauma

A significant body of research conducted within Somali communities, centre discourses of trauma, mental illness, high rates of unemployment, poor educational outcomes and social exclusion (Ellis, MacDonald, Lincoln, & Cabral, 2008; McCrone et al., 2005; Rasmussen, 2011; Robertson et al., 2006; Scuglik, Alarcón, Lapeyre III, Williams, & Logan, 2007). Within many of these studies, the challenges of obtaining refugee status, post-migration (after leaving Somalia) and issues relating to acculturation have been widely documented. Within these studies, many have reported parental accounts of hardship upon arrival, particularly in relation to cultural disconnect. In a community participatory project on mental health with Somalis living in Bristol, a father described cultural disconnect by saying "our body is here but our brain and thoughts are in Somalia" (Linney et al., 2020). This points to the cultural disconnect that some Somalis continue to experience even twenty years post arrival. Language barrier is cited in many studies as a significant barrier that Somali parents face (Hammond, 2013; Rasmussen, 2011). In a study of Somali women's mediated entry into the UK, Akua-Sakyiwah (2017) highlights the detrimental impact of the punitive immigration system on families who rely on interpreting services. Some families felt that navigating the immigration system whilst not speaking the language was more challenging than the experience of the civil war itself. Many families who arrived as refugees were at the mercy of systems that were difficult to manage given the barriers they were faced with.

It is important to note a distinction between the migration histories of the UK Somali diaspora. Whilst a significant number of families come from refugee backgrounds, the Somali diaspora is a community that has experienced high mobility. Most notably due to the second wave of migration of Somalis who obtained citizenship in neighbouring European countries (Van Liempt, 2011). The experience of establishing a new home for the second sometimes third time, can be traumatic and is likely to have had a considerable impact on belonging and identity. This will be discussed further in the coming sections. Rutter (2006) carried out case studies with teachers regarding refugee children and said "in all five schools there were negative perceptions of Somali boys and

girls among some teaching staff. Staff had perceptions of Somali boys being 'traumatised' and could therefore not be expected to learn or behave". Somali children fell victim to prejudicial discrimination and low teacher expectations. An unfair reality experienced by many children of ethnic minority backgrounds, which is widely reported (Education, 2006; Gillborn, 2015).

On review of the above, it could be argued that much of the literature is over saturated in discourses of trauma and disadvantage. A perception of Somalis being traumatised largely as a result of the civil war is present within the literature. However, many of the difficulties faced by the community pertain to post migration resettlement experiences. Some of the disadvantages reported in the literature are rooted in structural inequality such as the immigration system and inadequate housing, which creates more barriers. From this perspective, the narratives of trauma as a result of the civil war alone is not entirely accurate. A comparative study of pre and post migration factors affecting new arrivals found that stronger post migration risk factors were more likely to trigger mental health symptoms (Duraković-Belko, Kulenović, & Dapić, 2003; Sundquist, Bayard-Burfield, Johansson, & Johansson, 2000). It is therefore important to take into account the adverse effect of external risk factors that families may experience as a result of migration to the UK either as a result of war or secondary migration.

The Division of Educational and Child Psychology (DECP) has pledged to 'remove the barriers that children and young people experience' in relation to structural racism and inequality (British Psychological Society, 2020, p. 1). As such there is not only a role for EPs in their work to support wellbeing, but also scope for anti-discriminatory practice to support marginalised groups such as refugee and migrant children by challenging harmful narratives that centre trauma. This requires a critical lens in identifying barriers on an individual basis. To begin this process, an understanding of the history and journey of marginalised communities needs to be understood to advocate for them.

Transnationalism and migration

The concept of home is a complicated topic for the Somali diaspora as many, if not the majority, are part of multiple cultural traditions spanning across borders (Hammond 2013). Many Somalis live transnational lives, living in the UK with strong economic,

social, cultural and political ties in Somalia, other African countries or a neighbouring European country. Their transnational ties largely depend on their own unique migration journeys. In the UK, secondary migration among Somalis is not uncommon. The drivers for continuous movement are diverse and vary between families. In the first instance, families fleeing the civil war did so to escape persecution and obtain safety. However a significant secondary factor for the perilous journeys embarked on, was the pursuit of education, stability and opportunities in life with the hope of returning and rebuilding Somalia one day (Koshen, 2007). It is for this reason that Somalis are strongly involved in transnational activism aiming to alleviate poverty in Somalia (Hammond 2013). Even after resettlement, this remains a crucial priority.

Van Liempt (2011b) noted that thousands of Somalis migrated from the Netherlands to the UK in the early 2000. In a study exploring the relationship between segregation and integration, Van Liempt (2011) found that many of the families made the move to the UK because they believed the UK to be a more tolerant place for religious and cultural difference, especially for Muslims in urban cities. Similarly, Allen and Ögtem-Young (2020) exploration of belonging and home with UK Somalis holding European citizenship, found that family ties, kinship networks and wider religious and cultural community were the most common reasons for secondary migration to the UK. Family members across these studies reported that connections with initial host countries were maintained due to important history, but mostly their citizenship status serving as a reminder of where they came from before settling in the UK. Research suggests that people who are part of a diasporic community, like Somalis, form and negotiate their home in relation to their or their parents', homeland (Dufoix, 2008). In a group dynamic, transnational ties study, this was corroborated by Scuzzarello and Carlson (2019) who found that Somali youth consistently referred to Somalia as their 'home', even in instances where the youth had never been there. Social psychologists studying intra- and inter- group dynamic within ethnic minority communities, suggest that an individual's country of origin (theirs, their parents or grandparents), can provide a sense of mooring and rootedness (Verkuyten, 2004; Waldinger, 2015). Transnationalism is an important theme evident in the literature. Despite seeking a better quality of life in the UK, 'home' is Somalia. This is the foundation for Somalis and

the reason for such strong social, economic and political activism in the diaspora (Hammond 2013).

Belonging and identity

It is important to consider the resettlement experiences of the UK Somali diaspora in relation to social and community connections through clan membership as this is central in Somali culture (Kusow, 1994). Social identity theory purports that belonging to a social group enables individuals to construct who they are (Tajfel, 1974). Group memberships can be determined by identity markers such as nationality, gender, heritage, political views etc. These markers allow individuals to relate to group members and reflect the social nature of humans (Haslam, Jetten, Postmes, & Haslam, 2009). Although group membership has the potential to cause division, it can also promote a sense of meaning. There is some evidence that suggests social connections between bicultural ethnic identities (individuals who have combined cultural attitudes and customs of two nations or ethnic groups) is linked to increased psychological wellbeing and positive self-concept (Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001; Tajfel, 1974; Turner & Oakes, 1986).

Clan membership

In Somalia the foundation of social connections is through clan membership. There is a societal responsibility of clans to provide support and assistance to clan members socially, politically and economically (Kusow, 1994). Although this provides individuals with a support network and continues to do so in the diaspora, clans can also be extremely divisive. The civil war started as a result of clan based political conflict (Kusow,1994). Harris (2004) carried out extensive research with members of the Somali community in the UK to ascertain their strengths and difficulties. She reports that Somalis arriving in the UK relied on a network of clan members for support. This led to the establishment of community groups and centres. In 2004 there were approximately 100 Somali community organisations in London alone (Harris, 2004). These groups were established to provide advice on immigration, asylum claims, housing and education. The importance of such services is evident for newly arrived Somalis and is likely to have contributed positively to their collective wellbeing. However, some members of the Somali community made criticisms that many of the

organisations retained clan allegiances in their offer to service users (Hopkins, 2006). A consequence of this was that clannism (prejudice based on clan membership) persisted even after escaping the civil war. This resulted in further division and distrust within the community (Rasmussen, 2011). From this perspective, social connections between bicultural ethnic identities cannot be assumed to positively promote wellbeing.

More recent research has found that former Somali refugee arrivals, such as the elders still value clan values and practices. On the contrary, Somali youth showed a disinterest (Linney et al., 2020; Scuzzarello & Carlson, 2019). Many reported feeling that clan membership had lost its relevance. For these young people, their history of mobility had left them with a confused attachment to some aspects of Somali culture and identity, specifically the clan-based system (Mazzucato & Schans, 2011). There appears to be a generational difference here with the potential for causing a drift between family members; young, old, refugee arrivals, first generation and second generation Somalis (Gembus, 2018). Many Somali parents arrived in the UK as refugees, on the contrary many of their children are British born Somalis. For many Somali parents, language is the glue that binds families in their Somalinimo (Somali identity). Therefore, many parents prioritise speaking Somali at home as a way of transmitting their heritage language to their children (Abdullahi & Weir, 2021; Selleck, 2022). The difficulty that many Somali parents face is that their children are losing the ability to speak their language, which also affects the parental bond between them (Linney et al., 2020; Selleck, 2022). In an intergenerational study of social identity and group dynamic between Somali elders and youth, Scuzzarello and Carlson (2019) reported that Somali youth expressed feeling trapped between two cultures. A phenomenon reported in the literature about the complexity of post migration identity (Valentine, Sporton, & Nielsen, 2009). This offers insight into the different experiences, attitudes and values of family members. Despite this, there are important similarities that foster collective belonging and relational wellbeing for Somali families.

Islam - the anchor

The key identity marker that brings Somalis in the diaspora together is religion. Somalis are almost universally Muslim and this forms an important part of their identity in Britain, with some even placing it above being Somali (Hassan & Hussein, 2009; Valentine et al., 2009). As noted in the review thus far, a significant number of Somalis

embarked on secondary migration to the UK in the hope of seeking out the freedom to practice their religious and cultural identity. Van den Reek and Hussein (2003) carried out a survey to determine the extent to which this was motivated by integration policies imposed by European governments. 70 out of 100 participants from the Netherlands who live in the UK reported that government policies contributed towards hostility and hate experienced within their communities, which then prompted their move. This inspires curiosity about the diasporas experiences in relation to practicing their religious and cultural identity in Britain. On the contrary, a number of studies carried out with UK Somalis report positive experiences in this area, especially when compared to their previous experiences in other European countries (Allen & Ögtem-Young, 2020; Hopkins, 2010; Valentine et al., 2009; Van Liempt, 2011a). Upon closer and critical reflection however, it becomes apparent that many of these studies took part in communities described as 'ethnic enclaves' (a geographic area with high ethnic concentration). This is by no means incidental, as Somalis report seeking out urban areas with high numbers of Somalis in cities like Sheffield, Leicester, Birmingham and London. There have been some criticisms that this is evidence of intentional segregation as opposed to integrating in British society (Liberatore, 2016).

The current debate regarding segregation assumes that there is always a negative relationship between integration and segregation (Kalra & Kapoor, 2009; Peach, 1996). However, interviews carried out with 33 Somalis across the UK show that living in an ethnic enclave has many different sides to it. These neighbourhoods are places where families find a safe and protective place where they no longer have to worry about the religious upbringing of their children (Van Liempt, 2011a). In a study on identities and belonging with Somali refugees in Sheffield between the ages 11-18, many of the young people interviewed reported having conflicted feelings about what it means to be Somali (Valentine et al., 2009). For some, this was because they relied on second-hand narratives of Somali identity from parents and grandparents. For others who had visited Somalia, there was an added layer of complexity in that despite looking and speaking Somali, their identities were perceived by people in Somalia to be foreign.
Often being referred to as 'fish and chips Somalis' (Valentine et al., 2009). Despite this, all participants described the most important way of defining who they are as being

Muslims. In the transnational context of mobile childhoods transcending borders and cultures, religion has evidently anchored the identity and belonging for many Somalis.

In a study on changing identities of Somalis with women in London, all of the mothers expressed the importance of their children developing a strong sense of religious identity, which holds more significance when living outside their country of origin. Mothers talked about the risk of a losing identity (Hopkins, 2010). Resettling in Britain for these women resulted in a constant negotiation between Somali identity, cultural and religious practices and conforming to the wider societal expectations in the UK. Many Somali families report this difficulty between the parameters of Somalia, their host country and the local Somali community (Gembus, 2018; Harding, Clarke, & Chappell, 2007; Scuzzarello & Carlson, 2019). According to diaspora and transnational researchers, this is a common migrant experience. The constant juggling of time and space; here and there, now and then with the constant interplay between local (UK) and distant (Somalia) influences (Desai, 2005; Werbner, 2000). An example is best demonstrated by the words of Berns-McGown, whose book titled 'Muslims in the diaspora: The Somali communities of London and Toronto' describes Islam as an anchor for Somalis. She states that it provides "an oasis of tranquillity amid the dislocation of refugee straits and the turmoil of adjusting to a new culture" (McGown, 1999). The cultural practice of clan membership cannot be universally considered to positively contribute to the relational wellbeing of all Somalis in the diaspora. Evidently, a divide exists between the two generations. On the contrary, religion, in particular expressions of religious freedom and identity yielded a positive outcome in relation to the ethical dimension of wellbeing for many Somali families. However, the threat of religious discrimination and prejudice has been mitigated by intentional efforts to resettle in ethnic enclaves and highly diverse urban cities. Many Somali families report positive experiences as a result of this, however this does not mean that the community is free from religious persecution and negative societal perceptions that ultimately affect their wellbeing across all three wellbeing domains, material, relational and ethical.

Public perception, policy and media

In the early 2000, Somalis were associated with drug abuse, headlines such as "Crime has gone unchecked too long for Somali community in Britain" created negative

perceptions (The Times, 2009). An exploratory study of intergenerational issues affecting the Somali community in the London borough of Tower Hamlets reported that families felt overlooked and judged due to negative media coverage about them. (Harding et al., 2007; G. Jordan, Ahmed, & Arwo, 2004). More recent press coverage has focussed on female genital mutilation (FGM) and violence and gang affiliation (S. B. Abdullahi & Wei, 2021; Carver, Karlsen, Mogilnicka, & Pantazis, 2022). This indicates little change in media coverage of British Somalis in the last two decades. Moreover, government policies and agendas such as PREVENT, introduced by the government to prevent radicalisation has disenfranchised the Somali community along with other British Muslims (Qurashi, 2018). The British media's portrayal of Somalis as well as short sighted government policies have resulted in alienating the community (S. B. Abdullahi & Wei, 2021). Media and policy discourses have presented a largely negative and monolithic portrayal of the Somali community, thereby creating perceptions of Somalis as problematic, unwilling to integrate, extremist in religious views and gang affiliated. It could be argued that there is a tendency for government policy and media coverage to overlook the many enduring issues of dynamic change which affect the UK Somali community. These include generational issues, educational experiences and family dynamics as a result of their unique refugee and migration journeys. These negative stereotypes overshadow the resilience of Somalis and have the potential to foster prejudice and islamophobia.

Education

The single narrative of underachievement

The existing literature includes studies and local government reports which document the educational experiences of Somali children across the UK. A report published by Lambeth council titled "Raising the Achievement of Somali Pupils" gathered data from 28 London boroughs to compare Somali achievement to national averages. At all four Key Stages, Somalis were the lowest achieving ethnic group in each individual subject and in overall results (Demie, Lewis, & McLean, 2007). These figures showed decreasing achievement at each level- Key Stage 1 pupils outperformed Key Stage 2 and those in Key Stage 4 were the lowest performing. Rasmussen (2011) completed a doctoral thesis about the education experiences of Somali students in London. According to his literature review, the majority of Somali children were underachieving between 1999-

2009. These findings are both dated and specific to one city. It could be argued that the deteriorating results could reflect older students, who following a move to the UK entered the system at later points and as such they may be further behind younger students. Crucially though, the data implies that schools were unable to support Somali students as they progressed through the school system. Looking at more recent and more representative data across the UK, Bristol City Council report that Somali pre-school children are significantly underachieving with less than 20% children achieving a 'good' level of development (Mills, 2014). Similar outcomes were published by Leicester city council (Welford & Montague, 2017). On the contrary, the recent Lambeth report shows that Somali pupils have improved significantly at each Key Stage and are no longer an underperforming group in Lambeth (Demie, Tong, Butler, & McDonald, 2019). Of interest is the finding that in Bristol, Somali children are twice as likely as their white peers to be referred to child disability services and are six times more likely to be referred to the Autism diagnosis pathway (Allport et al., 2019). This presents a mixed picture of underachievement across the UK with some evidence of progress and some indication that underachievement could be masked by additional learning needs. In the context of Tiilikainen et al., (2019) framework for wellbeing, this indicates a threat to the material wellbeing of Somali families as education is culturally considered as a material resource, which has the potential to improve the quality of life for the entire family, as well as equipping individual family members with helpful knowledge.

Language difficulties

According to Rasmussen (2011), the causes of this underachievement are well understood in the literature and by Somali community organizations to be the language barriers that pupils face. This finding is supported by others (Diriye, 2006; Strand, Malmberg, & Hall, 2015). Many Somali parents have little or no understanding of the school system, resulting in an inability to participate actively in their child's education. In some cases, their own lack of education and illiteracy can affect the child's ability to thrive in school (Allport et al., 2019; Demie et al., 2007). An intergenerational study with families in Tower Hamlets interviewed Somali youth who reported feeling that they needed emotional support and help with their education. They felt that their mothers were insufficiently aware of their educational needs and did not have sufficient proficiency in English to support them (Harding et al., 2007). It is helpful to know that

the Somali language is an oral one, as historically, Somali was not a written language until 1974, due in part to illiteracy (Kahin & Wallace, 2017). This is especially important in helping to understand the historic literacy difficulties experienced by Somali children and parents. In turn, it creates nuance to the argument that Somali children's English language and literacy skills is the foundational cause for their educational underachievement. Other contributing issues to the underachievement of Somali children reported in the literature include high rates of pupil mobility, lack of parental awareness and engagement, cultural alienation, racism, and poverty (Demie et al., 2019; Kahin & Wallace, 2017; Rasmussen, 2011).

Structural barriers to education

It is important to preface with the statement that the UK Somali diaspora is of course diverse. However, as an ethnic group many studies report that it is a socio-economically disadvantaged community, with high rates of mobility, which bears the burden of high unemployment, poor living conditions and educational underperformance (Allport et al., 2019; Ellis et al., 2008; McCrone et al., 2005; Rasmussen, 2011; Robertson et al., 2006; Scuglik et al., 2007). This raises questions about the link between structural barriers and the educational experiences of Somali children. There is significant evidence, which shows that the migration history of parents is associated with lower assessment scores for children's early learning outcomes (Leventhal & Shuey, 2014; Stich, Baune, Caniato, Mikolajczyk, & Krämer, 2012). In turn, this trend interacts with disadvantage and measure for social deprivation (Glick, Hanish, Yabiku, & Bradley, 2012). In Abdul Diriye's article entitled 'The ticking Bomb: The Educational Underachievement of Somali Children in British Schools', two structural 'roots of underachievement' are identified. The first is inadequate housing, overcrowding and the second is racism. Diriye (2006) outlines the impact of poor housing conditions and overcrowding, which can lead to behavioural and health difficulties as well as no space for children to learn or keep learning material. This combination is not conducive to learning. Similarly, Rutter (2004) carried out research with Somali children to ascertain their educational experiences. Some pupils started to disengage from school life, when questioned they said they felt different, unwelcomed and not part of the school and the community (Rutter 2004). Five years later, Camden council published a report on Somali pupils in Camden schools and found that students expressed significant concern

about racism and bullying, which they experienced in school and on the playgrounds (Ali & Jones, 2009). This is not the only dimension of racism, as it is widely recognised within the literature that students from Black, Asian and Ethnic Minority backgrounds are more susceptible to negative teacher perceptions and low academic expectations (Brentnall, 2017; Education & Skills, 2006; Gillborn, 2014; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). The underachievement of Somali children, racism and housing difficulties they experience, are not considered to be linked to systemic failures and barriers reinforced by the media and through hostile government policies as described in the previous section. The impact and effect of racism, poverty and language are significant consideration points for psychologists when supporting children from any background. However, children with high rates of migration and mobility are more susceptible to these challenges (Carter-Wall & Whitfield, 2012; Sundquist et al., 2000). In the context of transnational family wellbeing, it is useful to note that many migrant and immigrant families view education as the key to social mobility and economic freedom. From this perspective education can be understood as the pillar of material wellbeing to improve the welfare of migrant families through better opportunities, access and employment. Therefore fundamentally, these families want and need support, although sometimes systemic barriers make engagement hard. Often this results in these families being described as 'hard to reach', which is problematic because it assumes their unwillingness to engage (Crozier, 2001).

Mental Health

The literature on the global Somali diaspora reports high levels of mental illness with low levels of mental health service use (Bettmann, Penney, Clarkson Freeman, & Lecy, 2015). The global context is however, beyond the scope of this literature review. Two key papers specific to mental health were identified as part of the UK literature search. First, a study on the effect of post-migration mobility on mental health, highlighted the negative effect of mobility on Somali families in London (Warfa et al., 2006). The findings evidence that secondary migration is further compounded by continued geographical movement within host countries, in this case the UK. Common reasons for movement include insecure housing such as temporary accommodation and councils moving families. This has been found to negatively impact child development as children experience instability, which in turn affects self-esteem and wellbeing (Allport

et al., 2019). Across studies Somali parents reported experiences of disrupted family life, stress and financial hardship (Akua-Sakyiwah, 2017; Harding et al., 2007). Mothers in particular experience health problems, which they do not always seek medical support for, due to language and cultural barriers (Warfa et al., 2006). Refugee studies show that the mental health of refugee parents affect their next generation of children (Lambert et al., 2014; Van E et al., 2016). The foregoing gives insight into the generational effect of mental health. When children and families' identification and attachment to a place is threatened by displacement or forced movement, problems associated with conflicted identity, nostalgia and alienation ensue. These are all risk factors associated with poor mental health (Warfa et al., 2006).

A more recent study on mental health found that migration and associated stress from the civil war continues to contribute to mental illness within the Somali community (Linney et al., 2020). Fourteen years after the findings of Warfa et al (2006), her findings are echoed in this research along with the view that mental health is still misunderstood in Somali communities. This was initially explained by Guerin, Guerin, Diiriye, and Yates (2004) who in their work with Somalis found that stress, anxiety and depression are concepts that are not acknowledged by many Somalis. This was due in part to a belief that religious practice mitigates mental illness (Samanani, 2014). In the study by Linney et al., (2020) study, focus groups held with Somali community members in Bristol resulted in a number of issues being highlighted as contributory factors. These included culturally determined ways of talking about health which are typically dealt with independently unless considered to be of a serious and physical nature. Shame and a strong sense of stigma meant that individuals with mental health conditions are viewed as "crazy". As such, cultural considerations and reducing stigma are vital in improving understanding of mental health and wellbeing of Somali families as this poses a significant threat to all domains of wellbeing, material, relational and ethical.

Resilience

Based on the emerging themes, it could be argued that much of the research about the Somali diaspora overlooks the strength and resilience of the community in establishing a new life in the UK. This section will explore resilience from an ecological perspective.

For a number of years resilience had been conceptualised as an internal quality, a personality trait that helps individuals overcome adversity and enables them to function (Masten, Best, & Garmezy, 1990). In the last two decades however, this idea has since evolved into a more dynamic understanding of resilience that also encompasses contextual factors (Rutter, 2006). Bronfenbrenner (1979) ecological model of child development illustrates how the various systems that individuals are a part of, are either risk or protective factors for resilience. To demonstrate, child-family relationships at the microsystem level, can impact children's resilience based on the experiences of their parents. This is because children's resilience and wellbeing has been found to be related to the degree of similarity between theirs and their parents. In this sense there is a generational effect on resilience. Similarly, the mesosystem, which includes, neighbourhood and religious institutions serve as protective factors for the Somali community (Hopkins, 2010). For example, in a generational study across ages, Somali youth and elders reflected that their Muslim identities and mosque communities keep them grounded and alleviate the daily stressors of life (Valentine et al., 2009). On the contrary, the macrosystem, which includes the political, economic and wider cultural contexts have proved to be risk factors for resilience. This is seen in policies such as PREVENT, perceptions created by the media and the cultural rhetoric around anti-immigration and islamophobia which affect the UK Somali community (Qurashi, 2018). It is the interplay between the contextual factors within the ecological systems that are therefore significant to resilience. This model can be used to develop understanding of people's circumstances and resiliency factors.

Many Somali parents are determined to create better life circumstances for themselves despite the barriers they are faced with. Examples include community organisations that are set up by Somalis for Somalis to support in areas of housing, employment and immigration (Harris, 2004). Grassroot educational initiatives and improvement in school achievement is also evident (Demie et al., 2019). Many Somali parents conceal the hardships and violence that they and their families have experienced to protect their children from potential trauma. To demonstrate, in a study of identities and belonging with Somali refugee and asylum seekers, some children reported not knowing why their parents left Somalia, and why again they moved to the UK. (Valentine et al., 2009). It is important to note that both trauma and resilience are culturally specific. In the case of

the Somali diaspora, culturally the experience of war and migration is understood as a test from god (Allah) based on the belief that Allah does not inflict trials and tribulations which individuals cannot handle. Culturally, such trials are viewed as opportunities to strengthen character and resilience. In this sense, experiences which may be viewed as traumatic from a western lens, may be constructed as unfortunate life events that have the potential to build character and resilience through trials and tribulations overcome.

Gender roles

Debates within academic research purport that gender is rooted in socially constructed ideas across communities that dictate the meaning and expectations of gender (Burr, 2015; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Tannen, 2014). The work of gender theorist Judith Butler has challenged conventional notions of gender identity and performativity. Butler (1990) argues that societies regard gender as something that is 'performed' and 'done'. In Hopkin's (2010) research on the changing sense of 'Somaliness' through the perspective of Somali women, she denotes that the process of migration, specifically forced migration shapes cultural connectedness in the context of cultural, social and gender norms. For the Somali women who took part in Hopkin's (2010) research, what it means to be a Somali woman had changed the way that many of the women 'performed' gender and what resettling in a new country and a new culture had 'done' to their gender. To understand these changes, the cultural dimension of gender in Somalia and thus in Somali culture needs to be understood first.

In Somalia, there is a strong patriarchal existence that shapes gender roles culturally. Somali females are expected to be obedient and passive whilst males are considered leaders though traditionally, they play 'little part in the domestic sphere' (Wallace & Kahin, 2017, p. 15). For some women, this has been to their detriment when faced with challenges in the absence of a male figure. Akua-Sakwiyah (2017) illustrates this in her research with Somali refugee women's mediated entry into the UK. The women were highly vulnerable while seeking asylum, many lacked the resources to navigate the immigration system and advocate for themselves as a result of Somali patriarchal society, which denied them education and access to social resources. However, the effect of migration has resulted in increased educational and employment opportunities for Somali women (S. B. Abdullahi & Wei, 2021). Within the literature reviewed, what

has become apparent is the change in family dynamics within the Somali diaspora resulting in changing gender roles. Somali men maintain a tradition of little domestic involvement in family life. Across the diaspora women complained of their husbands who spent their time sitting in local cafes discussing clan related issues and the politics of Somalia, reminiscing a return to their homeland (Tiilikainen et al., 2019). Many of the men struggled to secure employment resulting in further marginalisation and emasculation affecting marital relationships. Some Somali men engaged in frequent short-term travel to Somalia and neighbouring countries to pursue business or politics, which ultimately disrupted family wellbeing (Harding et al., 2007; Hopkins, 2006, 2010; Linney et al., 2020; Tiilikainen et al., 2019). This has yielded the inevitable outcome of changes in gender roles and responsibilities, especially for women who started to lead their own families and households (Harris, 2004).

This cultural gender shift has had a generational impact in that it has also shaped differences in the way that Somali boys and girls are socialised. From a transnational migrant viewpoint, research indicates that girls and boys in immigrant families are socialised differently across gender lines and encouraged to pursue different paths in life (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Selleck (2022) conducted a study on family language policy with Somali mothers and daughters in Bristol. This research was underpinned by a question about gender and its impact on issues faced by refugee women. Some Somali daughters shared that there were strict rules and responsibilities placed on them that were not expected of their brothers. The pressure on Somali females to uphold cultural norms for gender propriety is evident within the literature as also reflected by Gembus (2018) whose ethnographic research with a group of Somali adolescents reflected this through drama and performance. This research explores intergenerational identity through 'safe spaces' in plays written, directed and performed by a Somali youth group in London. The group performed a scene, which depicted their parents finding out that their children attended a youth group which was not gender separated as they had assumed. This led to parental disappointment, especially towards the females, resulting in their chastisement as the parents believed they could be drinking and dating the males in the group. In Somali culture, strict rules are placed on Somali women and girls to ensure they are not stigmatized for what maybe perceived as flirtatious or sexually promiscuous behaviour (Carver, 2021). Gembus (2018) argues that this scene reflects

this group of first and second-generation immigrant experiences of changing cultural customs linked to gender. In this case, it is the females whose behaviour is judged more harshly than their male counterparts. Evidently, the dimension of gender is impacted by the migration, resettlement and transnational connections that Somalis have, which then alters cultural gender norms. This raises questions about how the identity marker of gender connects with and impacts the wellbeing of Somali women and girls both individually and collectively as a gender group.

The impact of changing gender roles on Somali women

Harris (2004) research on the Somali community in the UK reported that male Somali refugees were reluctant to take jobs incommensurate with their previous occupations in Somalia. Instead choosing to stay out of work, resulting in increased pressure and responsibility placed on Somali women, who were more prepared to take on non-skilled, low paid work to support their family. In Hopkins (2010) research on gender with Somali women in London, she reports that a significant number of Somali women became single parents after a few years of being in the UK. This was in part, due to Somali men not taking part in the financial, caring and domestic responsibilities of family life (Wallace & Kahin, 2017). Since Somali women began to take on paid work and caring responsibilities, the patriarchal cultural expectation of women to be obedient and passive began to erode in the diaspora. Young mothers separated from their husbands often talked of the strain of fulfilling parenting responsibilities alone. They felt they had to be both a father and a mother to their children and were often overwhelmed by the pressure of these roles. They emphasized the difficulties of raising children alone because of their lack of familiarity with British culture, and fears that their children would lose their sense of cultural and religious identity. Somali women reported experiences of disrupted family life, stress and financial hardship (Akua-Sakyiwah, 2017; Harding et al., 2007; Harris, 2004; Hopkins, 2010). Somali mothers in particular also experience health problems, which they do not always seek medical support for, due to language and cultural barriers (Linney et al., 2020; Warfa et al., 2006). These studies demonstrate that Somali women were under a great deal of stress.

In addition to the family stressors Somali women experienced, their difficulties were compounded by language barriers they faced as they navigated life in Britain (Guerin et

al., 2004; Kahin & Wallace, 2017; Rasmussen, 2011). These studies showed that the language barrier had a knock-on effect on the wellbeing of the wider family. To demonstrate, Somali youth in Tower Hamlets reported that they needed help with their schoolwork. They felt that their mothers were insufficiently aware of their educational needs and did not have sufficient proficiency in English to support them (Harding et al., 2007). Here Somali women's inability to assist with their children's schoolwork is presented as a shortcoming on their part. Yet, in Harris (2004) research, she notes that Somali women often say that their greatest challenge in the UK following arrival is lack of available support in helping them to understand the English language in a way that would enable them to understand the systems and processes that exist in the UK. This is an obvious hindrance to the material wellbeing of Somali families since language is key to accessing services and goods that will enable the welfare of the whole family. In addition to this, there is also an opposite effect that threatens the relational wellbeing between Somali family members themselves. To illustrate, the literature points to the fact that fewer Somali children, first and second-generation immigrants are able to speak Somali well (Allport et al., 2019; Harding et al., 2007; Scuzzarello & Carlson, 2019). For some, this has resulted in a language barrier between Somali mothers and their children (Selleck, 2022). This breakdown in communication is particularly poignant for Somali women who, if their children cannot speak Somali, lose the ability to pass on stories and histories which is considered vital in Somali culture (Kusow, 1994). Since the responsibility for storytelling in Somali culture lies with the women: grandmothers, aunts and mothers, this could create tensions between Somali women and girls as this inter-generational cycle becomes at risk. From this perspective, Somali women's fears that their children may lose their sense of cultural identity seems legitimate. The literature points to a number of increased pressures experienced by Somali women due to changing gender roles that come with the challenges of resettling in foreign countries, where cultural attitudes and beliefs are at odds with the majority (Allen & Ögtem-Young, 2020). Thus, there is evidence of the strength and resilience of Somali women in overcoming unemployment, language barriers, cultural differences, the pressure of single parenting and navigating foreign systems in the UK. Despite this, their views and experiences are often overlooked by a focus on Somali communities as a whole, despite evidence that Somali women are assuming more responsibility for maintaining the wellbeing of their families. In doing so, it maybe that their own

individual wellbeing is compromised for what they perceive as the greater material, relational and ethical wellbeing of the family unit. Of interest is the impact of the changing gender roles within Somali culture on younger Somali women, the daughters of Somali mothers. Particularly in relation to their narratives of wellbeing, how they compare to their mothers and how the strong transnational ties Somali families maintain, effect the next generation's wellbeing (the daughters). In this sense, the views and experiences of Somali women and girls may illuminate constructs of wellbeing from a cultural and intergenerational perspective, a gap in the literature pertaining to both the Somali diaspora and cultural perspectives of wellbeing.

Summary

The literature review began by contextualising wellbeing from a global viewpoint. It established that much of the wellbeing research is dominated by western regions. Within this, the global focus on utility as a metric and determiner of wellbeing was apparent. Cultural views of wellbeing were explored through the work of British anthropologist Sarah White who led two large- scale international research projects which examined constructs of wellbeing across Asia and Africa (White, 2010). White (2010) argues that wellbeing is context specific and needs to be understood by considering an individual's history, geography, culture and identity markers. Two polarised measures for wellbeing were evident within the international wellbeing research linked to culture. These are hedonic and eudaimonic wellbeing (Westerhof & Keyes, 2010a). Hedonic wellbeing refers to pleasurable living and eudaimonic wellbeing refers to meaningful living (Joshanloo et al., 2021). According to McMahon et al. (2008) a hedonistic conceptualisation of wellbeing is more consistent with the values of modern western culture whereas eudaimonism is associated with Eastern and African cultures. The literature in cross cultural wellbeing research points to a stark contrast between independent, individualistic cultures and interdependent, collectivistic cultures (Kitayatna et al., 2007). This does not mean that both modes of being do not exist in all cultures, however research indicates that individual independence is highly correlated with western cultures where hedonism is the dominant measure for wellbeing. On the contrary, social interdependence and collectivism is more strongly stressed in East Asia and Africa, where eudaimoniam is the dominant measure for wellbeing (Joshanloo et al., 2021).

In order to understand the experiences of the UK Somali diaspora, Tiilikainen et al., (2019) conceptual framework for wellbeing is used. This was decided given the focus on family wellbeing and since Somali families are predominantly Muslim and live transnational lives (they connect with the culture and ideas of more than one country). In this case, the UK whilst also maintaining economic, social and political ties in Somalia. Tiilikainen et al., (2019) definition of wellbeing is based on a triad consisting of a material, relational and ethical component. Material refers to the tangible needs and resources such as public goods and services, which allow families to live well. Relational refers to the belonging and personal relations and ties they maintain, such as family members and supportive networks. The ethical component refers to the religious beliefs, cultural norms and practices which influence and regulate the lives of families. They purport that transnational Muslim families strive for wellbeing within this triad. Throughout the review, this triad is used to support understanding of how the experiences of Somali families in the UK shape their wellbeing. Much of the literature reviewed showed that research pertaining to this community centres their refugee background and experiences through a trauma lens (Ellis et al., 2008; McCrone et al., 2005; Rasmussen, 2011; Robertson et al., 2006; Scuglik et al., 2007). Beyond the refugee population, it is acknowledged that secondary migration within the UK Somali diaspora is high. This is because many families moved to the UK upon gaining refugee status in a neighbouring European country (Hammond, 2013). The reasons for this vary and include the goal of seeking better education opportunities and freedom to express cultural and religious identity by seeking out culturally diverse communities (Allen & Ögtem-Young, 2020; Valentine et al., 2009; Van Liempt, 2011a). The literature review important issues for Somali women. Specifically, that Somali mothers shoulder the burden of adjusting to family life as immigrants in a foreign country with little help from their husbands. In doing so, they contribute to changing cultural gender norms within Somali culture in the diaspora. As the mothers take on the role of striving towards the wellbeing of their families, they lean on their daughters who are held to a different standard to their brothers in relation to responsibilities placed on them and their conduct. This raises a question about the generational dynamic between the mothers and daughters and how their relationship shapes their perception of wellbeing.

Relevance to Educational Psychology

Educational Psychologists (EP) typically work within Local Authorities (LAs) and are professionals who possess the skills and expertise to support the wellbeing of children and their families (DfE, 2011, 2017). As LA representatives supporting a range of schools, EPs play a role in supporting the wellbeing of all communities they come into contact with (British Psychological Society, 2020). In Wales, the curriculum is specifically designed to promote positive health and wellbeing for all children (Donaldson, 2016). The curriculum details six areas of learning, one of which is health and wellbeing. Within this key area, the curriculum focuses on helping children and young people build skills, knowledge and understanding, to be able to develop positive and appropriate relationships. This includes understanding and dealing with difficult situations, decision making, resilience and emotional awareness (Donaldson, 2016). The psychological literature that EPs draw on within the realm of wellbeing is extensive. For instance, EPs employ ideas from Bowlby (1969) attachment Theory by taking into account the impact and affect of relationships on wellbeing. Adverse Childhood Experiences (Chapman et al., 2004; Felitti et al., 1998), particularly with reference to risk and resilience factors and the consideration of adverse life experiences on learning and wellbeing. Motivational theories Maslow (1958) and emotional intelligence Goleman (1996) are also helpful frameworks incorporating the hierarchy of human need and capacity for emotional understanding and awareness. These approaches are not exhaustive but rather representative of the psychological literature that EPs draw on in their work with children, young people and their families to support wellbeing. The review has established that theories of psychological well-being are shaped by cultural beliefs concerning the fundamental nature of a person, their upbringing and wider geographical context (Christopher, 1999; E Diener & Suh, 2000; Kitayama & Markus, 2000). The models and theories EPs draw on are well established within the psychological literature on wellbeing. However, it is important to note that they are all developed by western psychologists whose research took place in Britain and America where the dominant perspective of wellbeing is linked to hedonism and independent cultures (Joshanloo, 2013). As such, it is important for EPs to have an understanding of differing cultural viewpoints and perspectives of wellbeing so that they can be sensitive to the differing needs of diverse community groups whom they may support.

Aims of the present research

Much of the research relevant to the work of EPs on wellbeing is general and broad. The lack of representation and diversity of culturally specific work around wellbeing is a major gap within the literature. As part of the Welsh curriculum, the teaching of stories about Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic people is a mandatory part of the curriculum for the first time in history (Donaldson, 2016). The Division of Educational Child Psychologists (DECP) has pledged to 'remove the barriers that children, young people and families experience' in relation to structural racism (British Psychological Society, 2020, p. 1). A significant barrier for individuals from minoritized backgrounds is lack of representation. As such, seeking the voices of individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds is an important aspect of DECPs pledge. Given the increasingly more diverse communities that EPs work in, there is an urgent and pressing need to raise awareness of culturally informed perspectives of wellbeing. The literature review points to a lack of exposure on the views and experiences of Somali women and girls despite the responsibility placed on them to maintain collective family wellbeing. Therefore, their conceptualisation of wellbeing is not understood well. The relationship between Somali mothers and daughters may help to illuminate how their individual and collective wellbeing is shaped within the family context. Finally, since the review highlighted the structural barriers that Somali children and their parents face in education, it would be helpful to better understand their educational experiences and identify ways in which EPs can help schools to support their wellbeing. As such, the present study aims to explore narratives of wellbeing within the mother and daughter dyad. It is hoped that an intergenerational, transnational and diverse group of Somali mothers and daughters will provide cultural representation of wellbeing in a sea of western dominated discourses of wellbeing. In order to achieve this goal, the following research questions will underpin the empirical research.

1. How do Somali mothers and daughters conceptualise wellbeing?

2. What role does the mother/daughter relationship play in shaping wellbeing?

3. What are the educational experiences of families from transnational Muslim backgrounds and how can education provisions support their wellbeing?

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Narratives of wellbeing from the perspective of Somali mothers and daughters. An intergenerational exploratory study

Part B: Major Empirical Study

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Part B: Major Empirical Study

Abstract

This study explores narratives of wellbeing from the perspective of Somali heritage mothers and daughters in the UK. The aim of the study is to provide cultural representation of wellbeing to support equality and diversity practice within the Educational Psychology (EP) profession. The narratives of the women and girls are understood in relation to Tiilikainen et al., (2019) framework of wellbeing for transnational Muslim families. Within this work, wellbeing is understood through an interconnected triad consisting of material, relational and ethical wellbeing. Ten semi-structured interviews were conducted in mother and daughter pairs. Reflexive thematic analysis is used to synthesise patterns of meaning across the dataset. The researcher is a member of the study population group, a transnational Somali female, thus reflexive thematic analysis was also chosen because it sees the researcher's positionality as integral to the analysis process. Findings show that the mothers and daughters conceptualise wellbeing through a relational and ethical lens in which they prioritise their faith, Islam as well as relational ties with individuals whom they share lived experiences with. This enables the mothers and daughters to navigate life's stressors linked to their experience of marginalisation within the education system and life in Britain as transnational migrant Muslim families. Additionally, intergenerational dynamics between the mothers and daughters are considered with emphasis on the role of gender. The study generates important implications for the practice of EPs in their work supporting wellbeing in education and the wider community. This includes how cross-cultural wellbeing research can inform a broader understanding of wellbeing.

Key words: Wellbeing, culture, Somali, transnational, Muslim, diaspora, female, mother, daughter, gender, educational psychologist

Introduction

In confronting the question, "what is the good life", cultural relativism is encountered (Edward Diener & Suh, 2003). Cultural relativism refers to the theory that beliefs and customs exist in relation to the culture they originate from and are therefore not absolute (Gough, 2004). This means that wellbeing, which is understood as the multidimensional process that allows individuals to live a good and content life, cannot be understood as a universal construct for all people. Societies are comprised of groups of people who form communities based on having particular characteristics in common. Communities tend to bind together through shared values that will help them in achieving a good life. This is the premise of cultural relativism in relation to the good life and wellbeing (Edward Diener & Suh, 2003). The anthropologist Sarah White argues that understanding cultural differences can only be achieved through meaningful listening to others and sharing of experiences (White, 2010). In their book on international cultures of wellbeing, White and Blackmore (2016) reconceptualise wellbeing as context specific. They argue that conceptualisations of wellbeing are inherently linked to social positions such as geography, gender, age, ethnicity and culture, which vary globally. Therefore, what wellbeing might mean in a national context such as the UK needs to be explored within multicultural spaces by taking into account individual social positions (McGregor, 2008). This is to ensure cultural diversity so that one construct of wellbeing is not assumed to be relevant to all people who may live in the same country.

Cultural views of wellbeing

The literature in cross cultural wellbeing research points to a contrast between independent, individualistic cultures and interdependent, collectivistic cultures. Individualistic cultures prioritise the needs of an individual over the collective needs of a wider group or community, in collectivistic cultures, the individual is considered to be inherently connected with others (Kitayatna et al., 2007). In individualistic cultures social behaviour is determined by subjective attitudes and views held by individuals (Wright, 2012). In this case, there is a greater sense of subjectivity around how people work towards their wellbeing. In collectivist cultures, social behaviour is typically determined by the goals, attitudes and values that are shared by wider groups of people and society. In this sense, wellbeing can be viewed as a shared process or experience

(Singelis, 1994). This does not mean that both modes of being do not exist in all cultures, however research indicates that individualism is highly correlated with Western European, Nordic and Anglo-Saxon cultures. On the contrary, social interdependence is more strongly stressed in East Asia and Africa (Joshanloo et al., 2021). Additionally, two polarised constructs of wellbeing exist within the cross-cultural research landscape. These are hedonic and eudaimonic wellbeing (Westerhof & Keyes, 2010a). Hedonic wellbeing refers to pleasurable living and eudaimonic wellbeing refers to meaningful living, often through difficulty (Joshanloo et al., 2021). Eudaimonic living is often linked to spirituality and religion, it focusses on living in a way that is directly linked to the divine (Dierendonck & Mohan, 2006). According to McMahon et al. (2008) a hedonistic conceptualisation of wellbeing is more consistent with the values of modern western culture and eudaimonic is believed to be more prevalent in East and African cultures.

Wellbeing Theory

In moving away from the literature around cross-cultural research, it is important to consider theories and frameworks of wellbeing in relation to their usefulness in understanding wellbeing by taking into account cultural relativism. Wellbeing theory developed from an integrated approach based on hedonic (pleasurable living) and eudaimonic (meaningful living) domains. These domains, which make up wellbeing theory are positive emotions, engagement, relationships, meaning and accomplishment (PERMA). Positive emotions and engagement are closely linked to hedonism, they relate to the choices and interests that are intended to make individuals feel happy (Forgeard et al., 2011). The relationship and meaning factors stem from principles of eudaimonism embedded in meaningful living beyond individual desire and happiness (Henderson and Knight, 2012). Accomplishment refers to feelings of joy and success linked to self-realisation. In this sense, accomplishment is linked to the hedonistic principle of improving oneself by striving for the achievement of objectives set for oneself (Peterson et al., 2005). The key strength of wellbeing theory is that it allows for the adoption of a multidimensional approach that can incorporate domains across cultures as well as differing viewpoints of happiness and meaning. This is because its domains developed from both hedonic and eudaimonic factors. However, a key limitation of wellbeing theory is that the PERMA domains are measures of internal factors related to the self.

Subsequently, these domains do not capture or allow for the impact of external context of peoples' lives that have the potential to advance or inhibit their wellbeing. In addition to this, the wellbeing domains together create a bias towards overall functioning and utility through their focus on what individuals have (Goodman et al., 2018). These limitations do not allow for consideration of structural barriers and inequalities that people may experience, which ultimately can affect their wellbeing. The literature review has demonstrated that this has been the experience of many Somali families.

Transnational family wellbeing

Tiilikainen et al., (2019) developed a framework for wellbeing by adapting the work of Sarah White (2010; 2016) on wellbeing in international cultures. Their framework was developed for transnational migrant Muslim families residing in western countries. Transnational families maintain active cultural, political and social ties with more than one country, typically their country of origin and country lived in. They connect with the ideas and cultures of these countries as well as any other country linked to their unique migration history (Desai, 2005). The framework purports that for this community group, wellbeing is conceptualised through an interconnected triad of material, ethical and relational factors that make up family and individual wellbeing.

Figure 1- conceptual matrix of wellbeing (Tilikainen et al., 2019).
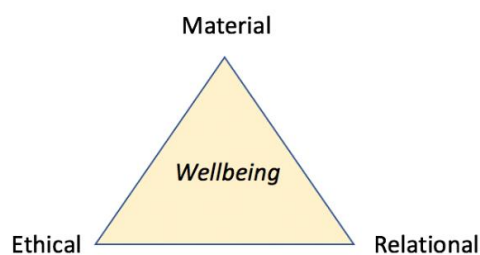
Material wellbeing refers to the tangible needs and resources of individuals and families, and the public goods and services that they access or lack, all of which are relevant to their welfare and their families.
Relational wellbeing refers to the belonging and personal relations and ties, for example with family members, local networks, and religious and cultural communities.
The ethical dimension is concerned with values, norms, and systems of meanings that are pertinent to people's lives. This include religious beliefs and cultural norms.

The key strength of this framework is that the triad encompasses individual factors that relate to how individuals feel and what they experience subjectively as well as accounting for broader factors that either promote or inhibit the wellbeing of transnational migrant Muslims individuals and family members (Tiilikainen et al., 2019). This is important within the family context so that individuals do not become an extension of the family by proxy of being a member. The framework incorporates internal and external factors since wellbeing is not seen as an outcome measured by a list of indicators, but instead a multidimensional process that allows transnational Muslim families to fulfil needs, confront challenges and pursue aspirations in the context of their material, relational and ethical experiences (Tiilikainen et al. 2019). Within this framework, interdependence is evident in the three components of wellbeing-material, ethical and relational. To demonstrate, what people have access to that supports the entire family unit (material), how people relate to others in the spaces they occupy and the spaces they maintain connections with (relational) and the belief system people subscribe to that shape the way they live and feel about their lives (ethical) (Tiilikainen et al. 2019). Research has found that transnational migrants with an interdependent outlook are more likely to seek opportunities to fit in, belong and promote the goals of others (Berry et al., 2002). This is likely because they seek to fit in through continuous movement in order to find places of comfort, community and opportunities to improve their individual and collective wellbeing (Joshanloo, 2013; Tiilikainen et al., 2019).

Somali diaspora

The research around culture and wellbeing is explored with the purpose of considering frameworks and theories, which may inform narratives of wellbeing from a cultural perspective. More specifically, this thesis seeks to do this from the perspective of Somali families, in particular Somali females. It is widely documented that family relationships have a significant effect and influence on wellbeing as family members are linked in important ways through each stage of life. These relationships are an important source of social connection and social influence which have important implications for their wellbeing (Thomas, Liu, & Umberson, 2017).The UK Somali diaspora is comprised of an immigrant population with high mobility (Hammond, 2013). This is because many live transnational lives; settled in the UK though with strong economic, social and political

ties in other countries such as Somalia and other countries linked to their migration history (Van Liempt, 2011). For instance, the Somali civil war took place in 1991 due to clan based military and political rivalry leading to a global Somali diaspora estimated at 1.2 million (Hammond et al., 2011). The UK has the largest and longest-established Somali community in Europe, hundreds of Somalis arrived as a result of Britain's colonisation in the 1800 and economic migrants followed post world war two. Thousands of refugees arrived after the 1991 civil war and a second wave of mass migration took place in the early 2000s comprised largely of former refugees who obtained citizenship in neighbouring European countries (Hammond, 2013). Family life is extremely important in Somali culture, within the diaspora, family structures have changed significantly as a result of the challenges associated with migration and resettlement experiences after the civil war. For instance, Somali families experienced unemployment, discrimination and structural barriers linked to access to resources in education, housing and immigration, which were compounded by language and cultural barriers (Akua-Sakyiwah, 2017; Harding et al., 2007; Kahin & Wallace, 2017; Rasmussen, 2011). Somali children experienced insecure housing and a mixed picture of educational underachievement with some evidence of progress in the last five years (Demie et al., 2007; Kahin & Wallace, 2017). Despite these challenges, Somali communities came together to set up organisations to support each other with housing, employment, and education initiatives (Demie et al., 2019).

Somali females

The literature shows that many of the challenges Somali families faced were shouldered by mothers who took on both working and caring responsibilities, when Somali men were reluctant to take on jobs they felt were incommensurate with their previous occupations held in Somalia (Harris, 2004; Hopkins, 2010). Somali mothers have overcome unemployment, language barriers, cultural differences, the pressure of single parenting and navigating foreign systems in the UK. This has led to changing cultural gender roles that Somali women began to adopt, which also impacted on their daughters, the next generation of Somali mothers. The literature shows that Somali girls are socialised differently to males with higher expectations placed on them for caring responsibilities and gender propriety conduct (Gembus, 2018; Selleck, 2022). Somali mothers and daughters play a significant role in maintaining family wellbeing, yet, their

views and experiences within the literature is often overlooked. A brief search of Somali women and girls in research databases yields results linked to negative connotations about their religious identity, high-risk maternity, female genital mutilation and mental illness (A. Abdullahi, Copping, Kessel, Luck, & Bonell, 2009; Moxey & Jones, 2016; Small et al., 2008). These results paint a picture of narratives embedded in trauma despite evidence of the resilience of Somali women and girls. Given the importance of family life in Somali culture and the fact that this community group live transnational lives in the UK, Tiilikainen et al's., (2019) framework for wellbeing is considered to be a suitable framework to help understand their experiences. This is because their framework for wellbeing was developed to help understand how transnational Muslim families conceptualise and work towards wellbeing in Europe and western countries. In addition to this, their framework for wellbeing, comprised of a triad based on material, relational and ethical wellbeing, encapsulates internal and external factors, which contribute to or inhibit individual and collective wellbeing. Contrary to wellbeing theory, which is limited to measuring internal factors of individual wellbeing through PERMA domains.

The role of Educational Psychology

The British Psychological Society (2020) purport that Educational Psychologists have a role to play in supporting the wellbeing of all communities they come into contact with. Since EPs work with culturally and ethnically diverse communities, it is important to have an awareness and understanding of the diversity in schools of thought around wellbeing in order to adequately support all communities regardless of cultural differences. Additionally, the distinction between cross-cultural wellbeing viewpoints is crucial for EPs understanding as it raises questions about whose voices are privileged within both research and within education spaces. This has implications for perceptions about whose experiences are centred as more fulfilling and valid in relation to wellbeing. By bringing this awareness to EPs, their knowledge and understanding of wider cultural narratives of wellbeing can be improved to promote equity. In relation to the UK Somali diaspora, there is significant evidence which shows that Somali children and their families have experienced difficulties within education systems. This is linked to educational underachievement, language barriers, experiences of racism and structural barriers, which have impacted both children's education outcomes and parents' ability to support their children (Demie et al., 2019; Kahin & Wallace, 2017;

Rasmussen, 2011). Supporting EPs awareness and understanding of the structural barriers faced by some children and families from marginalised communities, can enable them to advocate for more children from ethnically and culturally diverse backgrounds in education. This is in line with the DECPs pledge to 'remove the barriers that children, young people and families experience' in relation to structural racism (British Psychological Society, 2020, p. 1).

The current research

To date there is no published research about culture and wellbeing in relation to Educational Psychology in the UK. Therefore, the lack of representation and diversity of culturally specific work around wellbeing is a major gap within the literature. The UK Somali diaspora through families is selected as a community group to bridge this gap. The family focus is selected as a result of EPs working holistically across systems, of which the home context is key (Dowling & Osborne, 2020). Previous research specific to this community has shown that Somali families have experienced a number of challenges, shouldered by Somali mothers and daughters who play an integral role in working towards family wellbeing. Despite this, their views and experiences are overlooked within the literature and little is understood about their wellbeing. Previous literature within cross cultural wellbeing has provided insight into different viewpoints of wellbeing which can help frame the experiences of people from culturally diverse backgrounds. This includes ideas about hedonic, eudaimonic viewpoints, independent and interdependent cultures, wellbeing theory and transnational family wellbeing (Kitayatna et al., 2007; Tiilikainen et al., 2019; Westerhof & Keyes, 2010b). In consideration of the gaps in the existing research base, this study aims to explore narratives of wellbeing through the perspective of Somali mothers and daughters. It is hoped that their stories and views can provide a better understanding of their experiences. In doing so, it is hoped that the current research will contribute to culturally informed research about wellbeing to contribute to improved equality and diversity practice within the EP profession. The current research seeks to establish answers to the following questions:

1. How do Somali mothers and daughters conceptualise wellbeing?

2. What role does the mother/daughter relationship play in shaping wellbeing?

3. What are the educational experiences of families from transnational Muslim backgrounds and how can education provisions support their wellbeing?

Research design and methods

Ontological and epistemological positions

This research study holds a relativist position, which posits that multiple realities that vary between individuals can exist. From this perspective, conceptualisations of wellbeing can be understood by seeking to understand the meaning that the mothers and daughters subscribe to it, based on their own unique life stories. A critical realist epistemology is adopted, which sees wellbeing as a socially constructed phenomenon shaped by culture, language, power, ideology and can determine and shape the societal experiences people have (Bhaskar, Collier, Lawson, & Norrie, 1998). Critical realism recognises that objective reality exists, although it is influenced by socially constructed and subjective knowledge (Clarke & Braun, 2013). In the context of culturally specific constructs of wellbeing, it recognises that there will be similarities and differences within a cultural group as a result of individual social constructions, different life experiences and macro societal factors at play.

Research design

In keeping with the ontological and epistemological positions, a qualitative approach to gathering data was used. It was felt that qualitative methods, in particular semi structured interviews was best suited as this method enables listening to the experiences of the participants. Wellbeing, in particular, is subject to contentious debate about its conceptualization and methodologies (S. White & Blackmore, 2016). In the rare studies where wellbeing and transnational families are brought together, listening is crucial as it creates an opportunity to make sense of the participants' viewpoints.

Recruitment process and procedure

Figure 2- recruitment process

| Gatekeeper letters were sent to two charities to support recruitment | → | Charity worker gained consent to share participant contact details with researcher | → | Researcher made contact, gained written consent and carried out interviews | → | Ongoing recruitment took place via snowballing through participants | → | Following interviews, debrief information was given. Data was transcribed and then analysed. |

Upon making contact with participants to confirm their interest, signed consent forms were obtained and demographic information, which included age, place of birth and migration history was collated. Given that the charity workers acted as gatekeepers, the researcher re-explained the purpose of the research and provided briefing information to each participant again to ensure that consent was well informed by all participants.

Ten bespoke questions were developed to ensure that the data required to answer the research questions could be gathered (Roopa & Rani, 2012). The power threat meaning (PTM) framework was used as a guide and starting point as it is based on the foundational belief that, if we know enough about people's life stories, relationships, social situations, and the struggles they have faced or are still facing, it is possible to make sense of these experiences (Johnstone & Boyle, 2018). The framework offers a way of thinking about culturally specific understanding of threats to wellbeing without seeing them through a western cultural lens. This was crucial, given the unique ethnic and cultural identities of the participants. The research questions (appendix G) were then further developed and refined to elicit cultural nuance in viewpoints of wellbeing based on key texts from the literature. This led to the categorisation of questions to ensure all research questions could be answered but also to ensure that both experiences and constructs of wellbeing could be understood from the data. A pilot interview was conducted with a relative to gain insight and to determine the efficacy of the questions in relation to their ability to answer the research questions. No changes were made to the interview questions following the pilot.

All interviews took place in person and lasted between 30-50 minutes. Seven out of ten interviews were conducted and transcribed in English, the remaining three were conducted in Somali in which the mothers spoke in Somali whilst the daughters spoke

in English. This is because the daughters first language is English. The latter data sets were transcribed and translated in English. The reason for this was to analyse the data in one language for consistency and ease for the researcher. In doing so, it was acknowledged that comparability of meanings between two languages and cultures could affect reliability (Philips, 1959). The Somali language is traditionally oral, which is the preferred medium used for cultural representation, it is incredibly descriptive, full of metaphors and idioms, hence why Somalia is known as the land of the poets (Ahmed, 2002). The oral tradition has enabled generations of storytelling and ancient folktales, which continue to pass on between generations, both in Somalia and across the diaspora. Consequently, at times translation proved difficult given the number of metaphors, proverbs and figurate references made. Every effort was made to translate as closely to meaning and sentiment as possible by consulting with older relatives about key words and phrases to support accuracy.

Inclusion criteria

Table 1 - inclusion criteria

Mothers	Daughters
Born and raised in Somalia	Born in United Kingdom or EU
Raised in Somalia until at least aged 10	Age 12- 25
Have a daughter aged 12-25	In full time education
To interview together with daughter	To interview together with mother

The mothers born in Somalia will likely have had a different upbringing to their daughters born in the UK. This distinction points to the generational dynamic, which may help to better understand the transnational and cultural context of wellbeing that informs the views held by the mothers and their daughters. Given the family focus, it felt important to interview the mothers and daughters together to enable discussion between them. It was felt that children over the age of 12 would be able to engage with the nature of the research study. Given the focus on EP practice and the role of education in the research questions, it was important that the daughters were in full time education and between the ages 12-25 as this is within the age group EPs work.

Participants

20 participants were recruited, each mother and daughter pair were interviewed, totalling 10 interviews. 4 mother and daughter pairs were recruited through a charity in Bristol and 3 were recruited through a charity in Cardiff. A further 3 pairs based in Cardiff were recruited through snowballing as only 7 mother and daughter pairs were recruited initially. The mothers were aged between 35 to 60 and the daughters between 14 to 22. Of the daughters, 5 of the 10 were born in the UK, the remainder were born in the EU. All of the mothers had lived in 2 to 4 countries prior to settling in the UK.

Table 2- list of participants

Mother & Daughter	Age	Number of years in the UK	Number of countries lived in	Occupation
Hodan &	35	20	3	charity worker
Samira	14	-	1	student
Zahra &	38	15	3	Teacher
Maryam	16	-	2	student
Khadiya &	45	18	2	Domestic worker
Hamda	21	-	1	student nurse
Sabrina &	52	20	4	Unemployed
Rukhaya	15	-	2	Student
Nawal &	58	16	2	Domestic worker
Summaya	15	-	2	student
Xayra &	57	24	3	Childcare worker
Ikraam	22	-	1	Masters student
Luul &	62	52	2	Charity worker
Haboon	22		1	Masters student
Fardosa &	55	18	3	Teaching assistant
Ladan	14	-	2	Student
Kinsi &	60	18	2	Unemployed
Amal	14	-	2	Student
Nawaal &	52	20	3	Unemployed
Liyana	12	-	1	Student

Data Analysis

As a Somali woman, a transnational individual and member of the UK Somali diaspora, the researcher has a vested interest in the topic and in the mothers and daughters themselves. This is a clear marker of positionality, which has influenced interpretation and construction of the narratives shared by the research participants. It is not the researcher's intention to present this work as objective.

Reflexive thematic analysis was chosen for data analysis. This was because it allows for an exercise in clarification and reflexivity which seeks to shed light on concepts and biases in the conceptual realm of wellbeing from the perspective of Somali mothers and daughters. The reason for this choice was because the researcher's positionality and contribution to analysis is seen as a necessary and integral part of the process (Braun & Clarke, 2019). As an 'insider' researcher, a member of the ethnic and cultural community and in social and political alignment with the participants, this was key. Braun and Clarke (2019) point out that the participants' voices cannot be represented objectively and without any subjective interference since the researcher is socially positioned, thus bringing into play their own life script during the reflexive analysis.

Measures

A voice recording software, Otter, was used to record all interviews. Otter provides a free transcript service for the first 30minutes of data, which were edited for accuracy. For the three interviews conducted in Somali, Otter was used to record the interview, however the transcript was inaccurate as the software only transcribes English. As such, the recorded audio (in Somali) was transcribed in English by the researcher. All participants were asked 10 questions (see appendix G). The prompts were used as a guide where this felt appropriate in order to prompt elaboration. At times, different questions were posed to participants to engage with them, based on what was being shared during the interview process. When all the data had been transcribed it was imported to Nvivo, a qualitative data analysis tool, to begin the analysis process.

Process of data analysis

Reflexive thematic analysis is a theoretically flexible qualitative data analysis method, which can be used with a range of theoretical frameworks to address different research questions such as people's experiences, view and perceptions (Braun and Clarke, 2013) Data analysis was carried out in Nvivo using an inductive approach. This means that a data led approach led to the development of codes as opposed to a pre-developed code frame based on the researcher's analytic preconceptions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The six phases outlined by Braun and Clarke (2013;2019) were followed flexibly. Cross analysis took place between all phases to enable the construction of meaning across the data set. This flexible approach helped avoid proceduralism as is common with thematic analysis (King and Brooks, 2017). Reflexive analysis posits that "researcher subjectivity is not just valid but a resource" (Braun et al., 2019, p848). Assumptions were challenged and cultural nuance was applied to promote depth in analysis. The researcher's unique position allowed for a strengthened interpretive lens through existing knowledge of the population group and the questioning of hidden meaning in the data set.

Phase 1 involved familiarisation with the data, which began during the transcription and translation stage. This phase involved note taking through the 'memo' section in Nvivo to ease systematic coding. All interviews were read a number of times on different days to allow for processing time. Phase 2 involved systematic data coding by grouping discourses into clusters of meaning. The codes were given names that reflected overall meaning of the discourse. This process was reviewed a number of times to avoid falling into the trap of developing 'topic themes', which are superficial (Braun and Clarke, 2021). In phases 3 and 4, all annotations in the 'memo' section were reviewed to quality assure the reliability of the codes. These were then grouped into further clusters of meaning based on interconnected discourse. The codes led to the development of initial themes by using codes as building blocks (Byrne, 2022). Time was taken away from the data to engage in discussions with others about initial thoughts. This was essential to strengthen analysis and in particular the reliability of codes and themes developed. The visualisation tool in Nvivo was utilised to support phase 5, defining and naming themes. This was done by reviewing the consistency of codes and themes across all interviews to ensure that the theme names reflected the entire data set as opposed to individual interviews. Analysis throughout phases 5 and 6

was heavily guided by the research questions to ensure that the data gathered was able to give insight into the study rationale and research questions. In line with the epistemological position, a critical position was adopted throughout the analysis process. This resulted in consideration of macro factors such as culture, language, power and ideology and how these contributed to both the constructs and experiences of wellbeing that the mothers and daughters shared in their interviews.
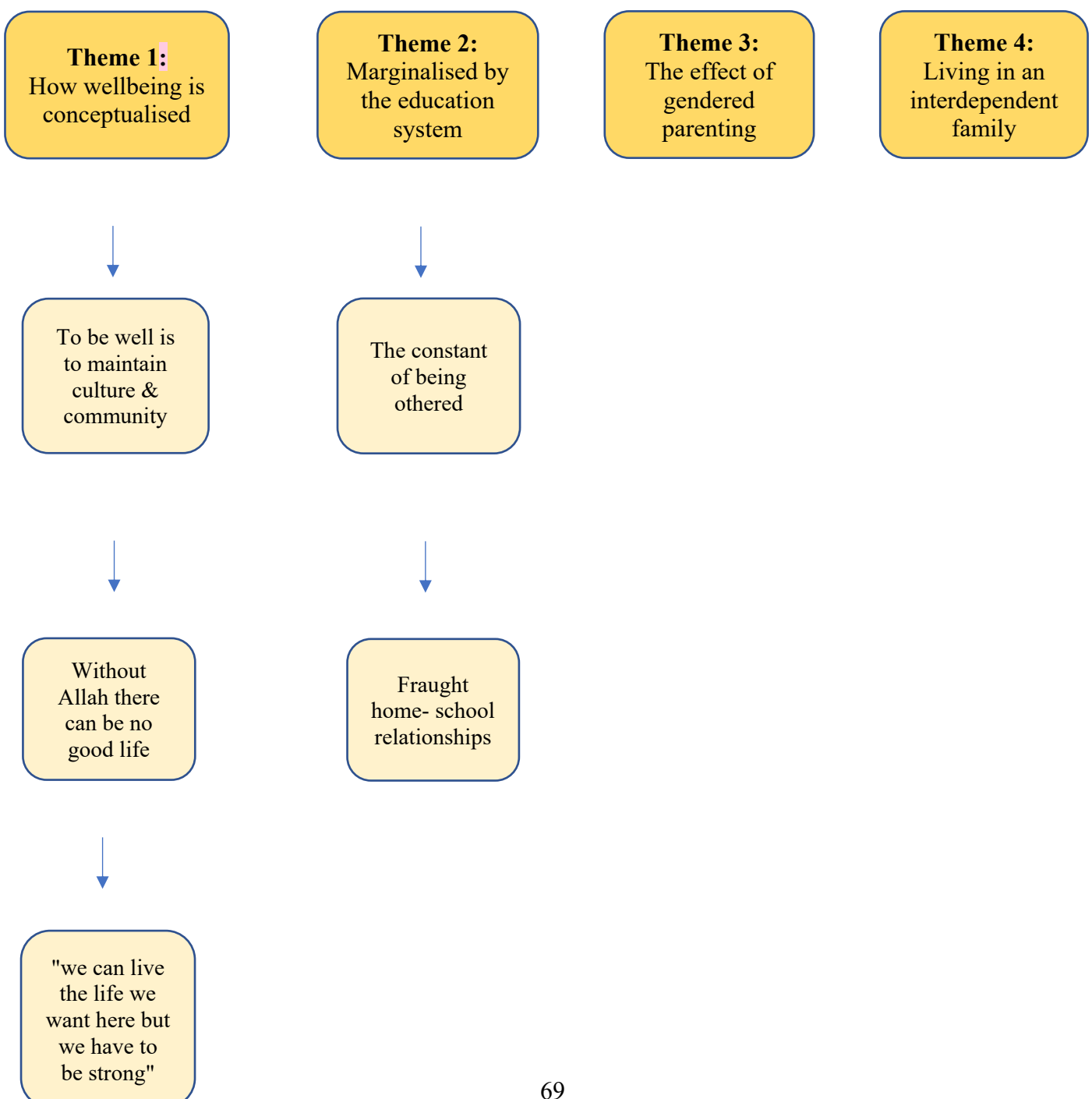
Ethical considerations

This study was approved by Cardiff University School of Psychology Ethics Committee in May 2022. In addition to this, the British Psychological Society's Code of Human Ethics (BPS, 2014) and the British Educational Research Association guidelines (BERA, 2011) were followed to make informed decisions throughout the process. This was crucial to ensuring that the rights and dignity of participants maintained a priority.

Informed consent was sought at each stage. Details of the study and its rationale, process and use of data were shared with participants both at the time of recruitment and at the start of interviews in English and in Somali. For the daughters under the age of 18, signed consent was sought from themselves as well as their mothers. Potential risks to the wellbeing of participants were identified and outlined in the briefing and debriefing documents, which were available to participants in both languages. During the interviews, a respectful approach was used by asking mothers and daughters whether they wanted to take breaks and asking for clarification on any points made that were not immediately understood by the researcher. Anonymity in relation to data recording and analysis was ensured by deleting audio files following transcription and through the use of pseudonyms for the transcribed data sets. Participants were required to share sensitive and personal information such as their age, ethnicity, migration history and contact details. A specific tick box was provided so that participants could confirm their understanding of the statements related to the purpose and process of collecting their personal information. Finally, participants were reminded of their right to withdraw at three different points: at the time of recruitment, before and after the interview. The researcher's details, their supervisor and the school of ethics contact details were provided to enable participants to make contact for any reason.

Results

Following a rigorous analysis process, four themes were identified, two of which include subthemes. This section will provide a description of each theme and subthemes. The findings are illustrated with the use of quotations, which are presented with their pseudonyms and corresponding time stamps to aid transparency. Quotations are presented in the words of participants. The use of ellipses (...) illustrates where part of the text has been omitted to support clarity and concise illustrations.

Figure 3- thematic map of results

Theme 1: How wellbeing is conceptualised

Theme 2: Marginalised by the education system

Theme 3: The effect of gendered parenting

Theme 4: Living in an interdependent family

To be well is to maintain culture & community

The constant of being othered

Without Allah there can be no good life

Fraught home- school relationships

"we can live the life we want here but we have to be strong"

This theme captures the dimensions of wellbeing based on what the mothers and daughters' value individually and collectively. Their aspirations and understanding of what constitutes a good life is conceptualised through a relational and ethical lens. The relational ties with members of the Somali diaspora and immigrant communities allow the mothers and daughters to feel safe and supported by people who understand their needs and challenges. The mothers and daughters navigate the quest to live a good life in the diaspora by remaining steadfast in their religious beliefs. Their deep conviction in Allah (god) instils a sense of calm and peace that allows them to be able to live well regardless of the obstacles they face internally within themselves and externally in society. Some of the daughters bring to light an important question about religion and mental health which points to a generational difference in how dealing with threats to wellbeing maybe understood by Somali parents.

Without Allah there can be no good life

The mothers have a multidimensional understanding of the good life that they envisage for themselves and their children, yet at the foundation, their first priority is for their children to be good Muslims. Islam and Somali culture were believed to coexist. As one mother put it, *"culture and religion is the same, for Somalis they are like brother and sister"* (Nawal 23:45). In particular, the belief in god (Allah) was believed to mitigate life's stressors and challenges. One mother described the following:

> *When somebody is calm mentally, morally, believe in god and trust him, they will be stress free. They have no problem or stress because they believe in god. If they have this they will live happy and god will bless their children.. The belief is very important, they will be healthy and happy... Living a good life is about what is on the inside if you have Allah. It's not about money. You will never miss anything if you have god.*
> Xayra (mother in Cardiff) 17:45

The daughters shared this sentiment, specifically in relation to how they understood and achieved their own wellbeing in this life and in the hereafter, a concept understood by Muslims as life after death where one reaps the benefits of their piety and religiosity. One daughter described the good life as follows:

"It's is like not only being really good in your like in Islam, and your religion, but also having like a healthy comfortable life mentally. So just being like good for this life, but also good for the hereafter. So, you have a good life here and there"
Summaya (daughter in Cardiff) 9:35.

While the mothers and daughters were united in the importance they attributed to practicing their religion, some of the daughters felt that their parents belief in Islam could sometimes lead to misunderstanding about mental health.

I feel like when it comes to like mental health, as well, and like, if the kids, they have something concerning about them, like their parents, they'll just straight up say just go pray to allah. They don't understand that there is something wrong with them mentally so it's better to take them to a doctor, but they haven't realised what's actually wrong. Because, you know, most parents, they think that kids are normal. When really, you know, their child could have autism, the child could have ADHD, they could have depression. And then most of the parents will be in denial. They don't believe the kids have these kinds of stuff.
Ikraam (daughter in Cardiff) 23:08

To be well is to maintain a sense of culture and community
All of the mothers had experience of onward migration, they had lived in 2-4 countries prior to settling in the UK. This experience of secondary migration led the majority to seek out local areas densely populated by other immigrants and Somalis. This created opportunities that helped both mothers and daughters feel a sense of belonging.

Yeah, it's been a positive experience because I think there's a close-knit community where we live. There's lots of different ethnic backgrounds, lots of very diverse, and everybody's on the same level we support each other, so there's no animosity, so it's a very calm place to be.
Maryam (daughter in Cardiff) 03:07

For me, if I think about my own experience, there are a lot of Somalis here, this makes it easy because we help each other. If you are sick, people bring you food, if you can't pick up your kids, somebody else will collect them for you. If you need help understanding a letter, somebody will translate for you, there are communities that

help Somali people in Bristol so that we don't struggle so much. A lot of good Somali

people live here and for our wellbeing this is important.

Sabrina (mother in Bristol) 06:10

For the mothers in particular, life's difficulties were partly mitigated by community support. It provided them with an opportunity to re-establish a sense of community in the diaspora. All of the mothers shared the importance of their children holding onto their culture, which for the mothers meant speaking the language, being close to family, practicing Islam and holding onto traditional values. Despite this, many of the daughters were not able to speak Somali. Some of the daughters described the importance of culture, although their understanding of Somali culture was superficial and not in line with their parents' views.

Um, basically the same as what my mom said like, just the same advice that my mom

would give and just be a good Muslim. Yeah, to be honest, I don't really know about

our culture. But no, I don't really like listen to Somali music and stuff like that yeah.

Liyana (daughter in Bristol) 24:58

The mothers believed it was especially important for their daughters to have a strong sense of their culture so that they could pass this down to their own children one day.

You know it's not just because she is a girl but that is very important because it is how

she holds onto the Somali culture as a woman. How she can be a role model to her

children and pass on our traditions by learning these things now. Do you understand?

Kinsi (mother in Cardiff) 01:45

"We can have the life we want here but we have to be strong"

There was an overall sentiment of resilience especially from the mothers, who live life very differently from women in Somalia. For them, instilling resilience, especially their daughters was of great importance to them. Some daughters questioned whether this way of being could be negatively impacting the wellbeing of the Somali community.

You can have wellbeing anywhere, but in this country it's easier to have good

wellbeing because there are more opportunities. Here, we must focus on our future so

we can be stable. In Somalia your husband might work for you, or your brother might

give you money. But in this country, Somali mothers can do all these things so we should do them so we can live well you know?

Sabrina (mother in Bristol) 31:03

You will see that some mums go to school so they are often tired, some go to work, some don't have jobs because they can't manage and there are some who have too many kids so it's hard for them to be there for them all, especially if they are single parents, there are so many now. They can't manage to be a mother and work. But there are tough women who work and look after their children.. so we show this to our girls so they can too. We can live the life we want here, but we have to be strong

Nawal (mother in Bristol 05:55)

Some mothers and daughters felt that there was a facade to protect the communities' image and perceptions of individuals as being strong and able to cope. This was believed to be adversely affecting both understanding and experience of mental health.

Because I feel like they're such a strong or proud community that they don't want to show the cracks. That are they're just like, Oh, waaa caadi, (it's normal) you know, it's not a big deal.

Zahra (mother in Cardiff) 15:04

Mashallah we are so strong. but I feel like community wise a lot of people don't talk to family or friends to talk because there are issues of like not expressing how they feel or how what's going on. Like they like to hide what's going on behind the scenes and like they're struggling, they don't want to put anyone out so they keep it to themselves. Which then like obviously they turn to on other things like alcohol or other stuff. being embarrassed about it as well like, especially with mental health. They don't want to talk about really what's going on in life, like how they feel

Hamda (daughter in Bristol) 8:42

Theme 2: marginalised by the education system

Education is of huge significance to Somalis because it provides the possibility of creating better life circumstances in the diaspora. As one mother put it: *waxbarashadu waa iftiin (learning is light) it allows you to see the life and path,it opens your mind.* Xayra

24:46. As such, the mothers place considerable value on education. Both mothers and daughters experienced marginalisation as a result of what they believe to be a lack of understanding linked to their racial, cultural and religious identity. The tensions between home and school resulted in the mothers and daughters feeling othered.

Fraught home- school relationships

All of the mothers shared accounts of friction between home and school, they perceived school staff to judge them in accordance to racialised stereotypes. Similarly, some of the daughters felt that their life choices were met with suspicions about potential family coercion from their teachers. These were linked to their religious expression.

> *It's different in different areas. For example, I used to live in XX before I moved there. The teachers there thought we were Africans from the bush. They treat us like we are stupid. They would even question our children. For example, they would ask the children what time they have their breakfast to make sure we are feeding our children, then they would ask what kind of food we eat and ask the children if we liked the food. It was as though they look at us like those adverts showing poor hungry African children. It is very insulting. They assume we are all on benefits. They see many single Somali mothers and think we are all on benefits and living in poverty because we live in areas like XX*

Xayra (mother in Bristol) 29:06

> *Yeah, Like one of my teachers kept asking me like how come all of the sudden you're wearing it now? Asking me if anybody is forcing me...like family. Obviously, I said no but then she was like asking me questions like why do only girls wear it (holds hijab) it's kind of like they want you to say please help me take it off but really it's my choice and west is not always best you know.*

Ladan (daughter in Cardiff) 15:45

Some mothers and daughters felt that the disconnect between home and school stemmed from a lack of understanding about the Somali community and culture, which at times was exacerbated by a language barrier.

> *They need to know that their families do take care of them, our culture is different that doesn't mean our children don't have good happy home life. Education is very*

*important. We respect teachers and we trust they will help our children. Sometimes
we don't speak good English, so we don't come to school because it's hard, but we
really care you know. Also, the way we talk to our children is loud but that is just how
we are, we talk with our hands, we are expressive and loud people. We are not
abusing our children or shouting. I heard a teacher at the school I used to work at
and she was judging a Somali mum saying why is she shouting at him, she's not
playing with him, she's doing this and that.*
Khadiya (mother in Bristol) 22:18

*And so many parents don't know English either. They don't understand it, for
example, with different learning difficulties, stuff like that. I think they need to
acknowledge that they need support because schools, they kind of see young boys as
you know, they see them they stereotype them as a certain type of person. They don't
see them as you know, sometimes they're the perpetrator of like doing something
wrong rather than see them as a victim or someone who needs help. They kind of you
know, put them in a bracket in the box and leave them*
Amal (daughter in Cardiff) 11:09

The constant of being othered

The sentiments of the fraught home-school relationships resulted in racialised othering.
The daughters felt that their behaviours were racialised by staff and that a lack of ethnic
and cultural diversity in their schools was contributing to this problem. Many of the
mothers believed that there is a lack of understanding and respect for Somali families
amongst school staff. Some mothers worried about the potential impact this may have.

> *But at the same time the teachers need to respect us and the children will know when
> that is genuine. They need to understand our community, we have been through a lot
> so education is really important. If they don't take the time to understand our
> community then they will assume things about us, especially our children's behaviour.
> This could affect the children, they are not stupid they understand things, if the
> teachers don't care about us that could even mean the children have a bad mood,
> which will make them sad and because of that they may not focus on their learning
> then. Then before you know it they will stop coming to school and then will be known
> as the Somali children who don't care about their education*

Nawal (Mother in Bristol) 15:44

They need to be more understanding and stuff like other schools.. in my year we were the only coloured people here. So we'd get picked up by teachers and staff.. Well racism and shit, they think we're always up to no good.
Rayan (daughter in Bristol) 25:45

Some of the daughters felt that being othered in school led to a broader feeling of being displaced in the world with their needs being overlooked.

I think in school in my school, for example, you know, you could see young people who had issues behavioural difficulties, but nobody got them assessed. Nobody showed them empathy. They were just kind of, you know, targeted and seen as naughty but then you had white children when we lived in XX. For example, from Dinas and Barry was just predominantly white, and they would be you know, nurturing them. You okay, ahh you know, are you having a difficult time? And then people from my community they will just forgotten they were just given up on them you know. You feel like outsiders that's what you feel like. They feel like they're meant to fit into the world rather than the world catering for their needs. So, I think it's kind of one size fits one size fits all
Haboon (daughter in Cardiff) 23:40

Theme 3: the effect of gendered parenting

Eight out of ten daughters were either the first-born child or eldest daughter and this presented its own challenges in terms of expectations placed on them by their mothers. Some of the daughters were seen as role models to the other children and were being prepared to lead the household in the event of their mothers falling ill or unable to do so for any reason. One daughter explained: *"my mum is very understanding, she relies on me because I'm the oldest"* Rukhaya 00:59. For some of the mothers, this was important because their own experience of coping as a single mother in the UK was due to life skills that they were taught by their own mothers in Somalia.

I learned good experience of different things which is that's why I'm here now. Because really, if I was my brothers I wouldn't be succeed. And I succeed because my mum gave me knowledge of like, how to cook and how to do things for myself. I

learned to respect my elders and have good family ties like how to socialise with all
people so she must too.
Fardosa (mother in Cardiff) 17:22

For the daughters, there was a strong sense that the expectations placed on females are limiting and unfairly focussed on domestic roles. On the contrary, the majority of mothers felt it was important that the daughters grow up prepared to become what they believe is a good mother and wife so that they can look after their own families.

Yeah, i feel like in general the way they treat guys, they're just so lenient, they get to
do whatever they want, they get to go out but girls, they should be at home, they
should know how to clean, cook, they shouldn't be playing football. It's very different
because of culture, girls and guys aren't the same but I think with our generation
things will change. i think they see that but they're reluctant cos they want to hold on
to how they think us Somali girls should be, but we just want to be free from
judgement just like the guys are
Hamda (daughter in Bristol) 31:04

For some mothers, this was seen as the default way to parent female children, however not all mothers were in agreement on this. It was recognised that changes between the generations were evident in relation to raising females. Some daughters expressed that it was more important to place responsibilities on the male children so that they learn to contribute equally and do not repeat the cycle of absent and uninvolved fathers.

So, for me, I will say from my generation being Somali female had a major impact on
my wellbeing. we were limited Whereas you could speak for yourself Samira, but I
feel well I've tried and I'm very cautious of making sure that my daughter has equality
within the home so I'm mindful of not gender stereotyping. She gets what they get and
she can do whatever her brothers do. and her brothers can also do what she can do. I
try and make sure that she knows you know you are Somali, you're female but you're
you and so let you being you define you and don't let anything else define you.
Hodan (mother in Cardiff) 29:42

Wel,l you would think they would give some of that energy to the boys especially because like Somali dads like where are they so they're basically telling them like yeah it's fine to just be like that.

Rukhaya (daughter in Bristol) 29.33

Theme 4: interdependent families

Intergenerational interdependency involves co-involvement in each other's lives. This phenomenon was evident in the narratives of both mothers and daughters, particularly with reference to expectations that mothers should be consulted on all aspects of their children's lives and this was something the daughters understood.

We have a strong bond together things like if something happens, good thing or bad thing I can tell my mum so we go through on each other's side.

Sumaya (daughter in Bristol) 01:17

Somali culture is inherently collectivist and interdependent with emphasis on how families relate to each other and support each other's goals. The mothers rely on the daughters to help in leading the household and parental permission is an indicator of their closeness. In Somali culture, interdependency extends across the lifespan which some of the daughters expressed hoping to instil this in their children one day too.

My child and the adult have different views, you know, different, like perspective. So we haven't lived the same life but you still have to understand your child. You know, you have to, you have to listen. Basically, I'd say listening is the most important thing and taking advice from your mother no matter your age so that's what my child will do too one day

Haboon (daughter in Cardiff) 26:42

Respect, parents must be respected and anything you want should be shared with parents. You should always say inshallah and liaise with you parents. This is important in our culture, so we need to hold onto it here in this country. In this country these values in our community are slowly disappearing, so we need to make it important for our children. They will then live good and happy lives.

Nawal (mother in Bristol) 18:46

Discussion of findings

This research explored narratives of wellbeing and notions linked to wellbeing, what it means to live a good life through the cultural and transnational lens of Somali females. Key findings linked to the research questions will be discussed, alongside implications of the research, strengths and limitations and considerations for future research.

Research question 1:

How do Somali mothers and daughters conceptualise wellbeing?

Somali mothers and daughters conceptualise wellbeing through two primary domains. Ethical and relational as outlined in Tiilikainen et al., (2019) framework for wellbeing. Ethical wellbeing is understood as the values, norms and systems of meaning linked to individuals' religious beliefs and cultural norms. For the mothers and daughters, their practice of Islam laid the foundation for how they live in terms of their dress, practices, values and conduct. In times of difficulty, they relied on their faith for comfort and strength which brought them a sense of calm and balance. They saw their religion as fundamental to their individual and collective family wellbeing. For them, without Allah there could not be a good life. This ethical dimension of wellbeing reflects principles of eudaimonism, which focusses on value ethics, spirit and meaningful living and has been associated with Eastern and African cultures (McMahon et al., 2008). Eudaimonic living is often linked to spirituality and religion, it focusses on living in a way that is directly linked to the divine and overcoming difficulty (Dierendonck & Mohan, 2006). Many East and African cultures view negative feelings and hardship as experiences that are inevitable in life. These are seen as key life lessons that are necessary for growth (Joshanloo, 2013; Joshanloo & Weijers, 2014). For the mothers and daughters, this resonated as they placed a great deal of significance on being strong, which they believed would result in them being able to live a good life despite their challenges. For the mothers and daughters, living in Britain resulted in a constant negotiation between Somali identity, cultural and religious practices and conforming to the wider societal expectations. This finding is consistent with previous literature as many Somali families report this difficulty between the parameters of Somalia, their host country and the local Somali community (Gembus, 2018; Harding et al., 2007; Scuzzarello & Carlson,

2019). According to diaspora and transnational researchers, this is a common transnational migrant experience (Desai, 2005). From this perspective, much of the resilience displayed by the mothers and daughters and the resilience of the Somali community more broadly, can be understood as stemming from their religion. Islam posits that there are two lives, one in this world and one in the hereafter. Muslims believe that this life is a test of overcoming hardships and that Allah (god) does not inflict trials and tribulations that individuals cannot handle in this life. It is this belief that enables the mothers and daughters to overcome their challenges as transnational Muslim females living in the diaspora.

Although the ethical dimension of religious practice is seen as fundamental to wellbeing, some mothers and daughters acknowledged that religious conviction was contributing to misunderstanding about mental health within the Somali community. A finding that is consistent with previous literature that Somalis in the diaspora can struggle to understand mental illness such as anxiety and depression due to a belief that religious practice can mitigate mental illness (Linney et al., 2020; Samanani, 2014). In this sense, the ethical dimension has the potential to also inhibit the wellbeing of Somali families. The second domain through which the mothers and daughters conceptualise wellbeing is relational. This dimension refers to the sense of belonging that comes from the relational ties transnational Muslims have. For instance, with family members, local community networks, cultural and religious communities (Tiilikainen et al., 2019). The importance of relational wellbeing is heavily emphasised in collectivist cultures, which prioritise interconnectedness through community relationships (Kitayatna et al., 2007). Somali culture is inherently collectivist as a result of the importance placed on developing and maintaining interconnected relationships with extended family members, fellow religious and cultural groups. The majority of mothers and daughters reported living in areas described as 'ethnic enclaves'. These are geographic areas with high ethnic concentration, which for those families whose children were not born in Britain, intentionally sought out. This echoes the findings in previous research which has found that transnational Muslims from collectivist cultures are more likely to seek opportunities to fit in and belong by finding places that resemble home (Berry et al., 2002).The mothers placed great value on relationships within the Somali community whilst the daughters value on relationships within diverse immigrant and Muslim

communities. The mothers believed that seeking out cultural communities would instil a strong sense of Somalinimo (Somali identity) within their daughters. They believed this to be pivotal for them as British born or first-generation immigrant Somalis and felt that maintaining these relational ties would enable the daughters to pass down Somalinimo to their own children one day. On the contrary, the majority of the daughters instead valued living in ethnically and culturally diverse spaces as this allowed them to connect with others who share their diverse and sometimes religious backgrounds. It was this broader diversity that made them feel seen. For them, the communities did not need to be Somali in order to feel that they belonged as their religious identity was stronger than their ethnic and cultural identity. There have been criticisms against some immigrant populations who have been accused of intentional segregation as opposed to integrating in British society (Liberatore, 2016). However, as the accounts of the mothers and daughters have shown, living in these areas provide both emotional and relational safety as wider community support and mutual understanding is available to them. For diasporic transnational families whose relatives are scattered across the globe, this is crucial because it recreates opportunities for communities to be built and strengthened, which is vital for their wellbeing (Allen & Ögtem-Young, 2020; Liberatore, 2016; Samanani, 2014). Previous research has found that members of diasporic communities form and negotiate their home in relation to their or their parents', homeland (Dufoix, 2008). Findings from this study show that this was not the case for the daughters as their sense of belonging comes from their lives in Bristol and Cardiff, their friends, family and local community who live there. Although for different reasons, relational wellbeing for both the mothers and daughters characterised their conceptualisation and pursuit of wellbeing.

Tiilikainen et al., (2019) framework for wellbeing is useful in understanding how Somali families understand and achieve wellbeing since the framework was developed with transnational Muslim families in mind. For the mothers and daughters, the relational and ethical components mitigated life's challenges, created a sense of belonging and instilled in them a determination to live a good life in Britain as diasporic citizens.

Research question 2:

What role does the mother/daughter relationship play in shaping wellbeing?

The mothers and daughters relationship is central to their individual and collective family wellbeing. This can be understood through the relational domain, which centres notions of belonging linked to relationships (Tiilikainen et al, 2019). In collectivist cultures, family members maintain close relationship and typically make decisions for the family as a whole rather than for the self (Joshanloo, 2013). In Somali culture individual family members social behaviours reflects on the family as a whole, which for the daughters resulted in specific goals their mothers had set for them. The mothers believed their daughters relational wellbeing was linked to two specific goals, close and co-operative relations between parent- child relations and seeking closeness to relatives across the globe to maintain transnational familial ties, a value that is important for many refugee and immigrant population groups (Tiilikainen et al., 2019). The daughters agreed on the close and co-operative child- parent relationship and sought to foster this for themselves, should they become parents. However, they were less invested in familial ties in Somalia as many did not know or meet the relatives their mothers were so close and in frequent contact with. In a transnational family, members maintain a sense of 'familyhood' through frequent contact and strive for the wellbeing of family across national borders (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2020; Hammond, 2013). The distinction between the mothers and daughters here can be understood from an intergenerational perspective. To illustrate, for the mothers the transnational contact was seen as a sign of commitment from their daughters to hold onto where they are from. However, for the daughters, language presented as a significant barrier which made it hard for them to foster these transnational relationships. In Somali culture, language is the vessel that carries 'Somalinimo' (Somali identity). Research amongst immigrant communities has found that language functions as an 'anchor point' between generations that provides 'a thread of continuity and security' between them (Ramsden& Bridge, 2013, p.241). Since the majority of daughters did not speak Somali well, the mothers likely viewed the loss of the Somali language as a loss of Somali culture and thus a loss of connection with the place which so many of them still view as their home, even if their daughters do not. Despite these differences, the mothers and

daughters maintained close relationships which they both valued and attributed to positively contributing to their wellbeing.

Another important factor in the mother and daughter relationship is the tension between them that is brought on by their differing views about cultural gender norms. There were a number of narratives pertaining to the self identification of daughters as the eldest and thus the most responsible child. Previous research within large multi-generational families has shown that the older daughters play a crucial role in being a role model and taking on responsibilities for the family (Selleck, 2022). Almost all of the daughters reported that they were subject to differing rules and expectations with pressure to uphold customary norms for gender propriety. Although this is in line with Somali culture, it presents as a tension for the daughters as they do not see this practice as fair and consistent with the way males and females should be socialised in Britain. The daughters felt that this was particularly problematic since they viewed this as mothers contributing to the problem of Somali father absenteeism and non involvement by socialising their sons to take on less family responsibility than their daughters. The daughters experienced a lack of freedom to make their own choices unlike their brothers and the additional social pressure of their behaviours being policed by the local Somali community. In Somali culture individual family members social behaviours reflects on the family as a whole and this can shape both individual and collective family wellbeing. This can be likened to collectivist cultures in which individual needs are sometimes sacrificed for the collective needs of a wider community group (Kitayatna et al., 2007). Collectivist cultures typically view wellbeing through eudaimonism, which places value on meaningful living often through overcoming difficulty (Joshanloo et al., 2021). Research has found that eudaimonism is more prevalent in East and African cultures. For the mothers, this is consistent with Somali culture even in the transnational, diasporic context. The social expectations of what they consider appropriate gender conduct is understood as a difficulty they and their daughters must overcome for the benefit of the whole family and in line with their religious and cultural beliefs. The daughters on the other hand rejected this expectation and sought to have the same freedom that their brothers do. In this context, the daughters do not connect with eudaimonic principles as they place higher value on their individual needs over the group needs. This is more consistent with hedonic wellbeing, which is embedded in

liberal modernity and the ascent of individual agency over community needs (Joshanloo et al., 2021). Hedonism contrary to eudaimonism is associated with western cultures (Westerhof & Keyes, 2010a). Given that the daughters are all either British born or first-generation Somali immigrants, it maybe that they value some aspects of hedonism over eudaimonism as this reflects the wider culture in which they have lived most of their life. What is clear however, is that the relationship between the mothers and daughters contributes to their conceptualisation and pursuit of wellbeing as it is informed by their transnational ties, cultural and religious beliefs. Their relationship is described by both as contributing positively to their individual and family wellbeing. However, it is important to acknowledge that the issues around gender have the potential to negatively effect the wellbeing of the daughters. This is because the daughters, just as the mothers, are attempting to affirm their place as transnational Somali females and what this means for them against the backdrop of community and gender expectations.

Research question 3:

What are the educational experiences of families from transnational Muslim backgrounds and how can education provisions support their wellbeing?

In the context of transnational family wellbeing, material wellbeing refers to the tangible needs and resources of individuals and families, and the public goods and services that they access or lack, all of which are relevant to their welfare and their families (Tiilikainen et al., 2019). An example of this is access to education. It is useful to note that many migrant and immigrant families view education as the key to economic freedom as it is seen as the most tangible resource for individuals to improve their situation through knowledge, social mobility and security (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). From this perspective education can be understood as the pillar of material wellbeing to improve the welfare of migrant families through better opportunities, access and employment. One of the ways in which Somalis in the diaspora work towards achieving material wellbeing, is through education (Kahin & Wallace, 2017). This resonated with the mothers who instilled this value into their children. In spite of the value placed on education, the mothers and daughters spoke at length about their experience of being othered, marginalised and discriminated against. Thus, on the one hand, education was seen as an investment in wellbeing; the key to a better life. On the other hand, in reality

this was overridden by representatives of the education system who sought to remind mothers and daughters that they have little power and influence through the prejudice they subjected them to. The mothers in particular felt undermined and frequently questioned by staff working in schools. There was a feeling of distrust that existed between families and the institutions. The mothers felt that they were perceived by school staff as incapable of caring adequately for their children. They believed that this negative view of them carried a risk of effecting their children's confidence at school and their learning. Additionally, the daughters shared narratives of racism in the form of negative teacher perceptions and harsher teacher punishment, a finding that is widely reported in the literature pertaining to the education experiences of Black, Asian and ethnic minority pupils (Brentnall, 2017; Education & Skills, 2006; Gillborn, 2014; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). Through their narratives, the mothers and daughters' experiences in education can be understood as rooted in the daily realities of racism and islamophobia. These experiences function through the mechanism of the 'racialised other', in which the mothers and daughters are constructed as the lesser knowing agent. It could be argued that it was their capacity as knowers, aware of the stereotypes they fell victim to, that was not anticipated by these representatives. In order to make sense of their experiences, the theory of epistemic injustice by philosopher Miranda Fricker will be used (Fricker, 2007).

According to Fricker, the capacity of individuals as knowers is undermined by two kinds of epistemic injustices. Testimonial and hermeneutical injustice. Testimonial injustice takes place when prejudices cause individuals to undermine or give less credibility to a speaker's words than they rationally deserve. Fricker (2007) argues that marginalised identity groups linked to race, religion and disability can make individuals more susceptible to testimonial injustice. Hermeneutical injustice occurs when an individual struggles to express or process experiences due to a limitation in language, cultural understanding or the resources required for social interpretation (Medina, 2017). The mothers who did not speak English fell victim to this type of injustice. As some of the mothers explained in their accounts, for some families, it is their lack of English-speaking skills that prevented them from engaging with school staff. Which unfortunately can lead to lack of understanding between schools and families, which breeds assumptions. The mothers and daughters in this study experienced both types of

epistemic injustice as the mothers were judged to lack knowledge both of the English language and how to raise their children. The daughters' actions at school were viewed in racialised terms and their emotional needs were overlooked in the education system, which marginalised them from the wider school community. These experiences provide important insight into the experiences of some children and families from transnational, Muslim backgrounds. In essence, they detail the difficulties experienced by them, which undoubtedly impact their individual and collective wellbeing. Much of the mothers and daughters narratives here echo the findings of previous research which have shown that systemic barriers, including racism and discrimination have negatively affected the educational experiences of Somali children and their families (Demie et al., 2019; Diriye, 2006; Kahin & Wallace, 2017; Rutter, 2004). In addressing the final research question the mothers and daughters also considered what schools can do to ensure that they are supporting their wellbeing, this is discussed in more detail in the following section.

Implications for practice

As demonstrated in existing literature and the current research, wellbeing cannot be understood as an absolute universal construct. It is a context specific multi-dimensional process in which individual's social positions such as their gender, ethnicity, culture, and geography inform their understanding and pursuit of wellbeing. For instance, this research through the narratives of Somali mothers and daughters has shown that culture and religion inform their conceptualisation of wellbeing. Tiilikainen et al (2019) framework for the wellbeing of transnational Muslim migrant families has been helpful in seeking to understand their experiences as this framework takes into account their unique social positions, internal and external factors, which may affect their experiences. This brings to light the importance of EPs awareness and understanding of a range of wellbeing models, frameworks and schools of thought. It raises the importance of diversifying wellbeing research through seeking diverse voices to understand different viewpoints of wellbeing. In doing so, alternative viewpoints of wellbeing have been explored through discussions of hedonic, eudaimonic conceptualisations and their links with individualistic and collectivist cultures.

In the process of exploring wellbeing from the perspective of Somali mothers and daughters, the findings led to implications for EP practice to support equality and

diversity advocacy in education. To illustrate, the mothers and daughters experienced epistemic injustice for reasons linked to their faith, race and culture. In their accounts about education, suggestions were made about how education systems can support the wellbeing of children and families from transnational Muslim backgrounds, which can apply to a range of children and families from diverse backgrounds. These were:

- School staff should seek to understand the communities they serve in order to prevent stigmatisation and judgement.

- Schools should create meaningful and accessible opportunities for parental engagement taking into account language barriers.

This research has demonstrated the importance of seeking diverse voices and listening to them meaningfully. As such, a key implication for EP practice that can support this goal is linked to the work of Arnstein (1969) whose theory on the ladder of participation sheds light on how this can be achieved in education. It is acknowledged that this theory is dated, however it is considered timeless in its goals as a result of its development following the citizen's rights movement. This is because the ladder of participation (1969) is based on the different levels of listening that lead to meaningful participation in any societal situation.

Figure 4 - Arnstein (1969) ladder of participation
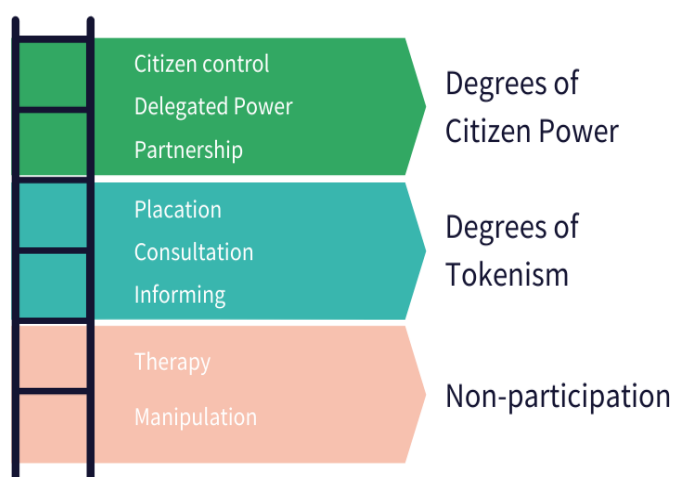
At the lowest rung of the ladder is manipulation, at the middle there is placation, which can often lead to tokenism and at the top there is partnership that leads to delegated power, which enables citizen control. With each rung, listening should promote tangible changes until transference of power is granted to marginalised groups, which leads to power and influence. At the top of the ladder, meaningful opportunities for parent engagement and young people's experiences can lead to tangible changes in education. EPs should seek to better their own understanding before taking on the role to support schools in combating epistemic injustice which undermines and threatens the wellbeing of children from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Another implication for practice is therefore racial literacy (Twine, 2004). This is understood as the capacity of people to understand how race and other identity markers can affect people in society. It requires skills, language and awareness so that epistemic injustice is recognised and acted upon. The foundation of racial literacy is reflexivity which can offer an opportunity for reflection about relationships, identities, notions of the self and narratives people create of themselves and others to aid understanding. It can enable EPs to develop their own understanding before supporting schools in their work across all levels. The Social GGRRAAACCEEESSS model (Burnham, 2018), which maps differences in relation to social categorisations, could also be used as a vehicle to meaningfully examine difference with respect and value for how people relate to it. The use of the ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969), might also enable EPs to combat epistemic injustice by enabling dialogue between school and parents in the hope of improving understanding so that it can lead to meaningful engagement. Finally, this study has demonstrated that EPs would benefit from broadening their understanding about theories and frameworks of wellbeing beyond the PERMA model and Wellbeing Theory. This is because alternative models exist that can shine a spotlight on diversity in wellbeing viewpoints. This understanding can provide diversity of schools of thought on what wellbeing means to different groups of people, which EPs can then draw on in their practice linked to both wellbeing and equality and diversity.

Table 3- strengths and limitations

Strengths	
1.	The study immersed young people and parents in the research by using their views and experiences to guide exploration of wellbeing and culture.
2.	The use of reflexive thematic analysis enabled the researcher, a member of the Somali community, to be utilised as part of the interview and analysis process. This meant that the researcher was able to gain access and trust from an under-researched community and the researcher was less inclined to construct stereotypes in analysis.
3.	The findings demonstrate the utility of qualitative methodology as an exploratory tool, allowing for the exploration of wellbeing across generations.
4.	The perspective of the participants gives an in-depth insight into the experiences of transnational Somali females.
Limitations	
1.	Transferability is a consideration point as the data presented here is richly contextualised. As such, the extent to which this information can be transferred to other settings should be made at the discretion of the reader.
2.	Three of the ten interviews were partially translated in English. Given the poetic and metaphorical nature of the Somali language, it is possible that some meaning may have been lost in the process. Additionally, since the Somali language does not have equivalent terms for a number of English words, a key limitation at times was translating to conceptual equivalence.
3.	The researcher, a member of the participant population group was perceived by some participants as an advocate rather than an objective researcher, which

	also presented as a potential for researcher bias. Every effort was made to mitigate bias through the adoption of an inductive, data led approach. The data was revisited several times to ensure that theme development reflected the participants' narratives and a research diary was kept to record reflexive accounts throughout and personal and research supervision were utilised.

Table 4 - future directions of research

1.	Consideration for how the participants could have become involved in the analysis process such as adopting a community participatory action research methodology.
2.	Further exploration of the specific measures and strategies adopted by the participants to enhance their own wellbeing.
3.	Action research linked to raising culturally sensitive awareness of mental health

Conclusion

This research demonstrates that centring culturally diverse voices can lead to a broader understanding of wellbeing. The views and experiences of Somali mothers and daughters were gathered in order to diversify the wellbeing literature. Different cultural viewpoints of wellbeing were explored through eudaimonism (meaningful living) and hedonism (pleasurable living). The literature on cross cultural wellbeing research shows that eudaimonism is associated with collectivist cultures across Asia and Africa and Hedonism is associated with individualistic cultures in Europe and across western

countries. Wellbeing Theory, which unites elements of hedonism and eudaimonism was considered to help understand the experiences of the women and girls. It was found to be limiting due to its focus on internal measures of wellbeing, neglecting the external factors that can shape the wellbeing of individuals. As such, Tiilikainen et al., (2019) definition of wellbeing, from their work with transnational Muslim families was used to explore the mother and daughters' experiences. A holistic framework developed for a specific population group that takes into account internal and external factors contributing to wellbeing. Within this work, wellbeing is understood through an interconnected triad consisting of material, relational and ethical wellbeing. For Somalis, education is the pillar of material wellbeing as it is believed to have the potential to improve the welfare, resources and wellbeing of the entire family. Despite this, findings showed that the mothers and daughters experienced epistemic injustice (Fricker, 2007). Their capacity as 'knowers' was undermined through testimonial and hermeneutical injustice as they were constructed as the lesser knowing agent by education professionals. This finding in particular is crucial to the work of Educational Psychologists as it gives insight into way they can support education provisions to support the wellbeing of children and families from culturally diverse and Muslim backgrounds. The key implications for practice were linked to reducing stigmatisation and creating meaningful opportunities for parent engagement. Racial literacy (Twine, 2004), Arnstein's ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969) and the social GGRRAAACCEEESSS (Burnham, 2018) were proposed as frameworks to use in practice. For the mothers and daughters, life in Britain as transnational Muslim females resulted in a constant negotiation between Somali identity, cultural and religious practices, the relational and ethical components of wellbeing. Despite this, the ethical component such as belief and practice of Islam mitigated their difficulties. The words of McGown (1991) appropriately summarises this, "for Somalis, Islam provides an oasis of tranquillity amidst the dislocation or refugee (or migrant) straits and the turmoil of adjusting to a new culture". Although the mothers and daughters were united in the significance their faith played in their individual and collective wellbeing, the daughters and some of the younger mothers felt that religion sometimes presented as a barrier to the community's understanding of mental health. Both language and gender presented as tension points between the mothers and daughters. Unlike the mothers, the daughters did not speak Somali well and they did not see Somalia as their home. This was viewed by their

mothers as a loss of connection with their culture and the place so many of them still see as their home. Additionally, the daughters felt that they were under more scrutiny than their brothers with higher expectations being placed on them in the household and socially. Both tension points may reflect changes in family dynamics as a result of intergenerational diasporic changes. Finally, in looking beyond the trauma narrative that dominates research about Somalis, this study brings to light stories of hope, strength and resilience of Somali women and girls who aspire to live a good life in Britain as transnational Muslims through material, relational and ethical wellbeing.

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Narratives of wellbeing from the perspective of Somali mothers and daughters. An intergenerational exploratory study.

Part C : Critical Appraisal

Word Count: 5970

Part C: Critical Appraisal

A) Critical account of the development of the research process and researcher

The critical appraisal is presented in two parts in which it addresses the following:

a) The development of the research process and researcher
b) The contribution to the research knowledge base

The aim is to reflexively evaluate the empirical research paper and process. Reflexivity is a crucial element of psychological research as it allows for the consideration of assumptions, beliefs and social constructions in order to inform the impact on practice (Moore, 2005). This section has been written in the first person to illustrate personal engagement in the process and reflexive purpose of this account Tang and John (1999).

Development of the research topic

My interest in this topic stemmed from my personal experience as a child refugee who developed transnational ties as a result of high mobility. I took an interest in intergenerational family dynamics within immigrant communities. As an adult, I engaged in many conversations with family and friends about being a third culture kid, a child of refugee parents and acculturation. I was always curious about the impact of transnationalism on what it means to live a good life in different international settings. I often thought about this in relation to multiculturalism such as how people understand each other's views and experiences when different cultures and religion are at play. In the UK, I noticed there seemed to be a dominant narrative about what it means to be well, to be thriving and to have a happy and fulfilled life. This made me wonder whether the dominant narrative was perceived to be universal, relatable to all people. I often thought about how this might translate into multicultural spaces. How do people from various diverse backgrounds perceive wellbeing and what it means to live a good life? I understood that viewpoints would differ based on social positions and identity markers and this felt important. I did not feel and still do not believe that there is a universal definition that applies to all people, so I became interested in exploring this from a

diverse viewpoint. In addition to this, I took an interest in the experiences of family members, local community members and more generally the experiences of ethnic minorities and immigrants. In my personal life I heard family members express grievances about assumptions made about them, accounts about being spoken to in a hostile manner and frequently being subjected to judgement. Many parents struggled because they did not speak English, this often made it difficult for them to advocate for themselves. I noticed within my friendship group that many immigrant families relied on their children to translate for them. I started to see that this was not uncommon in some immigrant communities, something which is supported in ethnic and cultural research studies (Jonsen, Maznevski, & Schneider, 2011). I became curious about the effect of intergenerational family dynamics. In particular how such responsibilities impacted children and how they and their parents' vastly different life experiences shaped their world views and the extent to which these aligned.

I had similar reflections from my professional life working within schools and local authorities. During my time as a teacher at a specialist school for Autistic children, I taught in an ethnically diverse London borough where the majority of the school population were of South-Asian heritage. The majority of teaching staff were White-British, yet the majority of support staff (teaching assistants and domestic staff) were of South-Asian heritage. It was clear that the hierarchical staffing structure did not reflect the diversity of the school and wider community population. Many parents did not speak English well, which led to low attendance at parents evening and minimal parental correspondence through the school's home-school communication books. The school set up a system whereby support staff could volunteer to translate and interpret for parents at meetings. I noticed among teaching staff colleagues that there were dominant perceptions of the parents as being lazy for not speaking the language and perceived to not being supportive of their children's school experiences. It was clear to me that the language and cultural barrier was perceived as an excuse for limited engagement. I recognised that there could be cultural reasons why some parents did not fully understand their children's special needs. I was particularly struck that support staff were sometimes dismissed in their effort to provide culturally informed insight into the position some families adopted.

Prior to starting the doctorate in Educational Psychology, I worked as an Advisory Teacher for Children In Need in a neighbouring local authority. This role was based in a domestic abuse service within children's social care. The service prided itself on being culturally sensitive and took a non-judgemental approach to service delivery. As such, much of the role involved challenging harmful stereotypes and assumptions made about groups of people linked to their cultural and religious identity. Many of my experiences in this role made me reflect on my time teaching, in particular why I hadn't been more vocal in advocating for families who I knew were misunderstood and wrongly judged. What I learned in this role was the importance of curiosity, asking questions with the sole intention to understand other peoples' beliefs and life experiences leading to their views. More than ever, I understood the impact of amplifying voices of minoritized, often stigmatized communities to reduce negative assumptions and biases toward them.

As I started to think about a potential thesis topic, I knew that I wanted to focus on issues around equality and diversity. Transnationalism and intergenerational family dynamics was a potential topic, however I was missing an area of focus that I felt I could justify for Educational Psychology research. Wellbeing came about for obvious reasons. The educational psychology profession has a role in supporting wellbeing as well as learning (Dawson & Singh-Dhesi, 2010; Rigby, 2018). In addition to this, the profession is moving towards opportunities to embed community psychology approaches in our practice. For example, a number of Doctoral programmes now include community psychology in the course title and teaching content. Community psychology practice goes beyond an individual focus, it integrates social, cultural, economic, political, environmental and international influences to promote positive change and empowerment at individual and systemic levels (Seedat, Duncan, & Lazarus, 2001). I felt that community psychology lends itself well to culturally informed research on wellbeing within ethnically diverse communities. The community I chose to focus on was Somali as this community has a long history of transnationalism due to continuous movement. It is also my community and as such, I felt that my personal insight and understanding would be helpful to the research process. As I started to carry out brief literature searches on Somali families, I noticed overwhelmingly negative research connotations around their religious identity, mental illness and trauma (A. Abdullahi et al., 2009; Moxey & Jones, 2016; Small et al., 2008). My research topic on narratives of

wellbeing with Somali families came about through a combination of my personal and professional experiences and interests. On a personal note, I also wanted to carry out research in the hope of rewriting stories of blame, shame and deficit to stories of hope and resilience about the Somali diaspora.

Researcher positionality and identification with the study

Once I narrowed my research focus to Somali families, I made the decision to focus on the UK Somali diaspora, in particular mothers and daughters. My reasoning for the UK specific demographic was because it was beyond the scope of this thesis to review the international literature pertaining to the Somali diaspora. Additionally, I chose to focus on mothers and daughters because I identified a gap in the literature specific to this gender group. Moreover, as a Somali woman, a transnational individual and a member of the UK Somali diaspora, I shared the same identity as my participants. This gave me the status of an insider researcher, which is attributed to a researcher who is a member of the community group they are conducting research with or about (Le Gallais, 2008). This came with a number of advantages and limitations, which will be discussed here.

As an insider researcher, a member of the ethnic and cultural community and in social and political alignment, I have a vested interest in the research topic and in the mothers and daughters themselves. In some ways, I could relate to the daughters' stories and saw my mother and aunties through the mothers. This is a clear marker of my positionality, which has influenced interpretation and analysis of the narratives shared by the research participants. It was not my intention to present this work as objective. Braun and Clarke (2019) point out that the participants' voices cannot be represented objectively and without any subjective interference given that the researcher is socially positioned, thus bringing into play their own life script, view and experience during the reflexive analysis process. Yet, I recognised the importance of stepping outside of my own experiences to ensure that the research was not shaped to confirm them (Clarke & Braun, 2013). Jefferson and Hollway (2012) emphasised the importance of researcher reflection and reflexivity as a way of providing transparency of analysis. Reflexivity involves reflecting in an explicit and self-aware manner to increase integrity (Finlay & Gough, 2008). Willig and Rogers (2017) highlights the importance of personal and epistemological reflexivity whilst undertaking qualitative research. I did this by keeping

a research journal to document my thoughts throughout the process with consideration for positionality and what I believed to be true or untrue about my community.

Berger (2015) highlighted the importance of the researcher continuously reflecting and reviewing practice to ensure that they are not shaping participants experiences in any way, or unintentionally seeking similarities with one's own experiences. This consideration was particularly important in my research due to my insider status (Willig & Rogers, 2017). Braun and Clarke (2013) describe the importance of awareness of one's own assumptions and to "step outside your cultural membership to become a cultural commentator". In consideration of this, prior to data collection I reflected at length about how I was going to 'keep a distance' from my participants. For context, the Somali community although large in numbers, is incredibly well connected, meaning that it is very easy to trace an individual through the clan system and their family name. I wanted to ensure that participants did not see me as an extended relative of a relative, as is common in the Somali community if connections can be established through clan or family networks. Therefore, it is was important for me to recruit participants in a removed manner, through charity organisations and preferably in a geographical area that I was unfamiliar with and had no family ties to. I believed this small step would help me to step out of cultural membership and into cultural commentator. In doing so, I was able to connect with what felt like stepping out of my insider status as my experience of being a trainee Educational Psychologist and a researcher made the transition into cultural commentator smoother than I had anticipated. For instance, I maintained professional boundaries during tension points between participants' even when I was asked for my point of view, I explained my neutral position as a researcher. Additionally, at times I felt that my professional background and experience as a practitioner gave me a slightly different point of view in relation to the participants' experiences within education as well as their constructs around mental health.

Ontology and Epistemology

I was interested in exploring the conceptualisations of wellbeing from both mothers and daughters, which I understood could vary. Therefore, the ontological position that felt most suitable was relativist based on its view that multiple, varying realities exist between individuals. This position allowed me to understand both the mothers and daughters by paying attention to the meaning that they ascribe to wellbeing based on their own unique life stories and experiences.

I opted for a critical realist epistemology, which asserts that social phenomena such as wellbeing is best understood in relation to context and that individuals will hold their own subjective realities influenced by societal structures (Fletcher, 2017). In the context of conceptualisations of wellbeing, critical realism posits that societal structures such as language, power, ideology can determine both experiences of and beliefs about wellbeing (Bhaskar et al., 1998). From this perspective, I understood that objective realities exist but they are also influenced by socially constructed and subjective knowledge (Braun & Clarke 2013). For example, I knew that there would be similarities and differences about what it means to live a good life within the Somali community. I knew this would be shaped by the language used to understand the phrase, awareness of wider societal beliefs about the phrase and the systemic barriers at play that might impact how some individuals experience "a good life".

Research design

I decided that a qualitative approach would be appropriate as it acknowledges that researchers bring their own subjectivity into the research process (Robson, 2017). which is in alignment with my critical realist epistemological position (Fletcher, 2017).

When exploring methods for data gathering, I knew immediately I wanted a method that allowed for exploration and story telling. Many quantitative, qualitative and mixed method studies of wellbeing exist because of differing views about how this construct can be measured. Hence why evidence of contentious debate about wellbeing research and its methodologies exist (S. White & Blackmore, 2016). My personal view is that wellbeing cannot be understood without understanding people, their life experience, belief system and values, as these are instrumental in shaping how they view wellbeing

and achieve it. I felt interviews would enable storytelling and listening in order to make sense of the participants' similar or differing views. Since I intended to work with mothers and daughters, I thought about the practicality of working with both in an interview situation. I also considered a focus group for mothers and daughters separately with an open invitation for those who wished to be interviewed together. On reflection, I felt that focus groups would limit an opportunity for shared thinking and dialogue between the mothers and daughters which I felt was central to my research. As such, I wanted to interview mothers and daughters together in the hope of reflecting on the intergenerational dynamic between them whilst eliciting dialogue. Semi structured interviews were adopted to elicit important discussion points including the following:

- Relationship between mother and daughters
- Upbringing to elicit cultural insight
- Values linked to living a good life- wellbeing in the UK / Wellbeing in Somalia
- Education, role, impact and support
- Family dynamics- lessons and mistakes

Inclusion & Exclusion criteria

It was important to develop an inclusion and exclusion criteria that allowed for a focus on culture as well as the intergenerational family dynamics at play. Therefore, I decided that I wanted to interview mothers who were born and raised in Somalia until the age of at least 10 so that the formative years of their upbringing was in their home country. This felt important to capture some experiences of life in Somalia, what wellbeing means there and how this relates to the mother's experience of raising daughters here in the UK in the hope of promoting their wellbeing. I was interested in what impact this had on the daughters' conceptualisation of wellbeing, how they pursue their own based on their experience of their own culture and family dynamics whilst being raised in the UK. As such, I wanted the daughters to have been born and raised in the United Kingdom or European Union. My reasoning for this was because I wanted to consider whether there were any effects or differences between the two based on the fact that the mothers grew up in their country of origin and the daughters grew up in the UK or EU. In particular, I was interested in the intergenerational effect of this on language, culture, identity and consequently conceptualisations of wellbeing. Unsurprisingly, all

participants are transnational individuals who had lived in one to four countries. With the exception of five daughters who were born in the UK, all participants lived in at least two countries.

Conducting interviews

I conducted a pilot interview with a relative and her daughter as a way of gaining insight into the efficacy of the questions for both participants. In doing so I found that the dyad structure worked well, as it enabled dialogue between the two as I had hoped. I noticed the daughter aged 13 struggled to elaborate on her answers, which led me to add in more prompts to the interview schedule. I hoped that this would encourage elaboration and detail in gathering data, particularly if younger participants struggled to answer any questions. The pilot interview was a valuable process as I felt my confidence increased going into the first interview by having had this opportunity to practise.

Overall, I enjoyed carrying out all the interviews. There were instances were I felt there was some tension between the mothers and daughters based on differing views. On three occasions, I was asked what my thoughts were. I decided I needed to stay neutral and move on as I did not want to assert my views onto my participants (Braun & Clarke, 2013). On reflection, I felt uncomfortable because I did not agree with the mothers but even beyond the interview scenario, I would never have challenged an aunt figure as culturally this would be considered disrespectful. Nine out of ten participants invited me to their homes to conduct the interview. I was met with generous hospitality by all families, as is customary in Somali culture. Conducting these interviews was my first real experience of the advantages and limitations that come with being an insider researcher. One of the key advantages was that I was not seen as a stranger, I was trusted by the families which is why they welcomed me into their homes. Consequently, families were forthcoming in sharing their stories with me. However, at times this came with pressure such as being told by a mother not to bring shame onto the Somali community in carrying out this research. This made me wonder whether I was seen by the women and girls as an advocate or as a researcher. Upon reflection, I feel that I was able to fulfil both of these roles as a result of carrying out the research and in doing so raising awareness and the profile of the Somali community. Additionally, another key advantage was knowing the culture and my familiarity with customs and history. I

understood the sentiments behind what was being shared and was grateful for this because it made me more aware of cultural nuances at play. On a few occasions I had mixed feelings during interviews as a result of what I perceived to be tensions that arose between the mothers and daughters. This was mostly in relation to discussions around gender and mental health because the daughters held opposing views to the mothers, which they challenged. In the moment, I opted to stay neutral and listen to both viewpoints. In doing so, I began to feel uncomfortable at times as I did not agree with the views of some mothers. However, I understood that my role as a researcher was to remain neutral and to use prompts to gain clarity and depth of the points that my participants raised.

Language considerations

Another reason for carrying out a pilot interview was because I wanted to see how well meaning translated in the Somali language. The mother who took part in my pilot interview was fluent in both English and Somali. Of the interviews that followed, seven interviews were conducted in English and three were conducted in Somali. Of the three interviews conducted in Somali, it was the mothers communicating in this language whilst the daughters took part in English. This was because the daughters did not speak Somali well enough since English is their first language. I felt that it was important to allow for these circumstances as I was able to facilitate them and I understood how common this was. In all three interviews, the dynamic between the mothers and daughters felt similar to all of the other interviews in that the mothers and daughters were able to communicate well together. It was clear that the mothers understood their daughters and their daughters in turn understood them. This did not surprise me as I know many Somali children have experienced their parents speaking to them in Somali their whole life yet for both, their expressive language skills in their second language (for the daughters Somali, for the mothers English) is often weak. Although this experience did make me wonder why the children don't encourage their parents to speak English and why the parents don't insist on their children speaking Somali at least at home to retain their mother tongue. Especially as this was something that some mothers touched on during their interviews.

The most important language consideration was based on the fact that there is no exact translation for the term wellbeing in Somali. Consequently, I opted to use the phrase " to live a good life and to be well". I used this term as well as wellbeing in all interviews conducted in English for consistency and transparency. However, for the interviews conducted in Somali I only used the Somali equivalent translation for 'living a good life' 'nolool wanaagsan'. The reason for this was because even if there was an exact Somali term for wellbeing. I understood that the meaning would likely differ from the meaning it is universally attributed to in the English language. Similarly, the purpose of this research was to gain an understanding of what wellbeing means to the mothers and daughters and as such, it was important that they get to define this construct in their own terms using this phrase as a guide. I noticed in two interviews, the daughters were unfamiliar with the term wellbeing and for them, this phrase "to live a good life and to be well" proved useful as it allowed them to engage with the discussion and use the phrase as a starting point. Given that the Somali language is traditionally oral, it is incredibly descriptive, full of metaphors and idioms. There was no record of written Somali until 1974 (Kahin & Wallace, 2017). The oral tradition therefore has enabled generations of story telling and ancient folktales, which continue to pass on between generations both in Somalia and across the diaspora. This is why I felt it important to allow participants the option to take part in Somali to continue this legacy of storytelling as well as for access reasons.

Translation process

I spent a long time considering how I was going to analyse the data in two languages. I considered working with two separate data sets: 7 in English and 3 in Somali. Upon reflection I felt it was important to work with the data as one unit as opposed to two separate units as I wanted to ensure my analysis was reflective of the entire data, not separated by language. I also knew conceptually it would be difficult for me to work with two languages if I saw them as two separate units of data. As I carried out research about data analysis in two languages, I learned about the importance of minimising loss of meaning by limiting translation where possible (Santos Jr, Black, & Sandelowski, 2015). This was crucial to the reliability of the dataset as well as fidelity to the participants own choice of words (Squires, 2009). Consequently, I decided to work with the entire data set in English as translating parts of the three interviews to English

instead of seven in Somali would lead to fewer errors in the hope of maintaining conceptual equivalence in meaning. Although the process of translation was difficult given the poetic nature of the language, every effort was made to translate as closely to meaning and sentiment as possible. I did this by consulting with relatives about key words and phrases I was unsure of to support accuracy.

Data analysis

I chose to use reflexive Thematic Analysis because this method is rooted in reflexive practice. Braun & Clarke (2019) state that the researcher's position and contribution to analysis is seen as a necessary and integral part of the process. As an inside researcher, a member of the ethnic and cultural community being studied and in social and political alignment, this was key because it meant that I could use my 'insider' experience to support the analysis process. I briefly considered Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). Given the focus on my participants lived experiences, I felt interpretive phenomenological analysis might be suitable. However, given that I had hoped to work with a large sample and since the focus of my research was with mothers and daughters, I wanted to prioritise patterned meaning across the dataset to learn more about both participant groups. Additionally, given my researcher positionality, I felt that reflexive thematic analysis was better suited.

B) The contribution to the research knowledge base

Academic rationale

Since supporting wellbeing is a significant part of the EP role at individual, group and systemic levels, I knew there would be a large psychological research base on wellbeing. However, I was unsure about culturally informed research on wellbeing. As I began to carry out initial reviews of the literature through conducting searches, I was surprised to find no studies specific to the work of EPs on wellbeing linked to diversity. My academic rationale was thus based on this major gap in the literature. I wanted to contribute to the frequently overlooked cultural dimension of wellbeing through the perspective and life experiences of Somali heritage families in the UK.

In addition to the lack of representation and diversity of culturally specific work around wellbeing, another contributing factor for my rationale was linked to the new curriculum in Wales. The curriculum is based on four purposes, one of which is, 'to develop ethical, informed citizens of the world'. As I read more about the Welsh curriculum, I learned that for the first time it became mandatory for schools in Wales to teach children and young people about the history of diverse communities in Wales. This includes stories about Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic people (Donaldson, 2016). I felt a starting point was to conduct research that would allow community members to share their stories to inform practice and consider whether the outcomes of the research could support implementing this core purpose of the curriculum in schools.

In 2020, the Division of Educational Child Psychologists (DECP) pledged to 'remove the barriers that children, young people and families experience' in relation to structural racism (British Psychological Society, 2020, p. 1). A significant barrier for individuals from minoritized backgrounds is lack of representation, as widely reported in psychology (Jonsen et al., 2011). I felt that seeking the voices of individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds is an important aspect of the DECPs pledge. I feel strongly that this also underpins my academic rationale. Since EPs work with all communities, I feel there is an urgent and pressing need to raise awareness of culturally informed perspectives of wellbeing to support culturally sensitive psychological research and practice.

Diversity in EP profession

Issues about equality and diversity has presented as an issue high on the agenda of the Association of Educational Psychologists (AEP). In 2021, the AEP hosted a conference on increasing diversity within the profession, they have also provided a webpage of resources on this topic. More broadly, within the profession, the British Psychological Society (BPS) has outlined a strategic framework about its commitment to equality, diversity and inclusion. The first of the six strategic goals with suggested actions states:

1. We will promote and advocate for diversity and inclusion within the discipline and profession of psychology and work to eradicate discriminatory practice

We will tackle institutional racism and systemic bias and all forms of institutional discrimination towards marginalised groups from the top down within our organisation. We will challenge discriminatory practices in wider society.

We will empower our members to learn from each other so we can advance psychology to embrace diverse people, methods, ideas and practices.

Our long-term aim is to change humanity to celebrate diversity, to value and include people of all backgrounds and characteristics at all levels of society.

This solidified to me the importance of using my research as a mechanism for promoting inclusion, and to contribute to knowledge that will hopefully help to reduce discriminatory practice such as that which my participants experienced by school staff.

Reviewing the literature

I chose to conduct a narrative review for reasons linked to my topic of study. Firstly, the research on wellbeing is incredibly oversaturated. Yet, the psychological research linked to wellbeing, diversity and culture was extremely limited and mostly international. When I narrowed this search down to the UK and Educational Psychology, there were no results. On the contrary there were over 1000 results when searches were conducted using the key words Somali and wellbeing together. Many of these results could be divided into the following categories.

1. A large proportion of these results were linked to health and mental illness.

2. Many of the results also included studies of multiple ethnic minority groups, of which Somalis were included.

3. A number of these search results were specifically about Somali refugees and asylum seekers.

4. A limited number of the results were carried out in the UK.

Since my research was not focussed on any of these areas, I felt that a systematic or scoping review would not capture relevant searches for my study. Additionally, I felt that their rigid nature would limit this. I also felt that my topic required 'sifting through' the data with a focus on key words but with a flexible approach of snowballing. I felt my literature review needed to be able to answer questions in order to thoroughly examine existing debates and themes within the literature:

1. What is wellbeing?
2. What does the literature say about the UK Somali diaspora?
3. How do the experience of the UK Somali diaspora affect family wellbeing

As I looked to informed reasons to help me choose a review type, I learned that narrative reviews can answer multiple questions "at different levels of completeness and comprehensiveness" (Grant & Booth, 2009).This felt suitable for my literature review. Yet, I knew that narrative reviews are subject to bias since the researcher selects research (Siddaway, Wood, & Hedges, 2019). I was able to reduce this bias by sticking to a list of specific search terms and my inclusion and exclusion criteria so that I did not miss any relevant papers.

I also carried out searches of grey literature (unpublished research) such as local government legislation, charity reports and policy documents by 'pearl growing' or 'snowballing' (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). This approach was used to search relevant websites and journals to minimise the risk of missing relevant information from initial systematic searches (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006). Literature searches were completed during the development of the research in July and August 2022. However, I wanted to ensure that I did not miss any important new publication so the searches were repeated again in December 2022 following analysis of the data. Ultimately, the literature review developed my knowledge of the research around cross-cultural wellbeing as well the key themes emerging from Somali families. This process allowed me to identify Tiilikainen et al., (2019) framework for wellbeing and gaps in the literature pertaining to Somali families. Subsequently, the role and views of women and girls informed part of the rationale for the present study.

Development of research questions

Upon reviewing the literature, I reflected on the limitations and gaps to inform the development of my research questions for this study. The overall aim of my research was to gain an understanding about how wellbeing was conceptualised through a culturally and ethnically diverse lens. Within that, I wanted to delve deeper into the role that women and girls play and how this affects family and individual wellbeing. My research questions were refined to include an exploration of my participants experiences of and within education. This was to ensure relevance to the practice of Educational Psychology.

- How do Somali mothers and daughters conceptualise wellbeing?
- What role does the mother/daughter relationship play in wellbeing?
- What are the educational experiences of families from transnational Muslim backgrounds and how can education provisions support their wellbeing?

Contribution to existing knowledge

Tiilikainen et al., (2019) framework for wellbeing demonstrates that wellbeing can be understood through an interconnected triad consisting of material, relational and ethical wellbeing as referenced in previous literature on the wellbeing of transnational Muslim migrants (Tiilikainen et al., 2019). The findings show that for Somalis, education is the pillar of material wellbeing as it is believed to have the potential to improve the welfare, resources and thus wellbeing of the entire family. Despite this, the findings showed that the mothers and daughters experienced epistemic injustice (Fricker, 2007). Their capacity as 'knowers' was undermined through testimonial and hermeneutical injustice as they were constructed as the lesser knowing agent by education professionals they came into contact with. This finding in particular is crucial to the work of Educational Psychologists as it gives insight into the ways in which they can support education provisions to support the wellbeing of children and families from culturally diverse and Muslim backgrounds. Another finding was linked to the mothers and daughters' experiences in Britain, which resulted in a constant negotiation between Somali identity, cultural and religious practices, the relational and ethical components of wellbeing. Despite these challenges, the ethical dimension of wellbeing such as their belief and practice of Islam mitigated their difficulties. The study provides an important

insight into models of wellbeing, the research around culture and wellbeing and more specifically how wellbeing is conceptualised from the perspective of Somali mothers and daughters. In doing so, I believe that this research can support Educational Psychologists in their practice of supporting wellbeing for all children and families across all levels. I believe the literature around culturally differing viewpoints of wellbeing in particular, may support their theoretical knowledge and understanding in this field to aid their practice.

Relevance of findings to EP practice

The key implications for practice were linked to reducing stigmatisation and creating meaningful opportunities for parental engagement. Racial literacy (Twine, 2004), which is understood as the capacity of people to understand how race and other identity markers can affect people in society and Arnstein's ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969) and the social graces (Burnham, 2018) were proposed as frameworks for Educational Psychology practice in line with the BPS's strategic equality and diversity goals. I believe the use of the ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969) can help to enable EPs to combat epistemic injustice by enabling dialogue between school and parents. EPs should seek to better their own understanding before taking on the role to support schools in combating epistemic injustice and racism through reflexive practice.

Possible direction of future research

I was mindful of the support I received from two community organisations. These charities were incredibly supportive of my research and expressed an interest in my plans for this research. I would like to have engaged in more meaningful community psychology practice by working alongside them for this research. Specifically, by conducting analysis jointly with participants and charity workers. Adopting a methodology that allows for this such as community participatory action research would have enabled this. However, I felt that as a doctoral student and trainee psychologist I had limited time and resource to be able to manage collaborative working in a way that would have made it genuine and meaningful shared action research. I feel that this could be a possible future direction of research in this area of practice. Additionally, two further areas for future research that I identified are linked to mental

health and community psychology initiatives to bridge relationships between school, families and the local community in the interest of equality and diversity practice.

Dissemination of findings

I feel a sense of ethical duty to share the findings of this research (Alderson & Morrow, 2011). I would like to engage stakeholders in conversations about the implications for EP practice in relation to culturally diverse wellbeing research. My plan is to do this in a range of ways, beginning by presenting my thesis to the service I am currently on placement with. Upon completion of this thesis, I hope to move towards publication so that the research contributes to the literature and can become more accessible to a wider range of audiences beyond the EP profession.

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Appendices

E-mail: mohamudh@cardiff.ac.uk   E-mail: jeansh@cardiff.ac.uk

Appendix A participant information sheet

I am a trainee Educational Psychologist with an interest in wellbeing. I would like to invite Somali mothers and their daughters to take part in this research project, which will be my thesis as part of my doctorate in Educational Psychology. Before you decide whether you would like to participate, it is important for you to understand why the research is being conducted and what it will involve. Please take your time and read the following information carefully and please ask if there is anything you are unclear about or need more information about. Your time is greatly appreciated.

What is the purpose of the project?
The purpose of this project is to understand how Somali women and girls conceptualise wellbeing, what it means to them and how they pursue their own wellbeing. I am interested in the cultural perspective of wellbeing, and what the different views and experiences are between different generations. As such, I will also explore the role that the mother and daughter relationship plays within positive and well maintained wellbeing. I also hope to explore the role that education plays in individual wellbeing from both the mother's and daughter's point of view. The findings will be used to form my thesis, which will be submitted as a requirement of my doctoral degree.

What will happen if you take part?
If you wish to take part in this study, you will be asked to take part in an interview with your mother/daughter. The interview will be audio/ voice recorded depending on whether we meet in person or online. If it is online, then this will be on Zoom or Microsoft teams. The interview will be about your views and experiences around the topic of wellbeing. Themes based on culture, education, generational difference and life experience will be explored. Following your interview, there will be two focus groups, one for mothers and one for daughters to discuss and reflect on wellbeing more generally with a group of mothers and a group of daughters separately. The researcher will follow the lead of participants for the focus groups. You can choose whether you would like to take part in the focus group. You can choose to only do the interview with your mother/ daughter and not the focus group. Data collected will be stored in a secure location; all participants will be given a pseudonym which will be used to make reference to the information a participant provides in the write up of this project. The purpose of this is to ensure that data collected from individuals will remain anonymous. Only the researcher named on your consent form (Hibak Mohamud, mohamudh@cardiff.ac.uk and my project supervisor (Hayley Jeans jeansh@cardiff.ac.uk will have access to your name and data.

Do you have to take part?
Participation in this research is completely voluntary. If you do not wish to participate you do not have to. Should you decide to take part you will be asked to sign a copy of the consent form declaring that you have read and understood the information in this document and that you consent to participate in the research. You can choose to withdraw from the study and request the removal of any information you have provided, at any point up to three weeks after the interview and after the focus group. After this time, the

information given will have been transcribed and anonymised. You will not be able to withdraw your data at this point as the interview or focus group will have been transcribed and anonymised. This means that the information you have provided will not be traceable to you so can't be removed from the data gathered. Given that interviews will be carried out with mothers and daughters, if one person decides to withdraw then the data from both parties will be removed. However, mothers and daughters can choose to take part in the focus group at their own discretion. If you do not wish to take part in the focus group, then you do not have to. This does not affect your data and participation in interviews.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?
The research project does not intend to evoke difficult or sensitive discussion points; however, this is always possible depending on your own life story and experiences. You will be provided with a debrief form including contact details of myself and my supervisor, should you have any questions or concerns following the interview. The interview will be very flexible, which will allow for time and breaks if required.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?
This study will not provide any specific benefits to individuals; however, I am hoping that it will contribute to the research base on wellbeing by including the voices and experiences of Somali women and girls. In doing so, the aim is to understand what wellbeing is and what it means more broadly to a diverse population that incorporates cultural, generational and national differences.

Who has reviewed the project?
This research is conducted within the requirements of the School of Psychology Research Ethics Committee at Cardiff University. and in accordance with the British Psychological Society's Ethical Code of conduct (BPS 2009). This project is being overseen by the researcher's supervisor Hayley Jeans.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information

The information provided will be held in compliance with GDPR regulations. Cardiff University is the data controller and Andy Lane is the data protection officer (inforequest@cardiff.ac.uk). The lawful basis for processing this information is public interest. This information is being collected by [*Hibak Mohamud].*

The information on the consent form will be held securely and separately from the research information. Only the researcher will have access to this form and it will be destroyed after 7 years.

The research information you provide will be used for the purposes of research only and will be stored securely. Only Hibak Mohamud and Hayley Jeans will have access to this information. After 3 weeks the data will be anonymised (any identifying elements removed) and this anonymous information may be kept indefinitely or published. If you would like to make a complaint about the study, further contact details can be found here:Secretary of the Ethics Committee
School of Psychology, Cardiff University
Tower Building, Park PlaceCardiff, CF10 3AT Tel: 029 2087 0360. Email: psychethics@cardiff.ac.uk*Cardiff University is the Data Controller and is committed to respecting and protecting your personal data in accordance with your expectations and Data Protection legislation. The University has a Data Protection Officer who can be contacted at* inforequest@cardiff.ac.uk*. Further information about Data Protection, including your rights and details about how to contact the Information Commissioner's Office should you wish to complain, can be found at the following:* https://intranet.cardiff.ac.uk/staff/supporting-your-work/manage-use-and-protect-data/data-protection

E-mail: mohamudh@cardiff.ac.uk   E-mail: jeansh@cardiff.ac.uk

Appendix B Adult Consent form

Name of Student conducting this research: Hibak Mohamud

1   I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for this project. I have had the opportunity to ask questions.

☐

2   I understand that my participation is voluntary, and I am free to withdraw my data until 3 weeks after the interview date, which will be when the audio data will be transcribed and anonymised.

☐

3   I understand that my participation in the focus group is voluntary, If i choose to withdraw then my contribution may be deleted, however any influence in the discussion would remain.

☐

4   I understand that my responses to the research questions will be noted, analysed and that all data will be stored securely.

☐

5   I understand that my interview will be confidential and only the researcher and the supervisor of this project will hear it. I understand that all personal data about me will be kept confidential.

☐

6   I understand that the research data collected will include sensitive information such as ethnicity, age and place of birth. I specifically consent to this information being processed.

☐

7   I understand that the researcher must work in accordance to the Ethical Code of Conduct set by the School of Psychology Research Ethics Committee at Cardiff University and The British Psychological Society (2009).

☐

8   I understand that the personal data will be processed in accordance with GDPR regulations

☐

9   I agree to allow the researcher to use audio recordings to record my interview

☐

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant & ethnicity   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

Country of birth   Age   telephone/ contact details

The information provided will be held in compliance with GDPR regulations. Cardiff University is the data controller and Andy Lane is the data protection officer (inforequest@cardiff.ac.uk). The lawful basis for processing this information is public interest. This information is being collected by *Hibak Mohamud.*
The information on the consent form will be held securely and separately from the research information. Only the researcher will have access to this form and it will be destroyed after 7 years.
The research information you provide will be used for the purposes of research only and will be stored securely. Only Hibak Mohamud and Hayley Jeans will have access to this information. After 3 weeks the data will be anonymised (any identifying elements removed) and this anonymous information may be kept indefinitely or published.

Appendix C Young Person Consent form – under 18

1   I read and understood the briefing sheet, i am happy to take part in this project   ☐

2   I can change my mind or ask that anything i have said is no longer kept on file. I can do this up to 3 weeks after my involvement in the interview with my mum.   ☐

3

4   I can choose to not take part in the focus group if i don't want to. If I do take part then i can change my mind. If i change my mind then what i have said will not be used but it might still be part of the conversation recorded. I understand that this can't be linked back to me.   ☐

5   I understand that anything I say in the interview or focus group will be recorded, but kept somewhere safe so nobody can get it.   ☐

6   I understand that my interview will be confidential, this means that only the person doing this research will know what I have said. I understand that all information about me will be kept confidential.   ☐

7   I understand that I will be asked about my ethnicity, age and place of birth. I am happy for this information to be recorded.   ☐

8   I understand that my details will be processed in accordance with GDPR regulations (this means that your information will be handled safely and legally)   ☐

9   I am happy to allow the researcher to use audio recordings to record my interview   ☐

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant & ethnicity   Name of parent/ carer   Signature of parent/carer

_____   _____   _____
Country of birth (participant)   Age   (participant)   telephone/ email address (participant)

Appendix D participant debrief information- adults

To participants,

Thank you for taking part in my doctoral research, I appreciate your time greatly.

The purpose of this study was to explore in detail how Somali women and girls view wellbeing. The mother-daughter relationship was used to help understand the different points of view and experiences of wellbeing. The role of culture and education was explored through the different narratives shared by participants.

You are reminded that your participatory data will be kept confidential and no names will be associated with any findings within the write up. However, if having received more information about this study you no longer wish for your data to be used in this report, then you are reminded that you are free to remove your data at any point, up until such a point that the audio recordings will be transcribed and anonymised. This will be 3 weeks after the interview. After this date, the data will have been analysed and incorporated into the write up and will no longer be retrievable. Transcribed interviews shall be retained for an unknown period indefinitely by Cardiff University; however, the audio recorded interviews will be destroyed 3 weeks after recording. If you wish to remove your data prior to transcription, please let me know using the contact details below. If, having participated in this research and reflected on the events discussed, you are in any way unhappy, you are encouraged to discuss this with a member of staff at Hayaat's women's trust/ Bristol Somali resource centre. In addition this option, here are some organisations you could contact for support.

- **Samaritans.** To talk about anything that is upsetting you, you can contact Samaritans 24 hours a day, 365 days a year.

- **C.A.L.L.** If you live in **Wales,** you can call the Community Advice and Listening Line (C.A.L.L.)

You can also contact myself or my supervisor, Hayley Jeans, if you have any concerns or questions relating to this research. You will find contact details below:

If you would like to withdraw your data or have any further questions please contact myself or my supervisor or the researcher: Hayley Jeans Professional Tutor, Doctorate in Educational Psychology, School of Psychology, Cardiff University, Tower Building, Park Place, Cardiff, CF10 3EU; email: jeansh@cardiff.ac.uk Hibak Mohamud, School of Psychology, Cardiff University, Tower Building, 30 Park Place, Cardiff, CF10 3EU; email: mohamudh@cardiff.ac.uk

The information provided will be held in compliance with GDPR regulations. Cardiff University is the data controller and Andy Lane is the data protection officer (inforequest@cardiff.ac.uk). The lawful basis for processing this information is public interest. This information is being collected by [*name of researcher*].

The information on the consent form will be held securely and separately from the research information. Only the researcher will have access to this form and it will be destroyed after 7 years.

The research information you provide will be used for the purposes of research only and will be stored securely. Only Hibak Mohamud and Hayley Jeans will have access to this information. After 3 weeks the data will be anonymised (any identifying elements removed) and this anonymous information may be kept indefinitely or published.

If you would like to make a complaint about the study, further contact details can be found here:

Secretary of the Ethics Committee
School of Psychology, Cardiff University
Tower Building, Park Place
Cardiff, CF10 3AT Tel: 029 2087 0360.   Email: psychethics@cardiff.ac.uk

Cardiff University is the Data Controller and is committed to respecting and protecting your personal data in accordance with your expectations and Data Protection legislation. The University has a Data Protection Officer who can be contacted at inforequest@cardiff.ac.uk*. Further information about Data Protection, including your rights and details about how to contact the Information Commissioner's Office should you wish to complain, can be found at the following:*
https://intranet.cardiff.ac.uk/staff/supporting-your-work/manage-use-and-protect-data/data-protection

Appendix E participant debrief information- Young person

To participants,

Thank you for taking part in my doctoral research, I appreciate your time greatly.

The purpose of this study was to learn about how Somali women and girls view wellbeing. The mother-daughter relationship was used to help understand the different points of view and experiences of wellbeing.

The recording of our discussion will be held confidentially and securely and once it has been transcribed the recording will be deleted. Please note that you have the right to withdraw from the research by asking me to withdraw the data you have provided. You can do this by contacting me directly. You can withdraw from the study up until the point that we anonymise the data. This is when I make sure that all information given by participants can no longer be linked to their identity. I will do this 3 weeks after the interview and 3 weeks after the focus group. If you have been affected by any of the issues raised in the interview please talk to an adult you trust about your feelings, concerns or thoughts. If you don't feel comfortable talking to an adult you know, you can talk with someone from Childline by calling 0800 1111, you can talk to them about this research or anything else. To do this, visit their website www.childline.org.uk where there is a chat function to talk with a counsellor. You can also contact myself or my supervisor, Hayley Jeans, if you have any concerns or questions relating to this research. You will find contact details below:

If you would like to withdraw your data or have any further questions please contact myself or my supervisor or the researcher: Hayley Jeans Professional Tutor, Doctorate in Educational Psychology, School of Psychology, Cardiff University, Tower Building, Park Place, Cardiff, CF10 3EU; email: jeansh@cardiff.ac.uk Hibak Mohamud, School of Psychology, Cardiff University, Tower Building, 30 Park Place, Cardiff, CF10 3EU; email: mohamudh@cardiff.ac.uk

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The information on the consent form will be held securely and separately from the research information. Only the researcher will have access to this form and it will be destroyed after 7 years.

The research information you provide will be used for the purposes of research only and will be stored securely. Only Hibak Mohamud and Hayley Jeans will have access to this information. After 3 weeks the data will be anonymised (any identifying elements removed) and this anonymous information may be kept indefinitely or published.

If you would like to make a complaint about the study, further contact details can be found here:

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Cardiff University is the Data Controller and is committed to respecting and protecting your personal data in accordance with your expectations and Data Protection legislation. The University has a Data Protection Officer who can be contacted at inforequest@cardiff.ac.uk*. Further information about Data Protection, including your rights and details about how to contact the Information Commissioner's Office should you wish to complain, can be found at the following:*
https://intranet.cardiff.ac.uk/staff/supporting-your-work/manage-use-and-protect-data/data-protection

Appendix F - Gatekeeper letter for Charities

Dear _____ Trust/ _____ Resource Centre

I am a trainee Educational Psychologist (TEP), in the school of Psychology, Cardiff University. As part of my doctoral degree thesis, I am carrying out research to explore narratives of wellbeing with Somali women and girls. This research is open to Somali and English speakers. Specifically, I am hoping to carry out this research by utilising the mother-daughter relationship. To do this, I would like to carry out semi-structured interviews with mothers and their daughter's (1 mother and daughter per interview). I am hoping to recruit 10 participants- 5 mothers, 5 daughters. The interviews will explore different perspectives and experiences that contribute to wellness and wellbeing. Themes will include culture, education and intergenerational differences between Somali mothers born in Somalia and their daughters born in the United Kingdom. Following all the interviews, I would like to carry out two focus groups with the group of mothers and group of daughters separately. This second phase of the research will explore narratives of wellbeing more generally. It will be less structured, following the lead of the group contributions. Participation in the focus group will be voluntary.

I am writing to enquire whether (name of charity) would be willing to support the recruitment of participants for my research by sharing my recruitment poster with women and girls who meet the research criteria (see research poster).
The title of the project will be **Somali mothers and their daughter's narratives on wellbeing, an intergenerational exploratory study.** The findings will be used to form part of my doctoral thesis in fulfilment of the doctorate in Educational Psychology. My research supervisor is Hayley Jeans, Cardiff University.

I would appreciate your support with recruitment greatly. Please disseminate the research poster to any potential participants who meet the research criteria as stated in the attached research poster. I would be grateful if you could gain verbal consent to share contact details of any individuals who express an interest in participating in the research. Following this, I will make contact with individuals to provide further information and gain written consent before arranging interview dates.
Many thanks in advance for your consideration of this project.

Regards,

Hibak Mohamud
Student Name: Hibak Mohamud   Supervisor Name: Hayley Jeans
Position: Trainee Educational Psychologist   Position: Tutor/ supervisor

Appendix G Interview questions

Section 1- Power, what has happened to you, what has influenced your life?

The interview guide is based on 10 bespoke questions developed in part through the use of the PTM framework as shown below (Johnstone & Boyle, 2018). It is sectioned into 'themes' that are linked to the core components of the PTM framework. The content of the questions were also developed with the research questions in mind to elicit data that would allow for a deeper understanding and exploration of the key constructs linked to the 3 research questions (narratives of wellbeing, the mother and daughter relationship and education).

(relationship)
1. Tell me something that is special about your mother- daughter bond

1. ii sheeg wax gaar ah oo ku saabsan xiriirkiina - hooyo iyo gabadheedo

(culture/upbringing)
2. What was it like growing up in Somalia and what made you happy?

2. Markaad so koraysay o soomaliya ku nooleed, maxaa ku farxad gelinjiray

3 What is it like being a Somali mother living in Cardiff/ Bristol now?

3 Sidee tahay nolosha hooyo Soomaaliyeed oo haaa ku   nool Cardiff/ Bristol

3a. What was it like growing up & what is it like to be a young Somali girl in Bristol?

(values/lived experience)
4. What does it mean to live a good life?

4. Maxaad ku tilmaamikartaa nolol wanaagsan

PROMPT ('wellbeing', 'a fulfilled life', 'How would you describe a life well lived, what does that look like? What things are important, Is there an optimal way of living?")

Section 2- Threat- how did it affect you? what threats are posed/ experienced?

5 What do you worry might get in the way of being able to live a good life?

5 Maxaad ka welwelshaa kaa hor istaagto in aad nolol wanaagsan ku noolaato UK?

PROMPT (is there anything about being Somali and living in the UK/ Bristol/ Cardiff that makes it hard to have a good life here?)

(ma jiiraan wax soomalinimada oo adkeynaysa in nolol wanaagsan lagu joogo?)

(education)
6. What impact has education had on your life and wellbeing?

6. Samayn nooce ah ayay waxbarashadu ku yeelatay noloshaada iyo ladnaantaada?

7 How can schools support Somali children and young people's wellbeing?

7. Sidee bay schoolaha u taageeri karaan wanaaga caruurta iyo dhalinyarada?

PROMPT: *(Is there anything that school staff should know or take into account?)*

(ma jiraan wax ay schoolaha ogaadaan ama ku xisaabtamaan markay caawinayaan caruur iyo dhalinyaro soomaaliyeed?)

Section 3- Meaning- what sense did you make of it?' (What is the Meaning of these situations and experiences to you?)

(Future family context)

8. What have you learned from your family about living a good life?

8 Maxaad ka baratay qoyskaaga/ familigada ku noolaanshaha nolol wanaagsan?

PROMPT: *(what did you see your parents do, what moments will you cherish?)*

(maxaad ku aragtay waalidkaa oo samaynaya iyo ma jira wakhtii oh qadarin doonto?)

9. If your daughter was due to have a daughter, what life advice would you give her?

9. Haddii gabadhaada ay gabar u dhalan lahayd, maxaad nolosha kula talin lahayd?

9. If you were to have your own daughter, what life advice would you give her?

PROMPT: *(Think about what you want to pass on so that they can live a good life? Is there anything important to note that is specific to the female experience?)*

(Ka fikir waxa aad rabto inaad u gudbiso si ay ugu noladaan nolol wanagsan? ma jiraan wax muhiim ah in la xuso oo u gaar ah waayo-aragnimada dumarka?)

(narratives of wellbeing)

10. How would you define the word wellbeing for YOU?

10. Sideed u qeexi lahayd kelmadda wanaaga adiga?

PROMPT: *(We talked about what it means 'to live a good life' earlier, think of that as your starting point. If you had to explain the word wellbeing that is unique to you- how you see it, how you work towards it... what is that?)*

10a What is the difference between wellbeing here and in Somalia?

10a waa maxay faraqa u dheexeeya wanaaga halkan iyo soomaaliya?

PROMPT for mothers: *(Think about your experiences of growing up in Somalia, how would wellbeing be seen there?)*

PROMPT for daughters: *(Think about your experience of visiting... if you haven't been there, think about stories your parents may have shared with you, or what you might think. There's no right or wrong a*

Appendix H Personal data research form

Researcher responsible for the data: Hibak Mohamud

Research project name or SREC code: **Somali mothers and their daughter's narratives on wellbeing, an intergenerational exploratory study.**

Date: 11.1.2022

Description of personal data held or processed. Provide a narrative description of what the data are.	Names and contact details of individuals who consent to taking part.
Information that is being held or processed. Indicate the nature of the data: how could the person be identified and what information is stored alongside that identity.	Name, ethnicity, contact details, age, country born in.
When is data collection likely to begin and be completed?	May 2022- November 2022
Number of individuals for whom information will be held.	No more than 10
Lawful basis for processing. This will probably be 'Public Interest' or 'Consent'.	Public interest
Does the data include special category data (or Criminal offence data)? Special categories include: race, ethnicity, politics, religion, trade union membership, genetics, biometrics, health, sex life or sexual orientation. If yes then is specific consent used to process this information?	Yes
Length of time personal data will be kept. Personal data should only be kept for as long as necessary. Research data should be anonymised as soon as possible and the length of time before this happens should be communicated to the participant.	The personal data and the research data will be held until March 2026, which is in line with Cardiff University's research record retention schedules. The audio recording of the interviews will be destroyed immediately following its transcription. This information will be communicated to the participants via participant information sheet
What are the data security procedures? Ensure all personal data is kept secure.	All personal data and research data will be kept securely and stored on a password encrypted computer file via the researchers' Cardiff University online, intranet portal. Participants personal data will be kept separately from the research data to minimise risk in case of a data breach. Research data will also be anonymised as quickly as possible (within 3 weeks) after data collection

	to ensure the privacy and confidentiality of participants.
List CU (Cardiff University) staff who have access to the personal data.	Not applicable
Indicate whether all people listed above have completed their mandatory information security training. Available here: https://intranet.cardiff.ac.uk/staff/news/view/211993-information-security-training-when-will-you-complete-yours	Completed
List CU students who have access to the personal data.	Hibak Mohamud- year two trainee educational psychologist
What guidance or training have/will the students receive concerning data security?	The researcher, Hibak Mohamud has completed the 'research integrity' and 'information security 2021 training module'
List people external to CU who have access to the personal data. Provide their affiliation	Hayaat women's trust/ Bristol Somali resource centre already have access to the personal data, through existing relationships with the individuals
What agreements are in place for data security outside of CU?	The charities will have strict protocols for data security, which are in line with the general data protection regulations (GDPR, 2016).
Justification for not anonymising these data. Explain why the data are not or cannot be anonymised.	The personal data of names are confidential until transcription takes place, which will be 3 weeks after

Appendix I: research poster

Somali Mother's and Their Daughter's narratives on Wellbeing; an Intergenerational Exploratory Study

Inclusion criteria:
Somali women born and raised in Somalia until the age of 10 or over and who have a daughter aged 12+.
Somali girls born in UK or EU aged 12+ and are currently in education. Mother and daughter pairs will be asked to be interviewed together.

Exclusion criteria:
Somali girls (daughters) born in Somalia.
Mothers and daughters who wish to take part individually.
Somali women who were not raised in Somalia during their childhood.

Requirement:
Mothers and daughters to take part in an interview together that will take approximately 1 hour. Either in person or online depending on the Covid-19 regulations and individual preference.

To take part in a focus group- 1 group for mothers /1 group for daughters. Participation in the focus group is voluntary.

Both the interviews and focus groups will be based on your views and perspective on wellbeing, what that looks like and means to you.

My name is Hibak, I am a second-year trainee Educational Psychologist carrying out a doctoral thesis with Somali Women and girls. This study will seek to understand wellbeing from the perspective of Somali mothers and their daughter's.

Themes will include culture, education, and generational differences. If you are interested in this project and meet the research criteria, please consider taking part in my research project.

My email address is: mohamudh@Cardiff.ac.uk

Aragtida hooyooyinka Soomaaliyeed iyo gabadhooda ee nolosha wanaagsan ku sabsan

Salaam! Magacaygu waa Hibaaq Mohamud, waxaan ahay ardayad sannadkii ugu dambeeyay ku takhasusay "Educational Psychology" jaamacada Cardiff University.

Waxaan rabaa inaan hooyooyin Soomaaliyeed iyo gabadhooda Cardiff degen in aan waraysto sidaan u fahmo waxa ay ka dhigan tahay in lagu noolaador nolol wanaagsan marka la eego aragtidoda.

Haddii aad wax su'aalo ah ka qabto mashruucan ama aad rabto inaad ka qayb qaadato, iimaylkaygan ama telefankayga fadlan igala so xidhidha:

mohamudh@Cardiff.ac.uk

shuruudaha ka mid noqoshada

•Hooyooyin Soomaaliyeed, oo ku dhashay kuna koray Somalia oo haysta gabdho 12 jir ah ama ka weyn

•Gabdhaha Soomaaliyeed ee ku dhashay UK ama EU, oo ai da'doodu tahay 12 ama ka weyn

•Lamaanaha hooyada iyo gabadha ayaa la wareysan doonaa eyago wada jooga.

Shuruud
•Hooyada iyo gabadheeda waa inay si wada jir ah uga qayb qaataan waraysiga qaadan doona waqti ku dhawaad ah ila 30-35 daqiiqo. Tani waxay ku dhici kartaa xafiis, guriga ama internetka sida Zoom.

Appendix J: Thematic analysis Braun and Clark's (2006) phase 2: generation of codes

Name	Files	Referen...	Created on	Created...	Modified on	Modified by	Color
Inequalities	10	19	5 Dec 2022 at 20:28	HM	7 Jan 2023 at 12:02	HM	
Culture	9	16	5 Dec 2022 at 20:28	HM	7 Jan 2023 at 12:40	HM	
Education	9	22	5 Dec 2022 at 20:28	HM	21 Dec 2022 at 12:16	HM	
Intergenerational dynamic	8	16	5 Dec 2022 at 20:28	HM	7 Jan 2023 at 12:07	HM	
mental health	6	13	5 Dec 2022 at 20:28	HM	21 Dec 2022 at 12:16	HM	
Gender	5	15	5 Dec 2022 at 20:28	HM	7 Jan 2023 at 12:40	HM	
Islam	5	7	5 Dec 2022 at 20:28	HM	11 Dec 2022 at 17:28	HM	
Starting a new life	5	9	5 Dec 2022 at 20:28	HM	7 Jan 2023 at 12:02	HM	
Community belonging	4	5	5 Dec 2022 at 20:28	HM	21 Dec 2022 at 12:16	HM	
Wellbeing	3	4	5 Dec 2022 at 20:28	HM	11 Dec 2022 at 17:28	HM	
Family connection	2	2	5 Dec 2022 at 20:28	HM	18 Nov 2022 at 15:...	HM	

Final list of codes:

Inequalities
Culture
Education
Intergenerational dynamic
Mental health
Islam
Starting a new life
Community belonging
Gender

Appendix K- examples from interview transcript used to demonstrate individual codes.

| Inequalities | I feel like I'm going to probably was called not being treated as equal, I guess. So like how could you get like good grades for a good uni for a good job for good life, if like, you have like this? No, like equality that and also bad teachers.

They need to know that there families do take care of them, our culture is different that doesnt mean our children dont have good happy home life. Education is very important, we respect teachers and we trust they will help our children. Sometimes we dont speak good english so we dont come to school because its hard, but we really care you know. We are not abusing our children or shouting. I heard a teacher at the school I used to work at and she was judging a Somali mum saying why is she shouting at him, she's not playing with him, she's doing this and that.

They need to to be more understanding and stuff like other school. Because in my school, like in my friendship group, There was like more white people in school, because in my year we (friendship group) were the only coloured people here. So we'd get picked up by teachers and staff.

If the bell ran and we're like going to our class, they'll be like several other people walking around, and they didn't go to class but the teacher would say oh you guys why aren't you going to class? And they wasn't like telling the other students to go to classes but just us.

Like I've heard some things that my friends have told me like some people being racist or islamaphobic to students. My school I go to XX. it's like, I don't know has like a lot of flags its really cultural I guess. They accept everyone. So I don't think there's any problem in my school.

They need to be aware of their behaviour. If the behaviour is not right, their learning will be affected. But at the same time the teachers need to respect us and the children will know when that is genuine. Then the teachers will become role models to our children and they will trust them. They need to understand our community, we have been through a lot so education is really important. If they don't take the time to understand our community then they will assume things about us, especially our children's behaviour. This could affect the children, they are not stupid they understand things, if the teachers don't care about us that could even mean the children have a bad mood, which will make them sad and because of that they may not focus on their learning then. Then before you know it they will stop coming to school and then will be known as the Somali children who don't care about their education...

Schools are different but I think in this area they think we are not good at education and have bad behaviour. They think because we aren't like |

	these rich white people that have mortgages and two cars that our children have bad behaviour and won't do well in school
	Schools are different but I think in this area they think we are not good at education and have bad behaviour. They think because we aren't like these rich white people that have mortgages and two cars that our children have bad behaviour and won't do well in school
	school can do much better than they do now. Because they really, I believe they don't do nothing for our children, and only the people who are really how can I say, informed well informed, and the children who are bright, will kind of navigate through but if it's a child struggling, they don't care
	And a parent who doesn't know English either. They don't understand it, for example, with different learning difficulties, stuff like that. It's not addressed until they get to GCSE age and then see with the exam results, this child doesn't read properly, or they don't understand basic numeracy, and then it's kind of they're seen as troublemakers because they don't engage with their learning. So it's kind of too late for them when it reaches that stage where they're not engaged in learning. And then the teachers have kind of given up on them as well.
	I think in Cardiff, we've been here a long, long time, and they know we've got a lot of history back here. Now the first youth club in Wales opened was opened by somali guy. Amazing so we've got a lot of history, a fault in the Falklands War, which I don't know. Maybe it was in Argentina. And a lot of seamen from here fought for he British. So they do know a lot about us here, but they don't respect us I don't think I honestly don't I mean, in Cardiff today, Somalia, it's like a forgotten about communities forgotten about people, and bad people
	Most schools are bad for our people I don't know what they're like an England but here. I'm not sure about England. I first left of mine in the catchment areas and then for young ones, I took them to a predominantly white school. Because the catchment school that we left the education is not good. Where there's a concentration of ethnic minorities, to be honest those schools are very bad. There is no education and the children don't do well. So we went out of city and even to a private school, and that was a nightmare. They were just racist because my son was called a black bastard and I was told that the children didn't mean it. I asked about the school policies and really it was bad, they couldn't give me anything to protect children from abuse, I kept asking and asking, so, you know, in the end you get tired.
Culture	even though I came here when I was 10 and dont have much memory of that time period, my parents always made sure that I was always I always had my roots. I always knew about my family back home. I knew about you know, the culture over there and who was there so we would get at that time. When I was I think I was about five my early

memories of like five years of age where they will send cassettes or were to to people back home. So they'll tell us like oh, this you know, we're sending this back to your grandmother, your aunties, your uncle's say something. So we would, we would ask them how they're doing. And would have a response back to another video or audio back maybe a month or two later of them responding to whatever I asked them to also not remember what I asked me which just is just hearing somebody else and they emotion of you know them calling you like a or I love you and you know, I can't wait to see you and then finally being able to go back when I was 11. And just being there and seeing everybody just putting up those voices and faces those voices. I think I've always had a love for my country. Because of that because of my parents never wanting to allow us to forget where we're from.

I was there with my mom with my brothers and sisters. We used to have a the animals with the cubit we used to have a farm and they used to send me the fun picture where like sheep goat whatever they're what made me happy was gathering like full everyone cooking and praying for each other. It's called duco. It's made makes it happy, we got sweets and nice food a lot of things.

For me, if I think about my own experience, there are a lot of somalis here, this makes it easy because we help each other. If you are sick, people bring you food, if you can't pick up your kids, somebody else will collect them for you. If you need help understanding a letter, somebody will translate for you, there are communities that help Somali people in Bristol so that we don't struggle so much. A lot of good Somali people live here and for our wellbeing this is important.

Definitely, the Somali community is very close, we help each other. So without them, I would struggle. I have relatives who live in a isolated place, I know they really struggle. For me, I don't have that problem, even if I struggle for money I know people will help me out because my people are here.

Definitely, they understand but its very hard for them to respond in Somali so I do worry about the future. Mothers, daughters, fathers, son, they could lose their connection. We must speak to them in Somali. We need to correct their sentences to build their confidence. Instead of them repsonding in English, we need to help them encourage their Somali.

People have to understand each other and that means they have to talk. Talk about what is going on so you can make decisions with other people supporting you. In Somali the community is strong because we talk and share, here not so much. So to live a good life here that is what we must do, it will make people happier.

Respect, parents must be respected and anything you want should be shared with parents. You should always say inshallah and liase with you parents. This is important in our culture so we need to hold onto it here

	in this country. In this country these values in our community are slowly disappearing, so we need to make it important for our children. They will live good and happy lives.

Culture and religion is the same, for somalis they are like brother and sister. For example it means being close to your family, wearing a hijab, reading quaran, praying to Allah. Women should be modest, not go to clubs, she can marry anyone but they mustn't be behaving like the non muslims because that isn't our culture.

is basically my life is just if I think about my life, I just think about my tradition. Because traditions is important

They have a chat Even sometimes when between the women's Yeah, they're going to have a chat I miss it you know, the sheeko shekel that was very important for me. I always listen my mom and I liked the stories and sometimes I ask give me my grandmom stories.

Translated: You know its not just because she is a girl but that is very important because it is how she holds onto the Somali culture as a woman. How she can be a role model to her children and pass on our traditions by learning these things now. Do you understand?

I think well being over there is not a word that's usually used, but well being for them being well would be eating and having a roof over their head and being safe. Whereas in the UK, it's more about being relaxed and being you know, having a happy life, like enjoying what you're doing, the activities you're doing, and how like the direction of your life is where you are. Whereas abroad, I'd say in Somalia, it's about t staying healthy. But physically, it's not about the mental health or the cognitive. They don't they don't address that

Look after children, people and care. Like try to get the community together and talk through things were they are difficult. Talk to them because a lot of people I think need well being especially older Somali people because they stay in the house and they still not comfortable here. |
| **Education** | Yeah. I think this should be linked between education and well being. I think education has the responsibility to, you know, improve well being of children. However, that doesn't always happen. Especially with children of ethnic minorities. So a lot of times, the children are not, there seen as troublemakers. They're not really given a chance. But there could be other things going on. There could be other factors, but they're always a troublemaker. And i just don't feel education is really looking at well being as much as it should. So there should be a link. At the moment. I don't think that link is connecting very well.

When you learn, your understanding of the world is better so you will be happier. For us education is really important for somalis. |

The life there is very different. I had a good and bad time there. For example, when I was really young, the war was happening. But after that life was good, and things were fairly OK in Somalia. I didn't struggle, my parents didn't push me to learn that is my regret but that is because we didn't have money and also the boys would go to school but for us, we would stay at home and education wasn't a big deal. We did live a good life though.

They need to be aware of their behaviour. If the behaviour is not right, their learning will be affected. But at the same time the teachers need to respect us and the children will know when that is genuine. Then the teachers will become role models to our children and they will trust them. They need to understand our community, we have been through a lot so education is really important. If they don't take the time to understand our community then they will assume things about us, especially our children's behaviour. This could affect the children, they are not stupid they understand things, if the teachers don't care about us that could even mean the children have a bad mood, which will make them sad and because of that they may not focus on their learning then. Then before you know it they will stop coming to school and then will be known as the Somali children who don't care about their education...

I would say so definitely. Education have had a positive impact on my life. Because it gives you it gives me a focus and avenue that I want to follow. So something that I've aspired to do for a while but then actually living it. It gives you it makes you feel optimistic for the future. So the next step, it gives you a plan.

with benefits within the schools like in the school you have like a counsellor, but it's like a cadaan (white)lady, the boys would never go to an cadaan (white) lady So I think that's definitely a barrier because it's not it's not a route to actually get help. It's kind of like for certain people and they'll say, unless you want to go and get it. It's not you know, they're not going to feel comfortable going to somebody who they think is like a teacher.

I think schools where it starts school is where it starts. And I think in school in my school, for example, you know, you could see young people who had issues behavioural difficulties, but nobody got them assessed. Nobody showed them empathy. They were just kind of not, you know, targeted and seen as naughty but then you had white children. For example, from Dinas and Barry was just predominantly white, and they would be you know, nurturing them. You okay, ahh you know, are you having a difficult time? And then people from my community they will just forgotten they were just given up on the you know, their labour. I know that's very obvious. In the community and in different schools. You hear that?

	you feel like outsiders thats what you feel like. They feel like the world, they're meant to fit into the world rather than the world catering for their needs. So I think it's kind of one size fits one size fits all
	Like how we go to school, like you make loads of friends and then education like helps you become what you want to be. And then you just have to follow your heart where you want to be but to be honest its stressful and sometimes doesn't make you feel good inside
	Sometimes stresses your mind because the test and everything. But you can like chill. Like it you can like make your mind do a few hours study and have a break. Go home now and then come back if you want to do more. Going to sleep early and doing stuff like that you know
	But I think education and youth is where it starts with the quality of life and having a good life. If you get the support when you're younger, or you have the education wellbeing in education this is where you go if you need support. You know, it's okay to have that, you know, to speak to your family that I think that would open the door for people to actually communicate more with their family and in their community. So have workshops like you see here (local community hub) they have well being an art workshops, but then in Bute town, just across there. There is no anything to do with wellbeing, quality of life and that
	My well being? is like, its so stressful because now I'm doing GCSEs like, you don't know. Some teachers don't really want to help you study. You have to pick up your own studies and its really hard
Intergenerational dynamic	the differences from when I was younger? Yeah. Well, a lot of differences. Number one, social media. Number two alHamdulillah I would say I'm lucky because my No Actually no, my mum did not have any support. With us. It was just her and dad and distant family members. So it was here on her own and if anything, the environment around this is different to how I was when I was younger. On there's a lot of things that could easily distract the girls these days compared to us safety, Back in those days tyou was safer back then compared to now. And I think that just that state of mind. They think that kids are safe. They're not going to be exposed to so many things. We were not exposed to half of the things that they are exposed to. So from that aspect here and as well obviously my mum was uneducated and now that I am educated, I could see things differently, i learn the language so i understand how things are here and i can advocate for my children in a way that my mum couldnt.
	Definitely, they understand but its very hard for them to respond in Somali so I do worry about the future. Mothers, daughters, fathers, son, they could lose their connection. We must speak to them in Somali. We

need to correct their sentences to build their confidence. Instead of them repsonding in English, we need to help them encourage their Somali.

For me, when I was younger like I said I dint have many learning opportunities. But I think if I did I would be at a different level in life, I would be more successful definitely so thats why I push _____ so much. I know I can still learn but my time is passing, so I have to focus on my child. Obviously I am not giving up, I can still improve things in my life.

For me, when I was younger like I said I dint have many learning opportunities. But I think if I did I would be at a different level in life, I would be more successful definitely so thats why I push Sumaya so much. I know I can still learn but my time is passing, so I have to focus on my child. Obviously I am not giving up, I can still improve my life.

Um, basically the same as what my mom said like, just the same advice that my mom would give and just be a good Muslim. Yeah. To be honest, I don't really I know about our culture. But no, I don't really like listen to Somali music and stuff like that. But yeah.

I think back home they would say you have good morals, you are a good muslim. It isn't about anything else, all the other things the balance in life how you feel that is all connected to being good muslim

There's so many Somali people here now compared to when I was _____ age. Like I said, there was only six families. And there's a lot of Somali people here, a lot of young people and there's a lot of negativity in a way because of unemployment. issues with the police. It's not a good time. I would say to be a young person in Wales.

I think it's because its like they are stereotyped because there's so many of them like they're going round in like a group of ten boys together. They are seen as troublemakers and like the community before, if we were out somewhere, we shouldn't be there. My parents would know before I even got to my house. But like now nobody talks but everybody gossips. When they don't tell people the truth, that their kids are doing something bad. And they're all covering for each other. Well, then we'll have like a sore thumb. You know, when I was growing up it was different.

What do you think about that? You're from a different generation. Is that a good thing for you? Or is it a bad thing your mom talks about the before back in the day, the communities where they support each other, they're doing this what about now when people are noticing and observing what's my children are getting up to but not sharing that?

I think that's quite negative because in a way if you were to be more open, you're actually helping the young people because you're being you know, you're telling them you're giving them positive feedback rather than just ignoring them maybe. And then sometimes people are

	hypocrites because they, they might, you know, see that something is negative on there with the friends or family but then if they see it, they wouldn't actually they will just turn a blind eye. Yeah they don't, especially the older generation, they don't look after themselves as they always focused on their children and their extended family so they would go without so they can send money to them, instead of living comfortably themselves enough to look after themselves after the family. I think to be to be open and honest, to be empathetic. And also to understand that adult, the child so your child, my child and the adult, have different views, you know, different, like perspective. So we haven't lived the same life but you still have to understand your child Really is quite worrying at the moment because how things are changing is worrying me. children growing up in a scary time. I can't even you let my daughter go out on her own. It isn't safe for people like her. We live in Ely so we are isolated from the minorities and the somalis, people are racist here. When I was little in Cardiff I was in the docks, I was definitely safe. We used to walk from he docks to grange town but now I can't even trust my children on their own in case something happens to them or people say stuff to them. Also there are people out there recruiting the black children to do drugs its very bad
mental health	Because I feel like they're such a strong or proud community that they don't want to show the cracks. That are they're just like, Oh, waaa caadi, you know, it's not a big deal. You know, like I just relate to not really like because they have so much they they don't think of it, or this is importantdo you to know what I mean. lack of not being educated or experience or just listening to the old ways? And I think times have changed. There's so many things going on. Now. We don't live in the 80s or the 70s anymore. And you're more prone to, you know, having a lot mental issues but being addressed differently. Because back then it'd be oh wuu waalanyahay , xiraa, (he is crazy)lock him downn. You know, leave him alone without trying tonip it in the bud. But now, I think because more people are being educated. It's like no, he's not mad. You know, he just needs to be listened to, you know, communicate and see what's what's missing. I think because people don't understand it. They didn't know what mental health is or the issue they're going through. They don't know even the people that's going through it don't know what it is themselves. because tey haven't spoken to anyone about it. Or like the people telling them how bad it is. It is both the big and small things. If I don't know where my next meal is coming from I will never be well. so its about the position you are in, and this changes with circumstances all the time.

	I feel like when it comes to like mental health, as well, and like, if the kids, they have something concerning about them, like their parents, they'll just straight up say just go pray to allah. They don't understand that there is something wrong with them mentally so it's better to take them to a doctor but they haven't realised what's actually wrong. Because, you know, most parents, they think that kids are normal. When really, you know, their child could have autism, the child could have ADHD, they could have depression. And then most of the parents will be in denial. Don't believe the kids have these kinds of stuff. There is so much stigma about mental health in our community. We also need to help each other. Especially the single mothers struggling with so many kids. We need to help them and tell them they need to learn English, get a job. In our community there are mothers getting depression, becoming very sick until they try to kill themselves. But we have no clue in our community that these things are happening to our people. Being a mum is hard, especially in this country so we have to support each other. We need to encourage each other to stop having so many kids, so that we can focus on the children we have. Its advice but in a polite way you know.
Islam	It's like being not only being really good in your like in Islam, and your religion, but also having like a healthy comfortable life so just being like good for good for this life, but also good for the hereafter. So you have a good life here and a good life there. Its about being happy with whatever you have, faith and you wont feel stress Its not having money, many people have money but do not have peace in their heart. To me its having a purpose and to save a little, whatever you have. Health is important and then of course you have to believe in god and worship him. You will have a peaceful life. If you are always looking for money but you don't have faith, you will never have a good life. The faith is the foundation When somebody is calm mentally, morally. Believe in god firmly and trust him. They will be stress free. They live with who they love and they have no problem or stress because they believe in god. If they have this they will live happy and god will bless their children. Allah will protect them from their kids turning bad or going to jail. The belief is very important, they will be healthy and happy. Living a good life is about what is on the inside if you have Allah. Its not about money. You will never miss anything in life if you have god Mashaallah that would be bring me great happiness. I would want her to be a good mum and to make sure that she teaches her to become a good muslim, to guide her on the right path. To be modest, respectful. Not to leave her for work straight away. She should focus on working part time at least the first two years to give her daughter time.

	I think back home they would say you have good morals, you are a good muslim. It isn't about anything else, all the other things the balance in life how you feel that is all connected to being good muslim Somebody who is sane, healthy, isn't poor, somebody calm and somebody who believes in Allah. That person is amazing, only Allah is better than such a person. In this country we have so many options to us so we are never happy, wellbeing here is somebody who is happy in their mind. Its funny because here more people have depression but back home we don't even hear of depression because we aim to be happy regardless of what we have. Even though the understanding of wellbeing there is just if somebody is sane and healthy physically and mentally, I think the life there is better for creating wellbeing because we have things in our home land that make sure that we are well in our mind and heart you know? Because it is so hard here we have so much barriers that make us have bad wellbeing. You understand this?
starting a new life	When i came to england it took me years to speak the language, even now i'm not fully confident but i learned to always try my best so i do. Even writing in english now i can do it much better. when i came here i went to college part time and i worked part time and i was always learning because it meant i would have a better life here. to me i was surviving and i did that because i had to be strong, even when i was crying, i knew i would survive i just need to keep trying and mix with the people here so i would be ok. I learned that reading, writing and mixing with other people is very important what i learned in somalia is the tough life, how to survive sor family and not somebody else. But in tough, tough line. You know how to survive, because I don't live a life same as the way she live. Its like we don't have that much. So I really appreciate my mum and my family because i didnt realise it was a tough life until i came here after the war., So to come from the tough life there, it helps us, because now here its tough in a different way, the language, the people, the culture is all different happiness. All that helps us that tough like back there is helping us because we work here now we are stronger. We work hard, we have more life experience So that's why I'm here surviving as single mum Over there, life over there is hard and a struggle, when i go back and see how people are struggling its hard but they are happy and content. The life there is challenging, here by comparison the life is harder but we have more opportunities thats the difference. Over there, life over there is hard and a struggle, when i go back and see how people are struggling its hard but they are happy and content. The

	life there is challenging, here by comparison the life is harder but we have more opportunities thats the difference. When I came to this country I came here on my own, it was really hard and isolating but eventually I got used to it. I kept talking to my mum for comfort, even though it was expensive and I couldn't afford it. In those days, there was no WhatsApp call or internet that made it easier to contact family back home. At home if the children don't listen, we hit them but here that is not the culture, its even illegal, so we shouldn't do it. We have to be friends with the children.
community belonging	A good life is jar (neighbourhood). People that help you, your life will be better and you will live will. Being with my family, having meals with my family when we were all together. Now we are all in different countries, it will never be the same. Yeah, it's been a positive experience because I think there's a close knit community where we live. There's lots of different ethnic backgrounds, lots of very diverse, and everybody's on the same level, we support each other, so there's no animosity, so it's very calm place to be Togetherness, everyone was my family, you belong you know its your home so you feel safe you know yes definitely but also a safe place and be with the community as well. But I felt when I was in Cardiff, because I had my mum and sisters here. That was really what I all I needed to go ahead and either work or continue education or things like that. And it helped me because I had that peace of mind with the kids or have somebody to rely on
gender	Honestly, I think not so much with her generation but with my generation that had a massive impact, because you were doing allowed to do so much. You know, you cant be out me out for a certain amount of time. You can't do what boys can do boys have the freedom but you you're girl so you have to sit at home, you have to help in the house you have to do all these things. So for me, I will say from my generation being Somali female had a major impact on well being. we were limited Whereas you could speak for yourself but I feel well I've tried and I'm very cautious of making sure that my daughter has equality within the home so I'm mindful of not gender stereotyping. She gets what they get and she can do whatevr her brothers do. and her brothers can also do what she can do. I try and make sure that she knows you know you are Somali, youre female but you're you and so let you being you define you

and dont let anything else define yous. I hope I've got that across to you summaya that's something I try and think about always but yeah, I think the gender inequality mostly impacted my generation what the next generation but what do you think Summaya

only have a daughter but one day i still hope to have a son, what i think is that boys are easy and girls are hard, even though culturally a boy is better, girls are more useful to you as a mother. manually which I hope I'm gonna have one voice that whenever and the thing I forgot to do in here I saw my neighbour the two different to the refrigerator and blow a lot last thing different. They'll still while out. You ask they love to be spoiled. Girls love to be have everything in ammo they cool just to mahalo so ceria trousers and they wanted to run by football. And he has no line that

only have a daughter but one day i still hope to have a son, what i think is that boys are easy and girls are hard, even though culturally a boy is better, girls are more useful to you as a mother. manually which I hope I'm gonna have one voice that whenever and the thing I forgot to do in here I saw my neighbour the two different to the refrigerator and blow a lot last thing different. They'll still while out. You ask they love to be spoiled. Girls love to be have everything in ammo they cool just to mahalo so ceria trousers and they wanted to run by football. And he has no line that

Are you sayin that boys are easy to handle?

Yes. Is Yeah boys are easier to handle and girls are not? Yeah, you are too much. That's my answer.

No, that's too general. We can't be saying why are you saying that

Well first of all when you're a child. You You're raising a child to become like that spoiled or whatever, because you're giving them what they want. Yeah. So if you do that, they're gonna be that. That idea you saying? Well goes up. And then boy, I think the way you checkpoint is completely different. You just like what especially when they get older, you just let them do whatever they want. Always what they do wherever they want them to come in and mischievous and stuff like that. And us girls are just they're doing their own stuff, but also like you getting judged. Just do what we want to do. Like, go outside you have some somali aunty staring at you like hmmm, what is she doing

Yeah, i feel like in general the way they treat guys, theyre just so lenient, they get to do whatever they want, they get to go out but girls, they should be at home, they should know how to clean, cook, they shouldnt be playing football. Its very different because of culture, girls and guys arent the same but i think with our generation things will change.

Yeah definitely and i think they see that but they're reluctant cos they want to hold on to how they think us Somali girls should be, but we just want to be free from judgement just like the guys are

I do think that our people worry often about education. Good education for our children, especially our girls. There is a problem is our community with the boys right now, they are losing their life to violence, crime and lack of purpose. Alhamdulilah the girls are doing well in education so we always worry about the boys and all the children because education will take them away from these problems. Mothers will always stress about children, it is up to god their future but we must do our best as well so we worry. We need to encourage their education but also be an example and role model to them

I would love nothing more, I can't even imagine it. I would be the happiest in my life, I want her to raise her the way I raised her. She must have Somali culture, this is very important for her generation, her Somali should be good and she should be proud of where she comes from even if she has never been there

I would say do not fully depend on your husband for working. At least have a part time job but also like focus on your education. From a young age I would want to teach her the English and arabic so she can read the Quran. To be honest the most important thing for me is that she doesn't rely on a man because thats what I have noticed most Somali women do. They will stay at home with the children while the husband is working and they don't bother to do education here. They should get a part time job, do something for themselves. I look to my mum and thats what she did, when we were younger and my dad was alive she used to go to English classes and then she was working. My mum didn't fully depend on my dad, even after her passed away she went to college and looked after us. Thats really important to me. At the same time, life is so short, you don't know if you husband is still going to be alive, you can't rely on your husband for everything and you can't rely on the government to take care of you and your family.

Yeah Like one of my teachers kept asking me like how come all of the sudden you're wearing it now? Asking me if anybody is forcing me. Obviously i said no but then she was like asking me questions like why do only girls wear it (holds hijab) its kinda like they want you to say please help me take it off but really its my choice and west is not always best you know.

I learned good experience of different things which is a that's why I'm here now. Because really, if I was my brothers I wouldn't be succeed. And I succeed because my mum give me knowledge of like, how to cook and how to do things for myself. I learned to respect my elders and have good family ties like how to socialise with all people so she must 2

Appendix L: thematic Analysis Braun &Clark (2006) Phase 3&4: Searching and Reviewing Themes

- Inequalities
- Culture
- Education
- Intergenerational dynamic
- mental health
- Gender
- Islam
- Starting a new life
- Community belonging
- Family connection

▶ Inequalities
▶ Intergenerational factors
▶ Components of wellbeing

- Intergenerational family d...
- Relationship and impact o...
- Threats- education inequ...
- What is wellbeing

Education

Culture

Intergenerational dyn...

menatl health

Inequalities

Wellbeing

Islam

Starting a ne...

Gender

Community belonging

Appendix M: Braun and Clark's (2006) Phase 5 Defined and Refined Themes and Subthemes- thematic map

Theme 1:
How wellbeing is conceptualised

- Without Allah there can be no good life
- To be well is to maintain culture & community
- "we can live the life we want here but we have to be strong"

Theme 2:
Marginalised by the education system

- Fraught home-school relationship
- The constant of being othered

Theme 3:
The effect of gendered parenting

Theme 4:
Living in an interdependent family

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