Doctor of Educational Psychology (DEdPsy) Thesis

2016

Exploring the Experiences of British Muslim Teenagers in Predominantly White Schools: School influences on teenagers who are negotiating ethnic and British identities

Wai Kay Wong

Summary

This thesis is made up of of three parts. Part One provides an overview of the literature exploring adolescent identity formation for minority groups and the role played by school on identity development. The literature review specifically focuses on research about acculturation and ethnic identity. The literature on British Muslims (BMs) in the UK and the current socio-political contexts that influence adolescents in the management of their identities is discussed. Finally, the review explores the role of school in developing identity. Currently, there is a no research in the UK into how schools influence British Muslim adolescents in negotiating their dual identities.

Part Two of the thesis comprises of the empirical study. The research questions were developed from the gaps identified following the literature review in Part One. Part Two provides an overview of the studies directly relevant to the current study and outlines the method and procedure of the current study. Data analysis using interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) is discussed and the results are critically explored in relation to the research questions. This research identified five inter-related themes; experience of managing dual identities, the value of religion, influence of others, psychological adaptation and how school may support identity. The implications for educational psychology and ideas for future research are further discussed.

Part Three of the thesis provides a critical appraisal of the research process itself; outlines the development of the researcher and postulates how the thesis contributes to knowledge.

Abstract

British Muslim (BM) teenagers negotiate British and ethnic identities (EIs) against a back drop of discrimination, negative media portrayal and government policies aimed at reducing radicalisation and increasing social cohesion. In addition, expectations from the family are overriding influences for these teenagers and may conflict with the expectations of school. Exploring the experiences of BM teenagers in school is under researched. In particular, there is no research exploring the influence of school for BMs managing dual identities in the UK. The current research aims to address this gap. Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) was employed to explore the lived experiences of BMs attending predominantly white schools. Five themes emerged from the data: experience of negotiating dual identities, psychological adaptation, value of religious identity, the influence of others and school supporting negotiation of dual identity. Teenagers were found to have integrated identities with religion being at the core of their identity. The nature of identity differed for some pupils between home and school. It is argued therefore, that the acculturation strategies adopted are attempts at matching the expectations of the contexts. The implications for educational psychology are also discussed.

Acknowledgements

Special thanks go to my wonderful husband without whom; there would be no starting or finishing. I thank you for your love, support, sacrifices and patience during times when I have been absent in body and spirit.

I would like to thank my mum for her support and unwavering belief in me even at times when I don't believe in myself. In loving memory of my dear dad whose hard work and many sacrifices gave me the many opportunities I have had.

Special thanks also to my research supervisors, for their guidance, encouragement and support. To Dr Jean Parry for guidance in developing and implementing the research and responding to my frantic emails; and to Andrea Higgins for guiding me with thinking about the theoretical side of the research and writing up. I also thank one of my professional tutors who planted the seed and gave me the courage to carry out this research.

I would like to thank the two educational psychologists who looked at my research data and enthusiastically discussed my research with me. There were also EPs who gave me advice, encouragement and reassurance throughout the process.

Thank you to the staff members at the MDT who offered suggestions in recruitment; and giving me valuable insight into BMs. I wish to thank the schools and consenting parents for allowing their teenagers to take part. Last but not least, thanks go to the nine teenagers who let me into their worlds and without whom; this research would not have been possible.

Abbreviations

BM(s) – British Muslim(s)

The BPS – The British Psychological Society

COMOIRA – Constructionist Model of Informed, Reasoned Action

DfE – Department for Education

EI – Ethnic identity

EIs – Ethnic identities

EPs – Educational psychologists

EPS - Educational psychology service

GT – Grounded Theory

IPA – Interpretative phenomenological analysis

IRA – Informed reasoned action

ISIS – Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

IST – Identity Status Theory

LA – Local authority

MDT – Multicultural Development team

NI – National identity

NIs – National identities

ONS – Office for National Statistics

Ofsted – Office for Standards in Education

PCP – Personal construct psychology

RI – Religious identity

SC – Social constructionism

SI – Social identity

SIT – Social Identity theory

SSI – Split shifting identity

TEP – Trainee Educational Psychologist

TRM – Teachers as role models

UK – United Kingdom

Contents

Part One: Major research literature review

1. <u>Introduction</u>

This literature review examines identity development for minority groups living in two cultures, in particular the role of school on identity development for British Muslim (BM)[1] teenagers. Experiences for these pupils are unique due to ongoing sociocultural contexts including the emergence of government policies as a reaction to perceived Islamic fundamentalism (H.M. government, 2013); the portrayal of Muslims in the media (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010), discrimination (Ghuman, 2005; Crawley, 2009) and the conflicting values between home and school (Ghuman, 1991a, b; 1994; 2005).

The Pakistani population is one of the largest and longest established minority groups in the UK (Crawley, 2009). In addition, adolescence is a period where alternative identities are explored and teenagers develop a stable and coherent sense of self (Erikson, 1959; 1968). The task for minority teenagers may involve confronting painful and negative societal beliefs (Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997). Teenagers of minority backgrounds spend most of their time outside of home, in school (Rumbaut, 2005). School may influence the extent to which teenagers think about their ethnicity and reconcile it with their identity (Rumbaut, 2005). These factors highlight the vulnerability for some BM teenagers. Understanding the experiences of teenagers who are developing their identities within school is therefore important.

An exploration of the literature reveals that there has been a lack of research in the UK specifically on the role of school on identity development for BM teenagers attending mainly white schools. Educational psychologists (EPs) should understand the complex factors affecting individuals in order to support their needs. This research may provide EPs with insight to support BM teenagers.

---

[1] British Muslim (BM) is used throughout this paper because the adolescents who participated in the empirical study in Part Two mainly self-identified with this label. BM is used to refer to individuals whose families have originated from Pakistan and are living in the UK. Although this category is used for clarity, it is recognised that this group are in no way homogenous or that this label is the most appropriate.

1.1 Summary of the literature review

Section one outlines the contents of the literature review and the significance for research in this area for EPs. Section two attempts to define ethnic and national identity, concepts which are contested. Section three examines theories of identity development in adolescence (Erikson, 1959; 1968; Marcia, 1966) and as an outcome from contact between groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Sections four and five critically analyse theories of acculturation and ethnic identity (EI). Section six provides context about BM culture and research about identity development for teenagers. Section seven explores the influence of school for minority groups. Section eight comprises of the research questions leading to the empirical study.

It has not been possible to explore all themes related to this subject. Media influences for young people are referenced to provide context but will not be explored in depth. Issues about discrimination and negative outcomes caused by difficulties in identity formation are acknowledged but will not be explored. The relationship between academic performance and dual identity formation will not be discussed.

1.2. Description of key sources

An extensive literature search was carried out between August 2014 and December 2015 using several electronic databases (e.g. PsychInfo, Scopus, ERIC, BEI). Combinations of the terms "acculturation", "ethnic identity", "ethnic minority", "school" "Pakistani" and "Muslim" were entered into the search engines. Acculturation, ethnic and national identity is studied in social policy, sociology and psychology. Due to the amount of research in some areas only literature within psychology was explored.

1.3. Inclusion and exclusion criteria

The following criteria were applied when searching relevant literature:

- Studies published in English
- Studies in Europe and USA
- Published in the period of 1996 – 2016.
- Including participants aged 13 - 17

Studies were not included if they met the following criteria:

- Published in a language other than English
- Studies outside of Europe and USA
- Published outside the period of 1996 – 2016.
- Included participants outside of the ages of 13 - 17

An initial search using the above criteria and the keywords "acculturation" "school" yielded 1332 hits. This produced too many articles to read through therefore the same terms were applied in the title. This led to 0 hits. "Acculturation" and "school" mapped onto the terms "ethnic identity", "high school students" and "identity formation" produced 75 articles. Many of these were relevant however these were further filtered. Articles where adolescents were asylum seekers, dual heritage and sojourners were excluded. Articles found in the electronic searches related to social work and social policy practices; health issues, mental health, educational achievement, internalising and externalising behaviour were excluded. These topics are beyond the scope of the research questions. This research study explores the experiences of how teenagers are managing dual identities in school. There was a large amount of research on acculturation and identity development for Latino American, Chinese and Mexican adolescents in USA and black adolescents in Europe which was relevant to the study. Due to the volume of research on these minority groups, it was decided to carry out a further search for studies with Muslims. This produced two articles which were both relevant to the study.

Additional articles and published book chapters were obtained from reference lists from relevant papers. Relevant government legislation and the DfES website were explored for research on minority groups in school in the UK. Over 100 articles were identified and examined in further detail for the literature review. It was apparent from the electronic searches that there was a paucity of research of BM students in schools and no research on the influence of school on BM identity development.

2. <u>Definitions – identity and the difference between ethnic and national identity</u>

Schwartz, Dunkel & Waterman (2009) propose that identity operates on three levels; cultural, social and personal. Cultural identity pertains to values and beliefs derived from the culture that individuals live in. Cultural identity is developed via national, ethnic, religious and educational values and practices of where an individual lives. Social identity (SI) relates to the practices, values and beliefs of a group to which individuals belong. Personal identity relates to individuals' chosen goals, values and beliefs. Phinney (2008) and Berry (2009) collapse cultural and SI into one category. This has been criticised by Ghuman (1998) who argues that Berry (1997; 2005) and Phinney (1990) do not consider wider sociocultural influences. It could be argued therefore, that Schwartz et al.'s (2009) conceptualisation of identity as operating on three levels may be more useful.

It is useful to define the meaning of EI and national identity (NI) as these are terms that will be used throughout this paper. Spencer & Markstrom-Adams (1990) and Phinney & Rosenthal (1992) argue that ethnicity is not the same as race. Ethnicity is about shared, unique cultural traditions for a group. Modood, Beishon & Virdee (1994) suggest that racial differences between groups are about skin colour. Modood et al. (1994) argue group differences in the UK are multifaceted and that race is not useful when describing group differences. Ethnicity and culture appear to be used interchangeably in the literature which, suggests that authors perceive these to be synonymous concepts.

2.1. <u>Ethnic and religious identity</u>

Difficulties in defining EI are apparent in the literature. Researchers suggest that when individuals label themselves as a group member, this does not mean that they feel they belong to or participate in the cultural practices of that group (Phinney, 1990; Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992; Modood et al., 1994; Cline & Abreu, 2005). EI is not just about self-labelling. Phinney & Rosenthal's (1992) definition of EI appears the most useful because it encompasses different degrees of identification within a group. According to Phinney & Rosenthal (1992), EI comprises labelling oneself as a group member; feelings of belonging

and commitment to the group; shared attitudes and values and engaging in traditions and practices that are specific to the group.

Labels may be imposed by others and may not mean membership (Modood et al., 1994). Feelings of attachment to the group (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992) and engaging in practices related to the group (Cline & Abreu, 2005) are better indicators of EI. Membership of an ethnic group influences individual values, beliefs and behaviour. EI may be evident in individuals from their values and behaviour which may be rooted in their cultural practices. EI may be an umbrella term to describe all the practices and traditions for minority groups which may include religious identity (RI) (Jacobson, 1997).

2.2. British or national identities

NI is a general term defining the community residing within a political boundary (Parekh, 2000). British identity specifically relates to individuals living in the UK. Attempting to define NI seems as difficult as defining EI. Parekh (2000) & Jaspal & Cinnirella (2013) agree that NIs refer to definitions of communities living within political boundaries. Smith (1991) argues that country of residence is not the only contributor to NI. Smith (1991) suggests that sociocultural factors contribute to NI such as common values, beliefs, ancestry, culture and common rights and duties. Authors argue that NI is socially constructed and a fluid concept. For example, the meaning of Britishness is constructed and revised by changing governments (Parekh, 2000) and by the media and education (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2013).

NI may be conceptualised in the same way as EI. Smith's (1991) definition of NI mirrors Phinney & Rosenthal's (1992) definition of EI.

3. Classic theories of identity formation

It is useful to refer to Erikson's (1959; 1968) and Marcia's (1966) work to provide grounding for recent theories of identity formation followed by Social Identity Theory (SIT). Erikson and Marcia's work focus on personal identity and do not refer to group membership. SIT offers an explanation of identity development for individuals and groups as an outcome of group contact.

3.1. Erikson's (1959; 1968) theory of adolescent identity formation

According to Erikson (1959; 1968), the developmental task of adolescence is to redefine contradictory fragments of identity developed in childhood into a stable and unified sense of self. Adolescent identity formation occurs when all childhood identifications are subordinated and a unique identity is developed (Erikson, 1968). Erikson (1968, p. 132) believes that adolescents may experience "identity confusion" if they are unsure about previous ideas about themselves and are unable to commit to any roles offered by society.

Erikson (1968) argues that adolescents may search to make sense of their old and new beliefs to unify them. It may be problematic for individuals if the environment is perceived to prevent them from developing a coherent sense of self. Individuals who do not question and explore alternative identities may define themselves too early, become confused about who they are and experience identity crisis (Erikson, 1968).

3.2. Marcia's (1966) Identity Status Theory (IST)

Erikson's theory was developed from clinical case studies. Marcia (1966) expanded Erikson's ideas of identity development and identity confusion by identifying four identity statuses; identity achievement, diffusion, moratorium and foreclosure. These identity statuses differ in the extent to which individuals explore new options and commit to an identity. Identity achievement occurs when teenagers have explored past experiences, societal demands and their options and made a choice to commit to an identity. In identity diffusion teenagers appear to be disinterested in exploring or committing to a sense of who they are. Foreclosure is signified by individuals who have made an early commitment to their identity without any exploration of alternatives. Foreclosed teenagers' choices may be determined by parental wishes and desires (Marcia, 1966; Kroger, 2006). Moratorium is indicated by teenagers who are actively exploring choices but have not yet made a commitment. Teenagers who are at the moratorium stage may be weighing up the demands of his/her desires with those of parents and society.

Marcia (1966) investigated the nature of the identity statuses with 86 male undergraduate students. Identity statuses were determined by participants'

views about occupation, religion and political values in the interviews. Marcia (1966) found that the identity statuses differed according to degree of exploration and commitment about work and ideology.

3.3. Evidence supporting IST

 IST is widely accepted, much cited in explaining adolescent identity formation (Kroger, 2006; Kroger, Martinussen & Marcia, 2010; Meeus, 2011) and has stimulated copious research (Sneed, Schwartz & Cross, 2006). Close analysis of Marcia's (1966) original study brings into question the generalisability of the findings and the existence of the identity statuses. Only male undergraduates were used and 18 - 23 individuals were investigated for each identity status. These seem small numbers to be making claims about the existence of the identity statuses. Marcia (1966, p.558) does however admit that only "partial validation" of the identity statuses is gained.

 Marcia's theory assumes that individuals are free to explore and commit to their identity choices. Cote & Levine (1988) criticise Marcia (1966) for ignoring the role of society and the extent to which identity formation may be restricted by society. Erikson (1968) acknowledges the role of societal influences by discussing how individuals need to adapt to the environment they live in. Erikson (1968, p.303) suggests that individuals belonging to an "oppressed" minority group will be aware of dominant cultural ideals. Erikson (1968) highlights that minority individuals may not be able to emulate cultural ideals from the society that they live in and may adopt negative images held by the dominant society. Spencer & Markstrom – Adams (1990) argue that it may not be adaptive to explore alternative roles when there are clear social and ideological roles defined by communities. Spencer & Markstrom – Adams (1990) go on to suggest that foreclosure may be the ideal identity status to foster acceptance by the community.

 Marcia's (1966) work operationalised Erikson's (1959; 1966) theory so that it can be measured and empirically tested (Kroger et al., 2010). In a review of 48 longitudinal studies of adolescent and adult identity, all studies showed that identity formation is related to the degree of exploration and commitment (Meeus, 2011)   This review offers strong evidence for Marcia's

conceptualisation of identity statuses and the dual processes of exploration and commitment in identity formation.

Meeus (2011) states that most of the studies (but does not state how many) show changes in commitment and exploration over time and progressive identity development to either foreclosure or achievement. Meeus (2011) also found that 63% of individuals in the reported studies retained their status. Individuals who changed identity only made one change. Meeus (2011) concludes that identity formation is slow and less dramatic than originally believed because most teenagers do not change their identity. However, it could be argued that the drama of identity development may not be captured by measures of changes in identity.

3.4. Applicability of IST for minority groups

One of the main criticisms levelled at Erikson's (1959; 1968) and Marcia's (1966) theory of adolescent identity is that they are not applicable for minority individuals (Cote & Levine, 1988; Sneed, Schwartz & Cross, 2006) because research tends to use Caucasian samples. It is unclear the extent to which research on IST has been carried out with minority groups. Sneed et al.'s (2006) review of research on IST revealed that 74% of studies do not report the ethnicity of samples. They go on to criticise the relevance of IST in explaining identity formation for minority groups because they are not well represented in identity research.

Although Marcia's theory has strong empirical evidence, it may be inappropriate to apply IST to understand identity development for individuals living in two cultures because of the lack of research carried out with minority groups. Meeus' (2011) review tries to contradict this but the inappropriateness of Marcia's (1966) theory in understanding EI stands. Meeus (2011) investigated eight longitudinal studies exploring the nature of identity processes with minority groups. Meeus (2011) suggests that these studies support the applicability of Marcia's theory to minority groups. However, these studies are based on models of EI including Phinney's (1990) and not IST. In light of this, it could be argued that Sneed et al.'s (2006) criticism that Marcia's theory is inappropriate when studying minority groups holds. Marcia's theory is important however, it may not be useful as a model for studying identity development for

minority groups due to a lack of research with minority individuals. Phinney & Rosenthal (1992) argue that there is an extra dimension for minority groups in adolescent identity formation. The identity process may not be the same for minority groups.

3.5. <u>Social Identity Theory (SIT)</u>

SIT (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) explains the dynamics when two groups meet and the impact this has on individual identity. Tajfel & Turner (1979) define SI as deriving from group membership and feelings attached to groups. Individuals share emotional attachments and evaluations about group membership and the group itself. Group membership may positively or negatively contribute to individual self-concepts depending on the value placed on SI. Tajfel (1978) posits that SI allows individuals to know their place in society because of values of group membership and its positioning with another group.

Tajfel & Turner (1979) assert that groups do not need any history between them for conflict to arise. The mere perception of belonging to a group and the presence of another group is enough for intergroup competition and conflict (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Groups attempt to create as much difference between themselves and the out-group and enhance similarity within the in-group. Tajfel & Turner (1979) argue that groups strive to achieve positive SI through positive differentiation from out-groups. If SI is unsatisfactory then individuals attempt to increase their self-concept through social mobility, social creativity or social change. Individuals may leave the group and join another group which offers positive SI. Individuals may find it difficult to leave their group. Individuals may be unable to join another group due to their appearance for example, distinctive racial groups cannot join a predominantly white group and be passed off as white. Consequently, group members use new dimensions to compete with other groups to protect their self-concepts. This may involve positively reframing characteristics of the group such as 'black is beautiful'. However, these tactics will not change the status quo between groups and may perpetuate collective repression by the dominant group. Social change involves direct competition with the other group. The repressed group may reject their negative self-image and develop a positive group identity. Social change tends to occur when a

subordinate group perceives the dominance of a rival group as illegitimate and changeable.

3.6. The utility of SIT in explaining identity development for individuals living in two cultures

SIT is useful in explaining the processes when two cultural groups meet and the reactions of subordinate group members. SIT appears to be able to explain how individuals will exit a group that has a negative SI. It is also able to explain why individuals may experience pressure and disapproval from in-group peers when they adopt cultural practices from another ethnic group.

SIT however, appears to be unable to explain why individuals who live in two cultures are able to identify themselves as members of and participate in the cultural practices of two different and conflicting cultures. According to Tajfel & Turner (1979), individuals need to be in one or another group. In addition, Tajfel & Turner (1979) argue that groups aim to maximise the differences between them. However, in the UK, there is pressure for minority groups to give up their cultural traditions and practices and adopt "British values" (The Daily Telegraph, June, 2014). SIT cannot explain why the dominant group may want minority individuals to integrate and reject their heritage culture. Tajfel & Turner's (1979) argument that the presence of two groups is sufficient to create intergroup conflict is unable to explain why some minority groups appear to be more accepted by dominant groups than others. The historical context between groups may be more important than envisioned by Tajfel & Turner (1979) and is neglected in this theory.

SIT may be helpful in explaining group reactions to negative out-group perceptions but not as a framework in explaining how minority individuals negotiate dual identities. Acculturation theory (Berry, 1997; 2005) and ethnic identity theory (Phinney, 1990) have developed from SIT. These theories have incorporated many important ideas from SIT including the notion that SI contributes to individual identity. These theories will be critically analysed in the next two sections.

4. Acculturation: Explaining negotiation of dual identities for individuals living in two cultures

There are a number of theories which explain changes in individual and group identity when two cultures have contact (see Hutnik, 1991; Rumbaut & Portes 2001; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). This review focuses on Berry's (1997, 2005) model because it is the dominant model in acculturation research according to Weinreich (2009) and has stimulated some of the most recent research based on acculturation.

4.1. The Acculturation model (Berry, 1997; 2005)

The acculturation model (Berry, 1997; 2005) has been used to understand how individuals originating from another culture may negotiate the values and customs of a host society with their own cultural values. Berry (1997, 2005) defines acculturation as the changes in values, customs and social practices for groups and individuals when two or more cultural groups have contact. According to Berry (2005) psychological and cultural changes may occur over years or generations.

Berry (2005) suggests that attitudes towards cultural diversity are determined by the host society and minority individuals. Berry (2005) suggests that there are three dimensions underlying acculturation strategies; cultural maintenance, contact and participation. Figure 1 represents the attitudes towards cultural diversity by minority individuals (left) and those of the dominant society (right). Figure 1 reflects the degree to which minority individuals (left) and the dominant society (right) desire to engage with one another and the extent to which each culture accepts the maintenance and the participation of heritage cultures within minority groups.

Acculturation strategies are not freely chosen by individuals and are shaped by the host culture's attitudes towards cultural diversity and the value placed by individuals in maintaining their ethnic heritage (Berry, 1997; 2005). Berry (2005) suggests that some dominant cultures accept cultural diversity. This leads to expectations within society that both cultures will engage with one another (multiculturalism). Other dominant cultures attempt to eliminate diversity through expectations that the minority group adopt dominant group lifestyles (melting

pot) or through exclusion (segregation and exclusion). Berry (2005) suggests that there is variation between and within groups in the way they acculturate.

Issue1:

Maintenance of heritage culture and identity

Issue2:

Relationships sought among groups

Integration   Assimilation

Separation   Marginalization

Multiculturalism   Melting pot

Segregation   Exclusion

Attitudes of Immigrant Groups

Attitudes of Larger Society
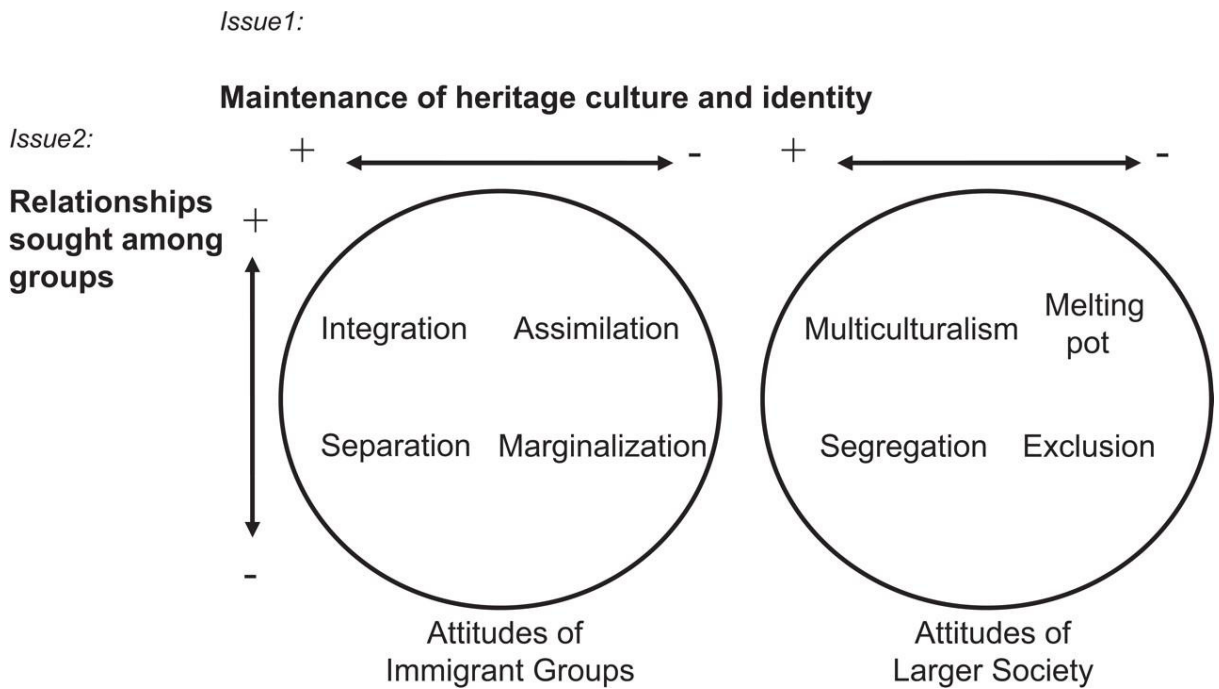
<u>Figure 1: Acculturation strategies based on relationships of the ethnic group with the host group and attitudes of the dominant host society (Berry, 2005)</u>

Berry (2005) argues that separation occurs (Figure 1 - bottom left) when individuals live in societies promoting segregation (bottom right) of cultural groups. These individuals may reject the dominant host culture and engage only with their own heritage culture. Marginalisation occurs when individuals are excluded by the host society (Figure 1 - bottom right) and have no opportunity or wish to maintain their heritage culture (bottom left) possibly due to migration because of persecution (Berry, 2005). Assimilation occurs where individuals see little value in maintaining their heritage culture (Figure 1 - top left) and there is a desire to engage in the host culture or adopting the host culture is expected (top right). Minority groups may abandon their heritage (top left) and adopt the mainstream culture. Individuals have integrated strategies when they value their heritage and the dominant culture (Figure 1 – top left), wish to participate in both and the dominant host culture is multicultural (top right).

Berry's model (2005) suggests that individuals can retain their EI and adopt an NI. Authors agree that EI and NI can co-exist without conflict (Ghuman, 2003;

Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). Berry (2005) suggests that negotiation of acculturation strategies may be stressful and this is dependent on the 'goodness of fit' of these strategies to the expectations of the host culture. Acculturative stress is a short term response (Kunst & Sam, 2013) and may be experienced if individuals face challenges presented that may not be addressed through simple behavioural changes (Sam & Berry, 2010). Sam & Berry (2010) suggest that long term outcomes of acculturation are adaptation. There are two types of adaptation. Sociocultural adaptation includes acquiring skills enabling individuals to interact with the new culture such as language development. Psychological adaptation includes emotional well-being and may be indicated by self-esteem and social emotional behavioural difficulties.

Researchers agree that integration may be the most adaptive for people living within two cultures (Berry, 1997, 2005; Ghuman, 1991a; b; 2005; Atzaba-Poria & Pike, 2007; Sam & Berry, 2010; Kunst & Sam, 2013). Berry (2005) argues that successful adaptation does not mean individuals passively fit into the new society. Changes need to be made within the new society to accommodate individuals' needs. This is dependent on the attitudes of the receiving society towards newcomers. Sam & Berry (2010) argue that integration is the most adaptive strategy because individuals may draw on support from both cultures thereby promoting resilience during times of stress.

4.2. Supporting evidence for the Acculturation model (Berry, 1997; 2005)

Berry's (1997; 2005) model is a useful and comprehensive framework in understanding the process of change for groups in two cultures. It takes into account the many factors involved in individuals' acculturation preferences but acknowledges that individual variations within the same group may occur. Sam & Berry (2010) propose that the acculturation model is a universal framework in explaining cultural and psychological change during long term contact between two cultures.

There are studies in the UK and in Europe supporting Berry's framework. These studies suggest that there are wide-ranging negative consequences for adolescents who fail to adapt to the society they live in and are unable to reconcile their EI and NI because of stress and failure to develop skills to

function successfully in the host environment (Atzaba-Poria & Pike, 2007; Belhadj Kouider, Koglin & Petermann, 2014).

Strong empirical evidence from a large scale international study lends support to the nature of the acculturation strategies and adaptation. This study was carried out by Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder (2006) who are leading proponents of acculturation theory. This study is relevant because it compares Muslim adolescents with those of other religious groups. Acculturation research tends to focus on adults and there are few studies investigating young people. Berry et al.'s (2006) study investigated acculturation strategies of a large sample of adolescents across 13 countries using quantitative research methods.

Acculturation styles appeared across all cultures sampled, which suggests that acculturation may be universal and that Berry's (2005) framework can be widely used. Berry et al. (2006) found that the majority of adolescents tend to integrate dominant host and minority cultures.

Discrimination was found to influence acculturation. There were significant differences between acculturation strategies and individual perceptions of discrimination (Berry et al., 2006). Individuals who were integrated or assimilated were less likely to report discrimination compared to those who were separated and marginalised from the host culture. Marginalised teenagers reported the greatest discrimination from their host culture. Berry et al. (2006) also found that individuals were likely to adopt a separation strategy if they lived in neighbourhoods dominated by their ethnic group. This trend has also been found by Kunst & Sam (2013).

Berry et al. (2006) found that there was a strong relationship between integration and adaptation which may indicate that integration leads to positive outcomes. Integration may be the most adaptive strategy for some cultures but not for Muslims. Berry et al. (2006) found that Muslims who adopt separation strategies were the most psychologically adaptive compared to all other religions and non-religious participants. These interesting findings may be explained by Jacobson's (1997) suggestion of the central role that religion occupies for most Muslims. Berry et al. (2006) found that adaptation was related

to the amount of contact with individuals' own ethnic group. Berry et al. (2006) believe that those engaging in their own cultures may be receiving support from their own peers which would explain positive psychological well-being. It could be speculated that those who assimilate may lose support from their own groups.

This study highlights that different cultures have different needs and the benefits in adopting the host culture do not apply to everyone. The finding that a separatist acculturation strategy may be positive has led Berry et al. (2006) to conclude that, although integration may be the most adaptive for most cultures, separation is beneficial because it can contribute to psychological adaptation but not sociocultural adaptation. Berry et al. (2006) go on to suggest that government policies allow cultures to adopt a separation strategy if groups wish to engage only with their own culture.

4.3. <u>Limitations of the Acculturation model (Berry, 1997; 2005)</u>

Berry's (1997; 2005) model is important in understanding individuals' negotiation of identities while living in two cultures. Berry et al.'s (2006) study shows that the model is generalizable because it can be applied cross-culturally. Berry's model has been criticised for locating the responsibility of change with minority individuals (Bowskill, Lyons, & Cole, 2007), using incorrect indicators of acculturation strategies due to problematic measures used (Rudmin, 2008) and enculturation not acculturation (Weinreich, 2009). Weinreich (2009) believes that migrants select aspects of the host culture to incorporate within their identity rather than taking on the host culture. These issues have been thoroughly defended (see Berry, 2005; 2009; Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2008) and will not be discussed further.

Snaewaert, Soenens, Vanbaselaere & Boen (2003) highlight differences between participating in and maintaining positive relationships with the majority group (contact conceptualisation which is Berry's (1997; 2005) stance) and taking on the beliefs and values of the receiving society (adoption conceptualisation) (Bourhis, Moise, Perraeault & Senecal, 1997). Snaewaert et al. (2003) found that minority groups may participate in the dominant culture which would suggest integration within Berry's framework. However minority groups are more likely to maintain values from their heritage culture above the

dominant culture despite participation. Snaewaert et al. (2003) suggest that individuals may appear to be integrated within the dominant culture but retain separation values. Sam & Berry (2010) recognise behavioural and cognitive changes during acculturation leads to stress. Individuals may experience stress if they are faced with challenges that are not easily overcome through simply changing their behaviour (Sam & Berry, 2010).

Research on Berry's model does not explain the processes occurring during contact between groups leading to adoption of acculturation strategies. Berry (2005) suggests that acculturation strategies vary between individuals within the same family. Berry et al.'s (2006) research employs Likert scales which may indicate that the data is not rich enough to show the *nature* of relationships between variables. The findings show there is a relationship between variables but causality cannot be inferred.

Sam & Berry (2010) acknowledge that little is known about predictors of individuals maintaining or rejecting heritage and/ or host cultures. It could be argued that qualitative methods may answer these types of questions. Nomothetic methods seem to be employed in much of acculturation research. Sam & Berry (2010) argue that a universal approach is taken in the study of acculturation because there are shared psychological processes underlying behaviour. This had led to a 'black box' phenomenon where the outcome, but not the process, when two cultures meet is known. Berry (2009) concludes that a social constructionist (SC) approach should be used alongside a positivistic approach in studying acculturation.

4.4. <u>Recent developments in acculturation theory: The role of the ethnic peer group on acculturation styles</u>

Berry's (1997; 2005) model proposes that the host culture affects individuals' choice of acculturation style. Berry's model does not consider the role of the ethnic peer group on identity development. It could be argued that this may be an oversight in light of the finding that separation strategies are beneficial for the psychological well-being of Muslims (Berry et al., 2006). Kunst & Sam (2013) found that ethnic peer groups have greater influence on acculturation strategies for Muslim teenagers than dominant host groups.

Kunst & Sam's (2013) study found that minority individuals prefer to integrate. Kunst & Sam (2013) investigated how host expectations of assimilation and ethnic peer expectations of separation influenced minority individuals' acculturation style and well-being. These expectations conflicted with individuals' desire to integrate in both cultures. It was found that individuals tended to adopt separation strategies if they believed their ethnic peers expected them to segregate from the host culture. Peer expectations also negatively influenced individual self-esteem and sociocultural adaptation. Individuals' beliefs about the expectations of the host group had limited influence on individuals' acculturation. However, host peer expectations had greater impact on participants' psychological well-being. Participants experienced greater stress when host expectations were discordant with individual acculturation preferences in comparison with incompatible peer expectations.

Kunst and Sam's (2013) study highlights the overriding influence of the ethnic peer group on acculturation and the importance of studying ethnic peer group influence. One issue with Kunst & Sam's (2013) study is that participants were sampled from a wide age range from 18 - 45. The importance and influence of peer group pressures may differ according to age, which may affect acculturation. Danesi (1994) suggests that, in adolescence, the peer group may be more important to individuals than the family. The wide age range may have compromised the direction of the results. If there were more adults in the sample, family and ethnic peers may be perceived to be more important than the host group. This study indicates the overriding importance of ethnic peer group on acculturation and adaptation. Due to the methodology used, however, causality cannot be drawn about the relationship between ethnic peer perceptions, acculturation style and adaptation.

4.5. <u>Recent developments in acculturation theory: Studying the contexts of acculturation and shifting identities</u>

Acculturation strategies may be fluid and context dependent (Cote & Levine, 1988; Adams & Marshall, 1996; Schachter, 2005; Kroger, 2006). Faircloth (2012) theorises that identity is located at the intersection between the individual and the environment. Schachter (2005) posits that individuals adopt

an identity that is workable for that situation. These views differ from commonly held beliefs that identity is stable and exists within the individual (Cote & Levine, 1988; Kroger, 1996). It could be argued that everybody, and not just minority individuals, adopts different identities according to context. It follows therefore, that acculturation strategies may be fluid and context dependent.

Acculturation research tends to explore acculturation strategies without reference to context. Ryder, Alden, Palhus, & Dere (2013) found that participants reported strong and nuanced details about difficulties when contexts were made explicit, compared to unspecified contexts. Ryder et al. (2013) propose that acculturation is studied within contexts that individuals operate within. Flum & Kaplan, (2012) suggest that while researchers may recognise the bidirectional influences between identity and contexts, contextual influences are rarely studied.

A useful conceptualisation of identity is the alternation model (LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993). LaFromboise et al. (1993) propose that acculturating individuals who successfully navigate two cultures have knowledge about the different values of cultures and alter their behaviour according to context. Similarly, Cline & Abreu (2005) suggest that children may shift identities between home and school. Cline & Abreu (2005) argue that children may not adopt separatist acculturation strategies when attending ethnically mixed schools. Cline & Abreu (2005) suggest it may be more useful to consider split identities where separate identities are adopted at home and school and individuals shift between these identities according to context. Berry et al. (2006) agree with this and suggest that this mixing and matching of acculturation strategies may be a better fit for the context individuals operate within.

In summary, Berry's (1997; 2005) model is an important framework in understanding how individuals negotiate NI and EI when living in two cultures. There is substantive evidence supporting the nature of the acculturation strategies and subsequent adaptive outcomes (Berry et al., 2006; Kunst & Sam, 2013). Authors agree that integration may be the most adaptive but not always for Muslims (Berry et al., 2006). This highlights the importance of individuals

retaining their ethnic heritage and the impact of this on their well-being. A criticism of Berry's framework is that underlying processes leading to acculturation are unknown due to research methods. Further developments to Berry's model include the importance of the ethnic peer group on acculturation and adaptation (Kunst & Sam, 2013) and the need to study acculturation within specific contexts because identity may be context-specific (Schachter, 2005; Faircloth, 2012; Flum & Kaplan, 2012; Ryder et al., 2013).

5. <u>Ethnic identity (EI) development: Changes during adolescence for minority individuals</u>

Acculturation and EI are often studied in isolation (Phinney, 1990). These theories may be complementary. Phinney (1990) believes that EI is part of acculturation. Acculturation theory (Berry, 1997, 2005) explains changes in groups and individuals when they meet members of a different cultural group. EI theory (Phinney, 1990) specifically describes the relationship between the individual and their heritage culture and whether EI is incorporated into an overarching identity during adolescence. Phinney (1990) posits that the outcome of acculturation may lead to decisions about EI maintenance in adolescence.

5.1. <u>Ethnic Identity theory (Phinney, 1990)</u>

Section 3.4 discussed the problems of applying IST (Marcia, 1966) in understanding minority teenagers' identity development. Phinney (1990) adapted Marcia's (1966) model to understand how minority adolescents achieve EI. Phinney (1990) retains the four identity statuses and the dual processes of exploration and commitment from Marcia's (1966) model. There are a number of alternative theories explaining EI (see Sneed et al., 2006). Phinney's model seems relevant because it is the most widely applicable. According to Sneed et al. (2006, p.74) Phinney's model "is relevant to multiple ethnic groups, making it perhaps the most useful for mainstream researchers" of EI.

For minority adolescents residing in two cultures there is an extra dimension in identity formation which is integrating their EI into an overarching identity (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). It may be useful to revisit definitions of EI in order to understand Phinney's framework. EI refers to self-labelling, attitudes

and feelings of belonging to a group and involvement in cultural practices. Phinney & Rosenthal (1992) argue that EI cannot be chosen but differs in how it is expressed by individuals. Phinney & Rosenthal (1992) give an example of how racially distinct groups cannot assimilate into the host culture but can manipulate salience of ethnicity. Phinney & Rosenthal (1992) assert that minority adolescents' EI choices may be restricted by the constraints of societal beliefs and expectations. Phinney's (1990) theory addresses problems associated with application of Marcia's (1966) theory to minority groups by considering contextual influences on identity development.

Phinney (1990) proposed a three-stage model for teenagers' exploration of EI based on a large review of studies on EI. In early adolescence, teenagers move from unexamined EI to early commitment or confusion about who they are. During mid adolescence (ages 14 - 16), uncertainty about their identity may lead teenagers to become interested and explore their EI. During late adolescence, EI has been explored and teenagers may commit to a stable sense of self. In this phase, Phinney (1990) theorises that adolescents come to terms with the cultural and status differences between the dominant and ethnic group and choose whether they maintain their heritage identity.

Phinney & Rosenthal (1992) argue that minority adolescents need to develop a positive EI in order to develop a positive self-concept. This is supported by a recent meta-analysis of 46 studies. Rivas-Drake, Syed, Umana-Taylor, Markstrom, French, Schwartz & Lee (2014) report medium effect sizes between positive feelings about EI, high self-esteem and poor psychosocial adjustment. It could be argued that Rivas-Drake et al.'s (2014) findings provide good support for the relationship between EI, self-esteem and psychological adjustment because of the number of studies analysed. This effect size may be influenced by measurement issues in research which are further explored in Section 5.2. It may be useful for meta-analyses to use studies employing the same measures to gain a clearer picture about the relationship between EI, self-esteem and psychological adjustment.

Phinney & Rosenthal (1992) believe that people possess a well-developed sense of their ethnicity when they enter adolescence. EI development occurs during childhood and continues in adolescence. Cultural values and beliefs are

developed during childhood from the family and the ethnic community (see Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992; Spencer & Markstrom - Adams, 1990). In adolescence, contextual factors outside of the family become stronger (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992) leading to decisions about maintaining and incorporating EI into a global identity.

5.2. An evaluation of Phinney's theory

Phinney's model is underpinned by robust theory because it is based on Marcia's (1966) theory which has a strong evidence base (Meeus, 2011; Kroger et al., 2010). The most recent review of longitudinal research on adolescent EI formation is Meeus' (2011) which provides mixed support for Phinney's model. Meeus (2011) suggests that there is little progressive change in adolescents' EI which may contradict the sequential nature of Phinney's model. Meeus (2011) reports that only two studies showed change in exploration and commitment over time. Two other studies showed progressive identity development from diffusion to achievement and four studies showed no change in identity for adolescents.

Meeus' (2011) findings appear to be confusing. It could be argued that there are four and not two studies showing changes in identity over time. According to Marcia (1966) and Phinney (1990), the differences between identity statuses are the level of exploration and commitment. This supports the argument that there are four studies not two that show changes in identity.

Perhaps the mixed support for Phinney's model is due to the inconsistency of measures used in EI research. Rivas-Drake et al. (2014) comment that EI research uses various measurement tools leading to difficulties in synthesising data and drawing general conclusions. Blozis & Villarreal (2014) argue that there are three versions of the MEIM (Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure, Phinney, 1992). Blozis & Villarreal (2014) lament that the same scales are not employed across all EI research. Studies using MEIM in Meeus' (2011) review do not use the same scales and not all studies use the MEIM. This may partly explain why studies reviewed by Meeus (2011) did not show change in EI because they are not comparable.

5.3. Criticisms of Phinney's Ethnic identity theory

Meeus (2011) criticises Phinney's model by arguing that EI research is examining identity maintenance and not formation (as theorised by Marcia, 1966). Maintenance involves commitment to an identity but co-occurs with further exploration of alternatives. Adolescents are already aware of their ethnicity and are not creating a new identity. Adolescents consider maintaining or rejecting EI by further exploring their identity.

Meeus (2011) measured the changeability of individual identity over time. Meeus found that identity is unstable at 14 years of age and is more stable in later adolescence. This is in line with Phinney's (1990) model that in early adolescence, teenagers enter moratorium and later commit to a stable identity. Although Phinney (1990) conceptualises identity change as formation, Meeus' (2011) idea about EI maintenance clarifies but does not contradict Phinney's (1990) model. Phinney & Rosenthal (1992) theorise that individuals enter adolescence with a developed sense of their identity but contextual factors impact on the teenagers leading to questions about the meaning of their identity.

Meeus' (2011) review provides mixed support for Phinney's model of EI development. The findings from Meeus' (2011) review provide some support for adolescent EI processes proposed by Phinney's (1990) three stage model. The inconsistency of measures used in EI research, however, has led to problems in synthesising research and drawing conclusions.

5.4. The need to study adolescent development and sociocultural contexts

Models of acculturation and EI do not consider the influence of developmental tasks during adolescence or the wider context on identity. Adolescence is characterised by social (Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986; Sebastian, 2012), biological[2] and cognitive (Burnett & Blakemore, 2009) changes. These changes are universal for teenagers and may affect the process of identity development. The developmental tasks facing minority teenagers should be considered

---

[2] Biological changes include bodily changes due to puberty as well as changes in the prefrontal cortex (Burnett & Blakemore, 2009).

alongside EI and acculturation models in order to understand identity development.

Berry's (1997, 2005) and Phinney's (1990) models could also be criticised because they do not consider the role of sociocultural issues such as the history of group relationships and the impact of current social, political and media events on minority identity (Ghuman 1998). Ghuman (1998) argues that it is important to be aware of sociocultural and political events happening at the time to understand issues relating to identity.

Phinney (2008) further, acknowledges the need to study developmental changes together with immediate and wider contextual influences to understand minority identity development.

6. **British Muslims (BM) in Britain**

This section discusses British Muslims (BM) living in Britain, Muslim culture and the conflicts between British and Muslim cultures for teenagers.

6.1. British Muslims: Who are they?

Muslims are often perceived to be a homogenous group defined solely by their faith (Alexander, Redclift & Hussain, 2013). This is a misconception. Muslims are a diverse group which crosses ethnic categories, socio-economic backgrounds and religiousness (Alexander, 2013). Islam has several variations due to the many interpretations of the Koran (Ghuman, 2003). The Koran outlines the spiritual, moral and social principles of living (Ghuman, 2003) and is viewed as a guide to the daily routines of life (Jacobson, 1997). In contrast to some religions where religious teachings are located within religious practices, Islam pervades all aspects of Muslim life (Jacobson, 1997). Different interpretations of the Koran have led to a number of sects and movements within Islam which may lead to some adopting more traditional or liberal ways of life (Ghuman, 1998).

6.2. Religious and ethnic identities

Many authors agree that for BMs, EI and RI are both separate and intertwined (Modood et al., 1994; Jacobson, 1997; Saeed, Blain & Forbes, 1999; Ghuman, 2003). For BMs, RI is central to their identity rather than EI. There are a number

of studies showing that BMs in Britain tend to define themselves through their religion rather than their country of origin (Modood et al., 1994; Jacobson, 1997; Saeed et al., 1999; Ghuman, 1991a; 1991b; 2003). Jacobson (1997) argues that the clarity of Islamic rules and routines and the global presence of Islam are appealing for minority youth living in the UK who may feel they belong to a smaller and disadvantaged minority ethnic group. The Pakistani EI may be viewed to be fragmented, changeable and less clear-cut (Jacobson, 1997). This is further explained by Toor's (2005) views about the difficulties in defining Pakistani culture.

6.3. BM young people in the UK

Some BM teenagers living in the UK are experiencing socio-economic disadvantage; their culture is under a mainly negative media spotlight which may lead to experiences of discrimination (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010; Ogan Willnat, Pennington & Bashir, 2014). It is useful to outline the value systems and practices at home and in the wider context in order to understand the contrasting school environment.

6.3.1. *Socio-economic disadvantage*

The most recent government statistics reveal that BMs are the second most socio - economically disadvantaged group in the UK (Office for National Statistics, ONS, 2011). Crawley (2009) reports that 60% Pakistani children live in poverty in the UK, although it is unclear where these figures are drawn from. About a quarter of BM households consist of one unemployed person (ONS, 2010); of those that are employed, 57% work in low-skilled jobs (ONS, 2011). This suggests that, although the complete picture is not one of deprivation, there is socio-economic disadvantage for a large part of the group.

6.3.2. *Influences of home contexts on development of identity for BM adolescents*

It is important to examine the role of the home in EI formation. Sabatier (2008) found that relationships with parents are the greatest predictor for identity development compared to modest influences by school.

The literature about home and school differences for BMs tends to come from the late 1990s and early part of the twenty first century. Ghuman's (2003) and Bhatti's (1999) studies are robust using mixed methods and multi-perspectives. These studies tend to focus on experiences of the second generation. A new generation has come of age which reflects the paucity of recent research about BMs.

Ghuman (2003) suggests that key differences between Muslim and British culture are that Muslim culture tends to be collectivistic. Collectivistic societies tend to emphasise co-operation and achievement for the group's sake. This suggests that the family is all-important and individual needs and goals are subjugated for those of the family. On the other hand, individualistic societies such as the UK (Ghuman, 2003) tend to emphasise the importance of the individual. Individual achievement, competition and personal glory are more important than those of the family (Ghuman, 1998). The UK's individualistic stance appears to be reflected in the government's paper on British values (see Department for Education, DfE, November, 2014).

Muslim collectivistic orientation is reflected in family life. According to Bhatti (1999) & Ghuman (2003), Muslim homes tend to be patriarchal and hierarchical. Children are expected to respect and obey their parents and elders (Ghuman, 2003). Males and females appear to have differing roles in Muslim families. Females are protected by families because they are perceived by their families to carry *izzat, (*honour) (Bhatti, 1999; Ghuman, 2005). On the other hand, boys are given more freedom and parents have been reported by Bhatti (1999) and Ghuman (2003) to 'turn a blind eye' when boys date girls from the host society.

6.3.3. *Conflicting values between home and school*

Hedegaard (2005) found that differing values between home and school may create conflict for teenagers. Conflicts may also arise due to differences in opinion about the role of school. Hedegaard (2005) suggests that the values of school may be rooted in the society in which it is located. Parental values may be derived from values from their country of origin.

Ghuman (2005) suggests that British schools tend to emphasise individuality which may clash with views that the family comes before the individual.

Ghuman (2005) explains that conflict may arise from home and school's mismatched understanding about the role of school in the development of young people's values and beliefs. Ghuman (2005) suggests that BM families may perceive schools as teaching children subject knowledge. However, British schools perceive their role as educating 'the whole person'. This may be problematic for families who are concerned about their children losing their traditional values and practices. Bhatti (1999) found that parents are anxious that children are adopting westernised views and behaviour and losing their traditional identity. Parental concerns were related to interpretations by parents that children's acculturation may reflect their parenting skills which may be judged negatively by relatives and the community "back home".

According to Hedegaard (2005), conflicting values between home and school leads to identity confusion for young people. Authors agree that children try to cope with home - school conflicts by adopting separate and different identities. Hedegaard (2005) suggests that young people adopt split identities which changes with contexts. The alternation between two identities is similar to LaFromboise et al. (1993) and Cline & Abreu's (2005) notion of split identity.

6.3.4. _The current picture – media portrayal of Muslims, discrimination and government legislation_

In the past two decades, there has been much media interest in BMs following the attacks on the Twin Towers in 2001 (Alexander et al., 2013; Ogan et al., 2014). Jaspal & Cinnirella (2010) argue that this media coverage is largely negative and has been described as Islamophobia by Alexander (2013) and Ogan et al. (2014). Islamophobia describes negative attitudes or feelings against the religious and cultural practices of Islam (The Runnymede Trust, 1997; Bleich, 2011; Ogan et al., 2014). A report by The Runnymede Trust (1997) warns the public against holding closed beliefs about Islam such as the incompatibility of Islamic and western values and Islam's repression of its followers. Authors suggest that these warnings may still be current (Alexander, 2013; Rizwan & Williams, 2015).

Authors agree that BMs experience widespread discrimination and prejudice (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010; Alexander, 2013; Miah, 2013; Ogan et al., 2014). Anti-Muslim discrimination may develop due to the current level of negative

media exposure about Muslims. Jaspal & Cinnirella (2010) suggest that the media may shape the national in-group's beliefs about Muslim culture being threatening. Ogan et al. (2014) found that, in opinion polls in the UK, two thirds of the population had unfavourable attitudes towards Muslims and this was related to how closely they followed negative media stories about Muslims.

Jaspal & Cinnrella (2010) explain the relationship between anti-Muslim feelings amongst the general public and the media. Jaspal & Cinnirella (2010) suggest that Muslims are rarely represented on television except in news items relating to terrorism; the clash of cultures and Muslim oppressive values. The frequency with which Islam is portrayed as a threat may lead to feelings of insecurity and fear in the national in-group resulting in prejudice towards Muslims (Ogan et al., 2014).

In addition to the negative media interest in Muslims, government policies may have emerged in the UK as a reaction to perceived terror threats. Alexander et al. (2013, p. 3) argue there is a "two-fold approach to 'manage' Muslims" in the UK. This approach includes security, border control and internal issues about social cohesion and integration (Alexander et al. 2013). The UK government has set up a task force where local authorities are to tackle extremism in their communities and the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) will inspect schools for protecting children from extremist material (HM government, 2013). Schools have duties in identifying and preventing the radicalisation of pupils (DfE, June 2015). In an attempt to promote social cohesion, schools are to teach children British values (DfE, November, 2014).

Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, Chryssochoou, Sam, & Phinney (2012) theorise that values propagated by the media and government policy are transmitted to contexts such as schools. These values may shape the contexts which children are directly involved in through influencing individuals within contexts. Hedegaard (2005) suggests that government policy influences how schools are run. Motti-Stefanidi et al. (2012) theorise that the media may shape the attitudes of teachers and peer groups towards minority groups.

7. The role of school for teenagers living in two cultures in the UK

7.1. BM teenagers at school

Ghuman's (2003) study is of particular relevance because it is the most recent British study exploring BM teenagers' school experiences. Ghuman (2003) conducted semi-structured interviews with 14-16 year old Muslim, Sikh and Hindu teenagers. Ghuman (2003) found that Muslim males tended to be the most traditional in their attitudes. Most teenagers perceived their identity to be integrated and self-identified in a hyphenated way for example, British Sikh.

Ghuman (2003) found that BM pupils reported discrimination from their white peers. This is an interesting finding because it contrasts with Ghuman's (1991b) earlier findings where teenagers reported that schools were free from racism. Robinson (2009) explains this by suggesting that anti-Muslim feelings have been heightened since the Twin Towers. The findings from this study are robust because it replicates the findings of an extensive quantitative study carried out by Ghuman (2003) as part of the qualitative study.

Ghuman's (2003) finding that BM pupils tend to favour integration cannot be generalised to teenagers attending predominantly white schools. Ghuman's (2003) sample was drawn from schools where British Asians[3] were in the majority. School composition may affect teenagers' acculturation strategies. Lysne & Levy (1997) found that teenagers tended to retain their EI if they attended ethnically diverse schools compared to teenagers attending predominantly white schools. A further criticism is that this study explores teenagers' cultural practices in school but does not examine how the school itself influences these practices.

7.2. Studying the school context: An acculturating platform

If identity is context-specific (Schachter, 2005; Faircloth, 2012), there is a strong argument that school may influence how teenagers integrate EI into their global identity. Rumbaut (2005, p. 7) suggests that schools are "agencies of acculturation" for teenagers because they have the greatest interaction with others from other cultural groups. Yet there is little research and theory about

---

[3] British Asians refer to children who are Sikh, Muslim and Hindi from South Asia (Modood et al. 1994; Ghuman, 2003).

how the school context influences adaptation for minority adolescents (Horencysk & Tatar, 2012).

Horencysk & Tatar (2012) propose two acculturative levels at school. The school level includes school norms, values and assumptions about national and minority groups. The classroom level includes the influence of teachers and national peers.

7.3. Multicultural education

Cline (2008) defines school ethos as the values, assumptions and norms of school. It has been argued that children develop identities through the values and beliefs that are reflected by the school they attend (Lysne & Levy, 1997; Prokopiou & Cline, 2010; Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012; Horencysk & Tatar, 2012). Cline (2008) explains that school ethos conveys the type of person valued within that institution which could facilitate a process of individuals becoming that person.

7.3.1. *Multicultural education reducing discrimination*

Thijs & Verkuyten (2014, p. 8) suggest that schools range from taking a "colour-blind approach to a multicultural one". Thijs & Verkuyten's (2014) review proposes that schools play a powerful role in reducing intergroup conflict through multicultural education. Thijs & Verkuyten (2014) suggest that multicultural education contributes to a school ethos of diversity. Verkuyten & Thijs (2013) explain that the aim of multicultural education is to educate individuals about other cultures. Verkuyten & Thijs (2013) argue that multicultural education challenges perceptions of the host culture being normative and seeks to improve the position of minority group culture. Thijs & Verkuyten (2014) suggest that multicultural curriculums could lead to increased knowledge and tolerance for native children. This may reduce racism and discrimination in schools. In a study about the effects of multicultural education on interethnic discrimination, Thijs & Verkuyten (2011) found that multicultural education promotes equality and diversity between native and non-native children. In classrooms where native and non-native children were perceived as one group, there were fewer negative perceptions about either ethnic group or in-group favouritism.

Cline, Abreu, Fihosy, Gray, Lambert & Neale (2002) found that most schools in their UK study played down ethnic differences and wanted to treat pupils equally. Cline et al. (2002) found that teachers lacked confidence or knowledge about multicultural issues due to a lack of training. Cline et al. (2002) found that a quarter of minority children interviewed had experienced recent discrimination. Parents and children indicated that discrimination was often not reported to teachers due to perceived futility of reporting. Children suggested that teachers seemed unconcerned, that teachers' involvement was ineffective or made matters worse, and parents expressed concerns that teachers were slow to react. Cline et al. (2002, p. 7) found that many pupils "play white", which suggests distancing themselves from their heritage, possibly due to perceived subordinate positioning of their culture in school. The argument that multicultural education reduces discrimination is supported by the differences between pupils' experiences in Thijs & Verkuyten's (2011) and Cline et al.'s (2002) studies.

7.3.2. *Multicultural education and identity development*

Multicultural education may contribute to identity development for non-native children as well as reducing discrimination. Studies showing clear relationships between school cultural values leading to the adoption of these values tend to be found in predominantly ethnic schools. Teenagers attending predominantly ethnic schools are more likely to explore and retain EI compared to those attending predominantly white schools (Lysne & Levy (1997). Pakistani and Greek teenagers attending community[4] schools are likely to reflect cultural beliefs and values that they are taught (Prokopiou & Cline, 2010). Lysne & Levy (1997) suggest that predominantly ethnic schools present frequent and meaningful opportunities to explore EI. This may explain why pupils in predominantly ethnic schools may develop EIs.

7.4. The role of teachers

Thijs & Verkuyten's (2014) review of research about school ethnic diversity and interethnic relations suggests that relationships between teachers and minority pupils positively influence host pupils' perceptions of minority pupils.

---

[4] Community schools are supplementary cultural schools that pupils attend outside of mainstream school (Prokopiou & Cline, 2010).

Thijs & Verkuyten (2014) found that this leads to less negative evaluations of ethnic differences in the classroom.

Positive teacher-pupil relationships may be important in reducing intergroup conflict however teachers as role models (TRM) may be instrumental for identity development. Rich & Schachter (2012) found that when pupils perceive teachers to be role models, this significantly contributed to identity development compared to caring teacher-pupil relationships. Pupils perceived teachers as role models when pupils identified with them. Rich & Schachter (2012) report moderate effect sizes between TRM and identity. They found that TRM influenced exploration of identity when pupils reported that lessons are interesting and personally meaningful. Rich & Schachter (2012) suggest that meaningful lessons offer support for pupils with overcoming the challenges in building a coherent identity. Lysne & Levy (1997) agree and suggest that meaningful lessons present opportunities to explore identity.

There is agreement that teachers may fail to understand and appreciate cultural diversity (Cline et al., 2002; Ghuman, 2003). Hewett (2015) found that teachers held simplified and negative views about Muslim girls for example, that Muslim girls are oppressed by their family and community. These views contrasted with constructions of girls' beliefs in their decision making ability. Hewett (2015) warns that negative constructions such as these may lead to pupils feeling that school is not supportive and they may feel the need to defend their family and culture.

It could be argued that schools in Cline et al.'s (2002) study are not conducive to minority identity development in light of Rich & Schachter's (2012) findings that TRM and meaningful lessons facilitate identity development. It could be argued that teachers lacking knowledge about pupils' cultures cannot be role models. Teachers may not be able to make the curriculum personally relevant in order to provide opportunities for identity exploration.

7.5. The role of national peers

Horencyzk & Tatar (2012) suggest that national peers play an important role for minority children because they may be a source of support and discrimination. Horencyzk & Tatar (2012) suggest that when minority children

interact with their national peers they can learn skills enabling sociocultural adaptation such as contextual norms, expectations and language. Much of the research focuses on the negative effects of interethnic relationships.

In line with SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), Thijs & Verkuyten (2014) suggest that native pupils may react to non-native pupils in accordance with perceived group norms. Thijs & Verkuyten (2014) found that when pupils form strong evaluations about the differences between groups, this leads to increased victimisation of the out-group. They argue that when the boundaries of ethnic differences are less salient, this may reduce intergroup conflict. Stark & Flache's (2012) study showed that when pupils had common interests or activities, this led to reduced perceptions of intergroup differences and promoted interethnic friendships.

Cline et al. (2002) found that discrimination affects how pupils perceive their own culture and their identity. Cline et al. (2002) found that pupils reflected on their experiences of prejudice and what this meant to be part of their culture. It could be theorised that when schools are ineffective in responding to bullying, this legitimises the subordinate position of minority groups. In predominantly white schools, teenagers may feel uncomfortable displaying behaviours relating to their heritage because it may be met with negative peer reactions (Cline & Abreu, 2005; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014) and they may feel pressure to conform with their peers (Cline & Abreu, 2005). Cline & Abreu (2005) suggest that this reticence may be ameliorated if an ethos of cultural diversity and respect is fostered in schools.

8. <u>Current research</u>

8.1. <u>Aims of research</u>

The current study explores the acculturation strategies of BM teenagers attending predominantly white schools. The developmental task of adolescence is to build a unified identity which brings issues of EI to the fore. It could be hypothesised in line with Berry's (1997; 2005) acculturation model that, when an ethos of diversity and respect is adopted in schools (Cline & Abreu, 2005; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014), teenagers may retain their EI and adopt British norms;

displaying values and behaviours which reflect their identities (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992).

The aim is to explore BM teenagers' experiences of managing two identities whilst attending mainly white schools using a socially constructionist perspective.

8.2. Relevance for educational psychologists (EPs)

This research is relevant for EPs because the BM population is one of the largest minority groups in the UK. BM teenagers negotiate their identities faced with multiple challenges in addition to adolescent developmental tasks. There has not been any research examining schools' influence on BM teenagers' identity development. EPs need to have an understanding of psychosocial issues to make effective assessments, formulations and interventions. This research may provide EPs with insight into the complex, interrelated factors affecting BM teenagers in school in order to appropriately support their needs.

8.3. Research questions

Due to changes in sociocultural contexts for BMs since Ghuman's (2003) research, it would be relevant and valuable to study:

1. Do BM teenagers retain/reject their ethnic identity and/or adopt British norms?
2. What are the experiences of adolescents negotiating two identities in school?
3. What are pupil perceptions about how school helps and hinders the process of reconciling dual identities?

9. References

Adams, G.R. & Marshall, S. K. (1996). A developmental social psychology of identity: Understanding the person-in-context. *Journal of Adolescence, 19,* 429-442.

Alexander, C. (2013). The Muslim question(s): Reflections from a race and ethnic studies perspective. In C. Alexander, V. Redclift & A. Hussain (Eds.), *Runnymede Perspectives: The new Muslims* (pp. 5-7)*.* London: Runnymede.

Alexander, C., Redclift, V. & Hussain, A. (2013). Introduction: The new Muslims. In C. Alexander, V. Redclift & A. Hussain (eds.). *Runnymede Perspectives: The new Muslims (*pp. 3-4)*.* London: Runnymede.

Atzaba-Poria, N. & Pike, A. (2007). Are ethnic minority adolescents at risk for problem behaviour? Acculturation and intergenerational discrepancies in early adolescence. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology, 25,* 527-541.

Belhadj Kouider, E. Koglin, U. & Peterman, F. (2014). Emotional and behavioural   problems in   migrant children and adolescents in Europe: a systematic   review. *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, 23,* 373-391.

Berry, J.W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation and adaptation. *Applied Psychology, 46*, 5-34.

Berry, J.W. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 29,* 697-712.

Berry, J.W. (2009). A critique of critical acculturation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 33,* 361-371.

Berry, J.W., Phinney, J.S., Sam, D.L. & Vedder, P. (2006). Immigrant youth: Acculturation, identity and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review, 55* (3), 303-332.

Berry, J.W., Phinney, J.S., Sam, D.L. & Vedder, P. (2008). Response to Rudmin's book review of immigrant youth in cultural transition. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 39* (4), 517-520.

Bhatti, G. (1999). *Asian children at home and school: An ethnographic study*. London and New York: Routledge.

Bleich, E. (2011). What is islamophobia and how much is there? Theorizing and measuring an emerging comparative concept. *American Behavioral Scientist, 55(12)*, 1581-1600.

Blozis, S.A. & Villarreal, R. (2014). Analytic approaches to the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM). *Applied Psychological Measurement, 38 (7)*, 577-580.

Bourhis, R.Y., Moise, L.C., Perraeault, S. & Senecal, S. (1997). Towards an interactive acculturation model: A social psychological approach. *International Journal of Psychology, 32 (6)*, 369-386.

Bowskill, M., Lyons, E. & Cole, A. (2007). The rhetoric of acculturation: When integration means assimilation. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 46 (4)*, 793-813.

Burnett, S. & Blakemore, S.J. (2009). The development of adolescent social cognition. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 1167*, 51-56.

Cline, T. (2008). School ethos and student identity. In N. Frederickson, A. Miller & T. Cline (Eds.), *Educational Psychology: Topics in Applied Psychology* (pp. 235- 250). London: Hodder Education.

Cline, T. and Abreu, de G. (2005). Minority ethnic pupils in mainly white schools: What it means to be "bilingual". In Cohen, J., McAlister, K.T., Rolstad, K. & MacSwan, J. (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 4th international symposium on bilingualism* (pp. 542-551). Massachusetts: Cascadilla Press.

Cline, T., Abreu, de G., Fihosy, C., Gray, H., Lambert, H. & Neale, J (2002) *Minority Ethnic Pupils in Mainly White Schools. Research Report RR365*. London: Department for Education and Skills.

Cote, J.E. & Levine, C. (1988). A critical examination of the ego identity status paradigm. *Developmental Review, 8*, 147-184.

Crawley, H. (2009). The situation among children in immigrant families in the United Kingdom. *Innocenti Working Paper, no 2009-18,* Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre.

Danesi, M. (1994). *Cool: The signs and meanings of adolescence*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Department for Education (DfE) (2014). *Promoting fundamental British values as part of SMSC in schools: Departmental advice for maintained schools.* London: DfE. November 2014.

Department for Education (DfE) (2015). *The Prevent duty: Departmental advice for schools and childcare providers.* London: DfE. June 2015.

Erikson, E.H. (1959). *Identity and the life cycle: Selected papers. Psychological Issues: Volume 1.* New York: International Universities Press.

Erikson, E.H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis.* New York: W.W Norton & Company Inc.

Faircloth, B.S. (2012). "Wearing a mask" vs. connecting identity with learning. C*ontemporary Educational Psychology, 37*, 186-194.

Flum, H. & Kaplan, A. (2012). Identity formation in educational settings: A contextualized view of theory and research in practice. *Contemporary Educational Psychology, 37*, 240-245.

Ghuman, P.A.S. (1991a). Best or worst of two worlds? A study of Asian adolescents. *Educational Research, 33* (2), 121-132.

Ghuman, P.A.S. (1991b). A qualitative study of Asian adolescents. *Journal of Multilingual and Multi-cultural Development, 12* (5), 327-346.

Ghuman, P.A.S. (1994). Canadian or Indo-Canadian: a study of South Asian adolescents. *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth*, *4,* (3-4), 229-243.

Ghuman, P.A.S. (1998). Ethnic identity and acculturation of South Asian adolescents: A British perspective. *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth, 7,* 227-247.

Ghuman, P.A.S. (2003). *Double loyalties: South Asian adolescents in the West.* Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Ghuman, P.A.S. (2005). Daughters of tradition. *The Psychologist, 18 (10)*, 620-622.

Hedegaard, M. (2005). Strategies for dealing with conflicts in value positions between home and school: Influences on ethnic minority students' development of motives and identity. *Culture and Psychology, 11 (2),* 187-205.

Hewett, R. (2015). 'Their whole community might be watching them': Teacher and pupil constructions of Muslim girls' aspirations and the role of their families and the community. *Educational and Child Psychology, 32 (2)*, 67-76.

H.M. government (2013). *Tackling extremism in the UK: Report from the Prime Minister's task force on tackling radicalisation and extremism.* December 2013. London: Cabinet Office.

Horencsyk, G. & Tatar, M. (2012). Conceptualising the school acculturative context: School, classroom and the immigrant student. In A.S. Masten, K. Liebkind & D.J. Hernandez (Eds.), *Realising the potential of immigrant youth (p*p. 359-375). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hutnik, N. (1991). *Ethnic minority identity: A social psychological perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jacobson, J. (1997). Religion and ethnicity: Dual and alternative sources of identity among young British Pakistanis. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 20* (2), 238-256.

Jaspal, R. & Cinnirella, M. (2010). Media representations of British Muslims and hybridised threats to identity. *Contemporary Islam, 4,* 289-310.

Jaspal, R. & Cinnirella, M. (2013). The construction of British national identity among British South Asians. *National Identities, 15 (2)*, 157-175.

Kroger, J. (2006). Identity development during adolescence. In G. R. Adams and M. D. Berzonsky, (Eds.), *Blackwell handbook of adolescence* (pp. 205-226). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Kroger, J., Martinussen, M. & Marcia, J.E. (2010). Identity status change during adolescence and young adulthood: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Adolescence, 33,* 683-698.

Kunst, J.R. & Sam, D.L. (2013). Relationship between perceived acculturation expectations and Muslim minority youth's acculturation and adaptation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 37,* 477-490.

LaFromboise, T., Coleman, H.L.K. & Gerton, J. (1993). Psychological impact of biculturalism: Evidence and theory. *Psychological Bulletin, 114 (3)*, 395-412.

Lysne, M. & Levy, G.D. (1997). Differences in ethnic identity and Native American adolescents as a function of school context. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 12 (3),* 372-388.

Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego identity status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 3* (5), 551-558.

Meeus, W. (2011). The study of adolescent identity formation 2000–2010: A review of longitudinal research. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 21*(1), 75-94.

Miah, S. (2013). Muslim group solidarity and schooling. In C. Alexander, V. Redclift & Hussain (Eds.), *Runnymede Perspectives: The new Muslims (*pp.23-25).   London: Runnymede.

Modood, T., Beishon, S. and Virdee, S. (1994). *Changing ethnic identities*. London: Policy Studies Institute.

Motti-Stefanidi, F., Berry, J.W., Chryssochoou, X., Sam, D.L. & Phinney, J.S. (2012). Developmental acculturation and social - psychological perspectives. In A.S. Masten, K. Liebkind & D.J. Hernandez (Eds.), *Realising the potential of immigrant youth* (pp. 117-158). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Office for National Statistics (ONS) (2010). Work and worklessness among households 2010. Retrieved from Office for National Statistic website: www.ons.gov.uk.

Office for National Statistics (ONS) (2011). Ethnicity and the Labour Market, 2011   Census, England and Wales. Retrieved from Office for National Statistics website: www.ons.gov.uk.

Ogan, C., Willnat, L., Pennington, R. & Bashir, M. (2014). The rise of anti – Muslim prejudice: Media and islamophobia in Europe and the United States. *The   International Communication Gazette, 76 (1)*, 27-46.

Parekh, B. (2000). Defining British national identity. *The Political Quarterly, 71* (1), 4-14.

Phinney, J.S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin, 108* (3), 499-514.

Phinney, J. S. (1992). The multigroup ethnic identity measure: A new scale for use with diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 7*, 156-176.

Phinney, J.S. (2008). Bridging identities and disciplines: Advances and
challenges in understanding multiple identities. *New Directions for Child
and Adolescent Development, 120*, 97-109.

Phinney, J.S. & Kohatsu, E.L. (1997). Ethnic and racial identity development
and mental health. In J. Schulenberg, J.L. Maggs & K. Hurrelmann
(Eds.), *Health risks and developmental transitions during adolescence*
(pp. 420-443). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Phinney, J.S. & Rosenthal, D.A. (1992). Ethnic identity in adolescence:
Process, context and outcome. In G.R. Adams, T.P. Gullotta & R.
Montemayor (eds.). *Adolescent identity formation: Advances in
adolescent development, Volume 4 (*pp.145-172). California: Sage.

Prokopiou, E. & Cline, T. (2010). Constructing cultural and academic identities
in community schools: A socio-cultural and dialogical approach. In V.
Lytra & P.W. Martin (Eds.), *Sites of multilingualism: Contemporary
schools in Britain today* (pp. 71-84). Stoke- on- Trent: Trentham.

Rich, Y. & Schachter, E.P. (2012). High school identity climate and student
identity development. *Contemporary Educational Psychology, 37*, 218 -
228.

Rivas-Drake, D., Syed, M., Umana-Taylor, A., Markstrom C., French, S.,
Schwartz, S. J. & Lee, R. (2014). Feeling good, happy and proud: A
meta-analysis of positive ethnic - racial affect and adjustment. *Child
Development, 85 (1)*, 77 – 102.

Rizwan, R. & Williams, A. (2015). 'Only the wind hears you…' The experiences
of Pakistani girls in a primary school: An interpretative phenomenological
analysis. *Educational & Child Psychology Vol. 32 (2),* 36-46.

Robinson, L. (2009). Cultural identity and acculturation preferences among
South Asian adolescents in Britain: An exploratory study. *Children &
Society (23)*, 442-454.

Rudmin, F.W. (2008). ICSEY data deserve new analysis: Reply to Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 39 (4),* 521-523.

Rumbaut, R.G. (2005). Children of immigrants and their achievement: The roles of   family, acculturation, social class, gender, ethnicity and school context. In   R.D. Taylor (Ed.), *Addressing the achievement gap: Theory informing practice* (pp. 23-59). North Carolina: Information Age Publishing Inc.

Rumbaut, R. G., & Portes, A. (2001). *Ethnicities: Children of immigrants in America.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ryder, A.D., Alden, L.E. Palhus, D.L. & Dere, J. (2013). Does acculturation predict interpersonal adjustment? It depends on who you talk to. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 37*, 502-506.

Sabatier, C. (2008). Ethnic and national identity among second generation immigration adolescents in France: The role of social context and family. *Journal of Adolescence, 31,* 185-205.

Saeed, Blain, N. & Forbes, D. (1999). New ethnic and national questions in Scotland: Post British identities among Glasgow Pakistani teenagers. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 22 (5)*, 821-844.

Sam, D.L. & Berry, J.W. (2010). Acculturation: When individuals and groups of different cultural backgrounds meet. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 5 (4),* 472-481.

Schachter, E.P. (2005). Context and identity formation: A theoretical analysis and a case study. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 20 (3)*, 375-395.

Schwartz, S.J., Dunkel, .S. & Waterman, A.S. (2009). Terrorism: An identity theory perspective. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 32, 537-559.

Sebastian, C. (2012). Don't leave me out! *The Psychologist, 25 (11),* 820-823.

Smith, A.D. (1991). *National Identity.* London: Penguin.

Snaewaert, B., Soenens, B., Vanbaselaere, N. & Boen, F. (2003). When integration does not necessarily imply integration: Different conceptualisations of acculturation orientations lead to different classifications. *Journal of Cross- Cultural Psychology, 34* (2), 231-239.

Sneed, J.R., Schwartz, S.J. & Cross, W.E. (2006). A multicultural critique of identity status theory and research: A call for integration. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research, 6* (1), 61-84.

Spencer, M.B. & Markstrom Adams, C. (1990). Identity processes among racial and ethnic minority group children in America. *Child Development, 61* (2), 290-310.

Stark, T. H., & Flache, A. (2012). The double edge of common interest: Ethnic segregation as an unintended by product of opinion homophily. *Sociology of Education, 85*, 179-199.

Steinberg, L. & Silverberg, S.B. (1986). The vicissitudes of autonomy in early adolescence. *Child Development 57*, 841-851.

Suarez-Orozco, C. & Suarez-Orozco, M.M. (2001). *Children of immigration.* Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Tajfel, H. (1978). Social categorisation, social identity and social comparison. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 61-76). London: Academic Press Inc.

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W.G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The psychology of intergroup relations (*pp. 33-47)*.* California: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.

The Daily Telegraph (June 2014). Muslim schoolchildren are still leading parallel lives to the mainstream. Retrieved from: *www.telegraph.co.uk/education/10889897/Muslim-schoolchildren-are-still-leading-parallel-lives-to-the-mainstream.html*

The Runnymede Trust (1997). *Islamophobia: A challenge for us all: Report of the Runnymede Trust commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia*. London: Runnymede.

Thijs, J., & Verkuyten, M. (2011). Ingroup bias in the classroom: The role of co-ethnic and other-ethnic peers and multiculturalism. *Anales de Psychologia, 27*, 662–669.

Thijs, J. & Verkuyten, M. (2014). Annual review: School ethnic diversity and students' interethnic relations. *British Journal of Educational Psychology, 84,* 1-21.

Toor, S. (2005). A national culture for Pakistan: The political economy of debate. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies, 6 (3)*, 318-240.

Verkuyten, M. & Thijs, J. (2013). Multicultural education and inter-ethnic attitudes: An intergroup perspective. *European Psychologist, 18* (3), 179-190.

Weinreich, P. (2009). "Enculturation" not "acculturation": Conceptualising and assessing identity processes in migrant communities. *International Journal of intercultural Relations, 33 (2)*, 124-139.

Part Two: Major journal research article

Word count: 5959

10. <u>Abstract</u>

British Muslim (BM) teenagers negotiate British and ethnic identities (EIs) against a back drop of discrimination, negative media portrayal and government policies aimed at reducing radicalisation and increasing social cohesion. In addition, expectations from the family are overriding influences for these teenagers and may conflict with the expectations of school. Exploring the experiences of BM teenagers in school is under researched. In particular, there is no research exploring the influence of school for BMs managing dual identities in the UK. The current research aims to address this gap. Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) was employed to explore the lived experiences of BMs attending predominantly white schools. Five themes emerged from the data: experience of negotiating dual identities, psychological adaptation, value of religious identity, the influence of others and school supporting negotiation of dual identity. Teenagers were found to have integrated identities with religion being at the core of their identity. The nature of identity differed for some pupils between home and school. It is argued therefore, that the acculturation strategies adopted are attempts at matching the expectations of the contexts. The implications for educational psychology are also discussed.

11. <u>Introduction</u>

Ethnic identity (EI), as defined by Phinney & Rosenthal (1992), includes self-labelling, feelings of belonging and commitment to the group, shared values and partaking in group traditions and practices. The task for minority teenagers is to integrate EI into an overarching identity (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). For many cultures, religion is subsumed within EI. For Muslims, however, EI and religious identity (RI) are separate. RI has been found to be more important and is central to identity (Modood, Beishon & Virdee, 1994; Jacobson, 1997; Saeed, Blain & Forbes, 1999; Ghuman, 1991 a; 1991b; 2003). The literature underpinning this study and shortcomings are reviewed.

Berry (1997, 2005) defines acculturation as changes in values, customs and social practices for groups and people when two or more cultural groups have contact. Acculturation strategies are shaped by the host country's attitudes towards cultural diversity and the value placed by individuals in maintaining their heritage. Berry (2005) suggests that negotiation of acculturation strategies may be stressful and this is dependent on the 'goodness of fit' of these strategies to the expectations of the host culture.

Phinney's (1990) model explores adolescent decisions to maintain EI. EI needs to be positive for it to be incorporated into global identity. Acculturation and EI research tend to be quantitative, suggesting that the processes between group contact and acculturation strategies are unexplored and unknown. Berry (2009) suggests that a social constructionist (SC) approach may complement and illuminate existing acculturation research. Berry's (1997, 2005) and Phinney's (1990) models could be criticised because they do not consider the role of sociocultural issues such as the history of group relationships and current social, political and media events (Ghuman 1998). It could be argued in line with Ghuman (1998) that it is important to be aware of sociocultural and political events happening at the time to understand issues relating to identity.

Ghuman's (2003) research is directly relevant because it is the most recent British study using qualitative methods exploring British Asian[5] teenagers' school experiences. Ghuman (2003) found that teenagers self-identified in

---

[5] British Asians refer to children who are Sikh, Muslim and Hindi from South Asia (Modood et al. 1994; Ghuman, 2003).

hyphenated ways and Muslim males tend to be the most traditional in their attitudes compared to other participants. The problem with Ghuman's (2003) study is that the sample was drawn mainly from schools where British Asians were in the majority of the school population therefore the findings cannot be generalised to teenagers who attend predominantly white schools. A further criticism is that this study explores teenagers' cultural practices in school but does not examine how school influences these practices.

The importance of studying the role of school on identity development is highlighted by Schachter (2005), Faircloth (2012) and Ryder, Alden, Palhus, & Dere's (2013) that identity is context dependent and not stable within individuals. Rumbaut (2005, p. 7) suggests that schools are "agencies of acculturation" for teenagers because they have the greatest contact with the dominant host group. Studies have shown that multicultural education reduces discrimination (Thijs & Verkuyten, 2011) and may influence identity development (Lysne & Levy, 1997; Prokopiou & Cline, 2010). Thijs & Verkuyten's (2014) review proposes that schools play a powerful role in reducing intergroup conflict and promoting positive peer and teacher relationships through multicultural education.

12. Research questions

The aim is to explore how school experiences influence identity formation when BM teenagers live in two cultures and attend mainly white schools. It could be argued that a SC approach is suitable to understand how individuals perceive the complex influences that shape identity development and to illuminate previous research. There is no research in the UK, examining schools' influence on BM teenagers' experiences in negotiating British and ethnic identities. Due to changes in sociocultural contexts for BMs since Ghuman's (2003) research it would be relevant and valuable to study:

1. Do BM teenagers retain/reject their ethnic identity and/or adopt British norms?
2. What are the experiences of adolescents negotiating two identities in school?
3. What are pupil perceptions about how school helps and hinders the process of reconciling dual identities?

13. <u>Method</u>

    13.1.   <u>Epistemology and methodology</u>

A SC approach was adopted for this research. According to Willig, (2008), SC posits that there is no objective reality. People interpret events through their values and beliefs, leading to different constructions and experiences (Willig, 2008). There is no research exploring the experiences of individuals negotiating their identities and Berry (2009) highlights that a SC approach may complement existing research.

Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) was employed for data analysis. IPA is a qualitative research method which explores personal meaning within contexts (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). IPA was adopted because it was considered that an approach which explores the contexts that contribute to the meaning of events was important in light of research that suggests identity is context dependent (Schachter, 2005; Faircloth, 2012; Ryder et al., 2013).

A questionnaire (Appendix 8) was constructed to collect information about participants' age, gender, socio-economic status and generation of migration. Individual semi-structured interviews were employed because pupils may perceive discussions about EI to be sensitive and Smith et al. (2009) suggest that semi-structured interviews are an appropriate data collection method for IPA. Interview questions were based on topics from Ghuman's (2003) study (Appendix 9). Additional questions have been created to explore the influence of school (Appendix 9 - School and home questions). Ghuman (2003) suggests that general questions about school are asked first, before questions about home, to gain pupils' trust before asking more sensitive questions.

Although EI and RI may be distinct for BMs (Modood et al.,1994), Ghuman's (2003) research categorises EI and RI as a single EI. This study follows Ghuman's (2003) categorisation of EI to capture the widest variation of self-identification.

During data analysis behaviour and attitudes were coded according to Berry's Acculturation model to indicate acculturation strategies. See Table 1 below.

Engagement with host culture	Engagement with heritage culture	
	Yes	No
Yes	Integration	Assimilation
No	Separation	Marginalisation

Table 1: Table used to code pupil acculturation strategies during data analysis based on Berry (1997)

13.2. Measures

The questionnaire (Appendix 8) and interview (Appendix 9) were piloted with two BM adults to ensure cultural sensitivity. These were reconstructed following comments by adults.

The interview was piloted with a BM teenager to ensure that questions were clear and non-directive. Minor changes were made to the interview schedule following the pilot (Appendix 10). The pilot interview was included in the data analysis because only small changes were made to the interview schedule.

Parental letters were written in English and then translated into Urdu so that parents who could not read English were able to give informed consent (Appendix 4).

13.3. Ethical considerations

Full ethical approval was received from Cardiff University's Ethics Committee prior to commencing the research. The British Psychological Society (BPS) Code of Ethics (2010) was adhered to throughout the research process. Pupils were approached after parental consent had been obtained; confidentiality and the right to withdraw were outlined to individuals. Participant anonymity was not possible due to schools' safeguarding concerns. Deputy head teachers at each school were aware of participants' identities and this was outlined in parental letters (Appendix 3 & 4) and participant information sheets (Appendix 6). After the interviews, participants were verbally debriefed and given debrief and information sheets (Appendix 11 & 12).

13.4. Participants

Two schools in the same local authority (LA) were chosen on the advice of the Multicultural Development Team (MDT) because both schools have predominantly white British pupil compositions and relatively high numbers of BMs. The LA was located in a large town in the Midlands.

School A is a comprehensive secondary school with 589 pupils. School B is an academy with an attached sixth form. School B has 892 pupils in Years 7 – 11 and 1002 pupils in total. A purposive sample was chosen so that the selected sample was representative of individuals negotiating dual identities.

School A ethnic compostion

■ White British ■ Pakistani ■ White European ■ African ■ Dual heritage

3% 1%

6%

17%

73%

School B ethnic composition

Legend: White British · Pakistani · Indian · Black · White European · Dual heritage

0.5 2% 2% 2%

4%

90%
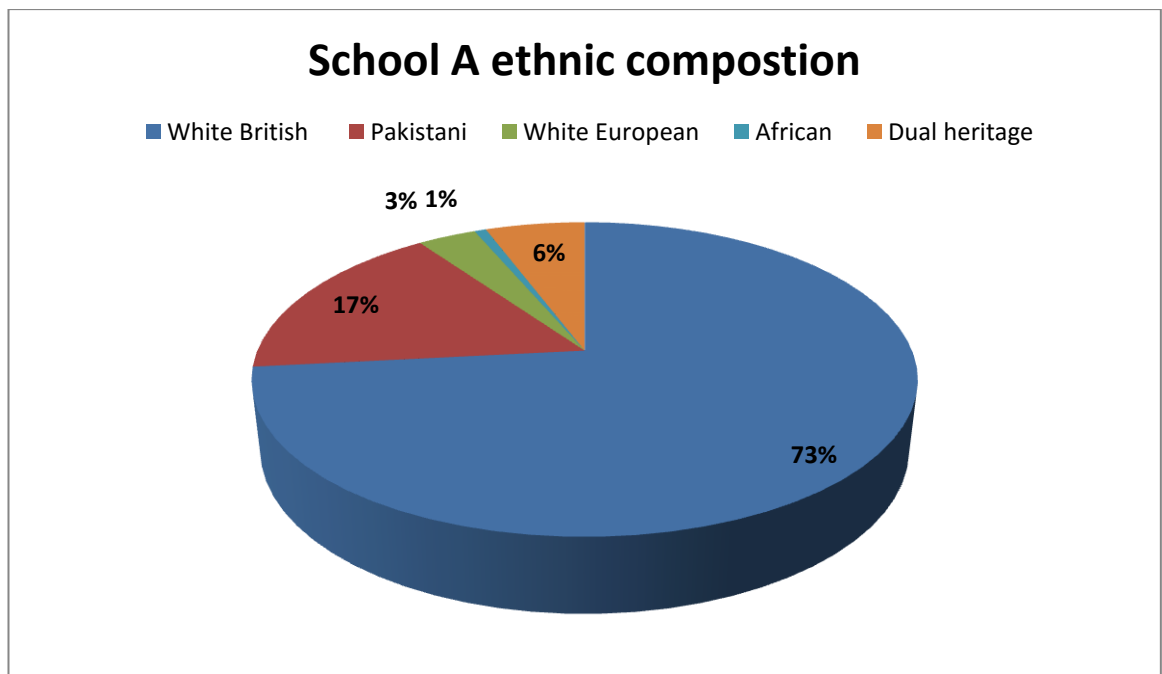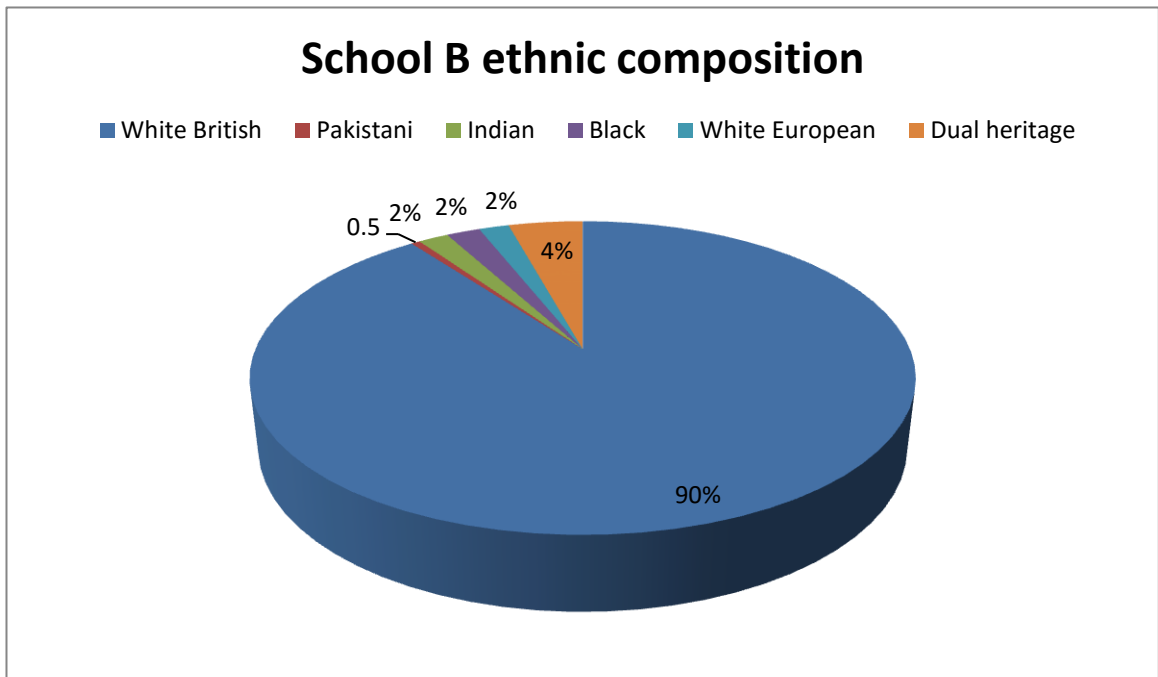
Figure 2: Graphical representation of demographic composition at Schools A and B

The inclusion criteria for participants were:

- Age 14 - 16

- Attendance at selected schools

- Families originating from Pakistan

- Residence in the UK for at least five years

Nine participants (three males and six females) participated in the study. All participants were born in the UK.

Figure 3: Inclusion criteria for participants

Teenagers who are dual heritage, asylum seekers and refugees were excluded from the sample. Teenagers with at least five years of residence were recruited for the study. Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder (2006) suggest this may be the length of time it takes to adopt an acculturation strategy in their study. 14 - 16

year old teenagers were selected because they are likely to be exploring and choosing their identity during this age (Phinney, 1990). See Table 2 for participant details.

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	School attended	Generational status	Parents' socioeconomic status
Laila	Female	16	School B	3rd	Professional
Tariq	Male	15	School A	3rd	Skilled manual
Hanifa	Female	14	School A	3rd	Intermediate
Aslam	Male	16	School A	2nd	No employment
Maryam	Female	14	School B	2nd	Skilled manual
Mohammed	Male	14	School B	2nd	Skilled non-manual
Parveen	Female	14	School A	3rd	Skilled manual
Soraya	Female	14	School A	3rd	No employment
Zaeba	Female	14	School A	3rd	Professional

Table 2: Participant information

Willig (2008, p. 61) suggests that samples should be homogenous "to the extent they share the same condition, event, situation". Sample homogeneity has been achieved because all participants are BMs negotiating their identity in predominantly white schools thereby sharing the same condition and event. In addition, the sample was drawn only from schools identified by the MDT. It is recognised that there will be pertinent influences on identity such as gender, socio-economic class, school composition, but these differences will be considered and highlighted in the results. Smith et al. (2009) suggest that sample homogeneity may also be affected by ease of recruitment and therefore compromises may need to be made on sample selection. The sample was the best sample chosen given the circumstances.

13.5. Procedure

13.5.1. Main study

Letters were sent to one LA (Appendix 1) to ask for permission, then to head teachers of the two participating schools (Appendix 2). After receiving permission from the LA and schools, letters in English and Urdu were sent to parents to request consent for teenagers to participate (Appendix 3 & 4). When informed parental consent had been received, pupils were asked by their school to participate.

Interviews took place in a private room at each of the two schools. It was explained to participants that the study involved finding out about their experiences in school as teenagers living in two cultures. Issues of confidentiality, anonymity and risks of taking part were discussed with participants. Participants were then given information sheets and consent forms (Appendix 6 & 7) to sign before taking part in the study.

Participants then completed a questionnaire (Appendix 8). Participants were subsequently interviewed which was audio recorded. Individual interviews took up to 45 minutes. The questions were read from the interview schedule (Appendix 9). On occasions, further questions were asked for clarification and to gain deeper understanding. At the end of the interview, participants were debriefed and given debrief and support information (Appendix 11 & 12).

13.5.2. Data analysis

Interviews were analysed using IPA, following guidelines suggested by Smith et al. (2009, see Figure 4 & Appendix 14). Each audio-recording was transcribed verbatim and analysed on a case-by-case basis before moving onto the next case to maintain the idiographic nature of the data. Superordinate themes were excluded if they did not appear in at least half of the cases (Appendix 15).

Step 1 : Reading & re-reading	• Read and listen to audio recording of transcript • Read transcripts twice • Develop a model of overall interview structure
Step 2: Initial noting	• Close analysis of text • Free association and notation of text. • Noting of descriptive comments about what participants say. • Noting of linguistic comments. How language is used e.g. tone, pauses, vocabulary • Noting of conceptual comments. Shifting from explicit meaning to to analyst's interpretation of participants' understanding of events.
Step 3: Developing emergent themes	• Analyse exploratory comments to identify emergent themes • Capturing the essence of initial notes with concise and pithy statements
Step 4: Search connections across emergent themes	• Put emergent themes into chronological order • Eyeball list of emergent themes and move themes around to form clusters using techniques such as abstraction, polarisation, contextualisation, numeration and function • Produce a reflective diary documenting how analysis was completed and commentaries about analytic work • Produce graphic representation of structure of emergent theme
Step 5: Moving to the next case	• Ensuring ideas emerging from first case do not influence the next case • Repeat steps 1 - 4.
Step 6: looking for patterns across cases	• Laying graphic representations of each interview together and looking across them. • Analyse connections between cases, potency of themes and how themes are illuminated by other cases. • Identifying recurrent themes and including them if identified in over half of the cases. • Moving analysis to theoretical level by identifying superordinate themes across cases. • Produce graphic representation of superordinate themes showing relationships between themes.

Figure 4: The process of IPA used in this study (Based on Smith et al., 2009)

13.5.3.   <u>Validity</u>

To enhance the credibility and transparency of results, two independent EPs were asked to look at a selection of the analysis and verify the themes as recommended by Reid, Flowers & Larkin (2005). Suggested discrepancies led to changes to the analysis.

Smith et al. (2009) recommend Yardley's (2000) criteria in assessing validity of qualitative research. Validity for this study was achieved because it meets the criteria of sensitivity to contexts, commitment, rigour, transparency, coherence, impact and importance (Appendix 18).

14.   Results and Discussion

Five superordinate themes emerged from the analysis as illustrated by Figure 5. See Appendix 16 for table of master themes.
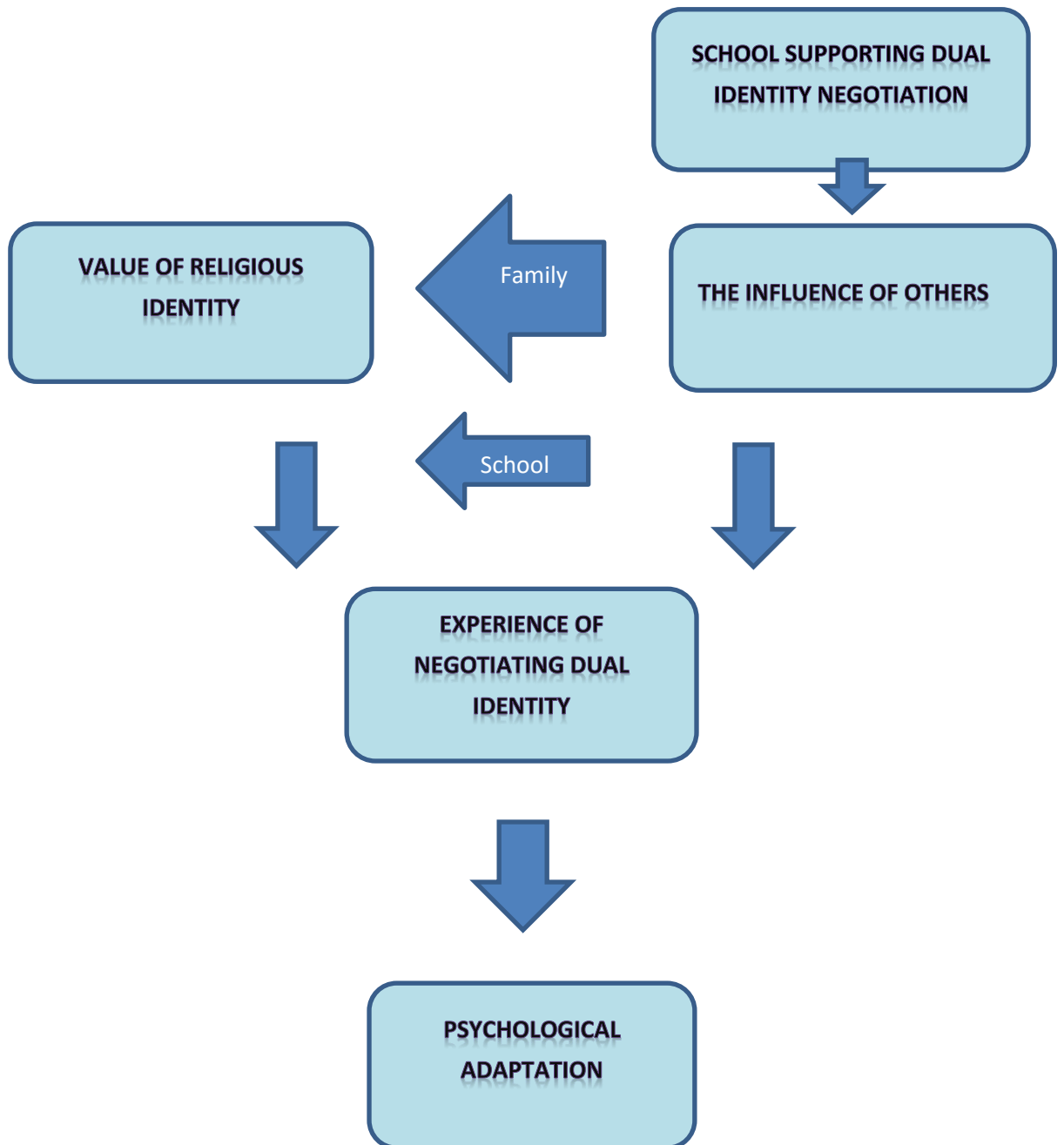
Figure 5: Graphic representation of master themes

14.1. Research Question 1: Do teenagers retain/reject their ethnic identity and/or adopt British norms?

14.1.1. Hyphenated identities

The themes *value of religious identity* and *the experience of negotiating a dual identity* address this research question. Eight participants self-identified in a hyphenated way although all participants exhibited attitudes and behaviour which suggested integration in school. Seven participants self-identified as BM. Self- labelling was defined by birth place, place of residence and participation in religion [22 23]. Most participants had positive ethnic identities[11 - 13 15 20 21].

Stable integrated identities across contexts

Teenagers varied in the way they negotiated dual identities at school and at home. Three teenagers had *stable integrated identities across contexts*. For these teenagers, diet choices, friendships and social activities were the same across contexts. Zaeba, describes religion as the only difference between school and home life.

> *Zaeba:… I think what I do in school is the same at home. The difference is we go to mosque as well to read our Koran and learn about what the Prophet has said in the Koran and God so home life is the same as school life.*

This is further shown by Laila[25] and Aslam[26]. Zaeba and Aslam attend School A which is ethnically diverse. Laila and Zaeba are from high socio-economic backgrounds. Although Aslam is not from a high socio-economic background, he is head boy at his school. Ghuman (2003) suggests that parental socio-economic status affects acculturation because of greater parental exposure to dominant host groups at work.

Six teenagers displayed *SSI between home and school.* Integrated identities were employed in school and separation at home. School and home seemed to represent the British culture and religiousness respectively for teenagers. Level of separation at home was dimensional for these teenagers. Some teenagers mixed only with their ethnic peers but also engaged with the dominant culture through music, film and diet.

The shifting identity between contexts is eloquently described by Tariq. In Tariq's account, Tariq keeps the school and the mosque separate which is indicated by "they're both side by side". Tariq constantly alternates his identity between contexts by "jumping from one culture to a different culture". The sentences "the whole mosque and school routine" and "jumping from one culture to a different culture" are next to each other. The latter quote suggests that Tariq is jumping between a culture represented by the mosque and one representing the school. The constant alternation is reflected by "you just learn it all again" in "a different town, ..completely new place". The constant change described evokes images of shifting identity changes.

> *Tariq: I just say the whole mosque and school routine. They're both side by side, jumping from one culture to a different culture completely quick. Like for me, I see it as you go on a train late at night, you don't get off the train. You just keep on going on the train. Every single time the train stops off in a different town, it's a completely new place, completely new culture. You just learn it all again.*

Tariq's split identity is further reflected by Tariq's different diet and friendships between home and school. Tariq describes a "strict line" between his "English friends from school" from his Muslim "friends outside school". Tariq also eats British food but not Pakistani food in school and only prays in the mosque because " it's just never ..a done thing" to do so in school.

14.1.2.   The value of religious identity

Value of RI for teenagers had a major effect on the experience of negotiating two cultural identities. RI was a dominant theme which appeared in all

interviews. All participants practised Islam but differed in their beliefs about the importance and the extent to which it intertwined with their life.

Religion is all-important

Four teenagers perceived religion to be all-important. Beliefs that religion was all-encompassing led to conflicts for some participants[4] [18] [34]. Exceptions were when pupils were clear about the position of RI. Mohammed is very committed to his religion[1]. In Mohammed's account, the pressures of balancing school work with practising religion are described. Mohammed's belief that school could give him less homework to reduce the demands on his time suggests that religion is a priority over school.

> *Mohammed:…and to be fair a bit less homework cos I'm piled with home work at the moment. I've got mosque so.. I have to eat and go to sleep as well because I stayed up until 11.30pm last night doing homework and I only had to do three homeworks and it took me three hours to do that. I was proper knackered and I went straight to bed and woke up to be here at 8.30 today*

Religion has its place

Most teenagers perceived religion to be important but not a priority over school. Religion fits around their life rather than dictating everything they did. Hanifa juggles the demands of school work and religion by prioritizing her exams and then practices religion when her exams are over[6]. Beliefs about the relative positioning of school and religion are echoed by others[7] [17 - 19].

14.1.3.   Summary for Research Question 1

This study found that participants had hyphenated identities which were defined by place of residence, birth place and religion. Most teenagers had positive EIs; all maintained their EIs and adopted British norms. This finding supports Phinney's (1990) theory that individuals may incorporate positive EIs into an overarching identity. The finding, that all pupils employed integrated acculturation styles supports Berry (2005) and Ghuman's (2003) postulation that EI and NI coexist. For most teenagers, self-identification relates to religion. This finding echoes previous research suggesting that RI and EI are separate

and that RI is of central importance to BMs (Modood et al., 1994; Jacobson, 1997; Saeed et al., 1999; Ghuman, 1991a; 1991b; 2003). It was found that pupils differed in negotiating their identities at home and at school. Some pupils seemed to have identities which were stable across contexts whereas six pupils appeared to have SSI. It is argued that identity may be influenced by degrees of religiousness.

The two differing integrated acculturation styles identified by this study support the idea that identity is context-dependent (Schachter, 2005; Faircloth, 2012) rather than being fixed. These highlight Ryder et al.'s (2013) conclusion about the importance of studying identity within contexts to gain a full picture of how identity is negotiated. SSI lends support to research suggesting that teenagers may have different identities in school and at home (LaFromboise et al., 1992; Hedegaard, 2005; Cline & Abreu, 2005).

14.2. **Research Question 2: What are the experiences of adolescents negotiating two identities in school?**

The themes *the influence of others* and *psychological adaptation* address this question. These themes are intertwined and will be presented together. Both themes were dominant and discussed by nearly all participants.

14.2.1. Adaptability

The family and the ethnic community is the greatest contributor for identity. Family and ethnic peer expectations influence the ease with which participants manage their identities. Three teenagers appeared to be adaptable across contexts. These teenagers seemed certain about their dual identity and its value[11 20 21]. Ease of identity negotiation was supported by lack of pressure from family and community to behave in a certain way[7 57 - 60] and matching home-school expectations of integration. These pupils seemed to have knowledge about the differing values of the two cultures and were able to alter their behaviour[36-39]. These pupils can do this more easily because of similar expectations between home and school. Aslam's account shows his ability to adjust and match his behaviour according to contexts. Aslam watches traditional films with his parents but is able to select more relevant topics to

discuss with peers[35]. The ability to match behaviour according to context was also shown by Zaeba[37][38] and Laila [36][39].

When acculturation expectations clash between the ethnic group, host peers and with personal preferences, individuals may feel pressure and become conflicted about their identity. The ethnic community influences family expectations about children's behaviour[61-63]. Community pressures centre on appropriate religious conduct[61][62]. Families prioritising religion may conflict with personal integration preferences[10][65]. Tariq is conflicted about his identity because the expectations from host peers clash with his father's separation expectations[66] and with his own "loose" beliefs "about religion."

> *Tariq: It's like at the moment, I'm questioning Islam and everything else. It's driving me mental because I don't know what category I fit into. It's just annoying. ..my way of life falls into both categories so it's not definite. I can't just completely distinguish myself from one to the other*

Beliefs about the central importance of religion and the meaning of being Muslim may explain difficulties in psychological adaptation.

14.2.2. Psychological adaptation: Cognitive effects
The meaning of being Muslim

Half of the participants believed that religion is a guide to life, that should not be deviated from[40][46][47] and that if they behaved in non-Muslim ways, they could no longer *be* Muslims. Hanifa's account illustrates that Muslims are obligated to follow Islam and if individuals do not adhere to religious beliefs, they are no longer Muslim. The fragility and finality of no longer being Muslim is conveyed in "that's it".

> *Hanifa:... when you're born a Muslim you're meant to stick to it your whole life. If I start doing things I'm not supposed to in my religion and I started like I stopped believing in things they believe in in my religion, that's it, I wouldn't be a Muslim any more.*

Hanifa's beliefs about deviating from the guidelines of Islam are reflected by Tariq and Mohammed[41][43][44].

There are far-reaching beliefs about the consequences to not being Muslim. Consequences are perceived to affect afterlife, personal[44] and family reputation[41] and family relationships[42]. Mohammed explains that individuals are judged by their piety[45]. Religion protects individuals from being "damned to hell" which suggests how frightening deviating from religion may be. Views about what Muslims do affecting afterlife is also expressed by Soraya[10].

14.2.3. Psychological adaptation: Emotional effects

Negative emotions experienced due to incompatible expectations by others and personal acculturation preferences were described by Tariq and Mohammed. Tariq's anxiety may be caused by his *"loose"* attitudes *"about religion"* which conflicts with his perceptions that family reputation is dependent on his devoutness[41] [42]. Mohammed's piety is challenged by peers' negative perceptions of his culture. Mohammed reacts to perceived challenges to his culture with anger which is emphasised by the strength in his expression.

> *Mohammed:…if I say "Look have you heard about the news about the Taliban" and then someone will say " I thought your dad was one of them like". I'm like "What the hell, where did that come from like?" "I'm only joking like". I would swear…*

Both Tariq and Mohammed share a sense of isolation because of a lack of shared understanding by family and mistrust of peers. Difficulties in negotiating identity are attributed to pathology by the teenagers or by their families[48] [50]. Mohammed does not believe his family know how to support him with the discrimination he experiences in school[49].

14.2.4. Psychological adaptation: Behavioural effects

All teenagers managed dual identities by selecting the core ideals of religion and operating within the confines of their religion. Flexibility in managing identity related to perceptions of the positioning of religion. Some pupils tailored their life around core aspects of religion. This meant that they participated in both cultures and adhered to the fundamental aspects of religion. Zaeba for example, goes out with friends of both cultures to the same places while

following her religion[51 56]. In contrast Mohammed strictly adheres to his religion and will eat food that "has to be *halal*" due to the centrality of his religion[43 52].

Compartmentalisation involves keeping the two cultures separate at home and at school. Three pupils viewed school and home having different functions and that religious and 'British' school life do not cross boundaries[53-55]. Compartmentalisation may be a coping strategy with differing contextual demands. Tariq compartmentalises his British school life from his Muslim home life. Tariq expresses his wish to separate the two cultures through his diet. When the boundaries of British and Muslim culture merge through Western food appearing at home, Tariq struggles to cope with this. This struggle to cope is vividly described by the metaphor "overload the truck".

> *Tariq: Right cos at the moment my mum doesn't understand. I like my routine but my mum wants to be "experimentive" and try all these new foods and things…*
>
> *I: So what would you prefer then cos you said you like your routine?*
>
> *Tariq: I like my routine I'll stick to one. Like I'll stick to "Englishy" food or Pakistani food. Cos in the Pakistani food, I know to eat less cos there's so much spice and that, it hurts. I know what to eat and what not to eat*
>
> *I: What is wrong with having a bit of a mix?*
>
> *Tariq: It's like, you don't want to overload the truck.*

14.2.5.   Summary for Research Question 2

The family and the ethnic community appear to influence the ease with which pupils negotiate their identities. This is in accordance with research suggesting that home (Sabatier, 2008) and the ethnic group (Kunst & Sam, 2013) is more important for acculturation than the host group. This highlights that the ethnic group and family need to be considered when studying identity using Berry's (1997; 2005) model.

Pupils who had stable integrated identities across both contexts were adaptable. Adaptability may be supported by lack of pressure from family and the ethnic community and matching expectations between school and home.

Mismatched home-school values with personal acculturation preferences led to difficulties in negotiating identity. These findings support Hedegaard's (2005) assertion that school and home should respect differing contextual values to reduce tensions for pupils. Pupils were able to select and adjust their behaviour to match contexts. Adaptability of some pupils to the two contexts may be explained by pupils having knowledge about the differing values of the two cultures and being able to alter their behaviour accordingly (LaFromboise et al., 1992).

All participants managed their identities by selecting core religious ideals and operating around the core aspects of religion. Difficulties with negotiating dual identities were related to beliefs about the meaning of being Muslim and the perceived consequences to not adhering to Islam. Negative feelings were experienced when participants' acculturation preferences conflicted with the expectations of others. Some pupils were more flexible than others in operating around the core aspects of religion and this seemed to impact on psychological adaptation. This may be explained by Berry's (2005) theory that acculturation strategies are attempts to fit into the environment and that stress is experienced when acculturation is incompatible with the expectations of that environment.

The meaning of being Muslim for some participants in the current study explains Kunst & Sam's (2013) findings that host peer expectations of assimilation create stress for some Muslims. This may mean pressure to behave in non-Muslim ways. In the current study it is unclear whether negative emotional effects were restricted to host group expectations. Host acculturation expectations were incompatible for Tariq and Mohammed but Tariq's acculturation preferences were also incompatible with the ethnic group.

Sam & Berry (2010) suggest that matching behaviour to contextual expectations is less challenging. Adaptable teenagers may only need to change their behaviour between contexts if expectations match. This study supports and illuminates Sam & Berry's (2010) theory that it may be more challenging and stressful for individuals if they feel pressure to alter their beliefs where contextual expectations are mismatched. For BMs this may mean putting aside their religious beliefs to fit a situation. This study shows that religion is central for the identity of BMs. It may be anxiety provoking for BMs to put their religious

beliefs aside because of serious negative beliefs underlying the meaning of not being a Muslim.

14.3. Research Question 3: What are pupil perceptions about how school helps and hinders the process of reconciling dual identities?

The themes *the influence of others* and *schools' role in supporting dual identities* answer this question. Generally, pupils who had stable integrated identities were popular with dominant peers[67] [68] in school and had positive relationships with teachers[69] [70].

14.3.1. Prejudice and discrimination in school

Although most teenagers had dominant peer friendships, almost all participants perceived differing degrees of peer prejudice. Prejudice and discrimination by host peers and teachers seemed to derive from a lack of knowledge and understanding about Muslim culture leading to incorrect assumptions being made. Tariq perceives being offered a ham sandwich "as a joke". Pork is prohibited in the Muslim diet which suggests that offering pork to Muslims could cause offence. Tariq believes that "most of them understand what they're doing". It could be suggested that dominant group peers may understand that pork is forbidden but not the importance that Muslims adhere to their religion. Similarly, other participants gave examples of offensive peer behaviour which was understood to be caused by a lack of knowledge[75].

Three pupils perceived that dominant group teachers lacked knowledge about Muslim culture which led teachers to make incorrect assumptions about their culture. Pupils believed that teachers made poorly informed assumptions based on what teachers had read[71] or experienced with individual pupils. Hanifa for example, perceives her ethnic peers to be aggressive and indifferent about school. This has led to in-group teacher preferential treatment for dominant host pupils.

> *Hanifa: I think the white people get away with a lot more. Like they can say things in lesson that can be slightly racist. A couple of lessons ago ..this guy shouted out the N word. The English teacher was like "you shout that out again, you'll get detention" but I think if I was to shout that out I would get into a lot more trouble than him.*

Two participants reported racism from dominant group peers and teachers. These pupils' attributed discrimination to interpretations of their religion as terrorism. Interestingly, both of these pupils attend School B which is less ethnically diverse. Both pupils believe that peers discriminate against them because of their ethnicity[72] [73] and this has led to concerns[72] and actual difficulties in making friends[74]. In Mohammed's account, his behaviour is negatively interpreted by dominant host peers "because of terrorism" and his peers are "racist" towards him[76]. Mohammed's angry reaction to racism is perceived to be pathology by him[50]. Mohammed believes that he has no control over his anger and the consequences once his anger is ignited[78]. Similar perceptions about Muslims and terrorism underlie teacher discrimination for Maryam in school[78].

Pupils who mentioned less than positive relationships with native teachers also experienced peer discrimination.

14.3.2. How can school support managing dual identities?

Multicultural education to increase tolerance and empathy and reduce discrimination

Most pupils believed that it would be beneficial to increase the amount of education about Islam in schools for dominant outgroup peers although a few pupils felt that this may benefit teachers too. Pupils believed that raising awareness would increase understanding about pupils' cultures and that this would lead to tolerance about the Muslim lifestyle and reduce discrimination. This is illustrated by Hanifa and echoed by others[79-84]. Hanifa explains that pupils may stop making erroneous assumptions and be less verbally abusive. Hanifa's statement suggests that host pupils are basing their beliefs on unreliable sources because they do not learn much about Islam in school.

> *Hanifa: I think that we should learn about that [Islam] more cos people will stop making assumptions about and making harsh comments and they'll understand. Like if they understand more they'll probably not be so harsh towards us and stuff. But it's because we don't learn about them they sort of go on what they've heard or what they think they know*

A minority of pupils believed that teachers need to have greater awareness about pupils' cultures[71]. Parveen suggests that teachers could be "nicer..more friendly" and "understand them a bit more". Parveen explains that teachers could increase their understanding of minority children by "get[ting] to know them, ask them questions about what it's like in their culture.."

The role of teachers in supporting children negotiating dual

identities

Some pupils at School A suggested that they benefited from having minority staff members as role models in their school[85 86]. Pupils believed that minority staff members had a deeper understanding about minority pupils because they shared their culture.

> *Parveen: They're the same religion so they kind of understand you more. Sometimes they speak our language. Mostly they speak English but I think it's good that we have a range of teachers...*

Most pupils suggested that teachers could offer guidance and support to minority children to help them settle into school[87 89 92]. Suggestions included teaching children language skills[89 90], knowledge about cultural practices so that they could adapt to contexts[87 91] and support in developing friendships so that pupils became integrated in school[88 93].

14.3.3.   Summary for Research Question 3

Most participants reported differing degrees of peer prejudice and a minority reported teacher prejudice. Perceptions ranged from a lack of knowledge about Islam to racism. Pupils reporting negative relationships with teachers also reported negative peer relationships. It could be speculated, in line with Thijs & Verkuyten (2014) that positive teacher-pupil relationships leads to positive

intergroup relationships in school. These results may potentially support Thijs & Verkuyten's (2014) argument about positive teacher–pupil relationships leading to reduced intergroup conflict for children attending schools. This is an area that may merit further research as there is not strong evidence to suggest a relationship.

Most pupils believed that increased knowledge about Islam in school would lead to increased peer understanding and tolerance about their culture and reduce discrimination. Thijs & Verkuyten (2011; 2014) argue that multicultural education may raise knowledge about other cultures leading to increased tolerance and reduced discrimination. These findings support Thijs & Verkuyten's (2011; 2014) assertions about the importance of multicultural education in reducing intergroup conflict. This may lead to reduced pressures on teenagers from negative peer reactions and pressure to conform to their peers (Cline & Abreu, 2005).

Some pupils believed that host group teachers could benefit from increasing their knowledge about their culture due to incorrect beliefs which may lead to in-group pupil preference by teachers. It could be argued that teachers may benefit from understanding that RI is central to BMs' identity. Previous research by Hewett (2015) suggests that when teachers make erroneous assumptions, pupils may feel protective about their cultures. Personal construct psychology (PCP) may explain why pupils could become protective about their cultures. In PCP, core beliefs lie at the heart of individuals' identity (Butler & Green, 2007). Butler & Green (2007) suggest that if individuals are confronted with experiences that challenge their core beliefs, individuals may respond by defending their beliefs. RI is at the core of BM identity and therefore it may be useful for teachers to consider how their behaviour may challenge RI.

Pupils suggested that minority children could be supported in managing dual identities through providing ethnic teaching staff as role models. This may be important. This study has shown that some pupils may feel isolated due to a lack of shared understanding by their peers and family. Furthermore, this study found that strong beliefs about being Muslim may create negative emotional effects for those negotiating dual identities. Rich & Schachter (2005) found that teenagers explore their identities when teachers are perceived to be role

models. In relation to Rich & Schachter's (2005) findings it could be suggested that when expectations are mismatched between home and school, teachers may act as role models to support pupils in negotiating conflicting identities.

Pupils suggested that guidance and support could be offered to children to learn skills and to help them to settle in school. Teaching pupils appropriate skills in school may be important in light of the findings that pupils who successfully negotiated their identities were also the most adaptable in both contexts. LaFromboise et al. (1992) suggest that pupils who are able to perceive the differing expectations of contexts are able to match their behaviours and successfully navigate the contexts which were also found in this study.

14.4.   Limitations and future directions for research

A limitation to the study was that it did not explore whether teenagers were exploring and committing to their identity as proposed by Phinney (1990). Phinney's (1990) model is a developmental model which may suggest that longitudinal research is more suitable in exploring these concepts. Teenagers in this study are still in the process of identity development and it may be difficult for them to reflect about the identity process. This is evident as some pupils struggled to answer questions about identity exploration.

The sample size means that the findings are limited to the participants in the study and the results should not be generalised. This study illuminates the trends found in large scale studies such as Ghuman (2003), Berry et al. (2006) and Kunst & Sam (2013). Pupils volunteered to take part in the study which may suggest a lack of representativeness in the sample because individuals with positive EI or those who have an interest in the study are more likely to participate. Teenagers who had non-integrated identities or negative EIs did not participate in this study which may have affected the results. Recruitment of a wider range of pupils could be attempted through getting to know pupils over a longer period of time, an approach Bhatti (1999) used. This may lead to a more balanced sample.

Pupils were interviewed at school about issues in school. This may have affected pupils' responses. It would be interesting to investigate whether

interviewing at a neutral place would make a difference to pupils' responses. School A and B have different size ethnic populations. This study acknowledged but did not explore the impact that school ethnic density had on acculturating pupils. Verkuyten & Thijs (2013) suggest that ethnically diverse schools may be more multicultural. It would be valuable to replicate this study at other schools with similar ethnic compositions as School B.

Berry et al. (2006) suggest that length of residence affects acculturation. This study used second and third generation BMs. It may be useful to explore whether generation of migration affects negotiation of dual identities.

14.5. Conclusions

Consistent with previous research, the current study showed that teenagers had integrated identities and religion is at the core of their identity. Some participants changed their identity according to context. The family and ethnic community were found to have a greater influence on identity than school. Acculturation strategies may be attempts by individuals to match the expectations of the environment. Ease of negotiation seemed to be dependent on the 'goodness of fit' of acculturation strategies to the expectations of contexts. This study found that teenagers with stable integrated identities also experienced similar expectations across contexts and there was a lack of pressure. The meaning of being Muslim for some teenagers had strong implications and it is important that this is recognised. Most participants suggested that school may support them through multicultural education so that there would be more tolerance and understanding thereby reducing discrimination. Further, pupils suggested that teachers could offer support and guidance to integrate into school.

14.6. Implications for educational psychology

This study is important for educational psychology because it makes a unique and original contribution. There is little research about BMs in school. In addition there has not been a study exploring BMs' experiences in negotiating their identities in school. BM teenagers are managing their identities against a backdrop of widespread discrimination, negative media portrayal and government policies which may send out a message that BMs need to be

"manage[d]" (Alexander, Redclift & Hussain, 2013, p.3). The BM population is one of the largest minority groups in the UK. EPs will inevitably encounter BMs in schools.

EPs need to have an understanding of the complex psychosocial issues affecting BMs to make effective assessments, formulations and interventions at all three levels of service delivery. The current study may provide insight for EPs by highlighting the complex interrelated challenges as well as typical developmental tasks faced by BMs. EPs should be aware that school difficulties for BMs may be due to difficulties in managing two identities because of incompatible values at home and at school. At an individual level, EPs are skilled at eliciting children's views neutrally and enable BMs to be heard. EPs could support home and school to work together to alter incompatible expectations and reduce pressure for pupils.

EPs may also support schools to meet the needs of individual pupils through consultation, policy development and training to explore ways in which schools may provide environments conducive to pupils feeling comfortable about their EI. Examples of these approaches may be BM pupil councils to inform staff about how BM needs may be met; multicultural curriculums to raise awareness about cultural diversity and reduce discrimination; staff role models and guidance and support to develop pupil skills to successfully negotiate two different identities.

At a strategic level, EPs could work with multi-agencies to develop authority-wide policies, training and social inclusion initiatives to support the inclusion of BMs in schools and communities. With the emergence of the *Prevent Duty* (Department for Education, DfE, June 2015), it is important that adaptation difficulties for BMs in school are understood and located within contexts that BMs operate. This would enable effective change to support BMs feeling accepted at school.

15. <u>References</u>

Alexander, C., Redclift, V. & Hussain, A. (2013). Introduction: The new Muslims. In C. Alexander, V. Redclift & A. Hussain (Eds.), *Runnymede Perspectives: The new Muslims (*pp. 3-4)*. London: Runnymede.

Berry, J.W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation and adaptation. *Applied Psychology, 46*, 5-34.

Berry, J.W. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 29,* 697-712.

Berry, J.W. (2009). A critique of critical acculturation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 33,* 361-371.

Berry, J.W., Phinney, J.S., Sam, D.L. & Vedder, P. (2006). Immigrant youth: Acculturation, identity and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review, 55* (3), 303-332.

Bhatti, G. (1999). *Asian children at home and school: An ethnographic study*. London and New York: Routledge.

Butler, R. J. & Green, D. (2007). *The child within: Taking the young person's perspective by applying personal construct psychology. (2nd Ed.).* Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Cline, T. and Abreu, de G. (2005). Minority ethnic pupils in mainly white schools: What it means to be "bilingual". In Cohen, J., McAlister, K.T., Rolstad, K. & MacSwan, J. (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 4th international symposium on bilingualism* (pp. 542-551). Massachusetts: Cascadilla Press.

Department for Education (DfE) (2015). *The Prevent duty: Departmental advice for schools and childcare providers.* London: DfE. June 2015.

Faircloth, B.S. (2012). "Wearing a mask" vs. connecting identity with learning. *Contemporary Educational Psychology, 37*, 186-194.

Ghuman, P.A.S. (1991a). Best or worst of two worlds? A study of Asian adolescents. *Educational Research, 33* (2), 121-132.

Ghuman, P.A.S. (1991b). A qualitative study of Asian adolescents*. Journal of Multilingual and Multi-cultural Development, 12* (5), 327-346.

Ghuman, P.A.S. (1998). Ethnic identity and acculturation of South Asian adolescents: A British perspective. *International Journal of Adolescence & Youth, 7,* 227-247.

Ghuman, P.A.S. (2003). *Double loyalties: South Asian adolescents in the West.* Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Hedegaard, M. (2005). Strategies for dealing with conflicts in value positions between home and school: Influences on ethnic minority students' development of motives and identity. *Culture and Psychology, 11 (2),* 187-205.

Hewett, R. (2015). 'Their whole community might be watching them': Teacher and pupil constructions of Muslim girls' aspirations and the role of their families and the community. *Educational and Child Psychology, 32 (2)*, 67-76.

Jacobson, J. (1997). Religion and ethnicity: Dual and alternative sources of identity among young British Pakistanis. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 20* (2), 238-256.

Kunst, J.R. & Sam, D.L. (2013). Relationship between perceived acculturation expectations and Muslim minority youth's acculturation and adaptation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 37,* 477-490.

LaFromboise, T., Coleman, H.L.K. & Gerton, J. (1993). Psychological impact of biculturalism: Evidence and theory. *Psychological Bulletin, 114 (3)*, 395-412.

Lysne, M. & Levy, G.D. (1997). Differences in ethnic identity and Native American adolescents as a function of school context. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 12 (3),* 372-388.

Modood, T., Beishon, S. & Virdee, S. (1994). *Changing ethnic identities*. London: Policy Studies Institute.

Phinney, J.S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin, 108* (3), 499-514.

Phinney, J.S. & Rosenthal, D.A. (1992). Ethnic identity in adolescence: Process, context and outcome. In G.R. Adams, T.P. Gullotta & R. Montemayor (Eds.), *Adolescent identity formation: Advances in adolescent development, Volume 4* (pp. 145-172). California: Sage.

Prokopiou, E. & Cline, T. (2010). Constructing cultural and academic identities in community schools: A socio-cultural and dialogical approach. In V. Lytra & P.W. Martin (Eds.), *Sites of multilingualism: Contemporary schools in Britain today* (pp. 71-84). Stoke- on- Trent: Trentham.

Reid, K. Flowers, P. & Larkin, M. (2005). Exploring lived experience. *The Psychologist, 18 (1)*, 20-23.

Rich, Y. & Schachter, E.P. (2012). High school identity climate and student identity development. *Contemporary Educational Psychology, 37*, 218-228.

Rumbaut, R.G. (2005). Children of immigrants and their achievement: The roles of family, acculturation, social class, gender, ethnicity and school context. In   R.D. Taylor (Ed.), *Addressing the achievement gap: Theory informing practice.* (pp. 23-59). North Carolina: Information Age Publishing Inc.

Ryder, A.D., Alden, L.E. Palhus, D.L. & Dere, J. (2013). Does acculturation predict interpersonal adjustment? It depends on who you talk to. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 37*, 502-506.

Sabatier, C. (2008). Ethnic and national identity among second generation immigration adolescents in France: The role of social context and family. *Journal of Adolescence, 31,* 185-205.

Saeed, Blain, N. & Forbes, D. (1999). New ethnic and national questions in Scotland: Post British identities among Glasgow Pakistani teenagers. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 22 (5)*, 821-844.

Sam, D.L. & Berry, J.W. (2010). Acculturation: When individuals and groups of different cultural backgrounds meet. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 5* (4), 472-481.

Schachter, E.P. (2005). Context and identity formation: A theoretical analysis and a case study. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *20* (3), 375-395.

Smith, J.A., Flowers, P. & Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative phenomenological analysis: Theory, method and research.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

The British Psychological Society (BPS) (2010). *Code of human research ethics.* Leicester: The BPS.

Thijs, J., & Verkuyten, M. (2011). Ingroup bias in the classroom: The role of co-ethnic and other-ethnic peers and multiculturalism. *Anales de Psychologia, 27*, 662–669.

Thijs, J. & Verkuyten, M. (2014). Annual review: School ethnic diversity and students' interethnic relations. *British Journal of Educational Psychology, 84,* 1-21.

Verkuyten, M. & Thijs, J. (2013). Multicultural education and inter-ethnic attitudes: An intergroup perspective. *European Psychologist, 18* (3), 179-190.

Willig, C. (2008). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology: Adventures in theory and method. (2nd Ed.).* Berkshire: Open University Press.

Yardley, L. (2000). Dilemmas in qualitative health research. *Psychology and Health*, 15 (2), 215-228.

Part Three: Major research critical appraisal

16. Development of the research and researcher

16.1. Inception of the research topic

The research idea developed from a university lecture which led to reflections about my personal and professional experiences. In a previous role, I worked with British Muslim (BM) teenagers in a predominantly white school. These teenagers discussed their difficulties about living in two cultures with me. I also reflected on my experiences coming from a Chinese heritage and being raised in Britain. My perceptions of integrating British and Chinese identities had not been difficult. When I came to select a research topic, there was extensive media coverage of BMs travelling to Syria to join 'ISIS' and other fundamentalist causes. The media's questioning about why BMs had chosen to commit atrocities against the UK generated curiosity about the influences on identity formation for minority groups living in two cultures.

Refining the research ideas

A few articles were important in refining my research idea. Berry's (2005) paper about the acculturation process led to an understanding of how individuals' acculturation styles are a product of the value of the heritage culture and the desire to engage with the national culture. Kunst & Sam's (2013) paper proposed the overriding importance of the peer group for BMs' acculturation styles. Tajfel & Turner (1979) discuss strategies that minority groups may adopt if the dominant majority group has negative perceptions towards the minority group. Tajfel & Turner (1979) go on to suggest that individuals need to develop a positive personal identity from their group identity. Individuals from groups which are distinctive cannot pass for members of the majority group. This leads to strategies to protect their identity which is to reject their own group or challenge the majority group. The possible strategies for racially distinct groups interested me. I decided to choose a racially distinct sample which could not pass for white British. This decision was informed by Leondari's (2001) acculturation study of ethnic Greeks from Albania and the Soviet Union. Leondari (2001) found no differences in adaptation for these teenagers who had returned to live in Greece. Leondari (2001) admits that adaptability may be affected by a lack of ethnic salience between participants. This confirmed my decision to use participants who are racially distinct.

Discussing research ideas with other organisations

The literature review underpinning this work identified more avenues for study rather than narrowing the scope. A meeting with the Multicultural Development Team (MDT) was instrumental in developing my research topic. MDT staff confirmed difficulties of identity development for some BMs in school and that schools lacked knowledge on how to support BMs. Discussions with the MDT helped to identify participants for the research, and recruitment strategies.

Choosing the research idea based on professional interests

Much acculturation research uses adult samples. I was particularly interested in adolescent identity formation. I was curious to understand how teenagers integrate a unified identity, in accordance with Erikson's (1968) theory, if they lived in two conflicting cultures. Exploration of electronic databases revealed research about ethnic identity (EI) development, composition of school population and the influence of these factors on how children identified themselves. Ghuman (2003) had produced a large scale study in the UK about British South Asian adolescents in schools. Examination of Ghuman's (2003) work revealed that the study did not investigate the role school played in shaping identity for BM teenagers. Furthermore, Ghuman's (2003) study looked at schools with predominantly ethnic populations. Research by Lysne & Levy (1997) revealed that school composition affects EI development. There appeared to be no research, however, on how school influences EI development for BM teenagers. Some authors (Cline & Abreu, 2005; Rumbaut, 2005) suggest that minority teenagers have the most contact with dominant host groups in school. I considered that it would be interesting and useful to explore the role of predominantly white schools for BMs managing two identities.

16.2.   Epistemological and ontological positions of the research

The chosen methodology was informed by the research questions. Acculturation literature revealed that some individuals reported no difficulties in integrating their identity whereas others struggled. There appeared to be a gap in existing research about the processes at play between group contact and the acculturation strategies adopted. This led to consideration of whether

negotiating two identities may be a subjective experience and that qualitative methodology may be appropriate. Individuals may have different experiences because they are interpreting events through the 'lens' of their values and beliefs.

Harper (2012) suggests that ontology relates to questions about what exists in the world for example, whether there is a reality or whether reality is constructed by individual experience. Epistemology is about how we go about gathering knowledge about the world. According to Robson (2002), there are three main epistemological approaches; positivism, critical realism and relativism. Harper (2012) suggests that these three epistemological approaches are on a continuum which relates to whether data directly mirrors reality (positivism) or is a version of reality because people construct their realities (relativism). Social constructionism (SC) is a type of relativism (Hammersley, 1992). SC epistemology was adopted for this research. The standpoint of SC is that individuals construct their realities from the social and cultural contexts which they live in. In SC, therefore, the same phenomenon can be described in different ways (Willig, 2008).

I wished to understand the experiences of adolescents managing their identities. Biggerstaff (2012) suggests that Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) is useful if one wants to study how people feel about issues, events and experience. As a Trainee Educational Psychologist (TEP) exploring and eliciting thoughts and feelings in order to understand behaviour is carried out in professional practice. IPA therefore appealed to me.

16.3.   Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

IPA is a qualitative research approach and examines how people make sense of life experiences (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). When individuals experience an event, they may reflect on it. These reflections give insight into how individuals ascribe meaning to events. Smith et al. (2009) suggest that IPA aims to engage with individual reflections. IPA is an idiographic and phenomenological approach. Phenomenology involves stepping outside of our experience and attending to the essence and texture of the experience. For this reason, IPA research tends to use small homogenous samples and explores

convergences and divergences between cases. IPA is idiographic because it examines each case individually in detail and explores experiences within contexts. Idiographic approaches contrast with nomothetic approaches. Smith et al. (2009) suggests that nomothetic approaches such as quantitative research examine data that is averaged across the group and research claims are made at the group level. IPA explores each phenomenon on a case by case basis.

Different to qualitative methods which seek to explain processes such as grounded theory (GT), IPA is exploratory and does not try to explain phenomena (Biggerstaff, 2012). IPA aims to better understand how individuals may experience and perceive the world. Researchers are therefore engaged in a double hermeneutic because researchers need to make sense of how individuals understand their experiences. IPA draws on the researcher's presuppositions and experiences to advance understanding of participants' experiences. Smith et al. (2009) suggest that researchers interpret participants' sense-making through putting themselves in participants' shoes, using theory, questioning and thinking about what participants have said. Smith et al. (2009) suggest that researchers put aside their previous knowledge and experiences when interpreting the data so that interpretations are based on what participants *say*.

Limitations of IPA

The ability to put aside researcher experiences so that these do not adulterate participant accounts has been debated. Willig (2008) argues that it is impossible to shut off researchers' experiences. Smith et al. (2009) clarify the importance of researchers' contribution to the data. Smith et al. (2009) suggest that the researcher needs to draw on his/her own experiences in order to advance understanding of participants' experience. Researchers' interpretations need to be rooted in the data and not in the researcher's lived experiences. Harper (2012) suggests that a criticism levelled at all qualitative research (and therefore IPA) is that it is subjective because it draws on the subjective experience of researchers. Howitt (2010) argues that lack of validity caused by subjectivity should not be an issue because other researchers can check the data to see if they would arrive at the same conclusions. Newton et al. (2012) recommend

that reflexive journals are kept to record bias and how this influences data interpretation. Researcher bias is minimised when researchers are aware of their assumptions during data collection, analysis and presentation.

Criticisms about subjective data relate to concepts about replicability. Johnson (1999) argues that replicability does not apply to qualitative research. Johnson (1999) suggests that replicability in quantitative research demonstrates trustworthiness of data. Trustworthiness in qualitative research can be shown by clear and systematic reporting of data collection and analysis so that readers can scrutinise methodology standards.

In IPA it is not possible to gain direct access to individual's worlds and it relies on what the participant tells the researcher and how it is understood by the researcher. Willig (2008) criticises IPA because it is dependent on individual descriptions of experience. Willig (2008) argues that it may be difficult for some research participants to reproduce accounts about their experiences because they may not be used to thinking or talking about experiences in the way that IPA demands. Harper (2012) suggests, however, that the researcher needs to go beyond the text to make individuals' accounts more meaningful. Individuals may not be aware of some of the influences that affect their experiences. Researchers should draw on their experiences to make the connections in the text.

16.4.   Alternative research methods considered during research

Grounded theory (GT) was considered as an alternative to IPA. According to Biggerstaff, 2012) GT is an inductive approach which seeks to generate a new theory from data. GT provides one overarching framework which explains the phenomena studied (Biggerstaff, 2012). Researchers need to approach the research with an open mind. Research questions should emerge from the data and not from existing theory. Unlike IPA, the stages of data collection and data analysis are merged (Biggerstaff, 2012).

GT shares some similarities with IPA (Willig, 2008). Both GT and IPA identify categories from a descriptive level, moving onto a more analytical level which is interpretative. Both methods share a process in moving between similarities and differences between categories and also using reflective diaries. Willig (2008)

suggests that GT may be more appropriate for investigating social processes rather than psychological phenomenon. According to Biggerstaff (2012), GT may not capture nuanced descriptions about experiences. IPA on the other hand, explores the quality and texture of lived experience (Smith et al. 2009) which was the aim of the current research.

GT suggests that the topic of enquiry emerges from the data and is not pre - determined by existing research. The existing research on minority identity development seemed robust and I wanted to understand the nuanced detail of individuals' experiences in negotiating dual identities. Details about people's experiences seemed to be missing from acculturation research. I believed that a study using IPA may be complementary to existing research. Findings from the current study may illuminate findings in existing research.

16.5. Method design

Participants

I chose to use second generation participants, partly to avoid using an interpreter. I felt that it may be difficult to access an interpreter and the use of IPA may be compromised by the reliability of translation. I would not, therefore, directly interpret participants' experiences but, instead, the translator's version of participant experience. The MDT believed that I would struggle to gather a sample if I recruited only second generation pupils because parents were often born, raised in the UK and returned to Pakistan to marry. I decided that the sample would include participants living in the UK for a minimum of five years. Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder (2006) found that acculturation strategies are established within this time. By using a sample living in the UK for longer than five years, individuals may have sufficient functional language skills (Cummins, 1984). Length of residence facilitated recruitment because the sample consisted of second and third generation. It is unknown whether acculturation may be different for these generations. It could be speculated that there may be a difference because Bhatti (1999) & Ghuman (2003) suggest that there are differences in acculturation for first and second generation individuals.

Teenagers who were 14 -16 years old were chosen. Phinney (1990) found in a review of research that this is the age that half of teenagers are beginning to

explore their EI. Older teenagers who may have reached identity achievement may be more able to articulate identity exploration and the role of school. This sample, however, would be reporting retrospective experiences. Loftus & Pickerell (1995) suggest that memories of past events can be altered. Retrospective accounts may therefore be affected by memory.

The MDT had recommended four schools which had high populations of BMs. I chose to use two out of the four schools as advised by the MDT due to concerns about recruitment difficulties. In hindsight, it may have been better to use one school because both schools differed in ethnic diversity and possibly in multiculturalism (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). These two schools had similarities because they are both predominantly white schools and they have similar standards and ethos. Schools were also drawn from a pool of schools recommended by the MDT. Sample homogeneity may have been affected by differences in ethnic diversity and the numbers of BMs in both schools which may affect validity of the results. I was aware however, that differences within the sample may affect the data and have highlighted these differences in the results.

Questionnaire survey and semi-structured interviews

The majority of acculturation research seemed to employ checklists. Cline & Abreu (2005) suggest that minority children may feel uncomfortable about being asked about EI. I considered that individual semi-structured interviews may be the most sensitive way to explore teenagers' experiences. I wrote an interview schedule based on interview topics used in Ghuman's (2003) study and Phinney & Tarver's (1988) questions. The self-characterisation task was based on personal construct psychology (PCP, Burnham, 2008) and was designed to gain information about how teenagers self-identified. A questionnaire was written to capture information about the participants such as generational status, socio-economic status and time they had lived in the UK because these are factors that can influence acculturation (Berry et al., 2006). Both questionnaire and interview were piloted with two Pakistani adults to ensure that questions were clear and culturally sensitive. The feedback was invaluable. The adults gave insights into how some questions could be interpreted and that pupils may feel shy about talking about their culture. Questions were then

rephrased so that they seemed less direct. This led to fewer changes to the interview schedule following the pilot interview (Appendix 10) so the pilot data could be used.

16.6. Difficulties encountered during the research process

Impact of the media on feelings about the research

During the inception, development and implementation of the research, there was much negative media coverage about Muslims. Much of this media coverage was about de-radicalisation of British schools, the 'Charlie Hebdo'[6] incident and British pupils travelling to Syria to join ISIS. Concerns about the research were expressed by the educational psychology service (EPS) where I was on placement following the 'Charlie Hebdo' affair. I reassured concerned individuals that the research was not related to fundamentalism and simply explored how teenagers managed their dual identities in school. Although I had read about the media's influence on people's perceptions, I did not consider how this may lead to people misconstruing my research. This research has led me to become aware of media effects on people's thinking and reactions towards topics in the media. As EPs we need to be aware of what is going on in the media and reflect on how it influences our and others' perceptions so that erroneous misconceptions based on the media can be challenged.

Due to misconstructions by people about the purpose of my research, this led to anxieties about gaining permission from the local authority (LA), schools and parents. I considered whether the research topic may be too sensitive at that time. At one point, it was suggested that another sample should be considered due to suspected parental concerns about the purpose of my research. Fortunately, the university did not consider the sample to be an issue.

Anxieties created by the media led to my concerns about gaining ethical approval for the research. Consequently I thought about the ethical considerations very carefully. I discussed with my research supervisor and a colleague at the EPS about how to ethically recruit participants using a bilingual staff member which had been recommended by the MDT. Care with the

---

[6] The 'Charlie Hebdo' incident refers to terrorist attacks by Muslims in Paris on 7 January 2015 when journalists who worked at the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo were killed.

research and ethics proposal meant that concerns about ethical approval were not realised.

Potential difficulties with recruitment

I initially approached two out of the four schools recommended by the MDT which had the largest populations of BM pupils. Both schools agreed to take part. It was requested that bilingual staff support recruitment by explaining the research to parents. Consequently, one school withdrew. I then explored the two other schools recommended by the MDT. One school was an academy and the other school was, according to MDT, perceived by the BM community to be an aspirational school. The academy had a smaller proportion of Pakistani pupils compared to the other participating school (School A). I considered whether to use one school or two schools which were different. I discussed both schools with the EPS who suggested that the academy may be similar in population size to the school who had agreed to participate. I decided to use two schools because they were both recommended by the MDT.

The staff member at the MDT had shared that the Pakistani community in that LA do not engage with individuals outside of their community. It may therefore have been a struggle to recruit participants without help from individuals within the community. During my meetings with schools, I was unable to gain support from bilingual teaching assistants. One school did not have bilingual teachers. The other school did not want to involve the bilingual teaching assistant in my research. The school was happy that the research was conducted but insisted that the research was seen to be commissioned by the university and the LA. The knowledge I had that the BM community tend to mistrust outsiders and may not consent to my research led to anxieties about the potential difficulty in gaining research participants. Fortunately, the difficulties in gaining informed parental consent and participants were not realised.

Increasing the pool of participants

Due to the schools being unable to support recruitment with bilingual staff, I considered widening the participant pool to increase participation. Originally the participant inclusion criteria were Mirpuri Pakistani. The MDT had recommended working with Mirpuri teenagers. I looked at the schools'

demographic data and realised that if the sample included participants from Pakistan and not just Mirpur, this would triple the participant pool. I reflected from conversations with the MDT that Mirpur is a poor, rural region in Pakistan and that teenagers whose families originated from Mirpur were creating concerns for schools due to difficulties in adaption and academic underachievement. The MDT may have recommended this group due to perceptions of the TEP as one interested in problems. The inclusion of participants originating from outside of Mirpur seemed more balanced because this would include individuals from different socio-economic backgrounds. In hindsight, increasing the pool of participants was important to ensure a large enough sample.

16.7. Ethical concerns that arose during the process

Literacy levels of parents and informed consent

No bilingual staff explained the research to parents therefore parents with poor literacy skills may not have understood the research and given consent. Parental letters were written in English and Urdu. Urdu is the national language and is the written form of the language. The MDT had informed me that some parents may not be able to read Urdu. Children of parents who cannot read Urdu may have been unable to take part because their parents may not have been able to read the letters. The schools would not allow me to contact parents directly due to confidentiality. The MDT suggested that parents discussed important matters at the mosque with members of the community. It is possible that permission letters were discussed at mosque which may have enabled informed consent.

Participant anonymity

Participant anonymity in schools had been approved by the university's ethics committee. I had stated in the research and ethics proposal that participants would be anonymous. During meetings with both schools to discuss the research process, deputy head teachers wanted to know which pupils would be taking part in the research for safeguarding reasons.

I felt that I was in a very difficult position because ethical procedures could be infringed by schools' awareness of pupil identities. On the other hand, I was concerned that both schools may withdraw if their requests were refused. After speaking to my research supervisor and the research director, an addition was made on parental consent letters (Appendix 3 & 4) and participant information (Appendix 6) that deputy head teachers would be aware of participation. These documents then had to be submitted to the ethics committee to be approved. Fortunately, the letters were approved swiftly by the ethics committee and did not lead to further delays. This resolved an issue and prevented schools from withdrawing. I considered that schools may have wanted knowledge of the identity of participants due to safeguarding which may implicate me as a researcher. This made me realise that the ethics committee were there to protect everybody involved in the research process including me rather than create barriers.

Schools arranged pupil interviews so pupils may have felt that they had to take part due to school staff being perceived as authority figures. I tried to ensure voluntary participation by asking pupils if they wanted to take part and gaining written permission. It was discussed with schools that subject teachers were not told about the research and pupils' participation remained confidential.

16.8. Feelings about the research and outcomes

Piloting the interview

During the pilot interview, I realised that I had preconceptions about how teenagers may be negotiating their identities. I realised that I had expectations that teenagers would have different identities at home and school. These expectations were mirrored in some of the interview questions. These were adjusted following the pilot interview (see Appendix 10).

The quality of interviews and research data

Smith et al. (2009, p.58) suggest that good interviews are "essential" to IPA analysis. Smith et al. (2009) state that rich data is achieved when participants are given opportunities to talk freely and at length about their stories. Smith et al. (2009) recommend that interviewers need to build rapport with participants,

to make them feel comfortable, to develop trust and that the interviewer is interested in what they say so this encourages participants to talk at length. Smith et al. (2009) argue if rapport is not built then the data may be too thin for analysis.

I have 10 years of experience working with 14 – 16 years old teenagers. In a previous role, I was trained to use semi-structured interviews. I am able to develop rapport with teenagers very quickly and set the tone so that teenagers spent most of the time talking. I was confident at building rapport and engaging with teenagers quickly during interviews because I was able to draw on well-established skills. The ability to build rapport and put teenagers at ease was useful because all teenagers bar one seemed to be relaxed during the interview. Anxiety due to unfamiliarity with the researcher was not a factor in the majority of the interviews. Pupils seemed open and were able to expand on what they said. One pupil seemed less relaxed and this is reflected in the length of the interview and the detail of what was said. I recognised that this pupil was not relaxed and tried to put him at ease by engaging in small talk before the start of the interview and using humour during the interview.

Robson (2002) recommends that in good quality interviews, interviewers listen more than they speak, put questions across in a non-threatening way and cues are eliminated which lead to certain responses. Robson (2002) further suggests the use of open ended questions where there are no restrictions on content or manner to reply.

I am experienced in asking open-ended questions, summarising and paraphrasing what individuals had said to clarify meaning without making assumptions or leading participants to answer in a particular way. However, this was the first time that I had carried out semi-structured interviews in research. I initially had concerns whether the interview questions would gain data which answered the research questions. This may have led to interview questions not being open ended enough at the beginning of the interviewing process. I was able to reflect on this during and after interviews which may have led to questions asked becoming increasingly open ended with practice. The realisation of this and my increased confidence that the interview questions captured information for my research questions led me to ask more open ended

questions. I was aware that personal experiences may influence the data. Newton et al. (2012) suggests that it is good practice when researchers are aware of their biases and to do something to minimise researcher bias. I reduced researcher influence on data collection by acting as an active listener rather than participating in a two-way conversation.

Interview questions asked and influence this may have on results gained

Studies in the literature review highlighting the centrality of RI over EI for BMs tend to be qualitative studies (e.g. Modood et al., 1994; Jacobson, 1997; Saeed et al., 1999; Ghuman, 2003). Qualitative and quantitative studies are underpinned by different epistemologies. Carter & Little (2007) argue that epistemology informs methodology which in turn influences the methods employed in data collection, analysis and reporting. Epistemology influences researcher perspectives about the relationship between researcher – participant and the extent to which the data is perceived to come from participants or are co-created by researcher and participant (Carter & Little, 2007). It could be argued that the finding that RI is more important for BMs in qualitative studies is a product of differential epistemological positions in qualitative and quantitative studies. This means that differences in findings between studies may be a product of the way experience is constructed (Carter & Little, 2007), questions asked and how data is analysed.

It is possible that the questions asked in qualitative research about RI may lead to findings about RI. The interview schedule in the current study was based on Ghuman's (2003) interview topics. Questions specifically about religion may lead to participant responses suggesting that RI is central to identity. I was aware that questions asked needed to be open and not leading (Robson, 2002) and that certain questions may lead to certain answers. However, questions about religion and Pakistan were necessary. It was necessary to establish family values which included the role of religion (Appendix 9, Q1 – home) because these may influence acculturation in general (Phinney, 1990; Ghuman, 2003; Sabatier, 2008). It was also important to establish the extent to which school acknowledged cultures (Appendix 9, Q4, school and Q1 – school and home questions). Cline et al. (2002) argue that school ethos towards ethnic diversity affects identity development. The extent to which school influenced

identity development was a research question. It was therefore necessary to ask these questions.

Conducting the interviews

By the time ethical approval had been gained I believed that I had a short time frame to carry out the research. This meant that interviews were carried out very close together. This did not affect the quality of the interviews because of my interviewing skills. In hindsight, it may have been useful to have time after each interview to listen and reflect on the interviews to improve interviewing skills. I was able to reflect about what was being said during interviews because of fluency in interviewing skills, thereby allowing capacity to process information. During transcription of the audio tapes, however, it was noted that there were places where I could have probed further before moving on.

Throughout the process I was aware that my personal experiences as an individual living in two cultures may influence data collection and data analysis. I took steps to ensure that my own lived experiences did not influence my interpretation of what pupils said. During the pilot interview, I realised that I had brought my own beliefs and expectations to the interview. This recognition led to the adoption of a credulous approach (Kelly, 1955) which is adopting a naïve curiosity during interviews. I was conscious not to make assumptions about what teenagers were saying. Questions were asked to clarify and check understanding. Smith et al. (2009) posit that during interviews, researchers are coming out of their research world and into participants' worlds. Researchers should be focussed on what participants are saying and shut out preconceptions, interpretations and ideas. Adoption of a credulous approach enabled me to explore how participants made sense of their experiences without it being coloured by interpretations rooted in my own experiences. Reflective notes were kept during transcription and data analysis. These were helpful in understanding individuals' experiences.

I attempted to reduce researcher influence during interviews by clarifying what pupils were saying by paraphrasing and summarising. Despite attempts to be rigorous through adopting a naïve position and not making any assumptions, it is possible that this may also have led to less open questions which may have

led to certain individual responses. This has led me to be aware that when conducting future semi-structured interviews in research that I refine my skills in clarifying individual responses to avoid leading questions.

The role of researcher's identity on the research

My membership of a minority group may have had a positive influence on recruitment and participants being open and honest about their experiences. Much research on EI is carried out by researchers who are the same ethnicity as participants. Difficulties in engaging minority groups in research are documented by Farooq & Abbas (2013). Farooq & Abbas (2013) suggest that minority groups may mistrust researchers and the purpose of the research.

Teenagers and their families may have felt that a researcher from an ethnic minority background may understand their experiences due to having common experiences. The deputy head teacher in one school informed me that some BM teenagers mistrusted the BM teaching assistant because of concerns that she would be reporting back to their parents. The fact that my ethnicity was different to participants may have been advantageous. Some teenagers in this study were curious about my background and asked about my own experience in school. My ethnicity being different from participants may have facilitated teenagers being open and honest. I did share personal experiences to break the ice as recommended by Farooq & Abbas (2013) to develop trust but not to influence any answers. Sharing personal experience was important in that participants felt comfortable about talking about EI which may be sensitive (Cline & Abreu, 2005).

As an individual who has lived experience in negotiating dual cultural identities and an interest in adolescent identity development, I found that I liked and admired the skills shown by participants in negotiating their identities. This could have potentially led me to become positively biased about participants' experiences. For this reason, I recognised that it was crucial that two independent auditors looked at a selection of the transcripts and the analysis so that any bias could be amended. Fortunately bias was not found by both auditors.

Data analysis

Initially, I perceived IPA to be very complex and was concerned about my ability to use IPA to produce good quality data. I felt intimidated by the interpretative aspect of the analysis. I initially found it difficult making interpretations that were rooted in the data rather than in my experiences. I spent a week carrying out data analysis for each case and checked that I could come up with the same interpretations. I also followed Smith et al.'s (2009) guidelines very closely. Smith et al. (2009, p. 79) suggest that analysis involves the development of a "dialogue" between the researcher, the data and psychological knowledge. Part of this process involves asking questions about the data and applying psychology to understand the data. Consequently, I utilised Constructionist Model of Informed, Reasoned Action (COMOIRA) (Rhydderch & Gameson, 2010) during the process to ensure that interpretations were generated by what participants had said rather than from the biases of my lived experiences.

COMOIRA is a flexible model developed to guide practitioners in their thinking in the process of change (see Rhydderch & Gameson (2010) for further uses of this model). COMOIRA is characterised by four core sets of principles and eight decision points. Two parts of the core, social constructionism and informed reasoned action (IRA), were especially useful during data analysis. During the interpretative aspect of the analysis, following Smith et al., (2009), I made interpretations based on questioning of participants' responses in the transcript and applying psychology to further understand what was being said. I checked that theoretical assumptions I made were rooted in psychological theory (IRA). These were made explicit in the data analysis (Appendix 14 – Step 2). To ensure that I was not using dominant theories throughout I used social constructionism and reflected that there may be other ways of thinking about the data and checked that interpretations were rooted in the data.

Berry's (2005) acculturation model was useful during data analysis. Research question (RQ) 1 explores whether BMs have maintained and/or rejected their heritage and/ or the host culture. Since Berry has developed a useful framework (see Table 1, p. 50) to understand acculturation styles, it seemed logical that this framework was used to analyse the data to answer RQ1. It was possible to

use Table 1 to code acculturation styles across contexts where participants discussed activities, beliefs or contact they had relating to either culture. The interview schedule was not based on Berry's (2005) model and therefore did not inform the answers I received. I was aware that many of the questions could be mapped onto Berry's and Phinney's[7] (1990) model. After writing the interview schedule, it was discussed in supervision whether the theories which underpinned my research could be mapped onto the data presented so that the relationship between existing research and my findings could be discussed. This does not mean that my findings were in any way shoehorned into theory. I used COMOIRA throughout data analysis to ensure my understanding of participants' responses was not dominated by certain theories.

My training as an educational psychologist helped with data analysis. I eventually found using theoretical knowledge and drawing on my experiences to interpret and enrich the data relatively straightforward. I have tried to be rigorous and transparent throughout the research process but I acknowledge the findings are based on my interpretations. Furthermore, this is the first time I have used IPA so there is scope in developing my technique.

Potential factors influencing participants' responses

The role of the media for participants and research findings

Negative media coverage about Muslims may have influenced the findings that participants had a positive EI and integrated acculturation style. Ghuman's (2003) research found that Muslim pupils tend to be more traditional. The current study found that pupils tended to be integrated and had positive EIs. It could be argued from a Social Identity Theory (SIT) perspective, that negative media representation may have influenced participants to challenge and reject the negative group image by developing a positive EI. In addition, it could be argued that participants may desire an integrated identity to create difference and distinctiveness from Muslim fundamentalists. It is possible, but unlikely, that participants' reports of integrated identities were due to perceptions of me being part of an out-group. Some of the interview questions appeared to repeat

---

[7]Refer to page 70 which discusses the difficulties of exploring BM identity development in this research using the Phinney (1990) model.

themselves at times so it would not have been possible for pupils to fabricate their stories sufficiently well when similar questions were asked later on.

Problems in thinking about identity

Willig's (2008) criticism that individuals may struggle to describe their experiences because they may have not thought about the phenomenon researched may apply here. Participants seemed to understand most of the questions. Difficulties by participants in explaining their experiences were evident when they were asked about experiences which made them think about their EI (Appendix 9, school and home question 3). Participants admitted that they had not thought about it or their answers suggested that they had misunderstood the question. It was considered that the question may be too abstract and may require a lot of reflection to be able to answer it. A solution may be that participants record their thoughts in a diary and are then interviewed (see Sugden, 2013). Pupils could have the option of sharing their diary with the researcher.

17. <u>Contribution of research to knowledge</u>

17.1. <u>Contribution of knowledge to educational psychology</u>

This research makes a unique and original contribution to educational psychology. This is the first research which has explored what it feels like for BMs to be managing two different cultural identities. Nuanced, detailed findings have been missing from acculturation research and this research has gone some way to fill this gap through exploring individual experiences. Acculturation research tends not to study contexts. This research has enabled the understanding of home and school influences on identity. Authors (La Fromboise et al., 1992; Hedegaard, 2005; Cline & Abreu, 2005) have theorised that BMs have split identities between home and school, but they have not studied what factors influence these split identities. This study has uncovered the role of matching home-school expectations on ease of adaptation which relates to the importance of religion to BMs.

Furthermore, this research is the first to examine the role of school for BMs' identity. The empirical study found that the family have an overriding influence

on BMs' identities. School also has a role. BMs may feel pressure due to the importance of their RIs and schools' lack of understanding about their culture. This research not only expands knowledge about acculturation in the field, it has practical utility for BM pupils too. This research looked to provide solutions in order to support children negotiating their identity in school by asking pupils what would help them. Pupil suggestions such as multicultural education, teacher role models and guidance and support may support pupil psychological adaptation. Some participants suggested teachers' beliefs about BMs were poorly informed. These beliefs may be shaped by the media (Ogan, Willnat, Pennington & Bashir, 2014; Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, Chryssochoou, Sam, & Phinney, 2012). The centrality of RI for BMs and media influence highlights the importance for EPs to be aware of these factors to enable schools to scrutinise their practice in order for schools to support pupils' RI.

17.2. Implications of research for professional practice

Employing cross-cultural perspectives in professional practice.

This research has highlighted the importance of a number of theoretical issues which should be taken into account for EP practice. Barn (2014) suggests that acculturation is not featured in educational psychology research and argues that Berry's (1997; 2005) framework is important for professional practice. The UK is increasingly multicultural (ONS, 2011) and so EPs are likely to work with minority groups. The current study found that acculturation strategies are pupils' attempts at fitting with the environment. EPs are well placed to assess the extent to which school ethos is harmonious with individuals' and family acculturation preferences using Berry's acculturation framework. Although the two hyphenated identities found in this research may generalise only to BMs, Burt & Oaksford (1999) suggest that the effectiveness of hypotheses based on research can be evaluated when applied to practice in real life.

This research has led to the awareness that psychological theory which is predominantly Western may not be applicable to non-Western cultures. Importantly, EPs need to be aware of the role of ethnicity on psychological functioning and should not apply dominant Western theories such as Marcia's (1966) to understand minority children. Adolescent identity development for

minority groups involves an extra dimension which is the incorporation of EI into an overarching identity (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). The incorporation of EI is missing from Marcia's theory. If EPs were to apply Marcia's theory in order to understand minority adolescents' identity development, they would gain part of a picture leading to ineffective interventions. EPs need to be aware of the cultural relevance of research and theory before applying it to minority groups.

Engaging with service users

In the current study, some participants appeared to be defensive when they were directly questioned about EI whereas others were open to discussing EI. This highlights that discussions about EI are sensitive. It may be unhelpful therefore for schools or EPs to try to support pupils' needs through direct questioning about EI. Schools may be able to support pupils through asking volunteers to form pupil councils to share their needs and offer information about how school may support them. It is important that EPs develop knowledge about minority groups before working with them so that service users feel understood and do not feel alienated. EPs may facilitate individual discussions about EIs by adopting a credulous approach (Kelly, 1955) and taking time to build trust before asking questions about EI.

Utility of research for service users

There are a number of empirical studies specifically in the UK and in Europe that suggest that there are wide-ranging negative consequences for adolescents who fail to adapt to the society they live in and are unable to reconcile their ethnic and national identities because of stress and the failure to develop skills to function successfully in the host environment (Atzaba-Poria & Pike, 2007; Belhadj Kouider, Koglin & Petermann, 2014). Negative consequences include social, emotional and behavioural difficulties (Atzaba-Poria & Pike, 2007, Belhadj Kouider et al., 2014), anxiety, self-harm and suicide (Ghuman, 2005; Belhadj Kouider et al., 2014), eating disorders and depression (Barrett, 2004). This highlights the importance of EPs working to support children with multiple identities and not just BMs because of their vulnerability. Participants in the current study suggested that BMs could be supported through multicultural education and teacher guidance and support. Phinney

(1990) argues that only positive EIs will be incorporated into an overarching identity. It is therefore imperative that a multicultural school ethos is adopted so that teenagers feel comfortable about their EI in school.

The current study found that RI is central to the identity of BM teenagers. Teenagers who were adaptable reported matching home and school expectations and a consequent lack of pressure. EPs may intervene by reducing pressure and harmonising expectations between home and school through their knowledge of systems theory. Dowling (1994) suggests that EPs may intervene through facilitating communication between home and school and reframing perceptions about children's behaviour and who is responsible for behaviour.

This research is important in supporting the needs of some vulnerable adolescents in an increasingly multicultural society. It is my intention to use this research to inform my practice as an EP working at individual, group and systemic levels. I hope to support schools' understanding of BMs to enable positive identity development; to work to develop shared understanding and joint work between home and school and to continue with research to develop the field. There is much scope for further research as indicated in Part Two of this study.

18. <u>References</u>

Atzaba-Poria, N. & Pike, A. (2007). Are ethnic minority adolescents at risk for problem behaviour? Acculturation and intergenerational discrepancies in early adolescence. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology, 25,* 527-541.

Barn, J. K. (2014). Acculturation preferences of primary school children of Muslim faith from different Arab ethnicities: An exploratory study. Cardiff University: Unpublished doctoral thesis.

Barrett, M. (2004). Interview with Paul A. Singh Ghuman: The wisdom of culture. *The Psychologist, 17 (8)*, 436-437.

Belhadj Kouider, E. Koglin, U. & Peterman, F. (2014). Emotional and behavioural problems in migrant children and adolescents in Europe: a systematic review. *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, 23,* 373-391.

Berry, J.W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation and adaptation. *Applied Psychology, 46*, 5-34.

Berry, J.W. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 29,* 697-712.

Berry, J.W., Phinney, J.S., Sam, D.L. & Vedder, P. (2006). Immigrant youth: Acculturation, identity and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review, 55* (3), 303–332.

Bhatti, G. (1999). *Asian children at home and school: An ethnographic study*. London and New York: Routledge.

Biggerstaff, D. (2012). Qualitative research methods in psychology. In G. Rossi (Ed.). Psychology: Selected Papers (pp. 176-203). Retrieved from Intech Open Science Open Minds website: *http://www.intechopen.com/books/psychology-selected-apers/qualitative-research-methods-in-psychology*

Burnham, S. (2008). *Let's talk: Using personal construct psychology to support children and young people.* London: Sage.

Burt, K. & Oaksford, M. (1999). Qualitative methods: Beyond beliefs and desires. *The Psychologist, 12*, 332-335.

Carter, S.M. & Little, M. (2007). Justifying knowledge, justifying method, taking action: Epistemologies, methodologies and methods in qualitative research. *Qualitative Health Research, 17* (10), 1316 – 1328.

Cline, T. and Abreu, de G. (2005). Minority ethnic pupils in mainly white schools: What it means to be "bilingual". In Cohen, J., McAlister, K.T., Rolstad, K. & MacSwan, J. (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 4th international symposium on bilingualism* (pp. 542-551). Massachusetts: Cascadilla Press.

Cline, T., Abreu, de G., Fihosy, C., Gray, H., Lambert, H. & Neale, J (2002) *Minority Ethnic Pupils in Mainly White Schools. Research Report RR365*. London: Department for Education and Skills.

Cummins, J. (1984). *Bilingualism and special education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Dowling, E. (1994). Theoretical framework: A joint systems approach to educational   problems with children. In E. Dowling & E. Osbourne (Eds.), *The family and the school: A joint systems approach to problems with children (2nd Ed.) (*pp. 1-29)*. London: Routledge.

Erikson, E.H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis.* New York: W.W Norton & Company Inc.

Farooq, R. & Abbas, I. (2013). No voice, no choice. *The Psychologist, 26 (9)*, 660-663.

Gameson, J. & Rhydderch, G. (2008). The Constructionist Model of Informed and Reasoned Action (COMOIRA) in B. Kelly, L. Woolfson & J. Boyle (Eds.). *Frameworks for Practice in Educational Psychology*. London: Jessica Kingsley.

Ghuman, P. A. S. (2003). *Double loyalties: South Asian adolescents in the West.* Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Ghuman, P. A. S. (2005). Daughters of tradition. *The Psychologist, 18 (10)*, 620-622.

Hammersley, M. (1992). *What's wrong with ethnography?* London: Routledge.

Harper, D. (2012). Choosing a qualitative research method. In D. Harper & A.R. Thompson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research Methods in Mental Health and Psychotherapy: A Guide for Students and Practitioners* (1st Ed.) (pp. 83-97). West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Hedegaard, M. (2005). Strategies for dealing with conflicts in value positions between home and school: Influences on ethnic minority students' development of motives and identity. *Culture and Psychology, 11 (2),* 187-205.

Howitt, D. (2010). Introduction to qualitative methods in psychology (2nd Ed.). Harlow; New York: Pearson.

Johnson, S. (1999). The 'horrors' of scientific research. *The Psychologist, 12* (4), 186-189.

Kelly, G. A. (1955). *The psychology of personal constructs. Volume 1: A theory of personality.* London: Routledge.

Kunst, J.R. & Sam, D.L. (2013). Relationship between perceived acculturation expectations and Muslim minority youth's acculturation and adaptation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 37,* 477-490.

LaFromboise, T., Coleman, H.L.K. & Gerton, J. (1993). Psychological impact of biculturalism: Evidence and theory. *Psychological Bulletin, 114* (3), 395-412.

Leondari, A. (2001). The impact of acculturation on immigrant children's self perceptions, feelings of loneliness and social status. *Educational and Child Psychology, 18* (4), 35-46.

Loftus, E.F. & Pickrell, J.E. (1995). The formation of false memories. *Psychiatric Annals, 25*, 720-725.

Lysne, M. & Levy, G.D. (1997). Differences in ethnic identity and Native American adolescents as a function of school context. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 12 (3),* 372-388.

Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego identity status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 3* (5), 551-558.

Newton, B.J., Rothlingova, Z., Gutteridge, R., LeMarchand, K. & Raphael, J.H. (2011). No room for reflexivity? Critical reflections following a systematic review of qualitative research. *Journal of Health Psychology, 17* (6), 866-885.

Office for National Statistics (ONS) (2011). *Ethnicity and National Identity in England and Wales 2011.* Retrieved from Office for National Statistics website: www.ons.gov.uk.

Ogan, C., Willnat, L., Pennington, R. & Bashir, M. (2014). The rise of anti – Muslim prejudice: Media and islamophobia in Europe and the United States. *The   International Communication Gazette, 76 (1)*, 27-46.

Phinney, J.S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin, 108* (3), 499-514.

Phinney, J.S. & Rosenthal, D.A. (1992). Ethnic identity in adolescence: Process, context and outcome. In G.R. Adams, T.P. Gullotta & R. Montemayor (Eds.), *Adolescent identity formation: Advances in adolescent development, Volume 4* (pp. 145-172). California: Sage.

Phinney, J.S. & Tarver, S. (1988). Ethnic identity search and commitment in black and white eighth graders. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 8 (3),* 265-277.

Rhydderch, G. and Gameson, J. (2010). Constructing a flexible model of integrated professional practice: Part 3, the model in practice. *Educational Psychology in Practice, 26(2)*, 123-149.

Robson, C. (2002). *Real world research: A resource for social scientists and Practitioner - researchers (2nd Ed.)*, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing.

Rumbaut, R.G. (2005). Children of immigrants and their achievement: The roles of family, acculturation, social class, gender, ethnicity and school context. In R.D. Taylor (Ed.), *Addressing the achievement gap: Theory informing practice* (pp. 23-59). North Carolina: Information Age Publishing Inc.

Sabatier, C. (2008). Ethnic and national identity among second generation immigration adolescents in France: The role of social context and family. *Journal of Adolescence, 31,* 185-205.

Smith, J.A., Flowers, P. & Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative phenomenological analysis: Theory, method and research.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Sugden, E. J. (2013). Looked-after children: What supports them to learn? *Educational Psychology in Practice, 29 (4)*, 367-382.

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W.G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The psychology of intergroup relations (*pp. 33-47). California: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.

Verkuyten, M. & Thijs, J. (2013). Multicultural education and inter-ethnic attitudes: An intergroup perspective. *European Psychologist, 18* (3), 179-190.

Willig, C. (2008). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology: Adventures in theory and method. (2nd Ed.).* Berkshire: Open University Press.

Appendix

Appendix 1: Gatekeeper letter to local authorities

School of Psychology Cardiff University

Tower Building, Park Place

Cardiff, CF10 3YG

02920 876707

To whom it may concern,

I am a Trainee Educational Psychologist at Cardiff University and on placement with the Educational Psychology Service (EPS) at ████████████████ Council. I would like to carry out a study to explore the multicultural identities that British-Muslim teenagers may have when attending predominantly White British schools. There is very little research to date about the experiences of British Muslim pupils in the UK. I am writing to inform you of the study and ask for permission from the Local Authority to conduct the research. I hope to carry out the research within two secondary schools in the Local Authority.

The purpose of my study is to find out how this group of teenagers negotiate a British and ethnic identity while attending school. I would like to run informal one-to-one interviews with ten Pakistani pupils in Years 10 and 11. Individual meetings with pupils should take 45 minutes. I will seek written permission from head teachers of participating schools and parents. Once head teachers and parents agree for their children to take part, I will then ask children if they would like to take part in an informal interview with me.

All the data collected will be anonymous, confidential and handled only by the researcher. The Local Authority, participating schools and pupils will not be named. Information that is collected that may identify individuals including tape recordings will be destroyed within three weeks after transcription. Original transcripts will be kept for up to five years before they are destroyed. I will conduct the research under supervision of Dr Jean Parry, Professional Tutor of the Doctor of Educational Psychology (DEdPsy) programme. Full ethical approval has been granted by Cardiff University School of Psychology Research Ethics Committee.

I would be very grateful if you would support me in conducting this study.

Yours sincerely,

Wai Kay Wong
Trainee Educational
Psychologist & Researcher,
School of Psychology,
Tower Building
Cardiff University
Park Place
Cardiff
CF10 3AT
Tel: 02920875393
wongw2@cardiff.ac.uk

Supervised by,
Dr Jean Parry
Professional tutor
School of Psychology,
Tower Building
Cardiff University
Park Place
Cardiff
CF10 3AT
02920875393
ParryJl@cardiff.ac.uk

In the case of complaints, please contact:

Psychology Ethics Committee Secretary

Cardiff University

Tower Building

Park Place

Cardiff

CF10 3AT

Tel: 029 20874007

Appendix 2 – Gatekeeper letter to head teachers

Dear

I am a Trainee Educational Psychologist in the School of Psychology, Cardiff University and on placement with the Educational Psychology Service (EPS) at ████████████████████████ Council. I am currently carrying out a study to explore the multicultural identities that British-Muslim teenagers may have when attending predominantly White British schools. There is very little research to date about the experiences of British Muslim pupils in the UK. I am writing to ask for permission to conduct one-to-one interviews with five Pakistani pupils in Years 10 and 11.

The purpose of my study is to find out how this group of teenagers negotiate a British and ethnic identity while attending school. I would like to run informal individual meetings with pupils which should take 45 minutes. The interviews will be audio-taped so that it can be word processed and analysed. I will seek written permission from parents. Once parents agree for their children to take part, I will then ask children if they would like to take part in an informal meeting with me and gain written consent from them.

All the data collected will be anonymous, confidential and handled only by me. Participating schools and pupils will not be named. Information that is collected that may identify individuals including tape recordings will be destroyed within three weeks after transcription. Original transcripts will be kept for up to five years before they are destroyed. The general findings of the study will be shared with colleagues within the university. This research may be useful for schools and educational psychologists in raising awareness in how to support the needs of these children. Although I will be unable to disclose information about individual pupils, I will be happy to share general findings of the study with you which may hopefully be informative and helpful in meeting the needs of pupils who are struggling to reconcile two conflicting identities.

Should participants have any complaints, they may contact the secretary of the Cardiff University School of Psychology Research Ethics Committee (02920 874007; psychethics@cf.ac.uk). If you require any further information, please do not hesitate to contact me through e-mail at wongw2@cardiff.ac.uk or phone me on 01952 385216.

I would be very grateful if you would support me in conducting this study.

Yours sincerely,

Wai Kay Wong   Supervised by,
Trainee Educational   Dr Jean Parry
Psychologist & Researcher,   Professional tutor
School of Psychology,   School of Psychology,
Tower Building   Tower Building
Cardiff University   Cardiff University
Park Place   Park Place
Cardiff   Cardiff
CF10 3AT   CF10 3AT
Tel: 02920875393   02920875393
wongw2@cardiff.ac.uk   ParryJI@cardiff.ac.uk

In the case of complaints, please contact:

Psychology Ethics Committee Secretary

Cardiff University

Tower Building

Park Place

Cardiff

CF10 3AT

Tel: 029 20874007

Appendix 3 – Letter to Parents

Address
Date

Dear Parent,

I am a student completing a doctorate in educational psychology at Cardiff University. As part of my doctorate I am carrying out a study on the experiences of teenagers who live in ███████ and they or their family are originally from a different country. The aim of the research is to understand how teenagers from a Pakistani background live with two cultures and their experiences in school.

I am writing to ask for permission for your child to take part in the study. I will be asking teenagers to take part at school who are Pakistani, have lived in the UK for over 5 years and attend the school. I will interview your child for 45 minutes in school asking about their experiences. The interviews will be audio-taped. What we talk about will be confidential and anonymous. This means that I will not let anyone listen to the tape or tell anyone what your child tells me except if your child tells me that they are or somebody they know is unsafe during the interview. I will destroy the tape once I have typed up the conversation onto my personal computer which is password protected. An assumed name will be used in the typed conversations and will be stored under this name so that it cannot be traced back to your child.

Only I will have access to the information about your child's conversation. This means that I will not be talking to teachers, any school staff or other professionals about what your child has told me except if your child tells me that they or another person is unsafe. Once you have given me permission, I will also ask your child if they want to take part. They can withdraw from the study at any time except for when the conversation has been made anonymous and cannot be traced back to anyone. If you give permission and your child agrees to take part, [Deputy head teacher] will be made aware that your child is taking part. Only [Deputy head teacher] will be aware that your child is taking part and no other details will be passed on by me. If you are interested, I can provide details about the main findings of the study but not about your individual child. Your help in this research may help schools to be able to understand and meet the needs of other children who are from different countries living in the UK. If you have any further questions, please contact me on 01952 385216 or e-mail wongw2@cardiff.ac.uk.

If you are willing for your child to take part please complete and sign the attached form, use the enclosed envelope and return to [_____] at your child's school.

Yours sincerely,

Wai Kay Wong   Supervised by,
Trainee Educational   Dr Jean Parry
Psychologist & Researcher,   Professional tutor
School of Psychology,   School of Psychology,
Tower Building   Tower Building
Cardiff University   Cardiff University
Park Place   Park Place
Cardiff   Cardiff
CF10 3AT   CF10 3AT
Tel: 02920875393   02920875393
wongw2@cardiff.ac.uk   ParryJI@cardiff.ac.uk

<u>Return slip to</u> _____ <u>(school bilingual staff)</u>

	Please tick
I have read the letter and understand what the study is about.	
I understand that my child will be interviewed and the interview will be audio-taped.	
The typed version of the conversation will be stored on to a password protected computer that only the researcher has access to.	
My child will be given an assumed name and this will be used on the typed version of the conversation.	
I can withdraw my child at any time without any reason. I understand that I cannot take my child out of the study when the conversation has been typed, assumed names have been used and the conversations have been put together with other typed up conversations. I understand that after this has happened, my child's original conversation cannot be traced back to him/her.	

I _____(name) agree for _____ (child) to take part in a study carried out by Wai Kay Wong, School of Psychology, Cardiff University

_____(signed)   _____(date)

محترم والدین

میں ایک نفسیاتی تعلیم کی، ڈاکٹریٹ کر رہی ہوں کارڈف یونیورسٹی میں۔ میں ایک ریسرچ تجربہ کر رہی ہوں جو بچے یا باہر کے ملک سے آئے ہیں۔ اس تجربے کا مقصد ہے کہ پاکستانی بچے دو مختلف کلچروں / حصوں کو اس سے کس طرح سمجھ رہے ہیں۔ میں آپ کی اجازت

چاہتی ہوں کہ آپ کے بچے اس تجربے میں حصہ لے، جو بچے میرپور، پاکستان سے یا پانچ سال سے زیادہ اس ملک میں رہائش پذیر ہیں۔ ان کا انٹرویو کروں گی۔ جس کا وقت 45 منٹ ہے۔ ان کے تجربے کے بارے میں۔ یہ انٹرویو ٹیپ ریکارڈ ہوگا اور پورا پرائیویٹ ہوگا کسی کو کچھ پتہ نہیں چلے گا۔ مگر آپ کا بچہ مشکلات کے دوران بتا پائے گا کہ وہ محفوظ ہے۔ سیلے کمپیوٹر

رہ جان کاری کے بعد جب کچھ ضائع کیا جائے گا۔ میں ڈالنے کے بعد۔ ان معلومات کا صرف مجھے پتہ ہوگا۔ آپ کی اجازت لینے کے بعد بچے سے پوچھوں گی کہ وہ اس تجربے میں حصہ لینا چاہتے ہیں کہ نہیں۔ اور اگر وہ نہیں لینا چاہتے تو کسی بھی وقت انکار کر سکتے ہیں۔ صرف اگر وہ بتا تے ہیں کہ وہ محفوظ نہیں ہیں۔

میں آپ کو اس مکمل تحقیقات کا نتیجہ بھیج سکتی ہوں۔ مگر آپ کے بچے کا نہیں۔ اس ریسرچ سے آپ کی مدد سے دوسرے سکولوں میں بھی مدد ملے گی۔ اگر آپ کو کسی سے کوئی سوال کرنا ہے تو اس نمبر پر فون کرکے پوچھ لیں۔ نمبر یہ ہے

Email: wongw2@cardiff.ac.uk   01952 385216

اگر آپ حصہ لینا چاہتے ہیں تو یہ فارم لے کر مکمل کرکے سکول بچے کے ساتھ بھیج دیں۔ بعد لغایہ استعمال کریں۔ شکریہ

تمہیں اجازت دوں اور آپ کے بچے حصہ لینے کے لئے اتفاق کرتے ہیں تو ، [ڈپٹی ہیڈ ٹیچر] آپ کے بچے حصہ لے رہا ہے اس بات سے آگاہ کر دیا جائے گا . صرف [ڈپٹی ہیڈ ٹیچر] آپ کے بچے حصہ لے رہا ہے اور کوئی دوسری تفصیلات میری طرف سے پر منظور کیا جائے گا کہ اس بات سے آگاہ ہو جائے گا .

اگر آپ بہ چہ کا آپ اگر کے لئے حصہ لینے کے لئے تیار ہیں, براہ مہربانی مکمل اور منسلک فارم پر دستخط اور _____ میں آپ کے بچے کے اسکول سے واپس ۔

تمہارا مخلص،

کی نگرانی Dr Jean Parry
پیشہ ورانہ ٹیوٹر
کارڈف یونیورسٹی
School of Psychology,
Tower Building
Cardiff University
Park Place
Cardiff
CF10 3AT
Tel: 02920875393
ParryJl@cardiff.ac.u

Wai Kay Wong
ٹرینی تعلیمی ماہر نفسیات
اور محقق
School of Psychology,
Tower Building
Cardiff University
Park Place
Cardiff
CF10 3AT
Tel: 02920875393
wongw2@cardiff.ac.uk

	Please tick ✔
میں خط پڑھ کر اسرچ بات کے بارے میں سمجھ گئی ہوں ۔	
میں سمجھ گئی ہوں کہ انٹرویو کو بورڈ ساری جھان کاری ضائع کردی جائے گی ۔ کمپیوٹر میں ڈال کر	
کمپیوٹر میں پاس ورڈ ہوگا ۔	
میرے بچے کا اصلی نام نہیں استعمال ہوگا پوری اسرچ میں ۔	
میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ اپنے بچے کو کسی بھی وقت حصہ لینے سے منع کر سکتی ہوں سوائے اس کہ جب یہ انٹرویو کمپیوٹر میں ڈال دیا جانے گا فرضی نام استعمال کیے گئے ہیں ۔ اور کسی کو پتہ نہیں چلے گا کہ میرے بچے کی تحقیقات ہے ۔	

میں _____ (کا نام)ہ _____ کے لیے کیے گئے اس تحقیق میں حصہ لینے کے لئے اتفاق کرتا ہوں Wai Kay Wong، اسکول کی نفسیات، کارڈاف یونیورسٹی ہے ۔

_____ (دستخط)

_____ (تاریخ)

Appendix 5 – Parent letter – Urdu version translated back into English

Dear Parents,

I am a student doing a higher education degree in school psychology at Cardiff University. Part of my studies will be looking at teenagers' experiences living in ████ and come from a different country. The aim of the research is to look at how teenagers from Pakistan feel about living in two cultures and going to school.

I am writing to ask for permission for your child to take part in this research. I am asking for teenagers who are from Pakistan, who have lived in the UK for 5 years and go to this school to take part. I will interview your child for 45 minutes and this interview will be tape recorded. I will not tell anyone what your child has told me except if they are or somebody else is unsafe. No-one except me will listen to the tape. An assumed name will be used for your child in our conversation and when it is typed up so that no information can be traced back to him. The conversation is stored on a computer that is protected by password that only the researcher can access.

I will not be talking to teachers, other staff and professionals about what I have been told by your child except if they tell me they or somebody else is unsafe. I will ask your child to take part in the study once you permit them to. They can leave the study when they want to. Once the conversation has been made anonymous, your child cannot change their mind. It will be difficult to trace what they have told me once the information has been made anonymous. I can provide information about my research but not about individual children if you are interested. This research may help British-based schools to understand the needs of other children from other countries. If you have any further questions, please contact me on 01952 385216 or by e-mail wongw2@cardiff.ac.uk. If you and your child agree to take part, I will let [Deputy head teacher] know that your child is taking part. Only [Deputy head teacher] will know that your child is taking part and no other information will be passed on by me.

If you are happy for your child to take part, please complete the attached form and return to _____ using the envelope to your child's school.

Yours sincerely,

Wai Kay Wong
Trainee Educational
Psychologist & Researcher,
School of Psychology,
Tower Building
Cardiff University
Park Place
Cardiff
CF10 3AT
Tel: 02920875393
wongw2@cardiff.ac.uk

Supervised by,
Dr Jean Parry
Professional tutor
School of Psychology,
Tower Building
Cardiff University
Park Place
Cardiff
CF10 3AT
02920875393
ParryJI@cardiff.ac.uk

<u>Return the slip to (Insert school bilingual teacher)</u>

<u>Return slip to   (school bilingual staff)</u>

	Please tick
I have read the letter and understand what the study is about.	
I understand that my child will be interviewed and the interview will be audio-taped.	
The typed version of the conversation will be stored on to a password protected computer that only the researcher has access to.	
My child will be given an assumed name and this will be used on the typed version of the conversation.	
I can withdraw my child at any time without any reason. I understand that I cannot take my child out of the study when the conversation has been typed, assumed names have been used and the conversations have been put together with other typed up conversations. I understand that after this has happened, my child's original conversation cannot be traced back to him/her.	

I _____(name) agree for my child_____ to take part in research carried out by Wai Kay Wong, School of Psychology, Cardiff University.

_____(Name)   _____(Signed)

Appendix 6 - Participant Information Sheet

Hi! I am Kay. I am a student training to become an educational psychologist at Cardiff University and I am spending a year working at ████████ Council. Part of my time here is spent carrying out research.

Why am I doing this research?

I am interested in finding out how teenagers who are from a Pakistani background and live in the UK see themselves when they are at school.

How will taking part in this research help?

There is no current research on how teenagers who are from Pakistan and go to British schools might see themselves. By taking part, you could help schools understand what it is like to go to school, if school is different to home and how school helps you to become the person you are. This might help schools to know what teenagers like you need when you are in school.

Who can take part?

Males and females who are 14, 15 and 16, who have lived in Britain for at least 5 years; come from Pakistan and attend [school]

What would be involved?

If you choose to take part, I will ask you to have a chat with me about school and home in private. There will be no-one else in the room who can listen to what we talk about. Our chat will take 45 minutes and will be recorded on a tape recorder.

Will the things we say be kept private?

You do not have to tell me anything that makes you feel uncomfortable. You do not have to answer any questions that you don't want to. I am the only person who listens to the tapes. I will not tell your parents, teachers and anyone in the school about what we have talked about except if you tell me that you or someone else is unsafe.

What will I do with the information?

I will write down what we have talked about and give you a pretend name. I will put what you tell me with what other teenagers tell me. I will use the information to write a report about how teenagers feel about being in school. I will get rid of the tapes once I have written down what you have told me. If you choose to take part, I will let [deputy head teacher] know that you have taken part. I will not tell them anything else except your name.

What if I change my mind about taking part?

You can change your mind at any time about taking part. If you decide to leave in the middle of our chat, I will not ask why you want to leave. If you change your mind after we finish our chat, I may not be able to trace what you have told me. I will have stored what you say under a pretend name and mixed what you tell me with what other people have told me.

Contact information

Please contact me Wai Kay Wong, Trainee Educational Psychologist, if you want to find out a bit more about the study on: wongw2@cardiff.ac.uk or speak to [bilingual teaching assistant] who can get in touch with me.

Thanks for all your help!!

Appendix 7

Consent Form for participants

	Please tick
1. I have read and understood the information sheet (date and version) for this study. I know what the study is about and what I will be asked to do. I have been able to ask any questions about anything that I am unsure about.	
2. I understand that it is my choice to take part in this study and that I can leave at any time, without saying why I want to leave. I can choose to not answer questions without saying why I do not want to answer them.	
3. I agree to take part in the study	

_____Name

_____ Signature   _____ Date

Appendix 8- Questionnaire

Thank you agreeing to take part in this study. The study is about finding out what it is like being in school where some people in the school have a different home culture. I will ask you to fill in a questionnaire first and then ask you a few questions. I would like you to feel as comfortable as possible during our chat. If there is anything you are unsure about and want me to explain, I can do this. If there are any questions that you do not feel comfortable answering, you do not have to answer them. The information on this questionnaire is private and will not be seen by anyone except for me. This questionnaire is to find out about your background.

1. **Are you Male ☐ or ☐Female?**

2. **Age**

   ☐14

   ☐15

   ☐16

3. **Were you born in the UK?**

   ☐Yes

   ☐No

   a. **If no, please state where you were born?**

   _____

4. **How long have you lived in the UK?**

   ☐5 – 8years

   ☐8 + years

5. **In your family, who first moved to the UK?**
   ☐Great- grandparents

   ☐Grandparents

☐ Parents

☐ Me and/or my brothers/sisters

6. **Where were your mum and dad born?** _____

7. **Why did your family move to the UK?**

☐ Work

☐ Move to be with family

☐ Studies

☐ Marriage

☐ Safety

8. **What is the highest level of education your mum and dad have received?**

☐ Did not go to school

☐ Did not finish primary school

☐ Primary school

☐ High school

☐ College

☐ University

9. **What job do your parents do?**

_____

Appendix 9 - Interview schedule

Self-characterisation task

A new boy/girl has just moved into [city] and started at this school. He/she does not know anything about you, but wants to get to know you better. How would you describe yourself in 5 words to him/her? [8]

Prompts

a. Tell me a bit more
b. How would you describe being British/ Pakistani, Muslim etc?
c. How do you feel about being [ethnic/ religious label]?

School

1. **What it is like to go to this school?**
    a. What are your favourite subjects?

2. **Who are your friends in school?**
    a. *Are they from your community?*
    b. *Do you mix with anyone who is not from your community in school at break and lunch times?* OR
    c. Do you mix with anyone who is of Asian origin?

3. **Do you have school dinners or bring a packed lunch to school?**
    a. What kinds of food do you like to eat in school?

4. **Do you learn about Pakistan and [religion if stated by participant] in school?**
    a. What do you feel about this?
    b. Do you think it is important to learn about these in school?

5. **Do you do anything in school that might be different to what you do at home?**
    a. I was wondering about hobbies, interests
    b. Why do you do them in school?

6. **Do you do anything at home that might be different to what you do at school?**

---

[8] Taken from Burnham (2008)

Home

1. **Are you part of a religion?**
   a. Do you practice or follow your religion?

2. **How do you spend time at home with your family?**
   a. Do you attend a place of worship such as a church, synagogue or mosque?
   b. What kinds of films and music do you watch/listen to at home?

   3. **What kinds of food do you eat at home?**
   a. Do you eat traditional Pakistani food?
   b. Do you eat British food?

3. **Who are the friends that you spend time with at home?**
   a. Are they the same people who you spend time with at school?
   b. Do you see friends from school outside of home?
   c. What do you do with your friends outside of school?

4. **Are you bilingual?**
   a. What languages do you speak? When do you speak these?
   b. Do you speak [language] in school?

5. **You mentioned to me that you are [religion/ethnic group], if you had a choice would you do some of the things that you have just told me?**

School and Home questions

1. **What does school do to help you understand and learn about your culture?**

2. **Would you say that you are English or British-Pakistani or British-[religion stated by participant] or Pakistani?**
   a. Could you tell me a bit more about why you feel [label]
   b. Do you feel more British or Pakistani/[religion]?
      i. Why is that?
   c. How do you feel about being [label]?

3. **What experiences have you had to make you think about whether you are English or British - Pakistani or British - [religion stated by participant] or Pakistani?**[9]
    a. What, if anything, have you done to find out more about being [label]?
    b. How much have you thought about being [label]?[10]

4. **Imagine that you are English/ British, what would school be like for you?**
    a. Can you tell me more?

5. **Is there anything that you would like school to provide or put in place to do with the things that you do at home?**

6. **What do you think school could do to help other teenagers who come from another country to live in Britain?**

    a. What would have helped you?
    b. What could teachers do?
    c. What could you learn in school?

---

[9] Taken from Phinney & Tarver (1988)
[10] Taken from Phinney & Tarver (1988)

Appendix 10 - Amended Interview schedule following pilot interview

Self-characterisation task[11]

A new boy/girl has just moved into [city] and started at this school. He/she does not know anything about you, but wants to get to know you better. How would you describe yourself in 5 words to him/her?

Prompts

    d.   Tell me a bit more

    e.   How would you describe being British/ Pakistani, Muslim etc?

    f.   How do you feel about being [ethnic/ religious label]?

School

1. **What it is like to go to this school?**
    a.   What are your favourite subje...

2. **Who are your friends in school?**
    a.   Are they from your community?
    b.   Do you mix with anyone who is ... from your community in school at break and lunch times? *OR*
    c.   *Do you mix with anyone who is of Asian origin?*

> An additional prompt was added in question 2 (school section) because the original question did not have prompts for teenagers with only white British friends.

3. **Do you have school dinners or bring a packed lunch to school?**
    a.   What kinds of food do you like to eat in school?

4. **Do you learn about Pakistan and [religion if stated by participant] in school?**
    a.   What do you feel about this?
    b.   Do you think it is important to learn about these in school?

5. **Do you do anything in school that might be different to what you do at home?**
    a.   I was wondering about hobbies, interests
    b.   Why do you do them in school?

6. **Do you do anything at home that might be different to what you do at school?**

---

[11] Taken from Burnham (2008)

Home

1. **Are you part of a religion?**
   a. Do you practice or follow your religion?

2. ***How do you spend time* at home with your family?**
3. Do you attend a place ~~of worship suc~~
4. What kinds of films and music do ~~y~~

3. **What kinds of food do you eat at ho**
   a. Do you eat traditional Pakistani ~~food~~
   b. Do you eat British food?

4. **Who are the friends that you spend time wi**
   a. Are they the same people who you ~~s~~
   b. Do you see friends from school ~~o~~ ~~side~~
   c. *What do you do with your friends outside of school?*

5. **Are you bilingual?**
   a. What languages do you speak? When do you speak these?
   b. Do you speak [language] in school?

6. **You mentioned to me that you a** ~~~~ ~~~~ ~~~~ **would you do some of the thing**

School and Home questions

1. **What does school do to help you**

2. **Would you say that you are English or** ~~ish-~~**Pakistani or British-[religion stated by participant] or Pakistani?**
   a. Could you tell me a bit more about why you feel [label]
   b. Do you feel more British or Pakistani/[religion]?
      i. Why is that?
   c. How do you feel about being [label]?

> This question was reworded to make it more open ended without the need for the researcher to give examples.

> An additional prompt was added to this question to further explore activities.

> The order of questions 2 & 3 were changed around because the pilot showed that there was a need to establish how teenagers identified themselves before exploring their experiences.

3. **What experiences have you had to make you think about whether you are English or British - Pakistani or British - [religion stated by participant] or Pakistani?[12]**

   a. What, if anything, have you done to find out more about being [label]?
   b. How much have you thought about being [label]?[13]

4. **Imagine that you are English/ British, what would school be like for you?**

   a. Can you tell me more?

5. **Is there anything that you would like school to provide or put in place to do with the things that you do at home?**

6. **What do you think school could do to help other teenagers who come from another country to live in Britain?**

   a. What would have helped you?
   b. What could teachers do?
   c. What could you learn in school?

---

[12] Taken from Phinney & Tarver (1988)
[13] Taken from Phinney & Tarver (1988)

A big thank you! You have helped me to find out how teenagers who are from two cultures think about themselves when they are in school. This research may help schools and psychologists understand what teenagers living in two cultures need in school to make it an even better experience for them.

.

Aims of the study

The research aimed to find out what it is like going to schools that might be different from home. I was mainly interested in:

- Do teenagers see themselves as Pakistani -Muslim or British or both?
- What in school makes teenagers see themselves as Pakistani- Muslim, British or British Muslim?
- Does school help teenagers with how they see themselves?

These were answered by the questions I asked you during the interview.
We looked at:
- What things do you do at home?
- What things do you do in school?
- Are the things that you do at home and school the same or different?
- What is it about school that helps you do the things that you do at home in school?
- What else do you think school could do if you wanted to do more things at home in school?

Why is it important?

Research suggests that for most teenagers, it can be confusing thinking about who they are and what they want to do in the future. For children and teenagers who live in two cultures, it is important that they feel comfortable about their own culture. Children and teenagers spend most of their time in school outside of the home. Home and school can have a big influence on how teenagers see themselves.

Very little research has been carried out to find out how schools might help teenagers to find out who they are. This research is important because it lets schools know what they can do to help teenagers feel more comfortable about finding out about who they are.

By taking part in my study, I hope that I can help schools understand the role they play in supporting teenagers living in two cultures.

Your researcher today is:

Wai Kay Wong

Trainee Educational Psychologist

e-mail: wongw2@cardiff.ac.uk

I am happy to answer any questions you have. If you have any questions after today, please e-mail me.

If you are still unhappy, after contacting me, you can get in touch with the School of Ethics Committee:

psychethics@cf.ac.uk

Information for further support
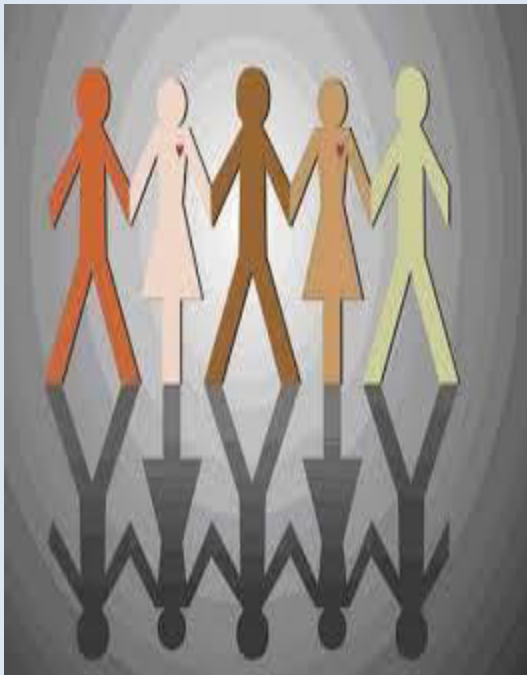
If you feel you or someone you know would like more information about religion, faith and ethnicity, there are useful contacts below where you can get more information.

███ **Race, Equality & Diversity Partnership (**████ **Council) –** *Team within the Local authority who can direct you to useful local support services.* 01952 210559

Safer ████ - www.safer█████.org.uk *– Website offering tips on safety on the streets and cyberbullying*

RAFT - raf-t.org.uk *– organisation supporting people experiencing harassment and crime*

01952-916100

**SCHOOL OF
PSYCHOLOGY, CARDIFF
UNIVERSITY ETHICS
PROFORMA**

School of Psychology

Form version 2.5

Guidelines for completing this
form

1)   Please save your completed document with a short filename. E.g.
     "sap123_Colour_perception_study.xlsx"

2)   All sections marked YELLOW should be completed.

3)   Click on the blue and white questionmark symbol for more info on an adjacent section ❓

4)   All supporting attachments should be either Word or PDF format. Please combine multiple
     documents of the same format into one. ❓

5)   When completed, this document and any supporting material should be emailed to
     psychethics@cardiff.ac.uk by the **permanent member of staff** associated with the
     project. Please ensure that emails are sent via the Cardiff University Network using your Cardiff
     email address.

Project Type

Select one option:
○ Staff Project
◉ Postgraduate Project
○ Undergraduate Project

Submission Type   ❓

Select if submission is for:
◉ Standard
○ Level 2 Practical
○ Generic

NB. Undergraduate projects MUST be Standard Submission Type

If project comes under supervisor's generic approval, please provide the EC reference
number. For non-human studies please insert the relevant Home Office Project Licence
reference here (if applicable).

[   ]   ❓

Submission date

| 22 | ▼ | Mar | ▼ | 2015 | ▼ |

Title of Project

Exploring the experiences of Pakistani teenagers in predominantly White schools: School influences on teenagers who are negotiating ethnic and British identities.

Applicant's Email Address

wongw2@cardiff.ac.uk

Name of researcher(s) (Please list all researchers on separate line with the applicant first)	Status (e.g. staff, UG/PG, external RA)
Wai Kay Wong	PG

Name of supervisor (for student research)

Dr Jean Parry

Name of permanent member of staff associated with the project	Mailname of permanent member of staff (e.g. JonesA@cardiff.ac.uk)
Dr Jean Parry	ParryJ1@cardiff.ac.uk

1   I will describe the main experimental procedures to participants in advance, so that they are informed about what to expect.

2   I will tell participants that their participation is voluntary and that they may withdraw from the research at any time and for any reason.

3   I will obtain written consent for participation (this includes consent to be observed in observational studies).

4   The data are to be stored anonymously (i.e. the identity of the person IS NOT linked directly or indirectly with their data).

5   I will debrief participants at the end of their participation (i.e. give them a brief explanation of the study and an explicit opportunity to comment and ask questions).

YES   NO   NOT APPLICABLE

⦿ YES	NO	APPLICABLE
⦿ YES	○ NO	○ N/A
⦿ YES	○ NO	○ N/A
⦿ YES	○ NO	○ N/A
⦿ YES	○ NO	○ N/A
⦿ YES	○ NO	○ N/A

6   With questionnaires, I will give participants the option of omitting questions they do not want to answer.

7   The research is observational without consent and/or involves any covert recording.

8   The research involves deliberately misleading participants (excluding mild deception through omission).

9   The research asks questions or includes tasks that are likely to elicit negative affect in participants (e.g. anxiety, sadness, disgust, distress). *(If yes, please include a description of the steps in place to put participants back into their original state.)*

10   The research includes participants taking part from outside of the School of Psychology, who may be relatively unfamiliar with psychological research and practice (e.g. online studies).

11   Participants will be recruited through another department or institution (e.g. business, school, government, third-sector organisation, research survey group)? *(If yes, please include a letter asking permission to recruit from the relevant authority and/or information about the institution's recruitment practices.)*

---

12   Do participants fall into any of the following special groups? If they do, please refer to BPS guidelines, and tick box B below.

Note that you may also need to obtain satisfactory Disclosure and Barring Service clearance (formerly known as CRB), or equivalent for overseas students.

I will be recruiting:

a	Children and/or vulnerable adults.	⦿ YES ○ NO ○ N/A

If yes is ticked then 12b needs to be completed.

b	I confirm that the University's Safeguarding Children and Vulnerable Adults Policy 2010 has been read and understood; and I have attached the completed Guidance for Researcher's Checklist.	☑ Check to confirm
c	Patients recruited through the NHS (NHS ethical approval will be required).	○ YES ⦿ NO ○ N/A
d	People lacking capacity to give consent (NHS ethical approval will be required)	○ YES ⦿ NO ○ N/A
e	People in custody. (NOMS approval will be required.)	○ YES ⦿ NO ○ N/A

| f | People engaged in illegal activities, for example drug taking. | ○ YES ⦿ NO |

| 13a | The research involves the collection or use of human tissue (including, but not limited to, blood, saliva and bodily waste fluids). | ○ YES ⦿ NO ○ N/A |

If yes is ticked then a copy of the submitted application form and any supporting documentation must be emailed to the Human Tissue Act Compliance Team (HTA@cf.ac.uk). A decision will only be made once these documents have been received. 13b also needs to be completed.

HTA@cf.ac.uk

| 13b | I confirm that the relevant Human Tissue Act considerations, in accordance with University policy and School requirements, have been taken into account for the proposed research.
I confirm that, where appropriate, the University's Safeguarding Children and Vulnerable Adults Policy 2010 has been read and understood.
I confirm that, where appropriate, the University's Safeguarding Children and Vulnerable Adults Policy 2010 has been read and understood. | ☐ Check to confirm |

| 14 | The research involves the use of a drug, controlled substance or medical product, including alcohol, tobacco or caffeine. | ○ YES ⦿ NO |

If yes and the drug is not alcohol, tobacco or caffeine, then you should inform the Research Governance team and include their guidance in the proposal.

Contact details: *resgov@cf.ac.uk*   *029 20 879131*

| 15 | Are there any other issues (not already covered) which need to be considered by the Ethics Committee? | ○ YES ⦿ NO |

Note: Guidance on Box A or Box B submission and supporting documentation:

If you have ticked NO to any of Q1-6 or YES to any of Q7-11 or Q15 then EITHER choose Box A below, address the relevant ethical issues in a separate word document and include a consent form and debrief sheet, OR choose Box B below.

If you ticked YES to Q12-14 or there are any other ethical concerns with the proposed research then complete a full Box B proposal. Otherwise, simply choose Box A and provide a summary of the proposed research.

PLEASE SELECT **EITHER BOX A** OR **BOX B** BELOW AND PROVIDE THE DETAILS REQUIRED IN SUPPORT OF YOUR APPLICATION THEN SIGN THE FORM.

| A. | I consider that this project has no significant ethical implications to be brought before the School Research Ethics Committee. | ○ Check to confirm |

Give a brief description of the experiment (approximately 200 words). Include study rationale and theoretical constructs as well as brief information about: participants (e.g. number, age, sex, recruitment method, group assignment), apparatus and materials (e.g., stimuli, names of questionnaire) and procedure (e.g., what will happen to participants). Any exclusions must be scientifically justified.
Tip: To insert line breaks within a cell use Alt+Enter on a PC and Cmd+Option+Return on a Mac.

If any of the above information is missing, your application will be returned to you.

B	I consider that this project may have ethical implications that should be brought before the School Research Ethics Committee, and/or it will be carried out with children or other vulnerable populations.	⦿ Check to confirm

If you have checked BOX B, please provide all the further information listed below in a separate attachment. Please number the pages.

i	Title of project
ii	Purpose of project and its academic rationale.
iii	Brief description of methods and measurements.
iv	Participants: recruitment methods, number, age, gender, exclusion/inclusion criteria.
v	Consent and participant information arrangements, debriefing.
vi	A clear but concise statement of the ethical considerations raised by the project and how you intend to deal with them.
vii	Estimated start date and duration of project.
	This form should be submitted to the School Research Ethics Committee for consideration.

If any of the above information is missing, your application will be returned to you.

16a	I confirm that the relevant health and safety measures, in accordance with University policy and School requirements, have been taken into account for the proposed research.	☑ Check to confirm
16b	*If 16a is confirmed, please include the relevant Risk Assessment Receipt number. Risk assessments for UG projects must be completed by the project supervisor together with the student(s). To access the online risk assessment please click on the link above.*	1420652762_716

17	I confirm that the relevant equality and diversity considerations, in accordance with University policy and School requirements, have been taken into account for the proposed research.	☑ Check to confirm

18	I am familiar with the BPS Guidelines for ethical practices in psychological research (and have discussed them with the other researchers involved in the project).	☑ Check to confirm

INFORMATION FOR PERMANENT MEMBER OF STAFF ONLY

I confirm as the permanent member of staff, by forwarding this documentation to the Ethics Committee, I have read this application and consider it suitable for ethical review.

Step 3: Developing emergent themes

Step1: Transcription

Step 2: Initial noting

Emergent THEMES	KW: It's not an exam so please don't be scared! (Both laugh) I'm going to ask you a few questions. I want you to feel as comfortable as possible and they are just very general questions. If a new girl has just moved into this city, they moved to this school but they don't know anything about you. L: About me? KW: Yeah. How would you describe yourself in 5 words to her if she wanted to get to know you a bit better? L: Just like me? I think I am erm, really talkative, erm, I like Maths. Five words, this is really hard! I laugh loads. Erm, I'm really friendly and sociable. They're kind of the same thing but ..is that 5? KW: Yeah, really good. So you're very talkative, you laugh loads, you're really friendly and you are very sociable? L: I think so, I am. KW: Can you tell me a little bit more about those things that you have just mentioned to me. How do you know that you are talkative, sociable and friendly? L: I think that out of everyone in my family, I'm the one who goes out and meets people and likes to make new friends. Everyone else is to themselves. My sister and my brother, they've always been like that. I've been more open, going out, meet family as well. KW: Why are you a little bit more outgoing? L: I think I was..one of the..I think I was..I really don't know. I think it was the way I was brought up. KW. Ok but your brother and sister are brought up in the same way as you? L: Yeah. KW: Then what is making them not as sociable as you? L: I think it's just their personality, how they are	**Exploratory Comments - Descriptive (normal print), linguistic (italics), conceptual (underlined)**
Personal qualities and skills enabling adaptation		Personality is outgoing/ <u>individualistic description.</u> *Thinking hard about answering this ques because pauses*
		L is outgoing. Rest of the family are more reserved. *Tone is strong and certain – carries on throughout the interview.* <u>L may find it easier to integrate because of outgoing personality</u>
		Laila is outgoing but unsure of reasons why. Attributes personality to the way she is brought up- *seems unsure about this because of hesitancy*

	KW: Ok. Do you know what might be making you a bit more sociable than them?	
	L: I don't know. I have no idea. Because my sister went to this school for the same time as me. My brother went to this school. I don't think it's to do with the school just the kind of people we are.	School experiences have not influenced type of people Laila and siblings are. It's their personality
Fair and moderate parenting	KW: OK. Are you treated differently in your family? L: No. I think that's it. I think <u>my parents are really like moderate, just equal to us.</u>	Parents treat children equally. Word *"moderate" suggests fair, liberal*
Socio-economic status	KW: you mentioned to me that you really like Maths. Can you tell me a little bit about what it's like to go to this school? L: I think it's so much better than what I've come from. Even though we went to <u>private school there</u> (Pakistan), it's nothing like this. Like the education there as well and the people erm, it's, there's so much more to do here and the	Went to school in Pakistan and prefers school in UK. <u>Private school suggesting Laila's family are from a higher socio-economic background</u>
Easy integration in new culture	people are a lot nicer. I think when I moved here, I thought it would be difficult for me to come here and meet different people but I think <u>I fit in pretty well.</u> I think it's because people from Pakistan here are already here and people are open for me at least, like. I haven't had any bullying cos of where I'm from or.. KW: So would you say that the Pakistani children here are different or the same as they are..?	<u>Did have expectations of struggling to fit in new culture – why? Coming from another culture, has adapted to school. No experiences of discrimination. Believes she fits in because host group are familiar with Pakistani people and are open to her.</u>
Similarities between L and British Pakistani teenagers. People unaware of similarities	L: <u>I think to some extent like we speak English there</u> and people are really shocked cos I told them that I was there and they were like "how do you know English? How do you speak so well?" But it's just some schools are good but not anything like this.	English Language makes Pakistani children in Pakistan/UK similar. <u>Who was shocked at Laila's ability to speak English? Sense that Pakistan is perceived by others to be separate from the West- they don't speak English?</u> *Use of the word "shocked"- to convey people unaware of similarities to UK*

Personal qualities and skills enabling adaptation	KW: How is it different here compared to Pakistan? L: I think that the education here is a lot better, the teachers are more educated and more you know sophisticated and everything KW: Are they a lot stricter in Pakistan or..? L: I think you could say that, yeah KW: So you are quite happy being in this school here? L: There are more options here. KW: What do you mean by more options? L: like subject choices. Like there was no languages or there was just like you had to do geography of just Pakistan and here it's all over the world. And the only language that we did was Urdu that we speak there. There was no other languages..so we've got French here, German and Spanish and you've got Music and you've got proper sports, you've got rugby teams and it was not like that.. KW: Did you go to an English school in Pakistan? L: Yeah, English speaking school KW: So all your teachers spoke to you in.. L:..English except for the language teacher obviously KW: So who are your friends in school? L: Like, what do you mean? KW: Who is it that you hang out with? You don't have to give me names L: What do you mean? Who? KW: Are they from your culture..?	
		Went to English speaking school
		Seems unsure of how to answer this question because repeats question.
Integrated friendships	L: No. My best friend isn't. Her name is H.	<u>Integrated – best friend is from a different culture. L seems to perceive similarities between cultures rather than differences?</u>

	KW: can you tell me a little bit about her..?.	Very open because she does not allow
Integration through having things in common with host group	L: She is tall, really funny and she is great KW: So she's not Pakistani? L: No KW: Were there any issues for you to become friends with H?	*me to finish my sentence. "Funny" –* <u>would need to have similar constructions to share jokes/humour – highlighting similarity</u>
Native peers welcoming to L	L: No what I think was when I joined, everyone was nice to me, they would, it's like they really wanted to talk to me, they really wanted to be friends with me and everybody was really nice. KW: So these are all ..I don't know much about this school, I'm thinking there's a big population of...	Becoming friends with H did not pose problems. Everyone was really friendly and keen to befriend L. *Emphasises how welcoming people in school were by repeating "really"*
Lack of school ethnic density	L: So there's 180 students in our year. Only a few of them are Asian or Indian or Pakistani. I think I'm the only Pakistani one in our year KW: so everyone was really friendly and .. L: Yeah KW: ..and open to you? L: yeah. KW: So do you mix with anyone who is not from your community in school at break and lunch times? L: I'm always with H all the time. KW: is there anyone who is of Pakistani origin in this school who you mix with?	<u>School is predominantly White. Not much opportunity to mix with friends of own ethnicity</u>
Positive ethnic identity – speaks native language in school. Integrated	L: No. I think there's this girl, xx from India and I've kind of spoken to her a few times but not loads KW: what might be stopping you from developing a friendship with XX? L: I think she just has her own friends erm. She joined	Occasionally speaks heritage language

Lack of mixing due to own friendships	before me and she was with her friends ..a group of people when you have your own friends, just isolated from everybody else. There's too much grouping in our year anyways. Everyone has their own friends. No mixing because people have own friends. 07.38	People do not mix because they have their own groups of friends
	KW: Do you think it would have made a difference if there was more teenagers who are Pakistani in your year with your friendship groups?	
Flexibility in friendships suggesting integration Perceived similarities in two cultures	L: I don't think so. Like if they were from Pakistan, I obviously would be friends with them. <u>I don't think it would make much of a difference for me anyways.</u>	Would not change her friends even if there were more opportunity for her to mix with own group. <u>Could it be that it does not make much difference for L who her friends are because she has grown up with a single culture living in Pakistan like host group? Suggests L's adaptability</u>
	KW: Do you have school dinners or do you bring a packed lunch to school?	
	L: Sometimes I have school dinners. Sometimes I bring packed lunch in	
	KW: So what kind of school dinners would you eat here?	
Integration	L: I would have pasta, beans, cheese	Eats English food
	KW: Do they serve any Pakistani food in this school?	
	L: I think they have curry and stuff but I don't really eat that because it's different to how we have it. It's really different.	
	KW: in what way is it different?	
	L: They say that there is Pakistani food and Indian food but there's not like it. It's just their version of it (Both laugh)	
	KW: Is it nice? No? (both laughing)	
	L: That's why I don't really have that	
	KW: So when you bring a packed lunch in to school, what kind of food do you bring in?	
	L: Just sandwiches	
	KW: Sandwiches?	
Integration	L: Sandwiches with crisps and fruit, drink, chocolate.	English food
	KW: So you wouldn't bring anything different that your friends H would bring to school?	

Decreasing religiousness with generations	L: No, she doesn't. She brings sandwiches, same thing KW: Do you learn about Pakistan and I don't know if you are religious at all? L: We are to some extent but not really, really religious like we're not..We are to some extent. I think my grandparents are more religious and my parents are not that much and we are just… KW: And is it Islam that you believe in? L: yeah KW: So do you learn about Pakistan and Islam in school? L: If you take the subject RE for example, I didn't choose RE but I think you would learn about that in RE KW: Ok so it's not mandatory in this school to learn it? L: No. In Pakistan, up to Year 9, you have to and then you pick your subjects like it is here. You have to do it to some point and then you can just change your subjects when you grow up KW: Do you think it's important to learn about Pakistan and your religion in school?	Eats same as English friend Sliding scale of religiousness diluted through generations. Not devout Only learn about Pakistan/ Islam in RE
Raising awareness in teachers and peers – not prejudice just lack of understanding	L: I think because I lived there for so many years, I know most of the basics and I know most of it.. but I think people around me need to be more aware of things. KW: Who are the people around you? L: I think that H is kind of..I have to explain to her sometimes. But she's not "judgey" or anything. She's just like that but teachers as well. Teachers don't know much. KW: Do they not? L: No KW: Can you give me an example of that? L: I think in Geography once there was something about a Pakistani earthquake and my geography teacher was "This	Thinks that people around her need to be more aware of Pakistan/Islam People's ignorance including peers and teachers is due to lack of awareness rather than prejudice

	happened" but that's not what actually happened because I was there when it happened and <u>it was from a book and people just believe what's on it and nobody really knows what's behind it.</u> 10.47	L suggesting people accepting what they are told rather than the story behind it
People's perceptions based on what they hear	KW: Would you say it's important [L: Yeah] for schools to have more knowledge about Pakistan and Islam?	
Balanced view about world Perceived similarities in two cultures	L: <u>Yeah. I think it's kind of same for other places as well. It's not just Pakistan, you know other places. It's not just about England</u>	*Very definite answer because interrupts my question –says yes twice.* People need to learn about other cultures beyond England. <u>L has lived in another country therefore able to see bigger picture outside of England</u>
	KW: How do you think it would help people if they had a bit more knowledge about Pakistan and Islam?	
Media informing people's perceptions which are incorrect	L: I think like I was saying, people are really "judgey" <u>like a judge against </u>like they talk about stuff they don't really know about like religion and you know how people say all Muslims are terrorists, obviously that's not true and people do that.	People are judgemental talking about things they have no knowledge about e.g. making reference to the media portrayal of Muslims as terrorists. <u>Like a judge against – why has L used this metaphor?</u>
	KW: And you think that if schools taught more [L: Yeah, yeah] about Pakistan and Islam, .. L:…it would be better KW: OK. People wouldn't automatically jump to those conclusions?	*L definite about this because affirms twice while I am talking and finishes my sentence*
Media informing people's perceptions which are incorrect	L: Yeah the media plays a big part in it as well. The coverage of it is just not true to some sense.	<u>The media shapes people's perceptions about Islam/ Pakistan and leads to people making inaccurate and untruthful judgements</u>
	KW: Yeah. I would say. So do you do anything in school that might be different to what you do at home? L: I don't think so. I come to school, study, eat then go home, watch TV, eat, study. KW: Ok. Are there any hobbies or interests that you do	

	that.. L: ..I like to cook. Yeah I like to cook when I have time and at the weekend I cook KW: So there's not any particular hobbies that you would do only in school that you wouldn't do at home? L: No I don't think so KW: So what you do at home and what you do in school are completely the same? L: Not completely but sometimes at home we do stuff like cooking, I can't really cook in school (Both laugh). Yeah basically the same, study eat, sleep. KW: So maybe the things you do at home you can't do in school because practically you can't do them but … L: ..I would if I could. Yeah I would do them in school if I could. Yeah. KW: Yeah so there's nothing that you would do at home where you couldn't do in school because it's completely different from school? L: I don't think so KW: No? L: No KW: Do you do anything at home that might be different to what you do in school? L: What do you mean by that? KW: Is there anything that you do at home, I don't know like praying or I mean this is an example or eat certain foods that you wouldn't do at school? L: I think that Pakistani foods, there's so much aroma to them that's why I wouldn't eat that in school. I would probably eat it at home, yeah KW: Why not?	Suggesting that L does the same in school and home. Does not change what she does according to contexts. <u>Therefore identity does not shift- has integrated identity across contexts</u>
Stable integrated identity at school and home		
Positive ethnic identity	L: I think it's not..it's not people. If people want to try Asian	<u>Open to sharing experiences of her culture. Suggesting ethnic pride? Does not eat Asian</u>

	food, <u>come over and have some Asian food</u> but I think at school I wouldn't if that makes sense? KW: Yeah is it because of the smell or..? L: Yeah, yeah because of the smell. It's not people. (Both laugh). Strong smelling food KW: it smells nice. L: Such a lot of it though KW: Is your culture very much oriented towards food? L: Yeah, there's so much food. KW: I think I may have asked you this earlier. Are you part of a religion? L: Erm I think so. My family yeah and me to some extent like I said before.	<u>food at school because of smell not because of people</u>
Sliding scale of religiousness. Religion has its place	KW: To what extent are you part of a religion? L: I think people erm ..we do the festive holidays and our religious stuff. My grandad goes to pray every Friday. Sometimes I pray on Fridays but we're meant to pray 5 times everyday. I don't do that. I think my grandparents do though. KW: Do they?	Grandparents are religious and pray 5 times a day. L observes religious events and Occasionally praying
Religion has its place	L: Most of the time I'm in school, I don't have time. I know it should be priority but my parents are like you should study and sleep and eat. They don't really like pressure me into their religious stuff KW: OK. So your not praying is to do with the practicalities of ..	For parents, L's education and well-being is more important and a priority over religion. Sense that parental views are that the individual matters not participating in religion. *Word "stuff" minimises the importance of religion*
Religion has its place in Pakistan	L: Yeah. It would happen in Pakistan. It would happen when it's time for prayer, people will be in school and they don't pray in school either. It's just not in England. It happens there as well.	In Pakistan, religion is second place to education. <u>Religion has its place. It is not all-consuming</u>

Religion has its place	KW: Ok, that's interesting so apart from the religious festivals you mentioned that occasionally you would pray on Fridays is there any other things that you do where you might follow your religion? L: Fasting. It's just a whole month of fasting and a <u>festival thing</u> after the month and that's usually in the summer. So I'm going to Pakistan in the summer and then fast. I like fasting KW: Why do you fast? L: It's basically to feel the pain and the hunger poor people feel when they don't have food and feel what they feel. KW: OK. What kind of things do you do at home with your family? L: What do you mean? KW: I'm kind if thinking you mentioned a little bit about praying. I wondered if you attended a place of worship like a mosque? L: I haven't been to a mosque in ages. But my grandad as I said before he goes every Friday to mosque KW: Is it something that you want to do? L: I wouldn't mind doing it <u>but it's not something like the first thing on my mind to do.</u> KW: Do you watch any films or music L: Yeah. I think it's more of Indian stuff but it's kind of the same. I really enjoy watching Indian films, listening to the music KW: What kind of language is it in? L: It's in Urdu, Hindi, same thing. It's kind of the same, the gist of it KW: So Indian films are they films you would watch in Pakistan as well? L: yeah people watch them there all the time.	*Word "thing" minimises the importance of festival*
Religion not all-important		L doesn't go to mosque. Granddad who is very religious goes only on Fridays Religion not priority <u>Urdu and Hindi have the same underlying base language therefore others can understand it</u>

Participates in culture Integrated at home Family integrated	KW: So do you ever listen to any English music? L: yeah. I listen to English music, watch English films KW: So you don't have a preference for either/or? L: No. I think I enjoy more Indian films but I think that's just me. KW: Can I ask why that is? L: I think it's more of like the songs and the people ..I just love it (laughs) I don't know KW: What kind of foods do you eat at home? L: Erm, we do have Asian food like loads of Asian food but we also have like pizzas and Western food as well like burgers, chips, fish and chips KW: Is it something your grandparents would cook or do you buy that in? L: I think my nan makes..my nan cooks, my mum cooks as well Asian food but we also have..my nan would make burgers or we order from outside KW: So your nan often cooks English food? L: Yeah she cooks roast and stuff KW: What's that sorry? L: Chicken roast. KW: Wow, is she a good cook? L: Yes she is very good at cooking KW: Has she lived here for a long time? L: Yeah cos when my dad..my dad's 45 now and she's been here before he was born so they moved, my grandparents moved a really long time ago so my grandad was working here and my dad was born here and he went back [Pakistan] and he got married erm and came here, kids were born and then.. KW: So your grandparents and dad have lived here for a very long time	Prefers Indian films although does watch Western films. "Love it" suggesting enjoyment Integrated food at home Grandparent cooks English food not just buys it suggesting grandparent integrated Third generation immigrant

	L: Yeah KW: So who are the friends you spend time with at home? L: At home? Hxx KW: Hxx as well L: Yeah. She comes over or I go to hers or we go out KW: So do you see any other friends from school outside of school at home?	Has same friend at school and home
Stable integrated identity at home and school	L: Yeah sometimes there's like a group of us will go out, watch films, eat or just hang out. KW: OK and are they people from your community or are they people from school?	Sees friends from outside of school- eats and watches films with them. <u>Integrated</u>
Stable integrated identity at home and school	L: I think..I don't think I have one Asian friend right now but friends from home, I still talk to them. I don't see them but probably see them in the summer. All my friends are White KW: In the UK? L: In the UK KW: How about in Pakistan?	All friends in UK are White<u> Very integrated in school and at home</u>
Adaptability	L: Yeah everybody's like Asian KW: Are you bilingual? L: Yeah KW: What languages do you speak? L: Urdu and English KW: This sounds like a silly question based on what you have told me but I'm kind of wondering if you ever speak Urdu in school?	All friends in Pakistan are Asian. Suggests L's adaptiveness because able to befriend people from different cultures
Positive ethnic identity	L: I would but there's nobody to talk to ..nobody else speaks Urdu KW: Would you speak it if there was? L: Yeah. That Axx friend I sometimes say things that she would understand or she will say something that I understand and nobody else will know what we are talking	Lack of opportunity to speak Urdu in school. <u>Ethnic pride because would speak it in school</u>
Lack of opportunity in school to speak	about but I don't really talk to her. But when we both talk	

native language	yeah.. KW: You both speak Urdu? L: Yeah KW: You mentioned to me that you are Pakistani and you are also a Muslim as well, if you had a choice, would you do some of the things that you have just told me that is part of your religion and your culture? L: What do you mean do something? KW: erm would you continue to do the things that are related to your culture? L: Yeah, definitely KW: can you tell me a little bit more about that? L: What do you mean? <u>If I wasn't Pakistani, would I still do the things I do?</u> KW: No if you had a choice, if you could not pray or speak Urdu or any of those things..	
		Definitely strong word – very certain that would continue to participate in culture if there were no restrictions. Commitment The strength of what L said has caught me off guard here- this is what I meant, I think!
Values ethnic identity	L: No, I think it's part of who I am. I wouldn't change that. I still continue to pray when I can and eat what I do and speak..I wouldn't change it KW: Ok so I'm going to ask you some questions about school and home now together. What does school do to help you learn about your culture? L: Nothing KW: Nothing at all? L: I don't think they do anything because all the subjects that I do they don't associate with kind of stuff. If I did RE, they would educate me about and other people about Pakistan and the religion there but because I don't ..in Geography we learn only the geography side of it	Ethnic identity is part of who L is. <u>Strong - ethnic identity.</u> *Would not change it= says this twice- suggesting certainty about this.*

| | KW: So do you think they could teach you a bit more about your culture in the other subjects?
L: I don't know. I don't know how that would work. They can't teach it in Science or Geography, kind of history maybe a bit. Pakistan is not that old a country. It's only been 70 odd years I don't know I think so anyways. Only in RE, they would do it anyway, educate people about the religion and the people there.
KW: So I'm kind of thinking that earlier you said that children could be a bit more understanding, open minded how would they..
L: That's the kind of thing like I don't know how you could do that in school
KW: Do they not teach different religions and cultures in sort of PHSE subjects here?
L: What do you mean by PHSE?
KW: It's personal, health and social education
L: I don't do Health and social care so I wouldn't know. I think they might do. I think they might do in RE and if you say Health & social Care. Cos I joined in Year 10 and I had to pick my options so I picked my options and I don't do RE or Health and social care so I wouldn't know what they teach
KW: So you know when you have your special festivals like Eid, for example would they not put on celebrations here or acknowledge that..
L: They did with Diwali. Eid is like either in the winter around that time or in the summer when schools are closed so I think if they had the chance they would because they did for the Indian Diwali, they did the lantern things, I don't know what it's about but they have the whole table full of small lights | |
| | | Thinks school would put on religious festivals if had chance but don't because of opportunity |

School acknowledges other culture	KW: So they do do that? OK. So do you think that was helpful.. L: Yeah I think I really liked it that they were acknowledging cultures and not all about Christmas and Easter KW: So are those the only kind of things that they would .. L: ..put in place. Yeah I think so..That's the only thing they can do KW: And do you think that is enough or not really?	School acknowledging other cultures not just Christian culture
School needs to provide more cultural awareness	L: I don't ..cos if you want to know about a whole culture there should be more .. like the food I told you the curries sometimes and the fish and chips so that's good and there's the Diwali thing but apart from that there's nothing else that goes on. KW: Ok. Have you had any experiences that have made you think about whether you are English or British, Pakistani or British Muslim or just Pakistani? L: I don't think people..like if you ask people if they are being racist or? KW: No sorry L: What do you mean by that? KW: Has there been anything that's made you think about who you are, whether you are just British or just Pakistani or erm British Pakistani or British Muslim? Which label would you put yourself in?	Thinks school should provide more awareness about other cultures rather than just religious festivals. School does provide the festivals and food but does not provide anymore. L believes they should
		Assumption made by L that experiences that have made her think about her identity are due to racism.
Identity formed by where time has been spent	L: I think because I lived most of my life in Pakistan I would say that I am Pakistani but I was born in England but it doesn't matter where you are born though, yeah you have a British passport. I think I would call myself Pakistani KW: Ok but not British Muslim or.. L: I could say British Pakistani, Pakistani British. I haven't lived here for long to be like proper British KW: What experiences have you had that have made you	Pakistani identity due to living in Pakistan for a long time Not lived in UK for long enough to consider self as British on own

	think of yourself in that way?	
Identity formed by where time has been spent	L: The fact that I've only been here for two years I think that's major. I think if I lived here for a longer time I would be yeah..I would be British	Only lived in UK for two years therefore Pakistani not British
	KW: Would you ever think of yourself as only British or not?	
Identity formed by where time has been spent	L: No cos I come from another place like I come from Pakistan and my mum's Pakistani as well and my grandparents. The only person that's not is my dad but he also has been living in Pakistan, with us he was there	Would not consider self as only British because lived in Pakistan/ family are from Pakistan. Father was born in UK and grew up in UK therefore not Pakistani
	KW: Can I ask why you think of yourself as Pakistani and not Muslim for example?	
Ethnic not religious identity because of relaxed religiousness	L: It's the thing that we're not that religious yeah, I think. Could be Pakistani- Muslim as well but certainly..I thought Pakistani and Muslim would be the same things cos that is the main religion there. Some people are really religious, some people are religious but there's nobody who's not religious at all there. In here people are like atheist and not religious but in Pakistan, people are religious. There's quarter prayer every five times a day and everybody celebrates Eid, everybody celebrates the other Eid, everybody fasts	Not Muslim because not that religious All Pakistanis are Muslim- no-one is not religious
	KW: So there's different degrees of religiousness in Pakistan?	
Perceived similarities in two cultures	L: Yeah, just like here people are religious. <u>Same in two places I think it's the same thing.</u> To be a Pakistani, you are Muslim as well.	<u>Contradiction.</u>
	KW: That's interesting because you said to me that it's a new country so I'm aware that people from that area would see themselves as more Muslim than Pakistani	
	L: Yeah	
	KW: So how do you feel about being Pakistani	Ethnic pride – values being Pakistani
Values ethnic identity	L: Great (laughs). I think there isn't anything wrong with	

	being Pakistani like it's where I'm from and where my parents are from obviously. Erm, it's fine. I wouldn't want to be..I wouldn't change it like if you're trying to ask I wouldn't change it. I'm just happy	*Definite tone, repetition= certainty*
	KW: great, so it's very much part of who you are?	
	L: Yeah, pretty much	
	KW: So imagine you're British or English, what do you think school here would be like for you?	
Perceived similarities in two cultures Religion has its place – not all consuming	L: If I were British? I think it wouldn't be that much of a difference like I don't have any..just cos I've had..I haven't had any problems or people don't like me cos I'm Asian or..yeah but I don't think I would be different except for the fact that I would eat different things, I would not be religious	L does not believe that her school experience would be different if she were British. Only difference is what she eats and her religion. Suggests that not much would change therefore <u>Culture is not all-consuming.</u>
	KW: What would it feel like not being religious?	
	L: I think it would be a bit out of place like .. Christmas people celebrate but it's not really..I don't know what the religion behind it is Christmas if there is any yeah	
	KW: Ok	
	L: Does it make any sense?	
	KW: Yeah it makes sense. Is there anything that you would like school to provide or put in place to do with the things that do at home or that's part of your culture?	
	L: Erm. I don't know what they could do like about they said about the Diwali thing if people are more aware of the celebratory events in Pakistan like Eid and stuff like that I think that would be good yeah.	
	KW: I mean you mentioned to me about the media and how the media puts across that all Muslims are terrorists, what could schools do about that?	
School can't mitigate media portrayal Ethnic teachers to support children to understand new language	L: I don't think they can do anything cos it's just out there like you can't stop it	L does not think that school could do anything to stop media portrayal of Muslims
	KW: What could they do to support the pupils who come to	

	this school to not.. L: .. I think teachers are like ..teachers know that yeah obviously they're aware of it but people just have this image in their heads that all Muslims are terrorists but like they're not. I think most people know that but most people choose not to believe it KW: And you think there's nothing that school can do about that L: Erm..I don't think so like you can't change everybody's mind like you can't when people set their mind on something it's hard to change it KW: What do you think school could do to help other teenagers who come from another country to live in Britain? So not just Pakistani. Anyone?	
	L: I think it would be a good idea to have a teacher who can speak their language when they can't speak the language because I think there's some Asian teachers but I don't think they speak Urdu or Hindi whatever but I think that would be a good idea. For smaller kids as well like than people who have just moved here	Teachers can support immigrant children by speaking a language that children speak Important for young children not just recent migrants
	KW: Why would that help them? L: I think it makes it easier for them to communicate I guess which is really important erm. Easier to learn and you know communicate with other people KW: What do you think teachers could do to help them? L: What do you mean, teachers?	Important for children to learn to communicate
Increased teacher awareness about cultures	KW: You know when children first move to the country, what could teachers do to help them? L: Because when I first moved here I knew English and if people move here and they don't know English, teachers need to be more aware of the places. Like when I told people I was from Pakistan, they were like "where's that?",	Teachers need to have more awareness about different cultures. L spoke English when first moved to UK

Perceived similarities in two cultures	they were really unsure KW: How does it make you feel that they were unsure? L: I think people are just like really unaware or like just don't think anything outside of England yeah KW: OK and is that a bad thing or a good thing? L: I think most people in Pakistan wouldn't know about England as well. I wouldn't say it's completely a bad thing but I think people need to be more aware of other places. Just people in general really not just English people, Pakistani people as well KW: OK. I think I've asked you as much as I can. Thank you.	Awareness needed for all. <u>Suggests L thinks that lack of understanding due to lack of awareness that both cultures have.</u>

Step 4: Searching for connections across emergent themes

Chronological order of Themes – Laila

Personal qualities and skills enabling adaptation

Fair and moderate parenting

Socio-economic status

Easy integration in new culture

Similarities between L and British Pakistani teenagers. People unaware of similarities

Personal qualities and skills enabling adaptation

Integrated friendships

Integration through having things in common with host group

Native peers welcoming to L

Lack of school ethnic density

Positive ethnic identity – speaks native language in school. Integrated

Lack of mixing due to established friendships in school

Flexibility in friendships suggesting integration

Perceived similarities in two cultures

Integration

Integration

Decreasing religiousness with generations

Raising awareness in teachers and peers – not prejudice just lack of understanding

People's perceptions based on what they hear

Balanced view about world

Perceived similarities in two cultures

Media informing people's perceptions which are incorrect

Media informing people's perceptions which are incorrect

Stable integrated identity at school and home

Positive ethnic identity

Sliding scale of religiousness. Religion has its place

Religion has its place

Religion has its place in Pakistan

Religion has its place

Religion not all-important

Participates in culture

Integrated at home

Family integrated

Stable integrated identity at home and school

Stable integrated identity at home and school

Adaptability

Positive ethnic identity

Lack of opportunity in school to speak native language

Values ethnic identity

School acknowledges other cultures

School needs to provide more cultural awareness

Identity formed by where time has been spent

Identity formed by where time has been spent

Identity formed by where time has been spent

Ethnic not religious identity because of relaxed religiousness

Perceived similarities in two cultures

Values ethnic identity

Perceived similarities in two cultures

Religion has its place – not all consuming

School can't mitigate media portrayal

Ethnic teachers to support children to understand new language

Increased teacher awareness about cultures

Perceived similarities in two cultures

Step 4: Reflective diary for Laila

Laila is in Year 11. She is third generation Pakistani British. Her grandparents moved to England and her father was born and raised in the UK. Laila's mother was born in Pakistan. Laila lived in Pakistan from the age of 3 and she joined the school in Year 10. Laila attended a private school in Islamabad in Pakistan. Father is university educated in the UK. Laila's family are from a higher socio-economic background. Laila said that her family are not all that religious. Laila said she is religious to an extent. Her grandparents are most religious but her parents prioritise her education and welfare over religion. Laila is outgoing and speaks fluent English. She reports that it was easy for her to adapt to a new culture and make friends in her school. Laila appears to have positive ethnic identity and fully engages in the British culture. She does not believe that she would have to change her values, beliefs or behaviour if she were White British. Laila appears to have an integrated Pakistani and British identity which is the same in both home and school contexts. Laila perceives herself to be Pakistani because of the time she spent in Pakistan. Although her best friend is White British, she does not feel that she could call herself British yet because she has not lived here long enough.

Step 4: Produce graphic representation of structure of emergent themes

Social, familial and personal factors supporting integration

Personal qualities and skills enabling adaptation

Fair and moderate parenting

Socio-economic status

Balanced view about world

Family integrated

Adaptability

Place of religion

Decreasing religiousness with generations

Sliding scale of religiousness.

Religion has its place

Religion has its place in Pakistan

Religion not all-important

Values and beliefs about living in two cultures

Native peers welcoming to L

Positive ethnic identity

Values ethnic identity

Perceived similarities in two cultures

Identity formed by where time has been spent

Ethnic not religious identity because of relaxed religiousness

Experience of negotiating two identities

Integrated friendships

Integration through having things in common with host group

Flexibility in friendships suggesting integration

Stable integrated identity at school and home

Participates in culture

speaks native language in school.

Lack of mixing due to established friendships in school

School supports integration

School acknowledges other cultures

School can't mitigate media portrayal

Ethnic teachers to support children to understand new language

Increased teacher awareness about cultures

Data Analysis for Tariq

Emergent THEMES		Exploratory Comments - Descriptive (normal print), linguistic (italics), conceptual (underlined)
	KW: A new boy has just moved into [town] and he has just started at this school. He doesn't know anything about you but wants to get to know you better. How would you describe yourself in 5 words to him? T: Well, like in what way? KW: If you wanted to explain to him what you are like, who you are. How would you in five words, describe you to him? T: I'm just me	
Struggling to define self	KW: How would you describe yourself to me then?	*Struggling to define self? Is this reflected by this sentence?*
Conflict between two cultures	T: Me? Quiet, I can be shy sometimes but once you get to know me, I'm pretty outgoing. KW: If this person knew absolutely nothing about you, anything about X, the town, the school, what other things would you use to describe yourself to him so that he got a sense of who you are?	Refers to individual characteristics not group memberships. Collective societies e.g Asian reference to self would be group membership
Everyone knows everyone	T: Well if he doesn't know me then..I'm pretty well known. Like around where we live and also… I'd probably be surprised to be honest because there's not a lot of new people who start.. KW: So you are quite well known in your area? T: Yeah. KW: Can I ask why you are well known? T: Just through football to be fair cos around	Everyone knows him. He knows everyone

	in my street, like when I was younger, we used to do sport around there, we used to play cricket and things. Now as we've grown up, we play football and quite a lot of us are pretty good at it. It's a pretty big thing there.	Football referred to this as English part of life later on.
	KW: So you are quite a good footballer?	
Being on display	T: Cos there's quite a lot of people there and like, they know my family so they know me and they keep tabs on how I'm doing and always asking me things	Everyone knows everyone. No privacy. Checking up on him? Information gets passed back to family? Sense of not being able to relax because always watched
	KW: so your family's quite well known as well? Can I ask why your family's quite well known?	
Being on display	T: I think it's probably because a) most of my uncles are taxi drivers so they see people out and about and things or the other thing is my dad is a part time electrician so he can fix things and he's at their house and sometimes…	Sources of information about Tariq and his family- being seen by uncles and dad hearing information from others., His community is tight knit and everyone knows everyone
	KW: So your family and you are quite well known in your community? Yeah. You mentioned that people keep tabs on you, can I ask you what people they are and what you mean by that?	
Being on display	T: They're like family friends. They've got to know my dad somehow and they make friends with me. Like thing is in our culture, if it's your dad's friend, it's your friend, you treat them as a friend.	Everyone knows everyone
	KW: how do you feel about the fact that you are quite well known and they keep tabs on you?	

Lack of privacy from own peer group	T: <u>Sometimes it can be a bit of a pain obviously. Sometimes when they see me out and about with friends…questions…just people being people really. Other than that, it's fine. Most of the time, like a lot of them are my friends but they're pretty older. It's just like, it's mostly their sons and that kind of thing. Like they're older than me but they're not that older, like maybe 18, 19</u> KW: So not that much older. Are they the ones that keep tabs on you? T: Yeah. KW: So when they keep tabs on you, what would they do? T: If they saw me out and about on the street, they would stop and watch me play football, stuff like that. KW: <u>So is it a case that you don't have that much privacy, is that..?</u>	*Expresses irritation* Lack of privacy/ intrusion <u>Own peer group pressures?</u>
Feelings about lack of privacy	T: <u>Sort of.. yeah. It's annoying.</u> KW: so what is it like to go to this school? T: This school? It's ok. [pause] <u>It would have been a bit better but it'll do, it'll do.</u> KW: What do you mean it could have been a bit better? T: It's like, I don't really enjoy it much. KW: Do you not? T: <u>No school in general annoys me.</u> KW: So this school in general or school in general? T: <u>I suppose this school in general has been good to me.</u> It's like I've been..Obviously I've	Lack of privacy annoying School annoys Tariq <u>Has he said this because we are on school</u>

	grown up here, I know a lot of people, it feels nice. KW: So what is it about school that could be better?	premises? Difficult to know what Tariq is feeling. Is Tariq being guarded?
Host peer group lack of shared understanding.	T: <u>People don't understand that there's quite a lot of us from different backgrounds and things so they don't understand some things like maybe it's not just socially acceptable for me to come out at 10 o'clock at night and stuff like that</u>	Host group pressures/tensions/ lack of awareness making school not as good as it could be
Conflict between two cultures	KW: Socially acceptable for who? T: For us KW: And who doesn't think it's socially acceptable?	Not socially acceptable for Tariq and ethnic peers to be out at 10 at night.
Lack of shared understanding by host group	T: <u>Like without sounding dodgy, white people</u> KW: So they are the ones who are judging you?	White peers don't understand that Tariq can't stay out late.
	T: No not really judging. <u>They're just unaware</u>	Host group not making judgements about his way of life. They just don't know about his way of life.
Isolation due to lack of trust/ misunderstanding culture	KW: Long pause. I have to reiterate to you that your individual interview won't get heard by anyone so you can be as open and honest as you want to be. So it's important that you can feel like that. KW: So who are your friends in school then? T: My friends? I don't know. I'm a bit of a social butterfly. Whoever comes to me, I'm happy and dandy with them. But to be fair<u>, I don't really have any close friends. I just keep people at arm's length.</u> KW: Why is that?	*KW sensing that Tariq is feeling guarded so confidentiality reiterated.* <u>Isolation expressed because lack of close friends. Is T close to any friends at home? Is he able to talk to anyone because it may get</u>

	T: <u>Just trust issues.</u> KW: Do you mind me asking why do you have trust issues with people at the moment? T: I don't know. I only talk to my mum about it and she said maybe it's because you were born premature. I was born like 10 weeks premature. Something like that and then I was in hospital for a long time and then… then I had a hernia after that and then after that I got meningitis but <u>yeah she said "maybe your head's just a bit a bit weird"</u>	<u>back to family?</u> Keeping people at arm's length because of mistrust. <u>Is this because people in school lack of understanding him? Does he keep people at arms length at home?</u>
Difficulties in navigating two cultures seen as pathology	KW: So are your friends from your community in this school then? T: Yeah. KW: Would you say the majority are all.. or would you say you have friends who are white British as well?	<u>Parent lack of understanding of effects and pressure of growing up in 2 cultures. Tariq's difficulties in negotiating cultures seen as a problem with him. Pathology. Isolation experienced because he is not understood at home</u>
Integration in school	T: <u>I have got friends who are White British as well. For me personally, it's a mix of both</u> KW: Ok, ok, so do you tend to mix with people who are not from your community at break and lunch times? T: Yeah KW: You do? OK. So is there any preference at all? T: No KW: No? T: But to be fair most of the time it is mixed KW: Ok. Has that created any issues for you mixing with friends from your community and friends who aren't?	<u>Integrated in school- mixes with host and heritage group</u> <u>No preference is a contradiction. He keeps white peers at a distance. Is this the same for ethnic peers in school?</u>
Conflicts caused by parental expectations vs host	T: <u>The only thing is sometimes at home</u>. Not	Integration creating issues at home not

culture. Parental separation expectations	really in school. At home. <u>Like sometimes my dad will see me with them when I'm out and about and [he] wants me to mix with kids from my own background sometimes.</u> KW: Why does he not want you to mix with kids..?	school. Dad prefers Tariq to mix with own group
Parent lack of understanding about host culture	T: The thing is because a) he doesn't really know them well and b) it's cos like cos he's a taxi driver, he picks them up at like late at night in their worst states. That kind of gives him a bad image about them straight away. KW: So does he have that impression about White kids?	Dad lack of understanding of host culture and has a negative view of them
Parent sees host as bad influence	T: Sort of. <u>He just doesn't want me turning out like that cos he knows that I'm easily influenced. I guess he wants to protect me</u> KW: And what are your feelings about that?	Dad sees host culture peers as bad influence on Tariq
Difficult father-son relationship	T: I mean as a whole, great, it's nice. But me and my dad don't really have much of a relationship so.. KW: And is that recently or.. T:..No, no, it's just been one of those things over the years. We haven't really grown close. [Long pause] KW: So is that with your dad something that has always been or part of the culture? T: That's always how it's been. I mean we have our own on and off moments to be fair. <u>Well, that's about it</u>. My mum always says "my relationship with you feels like a big rollercoaster" KW: With your dad?	Nice that dad cares and protects Tariq. Lack of relationship between Tariq and dad. *Is this difficult for Tariq to talk about because of long pause?* Ending the topic because it's difficult to talk about his relationship with dad?

Difficulty in negotiation of 2 cultures seen as pathology	T: No. Me and people in general. I don't know I go through weird mood swings and things. KW: Do you think..is that quite recently then? T: No, I've just grown up with it. [Long pause] KW: Do you have school dinners or do you bring packed lunch to school? T: A bit of both to be fair. I've got a .. <u>there's a teacher upstairs in LS called XX [bilingual teaching assistant]. She's like my second mum in</u> school. She buys me ..I get her to buy me lunch sometimes when I want a hot meal. KW: Why does she buy you lunch? T: <u>She does.</u> She says I'm like her son. KW: Oh right, ok. So when you have the hot dinners in school that XX buys you, what are they like?	<u>Is Tariq accepting that his problems with people are related to his mood swings and like mum suggests, is Tariq's problem?</u> *Difficulty in talking about mood swings – long pause.* *This seemed easier for Tariq to talk about. Change in tone of voice. Possibly discussion about family relationships is difficult.* *Says this playfully*
Integrated	T: they're alright. <u>Sometimes it's pasta and sauce. Other times it's pizza</u>. KW: Do you have Pakistani food in the school at all? [T shakes head] Do they not do that kind of food? T: Not really. The closest they ever get to it is burgers KW: Really? Is that Pakistani food? T: It's just like a kebab. KW: They don't do halal food at all? T: I think they do but I don't think I've eaten it KW: You said to me that you sometimes bring food into school, what kind of food do you bring into school? T: I can show you now if you want. KW: no, you can tell me (Both laugh)	Eats English food in school Doesn't eat Pakistani food in school *Playful in way he says this. Seeming more relaxed.* Eats snacks in school

Feelings about shifting identity	T: I think personally it's just down to me. It's snacking preferences and things. And <u>plus the food that .at home drives me crazy</u>. KW: Why?	Mum's cooking at home drives him mad
Compartmentalising cultures allows routine	T: Right cos at the moment my mum doesn't understand. <u>I like my routine but my mum wants to be "experimentive" and try all these new foods and things.</u> Like the other night we had spaghetti Bolognese and we had like it's annoying loads of …different foods from different backgrounds. Like one night we'll have Italian, the next we'll have something else KW: is she quite good at cooking these foods? T: Yeah. My mum is. KW: So what would you prefer then cos you said you like your routine?	<u>Mum cooking English food is adding to Tariq's confusion about home and school. Does Tariq want to keep home and school separate? Having a routine means that you know where you are? Feeling of having to adapt</u>
Compartmentalising cultures allows to know limits	T: I like my routine <u>I'll stick to one. Like I'll stick to Englishy food or Pakistani food. Cos in the Pakistani food, I know to eat less cos there's so much spice and that, it hurts. I know what to eat and what not to eat</u> KW: what is wrong with having a bit of a mix? T: <u>It's like, you don't want to overload the truck</u>. KW: <u>So would you prefer it if you ate Asian food at home and English food at school?</u> T: <u>That's ok, yeah.</u> KW: What about if you had Asian food at school? T: <u>It'll be ok, I guess but it wouldn't be from</u>	One or the other food <u>Confusion because too much choice. Desire to only be given one choice- reflected in identity? Pakistani food analogy for religion- know his limits? Life may be simplified by not having choice</u> <u>Expressing feeling overwhelmed? Relate to train analogy?</u> <u>Wanting to compartmentalise school and home</u>

Compartmentalising cultures	<u>my mum so it wouldn't be the same. I only really trust my mum's cooking.</u> (Both laugh) KW: Do you learn about your culture and your religion in school?	<u>Does this reflect Tariq's confusion? Or is it ok to have a mix at school but home needs to be completely Pakistani?</u>
Cultural learning at mosque	T: No, not in school. I mean the only reason I learn about is cos I do RE but otherwise no. <u>The only time I really learn about my religion is at the mosque</u> KW: Do you think it is important to learn about Pakistan and Islam in your school?	Learns about religion at mosque not school
Raise awareness to host peers is beneficial	T: For me personally it would be, yeah it would be great but it would benefit other people as well. <u>Like White people for instance cos they don't really know much. They can't make that assumption and go ahead with what they know. It would educate them</u> KW: And what would it do once they're educated?	Teaching Islam would benefit peers. Raise awareness/ understanding for White peers
	T: It would help us at the same time. It would help us as well like they know we know and <u>we could all live together probably</u>. KW: So do think it's the misunderstanding [T: Yeah] that's causing the issues? T: Yeah pretty much KW: The misunderstandings are they actually occurring in this school or is it outside?	Raising awareness for White peers to share understanding of cultures. <u>Is Tariq saying that he can't live with peers? Is this about being harmonious? Is there hostility he doesn't want to tell me?</u>
Lack of shared cultural understanding by peers	T: Sometimes in this school cos like I've had like in the past couple of weeks, I've had quite <u>a lot of jokes made about</u> cos like, at home we've started eating beef which is not a lot of people eat it much. It's a bit optional, it's preferences and we started eating it.	Misunderstanding by White peers about his culture in school. *Sometimes- is this referring to frequency in school or it happens outside?* Jokes made about what he does at home

Lack of understanding by host peers about cultural practices	Everyone else really eats chicken. It's only me. It's really repetitive. KW: So you said in the past couple of weeks, there have been people talking T: Oh yeah. Just sometimes they're only joking, they offer me a ham sandwich or something like that KW: Are these British White people that do that? T: Yeah KW: Do you think they understand what they're doing?	British people offering ham sandwich. Pork is prohibited in Islam.
	T: Most them understand what they're doing. Most of them do it as a joke. KW: Is it something that offends you?	Raise awareness/ understanding food related to religion in Islam?
Relaxed about religion	T: Not really, I'm pretty loose about religion. KW: when you say loose, what do you mean? T: I mean as in, oh no, religion's completely different topic for me. It's like I could go on for hours about my religion. It's like at the	Feels relaxed about religion therefore not offended
Confusion about identity Isolation	moment, I'm questioning Islam and everything else. **It's driving me mental** because I don't know what category I fit into. It's just annoying. KW: when you say category, are you saying Muslim or non-Muslim?	Feeling lost. Quite liberal in religion. There is a sense that Tariq is struggling to know which direction to go in. *Strong emotions expressed.* Isolation expressed because no one can guide him. *Category suggests Tariq thinks he is one or the other*
Religion is all-consuming. Dilemma about identity	T: Yeah. Cos for me that's what defines me as being Pakistani like my religion. If I practice my religion more, I'll be recognised more as a Pakistani (Long Pause) KW: where are those views coming from?	Being Muslim is all-defining. If you are a Muslim, you are Pakistani. If you are not Muslim, you are not Pakistani and therefore White? *Difficult topic for him to talk about.*

Community shapes meaning of Muslim-ness	T: <u>It's just in the community and</u> that kind of thing. It's just the thing they believe in. <u>Cos Pakistan is an Islamic state, our religion defines who we are as a person. Our ability to practice our religion it affects our reputation outside</u> (long pause)	Community has shaped beliefs about what it means to be Pakistani/ Muslim
Religion affects reputation	KW: what would be the consequences for you if you did think you are not Muslim?	<u>Is Tariq saying that you don't belong if you are not Muslim? If you are not a Muslim it affects how you are seen by the community. Family and personal honour?</u>
	T: (Long pause). <u>It'll probably affect how things are with my family but to be fair, I don't think I would do so it's all ok</u>	
Religion affects family relationships	KW: Would you say both your parents are very religious or not?	*Slow when discussing this*<u>. Not being Muslim will affect family relationships. Does it affect family reputation?</u>
	T: <u>My dad's definitely more religious than my mum.</u> My dad's just came back from pilgrimage so he's probably at the peak of his …that upbringing..that experience that's led to his bring more religious. Close to God. Cos like my dad's brother died, his blood brother. He's younger than ..my dad's got 4, 5 brothers in Pakistan. One of them died. Cos <u>my dad's the eldest</u> and he went down..he was the third one down and he died, he died in a pretty bad way as well.	Dad much more religious than mother
Family pressure to be religious		Dad is the oldest soon like Tariq. <u>Does Tariq feel he needs to become like dad? Sons tend to identify with fathers. Is this attainable- T is loose with his religion</u>
	KW: And has this led him to go on pilgrimage T: Yeah	
	KW: what would be the consequences if you decided to be Muslim and be religious?	
	T: <u>The consequences? I don't think there would be any. I would be happy with it.</u> I mean	Tariq says there are no consequences to decision about being Muslim. <u>However, why is he confused about which path to go down?</u>

Confusion about identity	<u>for me personally I have no problem in when time comes</u> and I've already said to my dad, I'm only going to get married til I'm 25, I don't care what you say, I'm getting married at 25 and no earlier. He says, yeah that's fine. <u>I want to get a career and things. Things set up so then I'll seriously consider marriage and that.</u>	<u>There is a sense that when Tariq gets older, he would be happy to follow the traditions of Pakistani culture but not while he is young? Suggesting that parents are in control of his life but he is negotiating when.</u>
Family dictating life		
	<u>Even</u> if we go to Pakistan to find my wife, I'll be yeah that's fine<u>. I know he'll back that up</u> cos when I went to my uncle's wedding a couple of years ago, I was the best man then. It was brilliant, I was rolling in rupees. People were spreading cash all over me I was like	*<u>Emphasis on "even" suggesting that going to Pakistan to find wife may be testing the limits of what he wants?</u>* <u>T suggesting he is able to choose within what parents are dictating?</u>
Positive participation in cultural practices	<u>"Yeah, this is the life"</u> and they had the drums out and your head was banging, it was great. It was crazy. Yeah I was the best man at the wedding. And what happened was someone ..people speak and they make stupid rumours up ..someone said I fancied someone else and <u>my dad's mum, she straightaway rang on the phone "your son's in love with someone".</u> My dad was like "why do you care about his happiness and not yours?" So I know he'll let me pick..	Takes pleasure in cultural traditions. *Expressive*
Being on display		*Sense that Tariq is on display – number of times people have kept tabs, watched him, talked in the interview.*
	KW: Do you do anything different at school than what you might do at home? T: In what way? KW: I'm kind of thinking about things like hobbies and interests	

	T: Hobbies and interests? (Pause)	*Thinking rather than uncomfortable silence*
	KW: is there anything that you would do just in school that you might not do at home?	
	T: Ermmm.. not really. I think I do things at both places	*Suggesting that his life is the same at home and school.*
	KW: Do you do anything differently at home than you would do at school?	
	T: <u>The only thing I can think of is I pray</u>	<u>Religion defines his home life – the only different thing that he does compared to school</u>
Religion is all-consuming	KW: do you not pray in school?	
	T: No, it's just never been a done thing.	
	KW: It's never been a done thing in school?	
	T: Yeah	
	KW: Is that people in your community have decided or..?	
	T: No, it's just never come around before.	
	KW: Is it an expectation from your family that you pray five times?	
	T: It's sort of trying to drill it into my head. Like I said I'm pretty loose but now Ramadan's coming so I'll probably tighten up my schedule. But most of the time, I do manage to pray the second, third and fourth prayer just the one getting up really early and the one late at night<u>. They kill me</u>. I need my sleep	Observing and takes part in traditions. Tries to do more during special events

Prays 3 times a day |
Participation in cultural traditions		
	KW: When you say late at night, how late?	*Strong expression – can sense the extreme tiredness this causes "they kill me"*
Difficulties in maintaining cultural traditions	T: I mean it can go as late as 11.45. It can go as early as 5ish, 4ish <u>when you're just in that mood and you just want to rest</u>.	*Emphasises this sentence in tone to reflect when you just want to sleep*
	KW: So you mentioned to me that you are part of a religion, you mentioned to me that you're quite loose with your religion, would you want to be stricter in your religion?	

	T: Not really, no. <u>The way I am now, I'm happy with it. As I grow older, I'll become more wiser, I'll know what's right for me.</u>	Happy about being relaxed about religion for now. <u>There is a sense that T will become more traditional and wiser when he gets older- ref: to marriage determined by family. Is he unwise now?</u>
Confusion about identity becomes clearer with age		*I sensed earlier that T is unsure of who he is so asked question*
	KW: What is causing you to be on that cusp of knowing and not knowing	Seeing alternatives ways of life. No making mistakes.
		Need to be careful with choices of life
Dilemmas of identity	T: <u>Just growing up here. It's just I see other ways of life and I've got to remember that those ways of life are for life and pick wisely. Once you go there, there's no coming back. Your whole world is moulded around that</u>	Your whole world is moulded around how you live your life. <u>Sense of enormity of task for T deciding his identity. Also sense of impossibility- he is British Muslim and will need to adopt Muslim way of life and reject British life</u>
Religion is all-consuming-		
Becoming more religious is Impossible		
	KW: Is that something that you are taught in the Koran?	Admits that these are his private thoughts
	T: Probably. Don't know, it's a personal thing to be fair. A bit of an analogy.	
	KW: So how do you spend time with your family?	
Positive family environment	T: I've got to say at the moment, life at home is pretty good cos… it makes me laugh. Me and my little brothers are just close, really really close. Like you see those movies of <u>those small, cosy, overcrowded little houses full of kids</u>. Cos there's 5 of us at home, 5 kids and my mum and dad so there's 7 of us in a 3 bedroom house so it's pretty cosy. Just to top it all off, we've got a cute cat..called Tiger and we also got 2 goldfish called Shark and Whale	*Easy for T to talk about- change in tone- lighter, quicker and louder*
		Happy family life

Enormous responsibility for choice of identity	so and…I don't know me and my little brothers we got on so much better recently and we've knitted together into a tight little…I don't think anything could separate us so I know I'll have them in the future. KW: So are you the eldest? T: Yeah. I'm the eldest. I'm the eldest grandson. I'm like… as they <u>say next in line to the throne which is great</u>. It's like the mafia or something. <u>I'm the next godfather</u> [Pause] KW: So you mentioned to me that you attend mosque. How often do you attend mosque? T: Every single day KW: Every single day?	*Tone changes when says eldest- quiet then picks up when mentions eldest grandson.* <u>Reflects enormity of future awaiting him</u> *Quiet tone although jokey.* <u>Head of the family equals responsibility for family's reputation and honour</u> *Emphasises these words- tedium, routine, commitment?*
Adopting a role expected by community	T: Every single day. At least for now. Definitely most days maybe some days I might not because of commitments. <u>Definitely</u> weekdays at least now. KW: What would you do in the mosque? T: Normally for me personally because I've read the Koran three times, for me it's <u>a bit of a social</u> to be fair but other that we just go there with your mosque teacher, read Koran with all your friends and <u>sometimes have a bit of a laugh</u> KW: When you talk about going to the mosque, is that the same as going to community school? T: I wouldn't say it's a community school. It's the way that the religious leaders live their life.	*Sensing the commitment when saying definitely* *Seriousness expressed* Social aspect <u>The seriousness and commitment to the mosque contrasts to what T actually does in the mosque. Is the social T, the real one? The serious, committed T is imposed?</u> Describe mosque

	They put on classes for kids and they do what the want, they tell us what they like or about the spiritual world or financial world. So at our mosque, we make it so that we follow our religious leader and we have two classes- first class and second class. First class is 4.30 – 5.30 so it's mostly little kids who don't go to afterschool, clubs. They're really little. And all the little girls..they both read separate boys and girls and then in the second class, most of us are teenagers and what not and ..yeah us teenagers we go and read at 5.30-6.30. <u>We all know each other in there</u>. <u>It's not that big [City] is pretty cosy</u>	
On display		<u>Word cosy used to describe family- Mosque/ city like family therefore tight knit, close and overcrowded? Everyone knows everyone – no space</u>
	KW: So do you watch any films or listen to any music at home? T: That's pretty much my life to be fair. It's mixed at the moment. Erm.. some days it could be 'Finding Nemo' with my little cousin or brothers. It could be some scary horror movies with my mum and the next it could be some drama with my dad	Spends free time at home watching films with family
	KW: So do they tend to be more Western films or Asian films? T: It's mixed	<u>Integrated at home</u>
	KW: We've talked about the friends you have at home. I don't know if there is anything extra you want to tell me about that?	
Compartmentalising cultures	T: <u>The only thing I'd say is I do distinguish my English friends from school from my friends outside school. For me there's a strict line</u> KW: can you tell me a little more about that?	Strict line between home and school friends

Keeping host friends at a distanc	T: <u>I'll only keep the friends at school at arm's length like without sounding harsh white people. I'll only keep them at arm's length.</u> <u>They just live a different life to me so I don't know much about them.</u> And like I said <u>trust issues</u>..it's just one of those things. You don't really know them so..	White British friends are not allowed to get too close
Lack of shared understanding about host culture		Don't understand British way of life. Don't trust them because don't know them
	KW: Trust issues because they don't understand you or ..?	
Lack of understanding breeds mistrust	T: Sort of..It's like..it's..yeah..[pause] it just is. It's a bit different ..they don't really know us well	*Struggling to verbalise this Quiet tone, speaks slowly and thoughtfully.* Trust issues because misunderstand each other
	KW: So what about your friends at home?	
	T: <u>My friends at home are pretty much all like me. We're all Muslim.</u> We live on xxx, it's predominantly Muslim and right behind us is xx and that's like a bit of a slum if you like but it's very, very Pakistani.	*Speaks louder, more quickly- easier to talk about?*
	It's <u>foreign</u> to be honest. We mix a lot with Polish so yeah..	Lives in concentrated ethnic area/ poor area/ split acculturation
	KW: So is it your family mixes with a lot of Polish or you and your friends?	
	T: It's just the Polish live around us and we see them a lot. It's hard to ignore people so we've sort of grown up with them.	<u>Foreign – does T see himself as foreign or is it the Pakistanis who have not integrated yet?</u>
	KW: Why have you not kept them at arm's length?	
Shared understanding with another cultural group	T: We have but …<u>they're sort of going through the same thing as us…not so much with the religion but the way they live life</u>.	The Polish can understand them because there are differences between their heritage and dominant cultures. Pakistanis and Polish have
	KW: OK, in what way?	
	T: <u>In just like cultural differences like staying</u>	

	out late at night and things like that …yeah.	something in common.
	KW: Are you bilingual?	
	T: Oh yeah. I'm pretty proud I can speak three languages. I can speak English, I can speak..I'm confused on what our language is called at the moment but all I know is we can't write it on paper.	
	KW: Where are you from in Pakistan?	
	T: Sensa	
	KW: is it Mirpuri that you speak?	
	T: No. I know it's definitely not Urdu because I've been trying to learn it in the past couple of weeks and it's banging my head in. I don't know, we call it 'Bari', it's just something from the mountains. So we pretty much live on the side of a mountain	
	KW: So it's a dialect you speak as well. And you speak Urdu?	
	T: I'm trying, trying. Not very good at it but I'm trying.	
	KW: So how fluent would you say your Urdu is?	
	T: My Urdu isn't very fluent at all. But Urdu and my home language kind of overlap. I can tell what they're saying sort of put up a rough conversation but I'm ok. On a scale of 1-10, I rate myself at 4.	
	KW: How about your home language? How fluent are you in that?	
	T: I'm fluent in that	
	KW: Do you ever speak your home language in school?	

Participates in cultural practices	T: <u>Yeah. Quite a lot to be honest.</u> KW: And when do you speak these? T: Just to my other Pakistani friends KW: Do you ever speak it in front of your White British friends?	Proficient in home language. <u>Engages in sociocultural practices of culture</u>
Positive ethnic identity	T: Yes, yes. KW: What is their reaction to it?	Speaks language in school. <u>Positive ethnic identity</u>
Positive ethnic identity	T: Nothing. Some of them laugh<u>. Some of them try to copy what I'm saying and just make themselves look like fools.</u> Sometimes they ask us "what the hell does that mean?" Just curious. <u>Sometimes it gives us an edge in sports and things. That's great yeah. Victory! We can all speak in our language and they've got no idea what we are saying!</u> KW: So when your friends are laughing and copying you, how does that make you feel?	<u>Reflects has a good ethnic identity because their laughing is them being fools not his language/ ethnicity is something he should be ashamed of.</u>
Jokes made by host group about ethnicity	T: <u>I'm not that bothered. I mean them taking the mick out of us is a whole different thing so</u> KW: So when they're laughing and copying, they're not taking the mick? T: It's just a bit of a laugh KW: You mentioned to me that you're Muslim.. T: Oh and one more thing, I'm learning German in school. I've got my German exam soon but I'm definitely going to get a grade in GCSE German KW: Well done! So you mentioned to me that you're Muslim, if you had a choice would you do some of the things that you've told me about?	Doesn't think there is discrimination just people making themselves look silly. <u>Reflects good ethnic identity</u>

| Religion as all-consuming | T: Pause
KW: Like attending mosque, speaking your language, praying
T: Yeah
KW: can you tell me a little bit more? About why you would carry on doing those things if you had a choice?
T: Because for me , that's like a way of life. It's like if you do believe in, if you have a spiritual side to you..for me personally if a person's got a spiritual side or not and <u>if you have it's up to you if you want to go up that path and make that journey and if you haven't found that calling yet, you can't rush it. You've got to wait til it comes . if it never comes then you just yeah…</u>
KW: Is that something you've been taught from the Koran?
T: Probably. Cos the thing is when people convert, we treat them, it says in the Koran treat someone that's converted like they've been your brother forever and so <u>when they convert we treat them like we've known them all our life. And anything they've done bad before is completely forgiven.</u> They're like a new person. We relate it like a new born baby
KW: so what does school do to help you understand and learn about your culture?
T: Not a lot to be honest. I think the only reason why I've personally done is cos of RE. That's about it. For my exams, I've got to use Islamic quotes and things so I learn about my | I had to explain this to prompt an answer

Tentative expression broken up – not fluent

A sense that his future of being more religious depends on waiting for a calling but his/ family reputation depends on religiousness. Can sense the anxiety- what if it never happens?

Tails off

<u>Washing away sins? Has T referred to this because by becoming stricter in religion, it cleanses all the non-religious / British stuff he does?</u>

School doesn't help to learn about Islam except RE |

Learning about culture in school	culture. I just learn more about it. KW: So would you say you're English, or British- Pakistani, British- Muslim or Pakistani? If you had to put yourself into one of those categories? T: British Muslim KW: tell me a bit more about why you've chosen that label?	British Muslim- <u>integrated identity</u>
Integrated identity Confusion about identity because of his roots	T: <u>Because yeah I do do things differently, I do go to mosque, I pray, I do read the Koran and speak my own language but at the end of the day, I've grown up here and some of my things are the same as theirs like football and I don't know English clothes and that anyway</u> KW: This is just a curiosity that I've got. Why do you not define yourself as just British or just Pakistani or just Muslim?	<u>Drawing on similarities with British contributes to British identity. Differences mean that he is Muslim</u> Grown up in Britain and engaging in British activities makes him British
Compartmentalising cultures	T: because most of my lifestyle, <u>my way of life falls into both categories so it's not definite.</u> I can't just completely distinguish myself from one to the other KW: How do you feel about being British Muslim then? T: <u>I'm happy with it. It's a credit to be one</u> KW: What experiences have you had to make you think about whether you are British-Muslim?	<u>Sense that T's difficulties are distinguishing between whether he is Muslim or British and he can't because his way of life is both. Perceived pressure from the community and dad to be just Muslim. Some mention of pressure from host group further on.</u> <u>Positive integrated identity</u>
Shifting identity Life is dictated by others	T: Long pause. <u>I just say the whole mosque and school routine. They're both side by side. Jumping from one culture to a different culture completely quick. Like for me, I see it as you go on a train late at night, you don't get off the</u>	<u>Compartmentalising school from mosque/ spilt identity.</u> *Train analogy*- <u>sense that alternating between cultures is non-stop/ no rest – *suggested by*</u>

Effort in maintaining two identities	train, you just keep on going on the train. Every single time the train stops off in a different town, it's a completely new place, completely new culture. You just learn it all again	*"jumping..completely quick".* T is a passenger on the train. The journey and where he stops is not determined by him.
	KW: So you see being Muslim as represented by the mosque and being British as being represented by the school?	*Metaphor seems effortful/ balancing plates/ adapting all the time*
	T: Yeah	*Does not elaborate on this –why?*
	KW: what have you done to find out more about being British Muslim and thinking about who it is that you are?	
Confusion about identity lack of role models	T: Long pause Just other examples really. Other people in my community	Looking at what other people in community do to help think about who he is. His confusion may be that people in his community don't have split identity- lack of role models
	KW: so you look at what they do that's good for you?	
	T: Not really. It's just if I know about that way of life, I carry it out, see how it goes.	
	KW: Imagine if you are English or you are British, what do you think school would be like for you?	
	T: Definitely fall into one category or the other at school. I wouldn't have the same friends at all. It would be completely different.	If T did not have joint identity, he would be one or the other.
	KW: How would it be completely different?	
Life is simple with single identity	T: If I was English, I would only have White friends and if I were Pakistani only, I would only have Pakistani friends	Would only mix with one cultural group only Seems to suggest here that he is a hybrid of the two. He is nether Pakistani or English. Why is he English and not British if he had a single identity? Is Englishness something that can't be attained by those growing up in two cultures.
	KW: So if you were English, you would be..	
	T: English	
	KW: ..and you would just have English friends? Why would you not have any	

	Pakistani friends? T: It's just.. they don't really mix much. Most of them, they don't mix they're in a bit of a [indecipherable], sad as it sounds KW: What would life be like if you were English?	
	T: Completely different. Probably wouldn't have the same analogy of life. It would be pretty different KW: would life be more difficult, more simple or just the same?	Reference to train analogy
Enormous responsibility in choice of identity	T: <u>It would be simpler. It would definitely be simpler</u> KW: can I ask you how it would be simpler? T: <u>because you don't have to make any of these decisions. You don't have to wonder am I going to do, this, this and this about my religion or am I not going to bother with it.</u> I don't really know.. KW: So if you were English you wouldn't have that choice to make? T: yeah KW: Is there anything that school should provide or put in place to do with the things that you do at home? T: what do you mean? KW: Some of the things that you told me that you do at home for example, you attend mosque and you pray, do you think things like that should be provided by the school?	*Life would be simpler as English. Sense of certainty in word "definitely".* <u>If was English, would not have to make decisions about religion and the consequences of not being Muslim e.g family reputation/ individual reputation. Need to pick a way of life, no making mistakes as a Muslim. Don't have this enormous task as English. Would this be the same if he were just Pakistani?</u>
Compartmentalising cultures	T: <u>No</u> KW: You don't think so. What do you think	<u>Possibly because T wants school/ home to be</u>

	school could do to help other teenagers who come into this country to live, to make it a better place for them? T: <u>To be fair, I think it's ok how it is</u> KW: What would have helped you? T: What do you mean? KW: In the beginning, you said to me that school could be better. What could make it better for you? T: I think at if an earlier age, at a much earlier age say like Year 1, Year 2, a child's mind, it's like I see it when a child when they're 1, straightaway they get a memory first til they're 7, their mind is like a recording tape, any information it takes it brings in and it believes in it straight away cos little kids are so gullible. They remember that and that's their way of life. <u>I think if they educate them more about Islam at a younger age, it would as we are all growing up together, it would make them more aware of how we live our life and it would just take the pressure off us</u>..it would make the world better KW: So for the White children…? T: Yeah. Just for everyone in general just to learn how different cultures are different not the same. Somethings aren't the same and they need to learn about that cos it's just a way of life KW: Why would it take the pressure off? T: <u>Because we wouldn't have to explain things so many times and there wouldn't be</u>	<u>separate.</u> School provides sufficient support for minority groups- <u>is this due to T's ability to integrate and adapt in school</u>
Raising awareness of host group		Educating host group younger children about Islam therefore greater understanding of other ways of life. Lack of awareness by host group creating pressure for T. <u>If host group more aware, would they just let Muslim children live their lives as Muslims- not try to get them to engage in British way of life- temptation?</u>
		Wouldn't need to explain self to others- <u>sense having to justify why you do what you do?</u> <u>Causes disagreements- for who?</u>

Raising awareness leads to shared understanding	so many disagreements KW: What do you think teachers could do? T: I think one thing that would definitely benefit is <u>more Asian teachers</u> KW: Why is that? T: <u>Because you treat them like your own mum and dad</u>.	More Asian teachers <u>Close relationships with teachers- comparing to parental relationship- nurture/ close</u>
Lack of understanding in host culture Asian teachers as role models	<u>It's just a completely different relationship not in a bad way or anything</u>, it feels more like your mum or your dad telling you to do things, telling you to remember things. So I remember growing up as a kid, the two people that stood out the most in primary school were Mr M (Asian teacher) and Mrs R (Asian teacher) because they both used to take us out to do Maths just us Pakistani boys. <u>We just saw it as a bit of time out, just learning in a different environment. Maybe it'll help us, learning things with them, it's made things better for me and I think in schools now, they had that sort of thing at a higher level, it would stick into people's minds a bit more cos we feel like we are being told to do something</u>.	<u>Is T suggesting that White teachers don't understand him? They have a closer relationship if teachers were Asian because they are like parents. Parents are like role models</u>
Shared understanding of ethnic teachers		<u>Asian teachers may know how to relate to Pakistani teenagers.</u> Help them with their learning.

Reflective diary for Tariq

Tariq is in Year 11 and is a second generation British Muslim. Father was born in Pakistan and mother was born in England. Tariq is the eldest child in the family of five boys. Tariq's family live in a neighbourhood where there is a concentration of Pakistani people and recent migrants from Poland. Everyone seems to know everyone in the neighbourhood and Tariq feels that he is constantly watched by people who know him and his father such as his uncles, friends and by his father. Tariq reports that he lives in a big family. Tariq's family are of a lower socio-economic status. Tariq is the eldest grandson in his family and he said that one day he will become the head of his family.

Tariq's father is very religious and prefers Tariq to socialise only with his ethnic peers. According to Tariq, his father believes that teenagers from the host culture are a bad influence and this may influence Tariq. Tariq says that he has "loose" beliefs about his religion. However, Tariq feels a lot of conflict about his religion and his sense of who he is and how he feels pressure to become more religious and give up his British identity. According to Tariq giving up his religion would be giving up his cultural identity and this would have consequences in his relationships with his family and the family's reputation. Tariq reports that he has a lot of mixed friendships in school but he holds his White friends at arm's length because he does not trust them as they do not understand his culture. Tariq reports that he struggles with his mother's experimentation with food and that he prefers if she only cooked Asian food because he likes routine. Tariq also mentioned that his mother perceives his identity conflicts as pathology with Tariq. Tariq appears to have a shifting or split identity which changes when he is in school and home and he appears to compartmentalise these to cope with the differing demands of home and school. In school he appears to have an integrated identity and a separatist identity at home. When the boundaries of these merge e.g. mum cooking English food, Tariq struggles to cope with this.

I found it difficult to make sense of Tariq's separation/ integration of home/ school life. There appeared to be no clear patterns. This may be reflected in his thinking therefore making him feel confused.

Chronological order of Themes – Tariq

Struggling to define self

Conflict between two cultures

Everyone knows everyone

Being on display

Being on display

Being on display

Lack of privacy from own peer group

Feelings about lack of privacy

Host peer group lack of shared understanding.

Conflict between two cultures

Lack of shared understanding by host group

Isolation due to lack of trust/ misunderstanding culture

Difficulties in navigating two cultures seen as pathology

Integration in school

Conflicts caused by parental expectations vs host culture.

Parental separation expectations

Parent lack of understanding about host culture

Parent sees host as bad influence

Difficult father-son relationship

Difficulty in negotiation of 2 cultures seen as pathology

Integrated

Feelings about shifting identity

Compartmentalising cultures allows routine

Compartmentalising cultures allows to know limits

Compartmentalising cultures

Cultural learning at mosque

Raise awareness to host peers is beneficial

Lack of shared cultural understanding by peers

Lack of understanding by host peers about cultural practices

Relaxed about religion

Confusion about identity

Isolation

Religion is all-consuming.

Dilemma about identity

Community shapes meaning of Muslimness

Religion affects reputation

Religion affects family relationships

Family pressure to be religious

Confusion about identity

Family dictating life

Positive participation in cultural practices

Being on display

Religion is all-consuming

Participation in cultural traditions

Difficulties in maintaining cultural traditions

Confusion about identity becomes clearer with age

Dilemmas of identity

Religion is all-consuming-

Becoming more religious is Impossible

Positive family environment

Enormous responsibility for choice of identity

Adopting a role expected by community

on display

Compartmentalising cultures

Keeping host friends at a distance

lack of shared understanding about host culture

Lack of understanding breeds mistrust

Shared understanding with another cultural group

Participates in cultural practices

Positive ethnic identity

Positive ethnic identity

Jokes made by host group about ethnicity

Religion as all-consuming

Learning about culture in school

Integrated identity

Confusion about identity because of his roots

Compartmentalising cultures

Shifting identity

Life is dictated by others

Effort in maintaining two identities

Confusion about identity lack of role models

Life is simple with single identity

Enormous responsibility in choice of identity

Compartmentalising cultures

Raising awareness of host group

Raising awareness leads to shared understanding

Lack of understanding in host culture

Shared understanding of ethnic teachers

Graphic representation of emergent themes for Tariq

Host and ethnic peer expectations

Host peer group lack of shared understanding.

Raising awareness of host group

Conflicts caused by parental expectations vs host culture.

Parental separation expectations

Parent lack of understanding about host culture

Parent sees host as bad influence

Community shapes meaning of Muslimness

Family pressure to be religious

Adopting a role expected by community

Surveillance

Role confusion

Struggling to define self

Impossibility of becoming one identity

Positive ethnic identity

Integrated identity

Participation in cultural traditions

Confusion about identity because of his roots

Shifting and balancing identity

Life is simple with single identity

Lack of role models

Coping with identity

Keeping host friends at a distance

Compartmentalising cultures

Sense of identity becoming clearer with age

Psychological impact of managing 2 identities

Isolation due to lack of trust/ misunderstanding culture

Isolation due to parental lack of understanding

Effort in shifting identities

Difficulties in maintaining cultural traditions

Enormous responsibility for choice of identity

Difficulties in navigating two cultures seen as pathology

Anxiety

Religion is all-consuming

Relaxed about religion

Religion affects reputation

Religion affects family relationships

Appendix 15: Step 6 (IPA) Table of recurrent themes

Superordinate theme	Pseudonym									Present in over half of the sample?
	Laila	Tariq	Hanifa	Aslam	Maryam	Mohammed	Parveen	Soraya	Zaeba	
The value of ethnic/religious identity	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	YES
Experience of negotiating dual identities	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	YES
The influences of Others	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	YES
Psychological adaptation	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	YES
The role of school in supporting dual identity	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	YES

Appendix 16: Master themes for the group

Theme 1: The value of ethnic/ religious identity
The place of religion
Religion as priority/ all- important
Religion has its place
Religion less important than school
Operate within confines of religion
Religiousness affects honour and relationships within family
The meaning of not being a Muslim

A positive ethnic identity
Ethnic pride/ value
Functional use of language
Negative perceptions about ethnic in-group in school

Theme 2: Experience of negotiating dual identities
A stable, integrated identity across contexts
Friendships and activities between home and school are the same
Perceived similarities between two cultures
Participation in both cultures

A split, shifting identity between school and home
Conflicts between religion and school
Role confusion because of mixed identity and not one or the other
Split identity between home and school life

Theme 3: The influence of others
Own ethnic group
No pressure from in-group to be Muslim
Community role in surveillance
Community defines Muslim practice

Dominant out-group peers
Popular/ welcoming
Non-judgemental
Degrees of discrimination
- Direct
- Rejection by peers
- Lack of shared understanding

Familial expectations/ beliefs
Socio-economic status
Parental preference in retaining core practices
Parental desire for integration
Conflicts between native peer and parental expectations
Family pressure to be religious/ behave religiously
Parental lack of understanding about managing two cultures

Out-group teachers
Positive relationships
Teacher discrimination
In-group favouritism
Lack of teacher awareness about Pakistani culture.

Theme 4: Psychological adaptation
Cognitive
Valuing and feeling secure about multiple identity
Not knowing who they are because of mixed identity
Interpreting curiosity about ethnicity as threat
Private and public face of identity

Feelings
Isolation
Anger
Anxiety

Behavioural
Adaptable
Tailor life around core aspects of religion
Compartmentalisation

Theme 5: Schools' role in supporting dual identities
Educating and raising awareness of dominant outgroup
- Outgroup peers
    - Reduce discrimination and prejudice
    - Increase shared understanding
    - Reduce pressure
- Teachers
    - Reduce prejudice
        - Ask questions
        - Don't assume
        - Positive ethnic pupil relationships

School guidance and support of newcomers
- In-group buddy
- Bilingual teacher/ role model

Appendix 17: Table of Master themes with supporting quotes

*Text in italics are quotes by the interviewer

Quote number	Theme 1: The value of ethnic/ religious identity
1	• Mohammed: So I read prayers 5 times a day so I have to wake up at 4 o'clock in the morning to read Fajr and then Asr the sword and Magrib and Isha'a. Isha'a's like a 10 o'clock at night. I read them up and I read the Koran every day of the week, seven days and the weekend. Sometimes I do revise it at mosque to read it. Er, I talk my language which is religious because people who convert I teach them as well. Er I help charities because that's part of my religion, like give 6% what you earn to charity which my family and I do. Er that's pretty much it and when it comes to fasting for a month. I do that as well waking up for 19 hours without eating. That's what I do every [indecipherable].
2	• Mohammed:…and to be fair a bit less homework cos I'm piled with home work at the moment. I've got mosque so.. I have to eat and go to sleep as well because I stayed up until 11.30pm last night doing homework and I only had to do three homeworks and it took me three hours to do that. I was proper knackered and I went straight to bed and woke up to be here at 8.30 today.
3	• Tariq: Because for me , that's like a way of life. It's like if you do believe in, if you have a spiritual side to you..for me personally if a person's got a spiritual side or not and if you have it's up to you if you want to go up that path and make that journey and if you haven't found that calling yet, you can't rush it. You've got to wait til it comes . if it never comes then you just yeah…
4	• Soraya: I think with being Muslim it's putting your religion first so I'm kind of not sure where to go there
5	• *So is going to mosque about seeing your friends or it is..?* Aslam: [interrupts]. No more about faith practising religion, keeping the faith going really.

	6	• Hanifa: …I go to mosque every day. Well actually I left recently just because of my GCSEs that I've got so that I can use the hour that I spend at mosque just at home revising cos my sister goes as well. My sister and my brother when they go it's just me at home and then it's easier for me to revise all by myself. I don't have them constantly coming into my room and stuff. So til I've finished and done my last exam I'll probably go back next week or something. I've sort of left while I had these exams on but I do go every day and read the Koran and stuff.
	7	• Laila: Most of the time I'm in school, I don't have time. I know it should be priority but my parents are like you should study and sleep and eat. They don't really like pressure me into their religious stuff
	8	• *Zaeba*: it helps us cos at home we don't really talk about Islam that much cos mum and dad are always out at work so we talk about the five pillars of Islam. I know what they are. At school they explain more about what it is, what's the meaning of it and what they have to do so yeah..a lot.
	9	• Mohammed: The Koran says that two angels are going to come for you and ask you questions, stuff like that and er if you answer them correct you can go to heaven and when it comes to the day of judgement when the world comes to an end and everybody comes like dead or alive, non-believers or believers all religions and questions will be asked about things and er holy prayers, Koran and all that will protect you from being damned to hell.
	10	• Soraya: I think that ..I think my religion is a bit more important cos it's about what you can do in the here and after as well cos we believe that one day all people will leave from this world and there will be a hereafter. What we are doing in this world is preparing for the hereafter erm like, cos yes so that's what we believe in. That's why our religion is more important.
	11	• Laila: No, I think it's part of who I am. I wouldn't change that. I still continue to pray when I can and eat what I do and speak..I wouldn't change it
	12	• Parveen: Maybe not everyone wants to be the same in school, it's better to be different

	13	• Parveen: to be honest I will pick religion more important because it's my religion but at the same time I think being British is important. I was born here, raised here
	14	• Aslam: It's just easier really since we're Pakistani as well we just know the language so occasionally it's easier just to speak Urdu.
	15	• Maryam: [long pause] Well no I have nothing to hide .. like if I spoke to someone like Qxx [Asian male in school] for example cos I knew him from before I don't know how I just do it and I wouldn't talk in Urdu because I don't know if he knows it or not but yeah I have nothing to hide from society so I would just talk in English. I'm not going to slag people behind their back like what those Christians do
	16	• Maryam: Yeah because like if you talk in a different language like my dad he doesn't want er, like when we're in the car going to school, going on the bus because he goes to work sometimes he can't take me so I go on the bus and if he doesn't want people to know (laughing) what he's saying to me he'll just speak in Urdu.
	17	• Parveen: I wouldn't say completely 5 times cos we have school and during school we have 1 or 2 prayers so we miss those out. I'm starting to try to pray 5 times a day
	18	• Soraya: Yeah like when Ramadan comes we tend to fast but like with praying cos it's 5 times a day erm, my mum isn't in the habit of doing it yet so she's like, she wants to get into the habit and set a good example to me and my brother so we can like start praying 5 times a day as well. But some of them are really early and some of it is quite late and like *it gets in the way of school time as well*.
	19	• Maryam: No I don't go to mosque. I used to but he changed the time. It used to be 6 o'clock but now it's changed to 12 so most of the pupils dropped out cos they couldn't make it cos of school and everything. Like the people who don't go to college or university they carried on going basically.
	20	• *So how do you feel about being British Pakistani?* Aslam: It's a good thing. There's no disadvantage or advantages to be one. So it's just like normal really.
	21	• *So you mentioned to me that you're Muslim, if you had a choice would you do some of the things that we've talked about?* Zaeba: Yeah I would. I'm sure about that

		Theme 2: Experience of negotiating dual identities
	22	• Laila: I think because I lived most of my life in Pakistan I would say that I am Pakistani but I was born in England but it doesn't matter where you are born though, yeah you have a British passport. I think I would call myself Pakistani
	23	• Soraya: Erm…I think I feel more..it's kind of mixed cos when we live in Britain and you do like different kind of things it's not for example if you went to a Muslim country you might not be able to do the British things for example simple things like going out they might have strict laws there…
	24	• Soraya: …but I think school work is important just as much as well cos like obviously we're going to have to have a job and live life when we're here and erm, obviously we're going to need a job to support us and erm, get married or whatever that's going to happen.
	25	• Laila: Not completely but sometimes at home we do stuff like cooking, I can't really cook in school (Both laugh). Yeah basically the same, study eat, sleep.
	26	• *..do you do anything in school that might be different to what you do at home?* Aslam: [Long pause] Not really. It's all the same really. Possibly the way I talk is a bit more formal with my parents but otherwise it's similar
	27	• Aslam: It varies really say like if it's good weather we go and play football like half of my Pakistani mates and White friends as well.
	28	• Maryam: At home my friends? I don't really hang around with my friends. I mostly hang around with my family
	29	• Parveen: She is from my community and I've got one, I'd say she's my best friend but we don't really go out as much together because she lives far from me. My best friend lives down the street so it's a lot closer.
	30	• Parveen: To be completely honest with you there's not much difference like school

	31	we come to learn with friends; same as home like I go out with my best friend a lot and at home the only difference is our beliefs, we go to mosque and that's about it to be honest. The rest is really similar.
		• Mohammed: I am friends with girls but if they find out I'll be like ..like..like talk to them in a weird way, "paedophilish" way that's what we're accused of because of terrorism and all that so we get accused of random stuff and that so if I get done for that because people make false accusations against us so my parents will probably start limiting my friendships because of it
	32	• Hanifa: Erm…well…in school I have a lot of male friends. Outside of school I don't speak to any of them because it's sort of not really done when you're Asian like your parents don't really like it and when you're an Asian especially in this community pretty much all Asians know each other like all the dads know each other and are good mates and even if you're not doing anything sometimes if another man sees you with a guy they will assume that something is going on and they tell your parents and you can get into a lot of trouble for it and it's just not worth it
	33	• *So would you prefer it if you ate Asian food at home and English food at school?* Tariq: That's ok, yeah.
	34	• Tariq: Not really, I'm pretty loose about religion. *When you say loose, what do you mean?* Tariq: I mean as in, oh no, religion's completely different topic for me. It's like I could go on for hours about my religion. It's like at the moment, I'm questioning Islam and everything else**.** It's driving me mental because I don't know what category I fit into. It's just annoying.

	Theme 3: Psychological adaptation	
35	• Aslam: like ..maybe Western films and that but that's with my brothers. Sometimes my parents will watch it with us if they end up liking it otherwise say my parents they'll watch Indian Bollywood movies. *Do you like Indian Bollywood movies?* Aslam: Some of them. They're alright. *Are they necessarily things that you would talk to your mates about?* Aslam: Not really. *So when you're talking to your mates about your hobbies and your interests, what sort of things are you talking about?* Aslam: Just like..say with sports we'll just talk about various types like say football, about the premier league and different gaming like talk about what games we play etcetera.	
36	• Laila: I think when I moved here, I thought it would be difficult for me to come here and meet different people but I think I fit in pretty well. I think it's because people from Pakistan here are already here and people are open for me at least, like. I haven't had any bullying cos of where I'm from or..	
37	• Zaeba: This school's alright. Primary school was really good. This school's very nice. You meet different people and what they're like and how their backgrounds like. I think like cos I'm Muslim in this school and a lot of people here as well in different years so you can tell a person that you're Muslim and they're like "What is that?" "What do you believe in?" "How are your beliefs?" "What kind of person you are" so going to this school is really nice and people here are really nice and teachers are really nice as well.	
38	• Zaeba: I normally mix with people who are from my culture cos I know what they're like [indecipherable]. I also mix with the other people as well so I can get bit of both people too like mix with them, have a nice laugh with them and everything. It's good to mix with some other people than your culture so they ..you get to meet new people, see what they're like and everything.	
39	• *Who is it that you hang out with? You don't have to give me names* Laila: What do	

		you mean? Who? *Are they from your culture..?* Laila: No. My best friend isn't. Her name is H. She is tall, really funny and she is great. *So she's not Pakistani?* Laila: No
	40	• Soraya: they might forget about the religion because sometimes they don't tend to listen like some of my cousins. When their parents try to tell them about their religion they might just ignore it and so that's why I feel maybe like after their kids and their kids they might not educate them about their religion or where they're from and they might go off the rails like forget about the religion and do what they want
	41	• Tariq: … Cos Pakistan is an Islamic state, our religion defines who we are as a person. Our ability to practice our religion it affects our reputation outside (long pause)
	42	• Tariq: (Long pause). It'll probably affect how things are with my family but to be fair, I don't think I would do so it's all OK.
	43	• Mohammed: Cos most of the food is not halal here and we don't know how it's cooked and if we eat haraam stuff it's against the religion and it's.. we can't be Muslim anymore if we eat haraam stuff so yeah.
	44	• Tariq: Yeah. Cos for me that's what defines me as being Pakistani like my religion. If I practice my religion more, I'll be recognised more as a Pakistani (Long Pause)
	45	• Mohammed: The Koran says that two angels are going to come for you and ask you questions, stuff like that and er if you answer them correct you can go to heaven and when it comes to the day of judgement when the world comes to an end and everybody comes like dead or alive, non-believers or believers all religions and questions will be asked about things and er holy prayers, Koran and all that will protect you from being damned to hell.
	46	• Parveen: There's limits for what you can do or you can't do. For those limits they should be there. They're there to stop you doing something stupid, something wrong.
	47	• Mohammed: I'd say well no, I wouldn't do all the things I like because my dad teaches me to do and how to be a Muslim, what's the right way, what's the right

		path, how you're going to go to heaven so if I got let loose alone I would probably be lost in the middle of the street looking for the right way and have to learn on my own so.
	48	• *Do you mind me asking why do you have trust issues with people at the moment?* Tariq: I don't know. I only talk to my mum about it and she said maybe it's because you were born premature. I was born like 10 weeks premature. …but yeah she said "maybe your head's just a bit weird"
	49	• Mohammed: …I don't really talk to family that much about what happens in school and that because they're like "Well it's not your fault Mohammed, it's just that it's what they believe in so they have pretty much everything that me and you are, it's just that their skin colour and how we look so it doesn't matter we're all human beings, made from the same materials at the end of the day.
	50	• Mohammed: Cos people like believe like God isn't just God and Jesus and all that. I didn't really get what the difference and so I get in like.. I feel ..say if someone says something against my religion I just get a bit angry because I have ADHD sometimes I keep it inside, sometimes I just start swearing, start raging out so that's what I was scared of.
	51	• Zaeba: [interrupts] I would do the same thing with them. When it comes to restaurants we go to Nandos or Halal place, sometimes we go to McDonalds cos we always go to McDonalds, we watch a film .. We all like horror and comedy films yeah we watch those kinds of films. I do the same things..activities with the white British people. I don't make them feel left out, treat them the same so yeah. I treat them the same. I treat everyone equally.
	52	• *Do you eat anything like fish and chips at home?* Mohammed: Yes if it's like Halal takeaways like if we get a takeaway today it might involve fish and chips. It has to be cooked by the right people so Muslims, it has to be Halal so my dad can trust them.
	53	• Maryam: Well I don't really mind it because school's not a place where you should do prayers. You should learn like Maths, English and Science. It's mostly about exams than anything like in Year 10 and 11 so I don't really think you should but

	54	• Tariq: The only thing I can think of is I pray. *Do you not pray in school?* Tariq: No, it's just never been a done thing.
	55	• *So do you do anything that's different in school that's different to what you do at home?* Mohammed: Er…er. Yeah I dress a bit different at home so wearing my *shalwar kameez* and that er and read the holy book instead of the bible which we sometimes do here [school] er, that's it yeah not much difference. *Ok is there anything that you would do in school that you wouldn't do at home? You mentioned that you talk to girls in school. I mean is that something that you do at home?* I would talk to some girls. It depends on if my parents know them so like cousins, sisters, aunties so I can talk to them, get to know about how they live their life and how hard it is for them at school is as well. Those are the type of women I talk to
	56	• Zaeba: Basically if I wanted to go out til late and mum and dad wouldn't mind so I'll be out with friends late. Fridays, the White British people say that they go clubbing, pubs and everything. I'll be like I don't want to go there. They'll be like "Ok". I went once with my friends and I didn't quite like it. I didn't feel comfortable cos I was like "What am I doing here?" People like drink and everything and that's like against my religion and everything so yeah I think so.
	Theme 4: The influence of others	
	57	• Aslam: No, it's just like how I've been brought up to be like it's alright to be with whoever I want to be just no real.. don't have to stick to one group. It's been alright to mix with anybody.
	58	• Zaeba: Anything? Basically if I wanted to go out til late and mum and dad wouldn't mind so I'll be out with friends late. Fridays, the White British people say that they go clubbing, pubs and everything. I'll be like I don't want to go there. They'll be like "Ok". I went once with my friends and I didn't quite like it. I didn't feel comfortable cos I was like "What am I doing here?" People like drink and everything and that's

59	like against my religion and everything so yeah I think so.
	• Zaeba: My mum and dad don't really mind cos they have friends as well who are White British people and they like spending more quality time with them as well so I like spending more quality time with them. They're alright with it when they come round my house and everything.
60	• Aslam: Other than the pressures from school then it's great. It's relaxed not too much..Like outside school there's not too much pressure on you what to do really
61	• Hanifa: …well…in school I have a lot of male friends. Outside of school I don't speak to any of them because it's sort of not really done when you're Asian. Like your parents don't really like it and when you're an Asian especially in this community. Pretty much all Asians know each other. .. sometimes if another man sees you with a guy they will assume that something is going on and they tell your parents and you can get into a lot of trouble for it and it's just not worth it.
62	• Tariq: Cos there's quite a lot of people there and like, they know my family so they know me and they keep tabs on how I'm doing and always asking me things
63	• Tariq: Sometimes when they see me out and about with friends…questions…just people being people really. Other than that, it's fine. Most of the time, like a lot of them are my friends but they're pretty older. It's just like, it's mostly their sons and that kind of thing. Like they're older than me but they're not that older, like maybe 18, 19
64	• Tariq: People don't understand that there's quite a lot of us from different backgrounds and things so they don't understand some things like maybe it's not just socially acceptable for me to come out at 10 o'clock at night and stuff like that
65	• Soraya: Like even when I'm at home erm, I tend to read the Koran at mosque but sometimes when I'm at home I might get occupied with like Facebook or might sit with my phone and forget there's even a Koran in the house. The fact that you're just keeping yourself occupied with other things so that's why I think people might totally forget about the religion and live a life without believing.
66	• Tariq: he just doesn't want me turning out like that [dominant host peers].

	67	• Laila: "No what I think was when I joined, everyone was nice to me, they would, it's like they really wanted to talk to me, they really wanted to be friends with me and everybody was really nice."
	68	• Zaeba: I have a lot of friends.
	69	• Zaeba: teachers will help me
	70	• Aslam: friendly..teachers are all welcoming.
	71	• Laila: … teachers as well. Teachers don't know much. I think in Geography once there was something about a Pakistani earthquake and my geography teacher was "This happened" but that's not what actually happened because I was there when it happened and it was from a book and people just believe what's on it and nobody really knows what's behind it.
	72	• Mohammed: It was a bit scary because I didn't know if I had anyone to talk to but luckily I found Q [male Asian peer] ..so I was a bit scared that nobody be my friend because of my religion .. so I was a bit scared not having any friends because of my culture and my beliefs.
	73	• Maryam: when I first moved here people didn't really like me cos I was like Pakistani and this was in Year 3 I used to get picked on and everything but now it's stopped.
	74	• Maryam: I've not that many
	75	• Hanifa: I get a lot of comments like people calling me "Arab sausage" I assume he thinks it's a joke.
	76	• Mohammed: .. It's just when say if I talk to somebody yeah but they don't like the way I speak to them they'll be racist, calling me a "P***" [goes quiet] I would start a fight but I wouldn't stay in school so.. because I have anger problems I would just lash out basically somebody's down and out if I start.
	77	• *Ok so why is it important for other people to understand this?* Soraya: Erm, cos if it's in the street and people see it they might start name calling and whatever and they might wonder why they have to wear *it* so I think that's why they might be curious and they can learn about it in school.

	78	• Maryam:..cos some teachers can be racist..This happened .. two months ago now and he was teaching us RE.... I asked to go to the toilet and then behind my back he said that "All Muslims are terrorists". Why couldn't he say that to my face? I just felt that was disgusting. Not very appropriate to say especially behind my bac
		Theme 5: Schools' role in supporting dual identities
	79 80 81 82 83 84	• Aslam: [interrupts] It makes them more aware of like they know our culture usually they wouldn't want..learn about this stuff so making them more aware is sort of is good. They know how we feel and everything • Laila: I don't ..cos if you want to know about a whole culture there should be more .. like the food I told you the curries sometimes and the fish and chips so that's good and there's the Diwali thing but apart from that there's nothing else that goes on. • Zaeba: I think it is important so that people get to know what our religion's like what they believe in so people won't judge people because like they're learning about their religion so yeah I think it is important. *It's important so that people don't judge other people?* Yeah..judge other people about them being Muslim… they don't know anything about them, don't judge them for who they are and what they believe in so they speak out for themselves. • Hanifa: Erm..I think it should be done more because we learn more..There's none that I know but this school is very Asian dominated. There's a lot of Asian people in this school so I think that we should learn about that more cos people will stop making assumptions about and making harsh comments and they'll understand. Like if they understand more they'll probably not be so harsh towards us and stuff. But it's because we don't learn about them they sort of go on what they've heard or what they think they know • Maryam: Well yeah cos they can learn about how Muslims [pause] should be treated and compared to their culture. *And what impact would that have on them?* Like they shouldn't be racist towards them because they know how we are. • Tariq: Like White people for instance cos they don't really know much. They can't make

		that assumption and go ahead with what they know. It would educate them. *And what would it do once they're educated?* Tariq: It would help us at the same time. It would help us as well like they know we know and we could all live together probably.
	85	• Tariq: I think one thing that would definitely benefit is more Asian teachers *Why is that?* Because you treat them like your own mum and dad. It's just a completely different relationship not in a bad way or anything, Maybe it'll help us, learning things with them, it's made things better for me and I think in schools now, they had that sort of thing at a higher level, it would stick into people's minds a bit more cos we feel like we are being told to do something.
	86	• Soraya: There's this Pakistani teacher at school and in the old school we used to do this Eid party whereas you may pay to come in and then they'll have like Eid music or something on and Pakistani food like a buffet, you can choose what you want to eat
	87	• Mohammed: So learn what's right to say and what's not right so saying "oh look you're white and you're alright and you're racist … So teach them a bit about what's right and wrong to say.
	88	• Parveen: Maybe get children who are in the school the same as them maybe get them to talk to them a bit but then bring them to different people so they get to know different people so they feel comfortable with other people who are like them.
	89	• Laila: I think it would be a good idea to have a teacher who can speak their language when they can't speak the language ..I think that would be a good idea. For smaller kids as well like than people who have just moved here *Why would that help them?* I think it makes it easier for them to communicate I guess which is really important erm. Easier to learn and you know communicate with other people
	90	• Zaeba: teach him speak English to settle him and feel comfortable.
	91	• Maryam: Think they should support them like …like when I came er.. when I went to Pakistan obviously I had to learn what they do there and then obviously when I come back here I change if you get what I mean.
	92	• Aslam: Like just guide them really. Er rather than just letting them settle in, make sure they're comfortable say, make teachers available if the people needs them they are

		available there to provide support and help if they need it
	93	• *What would have helped you if say you were coming into this country and you were settling into this school?* Aslam: probably trying to make friends really. As long as I get to know people it'll be easier for my transaction (transition?) to happen so like it wouldn't be uncomfortable if I had people around me to make it easier.

Appendix 18: Establishing validity of research against
Yardley's (2000) criteria

Criteria for validity of research (Yardley, 2000)	How this study meets the criteria
Sensitivity to context • Awareness of previous literature • Awareness of socio-cultural setting of study in understanding findings • Understanding relationship between the researcher and participant in research and impact of relationship on results • Ethical issues arising due to relationship with participants • Power imbalance between researcher-participants	• Literature review led to awareness that to understand identity development, current socio-cultural milieu must be understood. • The researcher used semi-structured interviews and IPA because these are the appropriate methods to understand the essence of how participants make sense of their experiences. • The researcher bracketed off any lived experience and assumptions held based on the literature. • Farooq & Abbas (2013) suggest researcher self-disclosure to break the ice with participants. Some self-disclosure was used to help participants feel comfortable but the researcher kept in mind that this may affect what participants said in the interview so personal information was not given which directed the interviews. • There may be power imbalances between participants and researcher. Attempts to address this involved holding the interviews at the pupils' schools. Detailed information was given to participants, parents, schools and local authorities so that informed consent could be given. The researcher attempted to reduce the power imbalance by using humour in the interviews.

Commitment and rigour	

- Prolonged engagement with the topic
- Completeness of data collection and analysis which is dependent on:
    ○ Adequacy of sample
    ○ Able to gain rich data
    ○ Contemplative and empathetic exploration of data with theory.
	- The use of IPA means that there is prolonged engagement with the topic through transcriptions and data analysis. The interpretative aspect of IPA means that the researcher needs to have some familiarity with existing research to interpret the data.
	- Smith et al (2009) suggest that a doctoral thesis should have between 4-10 participants. This study satisfies this criterion because it has 9 participants.
	- A purposive sample was carefully selected to investigate the research topics and the sample was based on research and advice from the Multicultural development team.
	- The quality of the interview determines the richness of the data (Smith et al., 2009). Rich data was gathered because the researcher is experienced and skilled in using semi-structured interviews and building rapport with teenagers quickly. Pupil responses were not directed by leading questions. Furthermore, the researcher was sensitive to participants and knew when to probe further and prolong less sensitive questions before moving onto more sensitive questions depending on the pupil.
	- Careful and thorough analysis was carried out. The researcher would immerse themselves into the data to make sense of participants' experiences.
	- Reflective notes were completed to enable better understanding of participants.

Transparency and coherence
- Description of the research process from recruitment, design of interview schedule, data collection and analysis
- How well do the results fit with IPA?
- How well has the research been carried out according to epistemology that the research method is rooted in?

- A description of the research process is detailed in the method and results sections and in the Critical appraisal.
- All questionnaires and interview schedules are in the appendix.
- A complete set of raw data and analysis is appended which shows the step by step process of data analysis
- The researcher followed Smith et al.'s (2009) guidelines during data analysis and the data is both descriptive and interpretative which fits with IPA.
- A credulous approach was adopted during interviews which is an approach from Personal Construct Psychology (Kelly, 1955). This was an attempt by the researcher to step out of their world into the participant's world as recommended by Smith et al. (2009). This fits with a constructionist approach.
- The researcher bracketed their experiences so that interpretation of the data was rooted in participants' interviews and not from the researcher's lived experiences.
- Participant quotes are presented in the results sections and in the appendix to support assertions made.
- A selection of analysed transcripts was audited by two independent EP to increase transparency.

| **Impact and importance** How useful are the findings? Has anything new been found? Does the research elucidate previous research? | The impact and importance of the findings are examined in the results section and elucidates previous research. Implications for EP practice are suggested in the discussion section and in the critical appraisal. The vulnerability and difficulties of integrating ethnic identity in adolescence is well researched. The empirical study seeks to capture the experiences of teenagers undergoing this process with the aim of furthering understanding to support schools. There has been no research using a social constructionist approach which has been recommended by Berry (2009). This research is contributes knowledge from a different perspective. The influence of schools on identity development and the process of identity development is an area that is under researched. This study aimed to address these gaps. This research may support schools to help teenagers negotiating two different identities in feeling comfortable in integrating their identities. |