

**The psychological experience of second-generation
Somalis whose parents were forced to migrate during
the civil war in the '90s**

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Abstract

In the 1990s, millions of Somali families were forced by a civil war to leave their homes. Over the years, other refugee communities have been researched by scholars in light of intergenerational trauma (Sangalang & Vang, 2017). Second-generation Somali psychological experiences are multi-layered and not reduced to a directional process of intergenerational trauma because their lived experiences are also situated in the post-colonial world. This study explores the psychological experience by including psychological distress experienced and strengths displayed by second-generation Somalis whose parents were forced to migrate to the United Kingdom during the conflict. Understanding the psychological needs of the second-generation in forced migration supports the move away from the individualised model to the historical and familial context. The study adopts a constructivist epistemology and Africana phenomenological approach and uses interpretative phenomenological analysis (Smith, 2009) to reveal the psychological experience. There are four superordinate themes in this study, which include: emotional responses to the forced migration background of parents, 'flipping hats' the emotional depth of racism and belonging, 'hush and silence' hiding the self and strength and togetherness despite the rift across the community. The second-generation Somalis' psychological experience is intersubjective. This study reveals the dynamic process of the second-generation sense of *self* while relating to and experiencing the oppression and suffering of their parents'. This study aims to contribute to the field of applied psychology and counselling psychology by elucidating the subjective experience of second-generation Somalis in order to inform theory and practice regarding this specific population. The study's findings also contribute new information to the debate on the future generations of refugee families and mental health to develop appropriate community services for their needs.

Key words: Somalia, Forced Migration, psychosocial factors, second-generation, parental-child relations, intergenerational trauma, psychological wellbeing

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Definitions

- *The self:* This is a psychological and existential way to delineate people's social and physical reality. The self is a description of what people feel deeply and how they relate to their social and physical realities and to themselves. The embodied relationship and sense-making of reality involves the subjective feelings, perceptions, thoughts and authenticity of who people believe they are and can be with others.
- *Bracketing:* This is a phenomenology concept that describes the processes involved in accessing the phenomena by abstaining from presuppositions and preconceived ideas about the phenomena. As a result, the researcher can explain the phenomena in itself. This form of bracketing is not entirely available as the researcher is part of the world, and therefore the process of meaning-making will involve some influence of the researcher. However, the researcher can use bracketing to have a sense of doubt and questioning towards the material and the biases of everyday knowledge.
- *Being-in-the-world:* This is a concept by the philosopher Martin Heidegger to describe that existence and human beings are embodied and cannot be separate from the world. This is extended further to understand that human beings are inescapably social beings, and their experiences are always in relation to other people.
- *Depathologising:* This is the process of removing the medicalisation of the biomedical model and psychiatric discourse on human existence and conditions.

Abbreviations

ACE's= Adverse Childhood experiences

BAME= Black and Asian and other Ethnic minorities

BPS = British Psychological Society

CoP= Counselling Psychology

GDPR=The General Data Protection Regulation

IPA= Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

NHS= National Health Service

NICE= National institute for Health and Care Excellence

OECD=The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

ONS= Office of National Statistics

PTG= post-traumatic growth

PTSD= post-traumatic stress disorder

UEL= University of East London

UNESCO=United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNHRC= United Nations Human Right Council

UNHCR= United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

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Dedication

“No one leaves home unless home is the mouth of a shark”.

Warsan Shire (British Somali Poet)

This study is dedicated to all the Somali individuals who lost their lives during the Somali civil war in the 1990s. In addition, it is dedicated to people affected by recent humanitarian crises in Somalia and other forced migrants across the globe.

Chapter 1. Introduction

This introduction chapter provides the context that frames the doctoral research on the psychological experience of second-generation Somalis living in the UK whose parents were forced to migrate during the Somalia civil war in the 1990s. The chapter outlines the personal context and positionality of the study, the background and context of the study, and the contribution and relevance of the study to counselling psychology (CoP).

1.1 Personal context and positionality

The economic instability in post-colonial Ghana during the 1970s and 1980s left my parents with no choice but to leave their homes and families to provide a better life for me. Although my parents did depart from Ghana because of war, they were forced to leave their homes for economic reasons and had to adapt to a different culture in the West. The white-dominant society in the Netherlands positioned foreigners and their children (whether born in the Netherlands or not) as 'others'. It gave them labels such as 'allochtoon', which means everyone who is not white Dutch. This form of othering was present in my upbringing and in issues around belonging and policies targeting migrants with conditions to be viewed as citizens, such as speaking fluently Dutch. As a young child, I spent my time with my mother in community hubs designed for immigrants to interact with the community and integrate into Dutch society.

Given that Rotterdam, where we lived, is a multicultural city, I was exposed to various cultures. Some of these migrants were Somali women. My mother, a fellow African woman, quickly developed relationships with them, and I remember their

softness, kindness and expressiveness in their speech and actions. These were spaces where my "Africanness" and "Blackness" were expected and accepted but starkly contrasted to the white-dominant spaces. Growing up, I realised the paradoxes in my relationship with my parents and society. At home, I was Ghanaian, but I strongly wanted my parents to be like the Dutch, in order for them to have a less stressful life. At school and in the white spaces, I felt like I did not belong because I was not Dutch enough. This confusion about my identity and lack of belonging in multiple spaces resulted in a desire to be accepted and a fear of being myself. Perhaps, I can empathise with the challenges of grappling with identity and being authentic. My relationship with my parents led me to rebel and become isolated while they were trying to figure out life in the Netherlands. Paradoxically, as a Ghanaian-Dutch Black woman, I was trying to survive and navigate the racism I faced while giving my parents what they wanted, which was "a better life for me". It made me question and empathise with migrant parents, especially those who had experienced horrific atrocities.

While working as a social worker, I had a Somali patient who had ended up in hospital several times. She reminded me of the Somali woman at the community hubs. However, this time I was aware of her migration journey, the impact of the war and her mental health. She opened up to me about her traumatic experiences of seeing her home in Somalia on fire. The loss and pain she shared had an impact on me. Over the years, I started to question the negative discourse in Britain about the Somali youth, thought back to my encounter with the Somali mother, and became more interested in the second-generation adults with refugee parents.

Africana Phenomenology: a post-colonial lens

Reflecting on my philosophical position and values illustrates how I interact with my clients and how I approach research. I identify with a critical realist ontology and a constructivist epistemology with an Africana phenomenological lens. As a counselling psychologist in training, my values are centred on humanism and the being and existence of Black Africans. I have been inspired by working within a setting that provided services to Black Africans, Caribbean, and Arab communities. The focus and ethos in these services were centred around the lived experience and culture of these communities in addressing distress and healing. In addition to that, I was influenced by Western philosophy, my cultural background, and racism, which affects my experience of the world. Black African philosophers such as Wiredu (1980) proposed that intersubjectivity and shared understanding are prerequisites to truth. Keeping in mind the uniqueness of each individual without reducing their differences in culture, this approach upheld the importance of the welfare of the community. Similarly, Gyeke (1995) suggested focusing on the welfare of the community and reciprocity within but also acknowledged the conflict between achieving one's own interests and the welfare of the community. In Somalia, cultural beliefs such as *Dhaqan* reveal that the experience of Somali communities might be grounded by ancestral principles of community, elders and morality, which are passed down from their ancestors (Ilmi, 2015). These philosophers exemplify the specific existence and values pertaining to Black African people which due to colonialism were omitted in scholarly work.

Therefore, there is an attempt to return to a knowledge-base from which to understand and interpret them. My work with racialised communities and my personal journey has made me aware of the importance of recognising and understanding our

rich history as Black Africans and being cognisant of the reality of the postcolonial present. Tsennerau (1994) refers to this in his essay about the hermeneutics of African philosophy to delineate the interpretive, reflexive beliefs and assumptions grounded in our post-colonial present. As a counselling psychologist, these philosophical questions are aligned with the humanistic values of people's subjectivity and allow space to make sense of their world and psychological wellbeing. I suggest that Africana phenomenology is one way to commit to the lived experience and needs of racialised communities' needs by illuminating their sense-making and idiographic elements towards distress that can be transformative beyond the individual.

1.3 Background and context

Somalia's history is situated in the legacies of European colonialism and the collapse of the state during the civil war in the 1990s, which led to millions of people fleeing for safety (Bradbury & Healy, 2010). The Guardian newspaper created a documentary (2020) which was published during the pandemic and displayed the second-generation Somali's endeavours in creating a legacy for themselves and the next generation of British Somalis attending a Russell Group university. In the documentary, they discussed issues around navigating and managing different identities, belonging and the differences between their refugee parents and themselves as British Somalis living in the UK. The documentary exemplified a group of second-generation Somali adults making sense of their "Somalinimo", which is defined as "the essence of being Somali" (Mohamud, 2019). The various generations and ancestry in their history may be an essential way to make sense of themselves. This is evident in the Somali names, which have middle and last names representing

their elders' father and grandfathers (Elmi, 2010). In the same year of the Guardian Documentary, the inquest revealed that the second-generation Somali BBC journalist Hannah Yusuf died by suicide and was experiencing mental health problems such as hopelessness and sleep difficulties (BBC, 2020). The death of Hannah Yusuf was an unfortunate event and demonstrated the need for second-generation psychological distress to be explored.

Since the Somali civil war, millions of people from the country have been displaced throughout the world. Figures from the UNHCR in 2021 reported that 89.3 million people across the globe were forced to leave their homes, and 27.1 million became refugees. Forced migration results from structural inequalities and human rights violations, including genocide, ethnic cleansing, persecution, torture and other crimes against humanity (International Criminal Court, 2011). Recent statistics in Britain have revealed there were 135,921 refugees and 83,489 pending asylum cases in the country (UNHCR, 2021). The movement of refugees is protected by the Geneva Convention in 1951. An individual is granted refugee status by the Home Office in the UK based on the following definition and criteria:

"A refugee is someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion" (UNHCR, 1951, p. 3).

Although the refugee status provides them with international protection, in resettlement the systemic inequalities of asylum seekers and refugees could put them at risk of further vulnerability and marginalisation. The Equality and Human Rights Commission published a report in 2016 stating that migrants, refugees and asylum

seekers are viewed as "one of the four most disadvantaged groups because of the continuous inequality and barriers in accessing public services and opportunities" which leaves them further behind than the rest of the population (p. 3). In other words, even after fleeing for safety, the threat to them during their resettlement remained a constant feature of their lives.

1.4 The challenges in forced migration and applied psychology

The attitudes around the movement of displaced people, borders and their restrictions have changed over the years. Chimni (1998) argued that the end of the cold war transformed the political discourse on refugees, which translated into restrictions of borders and *entrée* to the Global North. The author further argued that the attitudes toward repatriation and rigorous checks on the rights to be a refugee are predicated on colonial history (Fanon, 1967). Presently, another attitude shift is ensuing around the Western notions of "extremism" and "terrorism", which are conflated with refugees (Bloch & Dona, 2019). The various paradigm shifts in history highlight the post-colonial context around forced migration. Western citizenship is a colonial construction that reinforces global divisions based on colonial premises of privilege and desirability of non-citizens, yielding to control over citizenship entering the Global North and marginalisation of refugees (Anderson, 2013; Banerjee & Samaddar, 2019). In Britain, this is reflected in legislation such as the Immigration Act 2014 (Home Office, 2013) and the public discourse on the widely discredited "hostile environment" policy of British governments, both Labour and Conservative (UK Parliament, 2018) that further perpetuates racism, by the labelling and categorising

of the refugee experience, viewing them as homogenous and less deserving of dignity and humanity than British citizens (Hayden, 2006; Zetter, 2019).

Various ordeals such as the journey to safety, lack of adequate shelter, sexual and economic exploitation, risk of capture, torture, death, and loss of an economic livelihood can trigger psychological distress (Tribe & Patel, 2007; Amnesty International, 2021). The psychological distress in forced migrants is individualised with a focus on the dominant trauma discourse related to the pre-migration and in transit state. Consequently, there seems to be a historical amnesia and dismissal of the racialisation of individuals and groups within forced migration and applied psychology. An example of the colonial legacy in psychology is potentially within foreign aid agencies implementing psychosocial support after atrocities and focusing on PTSD. Scholars such as Vanessa Pupavac (2002) has argued that "the West" imposes the need for correction of "damaged" forced migrants and fixate on post-traumatic stress disorder in the individual. The author further suggests that this strategy benefits the political agenda of the affected country while ignoring the broader community and social needs. Patel (2003) argues that in resettlement, the forced migrants are subjected to psychological approaches that in general neglects the wider socio-political and historical factors that impact on forced migrants, which calls into question the relationship between psychology and social order. Both scholars are responding to the failure to address structural inequalities and abuses of power in psychology literature and the broader forced migration studies and the impact this has on the provision of psychological and mental health services. This is reflected in the provision of mental health services that is based on Eurocentric ideologies of psychological distress and healing which are then generalised and applied to asylum

seekers and refugees (Tribe & Patel, 2007). In recent years, the trend has been to support established community organisations to combat these practices (BPS, 2018; UNHCR, 2022), but these initiatives and psychosocial support fail to properly tackle the historical and societal context that perpetuates the lives of racialised families during their resettlement (Gorski & Goodman, 2015; Bloch & Dona, 2019; Patel, 2019). Nor does it acknowledge the totality of forced migrants suffering and their families (Patel, 2019).

1.5 The African partition and political situation in Somalia

The colonial legacy of the continent of Africa is represented in the carving up of African states by Western powers in the 19th century. The partition of ethnically distinct communities in the Horn of Africa led to the establish under Western rule various countries that were valuable areas for trade, not least due to the location of the Indian Ocean gateway to the East (UNESCO, 2014). Somalia is situated in the Horn of Africa with neighbouring countries such as Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya. Abdullahi (2018) contends that studies on the history of Somalia are dominated by Western “orientalist” and anthropological perspectives that emphasised the static nature of traditional structures and the dominating influence of family *clans* over all other aspects of the country as well as the transition from centuries of tradition to modernity. These studies are based on colonial beliefs of “assisting” the so-called “developing” countries of the Global Majority in the South to adopt Western methods (Rodney, 1972).

Historically, Somalia was the nexus of the global economy, trading various commodities with other parts of the world and had a rich ancient and traditional tribal-

based governance with Islam as an integral part of the structure and society (Abdullahi, 2018). By the end of the 19th century, the Horn of Africa was divided and colonised by the French, British and Italians. Djibouti was named French Somalia, and there was British and Italian Somalia (Cavallera et al., 2016). During the colonial era, the seizure by Western powers of livestock resulted in famine in various regions and were resisted by Somalis through several wars against the colonisers (Cassanelli, 1982, as cited in Bokore, 2017). The post-colonial Somali community was already divided along clan lines and internal conflicts had already brewed up as a result of the historical influences of colonialism. By 1969, the assassination of President Abdirashid Ali Sharmake led to a military dictatorship led by Army Major General Mohammed Siad Barre. This dictatorship lasted until the heightening of the Somali civil war in 1991.

Somalia gained independence from Britain and Italy, who had divided the country in two, in 1960 and was a significant host nation to many refugees from the Horn of Africa and other parts of the continent (Hammond et al., 2014). Some people refer to Somaliland¹; however, Somaliland in the north remains internationally unrecognised even though it has had independent political institutions and systems since 1992 (UNESCO, 2014). After colonialism Somalis have been migrating in response to different dynamics involving conflict, natural disaster, and economic hardship (Hammond et al., 2014). The social and political conditions of Somalia began to deteriorate in the 1980's and early 1990's when armed groups resisted the military dictatorship. The government collapsed in January 1991, after which a civil war erupted between rival groups appropriating the notion of clans, using this as a form

¹ This study will continue to use Somalia and not distinguish between Somalia and Somaliland.

of political violence, access to political power and resources (Hammond et al., 2014). Kapteijns (2014) claimed that the clan cleansing campaign of 1991–1992 represented a turning point in the Somali civil war. During the ensuing Somali civil war 1.5 million people fled the country; nearly two million were internally displaced (Bradbury & Healy, 2010). Data from the UNHCR Refugee statistics (n.d.) demonstrate that in 1987, 60,000 Somalis were given refugee status compared to 31,000 in 1986. The number of people who were given refugee status peaked in 1992, with 813 thousand people. In 2021 there were 550,000 people internally displaced in Somalia (UNHCR, 2021) and neighbouring countries such as Kenya, with multiple generations living in refugee camps (Hammond, 2014). Bokore (2017) argued that the psychological outcome of historical trauma in Somalia was not only observed in the individual members of the targeted group, but also in the entire social and political fabric of the country. She further contended that years of suffering from various sources of power induced a historical trauma response in the Somali community. Despite the challenges, Somali refugees rejected self-victimisation. The Somali diaspora appeared to commit to rebuilding and reconstructing the country's shattered economy and livelihood through remittance sent back home (Hussain et al., 2014)

1.6 The Somali community in the UK

Somali refugees dispersed to various European countries with the UK hosting the largest Somali community compared to other European countries (Hussain et al., 2014). Around 90% of Somali refugees live in Greater London boroughs such as Tower Hamlets, Camden, Islington, Haringey, Ealing, Brent, Newham and Redbridge (Hussain et al., 2014). According to the Muslim Council of Britain (2015), the Somali

community forms the most significant proportion of black Muslims in the UK, with 90% belonging to the Somali community. As of 2020, the ONS statistics reported that 108,000 Somalia-born migrants lived in the Britain in 2018.

These official estimates might not accurately reflect the complex history of forced and voluntary migration and migration between European countries. For example, people from Somalia arrived in the UK from other European countries, such as the Netherlands and Scandinavia, where they had been granted refugee status or citizenship (Moret et al., 2006; Van Liempt, 2011). There could be several reasons for the onward movement to other European countries, such as the desire for a fulfilling quality of life such as family reunion, education and work prospects (Zimmerman, 2009). Although these desires might be a positive reason to move, on arrival, the insecurity and change of circumstances in Britain could contribute to Somali refugees facing serious mental health challenges (Warfa et al., 2005).

1.7 Mental health in the Somali community

Decades of studies on forced migration and traumatic exposures have fostered several theories on trauma and its applications among forced migrants (Johnson & Thomas, 2008; Kruse et al., 2009; Doolan et al., 2017). Previous studies on the Somali refugee population in the United Kingdom and North America found prevalence of PTSD, psychoses, anxiety, and depression (Bhui et al., 2006, Ellis et al., 2008; Kroll et al., 2010). However, the prevalence of psychological distress is lower among Somali refugees compared to other refugee groups. A study by Gerritsen et al (2006) in the Netherlands found that Somali refugees had experienced more traumatic events than other refugee groups but had lower rates of PTSD, 4% respectively and 16.7% for

depression and anxiety than other refugee groups. Similar results were found in a study by Warfa et al. (2012) with Somali migrants living in London (UK) and Minneapolis, Minnesota (US). They found that London respondents had higher rates of anxiety and depression, respectively 27% compared to US with 7%.

The differences in such rates might be explained by further analysis. For example, there are various issues with the psychopathology classification of studies on forced migrants, such as targeting a clinical sample when some forced migrants may not develop PTSD after exposure of trauma, the variability of endurance and cultural differences, severity and types of traumas and ethical issues on the use of the psychological interventions and measures in such studies (Johnson & Thompson, 2008; Patel et al., 2014).

Furthermore, the refugee's psychopathology varied depending on geographical location, length of stay in resettlement and age. For example, Kroll et al. (2010) found that younger refugees below the age of 30 were more likely to experience psychosis than the older generation. They explained substance use as a predictor of high levels of psychosis in this age demographic. However, more recent studies have found the impact of social environment and socio-economic factors contributing to developing psychological distress such as psychosis (Jongsma et al., 2020). Overall, it seems that the variability in mental health problems among the Somali community may be related to the post-migration and social problems rather than pre-migration traumatic experience (Warfa et al., 2012)

Other interests in Somali mental health have rather argued for the exploration of cultural and spiritual idioms as well as highlighted the subjective experience of their distress (Cavallera et al., 2016; Rae, 2016; Pratt et al., 2016; Ryan et al., 2019). The

pathologising of normal responses to trauma and victimisation of refugees, however, inhibits the refugee population's strength and resilience and obscures their endeavours in social activism and recuperation (Summerfield, 2012; Visser, 2015). Strength and resilience demonstrate the heterogeneity of psychopathological symptoms in people affected by forced migration. A term used with trauma survivors is "post-traumatic growth" (PTG) which is the growth and change that brings meaning to life and is a profound improvement after a major crisis such as refugee trauma in someone's life (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004). In America's Somali community, PTG is related to hope and rebuilding of their faith to make sense of the past and provide hope for the future (Ferris & Forrest-Bank, 2018).

The above literature delineated the psychological experience as located within the person. However, the responses to trauma may manifest in society due to the disruption of essential structures in the affected society, such as economic challenges and daily life stressors (Somasundaram, 2007; Maercker & Hecker, 2016; Miller & Rasmussen, 2010). This is not limited to the war-torn country but to the country of exile, whereby economic inequalities and institutional racism can contribute to the development of psychological distress (Burns, 2015; Fernando, 2017; Williams, 2018). These systemic forces and lack of services catering to the needs of the communities impact the help-seeking behaviour of the Somali community as it reduces their trust in governmental systems (Linney, 2020; Michlig et al., 2022; Said, 2021). Thus, psychological interventions focused on the intrapsychic processes and strength-based resilient approaches have to be situated in and move towards eradicating the systemic forces, including institutional racism, that contribute to social injustice.

1.8 Inequalities in access to mental health services

The Somali community are racialised with other ethnic groups in the UK. Racialisation is the process through which socially constructed categories of biological difference becomes a mechanism to produce fixed categories of otherness (Silverstein, 2005). Various events in the UK, demonstrated the potential impact of the marginalisation and inequities of racialised individuals. The COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted the cumulative and longstanding health, social, systemic, and racial inequalities that led to a higher death rate in the Somali community and other racialised groups in Britain (Mamluk & Jones, 2020; ONS, 2020). This burden of structural inequalities and institutional racism are not contemporary in the UK. For example, in 1950 a Somali man, Mahmood Hussein Mattan, died in jail after being wrongfully convicted of a crime (*The Guardian*, 2001). Prison is not the only system where racialised groups are disproportionately affected. British Born Black people are more likely to end up in hospital and diagnosed with severe mental health problems than the general population (NHS Digital, 2018).

The disproportionate effect of racial discrimination in the UK over time continues to affect the mental health of racialised groups compared to the white-British population (Wallace et al., 2016). Specifically, in the study of Wallace et al (2016), the mental health of the Black African sample attenuated over time compared to the white-British sample. Nevertheless, the racialised groups continued to encounter racial inequalities when socio-economic disadvantages and perceived racial discrimination was adjusted and controlled in the model. A more recent longitudinal study by Hackett et al. (2020) demonstrated higher levels of psychological distress and poor physical health in the racialised community in the UK over a period of two

year. Despite the variability in findings on psychological distress in racialised groups, the potential ethnic inequalities meant that racialised groups were less likely than their white British counterparts to utilise primary care services through the GP or to be referred to specialist mental health services (Bhui et al., 2003). The racialised communities were faced with various barriers in accessing services, such as cultural insensitivity, in service delivery and the presence of stigma, discrimination and a lack of awareness that exacerbated the distress of racialised groups (Memon et al., 2016; Rabiee & Smith, 2014). The lack of appropriate support has led to some members of the Somali community in Britain seeking out treatment back in Somalia in order for them to receive culturally appropriate care because of a distrust of Western medical institutions and their use of psychiatric rather than holistic based interventions (Linney et al., 2020).

There have been initiatives, for example, in London, to improve access and the experience of racialised groups by adopting mental health champions in the community, including faith practitioners, by partnering with religious institutions and focusing on co-development and co-production of services (Codjoe et al., 2019). Furthermore, efforts have been made to develop and adapt psychological interventions that are focused on religion, such as the Islamic trauma healing approach (Bentley et al., 2021), cultivating critical consciousness and cultivating racial identity to heal from racial trauma (Carter, 1998; Mosley et al., 2020; Kinouani, 2021) and cultural approaches in psychotherapy (Moodley & West, 2015; Bemak & Chung, 2017). Nonetheless, mental health services based on Western psychology and psychiatry perceive healing approaches based on cultural and the practices of people in the Global South as “unscientific” (Moodley & West, 2005) and the endeavour to

study these approaches for their effectiveness of psychological distress is scarce (Patel et al., 2014)

So far, this chapter has focused on forced migration and the Somali refugee population. The following sections will discuss the second-generation Somalis who have mainly been conflated within the broader analyses of second-generation migrants from racialised backgrounds and the Somali community (Crul et al., 2012; Dustmann & Theodoropoulos, 2010;). Hence, the specific needs of the second-generation Somali in Britain have not been adequately captured by scholars doing research in the Global North.

1.9 Challenges in conceptualising the second-generation of forced migrants

The concept of second-generation is described in academic research by referring to them as adult children of refugees (Bloch & Hirsch, 2017), ethnic minority individuals (Crul et al., 2012; Dustmann & Theodoropoulos, 2010;), offspring and second-generation (Chimienti et al., 2019; Danieli, 1998;) and migrant children (Oppedal & Roysamb, 2004). The univocal definitions of terms give rise to incoherence and lack of clarity in the psychological experience of this group. Curtis et al. (2018) identified in their systematic review that most studies investigating migrants' children and their health fail to specify the migration status of the children and posit that this is because of the history of migration research that views children as an appendage to the migration of adults. Furthermore, in some studies, the generational status is unclear. For example, Edge et al.'s (2014) study inclusion criteria involved refugee youth for participants who arrived in Canada at four-years-old and grouped them with recent arrivals to explore beliefs around health. The participants who arrived in Canada

at the age of four might not describe themselves as refugees due to the number of years they had lived in Canada. Similarly, in a study by Oppedal and Roysamb (2004) the authors compared ethnic Norwegian youth (that is the host country) with immigrant youth whose parents were born outside of Norway. In their study they found that the latter experienced higher psychological distress than Norwegians. The concern is that the youths with immigrant origin may consider themselves as Norwegians as they could have been born in Norway. As a result, the results of their study may not clearly reflect the presence of psychological distress.

The definition of second-generation appears to depend on the geographical location. For example, in the UK, the adult children of refugee parents have been labelled with the contested term BAME with less emphasis on the generational status and historical immigration routes (Rabiee & Smith, 2014). There have been years of discontent with this label as it assumes that racialised individuals have a homogenous experience (Bhopal & Rankin, 1999). The BAME label ignores or removes the specific lived experience and the needs of individuals.

One of the limitations with using generational status in samples is the assumption that the second-generation is different from the people of their country of residence because of their cultural background. Juang and Syed (2019) argued that due to changing migration patterns, the generational status might be too broad and heterogenous to capture the acculturation experiences accurately. Furthermore, the generational status emphasised the difference between the majority ethnic group and racialised individuals despite being born and raised in the country of residence (Chimienti et al., 2019). The definitions are simplistic for refugee families because individuals who grow up in this context ascribe to multiple cultural and racial identities

and their experience transcend a simple categorisation based on traditional definitions of immigration.

Despite the limitations of the generational status, the term second-generation was used in this study to acknowledge the refugee family and their historical context. The early works of psychiatrists Vivian Rakoff (1967) on the children of the Jewish Holocaust survivors used the term second-generation to demonstrate the salience of the transmission of the legacy of that Holocaust. Furthermore, second-generation could refer to individuals born or arriving in a country before the age of five (Rumbaut, 2012). Rumbaut (2012) adopted the cut-off age as five-years-old because of the possible developmental stage of the children. Neurological and developmental researchers have found that children's brain undergoes rapid and complex physiological, cognitive and emotional changes between the ages of 2 and 6 (Boyd & Bee, 2011). Zola and Squire (2003) explained that young children may have a limited memory system which can impede their recall of their country of birth. This does not imply that young children are entirely unable to retain memories, as memories are not just cognitive but can be embodied (Van der Kolk, 2015). However, the experience of war could be remembered differently for children above the age of five (Slone & Mann, 2016). Differences of opinion still existed, but there appeared to be some agreement that children aged 0-5 seemed to be more similar to children born in the country than first-generation or 1.5 generation (Rumbaut, 2012). Thus, throughout this study, the term second-generation referred to adults who were born in the UK or arrived in the country before the age of five, and their parents were interchangeably referred to as forced migrants and refugees.

1.10 The unique position and need to study the psychological experience of the second-generation Somalis

Over the past decades, a growing number of refugee families from the African continent migrated to Europe, and the children of these refugees are now adults. Fouche et al.'s (2021) systematic review revealed that there was a scarcity of second-generation children of African origin in European countries and academic literature on their health experiences. Mohamed and Yusuf (2012) reflected on several conflicts between the Somali refugee parent and their children and stated the following: "Somali refugee families, in particular experience the kind of conflict arising from the traumatic experiences of family members" (p. 165). A field of study that explores the impact of the traumatic experiences of family members is the work of children with parents with mental health disorders and intergenerational trauma. A meta-synthesis by Murphy et al. (2011) found that adult children of parents with mental health disorders have difficulties in their relationship with parents and family members. Some themes included parental absence, confusing and complex relationships, parentification, feeling isolated from the community and outside of the familial unit, difficulties trusting others, detachment with self and emotions, worry and seeking escape and finally, the stigma around mental illness. The children of parents with mental health disorders are attempting to make sense of their parents' vulnerability and develop potential assumptions and behaviours such as worrying and keeping their mental health a secret to avoid stigma while harbouring views about their parents and mental health in general. For example, how to cope with one's mental health or viewing their parents as fragile (Simpson-Adkins & Daiches et al., 2018).

The second-generation has been widely studied within the context of historical and collective trauma, which goes beyond the parent-child relationship to the

significance of trauma on the whole of Somali society. Traumatic events like war have more significance in collectivist communities as they can uproot unity, trust and security within family systems and society (Somasundaram, 2007). This has been defined as collective trauma which is the emotional wounding that is passed on and remembered in society's collective memory (Kalinowska, 2012). The process of trauma in atrocities such as the transatlantic slavery of African-Caribbean and African Americans (DeGruy, 2005), genocides against Rwandans (Berckmoes et al., 2017), the Indian partition (Mohanram, 2011), Native Americans (Duran & Duran, 1995), Jewish Holocaust survivors (Kellermann, 2001), survivors from the Irish conflict (Downes et al., 2012) and refugee families (Sangalang & Vang, 2017) has been identified as intergenerational or transgenerational trauma.

The "intergenerational transmission of trauma" (Danieli, 1998) refers to the belief that a family member who has experienced trauma can expose another member to residues of that trauma, even though the exposed family member does not directly experience that trauma. There are various ways to label this experience; some authors use secondary traumatisation, transgenerational trauma or historical trauma (Danieli, 1998; Duran & Duran, 1995) to depict the same process which can lead to the fragmentation of studies exploring the second-generation due to the use of various concepts to explain the same phenomena. Nevertheless, Somasundaram's (2007) study found that recognising collective trauma in communities was essential because of the need for community interventions and focus on relationships within the community and family rather than individualised treatment of war-survivors.

The second-generation Somalis in the UK may have a wide range of experiences related to the mental health difficulties of their parent, collective trauma and

intergenerational trauma. However, their unique experience may be directly related to their lived experience as racialised individuals. There is a paucity of studies exploring these interrelated dimensions for the second-generation Somalis living in the UK. The second-generation Somali in the UK may experience inequalities related to racism and islamophobia (Fernando, 2017) inequalities based on gender and socio-economic disadvantages (Hussain et al., 2014; Omar, 2019; Oram et al., 2016) These inequalities and racial discrimination could lead to stigmatisation and vulnerability to psychological distress (Ellis et al., 2010b; Lincoln et al., 2020; Oram et al., 2016).

In this study, the psychological experience was conceptualised as various emotional states that were intersubjective and physical experiences and strengths and growth (Douglas et al., 2016). There was a need to understand their psychological experience as this underrepresented group may have unattended psychological needs which further perpetuated the exclusion and marginalisation of the second-generation Somalis in mental health services. The broad definition of psychological distress meant that the psychological needs were explored without the restrictions of presupposed notions of distress that may limit the subjective and idiographic experience of distress for second-generation Somalis.

1.11 Counselling psychology context and rationale

This chapter has demonstrated that the second-generation Somalis are possibly contextualised and positioned within their parents' forced migration and extant literature on the second-generation experience. It is now necessary to explain the role of applied psychology and counselling psychology. The field of applied psychology is integral to forced migration in providing and advocating for the psychological needs

in resettlement (Patel et al., 2018). The social justice and holistic values of counselling psychology recognise the diversity and resilience of refugee families. However, there might not be enough prioritisation of the relevance of the social and political context in mental health (Toporek, 2018; Tribe & Bell, 2018). Psychological distress in the context of postcolonialism could be perceived as a reaction to personal, social, and ethical problems in people's existence. The reactions to oppressive power structures are then only categorised as irrational when understood from the position of power (Fanon, 1967). There is a growing realisation and effort to challenge and scrutinise racist policies and practices in psychiatry. In applied psychology, the various systemic, historical forces and human injustices needs to be critically explored to understand the lived experience of racialised communities across time, history, and space. Understanding the psychological needs of the second-generation in forced migration families supports the move away from the individualised model. It raised the critical question of the kind of interventions that could optimise the recovery of families and their communities affected by war. Therefore, best practice in healthcare services includes the consideration of the needs of the second-generation Somalis.

How individuals experience the world themselves and their sense of place in it is necessary for psychotherapy. This research highlighted the role of psychological services in supporting families and the second-generation Somalis. Counselling psychology could facilitate this in psychotherapy by anticipating the effects of the historical and socio-political context in the life-span development of them that can inform formulation, assessment, and interventions. Furthermore, Counselling psychology has a reach to shape policy through consultancy and community work reinforced by research (Kasket, 2012; Tribe & Bell, 2018) The methodology used in

this study prioritises the subjective experience of the historical and socio-cultural, and political contexts in their lives.

1.12 Chapter summary and research aims

This thesis examined the psychological experience of second-generation Somalis in the context of their families, who were forced to migrate during the Somali civil war. In this introduction an overview was given to the relevance of this exploration to the personal context and positioning of the research, the background and context within this study was situated and the practice in CoP and applied psychology. The research question is: What is the perceived psychological experience of second-generation Somali Adults whose parents were forced to migrate during the Somali civil war in the '90s?

The thesis is organised into five chapters, of which this one is the first. Chapter two reviews the literature on the psychological experience of the second-generation Somali to present the argument for a qualitative study adopting IPA. Chapter three outlines the methodological approach and chapter four reveal the findings of the study. Finally, chapter five provides a context to the findings with literature and the implications in CoP and applied psychology and will close with a conclusion.

Chapter 2. Literature review

This chapter reviews the existing literature on the psychological experience of second-generation Somalis living in the UK whose parents were forced to migrate during the Somali civil war. It critically analyses literature on identity and belonging, the effects of forced migration on the family intergenerational trauma, and the role of communication and stories about the forced migration of the parents of the second-generation Somalis. The chapter situates these realities and the psychological experiences in the context of the post-colonial world.

2.1 Identity and Belonging

The sense of self of individuals with a cultural background is a significant area of interest within social sciences and applied psychology. (Schwartz et al., 2006; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Verkuyten, 2005). Verkuyten (2016) argues that racialised groups organise their ethnic and racial identity through cognitive processes such as continuity that serve group harmony and shape the thoughts, affect and actions of those in the shared membership. However, there is a question in his argument about the individualisation of racialised groups as each member will have the agency to shape the social world that is in line with their beliefs, goals and values. Several factors that are in relation to people's social environment such as religion, gender, migration, geographic location, and individual experience can influence how individuals make sense of their identity. Such approaches that perceive ethnic identity and racial identity as equal and assume the hegemony in groups fail to integrate the intersectional identities and address the analysis of power, inequality and injustice as a central concern to an individual's identity (Fernando, 2012; Galliher et al., 2017). Hall and Du

Gay (1996) proposed that for ethnic and racialised individuals, their identities are constructed within the dynamic interplay of power and exclusion.

2.1.1 Intersectional identity and alienation

The intersectional characteristics of identity and interplay of power and exclusion can exacerbate the feelings of powerlessness and "othering" (Turner, 2021). Grove and Zwi (2006) define "Othering" as the process in which the majority group defines their identity by distancing and stigmatising refugees and immigrants. The purpose is to privilege oneself and group membership while perceiving the other as different. Consequently, the group that is othered experience processes of marginalisation, disempowerment, and social exclusion.

The integration of these intersectional and subjective experiences of othering with Somali participants has been found in studies within the UK (Nurein & Iqbal, 2021; Valentine & Sporton, 2009) and North America (Abdulle, 2019). For example, Nurein and Iqbal (2021) conducted a qualitative study which explored intragroup discrimination against Black female Muslims in the UK. The study demonstrated the intersectionality between anti-blackness, religion and gender and found that alienation in Black communities and religious communities potentially created an internal conflict negatively affecting their wellbeing and sense of belonging. However, the study involved 11 participants drawn from various ethnicities and used thematical analysis to achieve these conclusions. The study used a Black Feminist intersectional approach with thematical analysis, but this method provides general patterns and may omit the experience and meaning of participants. Therefore, the study is unable to provide an analysis of the psychological phenomenon of internal conflict as well as the

significance of this phenomenon for the participants. The study did not demonstrate how the internal conflict affected their wellbeing or what this internal conflict means to the participants, but it does demonstrate the process of othering from multiple spaces in the lives of the Somali second-generation.

Exclusionary views and discriminatory treatment of second-generation Somalis are a manifestation of the othering of the society and policies that aggravate alienation and inequality (Modood & Thompson, 2021). The “war on terror” has demonstrated these discourses as it is centred around the demonisation of Muslims in the Global North and asserting the label of migrants and refugees as “terrorists” (Fernando, 2017; Bloch & Dona, 2018). Wang et al. (2020) argues that individuals affected by islamophobia are likely to find it difficult to develop their distinctive values in their religious identity. The ability to create an individual’s identity with their values and engage in activities that are meaningful and align with their values is beneficial to managing stressful events (Ceary et al., 2019). Strathern (1996) suggests that “other people's prejudices, opinions, assumptions can be seen as a movement towards or away from what one values oneself” (p. 39).

Second-generation Somalis may be caught up in this dynamic due to other people's assumptions about their religion. Consequently, there is a risk of their psychological experience being jeopardised to achieve some legitimacy within their group but also in wider society. Quantitative studies have demonstrated a relationship between psychological distress and islamophobia and discrimination (Lincoln, 2020; Samari et al., 2018). The qualitative systematic review conducted by Rehman and Hanley (2022) argues that the following experiences: construction of the other, stigmatisation of appearance, homogeneity of identity, concealed and normalized

behaviour conflict with what Muslims want to be, and ultimately might affect their wellbeing.

This author suggests that there are limited studies exploring the psychosocial wellbeing of these experiences. A study may reveal the extent to which a person's identity is defined by the values they hold in their intersectional identities and the extent to which they can be themselves. Given that the second-generation Somalis will not only relate to their religious values but also cultural values from their family and community, their psychological wellbeing will be dependent on how they retain their cultural values and adopt values and cognitions of the dominant majority society.

2.1.2 Acculturation and psychological wellbeing

Studies on the competing demands of social worlds for individuals with ethnic identities are based on how they acculturate in western society. They examine the affect this has on their sense of alienation and psychological wellbeing. Berry (2006) refers to acculturation as the changes that follow contact between peoples of different cultural backgrounds which can result in four acculturation strategies. *Assimilation* means that individuals associate with the dominant majority and have minimal cultural heritage identification. *Separation* means low association with the dominant majority and high cultural heritage identification. *Marginalisation* refers to individuals with a low association with the dominant majority and low cultural heritage orientation. Finally, *integration* is often also called biculturalism. This acculturation strategy represents high association with the dominant majority and high cultural heritage identification.

There are several problems with the definition and assumptions of acculturation. Firstly, the process of acculturation within Berry's theory assumes that change when meeting the dominant majority becomes a fixed strategy rather than a developmental process to achieve cultural competence (Juang & Syed, 2019). Secondly, the strategies may differ depending on where forced migrants are located. This is due to their experiences of dominant cultures through migration patterns in various Western countries, which may have a bearing on acculturation strategies.

Schwartz et al. (2010) dispute the challenges in acculturation and proposes various arguments against the importance of psychological adjustment and acculturation. They argue that acculturation and the successful contact between the two cultural groups as a form of change and psychological adjustment limits the recognition of growth and development in personal characteristics such as values, attitudes and identity that can be a form of change rather than acculturation.

Finally, there also seems to be an assumption that psychological change is exclusive from social and economic experiences and because of specific choices made by migrants (Berry, 2006). Though there may be a measure of some choice for individuals with ethnic identities regarding some aspects of their acculturation, these choices may be constrained by demographic and contextual factors.

The second generation may face different challenges that are not related to acculturation or will have more direct experience of inequality and racialisation that drives them to think more deeply about the meaning of their ethnicity (Shwartz et al. 2010). As a result, acculturation strategies may not be sufficient to understand the psychological wellbeing of the second generation. Such strategies put the onus on migrant families to find solutions rather than examining society and systems that can

create a barrier for racialised groups. Berry and Hou (2017) and Lincoln (2020) attempted to explore perceived discrimination and psychological wellbeing. Both studies found significant associations between the effects of discrimination and psychological wellbeing depending on the acculturation strategy that was adopted by second-generation ethnic minorities in Canada. Berry & Hou (2017) used descriptive statistics to conclude that individuals adopting marginalisation strategies were the most affected by discrimination. However, this group was followed by individuals with an integration strategy despite reporting increased life satisfaction. This contradiction in results implies that acculturation strategies may not be the most useful outcome to examine second-generation racialised communities' psychological wellbeing. Lincoln et al.'s (2020) study with Somali immigrants confirms this hypothesis; they found that discrimination had a direct effect on mental health, mediated through not only marginalised acculturation style but also on their sense of reception from society, underscoring the effect of alienation and rejection from society on racialized individuals. Nonetheless, Lincoln (2020) only explored marginalised acculturation, so it is unclear whether other acculturation strategies also experience a lack of belonging in society.

A focus on acculturation may perpetuate who is deemed integrated and who is not, because it is unclear what it means to be a member of a white-dominated society and what the conditions are for membership. Fernando (2012) argues that racialised communities have various over-arching identities and these identities are not fixed labels that define their sense of self in a personal way. Consequently, second-generation Somalis may define their sense of self in relation to their experiences in a given geographical location (Abdullahi & Wei, 2021; Karimi et al., 2018; Waite & Cook,

2011). In a qualitative study by Abdullahi and Wei (2021) they propose that second-generation Somalis struggle with their identity in Britain because their emotional investment in Somali culture may be weaker than that of their parents. In contrast, Karimi et al.'s (2018) study report that second-generation Somalis in Canada oscillate between both social worlds and achieve a sense of belonging as they merge values from their Somali ethnic-religious culture and Canadian multiculturalism. The authors argue that Canadian multiculturalism and acceptance of cultures have a significant impact on this belonging, which contrasts with British discourses of migrants as not capable of being "assimilated" and a "burden" on society.

The identity of second-generation Somalis appears to be associated with an in-betweenness of various cultures and experiences. This contradictory and ambivalent space called the "in betweenness" is interwoven with elements of the white-dominant society (Bhabha, 1996). Consequently, identity is dynamic and negotiated. Since group identification in different times of their lives is variable and ambivalent, this negotiation moves beyond the construction of identities. Identity construction can invoke underlying emotions and result in emotions such as confusion and a lack of belonging, especially when a person's existence is consistently questioned due to their alienation and insecurity of identity (Alleyne, 2009; Kinouani, 2021; Layder, 2004). A threat to existence implies an internal process, while the sense of self of the second generation is also shaped by their family history and community trauma. The next section will review the family dynamics that can shape the psychological wellbeing of the second-generation.

2.2 The potential effects of forced migration on the family

Refugees have travelled to find safety in a country with prospects of a settled family life and future opportunities for their children. The search for safety and the threat of violence and persecution can threaten family processes (Hodes & Hussain, 2020). In resettlement, the remaking of family life is a changing dynamic encompassing family separation, the organising of reunions, interpersonal conflicts and changing roles in the family (Chen et al., 2017; De Haene & Rosseau 2020; Johansen & Varvin, 2019).

2.2.1 Intergenerational conflict and role-reversal

There are several post-migration processes that can impact the parent-child relationship such as the language difference and values leading to intergenerational conflict, attachment representations and parental mental health. For example, the children of refugee parents appear to be quicker in learning the language of the resettlement country than their parents. Degni et al. (2006) refers to this process as intergenerational conflict. They broadly define this as an acculturation gap in immigrant families because the children are more acculturated to their environment than their parents. Simultaneously children must negotiate two sets of home and host country cultural norms (Degni et al., 2006; Mohamed & Yusuf, 2012). The various acculturation gaps appear to be based on acculturation strategies adopted in families, however these studies rely on the assumption that youth will be more acculturated than their parents and associate this with family conflict and psychological distress and do not account to the differences within culture and values rather than making reasonable comparisons with the host society (Telzer, 2011). In adolescence there is

a normative process of intergenerational conflict however it is proposed that, with racialised communities, this developmental process is exacerbated due to the cultural differences within the family and community (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Pruchno & Rosenbaum, 2003).

Furthermore, the conflict between parents and the second-generation may also depend on the developmental stage as these differences may be more or less amplified throughout an individual's life. For example, in, Nielsen et al. (2018) their study of elderly refugees and the second-generation in Denmark, including Somalis, sought to explore the care needs of refugee families as their parents got older. Their findings have shown that the second-generation feel responsible for supporting their parents in navigating the system, trapped between various cultural, societal, and religious traditions and norms.

The study, however, poses several methodological weaknesses that may limit the understanding of their psychological experience. Firstly, the authors conducted a focus group discussion with the second-generation sample group. However, it was unclear how many participants participated in the discussions since they included complete families and third generation people. Secondly, their methodological approach is a hermeneutic phenomenological approach, but the authors adopt family systems theory as a theoretical framework, which contrasts with the epistemological principles of hermeneutic phenomenology. As a result, the study appeared to be incoherent as its aim did not match the discussions. Finally, their study explained that the second-generation had increased responsibility. Nevertheless, it is unclear whether this has changed over the years due to the age of the parents and led to role reversal

in the family over time. It would have been helpful if the study adopted a smaller sample and used *dyads* as cases to provide an in-depth analysis of their experience.

Role reversals were common in the transmissions of trauma among the offspring of Jewish Holocaust survivors (Bar-on et al., 1998) but in refugee families they may have a different function as children are positioned as the language broker for their family in resettlement (Crafter & Iqbal, 2021). The parents rely on their children to act as language-brokers and support the parent in navigating the system but in turn parents appear to feel disempowered. Role reversal is a way to describe the process of parentification as they fulfil the parenting role by taking the responsibility and key decisions in their family because they adapt to their new home country quicker than their parents (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Role reversal may complicate intergenerational conflict further as the second-generation navigate various norms while positioned as the person securing the livelihood of their families and this may be further exacerbated when there is limited access to community support.

The current notions on intergenerational conflict are specific to the parent-child relationship but exclude the influence of the broader family and community. For example, Ellis et al.'s (2010a) study between Somali caregivers and adolescents reveals that the first generation is concerned about their children because they notice that their behaviours are contrary to their traditional religious and cultural values. The adolescents in the study shared the challenges of the "community talk" from other first-generation Somali adults that were not their parents, which resulted in hiding their problems. The intergenerational conflict could also represent the desire of the

children of refugees to resist potential norms such as patriarchal domination (Akpinar, 2017), which could be viewed as a broader societal motivation.

Overall, studies on intergenerational conflict have not provided details on the psychological meaning of this experience and assume that it will cause difficulties in the relationship with parents and the community.

2.2.2 Attachment representations in parent-child relationships

Let us now consider other familial processes that can affect the psychological experience of the second-generation Somali. The lack of emotional availability, excessive worry of parental figures and the absence of extended family or other support could increase the child's vulnerability (Arnold, 2006; Bar-on et al., 1998; Boyle & Ali, 2009; Shmotkin et al., 2011). Attachment studies demonstrated that the ability of parents to provide a secure attachment and environment could help the child regulate emotions (Bowlby, 1968; Fonagy, 1999). The secure base at home becomes the foundation from which children will then be able to navigate the broader societal environment.

Refugee parents may have fearful and dismissing attachment styles due to their experience of violence and forced separation with their families (De Haene et al., 2010). The disruption in attachment may lead to insecure attachment in their children and subsequent psychological difficulties (Van Ee et al., 2016). This could interfere with the emotional availability of parents as well as a sense of security and sensitivity to their children as they are compassionate towards their family's flight from war and dedication to protect the family (De Haene et al., 2010). At present, attachment studies with refugee families such as de Haene et al. (2010) and Van Ee et al. (2016)

assume that the war and forced migration are the sources of post-traumatic symptoms rather than racism and disadvantages in the resettlement country.

Institutional and societal structures can be another influence in the development of secure or insecure attachment within children (Fonagy et al., 2021). Daily stressors such as racism, economic hardship and other losses of resources may play an equally critical role in triggering attachment-related trauma and post-traumatic reactions in the parents which can affect the relationship with their children (Kinouani, 2020; Fonagy et al., 2021). In Betancourt et al.'s (2015) study Somali families explore the experiences that shape parent-child relationship. Their findings suggest that multiple losses of economic stability, status and employment, and language difficulties among Somali parents exacerbate difficulties in protecting their offspring from societal harms, such as discrimination and societal disadvantage. Although this comprehensive qualitative study explored the experience in resettlement of both parents' and second-generation Somalis, the authors did not address the psychological meaning of these losses for the second-generation due to their methodological approach and research aims.

2.2.3 Children of parents with mental health difficulties

Studies on the children of parents with mental health problems have shown the psychological impact, such as excessive worrying and mistrust of others (Murphy, 2011). Alemi et al. (2021) and Michlig et al. (2022) found similar results with Somali youth and their experience with their family. They explain in their study that the Somali youth suffered in silence due to their feelings of shame and emotional concealment.

This is because they are unable to share their mental health with others in the community.

Another finding is the dismissive reaction and lack of support from parents about their emotional challenges. The authors attribute this to the intergenerational conflict as parents viewed mental health differently than their children. Because they are in the field of sociology, they have a limited understanding of psychological processes. Furthermore, the study is inconclusive as the 25 participants had refugee status, and only four were US native-born people. The study has a high number of refugees in the study, so the claims could be related to their forced migration or other challenges associated with their refugee status. The study could be strengthened by including an equal number of US native-born and refugees. In that way, the study would reveal the length of stay and the disparity between cultural knowledge of mental health and emotional literacy between the youth. Within the field of intergenerational trauma, the generational status of the second-generation and the opportunity for them to express their psychological experience were more explicit. In the next section, intergenerational trauma will be considered.

2.3 The focus on intergenerational trauma

The field of intergenerational trauma appears to be grounded in theories around genetics, behavioural models such as parenting and social learning, family systems and psychodynamic theory (Kellermann, 2001; Isobel et al., 2018). These theories have conceptual differences. For example, psychodynamic and relational theories concentrate on dyads and actions emerging within individuals and therefore develop internal working models (Bowlby, 1988). On the other hand, family systems

theory emphasises repeating transactions and processes that connect the distress of one individual with other members of the family. This is done through analyses of structures, roles, communication styles and power relations in the broader family (Johnson & Wendel, 2016; Rothbaum et al., 2002).

The similarities these theories share is in the aetiology of relational processes and location of the psychological distress as they both conceptualise the relationship as a pathway through intergenerational transmission. Consequently, the theories may provide an understanding on the complexities of multiple ecological systems such as dyads, families and societies in individuals who are affected by atrocities but may skew the variability in these experiences.

2.3.1 Quantitative studies in IGGT

The focus on intergenerational trauma on the second-generation may limit the understanding of the psychological wellbeing of this group as there is an assumption that their psychological distress is manifested as trauma and directly related to the trauma and mental health issues their parents had experienced. This is because quantitative studies are adopted to demonstrate the association between parental mental health and their children.

For example, East et al.'s (2018) study explored the psychological wellbeing in Somali maternal and child dyads. Their study sample consisted of 198 mothers and 198 children aged 7 to 14 years and revealed an association between maternal trauma, which was assessed by measuring trauma, anxiety and depression, and the children's depression and perceived racism. They found that the depressive and anxiety symptoms of mothers compounded their child's level of depression, bullying

victimisation and perceived racism. The study, however, only showed an association and did not account for any other variables or factors that can lead to the child's depressive symptoms, perceived racism, and bullying.

As a result of the focus on standardised mental health disorders in quantitative studies (Lambert et al., 2014; Lindert et al., 2016), there have been disparities in the findings about intergenerational trauma. Perhaps this results from the transmission of resilience factors to the offspring. For example, Atallah (2017) and Shrira et al. (2019) both state that the parents' resilience is transferred and therefore evade potential psychopathology in the next generation. Thus, the first-generation trauma may influence both positively and negatively on the second-generation depending on the first generation's response to their trauma.

Both studies however, adopted quantitative measures to explore resilience pathways. Prilleltensky (2013) argued that the construct of resilience has been challenged as it stems from the assumption that the mind can overcome adversity without changing the distribution of justice in the environment. The epistemological positions of the studies so far fail to address the multi-layered aspect of psychological experience of the second-generation Somalis.

2.3.2 Qualitative studies in IGGT

Qualitative studies in intergenerational trauma have attempted to explore beyond the psychopathology and address the pivotal role of historical events and collective trauma on the next generation. Bezo and Maggi (2015) found that emotions and specific behaviours such as the need to survive and self-preservation were transmitted to future generations. Their study on the Mass-Trauma in Ukraine during

the Holodomor genocide of 1932- 1933 revealed that three generations were affected by the traumatic experiences, resulting in emotions such as fear of another genocide, sadness and shame about their ethnic group. The specific behaviours that indicated the continuous survival mode and self-pervations included stockpiling food and indifference towards others. They interviewed 15 families with 45 participants and analysed these family systems.

The challenge was that each family would have their cultural norms and meaning about the narratives of the genocide in their family. It would have been beneficial to provide context to their specific family structure and values which may have developed over time. This could have been captured through a narrative analysis to demonstrate the construction of stories in the families' life and the psychological meaning in a given family to highlight the intrafamilial trauma.

A recent study by Johansen and Varvin (2019) explored the relationship processes of adult children of refugee parents with a diverse ethnic background. Their study adopted IPA to investigate participants experience of the relationship with their parents throughout childhood. The authors used child development theories to explore the relational processes and developmental outcomes between the child, caregiver and environmental processes. The study revealed that the relational processes comprised of a moral obligation and responsibility to support their parents while feeling resentment. Although this study corroborates the negotiation and relational meaning for the second-generation when growing up in a refugee family, the findings of the study are ungeneralisable to the Somali community because the study was done in Norway, a Scandinavian country with a different approach to refugees, and the social context will be different to refugee families in the UK. The heterogeneity of the

ethnicities means that the systemic influences in society and cultural aspects were not demonstrated in the relational experience with their parents.

2.3.3 The abyss of IGGT

Studies in the field of intergenerational trauma have been primarily focused on holocaust survivors. A systematic review of Sangalang & Vang (2017) found that fourteen of the twenty studies included in their review were from Jewish holocaust survivors who had traumatic experiences directly pertaining to their experiences in German labour or extermination camps, constriction to residential ghettos, hiding from the Nazis, family separation and starvation. The remaining six studies were with forced migrants from Southeast Asia and from the Middle east. The disparity between the majority of second-generation holocaust survivor studies in intergenerational trauma and forced migrants revealed that the knowledge coming from intergenerational trauma was skewed towards the second-generation of such holocaust survivors. For example, Hudson's et al. (2015) review of the literature on the cultural expressions of intergenerational trauma state that silence was the most common theme in the literature. This literature review amalgamated the experiences of the second-generation of Jewish holocaust survivors, survivors of Armenian genocides, and the survivors of American Indians, as well as the survivors of contemporary Korean and Japanese wars. Consequently, the cultural and colonial expression of trauma of groups with a colonial history might be overlooked and the cultural nuances can be conflated. Hudson et al. (2015) stated the following: "Practitioners need to be aware that the silence of intergenerational trauma spans time and may be rooted in family and cultural communication patterns and may be expressed for individual or collective

reasons" (p. 288). Hence it is important to understand what the meaning of silence is for the second-generation and whether there is a shared understanding in the family on the function of silence as it can be both a protective and avoidance mechanism.

The authors further suggested that the second-generation may develop anger and guilt, which she coins "parental survivor guilt", based on the second generations feeling responsible for the suffering of their parents which may result in the inhibition of anger. This systematic review was based on eight studies and included Jewish holocaust survivors, which poses the same challenges related to the overrepresentation of such holocaust survivor studies. Furthermore, the heightened responsibility and guilt is perceived to be solely between the relationship with parents and family members.

The present reality of Black-African people may highlight particular psychological experiences not observed in other refugee communities. In 2005 DeGruy published her theory called "post traumatic slave syndrome". This theory was based on the experiences of African Americans descendants of slaves and the adaptive survival behaviours that has been transmitted and sustained throughout generations due to the consequences of the multigenerational oppression of Africans. DeGruy (2017) defines post-Traumatic slave syndrome as the multigenerational trauma resulting from slavery and present-day institutional racism. She alludes to the continuity of colonialism and post-colonial features of post-modern society. She also adds that there is a belief (real or imagined) that the benefits of society, in which they live are not accessible to them. These beliefs and behaviours are based on the impact of years of slavery and oppression, perceived to be perpetuated in the families and communities of African Americans. DeGruy's theory moves beyond the parent-child

relationship of intergenerational trauma and includes the oppression and racism that the second-generation will experience despite their parents' trauma and experiences.

There are a few challenges with the researcher's theory as they are not based on empirical evidence, appear to be focused on the African American population, and assumes that descendants of Africans and the African diaspora perceive that the society is not accessible to them. This experience may be different to forced migrants who flee their war-torn country and find safety and achieve greater opportunities in the resettlement country even if down the line some witness the opposite of their endeavours due to post-migration stressors (Ellis et al., 2008). Consequently, the second-generation will grow up with parents that have expectations of "making it" in the western world.

The literature on intergenerational trauma has provided decades of understanding of the impact of traumatic events in families and communities on the next generation. However, there are assumptions that the child is passive in receiving the trauma from their parents and isolated from the colonial history of their people. The relationship can be bi-directional and influenced by many other factors, such as communication and narratives about the war and pre-war times, as well as systemic influences on the family due to post-colonialism.

2.4 The role of communication and stories about their parents' forced migration

Family relational dynamics and a family's identity may depend heavily on the memories and stories of refugee parents. This is because they form a shared memory based on historical events. Collective memory is defined as memories of the past that

are shared and have a significant meaning to members of a community because it bears on the collective identity (Hirst & Manier, 2008).

For the second-generation Somalis, the stories about their country and the attachment of their families to their original home country appears to be central to their identity and sense of belonging (Tiilikainen, 2017). In these interactions, parents and other adults discuss and interpret the family legacy and their stories with the next generation, which provides a model within a framework of how they make sense of themselves and regulate their emotions (Fivush & Nelson, 2004). Furthermore, Fivush and Nelson (2004) explain that parents who reminisce and share stories support the children's capacity to develop coherent autobiographical memories. This psychological development may differ for refugee families as sharing stories may be a difficult task. Forced migrants with the experience of political persecution, torture or ethnic cleansing are likely to avoid sharing stories as the painful memories trigger distress (Shannon et al., 2015). It is safer for the parents to forget rather than remember, resulting in silence, nostalgia, and substitution in the family (Fredo, 1984). Kalinowska (2012, p. 427) describes this as a "painful paradox" because the people affected by the trauma avoid resolving this trauma and are preoccupied with the loss, rather than engaging in a mourning process that liberate them from their pain.

Studies such as Braga et al. (2012) with the offspring of Holocaust survivors in Latin America, Dalgaard et al. (2016) with Middle Eastern refugee families in the UK and Bloch (2018) with 45 second-generation individuals whose parents forced to migrate from Vietnam and Sri Lanka (Tamils) and Kurds from Turkey, all explore the role of narratives and communication of parental trauma and forced migration. Bloch's (2018) study attempts to explore the meaning of the narrative gaps through the

perspective of the adults whose parents were forced to migrate and developed themes based on the stories of their parents' pre-migration and journey to the host country. The findings reveal that the stories supported the second-generation socialisation process in developing an identity and belonging. The participants also experience various emotions such as guilt, gratitude, and a sense of duty to compensate for their parents' trauma, sacrifices and losses. The studies' methodological approach may have hindered uncovering the in-depth meaning of the narrative gaps of their parents' stories and the relational perspective within these stories to further understand the meaning of these narrative gaps in relation to their relationship with family and their racialised identity in British society. Furthermore, the participants in the study have various ethnic backgrounds and forced migration histories that can influence the nature, content and meaning of the stories.

2.4.1 The cultural and political differences in retelling stories

Storytelling is not an individualised process but is a complex interaction between the influences of telling the story for the individual, the family, and societal systems. The meaning of a pre-migration story with certain refugee groups may be necessary as they have a different cultural and emotional function for certain refugee groups. Ewing (2005) defines nostalgia as the psychological splitting of migrants when confronted with ambivalence about migration. Reminiscing the memories and positioning a person's homeland as all good becomes a defence mechanism against the potential frustrations and rage of post-migration processes such as drop in status and discrimination. The second-generation's meaning and experiences of witnessing these processes were not captured in Bloch's (2018) study and are yet to be

understood. Earlier studies with Jewish holocaust survivors such as from Wiseman (2006) propose that the silence of their parents' unspoken trauma hinders open communication and unfolding of emotions such as anger and guilt within their relationship.

However, in the Somali culture story-telling plays an important role in tradition, whereby stories are used to transmit important cultural values of personhood between generations (Crossley, 2000; Kimondo, 2013). Consequently, the findings in intergenerational trauma with Jewish holocaust survivors are limited and fail to demonstrate the cultural and post-colonial aspects within the narratives of trauma. It is necessary to reveal the emotional significance for the second-generation Somalis as the contention between telling and not telling the story is complex. The political and historical context of these stories may also impede parents to share the stories with the next generation. A country's political situation can lead to erasure of the official story and marginalisation for certain victims (Hackett & Rolston, 2009). For example, in Somalia, the victim stories may interfere with the agenda around state, community building and security. In Somalia, the diaspora's endeavour in supporting peacebuilding is essential and has both played a critical role in strengthening governments as well as instigate and support conflict for political gain (Hammond et al., 2011). The relational perspective acknowledges the shared meaning and emotions that may be present in the second-generation but silenced due to the pain and suffering of the stories which limits the opportunity for social connection (De Haene et al., 2018). In this dialogical space, there is an opportunity to actively engage with the protective role of silence, the tension in the family due to the stories and the broader meaning of the stories in the larger society and culture.

One potential major issue in the studies of the second-generation psychological experience is the lack of integrating the continuity of trauma enforced by the social structures such as post-colonialism and socio-economic life events with the family trauma history. The second-generation Somali's psychological experiences appear to be reduced and isolated from societal challenges. This is a significant gap in how the second-generation makes sense of their psychological experience in the post-colonial world.

2.5 Situating the psychological experience in the post-colonial world

This chapter has demonstrated various concepts that may shape the psychological experience of the second-generation Somalis. It is necessary to explain psychological experience and situate this in the post-colonial world as the second-generation Somalis are racialised within "western" society.

The studies discussed so far have focused on diagnostic classifications of mental health and outcomes. This contrasts with Somali culture, in which psychological distress appears more fluid and transient than within Western psychopathology categories. It is imperative to resist and challenge definitions of emotional distress based on the medical model as the psychological distress of individuals manifest distinctively for everyone (Douglas et al., 2016). The difference is based on specific aspects of the people's contextual life experiences causing suffering and identifying behaviours in their context rather than an imposed typology of disorders (Cavellera, 2016; Ryan et al., 2019). The western approach to mental health is predicated on a metaphysical assertion that claims that trauma and other mental health difficulties are independent of physical and societal reality (Owen, 1994).

Diagnoses and medicalisation are not inherently negative and, in some circumstances, are needed to access services. However, the challenge is positioning the medical model as the only model of cure for human experiences and suffering rather than other forms of healing, such as spiritual growth and resilience (Moodley & West, 2005). The cultural norm about mental health is based on a system of values and worldviews adopted by certain people. This system of values and worldviews are not fixed nor imply geographical locations and may be conflated with race within mental health research (Fernando, 2012).

The social world plays a role in the formation of subjectivity and is particularly important in the post-colonial life of racialised individuals. Psychological experience may be interwoven with the dynamic ways society is organised. However, psychology underestimates the social and political nature of psychological distress (Hook, 2012; Degruy, 2017). According to Frantz Fanon (1968) the lifeworld of Black people is understood in relation to the anti-Black world and the subjugation of the psyche of the Black body. These existential conditions deny the ontology of Black people and predicate the societal problems and psychological problems as part of their inferior status rather than the oppressive power structures in society, which is the true source of conflict. The post-colonial world cannot be fixed into one definition as the periods are dynamic, interlocked and woven into each other, resulting in displacements and entanglements (Mbembe, 2001). Bhabha (1994) describes post-colonialism as the unequal and disadvantaged representations of racialised people and the commitment to explore these social pathologies in the modern world. Furthermore, the term post-colonialism in critical psychology acknowledges the post-colonial thought and

interrogation of the fluctuations of the post-colonial and psychology of resistance in present society (Hook, 2005).

The second-generation Somali who exists in a post-colonial world are making sense of their lifeworld that is interlocked with their present, past and future. In this world, history is still present in the structures that disadvantages others and privileges whiteness. The second-generation Somali may experience psychological constructs such as perceived racial discrimination and racial trauma as they are othered based on religion, Blackness, and potential migration affiliation.

2.5.1 The intersectional and psychological aspects of othering

Racism is a complex and changing construct that interacts within the relational domain with people as well as in psychological internal processes (Fernando, 2003; Hook, 2012). The process of racialisation defined by Bonilla-silva (1997) state that economic, political, social, and psychological power is allocated to a group based on socially-constructed racialised subjects. Based on this structure, racial ideology crystallises with racial notions, stereotypes and rules for perceiving and dealing with “the other”. This process of racialisation is argued to also interact with class, gender structures, religion, and other forms of disadvantages. The experience of racialisation, when persistent and traumatic and without protection against such harmful and damaging experiences, can affect the mental health of racialised individuals, depending on the stress arising from their emotional pain (Bhui et al., 2018).

Racial trauma provides a framework for understanding the psychological pain due to their exposure and re-exposure to racism. The psychological properties of racial trauma appear to be higher levels of anxiety, guilt, shame, avoidance and numbing

and hypervigilance (Bryant-Davis & Ocampo, 2005; Carter, 2007). Other scholars in the UK, such as Alleyne (2005) and Turner (2021), suggest that racialised individuals internalise entrenched beliefs, which results in shame and complete denial of their existence. Both scholars in the UK and US suggest that psychological distress may become an adaptive survival mechanism for Black people while living in a white-dominated and hostile society.

The challenge with studies exploring racial discrimination and the construct of racial trauma is that the potential relationship may not adequately demonstrate the intersections of other traumatic experiences (Kirkinis et al., 2018), which may be more systemic and institutional. Other forms of oppression and injustice may be related to racialisation and by coining it as racial trauma may not capture these experiences and further label their experiences of harm by society. Burman (2018) suggests that class and economic privilege, can also influence the function of a family and therefore implied that family relationships are situated in inequalities within socio-economic status.

Forced migrants and their families are therefore also potentially affected by the inequalities and systemic racism. These adverse experiences in people's life interact with psychological distress. For example, Berge et al. (2020) found that stressful life events such as financial difficulties, marital problems, poor health, trauma and problems with the police were positively associated with perceived behavioural and emotional problems in 26 Somali children in the United States, compared to people from other ethnic backgrounds. In the UK, there is also a "hostile environment" that encourages inequalities and social disadvantage, as migrants are portrayed as external threats, who must be controlled (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al., 2016, p. 5). Prior to British

Home Secretary Theresa May's "hostile environment" policy, this perceived threat existed. The restrictive policies, arbitrary decision making, criminalisation of mobility and immigration detention were observed during the 1990s when the local authority was required to check immigration status for people before they were eligible to receive welfare benefits, employers checked immigration statuses as well as border control through airlines and ferry companies (Griffith & Yeo, 2021).

This hostile environment harms refugee parents and their children due to marginalisation, uncertainty regarding their status, punitive policies and resulting socioeconomic disadvantages. The border practices are embedded in British colonial history (Mayblin, 2017). According to Mayblin (2017), "the hostility towards asylum seekers as a case of racialisation does not get at the issue of the hostile policy regime. In the authors' view, the hostility must be viewed within the context of colonialism as an analytical form. As a result, the author suggests that racialisation is separate from coloniality and capitalist forces. The argument of the author seems removed from the context of (Neo)imperialism in Africa and the continued post-colonial influences of black people in the Diaspora (Hook, 2012). The arguments made by Mayblin (2017) may confirm some form of othering rooted in British colonial practices, but they are not consistent with the experiences of Black people and people of African descent in general.

In the case of the second-generation Somalis, their history involves ethnic divisions based on European colonialism. Bokore (2017) posits that the internal othering within the Somali community is based on wounds from the prolonged trauma and their fight for the survival against the backdrop of colonialism and civil war, which is theorised to affect the second-generation. Racialisation is heavily influenced by the

legacy of colonialism and involves subjugation and power. Racialisation embedded in African colonialism and post-colonialism is essential for understanding the refugee family's lived experience. In order to understand racial oppression, it is necessary to also explore the ways racialised people resist and empower themselves (Anrold & Hawkes, 2008).

An approach that acknowledges the influences of post-colonialism and the powers of oppression within the psychological distress of racialised communities is "liberation". The psychology of liberation is defined as an approach whereby the social context is considered and aims to enhance the awareness of oppressive situations and ideologies (Afuape, 2011; Fernando & Moodley, 2018). In Afuape (2011) psychotherapeutic work, psychological distress is conceptualised as a form of resistance to the suffering caused by abuse of power. Afuape (2011) indicates that resistance to power can be transformative and meaningful, thereby drawing attention from individuals to oppressive social contexts and the resources they use to resist them. The hermeneutic insights of the second-generation Somali lifeworld as social actors are connected to multiple interpersonal levels such as family, society and sharing historical times and events. Hence, the pluralistic importance of subjective experience in counselling psychology means that counselling psychologists are equipped to handle the multi-contextual and complex layers of the human experience of the second-generation Somalis.

2.6 Critical summary of literature review

This literature review has explored critical concepts in the psychological experience of the second-generation Somalis whose parents were forced to migrate

during the civil war and have extrapolated from other countries and cultural groups. The literature review revealed the significance of the target study and the rationale for the study. First of all, the psychological distress of the second-generation Somali has been centred in countries other than the UK. Secondly, there are limited qualitative studies in the UK that have explored the psychological experience of specifically second-generation Somalis living in the UK. Finally, the reviewed studies are conceptualised through the framework of intergenerational trauma and focus on traumatic symptoms, which limits the exploration of the second-generations' meaning making of their psychological experience in the context of their parents' forced migration. Second-generation Somali adults living in the UK make meaning of their lived experiences within the post-colonial world by reflecting on their self-perception. The research question is: *What is the perceived psychological experience of second-generation Somali Adults whose parents were forced to migrate during the Somali civil war in the 1990s?* IPA's ideographic elements allow for openly and reflectively exploration of the participants' psychological experience, which is currently a significant gap. The following chapter will suggest how this gap can be filled.

Chapter 3. Methodology

This chapter discusses the rationale for the methodological decisions in this study. These methodological decisions relate to the underlying philosophical stances of ontology and epistemology. In addition to that, the chapter discusses how interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) fits with the research question: *What is the perceived psychological experience of second-generation Somali Adults whose parents were forced to migrate during the Somali civil war in the 1990s?* The methodological processes applied in this study are analysed, as well as the rigour and quality of the study.

3.1 The philosophy of science and research in CoP

Counselling psychology research predominantly uses qualitative design focusing on the exploration of the subjectivity and phenomenology of individuals to benefit theory and clinical practice (Kasket, 2012). The pluralistic values in counselling psychology imply that the profession can engage with the different philosophies to understand a particular subject, allowing for enhanced perspective, rigour, and transformative change for individuals and the wider society (Milton, 2010).

Researchers' assumptions about the world and reality shape the study and its conclusions. Ontology relates to ideas about reality and what can exist in the world (Ponterotto, 2005). The ontological position is based on a continuum with various positions. The realist paradigm believes that objects exist independently in the world and are discoverable. This position asserts that knowledge is absolute and value-free and seeks to identify causes, measure the object, and formulate laws to predict and generalise the object (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Ponterotto, 2005). The opposite

end of the continuum is the relativist paradigm, which believes that people have different realities, which are subjective, embodied and affected and differs across time and context (Braun & Clark, 2013).

3.1.2 Ontological and epistemological position

The researchers' presuppositions about the nature of the social world informs how knowledge is generated and the methods to explore the participants' reality. This study is grounded in the ontology of critical realism, the epistemology of constructivism, and Africana phenomenology. Critical realists believe in the existence of an independent external world and social reality affected by how people experience their world. This ontological position contends that the way the external world is perceived depends on subjectivity (Madil et al., 2000). This reality comprises processes and social structures that affect people's experiences (Maxwell, 2012). The researcher's experience as a counselling psychologist working with racialised communities yields the recognition of social structures that pertain to the psychological experience. Hence, the various layers in the social world demonstrate the universal systems and meanings formed when interacting with these systems (Gorski, 2013). The second-generation Somalis engages with these systems and are affected by them, such as post-colonial structures, historical events and cultural or religious explanations of their emotional distress. According to critical realism, the reality of the second-generation Somali psychological experience cannot be fully accessed by independent and observable means. This is because humans cannot genuinely capture reality even though a real world exists (Maxwell, 2012). Danermark et al. (2002) described this further by stating that "All knowledge is fallible and open to adjustment,

but not all knowledge by far is equally fallible” (p.15). The authors explain with this statement that reality indeed has an objective existence, but the knowledge of this existence is mediated through conceptual constructions and subjectivity.

Epistemological assumptions are concerned with the forms and acquisition of knowledge and the way this is communicated to other human beings. Human beings can perceive knowledge as an objective or subjective reality according to the nature of the subject and the way truth is warranted (Flick, 2015). In this study, the knowledge generated from participants is constructed and influenced by the participants experience of the world (Neimeyer & Heidi, 2011). The research question aim is to gain insight into the psychological experience of the second-generation Somalis and is interested in the way participants make sense of this experience in the context of their parents forced migration. Thus, this study adopts a constructivist and an Africana phenomenological viewpoint. The epistemology of constructivism is grounded in hermeneutic perspectives and asserts that the subjective meaning is specific to individuals, the knowledge is the production of social and personal processes of meaning-making and is related to the development and application of this meaning (Lincoln & Guba, 2013; Neimeyer & Heidi, 2011). The meaning of the experience and interpretation can produce phenomenological insights and understanding. Africana phenomenology emerged from the field of critical phenomenological approach which is a field with various critical phenomenological thoughts based on the ideas of Franz Fanon, Simone de Beauvoir, Merleau-Ponty, Lewis Gordon and other contemporary philosophers (Weiss et al., 2019). Critical phenomenology emerged as a reaction to “western” ideas of phenomenology that fail to give a rigorous account of the historical and social structures that shape experiences

and affect the direction and interaction between consciousness and phenomena (Serequeberhan, 1994; Weiss et al., 2019). Guenther (2020) argues that there are structures in the subjective nature that should be critically examined. The authors further explain that structures such as patriarchy, white supremacy, ableism and sexuality permeate "ways of seeing" and being in the world that "goes beyond the object of thought" (p.12). This indicates that the phenomenological framework facilitates the understanding of the convergence between the physical world and socially constructed meanings. Africana phenomenology is committed to understanding the being and existence of black people and the lived experience of being black in post-colonial conditions (Fanon, 1963; Henry, 2005; Gordon, 2008). It is based on Hermeneutic African philosophers who are concerned with exploring and conceding the colonial damage done to Africa by colonialism and western intellectual imperialism (Gordon, 2008).

The psychological experience of the second-generation Somalis demands the researcher's interaction with the participants and analysis of their experience. This interaction is needed since knowledge is intersubjectively created through social interaction (Smith et al., 2009). Frazer and Lacey (1993 as cited in Maxwell, 2012) address the possible relationship between an ontological critical realism and an epistemological constructivist position. They explain that one interacts with the other to capture the experience and meaning of the world. Critical realism admits that the individuals' views and meaning is production of knowledge and therefore Madil et al. (2000) argue that critical realism has similar propositions to constructivist positions. The values of counselling psychology align with the ontological and epistemological position because counselling psychologists espouse a critical stance towards prevailing

approaches which presuppose a single truth. Furthermore, there is a commitment to the holistic and systemic nature of an individual's lived experience to increase understanding in clinical practice and research (Du Plock, 2017). Given that the research question focuses on the meaning-making of the participants' psychological experiences, a methodology that captures their subjective experience and what they make of the experiences is selected.

3.2 Overview of and the rationale for the choice of interpretative phenomenological analysis

3.2.1 Rationale for methodology

The philosophical underpinnings of counselling psychology are positioned to pay attention to what it means to be human and emphasise personal inquiry (Van Deurzen-Smith, 1990). This objective is achieved with IPA since it uses an inductive approach to generate information about a specific experience and the interpretation of its meaning (Smith et al., 2021). Critical realism and constructivism work well with IPA (Braun & Clarke, 2013) as it yields the notion of accessing and interpreting the phenomena that shape one's reality. Other approaches can be used to answer the research question and in the following section, these approaches are outlined.

The psychological experiences of second-generation Somalis whose parents were forced to migrate during the Somali civil war could be captured through other phenomenological approaches, such as descriptive phenomenological approaches. The descriptive phenomenological approach is based on the principles of Husserl and the objective engagement with a phenomenon. Through descriptive phenomenology the phenomena present itself to the consciousness without attempting to give interpretation and meaning to the phenomena (Langdrige, 2007). Adopting the

descriptive approach would mean to investigate the structure and quality of a specific psychological experience such as intergenerational trauma, racial trauma or depression and understand how this comes into consciousness (Pringle et al., 2011).

The current study seeks to explore the psychological experience and therefore does not assume a specific psychological construct in the lived experience of second-generation Somalis. Furthermore, the epistemological position of the study relates to the active involvement of the researcher in the exploration of the phenomena. IPA is more appropriate for this study because IPA's hermeneutic orientations recognises that the researcher inevitable influences the study.

Another methodological approach that could be applied to the study is Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA). FDA similarly explores the individual's experience; however, the focus is tailored to the discursive constructions implicated in the experience (Parker, 2005; Willig et al., 2017).

This approach is based on the social constructionist epistemology in which language contains networks of meaning that construct human subjectivity and cultural resources (Willig et al., 2017). The approach centres on the role of power in analysing how power is manifested and the positioning of participants in this discourse (Parker, 2005). The researcher reflected on the possibility of adopting FDA to understand how second-generation Somalis' psychological experiences are constructed through language, cultural practices, and historical influences such as colonialism and current racism and islamophobia. However, IPA is more appropriate as FDA's focus is not on the rigorous account of the first-person account and experience within these power structures. Salamon (2018) suggests that critical phenomenology differs from FDA as

phenomenology provides the way to describe and critically illuminate one's reality while attending to the powers that condition one's reality and truth.

Additionally, grounded theory was considered as a possible methodology. Grounded theory aims to move beyond pre-conceptualisation and reflection of a phenomenon and instead generates a theoretical model (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Based on the literature review, theories such as intergenerational trauma have been offered as a theory for psychological distress. Grounded theory offers the development of a theory separate from pre-existing theories such as intergenerational trauma. As a result, this methodological approach permits a higher-level conceptual account of the psychological experience of second-generation Somalis. However, the aim of the study is to uncover the idiographic and specific meaning-making processes of second-generation Somali adults which is a micro-conceptual account suited for IPA.

The design that is most appropriate for this study is IPA because it responds to the lived experience of the second-generation Somalis whose parents were forced to migrate and it enables the researcher to investigate the way the participants make sense of their experience. The aforementioned methodological approaches and quantitative data collection also reveal this experience, but the researcher is interested in the particularity of each case and its relationship to each other. This means that the lived experience of the second-generation is situated in a reality that is based on their geographical, historical, socio-cultural, and political sensitivities. Wagstaff et al. (2014) describe the experience of researchers using IPA and identified some strengths and limitations of using IPA. According to these authors some of the limitations including seeking approval and deciding on sample size, appropriately implementing double hermeneutics, commitment to idiographic depth, the theoretical and philosophical

positioning of IPA, and data collection. A methodological risk is the potential to provide insufficient interpretation due to the dual focus on individual cases and themes across cases (Braun & Clarke, 2013). The following section discusses the theoretical foundations of IPA to ensure the methodological rigour in the study.

3.2.2 Theoretical foundations of IPA

IPA is concerned with interpreting the meaning of an experience which could be regarded as phenomenology (Braun & Clark, 2013). Its theoretical principles are derived from the ideas of theorists like Heidegger and his successors, who believe that human existence is not merely existing, but rather an interaction with the world and, consequently, interpreting human existence cannot be neutral (Langdridge, 2007) The researcher's position is an integral part of the analysis in IPA because there is a co-construction in the meaning of the participants' experience. The relationship between the researcher and the data, and the insights that are derived, contribute to our understanding of how participants understand their experience. Thus, IPA is an opportunity to capture and reflect on the participants' personal and social world (Smith & Osborn, 2008) and offer an interpretation of these reflections grounded in the participants' accounts. The theoretical principles underpinning IPA that are necessary to conduct IPA successfully are based on the philosophy of knowledge of phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography (Eatough & Smith, 2017).

Phenomenology.

Phenomenological studies aim to search, explore and question lived experience as it appears to consciousness. The philosophy is based on historical figures such as Husserl and Heidegger. Husserl's ideas on phenomenology are based on the study of the essence, which is a quality that defines the structures and essential characteristics

of phenomena (Lavery, 2003). Studying the phenomena reveals the nature of the things themselves. However, to get close to the essence of being, Husserl proposed that the inquirer needs to reject all assumptions and claims about reality (Lavery, 2003). This means that through "bracketing the assumptions" direct perception of what exists can then be attained and described. While IPA has some aspects of describing the phenomenon it does not support the notion of "bracketing" in its entirety (Larkin & Thompson, 2011). This is because Heidegger and his successors rejected Husserl's stance on complete suspension and bracketing. Heidegger was concerned about the meaning of "being in the world" and believed that human existence and experience are in relationship with the world. Humans are intrinsically self-reflexive and interpret their constant engagement with the world (Taylor, 1985 as cited in Smith, 2019), which means that interpretation is integral in making sense of their existence in the world. Here, we might assert that critical phenomenology reflects on the structural conditions of its very conception, which is both critical in its reflexivity and phenomenological in its commitment to describe and be open to seeing phenomena in novel ways (Salamon, 2018).

Hermeneutic circle.

Heidegger argues that the description of phenomena involves interpretation because the phenomena's appearances are hidden; to understand, one must interpret the phenomena (Langdrige, 2007). Smith (2019) further explains that understanding the experience is through reflecting and making sense of the experience. In an interpretive scientific method such as IPA, the interpretation of the researcher reveals and explains the meanings and explanations embedded in human experience.

This circular revelation of meaning is characterized by a forward and backward movement called double hermeneutic in which the participant constructs meanings of

their world, which in turn is explained by the researcher (Smith & Pietkiewicz 2014). The double hermeneutic is critical and reflexive, given the multiple dimensions of interpretation. Fishman (1999) argues that in psychological studies, there is an interpretive process of the participant and the researcher making sense of the interpretation, as well as the dimension involving the reciprocal process between the study, and the researcher and the participants. Fishman (1999) describes this further by stating: "For both the observer and the study subject are influenced by the knowledge of being part of the study and by the behaviours of the other" (p.61) Consequently, the study and the experience of the interview, influences the researcher and the participants. The analysis produced is a co-construction between the researcher and the participant (Willig, 2013) in order to make sense of the phenomenon in relation to broader social, cultural, and theoretical contexts.

Idiography.

IPA pursues an idiographic commitment which means understanding that a homogenous group or individual experiences a phenomenon within a given context (Smith et al., 2009). IPA allows a person to offer a uniquely personal perspective on the phenomenon. IPA involves full immersion within the transcript, requiring repeated reading to access the participants' world (Smith et al., 2009). This begins the process of entering the participants' world and exploring their values, meaning, perceptions, attributions and beliefs. This process of establishing idiography is complex because experience and the meaning that arises are unique and within the shared context of others and the world. IPA, therefore, seeks to uncover *divergence* as well as *convergence* because if a particular experience is shared within a homogenous group of people, it is likely that the experience is present in a given culture or society (Willig, 2013). IPA is informed by humanism and a holistic model of the person while

orientating to research within academia and psychology as a discipline (Smith & Eatough, 2021). Blair (2010) suggests that the science-practitioner model in counselling psychology embraces the subjective experience of the individual, reflexivity on the researcher's role and how this affects the study. There is a critical and careful examination of the evidence that comes out from the scientific enquiry which appear to be qualities that align with IPA's principles.

3.3 Quality appraisal and qualitative research

Various appraisal systems assess the rigour and quality of qualitative studies, however some of these standards are unsuitable for psychological research. Yardley (2020) posits the diversity of methodologies in psychology and the importance for a unified standard to produce and disseminate scientific quality. Hence, Yardley (2000) developed a set of standards that align with the philosophical principles of qualitative methods: sensitivity to context, commitment and rigour, transparency and coherence, impact and importance.

Sensitivity to the context means that the research is based on theoretically relevant literature and demonstrates socio-cultural contextualisation. The next standard commitment and rigour are exhibited through in-depth analysis with the topic and analysis as well as methodological competence. Transparency and coherence in research are achieved through clarity on positionality and reflexivity. Studies with a phenomenological method might demonstrate the contemplative and empathic exploration to go beyond the current understanding of phenomena (Madil et al., 2000). For the reader to understand and assess the researcher's reflexivity and interpretations, the reader must have detailed information about the process of

generating these interpretations, which is achieved through transparency and reflexivity of the researcher (Willig, 2013).

Finally, impact and importance are achieved by the research impact and relevance to the field. Although qualitative research often uses smaller sample size of participant to elucidate the meaning of everyday life, the focus is not on statistical generalisability. Instead, the data and insights contribute to the broader knowledge by adding the context-specific insights of the participants to the theory (Braun & Clarke, 2013). The study demonstrates the impact and importance by elucidating the voice of an under researched group which is useful for the field of applied psychology to better understand the second-generation Somali's needs.

Another quality measure that seems more specific to IPA is Smith's (2011) recommendations based on sound, acceptable and unacceptable quality levels. An example of acceptable and good research is where the theoretical principles of IPA are clear and embedded in the study, there is sufficient evidence of each theme and in-depth analysis that is well-focused and engaging material are given. These guidelines, as Yardley (2000) advises, are flexible and held in mind during the research stages and are evaluated in detail in the discussion chapter.

3.4 Ethics

This research adhered to the ethical guidelines of The British Psychological Society (BPS, 2021) and the University of East London (UEL, 2020). The proposal for this study was presented to the University of East London Research Ethics Committee which granted approval for the study to be conducted (Appendix 1). Ethical research is imperative as it promotes integrity and quality (BPS, 2014). The COVID-19 pandemic

restrictions affected how research is conducted. Psychologists are ethically bound to provide respect and be sensitive especially those who were disproportionately affected by the pandemic (BPS, 2020). Therefore, all recruitment and interviews were done online. Research supervision was used to assure rigour and commitment, and to navigate these changes in light of the pandemic.

Any considerations regarding changes in data collections, such as the interview questions and recruitment, were discussed in research supervision while examining the evidence and ethical repercussions of the decisions. The researcher reached out to the potential participants who responded to the flyer via email or phone calls. Participants were screened based on the inclusion criteria and risks and were then sent an information sheet and consent form. The environment in which the participant is located might constrain responses due to disruptions from family members. Issues about safeguarding concerns and screening for "risk to self" were assessed due to the heightened stress of the pandemic during the phone call (BPS, 2020). After the consent form was sent back to the researcher, a demographic form and link for the video conference was sent.

The data were kept in encrypted electronic data storage and managed through the GDPR principles of confidentiality and data protection. Participants were informed that their data would be reported anonymously and through pseudonyms. Furthermore, any identifying details were removed from the transcript. All the participants consented to the study and answered the interview questions. No participant requested a withdrawal from the study. At the end of the interview, a debrief was performed and participants were signposted to a broad range of

organisations with some of them offering cultural-sensitive psychological support (BPS, 2021; UEL, 2020).

Goodkind & Deacon (2004) argue that the researcher's distance and ethical approach determine the difficulties with accessing the community. As a result of this understanding, an ethical concern in this study was for the researcher to be aware of the power dynamics and the existential mistrust in the Somali community due to historical communal experiences and present-day racism (Fernando, 2017). The awareness of these challenges enabled the researcher to ensure that participants felt protected, reassured and respected as well as showing empathy, genuine interest and openness (Dichter et al., 2019). Furthermore, Mohamed and Loewenthal (2009) explain that in the Somali community it is important to understand the expectations the participants have about the research and minimise harm by conducting studies that bring reciprocal benefits for their community. The community was already disproportionality affected by the global pandemic so the relationship during the research process and critical ethical consciousness were important to reflect on during supervision and in the researcher's diary.

3.5 Study design and rationale choice of method

The study design followed IPA's approach to collect in-depth data. Eight second-generation Somali adults (age 18+) were interviewed through semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews are suitable for inviting participants to a dialogue whereby the initial questions are flexible and modified based on the participants' accounts. The one-to-one interview allowed for participants to speak about their psychological experiences in a detailed and in-depth manner and to

promote the relationship between the researcher and the participant in the co-construction of the data (Smith et al., 2021)

3.5.1 Sampling

The idiographic features of IPA engendered a commitment to homogeneity because the aim was to reveal the experience of a sample that shared similar experiences and demographic characteristics and to develop detailed descriptions of the experience (Langdrige, 2007). Furthermore, each participant brought new and unique insights; therefore, the aim was to provide richness and depth of information to uncover the phenomena (O'Reilly & Parker, 2012; Smith et al., 2021).

Purposive sampling was used to select the second-generation Somali participants bearing in mind the homogeneity requirement (Smith & Pietkiewicz, 2014). Homogeneity was sought to reflect a similar experience, but this could result in deterministic and pre-conceived ideas on participants' subjective experiences. Consequently, the psychological experience was defined as a self-reported experience of psychological wellbeing and second-generation to separate the participants from Somali refugees. The unprecedented times driven by COVID-19 affected the research and the extent to which participants could be accessed. Thus, snowballing technique was extensively used through online forums to identify and access participants. The researcher attended online University groups for Somalis to recruit participants and posted information and the study flyer on various diaspora networks and social media apps such as Twitter and Instagram. The flyer explained the nature of the study, assurance of confidentiality, and data storage arrangements. Interested participants were asked to respond to a phone call for participation. A screening was first conducted to filter out participants who did not meet the inclusion criteria.

The inclusion criteria are that children born in Somalia had to arrive in the UK between the ages of 0-5 years as they are most similar to the second-generation and Somali individuals born in Europe but currently reside in the UK. The participants' parents were required to have migrated due to the Somali civil war in the '90s. The refugee status was kept generic as their parents might have left Somalia and settled in another European country with different legal statuses than the UK. The psychological experience is in the context of their generational status and historical context; this allowed for various psychological experiences instead of assuming a specific diagnosis or the presence of psychological distress.

3.5.2 Situating the sample

The sample is situated through demographic data collected from the participants to assess the relevance and applicability of the findings and interpretation (see table 1). The participants' names are anonymous, pseudonyms are used to protect them from being identified. Participants were between the ages of 20 and 32, and only two were born in Somalia. The rest of the participants were born in Scandinavia, the Netherlands and the UK and resided in different parts of the UK.

Table 1. Demographic information

| Pseudonyms | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|--|
| | Jamal | Safia | Khadija | Zara | Suleman | Faadumo | Ameera | Hanan | |
| Age | 25 | 28 | 30 | 32 | 20 | 23 | 30 | 24 | |
| Gender | Male | Female | Female | Female | Male | Female | Female | female | |
| Place of Birth | Denmark | Denmark | Somalia | Somalia | The Netherlands | England | The Netherlands | Norway | |
| Religion | Islam | Islam | Islam | Islam | Islam | Islam | Islam | Islam | |
| Location of residence | London | West-midlands | West-Midlands | London | London | London | West-Midlands | London | |
| Field of Occupation | Mental Health | Mental health | Social care | Mental health | Student | Mental health | Mental health | Mental Health | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|--------|---------|----------|----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Marriage | Single | Married | Single, | Married, | Single | Single | Single | Single |
| status and | | | with one | with two | | | | |
| children | | | child | children | | | | |

All participants identified as Muslim and work in the mental health or social care field; only one is a student in a non-health-related subject. The majority of participants were single, and only two were parents. The sample allowed for sufficient idiosyncrasies while remaining homogenous. Their similar professions of the participants reflect their willingness and awareness to confront and contend with their own experiences. The size was kept to eight participants as advised in Smith et al. (2021). The sample comprised **six** females and **two** males from whom data were collected to respond to the research question.

3.6 Data collection

The data collection within IPA aims to elicit rich and detailed first-person accounts of participants' experiences (Smith et al., 2021). The in-depth interviews inspired the participants to tell their stories and reflect and express concerns relating to their psychological experience as second-generation Somalis whose parents were forced to migrate. The semi-structured interviews offered the participants and the researcher the opportunity to co-construct knowledge. This is because the interviews allow for probes and follow-up questions on essential issues during the interview.

3.6.1 Construction of interview schedule

The interview schedule was based on relevant literature and was designed to cover the topics in the research question. The flexibility and open questions in the interview schedule (Appendix 5.) allow for reciprocity and the experience to become an unfolding process. Attention was given to providing questions that were descriptive,

narrative, structural, contrasted, evaluative, circular, and comparative (Smith et al., 2021).

3.6.2 Piloting the interview schedule

A pilot interview was conducted with a second-generation Somali participant and a second-generation Black-African friend to evaluate the degree of appropriateness, acceptability, clarity and openness of the questions. Lessons from the piloting revealed that the questions were flexible, coherent and offered a reflective space. During the pilot, the participants noticed some difficulties answering question one about their identity. This was because it was not clear enough, so this was changed with a prompt to elicit more in-depth accounts of their identity. The pilot provided accuracy checks on the prompts to elicit in-depth explorations to gather the full range of their psychological experience.

3.6.3 Conducting the interview

According to the ethical principles of beneficence it is necessary that the researcher addresses the potential harm to the participants and that they are aware of the expected benefits of participating in the study (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2017). The researcher explained to the participants the aim of the interview and the nature of the interview to avoid misconceptions that could result in thinking that they had to give specific answers instead of in-depth sharing of their experiences. The interviews lasted between 60-90 minutes. As the interviews took place during the COVID-19 pandemic, all interviews took place online through a data-protected video call system from UEL. The researcher familiarised themselves with the software to ensure that the video calls were appropriately recorded, as suggested by Hanna and Mwale (2017).

3.7 Data management and analysis

The data were managed as they were collected all the audio-recorded and video-taped interviews were uploaded onto the researchers UEL Drive. The analysis which aims to demonstrate the meaning-making and significance of the participants' psychological experience in the context of their parents' forced migration, began with familiarising the data. This involved listening to the recordings and transcribing them. The video software from UEL provided transcriptions but efforts were made to manually transcribe the interviews to ensure accuracy. The transcription was verbatim and enabled the researcher to re-enact, relive and embody the experiences of the interviews. It helped to transform the sounds into words for easy reading and validation. Reading and re-reading the transcripts supported the researcher immersion of the data to begin the process of data abstraction and conceptualisation.

To achieve this goal, the IPA approach was helpful because it allowed for an inductive and circular examination of the data. Using the IPA processes, it was possible to identify potential patterns of meaning in the data, moving from the particular to shared and from descriptive to interpretative which are then illustrated in themes (Smith, 2009). Smith et al. (2021) have developed a new language and methodology for the themes at the time of analysis and writing. In spite of this, the researcher has retained the old terminology and processes. The analysis chapter comprises of a structural representation of the themes together with a narrative account of this structure (Larkin & Thompson, 2011).

3.7.1 Free and open noting

As mentioned above, the analytic process started with an iterative process of reading and re-reading the transcripts to get an overall sense of the data. It was pertinent to be aware of initial reactions and the origins of the reactions to the data in the free association stage. The initial coding allowed for identifying the influences of the researchers' preconceptions as they inevitably played out during the reading of the transcripts. Being conscious of these preconceptions and managing them helped to reduce their impact on the quality of the data. Storey (2021) discusses the dilemmas in using psychological theory in analysing the data. In order to stay close to the phenomena and participants' accounts, it is necessary to remain cognisant of the participants' subjectivity and suspend theoretical and personal beliefs which can negatively affect the analysis. The initial reactions and emotions were captured in a reflexive diary and discussed with supervisors to ensure sufficient bracketing at the initial stage.

3.7.2 Exploratory comments

As each transcript was read several times, a line-by-line coding analysis was adopted to capture the experiential claims, the use of language and researcher's conceptual understanding (Larkin & Thompson, 2011). The document contained margins with line-by-line annotation of the transcript and comments examining the key objects of concern and the meaning of these concerns for the participant as well as the linguistic and conceptual meaning of the participants. With each reading, the researcher became more immersed and familiar with the data, and more responsive to the meaning of the participants' account (Larkin et al., 2006).

3.7.3 Identification of emerging themes

The researcher is able to identify evolving themes by consolidating and crystallizing the initial notes on specific themes. These themes (Appendix 8.) are related closely to the participants' accounts and provided an understanding of the significant notes attached to the transcript (Smith et al., 2021). The hermeneutic circle was employed to move from the descriptive to the interpretative and back again. This involved an iterative process of dynamically moving back and forth between the critical analytic stages and standing back at a distance to employ critical questioning for the participants' experiential account (Smith & Pietkiewicz, 2014). The analytic process led to the researcher developing a dynamic dialogue with the notes and conceptual knowledge of their meaning which supported the interpretative account (Larkin & Thompson, 2011).

3.7.4 Relationship between the emerging themes

The iterative account of the emerging themes led to the clustering of subordinate themes to develop superordinate themes and subordinate themes (Appendix 9.) In the development of the superordinate themes, it was necessary to go back to the data and re-read the data to ensure that it supported the theme (Eatough & Smith, 2017). Excel sheets were used to aid in the organisation of the themes and quotations were identified to support the theme. This was repeated for each participant in the data set to ensure the depth of idiographic analysis. The summary table was examined in excel sheets to find convergence patterns, revealing the connection between various themes. This was sensitively and equally done to sustain the personal experiential accounts of each participant (Smith, 2011).

The summary table (Appendix 9.) illustrates a superordinate theme title with the sub-ordinate themes and an example of an illustrative quotation. Smith (2021) reports that themes are not only based on prevalence and should reveal potent data extracts or observations capture the critical quality of the phenomenon under investigation. As Eatough and Smith (2017) explain a gem can serve as the embodiment of meaning, because it is manifested out of the data related to the topic under study or it is hidden, and their significance can only be revealed through deliberate analysis. The final process involved writing the superordinate themes with the sub-ordinate themes in a narrative account, carefully demonstrating the interplay between the interpretative activity based on the relevant theory and personal reflections and the participants' accounts in their own words (Smith et al., 2009).

3.8 Reflexivity and transparency

Reflection allows the researcher to explore their perception, position, and the processes at work when understanding the participants' experiences. Reflexivity is necessary in IPA as it seeks to methodologically and deliberately reflect on the researcher's position (Smith et al., 2021). Through deliberate reflection and rigour, phenomenological analysis can examine the quality and phenomena in people's lives. The hermeneutic stance and close interaction with participants' lived experiences tend to elicit deeper emotions that can affect analytical and interpretative thinking. Several actions were taken to establish boundaries and promote transparency. For example, the researcher reflected on the resulting emotions and beliefs. These were shared in supervision but also in therapy. In the diary (see Appendix 7), reflexivity was evident in the intentions and decisions made in the research process.

The Africana phenomenological approach comprises historical-transcendental analysis and power relations to define black existence and consciousness. As a Black Ghanaian woman who migrated from the Netherlands, the researcher also has a racialised lifeworld that permeates her existence. This study was conducted during a pandemic and the Black Lives Matter Movement. These events are examples of the socio-cultural orders that dynamically interact with the consciousness of African people and the diaspora. The researcher's consciousness was also challenged as she witnessed and lived through the symbiotic relationship of socio-political order. The researcher's experience of these social structures influences the intuitive account to the participants' world. The researcher's position may lean towards an over-focus on issues of race when perhaps Islamophobia or intersectional identities are a condition in the participants lived experience. IPA acknowledges that this intuitive account is incomplete and provisional in order to create openness and foster a new understanding of this group.

Given that the researcher operates in these social structures, there is a first-person account of oppression and the capacity to critically question these existing power and economic structures that relate explicitly to the experience of the Somali second-generation. The critical nature is a form of detachment evident in the questioning and position of doubt in reading the data.

Critical reflexivity calls for self-critique, which reveals the researcher's concerns about working with the Somali second-generation. As a result of the tension between the researcher's rationale and the mistrust of the Somali community, the researcher felt like an imposter. This resulted in questioning the researcher's legitimacy to access their world and ensure sensitivity in their life world. The researcher achieved this by

interrogating her views on the second-generation Somali, such as extremism, gender inequality, and clan issues. As much as possible, the researcher remained open to the participants' experiences while also considering that they may avoid discussing these experiences.

During the lockdown accessing the community proved challenging, but the researcher was aware of the mistrust and mitigated this by fostering a relationship with potential participants. The researcher's actions were to ensure some level of trust and demonstrating genuine interest, curiosity and openness towards their experience. An example was to take the time to have discussions with potential participants about my research rationale and consult with other Somali researchers. This deliberate, controlled reflection was further captured in the diary and allowed the researcher to be close to the participants' meaning-making process and lived experience. As a result, the participants naturally brought topics to the surface that were meaningful to them and were open enough with a focus on curiosity rather than judgement. This elicited a profound and multi-layered conversation that perhaps was not apparent for the second-generation Somali to explore. Some participants noted and acknowledged that the interview provided a reflective space for exploring the history and strength of their parents.

3.9 Summary

This chapter considered the philosophical framework and methodology of the study. IPA has been argued to be the appropriate methodology, and processes involved with data collection, preparation and analysis have been discussed. Critical reflections have been made to justify the methodology following the research question. Finally, this study has given attention to quality appraisals and reflexivity.

Chapter 4. The findings

This chapter presents the participants' account of their psychological experiences as second-generation Somalis whose parents were forced to migrate during the Somali civil war. The intersubjective meanings and the development and interpretation of the experiences of the participants are demonstrated as superordinate and subordinate themes. Four superordinate themes were identified from the data analysis. They represent the higher-level themes that emerged from the lived experiences of the participants. Each superordinate theme contains subordinate themes as graphically illustrated in Figure 1. The researcher could make sense of the lived experiences of the participants by relying on their accounts which are illustrated with quotes and line numbers. The unique idiographic extracts are contextualised with analytic and reflexive commentary which reveals the researcher's hermeneutic stance to make sense of the psychological experiences of the second-generation Somalis in the UK.

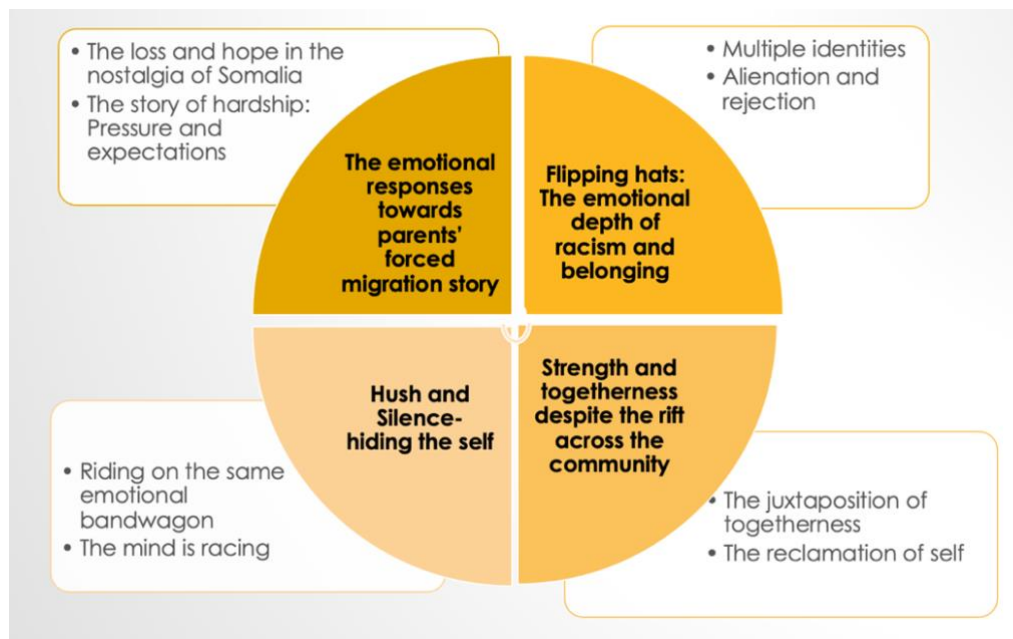


Figure 1. Overview of themes – superordinate themes are inner sections and subordinate themes are outer sections

4.1 Superordinate theme one: "Emotional responses to their parents' forced migration background"

The second-generation Somalis grew up hearing various stories about the war in Somalia and related these stories to their identity, heritage, and relationship with their parents. These dynamics influenced their emotional responses which are captured in the following subordinates/sub-themes: "the loss vs hope in the nostalgia of Somalia" and "the story of hardship and lack of understanding". Each sub-theme represents the participants' experiential and personal statements related to the meaning associated with the juxtaposition of loss and hope when encountering parents' nostalgic accounts, and the responses to hearing about their parents' suffering namely heightened responsibility and guilt.

4.1.1 Sub-theme one: "The loss vs. hope in the nostalgia of Somalia"

All the participants shared the expressions of nostalgia from the stories they heard from their families about the period before the war and war-torn Somalia. Simultaneously, the participants noticed the silence and pain in the stories about the war and the impact this had on their families. The participants perceived pre-war Somalia as romanticised, with a rose-tinted view and noticed a sense of fondness in descriptions of their parents. This elicited in some participants the sense of loss of not being able to experience pre-war Somalia. For example, Ameera said:

"We have got like family pictures or there will be shared stories, and I guess it is quite a rose-tinted view of Somalia, and quite happy memories. (..) Yeah, it makes me feel like I wish I had experienced that (..) I guess I will not ever experience Somali the way in which they experienced it (..). It is sad for me and for my generation to not be able to experience that." (Ameera, 90-97)

Ameera pointed to the loss of not being in a position to experience pre-war Somalia, which seemed critical to her connection to Somalia and her parents. As much as the pictures and stories presented a glimpse of Somalia and a sense of belonging, there was a feeling of sadness in knowing that the second-generation were not able to experience the fondness of their parents due to the destruction caused by the war. She used the word "never" to express her sorrow and sadness, even when a rose-tinted view was presented to her. The romanticisation of pre-war Somalia and the recognition of its damages seemed to be at odds. Jamal reflected on the damages of the war as he shared that the nostalgic stories growing up were building blocks to his Somali identity when he felt different in Scandinavia. However, the building blocks that provided him with a sense of pride amidst difference changed after he learned more about the ethnic divisions in Somalia.

"What my parents told me when I was young is still there because it is that important to my identity. But like the whole romanticisation of it, like the whole greatness of it, is not as great as it was before. I don't fit into that narrative anymore (..) It is still there, and it is very important part of me, but my security and my identity don't only depend on it anymore."(Jamal 398- 406)

The stories of Somalia may have been one-sided which meant that there may have been some disappointment when Jamal realised the damages of the war. There appeared to be a sense of loss when Jamal realised "that it [the romanticisation] was not as great as it was before". This statement demonstrates the profound impact of romanticisation on him as he distanced himself from the narrative and chose other aspects in his life to feel secure. This security appears to be imperative because the second-generation Somalis need a strong sense of security in self when dealing with

an environment where their sense of self is questioned and rejected. The second-generation appeared to make sense of this silence in different ways. In Zara's case, her mother avoided what happened with her father and she had to hear it from other people in the community. She stated:

"My whole world crashed, it was just my imagination, and this is the reality. The fact that I did not hear it from my own mother it really hurt. (...)

The silence leads to making up your own story in your mind. So, when that story is tested, I think: "do I even know my mom? Do I know my head, like what happened?" (Zara 343, 352-357)

Zara's "world crashed" because her mother's story was incongruent and an integral part of her sense of self appeared fictitious. The metaphor of her world crashing resonated with a conflict in her sense of self but also within the relationship with her mother. There was a sense of loss but no space to mourn and to make sense of this rupture, which is demonstrated in the internal conflict and questioning of her mind. Even though silence can be a cultural response to protect the child, the questions Zara pose appear to represent the intangible pain and confusion of her father's death. The stories and relationship to their identity appear to be out of reach, something they could not easily access through their parents' relationship. In contrast, the nostalgic stories of pre-war Somalia for participants, such as Suleman and Hanan, provided hope and a sense of pride in Somalia's rich history and its rebuilding. Suleman recounted:

"Growing up, you would have thought, and you would have seen on the news the whole war, how the country's been damaged. But knowing what it was like before that war (..); How everyone was together and the whole togetherness It just made

me happy because it just made me realise that this country still has history (...) it was and is still a beautiful country”(Suleman, 76-85)

As opposed to Jamal who made a point of highlighting the division, Suleman seemed to comfort himself against the damage caused by colonialism by focusing on history. One could argue that Suleman's pride and awareness of their rich history as well as the familial harmony possibly contributed to an increased confidence in their identity and a sense of happiness.

This would likely prove crucial to their psychological wellbeing. Alternatively, the attachment to nostalgia may be a sign of anger towards the injustice and pain of the civil war. Suleman, for instance, stated two points of view: the mainstream media on Somalia and the positive stories of the family and harmony. Both positions reflect a sense of sadness and injustice over the dominant view in society as well as the effects of the war. This was evident later in the interview when he started to connect more with his parents' forced migration and opened up to the injustice they faced. In addition to the nostalgia of loss, injustice and hope, the experience of hardship was shared by the participants

4.1.2 Sub-theme two: “The story of hardship: pressure and expectations.”

Shared stories of hardship from the parents appeared to invoke various emotions connected to the desire to work hard and succeed. Seven of the eight participants shared the significance of their parents' forced migration background and the responsibility and pressure. Their knowledge of their parents' forced migration background motivated the second-generation Somali to be purpose-driven and ambitious. Zara, Khadija and Hanan shared their experience of post-migration pertaining their parents and the burden of contacting institutions and filling out

forms. For example, Khadija moved with her parents from the Netherlands and started to worry about her parents' access to resources that she tried to get for them. This worry persisted in adulthood as she continued to strive to meet the financial needs of her family. She explained:

"You take that stress yourself and in response end up taking that responsibility on your shoulders and start worrying about those things constantly. (..) I have always felt like I held the burden of helping them (...) It is a lot because I am already a single parent, providing for myself, my child, and my parents(..) So, I do feel the guilt(..) You only feel bad, so you just want to help(..) I just feel like I have to help [smile]."(Khadija 169-172, 370-381)

Khadija is carrying a burden on her shoulder. Despite the burden she was carrying, she smiled as if it was an expression of her guilt. The guilt appears to be heavy due to the possible moral and cultural responsibility. This seems to be in contrast with her need to devote emotional space to herself and her children. Khadija feels ashamed that she feels frustrated about supporting her parents and this may reflect the lack of support the family receives as the burden is on Khadija. This leaves Khadija perhaps isolated as the worry is in her mind and not shared with others. There is a potential connection between shame and guilt.

Hanan, Jamal, Safia and Ameera reflected on the pressure to achieve in life whether through education or work. Hanan shared that she is proud of her hard-working parents who instilled the drive in her to do well in education. However, Hanan provided idiosyncratic insight on the societal influences on the pressure to do well in education.

"Because I definitely want to help my parents out and stuff and live a life where we are not... A lot of us grew up in estates and in low-income areas so we are just trying to get out of that cycle to be honest. (...) I feel like it has put a lot of pressure on us. Like when our parents say that I know that they're thinking the best for us, but it does put a lot of pressure on us."(Hanan 87-93)

This extract illustrates Hanan's increased responsibility as a result of societal disadvantages. She witnessed her parents working hard while growing up in a low-income area. It was apparent that Hanan could not finish her sentence and instead generalised her statements on poverty. Hanan might have felt ashamed to share their socioeconomic disadvantage. A vicious cycle seemed to be encircling her, and she appeared uncertain whether she would be able to escape. Due to the socioeconomic disadvantage, stress and pressure were perceived to be amplified. There seemed to be a burden placed on Hanan by society. As a result of anxiety and expectations, second-generation Somalis are driven to fulfil their responsibilities. Another element in the hardship is the generational conflict caused by the pressures and expectations enforced by parents and family members upon the second-generation. For example, Jamal reported that his parents talked about their forced migration to encourage him to have a successful life and conceptualised this as "the story of hardship". As a result, he could not connect with his family's migration story. Jamal stated:

"It is like a tit for tat kind of thing. Most of the time, it works. Other times, it doesn't, and because of that context, I do not think I ever looked at it in a very caring or emotional way, more like a rational, logical way."(Jamal 502-511)

Jamal used the metaphor "tit for tat", which demonstrated that he experiences his parents' forced migration story as potentially resentful. The story of hardship takes

the space in the relationship and may be a tool for the second-generation to perform well in education and at work but at a potential cost in their relationship. Faadumo further explains that the pressure and expectations her parents had about her life, felt disconnected with her needs and identity.

"I just feel like I did not understand a lot of the decisions. (...) There didn't need to be that obstruction to that part and sense of my belonging. For example, my parents tell me I can't go to a party, or I can't have a sleepover. That felt like a huge way to strip me from feeling like I belonged and made me feel very "other" in an unnecessary way. I saw it as a completely innocent thing, whereas I think it was significant to them." (Faadumo 271- 282)

Faadumo responded with anger towards her parents', which appeared to be in conflict with her desire for empowerment, agency and owning her experience. She called it an obstruction, which, like a rift, created a barrier to connecting with her peers as well as in her relationship with her parents. Although the refugee parent may seek to protect their child with these decisions, it could do the exact opposite for the second-generation when there is no space to have a dialogue around these decisions.

4.2 Superordinate theme two: "Flipping hats: The emotional depth of racism and belonging"

This superordinate theme captured the second-generation participants' experience with racism, belonging and their identities. While navigating their parents' forced migration background, they attempted to make sense of this in relation to their belonging in the UK. All eight participants spoke about intersectional identities based on nationality, religion, blackness, Somali heritage and gender. The participants reflected on the various environments such as education, the Somali community,

Islamic school and family that influence the way they related to their identity. This theme involves two sub-themes: multiple identities and confusion in belonging; alienation and rejection.

4.2.1 Subtheme one: "Multiple identities and confusion in belonging"

The second-generation Somalis oscillated between feeling similar to their Somali heritage and Britishness while at the same time feeling different. There was a sense of uncertainty and discomfort with experiencing these opposite positions, which they navigated alone as their parents migrated to the UK, with some of them already having a strong sense of belonging in their Somali culture. The second-generation Somali participants explained that they do not have anyone to guide them through their identity formation. Participants, such as Safia and Khadija, noticed this loss. Khadija for example stated:

"It is just mainly the cultural part. Some families got taught more than I did, and I think I did miss out on that cultural part. Our parents were more focused on working and providing for us, so we missed out on the part of who we really are as Somali and what being Somali means. (...) I think that is the part that I missed out on."(Khadija 110-114)

Khadija repeatedly mentioned the word "missing". The word missing might indicate a loss of depth in understanding what it means to be Somali. Khadija's parents' preoccupation with survival left her with less opportunity to connect emotionally with her Somali culture, which eventually caused her to lose aspects of her Somali identity. For others, such as Faadumo and Safia, there was a split in their belonging. This split was not only internal but embodied and relational. Faadumo described feeling pulled back and forth between living in a white area and trying to find belonging with her

friends while also being sent to Islamic school as an effort from her parents to be more connected with fellow Somalis and the Muslim community.

It was like switching person in a sense. I was in a space and a school where I was surrounded by people who did not look like me and trying to find belonging in that naturally. But then almost like flipping hats, like putting on my other hat, which wasn't really my choice. (...) It was hard to find a sense of belonging (Faadumo 175-182)

Multiple identities existed in relation to each other. In this extract, Faadumo references two potential "others": her parents, who villainised her British identity and encouraged her to spend more time with Somalis, as well as "the dominant white society" who villainised her visible Muslim identity and blackness. In both environments, she expressed difficulty finding a sense of belonging. The alienation and lack of agency in both relational spaces appeared to invoke a sense of confusion. The lack of agency was reflected in the threat to her existence given that she is unable to choose and embody her "authentic self" due to the risk of attack by other people. In contrast, both Zara, Suleman and Hanan were able to accept and embrace their multiple identities. Multiple identities appeared to be held comfortably if there is space for their unique sense of identity. Zara, for example, explained that she ascribed equal importance to her multiple identities, of Britishness, also being Somali and her Islamic faith:

"Especially in my Somali culture, there are things that I love and relate to in the culture and things I don't like. I know that I have the autonomy to involve and select things from the cultures that I want in my life and that feels good. (..) I have started to just embrace the uniqueness (..) I felt ashamed of being Somali. I think

because of the way that we think sometimes, and I don't want to be associated with that.” (Zara 14-25, 412-414)

The multiple identities are related to her values; however, these values are in contrast with the views of the Somali community. Zara felt ashamed by these views and potentially internalised this shame as part of her identity. As a result, she had to reject her Somali identity. It appeared that developing her unique identity by choosing her values and what is meaningful to her, helped Zara to embrace multiple identities.

4.2.2 Subtheme two: “Alienation and rejection”

The participants in this study appeared to navigate multiple identities that are racialised. In this sub-theme, the racialised context is revealed with the various emotions related to alienation and rejection. Six participants talked about the challenges of racism. Jamal, for example, explained that in the Muslim community there was a lack of belonging due to a potential anti-Blackness. He felt more connected to his religious identity than his Somali identity. He initially explained that he is not ashamed of the lack of connection with his Somali identity because there was a stark contrast between home and his environment. He explained in this extract the following:

“There is a hint of sadness, but it is never shame because it's not my fault that I don't feel connected to it. I just wasn't in an environment that encouraged me to explore it more. (..) At some point, you are going to feel alienated from either the home or the outside. It is always easier to choose the outside than the home.” (Jamal 142-150)

In both his home environment and social environment, there was a rejection towards his cultural heritage and potential lack of opportunity to explore his identity.

Although he felt sad about the lack of connection towards his identity, it was only a 'hint', which perhaps indicate a hidden shame in the lack of connection.

The desire to choose his outside is in keeping with views in the social environment that rejects his Somali heritage and Blackness, but it appeared to be safer to choose 'outside' because of the potential benefits of denying their existence and acceptance in the British society with his British identity. The second-generation Somali share their religion and race with other racialised communities but may experience rejection. It is possible that the second-generation may be confronted with an existential challenge around a lack of belonging in multiple places. Hanan, for example shared her experience of other Black people not considering her as Black.

"I don't think it has affected me because I'm quite strong about my identity. I know who I am. (..) It's like other people telling you like, oh, you're not black when actually we are. This would come from different black cultures (...). I feel like we are noticed, not in like a good way. For example, if one person did something because we were in a massive group, they would generalise us."(Hanan 30-31, 76-78)

This extract demonstrated the challenge of being visibly noticed as Muslim and Black and accessing the emotional depth of alienation. Hanan appeared to deny the emotions of alienation, as she stated that it did not affect her. It seemed that Hanan encountered difficulties in exploring what it was like to be noticed. Furthermore, the interviewer was a Black woman. Therefore, it might have been challenging for her to share the emotions around being rejected by people who look the same as her. The second-generation may not feel seen in the Black community due to their intersectional identities. Their racialised bodies may be similar to the Black-British community, but islamophobia and the prejudices and stereotypes around the refugee

label might lead to the second-generation Somali to be potentially alienated from racialised groups with a longer history in the UK.

Other participants, such as Khadija, Safia and Ameera, shared similar sentiments in relation to islamophobia. The second-generation might respond to this hostile environment, for example, by defending themselves and over-explaining or justifying their allegiance to their European and British identity. Ameera explained that she would defend herself on social media and with others that she was not similar to the Muslim "extremists". Ameera said:

"It felt exhausting, to be honest with you. It felt very exhausting to have to be constantly on edge. It would come from people I would not even expect to come from. So yeah, people I've known my whole life, basically, to hear them say certain things. I think there was a point where I just had enough. (...) I just came to a point where I just felt enough!" (Ameera 77-84)

Ameera pointed out various emotional states: feeling "exhausted", "on edge" and "having enough". The hypervigilance around being attacked based on her religion appeared to have a psychological and embodied response. Her body responded to the potential disappointment with the people she cared about. She was feeling hurt by these people and other psychological effects such as frustration, anger, exhaustion mistrust. Her sensations were relational, and these appeared to be a potential traumatic response to the hostility. The second-generation Somali women might have an idiosyncratic experience related to their gender identity. They were vulnerable to further subjugation because of their skin colour, religion, gender, socioeconomic status, and forced migration background. Safia shared an emotional moment whereby she revealed that these aspects of herself felt overwhelming.

"It's frustrating, I used to always say growing up, If I can come back as another gender, I would come back as a man. Only because in this life, I have to struggle with being a woman, a Black woman and a Muslim woman. So, if I could remove one of them...or if [silence] (..) I don't know I feel a bit weird and emotional. Probably because I feel like... [sighs] a coward half of the time [silence] and not doing anything feels like the only way out ... out of safety without coming across any other rude way without jeopardising my position... I feel hopeless [tears]."(Safia 115-127)

There was a desire to remove parts of herself; perhaps the tears were the realisation and sadness of the suffering and inability to remove these parts altogether. Tears and silences expressed her powerlessness and pain. This extract may allude to the psychological effects of oppression and suffering. Safia stated that she felt weird and emotional, and this may represent her psychological experience of being Black, female and Muslim at work. These emotions appeared uncontained however different to her fear of doing anything that may offend her co-workers, during this extract the emotional suffering and discomfort could be expressed.

4.3 Superordinate theme three: "Hush and Silence"- Hiding the self

This theme explored the emotional turmoil that second-generation Somalis experience within themselves and their families. All participants speak about some form of disconnect from themselves through detaching their emotional difficulties or from their relationship with others. The sub-themes are "riding on the same emotional bandwagon": a shared emotional response and the emotional turmoil: "the mind is racing"

4.3.1 Subtheme one: "Riding on the same emotional bandwagon: a shared emotional response"

All eight participants noticed, through different psychological and embodied manifestations, their parents' distress. These manifestations appeared to be relational and difficult for the second-generation to make sense of and fully understand what was transpiring in the family. This theme demonstrated the complexity of cultural and racialised-embodied responses to distress. All the participants alluded to internalising, silence and concealment of emotions in their family. Zara for example described the following:

"There are family members that might experience distress, but it is unspoken. I think it is because we tend to keep it hush, hush. We are told that you should not show your experience to other family members or even talk about it (..)We never talk about this stuff and just keep it hush hush. Another thing that I became aware of in my culture is that they love to feed the message of "as long as you are fed and you look good, everything else in your life should be good". So, it is like the whole emotional wellbeing is gone out the window. In my experience even the simple "how are you", was never there. (...) you just go with it, follow what everyone says get on with it, brush your shoulders off, don't cry (..) I tended to not show my tears. I tried to be strong and have that 'just fend for yourself mentality'" (Zara 137, 207-2010, 225-228)

Zara described emotional concealment in her family as a possible cultural norm. The multiple times she mentioned hush symbolised the silence and secrecy of the emotional experience. In the family, there was no vulnerability to distress. Zara's environment seemed to be in survival mode and unable to create space for the emotional aspects of a relationship.

The stigma and cultural shame about emotions and concealing her distress might appear isolating and neglectful. Zara pointed this out by stating, "not even a simple how are you," as if she may have felt reduced and dehumanised. The lack of emotional space appeared significant to Zara's psychological wellbeing. Other participants such as Safia also reflected on the notion of survival and struggle in a hostile environment which interacted with the shared beliefs on emotions. She attributed her mother's insomnia to the stressors of forced migration.

"I always used to think that [their] struggle overwhelmed them and overwhelmed their compassion. So, they were always about let's protect, let's be rather safe than sorry. Let's try and make them as hard and as competent as possible. Instead of just feeding their emotions and letting the children feel soft and then taken advantage off. So, I think they were trying to drill in us this whole [military] sergeant like "you've got to make it in the world type". (Safia 310 -315)

Both Safia and Zara shared the coping mechanism of denial of emotions in their family to avoid painful feelings and thoughts. The reasonable intentions for the refugee parents to avoid may in turn rob the second-generation of the ability to process their feelings and understanding. Safia described this through the metaphor "better safe than sorry", to show the intersubjectivity of trauma. This adaptive way of relating is based on pre-existing threat-related expectations to prevent further harm in a hostile environment. The word "sergeants" may indicate the protective, structured environment to ensure that the second-generation can survive and make it in this oppressive world. Safia was aware of this process but there was also a sense of sadness when she expressed that her needs may have not been met.

The need which was compassion and feeling soft was avoided in the relationship but left Safia with a sense of loss. Other participants such as Faadumo noticed the explosive reactions that were not understood which demonstrated another form of silence and concealment. She explained that when her parents were visibly distressed, she was fearful and felt responsible for solving the distress. In the following quote she reflected on how this experience of emotions affected her relationships with others.

"For example, I feel bad when someone is feeling bad, and I don't feel bad, or when I am in a good place, and someone is not, and I am then not able to sit with that because in my experience there has been uniformity, we all need to be on this same emotional bandwagon"(..) It's almost like it's been locked off somehow, and I guess that kind of disallows us... like I can't connect to it then. If you, as the person, want me to connect to that part of myself, but I cannot connect to it because you are not connecting to it either". (Faadumo 391-394, 405-407)

Faadumo explained that she felt guilty when not engaging with this emotional bandwagon. The words "emotional bandwagon" represented the adaptive survival strategy towards negative feelings that is shared among family members. There was a desire for uniformity but no room nor understanding for the emotions as they were "locked off". Faadumo, in turns, locked off her own emotional experience. The lack of space and silence prompted a vicious cycle of a loss of connection. Even though there is a sense of conformity and harmony, simultaneously the emotional connection is locked away and hidden. The loss of connection appeared to instigate uncertainty in the second-generation and perhaps a way to mitigate this uncertainty was by reducing the distress in the family.

Suleman, for example, shared that he tried to alleviate the distress of his parents. He noticed the psychological distress in his parents, such as tiredness and stress, which he attempted to solve by motivating and helping his parents. On the contrary, to other participants, he did not perceive this as burdensome but as a duty because his parents reciprocated by alleviating his distress. In this reflection, Suleman described the meaning of having space in a relationship.

"It makes me feel obviously; it is just returning the favour. They have done a lot for us, so doing that for them makes me feel... it is not like I am forced to do it; it is my own will to make things easier for them and lessen their stress and give them a bit of relief." (Suleman 317-319)

Suleman noticed the impact of the post-migration stressors on his parents. There appeared to be guilt, sincerity, and commitment to help his parents. He may be challenging notions about parentification by indicating that for some second-generation individuals when parents reciprocated emotional support, there appeared to be a shared relief. Suleman explained in the interview that he feels emotionally supported by his parents, and they had discussions about his parents' forced migration. The responsibility that he took on might be therefore reciprocal. The various emotional responses are relational and internalised. These emotional responses were not a reaction to a single threat, but to multiple dimensions of threat, both past and present.

4.3.2 Subtheme two: "The emotional turmoil: the mind is racing"

All participants experienced some form of psychological distress. Four participants reflect on the challenges of being the oldest child and concealing their emotions in order to be there for other family members, which in turn exacerbated

their psychological distress. The limited emotional space of the second-generation was both internal and in relation to others. Hanan demonstrated the psychological response of hiding oneself when her family members were experiencing psychological distress or when she noticed the roles being flipped between father and mother.

"Shying away and keeping much to myself that is what I did as a result, I did that quite a lot growing up and presently, just not be 'out" there. (...) I've had a lot of anxiety growing up. My mind is racing all the time and I would think that bad things would happen. I feel like a lot of my upbringing definitely has contributed to that.
"(Hanan 348-354)

Hanan hid herself as a response to the family dynamics, and she alluded to this when she stated, "I don't want to be out there". Her father was depressed, so it was possible that by being "out there" and a nuisance would result in becoming an additional burden on their family. There appeared to be a sense of guilt and shame in this extract as her internal world needs to be hidden as it could be potentially destructive to a fragile father. This destruction is represented in the metaphor "the mind is racing". Her internal world was racing with various thoughts but sharing this appeared to be a risk. There is a sense of isolation and fear in experiencing this racing mind alone. Zara shared similar feelings of isolation.

"I never had a space. I've never had anyone to really open up to and talk heart to heart (...) I always felt isolated. I always felt that I was alone in my thinking. (...) I blocked a lot of it as well, suppressing emotions because I had to be a certain way. (...) So that made me realise that okay I must please others and forget about me. It is that guilt, people would create guilt in me". (Zara, 292-294, 308-325)

In an environment where the vulnerability of the individual is shamed and avoided and perhaps a taboo, hiding herself and pleasing others appeared to be an adaptive survival strategy. Zara alluded to this when she stated there is "no one to talk heart to heart" and there seemed to be a sense of sadness of this lack of connection and hiding of self. It is possible that guilt can potentially lead to resentment and low mood when she disapproves her sense of self and forgets her needs. This may also impair help-seeking. Jamal became slightly tearful after sharing his difficulties with emotional concealment. There was a silence, and he shared emotions of anger and sadness as well as grief, which he related to the death of his grandmother. He stated the following:

"I didn't really know how to express myself, didn't really know how to talk about my emotions. Never really had an emotional connection with anyone (..) It was a lot of comfort eating, binge-watching stuff just for distraction. Finding anything and everything to distract myself from what I felt (...) (BECOMING TEARY) Anger, sadness (..) It is still kind of difficult for me to pinpoint exactly what it is, especially when it comes to like negative emotions. Because most of the time it's a lot easier to ignore what I feel."(Jamal 430- 432, 697-708, 714-716)

The distraction techniques appeared to be a coping mechanism to deny and avoid his emotions. There was a sense of shame regarding his authentic, raw emotions in the interview. Jamal might have been punishing himself and felt quite confused about his feelings. This is perhaps a reflection of his silent suffering and lack of emotional space. If emotions are not contained by him and people, such as his parents, they could become overwhelming. In order to cope with this, Jamal ignored the negative emotions. Ameera shared that she hid her psychological distress because

of the fear of burdening her friends. Simultaneously at work she strived to be independent otherwise she would be anxious. Ameera related this independence to her mother teaching her to be independent. She stated the following:

"In a way, if I do learn to manage things on my own, I guess that leaves perhaps less room for that vulnerability and allowing others to help me. (...) One thing I struggle with is in situations where I have less control, where I can't just step in and do myself. (...) I feel like perhaps that gives me more anxiety than others would feel at that time because I'm not in control". (Ameera 377-382)

Ameera was raised by her parents not to show vulnerability to others. The vulnerability might mean exposure and uncertainty. This uncertainty might be similar to not knowing whether her parents could meet her emotional needs, especially when independence was encouraged by her mother (nr 393). The avoidance of vulnerability and preference for autonomy may be a way to deal with difficult emotions without the risk of being rejected. The uncertainty was not limited to the caregiver relationship. As in Ameera's case, she was also anxious at work, which could be compounded by potential islamophobia and racism.

4.4. Superordinate theme four: "Strength and togetherness despite the rift across the community"

Second-generation Somali individuals experienced both strengths, such as unity and togetherness in the community, as well as frustration in the views on clannism, womanhood, and mental health. The second-generation demonstrated different ways to cope, survive and contribute to the community. Some participants were able to accept this rift by identifying their specific values and reclaiming their Somali heritage and Blackness which appeared to be unique to them. While others were confronted

with this tension between harmony and division. This theme encompassed the juxtaposition of togetherness and the reclamation of the self.

4.4.1 Subtheme one: "The juxtaposition of togetherness"

The strength and resilience of their parents were admired, as are the enduring relationships with other family members, despite the fact that they were scattered across the globe. The second-generation, however, attempted to make sense of the conflicting space between togetherness and division. Both Ameera and Safia reflected on the sense of togetherness and the humour which cultivated the strength they appreciated in the community. Safia provided an insightful explanation of the juxtaposition.

"My strengths are probably our heritage and, specifically the history. We have very prominent women in our history (...) I would see my aunties go through so much and sometimes at the hands of the husbands and male counterparts in the families, and they would just stick through it. I admire that so much to this day. However, the biggest difference between my mother's generation and the women in this generation is that even though we can take the struggle, it does not mean we should do it."
(Safia 176, 197-202)

Safia recounted that witnessing the women in her family withstand adversity allowed her to recognise her strength. She witnessed the exact strength that masked the women's vulnerability and suffering, prompting her to adopt a more egalitarian perspective on life. It was evident in her voice as the tone changed from admiration to consideration of the implications of women overextending themselves for their male counterparts. It appeared that Safia shared that her values may be in contrast with the dominant views in the community. By using 'we,' she indicated that other second-

generation Somali women were attempting to resist male-dominated views and find ways to break the cycle to safeguard their psychological wellbeing. Participants expressed the importance of community and togetherness for their psychological wellbeing while noticing the different views in the community that may not align with their values. The different views in the community could be confusing for the second-generation Somalis who may have been exposed to the legacy of the war. Khadija, Safia, Jamal and Hanan spoke about clannism and attempted to understand this in relation to their identity. Khadija shared the following:

"My parents were never tribal people and they never talked about the differences. However, when we came here (from the Netherlands), we started to learn that divide in school. So, we would come to my parents and be like, what does this mean and what is this tribe and which tribe are we. They would respond with: 'who taught you this stuff? People here would be more in touch with it, but it is a part that would divide us more back home in Somalia. So, my parents were never in agreement with those divides. We would be so confused about that part.'" (Khadija 94-100)

Khadija associated her Somali heritage with the experience in school about the different tribes. Her parents have never shared this divide with her, but they may be exposed to narratives about the tribes in the community.

Consequently, the confusion may be related to the lack of dialogue on the history as well as witnessing the implication of this divide in Somalia. Despite, the importance of harmony, culture and togetherness, there appeared to be a sense of disagreement that also affects the second-generation. Zara, Faadumo, Safia and Ameera explicitly discussed the perpetuation of self-blame and shame which is in

contrast with their values and understanding of mental health. Ameera illustrated the juxtaposition in the following quote.

"It seems to be related to a lack of religion or faith, and it can feel entirely blaming (..) There's a lot of honesty, in the family being very unapologetically themselves, a lot of laughter humour and a sense of togetherness. (..) families being enmeshed is viewed as something that's negative, whereas it is quite a positive thing in our culture. Yes, family brings me the most happiness."(Ameera 251, 388-393)

Ameera juxtaposed honesty and laughter with shame and blame in her quote. Ameera used the word enmeshment to demonstrate the different view the West has on a strong knit family. There may be a fluidity in this "enmeshed togetherness". The views in the community about mental health may be perceived as tied and close-knit. Khadija appeared to navigate the different values and meanings of a strong community by resisting the narratives around blame while also recognising the positive elements of the family. Khadija, Suleman, and Hanan also focused on their strengths to encourage and support the Somali community in changing the views and their zeal to rebuild the Somali nation.

"If someone's going through tough times and having mental health issues or psychologically aren't right, there's a lot of things we could do to offer support (..) However, they do have to try to keep up with the pace and adapt to how things are done in this country (..) I think we've been given all the tools and resources we can to help the older generation."(Suleman 246-258)

This extract demonstrated Suleman's plea toward the older generation. The juxtaposition of beliefs creates a sense of despair and frustration in Suleman. The second-generation are aware of the mental health needs and the available support,

but the older generation's view on mental health may be a barrier. Suleman attempted to mitigate this despair by turning this into power and a voice to challenge the attitudes and help the older generation become more aware and open to mental health challenges. The values associated with supporting the community and tackling divisions and views may provide the second-generation with meaning and purpose.

4.4.2 Subtheme two: "Reclamation of self"

Second-generation Somali individuals in the UK experienced various psychological difficulties, and they all have their individualised ways of coping. Their adversity appeared to be challenged through reclaiming their sense of self. The second-generation Somali did this by prioritising and personalising their values. Ameera, Hanan and Zara, Faadumo noticed that witnessing their parents' difficulties in resettlement and their perseverance inspired them. Hanan for example suggested that religion was a way to manage her anxious thoughts, which she learned from her parents.

"I've seen a change (with anxious thoughts) whenever I'm closer to God. That connection with Him makes my life easier and makes it possible to cope better. (...) That's a deep question....I would definitely need a moment for that one... Their (parents) like strength and resilience and if something terrible happen in your life, not focusing on that but instead have a more positive outlook to everything. Yeah, just remaining positive and have a connection with GOD. They really modelled that so well". (Hanan 357-363)

Hanan managed her anxious thoughts through her relationship with God. This was modelled by the similar faith of her parents, but this realisation was conceived after deep reflection during the interview. It seemed that Hanan's upbringing caused

her anxiety, as well as, a positive outlook and connection with God. This ambivalence in the relationship perhaps was confusing for her but when explored it seemed like it could be integrated. In this way Hanan attempted to reclaim perhaps what she had lost in her relationship with her parents. Zara was similar to Hanan and admired her mother's devotion to religion. However, she also pointed towards the harm religion could bring to psychological wellbeing due to her experience of people capitalising on religion to shame her. In this juxtaposition, she found a way to accept herself and detach herself from the views of other people.

"Faith and religion have been helpful but also unhelpful. The fact that it was not helpful, made me recognise my path and my relationship with GOD. So, I am thankful for that journey. (...) By being open-minded and to reflect and I think that is also part of my faith, to be able to reflect." (Zara 421-425)

Zara found her path and reclaimed her relationship with God. This was necessary as she had a significant mental health journey and various challenges with relationships, such as with her mother, the death of her father and interaction with people in the community. Despite these challenges, she found space within her relationship with God to reflect and challenge the status quo in her community.

The word "reflect" was mentioned several times and the meaning of this reflection coincided with the importance of a relationship where dialogue and reflection was possible. She did not find this in relationships with people but with God and her faith. Safia was the only participant that expressed ambivalence and difficulties in reclaiming a sense of self. Safia discussed the challenges of living a double life, not being able to be herself and achieving a sense of freedom to discover

herself once she got married. The rift across generations were demonstrated due to the language barrier. Safia stated:

"This rift is sometimes unintentional because I have been really close with my mum (..) but we could have been closer (...) There were a few times where I was really angry, and I just could not say it because I could not speak Somali. My dad would then say: "just say it in English. I would just stand there for like 20 minutes reciting something in English, but I know he did not understand any of it. (..) It would be much easier if we could just be ourselves and it wouldn't leave us so distressed in our heads." (Safia 247-251, 493)

The metaphor of a rift can be likened to a crack that separates a parent and their children. The language barrier hindered communication and prevented Safia from being herself and expressing herself. It was as if she was left with distress in her head and unable to be completely herself. The rift encompassed intimacy in language and attunement to thoughts and feelings. The second-generation could not be themselves because a part of them could be misunderstood. Safia demonstrated this as she attempted to share her distress, but this effort was met with a misunderstanding, which could invoke feelings of sadness, frustration, and hypervigilance. Jamal and Faadumo displayed a unique experience as they discussed the importance of finding spaces of belonging with racialised communities for their psychological wellbeing. This is another juxtaposition as the second-generation was rejected in those spaces while finding belonging. Faadumo discovers that her reclamation of self was related to a greater understanding and acceptance towards her Blackness. She related this to the resilience of her parents and stated:

"I think it reminds me of my Black identity in a big way because attached to that is a strong sense of pride and a strong sense of resilience (..) Perhaps there is a strength and resilience behind what they have done, and their story and that is something really powerful.(..) I think a lot of those aspects of my identity have been stripped and like this sense of, like, 'otherhood' and this negativity around it because of the world that we live in, unfortunately. But being able to reclaim that part as well and say there is so much there that that can give me like something to run on."(Faadumo 464-484)

Faadumo explained that reflecting on her parents' forced migration story and marginalisation resembled the challenges she faced as a Black woman. Her Blackness was stripped away due to the structural oppression and othering of her existence in multiple spaces. Instead of defining her identity according to the ideas of other people, she sought to define it according to her values. In recognising her parents' strength, she could liberate herself and resist people's views on her Blackness.

4.5 Chapter summary

This chapter provided a narrative account of eight second-generation Somalis' psychological experiences in the context of their parents' forced migration during the civil war in the 1990s.

The narratives of the participants portrayed the conceptualisation of their psychological experiences through their personal experiences and the forced migration of their parents that informed their meaning-making process. This analysis identified four underlying themes that provided a rich perspective on their psychological experience. The potential "gem" is outlined in appendix 8 and demonstrates the interlocking and relational spheres of the psychological experience of the participants.

The psychological experience is rooted in the relationship to their parents' forced migration and post-colonial forces of oppression and suffering in society that manifests in racialised responses of distress. There is a possible lack of containment within the second-generation Somali as their distress such as shame, alienation, systemic survivor guilt, anxiety and detachment, loss and hope are locked into their subjectivity of disadvantage and the displacement of their parents. Moreover, the second-generation attempted to navigate both their relationship with parents who were forced to migrate and leave their homes due to injustice and wars, while also navigating their experience of injustice and inequalities in Britain. The findings revealed the lived experience of the second-generation Somali and their subjectivity of "being Somali" in the Britain, which is relevant in Africana phenomenology. In this way, psychological experience is rooted in the study of societal conditions to gain an understanding of the existential and phenomenological conditions of Africana people living in a post-colonial world, a world that was deranged by socio-political arrangements. These socio-political arrangements that make such psychological distress possible were also personal and idiosyncratic and were resisted as participants reclaimed their sense of self by returning to their values and community.

Chapter 5. Discussion & Conclusion

This chapter summarises the findings from the study in the context of the research question and existing literature. Implications for practice in CoP and applied psychology and service and policy implications for second-generation Somali individuals are discussed. The limitations of the study and future research will be outlined in this chapter.

5.1 Discussion of findings in relation to the existing literature

Superordinate theme one: "The emotional responses towards their parents' forced migration background". Within this subtheme, the emotional responses towards the forced migration of their parents were divided between "The loss vs hope in the nostalgia of Somalia" and "the story of hardship; pressure and expectations". The loss and hope in nostalgia illustrate the dichotomy between loss and hope when the second-generation witness the nostalgic accounts of their parents. The silence in the stories about the impact of the war on their families and the focus on the period before the war may leave the second-generation with feelings of uncertainty about their family and identity. At the same time, nostalgic accounts have allowed the second-generation to obtain a strong sense of Somali identity filled with pride and hope for a better future in Somalia. Braga et al.'s (2012) study with second-generation Jewish Holocaust survivors also found that silence in the stories can become both a driver in a search for belonging to their Jewish identity and a sense of uprootedness in their belonging. However, the difference with the Somali second-generation is that silence and the domination of nostalgic account may have both a cultural function and trauma response. The meaning second-generation individuals derive from these

experiences are different, evoking feelings such as loss and sadness. In part, this may be because the second-generation want access to their culture; but the silence about the impact of the post-war on their family, may lead to a barrier in sharing culture and family stories and an overemphasis of pre-war nostalgia. Memories and narratives about family are critical as they shape the second-generation's sense of self (Fivush et al., 2011).

A study conducted by Bloch (2018) found that the second-generation resonated to the loss of status and resources in the nostalgic accounts of their parents. The difference with this study is the emphasis on the relationship with their parents due to the narrative gaps instead of the loss of resources. The second-generation Somalis are mourning pre-war Somalia and the kind of relationship they would have desired with their families based on shared memories of Somalia. There is a sense of sadness towards their parents' idealistic view of the period before the war because they may never experience this same fondness as their parents. Ultimately, in this relational experience, both parties mourn the loss of pre-war Somalia.

Second-generation Somali adults are faced with stories about their parents' survival and suffering in resettlement. This study demonstrates that the second-generation become their parents' support system to alleviate their distress and socioeconomic challenges. The common meaning seems to be heightened responsibility, which was found in earlier studies (e.g., Bloch, 2018; Bezo-Maggi et al., 2015; Nielsen et al., 2018; Johansen & Varvin, 2020). The second-generation are affected by the emotional burden of their parents, leading to role-reversals (Bar-On et al., 1998; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Crafter & Iqbal, 2001).

In this study, the second-generation Somalis reflect on emotions such as guilt when they are faced with the inner conflict between being burdened by the emotional and practical needs of their parents and the desire to focus on their emotional and personal needs. This study extends the notion of intergenerational conflict (Degni et al., 2006; Nielsen et al., 2018) and explicates the emotions when the second-generation are positioned as responsible for family decisions. These emotions pose a conflict as overcoming selfish motives, desires and emotions may be part of Islamic beliefs (Inayat, 2007). Consequently, the second-generation Somalis feel guilty as they notice the burden in the conflicting needs. Guilt has been found in other second-generation studies, such as Wiseman et al. (2006), Braga et al. (2012) and Johansen & Varvin (2019). Johansen & Varvin (2019) study portrays heightened responsibility and positions this within constructs of attachment disruptions in the parent-child relationship. However, the findings of this study demonstrate the post-colonial aspect that infiltrates the guilt and responsibility. This study illustrates the multidimensional and reciprocal nature of guilt and responsibility. The participants' guilt appears to arise because they are aware that their parents left Somalia for safety and lost family members they had left behind, status and resources. Simultaneously, the drive to provide for their family is also met by their experience of socio-economic disadvantages in their parents' resettlement country. This is similar to studies such as Betancourt et al. (2015) and Allport et al. (2019) and Bokore (2017) hypotheses on the impact of unsatisfactory resettlement plus programmes that inadequately support the Somali community and fail to alleviate the stress for resettled refugees. The difference in this study is the psychological response such as guilt and responsibility due to the societal factors and disadvantage towards refugee families.

Superordinate two: "Flipping Hats": The emotional depth of racism and belonging identity.

Within this superordinate theme, the findings are divided between the sub-themes of "multiple identities and confusion in belonging" and "alienation and rejection". In this study, the participants express their confusion over multiple identities in multiple spaces. There is a sense of in-betweenness and hybridity (Bhabha, 1996). This hybridity is explored in this study as the second-generation notice the confusion of belonging while also feeling different to both their Somali heritage and British identity. The participants move between these contexts and attempt to make meaning of these embodied and relational experiences with their intersectional identities, which provides insight into the dynamics of their identity content (Galliher et al., 2017). There is a sense of feeling "villainised" and questioning because of their race, religion, and affinity with western values in the Somali community, British society and groups with shared race and religion. This study reveals that the confusion is due to the societal environment not supporting this process of belonging, which is supported by Wang (2020), Modood and Thompson's (2021) and Rehman and Hanley (2022).

Furthermore, the second-generation Somalis respond to the racial and Islamic hostility they face with hypervigilance and feelings of unsafety, which demonstrated the psychological responses of racial trauma (Carter, 2005). The villainisation, questioning and confusion with identity is a threat to their "existence", which could create a sense of homelessness in the British society, uprooted identity, and an increased need to find belonging (Alleyne, 2009; Kinouani, 2021). The rejection and

alienation is present in their in-group membership such as with other communities that shared religious values or racial identities. Valentine and Sporton (2009) and Nurein and Iqbal (2021) demonstrated similar results. This study is able to capture the second-generation Somalis' feelings of loss of their Somali identity due to the absence of parental guidance in these intersectional spaces as well as the villainization and alienation of their identities. The absence of parents, due to the difference of experience of racism and identity, is also demonstrated in earlier studies with second-generation Somalis (e.g Abdulle, 2019; Abdullahi & Wei, 2021). Studies with African American families such as Anderson et al. (2018) found advantages of racial socialisation over time and the coping skills of children towards the psychological reactions when confronted in racially-rejecting social interactions. The second-generation Somali psychological experience is related to their existence in a world that *others* based on the racialisation of Blackness and religion.

Superordinate theme three: "Hush and Silence - Hiding the self".

This theme depicts the shared emotional responses in the family and the unique psychological challenges of the second-generation Somalis, such as worry and anxiety, guilt, shame and internalising of emotions. The theme illustrates that participants were hiding their emotions and sense of "self" from others, resulting in psychological distress. The second-generation Somalis demonstrate that they are trying to understand the emotional responses in their parents while also navigating their own feelings. In a similar study by Michlig et al. (2022) and Alemi et al. (2021) the Somali second-generation conceal their emotions with their parents and the community, which results in over independence of their psychological distress. This study

supplements the current literature by demonstrating that the emotional concealment appears to be intergenerational as the participants reflected on the shared emotional internalisation and conformity in the family. These emotion regulation strategies are relational and embodied responses to the felt emotions in the family. Studies with children of parents with mental health difficulties, as well as Caribbean families migrating to the Britain, found similar results, such as the lack of ability to express thoughts and feelings, hypervigilance and difficulties being their authentic selves and connecting with their parents (Arnold, 2006; Murphy et al., 2011). Second-generation Somalis, however, are aware that emotions can be concealed or internalised, so they were not necessarily incapable of expressing emotions or lacking emotional sophistication, rather they are aware of the damage it can cause when emotions were expressed, given that they notice their parents' distress. The attunement to the emotional needs of the parents demonstrates both a strong empathy and support with their parents, which could be advantageous for their parents' adjustment in resettlement, but in turn appears to be a cost to the second generation's emotional space in the relationship. The focus on the emotional needs of the parents and the racialisation in society potentially provides an environment that left no space for the second-generation to achieve an "authentic self" as they are worried for their parents in resettlement and contesting against racism and islamophobia.

The study has shown that there is a multidimensional and reciprocal process as the participants notice their parents' hypervigilance and potential trauma related beliefs to a hostile environment in order to prepare their offspring for the "dangerous world". This uncertainty and adaptation to threat can contribute to hyperarousal and

anxiety (Bryant-Davis & Ocampo et al., 2005; Cozolino, 2017) which has been found in earlier studies such as Burman, (2018), Burns (2015) Williams (2018).

Another finding is the overemphasis on independence, anxiety and concealment of self and emotions beyond the parent-child relationship to the Somali community and their ethno-religious norms. Studies of the Somali community have found difficulties in them expressing problems and denying difficulties due to the traditional norms around mental health, which could affect them help-seeking for treatment. (Ellis et al., 2010a; Rae, 2016; Said et al., 2021). The second-generation Somali navigate the multifactorial spaces of emotional responses due to the trauma of their parents, cultural and religious norms as well as the racialised and hostile environment towards Somali communities. They are confronted with relational expectations but are also modelled to internalise their emotions. These experiences demonstrated shame, avoidance of vulnerability and isolation.

Superordinate theme four: "Strength and unity in the community despite the rift across generations".

This superordinate theme is divided between "the juxtaposition of togetherness" in the community and "the reclamation of self."

The second-generation Somali in this study appear to share the reclamation of self by reflecting on unlearning certain beliefs, rewriting future and reclaiming their identity in a way that resists dominant norms and is aligned with their values.

The historical trauma of the civil war has more critical precedence for the second-generation Somalis, given that they are part of a collectivist culture that encourages harmony (Triandis, 1995). This study found that the second-generation's

experience of harmony and togetherness is fluid and not as clearly defined in the categories offered for individualistic and collective societies. The second-generation viewed themselves in relation to others while upholding a sense of autonomy. When faith, equality, community, and mental wellbeing are juxtaposed, the second-generation attempts to resolve this by resisting some of these beliefs and selecting their values within these aspects. These findings were similar to Karimi et al. (2018) and Akpınar (2017).

The second-generation Somalis in this study witness the division and multiple perspective in the community regarding the civil war. Some of the participants appear to distance themselves and resist this divide between clans, while others felt confused about this divide. Earlier studies on ethnical genocides demonstrated that the messages and legacy of the trauma perpetuated against communities initiated a sense of mistrust in the community and the next generation (Somasundaram, 2007; Bezo & Maggi, 2015; Bokore, 2017). The second-generation adopted the confusion as there was not much discussion about this in families and perhaps his potential mistrust in the community and overidentified with the communities' pain and clan fear. The difference with earlier studies such as Somasundaram (2007) and Bezo & Maggi (2015) is the second-generation Somali are also experiencing the effects of racism through multiple generations which can lead to appraisals on mistrust and an embodied racial trauma (Bryant & Ocampo, 2005; DeGruy, 2005). Studies such as Mosley et al. (2020) with African Americans, found that in order for them to resist the effects of racism, they needed to be aware of the racial dynamics and find forms to liberate themselves from the beliefs. The current study demonstrates that second-

generation Somalis reflect and attempt to make sense of this divide while also rediscovering their history and culture.

Participants in this study reflect on the need to find spaces of belonging, compassion as well as providing support to the Somali community and the broader diaspora. They show an admiration towards the resilience of their parents. Earlier studies have found that survivors of ordeals share their resilience and strengths through generations (Attalah, 2018; Danieli, 2016; Shrira et al., 2019; Johansen & Varvin, 2020). Johansen & Varvin (2020) study showed second-generations' willingness to adopt helping professions due to their experience of hardship in their families. In this study, however, the potential conflict of values and norms around mental health which participants found to be blaming was resisted and embraced as a means of advocating for greater understanding of mental health in their community.

The second-generation attempt to reclaim their relationship with God and that is aligned with their values, compassion and emphasised authenticity, strength and liberation. This is similar to studies demonstrating the importance of positive religious coping methods, values, compassion and the relationship with psychological wellbeing (Abu-Raiya & Pargament, 2015; Ceary et al., 2019). Thus, the participants in this study notice that although they admire and adopt their parents' relationship with God, they also exhibit their personal values in their religious coping. The study demonstrated that the relationship with their parents and community allowed the second-generation Somalis to extrapolate a sense of strength, resistance, and liberation in their psychological wellbeing.

5.2 Theory & Clinical practice implications and recommendations in counselling psychology and applied psychology

This study examines the psychological experience of the Somali second-generation, which is multifaceted and idiosyncratic. Their personal and shared meaning has been captured and provided an impetus in identifying their needs and delivering recommendations. This study cannot provide claims about the entire second-generation Somalis, as this is beyond the scope of the study. Nonetheless, theoretical, and clinical transferability can be discussed to inform theory and practice in applied psychology.

The development of a sense of self requires periods of freedom from external threat and inner turmoil. If this freedom is thwarted and uncontained, it can have a profound impact on the regulation of emotion (Cozolino, 2017). Applied psychologists are expected to be competent in working with refugee families to strengthen the family unit and collaborate with family members and respective communities (Patel et al., 2018). This support is not limited by time; families may need different kinds of support in resettlement at each point of time. Human beings and their sense of self appear to be embodied in a reciprocal and intersubjective process.

The second-generation Somalis in this study reflected on various external threats and inner turmoil, specifically to their environment and relationship with their parents. Participants feel a responsibility to ease the distress of their parents during their resettlement in a new country. This sheds light on the growing recognition of socioeconomic risks and adverse childhood experiences to the second-generation's mental health (Burns, 2015; Burman, 2018; Fonagy et al., 2021; Hughes et al., 2017). Attachment theorists suggest that detachment and self-reliance are adaptive

strategies for an unpredictable and inconsistent environment (Cyr et al., 2010). This study demonstrated that the inconsistent environment failed to provide a “holding” environment for the refugee family. A holding environment is a concept by Winnicott (1965) to describe the importance of a safe and facilitating space within the caregiver relationship. However, this concept has been extended to explain society’s role in providing a safe environment (Applegate, 2013). The holding environment allows for the expression of distress, understanding and support, so that members of the society are able to regain a stability that transcends generations. The caregiver is preoccupied with surviving in resettlement and therefore not present to emotionally attune to their offspring (Applegate, 2013; Fonagy et al., 2021).

The offspring attune to the emotional demands of their parents and may appear to comply and be tolerable by hiding their inner world (Winnicott, 1965). The second-generation Somalis in this study reflected on the instability and confrontation with hostile intrusions. This study conceptualised this process in second-generation Somalis as systemic survivor guilt. In this concept, society induces guilt because the holding environment may be absent. In addition, the second-generation's awareness and desire to alleviate the distress experienced by their parents also increased this guilt and responsibility. Their psychological experience reflected the need for survival by adopting self-reliance and detachment, which contends with the desire and need to be vulnerable with other people. These emotion regulation strategies are not exclusively internal and cognitive but instead are in response to the multiple stressors in society. This study builds on Santhanam-Martin's (2020) discussion on the importance of re-establishing social connections between institutions, communities, and refugee families. Applied psychologists are advised to advocate for and be part

of institutions that embody and enact containment and reflect the “holding” environment as well as re-establish connections between these social actors. Furthermore, applied psychologists working with second-generation Somali’s may benefit from providing individuals with a space to explore these emotional tensions.

Studies on intergenerational trauma have demonstrated the implications of historical trauma and adverse childhood experiences (ACE) on future generations (Felitti et al., 1998; Isobel et al., 2018; Sangalang & Vang, 2017). This study demonstrated the significance of post-migration stressors in childhood that persist into adulthood, which may be another form of ACEs.

Nevertheless, this study showed that the transmission of trauma cannot be assumed to be one-directional and that many aspects of the second-generation's life can influence their emotional experience. This study reveals the islamophobia and racism in present-day experiences, as well as, intergenerational difference in the community. Group harmony and work towards the greater good can mean sacrifice, emotional discomfort, and a sense of purpose and meaning that needs to be sensitively explored with the second-generation Somali to integrate and resolve their internal and relational conflicts.

Applied psychologists need to be sensitive to the cultural and religious differences related to the generational status of the Somali individual. As stated by Isobel et al. (2018) the applied psychologist should demonstrate their understanding of relational dynamics and commitment to learning culturally appropriate ways to facilitate sessions with family members.

The study adds to theory by demonstrating the importance of narratives of colonialism and trauma narratives on the conceptualisation of the second-generation’s

sense of self and relationship with parents. This is a unique contribution in the available international literature, as most studies have focused on war-related trauma following the Somali civil war and the collapse of the Somali state in 1991 and the experience of Somali forced migrants in resettlement. The current study provided a lens grounded in the experience of "Being Somali in Britain" which is an interconnection of the child of forced migrants while suffering from the racial and religious disadvantages. The study highlighted the nostalgic stories and loss of connection with parents, which invokes a sense of shared mourning and the hope that it could contribute to the identity of the second generations. De Haene et al. (2018) suggested the importance of providing therapeutic space in the family to explore the meaning of narration of silence and share stories that are meaningful to restore a sense of understanding and security in the relationship.

This study adds that the trauma narration does not only involve silence but also nostalgia and depending on the individual this nostalgia can be a foundation for pride in their identity or a loss of connection with their parents.

Applied psychologists could utilise NICE guidelines (2016) and Patel et al. (2018) recommendations to support community organisations by creating spaces for families and their offspring to discuss the pain, loss and hope of pre-war Somalia and war-torn Somalia. The mourning and strength warranted sensitive exploration as it can turn into a futile space to share cultural constructs of "family resilience" (Atallah 2017). Creating space to discuss loss and strength is in accordance with theories on liberation and resistance to suffering (Afuape, 2011) and may provide an opportunity for subsequent generations to address feelings of potential shame and discussions about the ethnic division.

Finally, this study illustrated the need for a post-colonial lens to recognise and be aware of the psychological damages of inequalities and hostility. The identity of the second-generation is shaped by the alienation and rejection they encounter in society, which may lead to internalised shame and a threat to their existence (Alleyne, 2009; Turner, 2021). Post-colonial theory appears to be a valuable framework to support the second-generation Somalis in resisting and liberating themselves from multiple spaces of hostility and alienation. Applied psychologists need to be aware of the psychological effects of racism and islamophobia in second-generation Somalis. As suggested by Tribe and Marshall (2020), applied psychologists are required to promote anti-discriminatory processes to avoid further perpetuating the psychological trauma of racism and provide space for the meaning of clients affected by injustices.

In addition to that, the perseverance and awareness of the second-generation's values is a strength that can foster their psychological wellbeing. Support groups for adult children of refugee parents might be an effective way to create a support network and spaces for belonging for individuals with similar lived experiences to make sense of their multifaceted challenges and strengths. The second-generation Somali growing up in a refugee family make sense of their self in relation to their social environment, generational status and legacy of forced migration. This section concludes with emphasising that counselling psychologist and applied psychologist may benefit from paying attention to the intricate ways in which the second-generation make sense of their psychological experience in their context of forced migration. This exploration is beneficial for clarity of understanding and development of a formulation that can provide intervention that benefits their needs.

5.3 Implications for service and policy

These findings suggest several courses of action for governments and mental health services as they may have an influential role in the psychological wellbeing of the second-generation Somalis living in Britain. Firstly, services and public health policies must recognise the importance of the generational status within refugee communities. The study has demonstrated that racialised communities and refugee families are not monolithic, and their psychological and societal needs differ.

As with adult children whose parents suffer from mental health difficulties, second-generation Somalis need to be recognised as having potential heightened distress and mental health services must work in collaboration with refugee and migrant communities. This does not mean an identical approach is required or that all second-generation Somalis will be affected by their parents' trauma. Moreover, services should avoid causing further harm by developmental fallacies whereby there is an assumption that the past will impact the future. This is impossible to predict given the various individualised experiences and events in the lives of the second-generation. It is still necessary to focus on the prevention of psychological distress and engage with the community given that racialised communities are underreported when it comes to mental health needs (NHS digital, 2018).

This study confirms with previous studies that argue that the trauma in forced migration is also evident in post-migration stressors (Betancourt et al., 2015; Ellis et al., 2008; Warfa et al., 2012). However, this study goes beyond the current premise of trauma in forced migration to display the suffering extending to the next generation. The lives of the second-generation have been discussed in the context of societal disadvantages and systemic survivor guilt. Local and national governments must

enforce legal protections against systemic racism (Bhui, 2016) and ensure that second-generation and refugee families are not overburdened and pressured as a result of the inequities they face. In addition to that, mental health services would benefit by advocating with national and local governments for stable funding for resettlement programmes and adequate resources to ensure that they meet the needs of families with a history of forced migration, as suggested by Mohamed and Yusuf (2012). Counselling psychologists are well suited, due to their social justice values, to advocate and encourage collective action (Toporek, 2018; Tribe & Bell, 2018).

Overall, these findings support the recommendation of trauma-informed practices, since this approach views forced migrants' and children's responses, attitudes, and emotions as a collection of survival skills (Clervil et al., 2013). In Britain, there is a dearth of guidelines for trauma-informed care specifically for forced migrants. A key policy priority should therefore be to implement and develop guidelines that encourage trauma-informed practices when working with forced migrants and their families. The second-generation Somali and their community need to be listened to and understood in terms of their past, present, and future issues; recognising their subjective meanings toward their psychological experience are essential for services to enhance their quality, accessibility to psychological support and culturally and religion-informed practices.

5.4 Limitations

This qualitative study adopted IPA to explore the psychological experience of second-generation Somali adults in the context of the forced migration of their parents during the Somali civil war in the 1990s. The qualitative study provided a framework

for exploration of the participants' psychological experience and to understand this unique lived experience. There is an ethical responsibility in counselling psychology and applied psychology to support and understand populations who have been understudied. Nevertheless, the data in this study should be considered within the context of the limitations and weaknesses. This section provides reflections and considerations on using IPA, such as the quality, language, narratives, and insider/outsider positions.

5.4.1 Considerations of quality in IPA studies

According to Yardley's (2000) guidelines for assessing quality and validity in qualitative research, this study followed sensitivity to context, commitment and rigour, transparency and coherence, and impact and importance. In addition to Yardley's (2000) guidelines, Smith's (2011) guidelines on quality in IPA were adopted in this study. The approach yielded a substantial amount of data, which was impossible to include in the write-up due to the parameters of this research project. The purpose of IPA studies is not to address breadth, but rather to demonstrate the essence of the phenomenon in-depth; therefore, decisions had to be made to follow this process. The iterative process supported the development of superordinate themes that were essential to their experience (Smith, 2009).

Sensitivity to context was ensured by the awareness and actions that were taken during the COVID-19 pandemic in order to remain ethical. Recruitment challenges were observed during the COVID-19 pandemic that had disproportionately affected the Black community (ONS, 2020; Mamluk & Jones, 2020). IPA studies are conducted on a small sample to achieve a homogeneity and to examine the convergence and divergence in detail. Unfortunately, there were not enough males

and females to ensure homogeneity across equal gender. Difficulties with recruiting males and the willingness to discuss psychological experiences resulted in more females than males being interviewed. This could affect the analysis as the psychological experience of females could be specifically related to gendered cultural norms (Cavallera et al., 2016). In addition to that, the sample consisted of second-generation Somalis who were either born in Britain and other European countries or who left Somalia before the age of five. In hindsight, this provided some level of heterogeneity as the second-generation who were conceived in European countries made comparisons between living in European countries and Britain.

The researcher attempted to contain these variations within the analysis by examining and focusing on the phenomenon and the particular in each case, which is the psychological distress in the context of their parents' forced migration of their parents. Furthermore, Smith et al. (2021) argued that the sample size needs to be handled with pragmatism and that "homogeneity varies from study to study" (p.43). Consequently, commitment and rigour were achieved as there was an in-depth engagement with the phenomena. Moreover, the purposive homogenous sampling was treated with the understanding that the sample had idiographic elements. The participants in this study are not a representation of the whole community of second-generation Somali.

Seven participants had a background in mental health or social care. The participants were motivated and willing to express their experience. As a result, the study may consist of potential bias due to their professional identity influencing their experience. The participants were able to share their lived experience as a second-generation Somali living in the UK and therefore their professional identity was not

the focus. Furthermore, the ideographic nature of IPA allowed for “the particular” without necessarily losing sight of generalisations, but instead developing them more cautiously (Smith et al., 2021).

Transparency and coherence were achieved through demonstrating the data collection processes and the aim of this study was coherent as the findings exerted the psychological experience of second-generation Somalis, whose parents were forced to migrate during the Somali civil war.

The findings demonstrated novelty and importance to the extant literature and understanding of the psychological experience which can inform the formulation of needs and service provision in counselling psychology and applied psychology.

5.4.2 Language and Narratives in IPA

The methodology of this study created possible limitations for in-depth consideration of the language construction of the participants’ psychological distress in the context of their parents’ forced migration. In IPA, however, the construction of language is not the primary focus since the epistemological position is related to the experience itself and the meaning of this experience. Language is used to convey this experience. The participants used metaphors such as “emotions being robbed” (Jamal line nr. 686) and “being offered a torch to independence” by parents (Ameera line nr. 352). The embodied language, use of emotions and metaphors and the researcher’s interpretation of the text offered meaningful insights because the meaning of the text was produced and made available (Schleiermacher, 1998 as cited in Smith, 2021). Thus, metaphors are images and an effective way to share more than they intend to say with mere words (Rhodesa & Smith, 2010).

5.4.3 Insider/outsider and the space in-between

The insider/outsider position is relevant to discuss as it bears directly on issues of the values of the researcher, the nature of the data and the knowledge production. The researcher could not consider herself as an insider nor an outsider even though there were aspects that she shared with the participants. It can be argued that the insider/outsider position is arbitrary because of the intersection of identities and the researcher's experiences and status. Consequently, these various characteristics may not occupy both insider and outsider positions (Kusow, 2003; Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Kusow (2006) further argued that these positions are assumed to be collectively understood in racialised communities based on constructed sociodemographic categories.

On the one hand, the researcher's shared identity, as a Black woman migrant of African origin, proved valuable in order to elicit in-depth information and analysis because of the awareness of cultural and racial nuances. Certainly, familiarity with the client group might be perceived as a disadvantage. However, following the IPA philosophy, one's presuppositions are transparent and can be bracketed in order to gain an ideographic understanding. Furthermore, the researcher co-construction is acknowledged and integral to the meaning-making process (Morrow, 2005). On the other hand, the researcher was an outsider, shaped and potentially influenced by dominant discourses on the Somali second-generation. As the researcher conducted this study, as part of an educational establishment, there might still be power relations and hierarchy that might impact access and rapport with the participants (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Mohamed & Loewenthal, 2009). Participants might want to avoid sensitive issues or problems, so their community was not painted in a disparaging and

stereotypical light. This was further exacerbated due to the pandemic that resulted in online interviews, which meant that there was limited opportunity to build trust within the community. These issues were discussed with my supervisors and colleagues but could limit the degree of openness in the study. Another aspect of the insider-outsider position is the researcher's prior experience and knowledge. The interpretive nature of IPA allowed for in-depth exploration and acknowledgement of prior experiences and knowledge of the phenomenon (Smith et al., 2021). The researcher made a significant attempt to acknowledge and bracket bias towards intergenerational trauma.

It was vital to bracket this understanding to allow their lived experience to unfold in consciousness. In the process of collecting data, Morrow (2005) suggested that it was imperative to take on the role of a naive inquirer. Despite the researcher's presuppositions, there was an effort to seek clarification, delving deeper into what exactly participants meant through prompts and being curious. Morrow (2005) further explained that as an insider who is familiar with the phenomena this is an important action to achieve rigour. The researcher sought consultation with peers and supervision. In addition to that, during the pandemic the researcher watched Somali documentaries, attended webinars developed and led by Somalis in an attempt to emerge herself in their society and facilitate openness. Through ethical considerations of the research findings, the researcher attempted to bridge the gap between insiders and outsiders. This gap could be used to prevent and resolve inequities experienced by the research participants instead of pathologising their difficulties.

5.4.4 The possible tension between colonialism and post-colonialism

The second-generation Somali's psychological experience is multi-faceted and interrelated to the historical narratives of colonialism, their parents' experiences of civil war, and their direct exposure to racism, Islamophobia and social disadvantages. Hermeneutics allowed for the multidimensional processes of their psychological experience to be discovered as the researcher made sense of the participants making sense of the phenomena. Throughout this study, participants made sense of narratives about pre-war Somalia, displacement, human rights abuses, and post-migratory stressors that their family experienced during and after the Somali civil war. These experiences were associated with the colonial history of Somalia and should be acknowledged as adverse effects for forced migrants as well as the next generation.

Although participants reflected on these indirect experiences, they are also directly affected by injustices and disadvantages due to racialisation in the post-colonial world. In other words, the colonial narratives and post-colonialism are closely intertwined and transcends time which is a common experience for other communities of African descent. It is impossible, however, to generalise the Somali experience to the entire African diaspora. This study may be limited by the African phenomenological lens and interpretive nature that illuminates the post-colonial features of second-generation Somali psychology. Bracketing and reflexivity serve to ensure that the researcher is open to the data, the process, and receptive to the story of the participants. The IPA opposes the objective description of phenomena that attempts to enter into the world of the participants since the researcher is part of that world, as already mentioned, and is not bias-free. Consequently, this may mean that the researcher presents an interpretation of what it means for the participant to have such

experiences. The researcher's experience with the participants and the data may be indicative of this interpretation. This is done by analysing the data in a variety of ways that go beyond logical analysis and interpretation. The psychological experience is therefore contained within a framework and lens that may be different from those of another researcher. The transmission of trauma is a contested and complicated process whereby the specific aspects of transmission in attachments, parenting but also genetics remain difficult to differentiate (van Ijzendoorn et al., 2003). Perhaps there is another added layer for the Somali community to ascertain what aspects of colonialism and community trauma are transmitted to the next generation. As a result, the psychological experience is unique and different to the trauma from other communities and present studies in intergenerational trauma focused on the Jewish holocaust survivors. The hermeneutic stance of IPA allowed the researcher to gain an in-depth understanding of how second-generation Somalis make sense of their psychological wellbeing and to discover a deeper understanding of the potential interrelationship of the colonial and war narratives as well as the direct exposure of post-colonialism.

5.5 Recommendations for future research

Further research could contribute to the knowledge and understanding of the psychological experience of second-generation Somali individuals in the UK to further inform theory and practice within counselling psychology and applied psychology. Potential gaps and epistemological positions are evaluated based on the findings of the study. The second-generation Somalis expressed what it was like to grow up in a refugee family in Britain and demonstrated various challenges and strengths. Research with a social constructionist perspective such as FDA can explore the power structures

and construction of language around islamophobia and racism to understand the psychological experiences. FDA will be able to show how the second-generation is positioned within the discourse of othering and how power and resistance permit specific patterns of social action or exclusion.

This study revealed that second-generation Somalis made sense of their psychological experiences in relation to their parents forced migration throughout their development. Longitudinal studies will explicate the second-generation Somali's psychological experience in relation to their identity and their parents' nostalgia about Somalia. The developmental perspective allowed for a comprehensive exploration and highlight changes based on the various life stages in the second-generation' life. Furthermore, longitudinal studies will provide insight into the second-generation's relationship with their children (i.e., the third generation). Longitudinal studies were not limited to quantitative analyses. For example, IPA offers a longitudinal perspective to engage directly with their parents' forced migration processes as they unfolded over time (Smith et al., 2021).

Future research can address the detachment and emotional concealment with others due to the overreliance on independence, fear of vulnerability and shame. The societal context and adverse childhood experiences can be used as mediators in quantitative research. Quantitative surveys allow for examination of the relationship between these psychological and societal factors within a larger sample of second-generation Somalis.

According to this study, values are critical in resisting dominant norms in the Somali community and wider society. Future research could focus on the values and importance of religion in the psychological experience of second-generation Somalis

by adopting participatory research with community organisations. These studies could expand the work on racial trauma and explore prevention and resistance strategies to facilitate movement towards liberation.

Finally, this study has highlighted the need to further explore the second-generation, whose families have been affected by war. Other communities from the African continent, such as people from Sierra Leone, Uganda, Rwanda, and Sudan, have experienced civil war and resettled in Britain. Future research can address the specific psychological needs of Black-African second-generation adults. The legacy of the war and the post-colonial world in the "west" can support the contextual understanding of their lived experience and further de-pathologise their psychological distress and support access to services and culturally and anti-racist informed practice.

5.6 Summary

To conclude, this study explored the psychological experience of second-generation Somali adults in the context of their parents' forced migration during the Somali civil war in the 1990s. IPA appeared to be appropriate to the position of the researcher and highlighted the Africana phenomenological and constructivist understanding of their psychological distress. The sample comprised eight second-generation Somalis, both male and female, who live in Britain. It was concluded that psychological experience plays a role in their construal of self that is multidimensional and relational. The narratives of colonialism and the civil war are both part of a historical trauma that is neglected in international literature when studying the psychological distress of Somalis. Although many previous studies have focused on war-related trauma following the Somali civil war and the collapse of the state in 1991,

it is equally important to understand the loss and other psychological experiences that has imbued across generations.

In addition to that, the second-generation Somalis might develop various responses towards their parents' forced migration as well as their direct exposure of racialisation, such as hiding their emotions and authentic selves to protect their families in a hostile environment that exposed them to inequalities and social disadvantages. The results from this study are relevant to applied psychology and counselling psychology because they reveal the needs of the second-generation and highlights the importance of advocacy and social action towards the political environment that can affect refugee families, restoration and openness towards the parent-child relationship and community spaces of belonging for the second-generation to enhance their psychological wellbeing. The knowledge gained was extremely valuable for future work with this client group and consistent with counselling psychology and the importance of lived experience and illuminating the voices of an under-researched group.

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Appendix 1a

School of Psychology Research Ethics Committee

NOTICE OF ETHICS REVIEW DECISION

For research involving human participants
BSc/MSc/MA/Professional Doctorates in Clinical, Counselling and Educational Psychology

REVIEWER: Angela Gosling

SUPERVISOR: Rachel Tribe

STUDENT: Raisa Kumaga

Course: Professional Doctorate in Counselling Psychology

Title of proposed study: The psychological experience of second-generation Somalis whose parents were forced to migrate during the civil war in the 90's

DECISION OPTIONS:

APPROVED: Ethics approval for the above-named research study has been granted from the date of approval (see end of this notice) to the date it is submitted for assessment/examination.

APPROVED, BUT MINOR AMENDMENTS ARE REQUIRED BEFORE THE RESEARCH COMMENCES (see Minor Amendments box below): In this circumstance, re-submission of an ethics application is not required but the student must confirm with their supervisor that all minor amendments have been made before the research commences. Students are to do this by filling in the confirmation box below when all amendments have been attended to and emailing a copy of this decision notice to her/his supervisor for their records. The supervisor will then forward the student's confirmation to the school for its records.

NOT APPROVED, MAJOR AMENDMENTS AND RE-SUBMISSION REQUIRED (see Major Amendments box below): In this circumstance, a revised ethics application must be submitted and approved before any research takes place. The revised application will be reviewed by the same reviewer. If in doubt, students should ask their supervisor for support in revising their ethics application.

DECISION ON THE ABOVE-NAMED PROPOSED RESEARCH STUDY

(Please indicate the decision according to one of the 3 options above)

| |
|---------------------------------|
| Approved – a well set out study |
|---------------------------------|

Minor amendments required *(for reviewer):*

Major amendments required *(for reviewer):*

Confirmation of making the above minor amendments *(for students):*

I have noted and made all the required minor amendments, as stated above, before starting my research and collecting data.

Student's name (*Typed name to act as signature*):

Student number:

Date:

(Please submit a copy of this decision letter to your supervisor with this box completed, if minor amendments to your ethics application are required)

ASSESSMENT OF RISK TO RESEACHER (*for reviewer*)

Has an adequate risk assessment been offered in the application form?

YES

Please request resubmission with an adequate risk assessment

If the proposed research could expose the researcher to any of kind of emotional, physical or health and safety hazard? Please rate the degree of risk:

Please do not approve a high-risk application and refer to the Chair of Ethics. Travel to countries/provinces/areas deemed to be high risk should not be permitted and an application not approved on this basis. If unsure, please refer to the Chair of Ethics.

(Please approve but with appropriate recommendations)

Reviewer comments in relation to researcher risk (if any).

Reviewer (*Typed name to act as signature*): Angela Gosling

Date: 3/11/2020

This reviewer has assessed the ethics application for the named research study on behalf of the School of Psychology Research Ethics Committee

RESEARCHER PLEASE NOTE:

For the researcher and participants involved in the above-named study to be covered by UEL's Insurance, prior ethics approval from the School of Psychology (acting on behalf of the UEL Research Ethics Committee), and confirmation from students where minor amendments were required, must be obtained before any research takes place.

For a copy of UELs Personal Accident & Travel Insurance Policy, please see the Ethics Folder in the Psychology Noticeboard

Appendix 1b

School of Psychology Ethics Committee

REQUEST FOR TITLE CHANGE TO AN ETHICS APPLICATION

For BSc, MSc/MA and taught Professional Doctorate students

Please complete this form if you are requesting approval for a proposed title change to an ethics application that has been approved by the School of Psychology

By applying for a change of title request, you confirm that in doing so, the process by which you have collected your data/conducted your research has not changed or deviated from your original ethics approval. If either of these have changed, then you are required to complete an 'Ethics Application Amendment Form'.

How to complete and submit the request

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Complete the request form electronically. |
| 2 | Type your name in the 'student's signature' section (page 2). |
| 3 | Using your UEL email address, email the completed request form along with associated documents to Dr Jérémy Lemoine (School Research Ethics Committee Member): j.lemoine@uel.ac.uk |
| 4 | Your request form will be returned to you via your UEL email address with the reviewer's decision box completed. Keep a copy of the approval to submit with your dissertation. |

Required documents

| | |
|--|--|
| A copy of the approval of your initial ethics application. | YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
|--|--|

Details

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Name of applicant: | Raisa Kumaga |
| Programme of study: | Professional doctorate in counselling psychology |
| Title of research: | The psychological experience of second-generation Somalis whose parents were forced to migrate during the Civil War. |
| Name of supervisor: | Professor Rachel Tribe |

Proposed title change

Briefly outline the nature of your proposed title change in the boxes below

| | |
|------------|---|
| Old title: | The psychological experience of second-generation Somalis whose parents were forced to migrate during the Civil War |
| New title: | The psychological experience of second-generation Somalis whose parents were forced to migrate during the civil war in the '90s |
| Rationale: | Typo as the old title in ethics form did not have the year |

Confirmation

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| Is your supervisor aware of your proposed change of title and in agreement with it? | YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Does your change of title impact the process of how you collected your data/conducted your research? | YES <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |

Student's signature

| | |
|--|--------------|
| Student: (Typed name to act as signature) | Raisa Kumaga |
| Date: | 06/09/2022 |

Reviewer's decision

| | | |
|---|--|--------------------------------|
| Title change approved: | YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Comments: | There was a typo in the previous title. The title change will not impact the process of how the data are collected or how the research is conducted. | |
| Reviewer: (Typed name to act as signature) | Dr Jérémy Lemoine | |
| Date: | 07/09/2022 | |

Appendix 2



PARTICIPANT INVITATION LETTER

You are being invited to participate in a research study. Before you agree it is important that you understand what your participation would involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

Who am I?

I am a postgraduate student in the School of Psychology at the University of East London and am studying for a Professional Doctorate in Counselling Psychology. As part of my studies, I am conducting the research you are being invited to participate in.

What is the research?

I am conducting research into the psychological experience of second-generation Somalis growing up with refugee parents who left during the Somali civil war. More precisely, this research explores the lived experience of these second-generation Somalis with the aim to understand their experience of psychological distress which will give a voice to this group and potentially inform psychological intervention.

My research has been approved by the School of Psychology Research Ethics Committee which means that my research follows the standard of research ethics set by the British Psychological Society.

Why have you been asked to participate?

You have been invited to participate in my research as someone who fits the kind of people, I am looking for to help me explore my research topic. A small sample of 8-10 participants will be selected for online interviews. I am looking to involve Somalis who left Somalia **when they were between 0-5 years old during the Somali** civil war in the 90's **and resettled in Europe or who were born and raised in Europe** but are **currently living in the UK**. Furthermore, I am looking to involve second-generation Somalis whose parents obtained refugee status as a result of the Somali civil war during the early 90's.

I emphasise that I am not looking for 'experts' on the topic I am studying. You will not be judged or personally analysed in any way, and you will be treated with respect.

You are quite free to decide whether to participate or not and should not feel coerced. You will not be pressured to talk about any difficult personal experiences or anything that may cause you discomfort. If you do feel distressed, the interview can be put on hold, or I can terminate it if necessary. If you find yourself feeling upset or distressed after these interviews, a list of support services and contact details local to you will be provided should you wish to access additional support following participation in the study.

What will your participation involve?

If you agree to participate you first be asked to sign a consent form and a demographic sheet which will be sent electronically with a password protection.

During the interview you will be asked to answer questions and have an informal chat about your experience of being a second-generation Somali living in the UK and your experience of psychological distress. This conversation will be recorded and will take approximately 60-90 minutes. The interviews will take place on Microsoft Teams.

I will not be able to pay you for participating in my research, but your participation would be very valuable in helping to develop knowledge and understanding of psychological distress in the Somali Community.

Your taking part will be safe and confidential

Your privacy and safety will always be respected. Participants will not be identified by the data collected, on any written material resulting from the data collected or in any write-up of the research. You do not have to answer all questions asked and you can stop participating at any time during the interview.

What will happen to the information that you provide?

The data will be anonymised by using pseudonyms and identity codes. When the study has been completed, all audio-recorded material, consent form and contact details will be safely destroyed. Your contact details will only be kept if you have consented to receive the results of the study. After the study has been completed your information and answers will be kept for 5 years. The anonymised data will be viewed by supervisors, examiners and published in academic journals

The benefit of taking part allows you to contribute to the understanding of how to better support second-generation Somalis. You will also be providing an understanding of the ways in which psychological formulation and intervention can be enhanced by the knowledge you are sharing about the impact of the refugee family.

What if you want to withdraw?

You are free to withdraw from the research study at any time without explanation, disadvantage or consequence. Separately, you may also request to withdraw your data even after you have participated data, provided that this request is made within 3 weeks of the data being collected (after which point the data analysis will begin, and withdrawal will not be possible).

Contact Details

If you would like further information about my research or have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Raisa Kumaga
U1826036@uel.ac.uk

If you have any questions or concerns about how the research has been conducted, please contact:

Research supervisor
Professor Rachel Tribe
School of Psychology
University of East London, Water Lane, London E15 4LZ,
Email: R.tribe@uel.ac.uk

or

Chair of the School of Psychology Research Ethics Sub-committee:
Dr Tim Lomas, School of Psychology,
University of East London, Water Lane, London E15 4LZ.
(Email: t.lomas@uel.ac.uk)

Appendix 3

Participant consent form



UNIVERSITY OF EAST LONDON

Consent to participate in a research study

The psychological experience of second-generation Somalis whose parents were forced to migrate during the Civil War in the 90s.

I have read the information sheet relating to the above research study and have been given a copy to keep. The nature and purposes of the research have been explained to me, and I have had the opportunity to discuss the details and ask questions about this information. I understand what is being proposed and the procedures in which I will be involved have been explained to me.

I understand that my involvement in this study, and data from this research, will remain strictly confidential. Only the researcher(s) involved in the study will have access to identifying data. It has been explained to me what will happen once the research study has been completed.

I hereby freely and fully consent to participate in the study which has been fully explained to me. Having given this consent I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without disadvantage to myself and without being obliged to give any reason. I also understand that should I withdraw; the researcher reserves the right to use my anonymous data after analysis of the data has begun.

Participant's Name (BLOCK CAPITALS)

.....

Participant's Signature

.....

Researcher's Name (BLOCK CAPITALS)

.....

Researcher's Signature

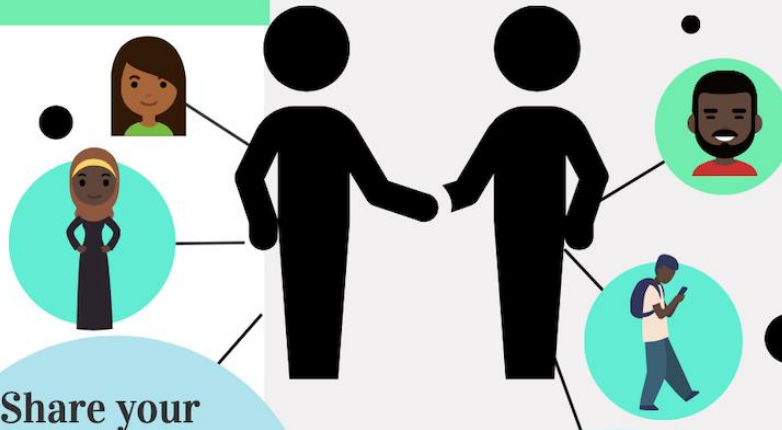
.....

Date:

Appendix 4

Recruitment flyer

Somali descent in the UK!



Share your
experience
with
psychological
distress for a
research study!

I am seeking study
participants that are :

- 18 years and above
 - Born in the UK or any other European country but currently living in the UK.
- or
- Moved to the UK or any other European country between the age of 0-5 due to the Civil war in the 90's and currently living in the UK.
- and
- Born of parents who migrated to the UK or any other European country during the Civil War in the 90's.
 - Willing to share experiences of emotional/psychological distress.
 - Willing to lend their voice to potentially inform psychological support for the Somali community.

School of Psychology UEL

We are looking for volunteers to take part in a study on:

The psychological experience of second-generation Somalis whose parents were forced to migrate during the Civil War

Raisa Kumaga
Email: u1826036@uel.ac.uk
Phone/Whatsapp:
+447931190588



I am a final year Doctorate student in Counselling Psychology who is keen to learn about your experience.

Please contact me to express your interest in participating in the study.

Appendix 5

Example Interview schedule

- **How would you describe your identity?**

(PROMPTS)

- describe an event where you noticed aspects of your identity?
- What comes up for you when you think about your Somali heritage?

- **Can you describe what it is like to be second-generation Somali living in the UK?**

(Prompts)

- Any worries about being second-generation Somali?
- Any gains and strengths about being second-generation Somali?
- ***Do your parents talk about Somalia, if so, what is it like when they talk about Somalia?***

- **How much do you know about your parent's migration journey during the Somali Civil war in the 90's?**

(Prompt)

- Can you tell me about how it was like to grow up with parent (s) who were forced to migrate.

- **Can you describe how you feel about your parents/family member being forced to migrate from Somalia during the civil war?**

(PROMPTS)

- What comes to mind?
- What have you gained/strength
- **How is psychological distress understood in your culture?**
- **How is psychological distress experienced in your family and the community?**

(Prompts)

- How did you notice this in your family
- How does it feel to witness this in your family and/or community?
- **What is your own experience of psychological distress?**

(PROMPTS)

- when do you noticed feeling emotional distressed
- What happens when you are distressed?
- **What are the most important lessons or things you have learned from your parents?**

(Prompts)

- What about from your family members/community?
- How did that help with your emotions and distress?
- What are the things that might have not helped with your emotions/distress?
- **What aspects in your life is important for you/gives you meaning as a second-generation living in the UK?**
- **Is there something that we did not speak about that you would like to raise?**

Appendix 6



PARTICIPANT DEBRIEF LETTER

Thank you for participating in my research study on the psychological experience of second-generation Somalis whose parents were forced to migrate during the civil war. This letter offers information that may be relevant in light of you having now taken part.

What will happen to the information that you have provided?

The following steps will be taken to ensure the confidentiality and integrity of the data you have provided. Your personal contact details will be securely stored on a drive which is password protected and only accessed by the researcher. The anonymised data can be viewed by my university research supervisor, examiners and may be published in academic journals. After the study has been completed data will be stored for 5 years. However personal details will be destroyed after submission of the study. You have three weeks after data collection to request to withdraw your data after which you cannot withdraw it as data analysis will likely begin at this point.

What if you have been adversely affected by taking part?

It is not anticipated that you will have been adversely affected by taking part in the research, and all reasonable steps have been taken to minimise potential harm. Nevertheless, it is still possible that your participation – or its after-effects – may have been challenging, distressing or uncomfortable in some way. If you have been affected in any of those ways you may find the following resources/services helpful in relation to obtaining information and support:

Midaye Somali Development network.

http://midaye.org.uk/2-what-we-do/#wwd_mh

They provide various support for the Somali Community such as Personal coaching and mentoring for those struggling with their emotional and mental health

Nafsiyat Intercultural therapy centre

a pioneering charity offering intercultural therapy in over 20 languages to people from diverse cultural communities.

Phone: 020 7263 6947

Website: <https://www.nafsiyat.org.uk>

Men's Health Forum

24/7 stress support for men by text, chat and email.

Website: www.menshealthforum.org.uk

Samaritans

Confidential support for people experiencing feelings of distress or despair.

Phone: 116 123 (free 24-hour helpline)

Website: www.samaritans.org.uk

Islamic Counselling Services

The leading providers of Islamic Counselling Services in the UK with clients worldwide. At Sakoon we know how important it is for Muslims to have an Islamic perspective in counselling hence why we offer a holistic approach to your wellbeing, which includes looking at one's faith, culture as well as family dynamics.

<https://www.sakoon.co.uk/contact/get-help-now/>

You are also very welcome to contact me or my supervisor if you have specific questions or concerns.

Contact Details

If you would like further information about my research or have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Raisa Kumaga

U1826036@uel.ac.uk

If you have any questions or concerns about how the research has been conducted, please contact:

Research supervisor

Professor Rachel Tribe

School of Psychology

University of East London, Water Lane, London E15 4LZ,

Email: R.tribe@uel.ac.uk

or

Interim-Chair of the School of Psychology Research Ethics Sub-committee:

Ian Tucker School of Psychology,

University of East London, Water Lane, London E15 4LZ.

(Email: I.Tucker@uel.ac.uk)

Appendix 7

Reflexive Diary

Faadumo's interview highlighted and invoked several emotions in me. I felt like I could relate to her, perhaps because of my experiences and assumptions, so this calls for more investigation to analyse and present her reality instead of my own.

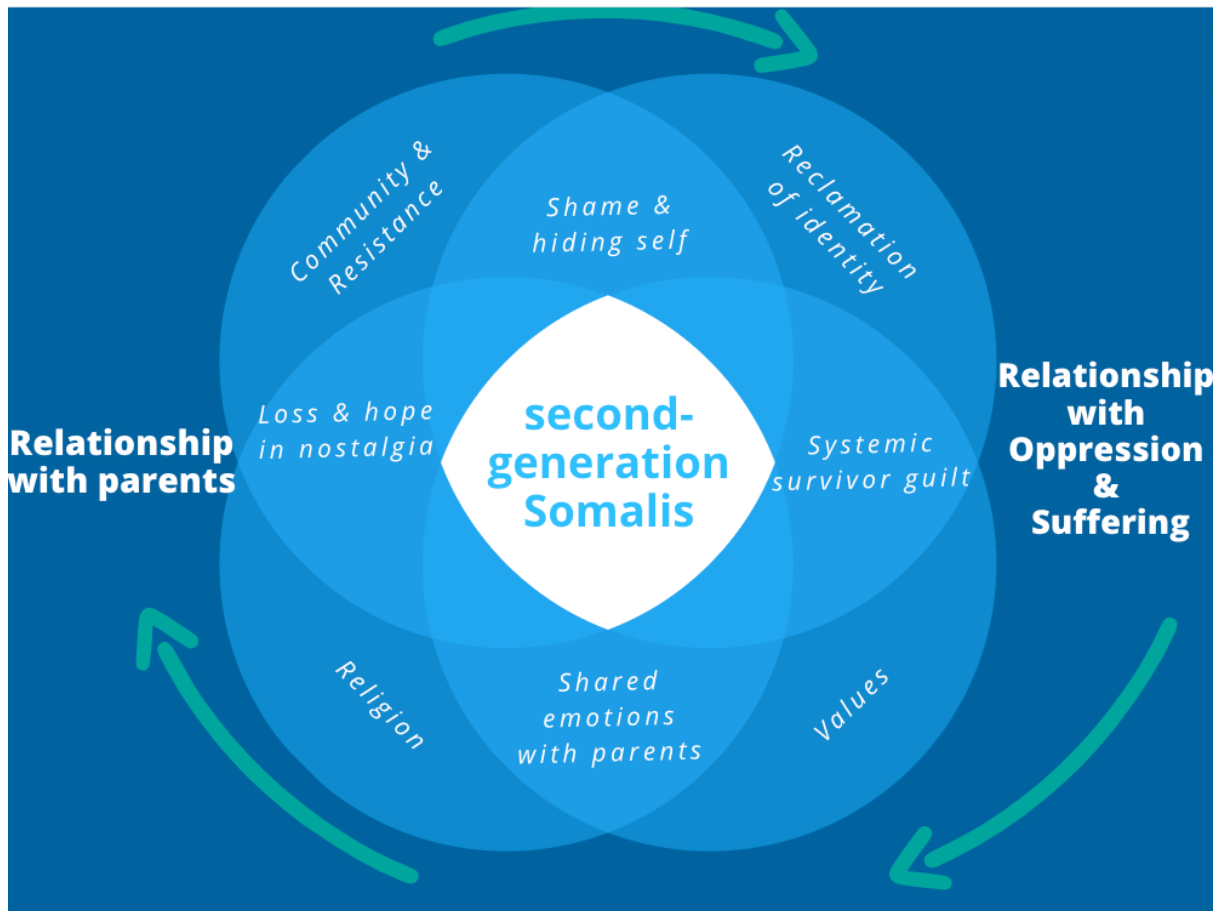
I also wondered whether Faadumo experienced something quite traumatic in how she spoke about her experiences in Islamic school and travelling to Somalia. The way she talked about Somalia, there was a sense of over-glorification. Is she perhaps suppressing something challenging? I am aware that FGM happens within some families in Somalia. Perhaps this is my assumption based on the societal and health care narratives of harm within women. Another perspective is that returning home can be exhilarating experience. I had a strong desire to visit Ghana for the first time. Once I visited, this drastically changed how I saw myself, and it was a very pleasant experience. I started to imagine what it must have been like for Faadumo to experience two places where the Somali culture and connection are strong but simultaneously so different emotionally. I experienced this confusion and a wave of sadness.

I thought about how Faadumo might have felt unsafe in an Islamic school and that being the only place she had exposure to her culture. I can imagine a conflict: wanting to belong and feel at home while feeling unsafe and uncontained. She couldn't communicate this with her parents; I am not sure if she shared this with anyone else. This reminded me of my own experiences whereby I could not communicate parts of

my Ghanaian culture that were uncomfortable. Once I identified this discomfort and bracketed the FGM, I could see that Faadumo was not just villainised because of her identity. It was more complex than that and demonstrated internal and emotional conflict. Intense and unspoken feelings of this discomfort can linger in the body, and what remains in the body may be regulated in several ways. The body's response to life can be detached or for beneficial purposes. It can also be used as a nudge that peace is needed to soften the discomfort in the body through prayer. I am making sense of this concerning Faadumo because communicating the potential discomforts could be cultural, with a sense of stigma and shame about sharing. Moreover, the family's anxiety and emotions may prevent them from speaking.

Appendix 8

Visual representation of findings & discussions



Appendix 9 Example Transcript

(R=researcher, P= participant)

| Explanatory comments <i>Descriptive</i> <i>Linguistic</i> <i>Conceptual</i> | Transcript | Emergent themes |
|---|--|---|
| <p>Keeping the anxiety and emotions in herself</p> <p>Worry to burden others</p> <p>The embodiment of emotions is reflected perhaps in the silence which leaves no room for emotions</p> <p>She does not want to burden or worry other people. There is something about this shared silence which is not because they don't want to listen but maybe because of the burden and suffering in the family. How do you share your problems with someone that is already suffering? Just like children we don't want to stress out our parents more. It seems this continues into adulthood. It's interesting how she speaks about the concern of silence being passed down and she is actually doing it herself as well. She is silencing how she feels with other because she does not want to burden others. There is a sense of shame I noticed in the way she talks about this. Is it then that the silence is being perpetuated in the second-generation because of the awareness of parents going through their trauma challenges</p> | <p>R: Can you tell me a bit more about what you said about passing on the trauma?</p> <p>P: If I sometimes feel quite anxious and not in the best mood. It wouldn't be necessarily something that I will talk about at home not because no one would listen, but I guess this feeling of not wanting to burden other people or worry other people. I just try to just cope with it myself partly through religion because it does help. I feel like this often happens across families. if I, as a mental health professional, don't even want to talk about it, or worry about what that might mean, how must it feel for someone who isn't, I guess, as familiar with mental health problems? These patterns within families of how you should cope with mental health problems, and how you should cope with the stress, and beliefs about what this distress means is being passed around. I can definitely see how this might affect you know, how you raise your children and how they raise their children.</p> <p>R: I wonder how that then feels for you to not be able to share because you're aware of their burden and their suffering and what they had to have to do to come to this country?</p> <p>P: Um, I don't know there is some judgments. because I feel like I know what I should be doing and I know, this is not necessarily the most helpful way of coping with things. Sometimes I do wonder if they will be surprised if they knew. I guess it feels like perhaps I am hiding part of myself. Yeah, I mean, it's something that I feel like I should just say and should just express but I guess there continues to be that part of me that says no, let's just leave it. Let's get on with it. You'll feel better tomorrow and yeah, perhaps some judgement on my part.</p> | <p>Feeling anxious and keeping it silent to not burden people</p> <p>Emotional patterns are felt in the family</p> <p>Shame on hiding a part of self</p> <p>Worrying about others</p> |

Appendix 10

Presentation of themes with key participants

| Superordinate themes | Subthemes | Participants | | | | | | | |
|---|---|-----------------|--------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------|---------------|
| | | Jamal | Safia | Khadija | Zara | Suleman | Faadumo | Ameera | Hanan |
| The emotional responses towards parents' forced migration story | <i>"The loss and hope in the nostalgia of Somalia"</i> | Line 398- 406 | 340-354 | 340-344 | 343, 352-357 | 76-85 | 187-193 | 90-97 | 318-325 |
| | <i>" The story of hardship: pressure and expectations."</i> | Line 489-501 | 283- 288 | 169-172, 370-381 | 234-251 | 159-160 | 271- 282 | 358-364 | 87-93 |
| 'Flipping hats': The emotional depth of racism and belonging | <i>"Multiple identities and confusion in belonging"</i> | 71-100 | 46- 55 | 110-114 | 14-25, 412-414 | Line 9-18 | 175- 182 | 14-16 | Line 11-15 |
| | <i>'Alienation and rejection"</i> | 142-150 | 115-127 | 203-228 | | | 15-155 | 77-84 | 30-31, 76-78. |
| Hush and Silence- Hiding the self | <i>'Riding on the same emotional bandwagon": a shared</i> | 590- 608 | 310 -315 | 134- 144 | 121- 124, 183- 203 | 317-319 | 391-394, 405-407 | 308-320 | 337- 344 |
| | <i>The emotional turmoil: 'The mind is racing</i> | 430- 432, 697-7 | 476-479 | 165-179 | 292-294, 308-325 | 269-287 | 221-230 | 377-382 | 348-354 |
| Strength and togetherness despite the rift across the community | <i>The juxtaposition of togetherness</i> | 352-359 | 176, 197-202 | 94-100 | 146-153 396-400 | 246-258 | 336-347 | 251, 388-393 | 379-382 |
| | <i>The reclamation of self"</i> | 757-767 | 493- 505 | | 421-425 | 257-258, 353-363. | 464-484 | 376-384 | 357-363 |

| | | | |
|-------------|-----------|------------|------------------------|
| Convergence | Idiocracy | Divergence | Did not speak about it |
|-------------|-----------|------------|------------------------|