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**Growing up Between Cultures**

*Ethnic Identity Development and Mental Health amongst British-born Children of Immigrants from Turkey*

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**Growing up Between Cultures:  
Ethnic Identity Development and Mental Health  
amongst British-born Children of Immigrants from Turkey**

Duygu Cavdar

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in the Faculty of Social Science and Law, School of Education, January 2020

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## **Abstract**

Identity formation during adolescence plays an essential role in seeking an answer to the question of “who am I”. This fundamental period of self-understanding is particularly challenging for ethnic minority youth from immigrant families as they negotiate between two divergent cultural worlds: their heritage culture and their society of settlement. Alongside this negotiation, second-generation immigrant youth can experience ethnic discrimination and additional challenges related to their acculturation. These experiences can be associated with a wide range of negative and positive mental health outcomes. In the UK context, researchers have examined distinct ethnic identities and acculturation processes, however, they have largely neglected the sizeable Turkish community. This is an important omission because Turkish minorities are one of the vulnerable ethnic groups who have possible cultural difficulties, social disadvantages and mental health problems in the UK. The present study addresses this lacuna in the literature by examining second-generation Turkish young people’s ethnic identity formation and mental health in England.

The theoretical backbone of this research draws upon Umaña-Taylor et al.’s (2004, 2014) ethnic identity development model and Berry’s (1997, 2001, 2005) model of acculturation to examine ethnic identity formation and acculturation. Adopting a mixed-methods design, this thesis investigates the complex relationships between ethnic identity formation and mental health (using indicators of life satisfaction, self-esteem, depression and psychological well-being) among second-generation Turkish young people by considering their acculturation experiences and perceived ethnic discrimination in the context of England. To achieve this aim, self-report surveys (N=220) and semi-structured interviews (N=20) were conducted amongst 16-18-year olds. Structural equation modelling was used to analyse the quantitative data and thematic analysis was utilised to analyse the qualitative data.

Survey results show that greater ethnic identification (having a meaningful and positive ethnic identity which is actively explored) is associated with positive mental health, and lower levels of assimilation and perceived ethnic discrimination partially mediating this relationship. However, these associations can be complexified when young people’s multiple social identities and acculturation experiences are considered. Qualitative results suggest that the complexity of social identities can be beneficial for ethnic identity development and acculturation processes when young people sense the multiplicity and complexity of these identities. Contextual (e.g. positive social relationships-particularly with parents, community support, diversity) and individual (e.g. blending different cultures, use of multiple languages and social identities, diversity awareness) factors are fundamental in making sense of multiple identities, developing a positive meaningful ethnic identity and different variants of integration. These findings have important implications for theory, research, policy and practice in second-generation youth growing up between cultures.

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### **Authors' Declaration**

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: .....

DATE: .....

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION, RATIONALE AND RESEARCH CONTEXT

Umut is a 17-year old Kurdish/Turkish and British individual. He was born in London and lives there with his family. He identifies himself as both Turkish/Kurdish and British. Although he believes they are completely different cultures, he feels comfortable with all of them. He has Turkish, Kurdish and British friends at school and in his neighbourhood. He likes attending Turkish/Kurdish weddings and folk dances. He also enjoys spending time at the local British coffee shops. He visits Turkey every summer to take a break and see his relatives. He speaks mostly Turkish at home with his parents, but he prefers speaking English with his siblings and uses a mixture of Turkish and English with his Turkish friends. His parents speak Turkish and they are not fluent in English, and Umut has spent a few hours every week helping them with English since his childhood. He wants to go to university next year and aims to study medicine.<sup>1</sup>

Children of immigrant parents, like Umut, have become more and more common in the Western world as immigration has continued to grow rapidly in recent years (Schwartz, Birman, Benet-Martínez & Unger, 2017; United Nations, 2017). Whether out of choice, necessity, or coercion many people are born in one country and move to another during their lifetime (Schwartz, Montgomery & Briones, 2006). Even when voluntary, immigration is often a difficult process for immigrants because they tend to face significant cultural challenges (e.g. language and adaptation problems), economic disadvantages (e.g. low-income) and social difficulties (e.g. disconnection from family members, friends, familiar social institutions and cultural practices) in most societies (Schwartz, Montgomery & Briones, 2006).

These immigration-related challenges and transition processes have significant influences on not only the first-generation immigrants but also their second-generation children. Second-generations can be defined as individuals born in the receiving country and raised by foreign-born immigrant (first-generation) parent/s (Schwartz, Meca, Cano, Lorenzo-Blanco & Unger, 2017). When second-generation young people are growing up in the host country with their immigrant parents, they enter into negotiation between two divergent cultural worlds: their heritage culture (primarily at home with their parents) and their society of settlement (mostly at the mainstream schools they attend) (Berry & Sabatier, 2010).

<sup>1</sup> This is a real case from one of the participants of this study. The idea of starting the introduction chapter with one of the participants' stories was inspired from Schwartz, Birman, Benet-Martínez and Unger (2017).

Furthermore, in the adolescent years, young people seek an answer to the profound question of “who am I” and try to develop self-understanding (Erikson, 1968). In these years, identity formation plays an essential role in accommodating themselves in both cultures (Schwartz, 2005). However, this fundamental period can be particularly challenging for second-generation youth due to not only negotiating divergent cultures but also trying to make sense of possible different social identities (e.g. ethnic, national, religious). They can be caught between cultures and thus face difficulties in making sense of their identities (Bosma & Kunnen, 2008). As a result, the outcomes of these processes can range from harmony/effectiveness to conflict/stress for second-generation youth (Berry, 2005).

Alongside this negotiation, similar to other immigrants, second-generation young people deal with possible tensions between different cultures and additional challenges related to their acculturation and they might also experience discrimination. Moreover, some groups of immigrants tend to have more difficulties than others because of perceived or real cultural differences. For instance, Germans in the UK may be seen as broadly similar to the majority group, whereas other immigrants such as Turkish people are often labelled as minorities and might, therefore, be seen as “non-European” and treated differently from the members of the majority group (Schwartz, Byron, Zamboanga, Meca & Ritchie, 2012). In this case, developing an ethnic identity with the heritage culture and identification with the majority of society can cause pressure and stress for the children of these immigrant groups (Deaux, 2001). These experiences can negatively influence young people’s identity development and be associated with a wide range of mental health outcomes (Ozer, 2017; Virupaksha, Kumar & Nirmala, 2014).

Turkish immigrants are arguably one of the disadvantaged groups who can be seen and treated differently in European countries due to distinct cultures and religions (Schwartz, Byron, Zamboanga, Meca & Ritchie, 2012). They constitute a large proportion of the total immigrant population, particularly in Western European countries such as Germany, the Netherlands, Austria, Switzerland, and the UK (Caglar, Sirkeci & Seker, 2015). In the UK, the number of Turkish-speaking communities<sup>2</sup> is unclear, mostly due to the ambiguous categorisation of “white others”. Their population has been estimated to be between 180,000 and 250,000 (Sirkeci & Esipova, 2013). According to the Mental Health Foundation (2016), minority groups living in the UK are more likely to suffer mental health problems than the majority of the

<sup>2</sup> Mainland Turkish people, Kurds from Turkey, Turkish Cypriots, and their British-born children.

population. Similarly, Turkish<sup>3</sup> people face significant social and welfare issues such as language barriers, acculturation problems (e.g. separation and assimilation) and ethnic discrimination during their lives in the UK, and they commonly experience mental health problems, such as depression (D’Angelo, Galip & Kaye 2013; GLA, 2009).

In the UK context, researchers have focused on examining mental health, identity and acculturation processes among different ethnic groups (e.g. predominantly British Indian and Pakistani) (Hassan, 2016; Vadher, 2010), however, they have largely neglected the Turkish community. The present study addresses this omission in the literature and explores how British-born children<sup>4 5</sup> of immigrants from Turkey develop their ethnic identity in England and how this aligns with mental health outcomes by considering their acculturation and experiences of discrimination.

In this chapter, the rationale of the study will be discussed further with two parts which represent the background and context of the study. The first section will set out the key concepts and explain why ethnic identity is important for minority youth, and the rationale of the study will be discussed by addressing how ethnic identity formation relates to mental health. Secondly, the research context will be briefly presented by describing the lives of the Turkish people in the UK and explaining why this study should be carried out in this community.

### **1.1 Ethnic Identity: An Important Matter for Young Minorities**

The concept of identity is used as a means of understanding the self or individuality in the fields of psychology, psychiatry, and sociology (Adams & Marshall, 1996). *Identity* centres upon “how one defines one’s beliefs or goals, which is represented in the negotiation of culturally relevant roles and positions” (McLean & Syed, 2015, p. 3). It includes individuals’ explicit or implicit responses to questions about who they are and who they act as being in

<sup>3</sup> Despite being classified as Turks or Turkish in most registers (they are often referred to as British-Turks in the UK), there is actually a rich variety of ethnic groups misleadingly concealed within this category (Caglar, Sirkeci & Seker, 2015). This study investigates young people who have parent/s originally from Turkey where different ethnicities live, such as Kurds (as the second largest group with almost 20% of the whole population), Roma, Caucasians, Greeks and Arabs (Yigit & Tarman, 2016), avoiding the term of “Turk” which dominates as an ethnic identity (Kilinc, 2014). Instead of this, “Turkish” is used with the meaning of “a person who comes from Turkey” similar to other studies among second-generation Turkish people in Europe (e.g. Eylem et al., 2016; Kilinc, 2014).

<sup>4</sup> In this study, they are called second-generation Turkish young people.

<sup>5</sup> This excludes Turkish Cypriots on the grounds that their immigration process and history are significantly different from that of immigrants originating from Turkey (Yaylagul, Yazici & Leeson, 2015).

social interactions (Vignoles, Schwartz & Luyckx, 2011). In other words, identity constructions are determined by both individual/personal and social/relational aspects (Way & Rogers, 2015). Thus, identity is commonly used as a conceptual tool that is concerned with both sameness and difference not only in a sense of internal coherence and continuity but also in social life and connectedness (Hammack, 2015).

The question of what makes differentiate us from other people has a pivotal role in understanding our characteristics and differences from others. When groups differ from each other in characteristics, status and power, social identities are likely to become more visible (Azmitia, 2015). *Social identity* (is reflected in the question of “what group do I belong to”) derives from the membership of various social groups, whereas personal identity derives from characteristics which distinguish an individual from other members of the same group(s) (Liebkind, 1989; Worrel, 2015). Depending on the salience or importance of a situation, people’s behaviours are driven either by social and/or personal identity (Turner, 1999).

Many forms of social identity exist (e.g. racial, ethnic, religious, and gender) and reflect the many ways in which people connect to social groups and categories. Ethnicity is arguably one of the central elements of self-definition (Deaux, 2001) and one of the major constructs of social identities (Worrell, 2015), which draws upon the person’s conception of self as part of a larger ethnic group (Schwartz et al., 2014). Ethnic identity is closely related to a group with shared sets of values and norms (Phinney & Goossens, 1996) and characteristics (e.g. language and origin) (Quintana, 2007). *Ethnic identity* is defined as “a multidimensional, psychological construct that reflects the beliefs and attitudes that individuals have about their ethnic-racial group memberships, as well as the processes by which these beliefs and attitudes develop over time” (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014, p. 23). Importantly, ethnic identity is central for the self-concept of many adolescents, specifically for those of immigrant and ethnic minority backgrounds (Kiang & Baldelomar, 2016).

Although identity development is normative for all adolescents, there are important individual and social differences within this process (Arnett, 2002; Berry, 1997; Motti-Stefanidi, 2015). Ethnic identity develops during adolescence from ethnic self-identifications which are formed in childhood, and in adolescence, young people explore the meaning of their ethnic identities by thinking, talking with others and engaging in activities (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). When a second-generation person asks themselves where they are from, as the children of immigrant parent/s, their ethnic identity and culture of origin come to the fore

(Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Thus, identity development can be particularly complex for them due to the complex web of multiple possible negotiations between different cultures and social identities (Gray-Little & Hafdahl, 2000). Therefore, young ethnic minorities' ethnic identity formation and its relation to the broader social self should be addressed particularly for second-generation youth who grow up in diverse settings (Umaña-Taylor, Yazedjian & Bámaca-Gómez, 2004). The present study suggests that researching ethnic identity formation in second-generation young people in their own social context is relevant for several reasons:

- a)** Young ethnic minorities may have challenging experiences during their identity formation due to significant immigration-based barriers such as the lack of social resources and opportunities, low socioeconomic status, parental difficulties and language issues (Azmitia, 2015; Lippincott & German, 2007; Yoder, 2000).
- b)** Having a sense of belonging and the effects of feelings of belonging or not belonging in minorities' lives are important (Tajfel, 1978, 1981). This cognisance might be affected by others since it depends on not only a personal choice but also upon community acceptance (Jones, 1999). For that reason, minorities' real-life experiences and social interactions should also be taken into account.
- c)** Immigrants need to balance/blend their cultural heritage with mainstream society (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga & Szapocznik, 2010). Berry (2005) found that both ethnic identity and well-being are related to adaptation into different cultures and acculturation. The adaptation and acculturation issues (e.g. assimilation and separation) are particularly important for second-generation minorities who live with their immigrant families and in broader mainstream society with non-immigrant members of destination societies who are usually the larger and dominant group (Meca, Eichas, Schwartz & Davis, 2019).
- d)** Multiple social identities (e.g. being Turkish, Kurdish and British) are important since considering these identities can start to bring the necessary complexity to making sense of the issues at hand. Young people's self-identification depends on how they deal with this complexity and coordinate between their multiple identities (Azmitia, 2015; Roccas & Brewer, 2002).
- e)** They might also have to contend with some other social disadvantages and negative experiences such as prejudices, ethnic labelling and discrimination which are related to lower psychological well-being (Brittian et al., 2015; Verkuyten, 2005).



These issues leave the understanding of how identity develops among ethnic minority youth an open question answerable through diverse lens (Erentaitė et al., 2018). Therefore, ethnic identity formation process should be investigated so that there may be more nuanced understanding of second-generation young people's conditions and the manifold difficulties in the negotiated construction of their identity. Social context plays a central role in this process and an understanding of ethnic minority identity also requires considering acculturation matters such as assimilation, and difficult experiences such as ethnic discrimination (Verkuyten, 2005). These are especially important to understand how and in what ways ethnic identity has negative and positive consequences for mental health among second-generation young people in particular social context (Brittian et al., 2015; Lantrip et al., 2015; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014a; Romero, Edwards, Fryberg & Orduña, 2014).

## **1.2 Mental Health and Ethnic Identity**

Mental health is defined as the state of well-being from which individuals realise their own potential, cope with the stress, carry out work, and are able to establish positive relationships and contribute to their community (World Health Organisation WHO, 2014; VandenBos, 2015). In the present research, mental health is conceptualised with reference to the indicators of *life-satisfaction*, *self-esteem* and *depression* to understand young people's happiness and feelings towards their lives and themselves, and the indicator of *psychological well-being* to understand their social relationships and positive functioning in life (Keyes, 2002; Ryff, 1989). (see pages 33-35 in Chapter 2 for more explanations about these indicators).

There has been considerable research on mental health and well-being in ethnic identity research amongst adolescents (Brittian et al., 2015; Lantrip et al., 2015; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014b; Smith & Silva, 2011). These studies suggest that having a strong ethnic identity has a positive effect on well-being (Chae & Foley, 2010; Phinney, 1991; Smith & Silva, 2011). If a young person attaches importance to their ethnic identity, feeling positive about their ethnic group has the same influence on well-being (Brittian et al., 2013; Romero et al., 2014). Exploring an ethnic identity has also been found to be a positive predictor of self-esteem (Umaña-Taylor, Gonzales-Backen & Guimond, 2009). Other studies showed that positive feelings towards ethnic identity have protective effects against depressive symptoms (Brittian et al., 2015; Lantrip et al., 2015) and enhancing impacts on self-esteem (Romero et al., 2014). Moreover, Adler, Lodi-Smith, Philippe and Houle, (2016), and Adler et al. (2015) found not

only positive feelings towards but also positive meanings about ethnic identity are important factors affecting young people's well-being and mental health.

Overall, the large body of ethnic identity research among ethnic minorities in different social settings, ethnic identity formation components (exploration, feelings and meanings, see Chapter 2 for more information about them) are consistently found to be associated with positive mental health outcomes (e.g. positive psychosocial adjustment, fewer depressive symptoms, higher psychological well-being, self-esteem and life satisfaction) (Brittian et al., 2013; Kiang & Baldelomar, 2016; Mandara, Richards, Gaylord-Harden & Ragsdale, 2009; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014a; Smith & Silva, 2011; Syed et al., 2013; Umaña-Taylor, Gonzales-Backen & Guimond, 2009; Virta, Sam & Westin, 2004). In that vein, ethnic identity formation appears as one of the important developmental tasks for minority youth and its mental health outcomes look essential for young people's lives.

Not only are these individual aspects of ethnic identity development (e.g. feelings and meanings) important for young people's mental health, but so are social factors related to ethnic identity. Here, it is important to consider that ethnic identity is one of the social identities which can also promote positive mental health through social relationships with other people (e.g. friends and community members), social support and agency (e.g. positive sense of social identity) (Jetten et al., 2017). According to this social cure approach, social groups provide a sense of meaning and belonging, which can enhance young people's self-esteem and well-being (Haslam, Jetten, Postmes & Haslam, 2009) and help young people to cope with stressful issues related to intergroup interactions (e.g. intergroup anxiety) in diverse settings (Stevenson et al., 2020) and discrimination experiences (Crabtree, Haslam, Postmes & Haslam, 2010).

Whilst ethnic identity can have buffering effects on mental health problems, research has consistently highlighted the importance of social context and the negative effects of being a minority on mental health. In order to explain how ethnic identity formation is associated with mental health, some of the context-related factors should be examined such as acculturation and discrimination experiences. Previous research found that young minorities who acculturated/integrated successfully have a positive psychological well-being (Berry, 1997; 2001; Möllering, Schiefer, Knafo & Boehnke, 2014) and some acculturation strategies (e.g. assimilation, separation and marginalisation) are related to negative mental health (e.g. higher stress) (Berry, 2017a, 2017b; Berry & Kim, 1988; Vadhver, 2010). It has also been shown that mental distress and well-being are positively related to perceived ethnic discrimination in

minorities (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006; Romero et al., 2014; Srivastava, 2012). Young minorities who perceived more discrimination also reported lower self-esteem and more depressive symptoms (Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). In summary, acculturation issues and ethnic discrimination might be important risk factors for developing mental health problems in young minorities during ethnic identity formation. To better explain the relationship between ethnic identity formation and mental health outcomes, the possible roles of acculturation and ethnic discrimination are examined in the present study. Thus, empirical evidence the complex relationships between ethnic identity formation, acculturation, ethnic discrimination and mental health will contribute to theory.

The importance of the sociocultural context in ethnic identity formation has also become more visible in identity theory and research in recent years (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). In the next section, the main characteristics and living conditions of Turkish immigrants and their children in the UK will be described to make sense of second-generation Turkish young people's social context in the current study.

### **1.3 Research Context: Turkish Immigrants and Their Children in the UK**

The Turkish diaspora is one of the largest immigrant groups in Europe (Crul & Vermeulen, 2003). They comprise mainland Turks (Turkish-speaking Turkish nationals); Kurds from Turkey (Turkish passport-holders but ethnically Kurdish and Kurdish-Turkish-speaking); and Turkish Cypriots (Turkish-speaking from Northern Cyprus). These groups have migrated to Europe for different historical and political reasons (Enneli, Modood & Bradley, 2005; King, Thomson, Mai & Keles; 2008). Political reasons for immigration are more common among Turkish and Kurdish immigrants in the UK than in other groups, which make them different from other minorities in the UK (Erdemir & Vasta, 2007) and other Turkish diaspora in European countries (e.g. Turkish labour immigrants in Germany and the Netherlands) (Euwals, Dagevos, Gijsberts & Roodenburg, 2010). They also tend to be economically disadvantaged in the UK (the majority work in manual labour such as kebab and barber shops) (Crul & Vermeulen, 2003; D'Angelo, Galip & Kaye, 2013).

When looking at the Turkish population in England and Wales, 101,721 people stated their ethnicity as Turkish and 48,977 people stated their ethnicity as Kurdish in the 2011 UK census (with 56,075,912 as the total population) (NOMIS, 2011). In addition, 18,570 pupils in primary and secondary schools in England in 2010 stated their first language was Turkish (2.1%

of all pupils who have languages other than English) (School Census for England, 2010 cited in D'Angelo, Galip & Kaye 2013). The number of Turkish people in the UK is currently unclear; however, the population of people originating from Turkey and the Northern Cyprus (and their UK-born children) is estimated to be between 180,000 and 250,000 (Sirkeci & Esipova, 2013). There is no specific ethnic group category on the census therefore those who have Turkish and Kurdish background in the UK would most likely tick the “white-other” option under this classification (GLA, 2009). This situation is clearly problematic as they ignore significant variations within groups of people, causing an inaccurate/under-estimation of the size of the Turkish communities in the UK (Enneli, Modood & Bradley, 2005). The “othering” of minorities, can also make them feel ethnically unrecognised, create uncertainty about their immigration status and cause people to feel ambiguous about their social identifications (GLA, 2009).

London hosts almost two-thirds of Turkish immigrants in the UK, making Turkish the seventh-largest minority language spoken in London (NOMIS, 2011). Most immigrants from Turkey reside in North London, particularly in the boroughs of Enfield, Hackney, and Haringey (Sirkeci et al., 2015). Although this situation can make them feel segregated from the mainstream, it conversely provides community solidarity and internal integration (Cetin, 2013). Turkish people in North London have several opportunities to attend cultural activities, practise their culture and to learn the Turkish language. Particularly, their societal/local organisations are important in not only organising cultural festivals and events for them but also providing help for their diverse socio-cultural difficulties (Erdemir & Vasta, 2007). However, other cities which have lesser Turkish populations do not have such favourable conditions for Turkish immigrants and their children.

In the UK, Turkish populations are often referred to as Turkish-speaking communities which is an inclusive name for the main three groups of the Turkish diaspora (Turks, Kurds and Turkish Cypriots). To avoid confusion of Kurd-Turk identifications, the most popular mode of self-identification among the Turkish diaspora is the Turkish neologism “*Türkiyeli*”, meaning “someone from Turkey” (Erdemir & Vasta, 2007). In this study, “Turkish” is used with precisely this meaning, “a person who comes from Turkey” for mainland Turks and Kurdish people from Turkey. In this community, some people state their ethnic group as “Turkish” despite having Kurdish ethnicity (D'Angelo, Galip & Kaye, 2013) and some use Britishness as an umbrella term with a positive perspective towards multi-ethnic British society (Kucukcan, 2009). In a similar way, people’s identification of Turkish, Kurdish and British might change

according to their individual perceptions. In this study, British identity refers to the UK culture and society in which the youths have grown up in, and Turkish/Kurdish identities indicate their heritage culture. One of the aims is, as part of the research, to explore how these identities are understood and conceptualised by British-born children of immigrants from Turkey.

Turkish-speaking communities are ethnically (e.g. Turkish and Kurdish), religiously (e.g. Sunni-Islam and Alevism<sup>6</sup>) and ideologically a diverse group in the UK (Cakmak, 2018). In addition to this intra-group heterogeneity, second-generation Turkish young people may face contradictions when they try to define themselves in terms of their British and Turkish identities, which belong to different locations and cultures (the UK as a Western European country and Turkey as neither Western nor Eastern with a unique regional position both in Europe and Asia) (Yorukoglu, 2017). Therefore, despite the potential commonality, second-generation Turkish young people in England should not be assumed to be a homogeneous group in their identity-related experiences.

Turkish and British cultures have several differences which may render identity development and acculturation difficult for Turkish immigrants and their children. In particular, there are sharp contrasts between immigrant Turkish people and the native populations of Western European countries, in terms of social/cultural background (e.g. traditional structure of the Turkish family, different parental roles, gender roles and family/marriage practices, educational levels) and religion (e.g. Islam and Alevism) (Crul & Vermeulen, 2003; Guveli et al., 2016; Kucukcan, 2009). This cultural distance can be important to acculturating Turkish people since they need to solve the possible conflicts within their heritage culture and particular cultural context wherever they live (Meca, Eichas, Schwartz & Davis, 2019). In addition, like other immigrant groups, the need for “preservation of our culture and traditions” is a common trope of Turkish immigrants (Yaylaci, 2015). The majority of Turkish parents are deeply concerned about the transmission of traditional values to the younger generation to protect their identity from “cultural contamination” in the UK (Kucukcan, 2009). Thus, Turkish young people might feel under considerable pressure to preserve their parental/cultural values at home while simultaneously adopting some elements of the mainstream culture.

<sup>6</sup> Alevism is defined in different ways. It is generally considered as a heterodox form of Islam in Turkey (Atay, 2010). However, Alevis differ considerably from the Sunni Muslim majority in their practice and interpretation of Islam (UK Home Office, 2017). Thus, it is also recognised as a different religion from Islam rather than a sect of Islam by most Alevis and being-Alevi can be seen as ethno-religious category by Alevi-Kurds (Jenkins & Cetin, 2017). (For more information see Minorities in Turkey <https://minorityrights.org/minorities/alevis/>).

When looking at second-generation Turkish young people's possible other challenges and problems in the UK, studies show that they tend to have to deal with some social disadvantages such as ethnic discrimination and exclusion (Enneli, Modood & Bradley, 2005). Additionally, negative identity (Jenkins & Cetin, 2017), invisibility (Thomson, Mai & Keles, 2008), language issues and underachievement at schools (Baykusoglu, 2009), acculturation difficulties (Cilingir, 2010) and even suicide cases have occurred between them (Cetin, 2013; Eylem et al., 2016).

There are several studies focusing on second-generation Turkish young people's ethnic identity development in Europe (e.g. Aydinli-Karakulak & Dimitrova, 2016; Crul & Vermeulen, 2003; Dimitrova et al., 2015; Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2012). Consistent with the previous identity literature, these studies showed the positive relationship between ethnic identity and mental health amongst Turkish young people (Dimitrova et al., 2015). Research on Turkish minorities in the UK, however, is relatively limited (Atay, 2006; Cilingir, 2010; Enneli, Modood & Bradley, 2005) with only a few studies investigating Turkish youth identity, acculturation difficulties and well-being in the UK (e.g. Cetin, 2013; Enneli, 2001; Eylem et al., 2016; Faas, 2009). To date, there has been no specific study (neither quantitative nor qualitative) which examines second-generation Turkish young people's ethnic identity formation by considering their experiences in the context of England. To address this gap in the literature, this study explores not only the relationship between ethnic identity and mental health but also the interactions between Turkish young people's identity formation and the British context by using a mixed-methods approach. Thus, this study gives important insights into their possible problems from both developmental and contextual considerations.

Taken together, the main aim of this research is to investigate the ethnic identity formation, acculturation, ethnic discrimination and mental health of second-generation Turkish young people and their experiences in the UK context. The present research is driven by the following questions:

- a)** What is the relationship between ethnic identity formation and mental health?
- b)** What roles do acculturation and ethnic discrimination play in this relationship?
- c)** What are second-generation Turkish young people's experiences related to ethnic identity, acculturation and ethnic discrimination in the British context? How are these experiences associated with their mental health?

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter discusses several main models/theories, alongside existing research, to understand ethnic identity formation, acculturation, discrimination and mental health in young ethnic minorities. Firstly, identity formation and the most prominent identity theories will be reviewed. Subsequently, theories of ethnic identity formation and acculturation will be discussed largely in relation to their respective social context and by introducing Umaña-Taylor et al.'s (2004, 2014) ethnic identity development model and Berry's model of acculturation (1997, 2001, 2005) which the present study is based upon. Meanwhile, ethnic identity and acculturation research will also be reviewed in relation to mental health. From here, ethnic discrimination and mental health consequences of being second-generation will be discussed. Finally, the aim, research questions and proposed model of the present study will be presented and explained in detail.

#### **2.1 Identity Formation and Ethnic Identity**

Adolescence is not only a period of biological growth but also a stage of self-discovery and social adaptation, during this time, young people try to understand themselves and fit into their surroundings (Vega & Gill, 2002). Identity is the key in this self-discovery and social adaptation process, and adolescence is a critical time period for developing a sense of identity because of:

- 1) The emergence of cognitive abilities (e.g. abstract thinking, introspection and metacognition) that allow for the complex thought processes needed to construct an identity,
- 2) Increased choices and responsibilities that individuals take on during adolescence,
- 3) The accumulation of experiences (with family, peers, other people and society) and social relationships (both inter- and intra-group) that encourage and demand an identity to be brought into existence (Krettenauer, 2005; Mclean & Syed, 2015; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

Ethnic identity plays an important role in the process of identity formation (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014) and in contributing to the development of adolescents' self-understanding (Schwartz et al., 2014), particularly for young people who have immigrant and ethnic minority backgrounds (Kiang & Baldelomar, 2016). Although ethnic identity begins to develop at an early age (Verkuyten, 2005), the stage of late adolescence<sup>7</sup> (15-19 years) is specifically important in considering and engaging with ethnic identity because interests, ideologies and value orientations tend to be stabilised by this stage and actively influence young people's identity during this time (LaVoie, 1976; Krettenauer, 2005; Schwartz et al., 2014). Thus, late adolescence is a crucial time for ethnic identity formation. The present study, therefore, has focused on this period particularly on those between 16-18 years old, before young people's transition to university.

Ethnic identity is a complex construct which has been approached from not only developmental perspectives but also from sociological and anthropological standpoints (Phinney, 1990). From the psychological point of view, ethnic identity is defined as being a multidimensional psychological construct which reflects on *the content* (individuals' beliefs and attitudes about their ethnic group memberships) and *the process* (where these beliefs and attitudes develop over time) (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Ethnic identity development is considered as a normative process experienced by ethnic minority youth (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014; Williams et al., 2012). In the next section, theories of identity development and social identity theory will be briefly overviewed to better understand this normative process among ethnic minority youth. These discussions will be particularly useful in making sense of the ethnic identity formation models which have mostly benefited from these previous identity theories.

## **2.2 Theories of Identity Development**

The study of adolescent ethnic identity development has been mainly grounded in Eriksonian and social identity approaches (Kiang & Baldelomar, 2016). Therefore, in this section, before discussing ethnic identity formation models, Erikson and Marcia's explanations on identity formation, and social identity theory will be reviewed.

<sup>7</sup> Adolescence can be separated into two chronological sub-stages as: early (10-14 years) and late (15-19 years) adolescence according to UNICEF (2011). However, it is important to note that different definitions of adolescence and sub-stages exist in the research literature (Arnett, 2002; Curtis, 2015; Steinberg, 2007).



### 2.2.1 Erikson's Perspective on Identity Development

Erikson (1950) was one of the first theorists to address identity as a fundamental task of adolescence and of the transition to adulthood (Schwartz, Zamboanga, Luyckx, Meca & Ritchie, 2015). According to his psychosocial developmental theory; although identity development is a lifelong process, “identity crisis” is the main developmental and psychosocial challenge of adolescence (Erikson, 1968; Steinberg, 2007). His theory suggests that young people have many opportunities to think about themselves and their lives in adolescence and they try to decide about life choices within potential alternatives (Erikson, 1950, 1968; Schwartz et al., 2012). During this process, they can develop an *identity synthesis* (a reworking of childhood and contemporaneous identifications into a broader set of self-determined ideals) or *identity confusion* (an inability to develop a feasible set of ideals and being unclear about identity) (Erikson, 1950; Schwartz, 2001). To reach coherence and clarity for a particular identity (e.g. occupational, ethnic, religious) within the broader social self, *exploration* (engaging with alternatives) and *commitment* (not to be confused with individual values and goals) are critical components (Erikson, 1968; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004). A secure sense of identity with commitment can lead to a sense of purpose in life and to positive well-being (Kiang & Baldelomar, 2016) whereas identity confusion is associated with psychopathology (Klimstra & Denissen, 2017). Erikson (1968) also addressed the significance of social context on identity formation since young people's opportunities and development can vary according to their social interactions.

Erikson's writings on identity development have contributed to identity literature by explaining the exploration and commitment components and addressing not only cognitive but also social aspects of identity and context (Schwartz, 2001). His concepts and line of contextual thinking have been elaborated and applied to ethnic/racial identity development by other researchers such as Cross (1991), Phinney (1989), and Umaña-Taylor et al. (2004, 2014). However, his theory has been problematised for being nebulous in terms of definition (e.g. lacking in detail, using unclear concepts -difficult to extract operational definitions-) and not providing measurements (Schwartz, 2001, 2005; Verkuyten, 2005). Neo-Eriksonian theorists have extended his theory and developed other models of identity development. One of them is

<sup>8</sup> There are other prominent theories of identity formation such as Process Model of Identity Formation (Grotevant, 1987), Identity Style Paradigm (Berzonsky, 1989); Three-Dimensional Identity Formation Model (Crocetti, Rubini & Meeus, 2008), and Integrative Identity Model (Luyckx et al., 2008). They have not been included in this chapter since they have not directly contributed the theoretical literature of ethnic identity formation.

Marcia's theory, which has also contributed ethnic identity literature, will be explained in the next section.

### 2.2.2 Marcia's Identity Status Model

Marcia (1966, 1993) made significant empirical contributions to Erikson's theory as an early neo-Eriksonian theorist. Like Erikson, Marcia used *exploration* and *commitment* dimensions to explain the identity formation process. He defined exploration as a conscious period of engagement in choosing between alternative goals, roles, and values, and commitment as the integration of these considerations and the degree of personal investment to the individual goals, roles, and values (Marcia, 1966).

*Identity statuses* are the central concept of Marcia (1966)'s theory. He suggested four independent identity statuses which are based on individuals' levels of exploration and commitment: (1) *identity achievement* refers to firm commitments for present/future roles after a period of conscious choice-making; (2) *identity moratorium* expresses an active exploration but with incomplete commitments; (3) *identity foreclosure* states a low levels of exploration but high levels of commitment and is mostly considered as being related to identification with parental or other authority figures' preferences; (4) *identity diffusion* indicates a low level of exploration and little commitment to present or future roles (Côté & Levine, 1987; Marcia, 1966; Steinberg, 2007; Schwartz, Mullis, Waterman & Dunham, 2000). It has been suggested that identity achievement is the most preferable outcome, since it provides the resolution of the task of identity development which includes the combination of exploration and commitment (Schwartz, Mullis, Waterman & Dunham, 2000).

An important body of research on identity status [see Kroger, Martinussen & Marcia's (2010) metanalytical study] and Marcia's model have also contributed theoretically and empirically to approaches on ethnic minorities' identity development (Phinney, 1989, 1990). However, Marcia's identity status model has been heavily criticised for its inadequacy in operationalising and accurately measuring (Cote & Levine, 1983), for sampling and providing cross-cultural validity. It has been criticised for researching mostly White samples of university students (Schwartz, 2001, 2005), for being too simplistic and for a reductionist approach which does not take account of the social/cultural context, and being limited to examining individual differences and barriers (Schwartz, 2001; Schwartz et al., 2015; Yoder, 2000). A prominent critic of the Marcia paradigm is Schwartz (2001, 2005) who argued that identity status theory

and research is weak since it has considered only personal identity (representing goals, values, and beliefs) without giving due weight to the presence of social identities (group identifications such as gender, ethnicity and nationality) and cultural contexts.

In summary, Marcia's work makes an important contribution to identity literature by extending Erikson's theory and providing measurements. However, it also has a limited focus on structural factors such as social identities, ethnic/cultural backgrounds and contextual issues in identity development. In the next section, social identity theory will be discussed to better understand the aforementioned deficiencies in identity development theories.

### **2.3 Social Identity Theory**

Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) has been at the forefront of understanding groups, sense of belonging, intergroup relations and prejudice. It suggests that individuals categorise themselves and others by reference to collective identities (Tajfel, 1981). People also make social comparisons between themselves and others according to their group memberships and evaluate with reference to group belonging. Thus, they can determine their groups' worth and how they are better or worse than members of other groups (out-group). To increase self-image and self-esteem, people tend to have a favourable bias towards their own group (in-group) making positive distinctions from others. Socio-cultural context (e.g. people's attitudes towards out-groups such as prejudice towards "others" and inter-group relationships such as the conflict between different groups) can influence individuals' social identity formation and self-esteem differently.

Social identity theory suggests that identity develops with an individual's sense of belonging to a specific group (Tajfel, 1981). These social groups provide their members with a shared identity, the answer to who they are, what they should believe in and how they should behave. Tajfel (1981) defined social identity as part of the self-concept which derives from knowledge of group membership together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership. When considering ethnic identity as a social identity (Settles, 2004) defined by one's culture of origin and related to specific cultural values, practices and attitudes (Phinney, 1996), this emotional significance, sense of belonging and positive affects towards ethnic group membership can be pivotal in determining the content of young people's identity. It is also important to consider that this ethnic membership can be more or less salient (how important a social category is perceived to be in a certain situation) and also positive or negative

in some particular social contexts such as home or school (Treppe & Loy, 2017; Turner et al., 1987; Spears, 2011).

Social identity theory has contributed significantly to ethnic identity literature by considering its social-psychological aspects, particularly by addressing the affect and feelings that individuals develop towards their ethnic group and themselves through these memberships (Umaña-Taylor, 2011). Social identity theory is thought to focus more on the affective components of identity, its dynamics, and how those components and dynamics are related to outcomes (e.g. inter-group relationships, prejudice and self-esteem), whereas Erikson's theory places greater emphasis on the process of identity development (Kiang & Baldelomar, 2016; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004).

Ethnic identity development theories have been mainly grounded in Eriksonian and social identity perspectives (Kiang & Baldelomar, 2016), and ethnic identity formation in adolescence can be explained and understood by taking into consideration not only process (e.g. exploration), but also content (e.g. salience, feelings and meanings) and context (e.g. social interactions) (Bosma & Kunnen, 2008). In order to better understand these aspects of ethnic identity formation, two key theories of ethnic identity formation will be discussed.

## **2.4 Theories of Ethnic Identity Formation**

The present study is based around Umaña-Taylor et al.'s (2004, 2014) ethnic identity development model. Firstly, Phinney's (1989, 1990) universal model of ethnic identity (as one of the prominent ethnic identity development theories<sup>9</sup>) will be discussed in this section.

### *2.4.1 Phinney's Universal Model of Ethnic Identity*

Phinney's (1989, 1990) model is a particularly prevailing theory in the identity research literature. It was built upon Erikson's psychosocial development theory, Marcia's identity status model and on social identity theory (Schwartz et al., 2014). Her approach to ethnic identity integrates the exploration and commitment dimensions from Marcia's model and the affirmation dimension from Tajfel's social identity theory. According to Phinney, ethnic

<sup>9</sup> There are a variety of models of ethnic/racial identity that frequently appear in the identity literature such as Nigrescence theory (Cross, 1991) and multidimensional models of racial identity (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley & Chavous, 1998). However, they are mainly related to African American experience and to racial identity, and do not directly contribute to the ethnic identity formation literature, and therefore they are not discussed in the present study.

identity depends on both external (e.g. social and cultural practices like language, friendships, involvements in group activities) and internal factors (e.g. view of self, group and traditions, sense of attachment, an obligation to heritage and values).

Phinney's model provides important explanations of ethnic identity by focusing on the process of ethnic identity formation through a number of stages including: *diffusion* (having an unexamined ethnicity), *moratorium* (active exploring the meaning of ethnicity) and finally on *achievement* (resolution of ethnicity means) (Phinney, 1989; Phinney & Baldelomar, 2010). Ethnic identity achievement is related to positive feelings and attachment to one's ethnic group (referred to as affirmation) (Phinney, 1992; Schwartz et al., 2014) and depends on individual and independent choices, otherwise, young people might experience *identity foreclosure* by committing to an ethnic identity based on other people's desires and engaging in narrow exploration activities as a negative outcome (Phinney & Baldelomar, 2010).

There is a large body of ethnic identity research on Phinney's model. Her multigroup ethnic identity measure (MEIM)<sup>10</sup> has been the most frequently used instrument within ethnic identity research (Phinney & Ong, 2007; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014a; Schwartz et al., 2014; Smith & Silva, 2011; Yip, 2014; Yip, Sellers & Seaton, 2006). These studies have shown that aspects of strong ethnic identity (e.g. positive ethnic affect, exploration and meanings) have positive relationships with positive mental health and psychological well-being (e.g. high self-esteem, personal adjustment and less depressive symptoms) and can also contribute towards positive outcomes (e.g. academic achievement and less substance use) to young people's lives across different ethnic groups (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014a; Smith & Silva, 2011).

However, Phinney's model and MEIM have been criticised conceptually for not taking account of subjective meanings and negative feelings towards ethnic identity and also methodologically (e.g. MEIM reflects this problematic conceptualisation and throws up intangibles in assessing ethnic participation and active ethnic exploration) (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004; Schwartz et al., 2014; Syed et al., 2013). According to Umaña-Taylor et al. (2004), there is a possibility of an individual being committed to negative feelings and negative view of their ethnic group. Therefore, commitment and affirmation do not have to be in the same dimension of ethnic identity achievement, and commitment should be separated into two components as affirmation (positive or/and negative feelings towards an ethnic group) and

<sup>10</sup> To measure positive ethnic attitudes, sense of belonging, ethnic identity achievement (by considering exploration and commitment) and ethnic behaviours/practices (Phinney, 1992).

resolution (the subjective importance of their ethnicity) since people might also have negative feelings towards their own ethnic identity (Schwartz et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004).

As a consequence of these conceptual and methodological flaws within Phinney’s theory, Umaña-Taylor et al.’s (2004, 2014) approach has been used to investigate second-generation Turkish young people’s ethnic identity development in this study. This model is also useful in considering both the process and content of ethnic identity in context and in providing a coherent approach and an instrument to understand and measure ethnic identity development among different minority groups (Schwartz et al., 2014).

#### 2.4.2 Umaña-Taylor’s Model of Ethnic Identity Development

Umaña-Taylor and her colleagues (2004, 2014) drew on both Eriksonian (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1993) and social identity perspectives (Tajfel, 1981) when they constructed their theoretical framework for ethnic identity formation. Here, they provide an ethnic identity approach with salient developmental and contextual issues, focusing not only on the content (significance, feelings and meanings of ethnicity) but also on the process (the mechanisms by which individuals explore, form, and maintain their identity) of ethnic identity formation (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014; Schwartz et al., 2014).

According to the authors, ethnic identity develops during adolescence from children’s ethnic self-identifications developed during childhood. Individuals reach many social and cognitive milestones through adolescence; these key milestones in the development of ethnic identity over time are shown in Table 1 (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). In this context, young people develop their ethnic identity in the processes (e.g. elaboration and negotiation) and contents (e.g. public regard and ideology) with some cognitive (e.g. abstract thinking) and physiological changes in their social contexts (e.g. family and peers).

Table 1: Ethnic Identity Development: Cognitive Milestones, Socio-Environmental Features, and Process and Content of Ethnic Identity Development in Adolescence (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014, p. 22)

Cognitive milestones	Physiological	Social and environmental contexts	Corresponding ethnic identity components	
			Process	Content
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Abstract thinking</li> <li>- Introspection</li> <li>- Metacognition</li> <li>- Further development of social-cognitive abilities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Puberty (body image)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Family</li> <li>- Peers</li> <li>- Social demands and transitions</li> <li>- Navigate expanded social world</li> <li>- Media</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Contestation</li> <li>- Elaboration</li> <li>- Negotiation</li> <li>- Internalisation of cultural values</li> <li>- Exploration/search</li> <li>- Collective self-verification</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Public regard</li> <li>- Ideology</li> <li>- Affect (affirmation, private regard)</li> <li>- Salience</li> <li>- Centrality</li> <li>- Understanding of common destiny</li> <li>- Identity self-denial</li> </ul>

It can be seen that ethnic identity development is an interaction between maturation and context. In this period, new cognitive capacities give adolescents with the ability to explore what their ethnic identity means to them (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). In exploring ethnic identity, young people engage in culturally specific activities, behaviours and roles. This process is especially significant during adolescence since these exploration attempts provide insight into the fundamental identity question of “who am I?” which is considered a key developmental task of adolescence (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004, 2014).

Ethnic identity formation has been conceptualised by Umaña-Taylor et al. (2004) in terms of three individual and unique ethnic identity components. The first one is *exploration*, which indicates an actively exploring ethnicity by engaging in culturally specific activities, behaviours and roles. The second component is *resolution*, which involves a sense of commitment and understanding regarding the meaning of ethnic identity and the extent to which plays an important role in people’s lives (Umaña-Taylor, 2011). The last component is *affirmation*, which indicates people’s negative (e.g. feeling ashamed) and/or positive feelings (e.g. affect, pride, attachment) about their ethnic group memberships and the role that ethnic identity plays in shaping their lives. High exploration (active participation), high affirmation (positive feelings) and high resolution (clear meanings) towards ethnicity form an “achieved positive ethnic identity”, which was found to be related to the highest level of psychological well-being among minority youth (Seaton, Scottham & Sellers, 2006).

Increased autonomy and independence in decision making, social interactions, and the influence of peers, other social demands (e.g. acculturation and discrimination) and school context can also affect the development of ethnic identity and lead to a greater *certainty* (being an elaboration on ethnic labelling and constancy) in identification with one’s ethnic group (Steinberg, 2007; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). This process can also make ethnicity more salient to minority youth. *Salience* indicates the extent to which one's ethnicity is a relevant part of one's self-concept at a particular moment or in a particular situation (Sellers et al., 1998). When ethnicity is salient for youths, they may begin notably to integrate these experiences into their self-concept as an important aspect. It is known as *ethnic identity centrality*, which indicates the durable relative importance assigned by an individual to their ethnic identity (Sellers et al., 1998; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Significantly, with exploration and through these experiences, young people try to feel confident about the meaning of their ethnic identity; however, they may experience a mix of positive and negative feelings towards their ethnicity in this process (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004, 2014). For instance, young people’s ethnic identity

content can include *self-denial* as a possible consequence of the combination of low positive affect and low centrality/importance. This outcome can also be possible when there is a high certainty around this identity (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Consequent of this then, it is important to acknowledge that different individuals within the same ethnic group can have considerably different exploration experiences and feelings of ethnic identity, degrees of certainties and commitments to their ethnic identity. Thus, reducing ethnic identity to a self-identification label can overlook significant variability within groups (Umaña-Taylor, 2011). Therefore, young people's social relationships and context are also important in understanding their possible variability and differences in ethnic identity development.

Social relationships are important for ethnic identity development since specific people and interactions can engage (or disengage) certain dimensions of an individual's ethnic identity (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). This process is called *ethnic identity socialisation* and includes both familial (e.g. parents, siblings, relatives) and non-familial agents (e.g. friends, community members). Ethnic experiences and interactions with these agents can be implicit (when parents do not aim to teach their children about ethnicity intentionally, such as decorating the home with their cultural objects) or explicit (purposefully and directly trying to teach young people about their ethnicity, such as buying books about their own culture) (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004). It is suggested that higher familial ethnic socialisation was associated with high self-esteem, explored and meaningful ethnic identity among adolescents (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004). Moreover, socialisation not only within the family but also at school and in peer groups plays an important role in ethnic identity formation since young people's ethnic identity was found to be gradually formed and maintained through these social interactions (Verkuyten, 2016).

The importance of these contextual and relational considerations in ethnic identity formation has been visibilised and enriched by developments within identity theory and research in recent years. This has been achieved by focusing on different ethnic minorities within various social settings (Berry, 2001; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004). It is important to understand how ethnic identity development can be related to both micro-environmental factors (e.g. interpersonal relationships, communication, and media) and macro-environmental ones (e.g. economic system, demographic variables, social class) (Adams & Marshall, 1996). In order to develop a coherent understanding of ethnic identity development in these environments, four interrelated dimensions are important to consider (Syed, Juang & Svensson, 2018). These are (1) perspective (meanings about ethnic setting can be understood in both



objective and subjective terms); (2) differentiation (how the referenced ethnic group is defined in a setting); (3) heterogeneity (the diversity of different ethnic groups in the setting); (4) proximity (the distance between the individual and the setting). In the present study, second-generation Turkish young people's ethnic identity formation is investigated by using Umaña-Taylor et al.'s (2004, 2014) model and considering these contextual dimensions.

To summarise, Umaña-Taylor et al.'s (2004, 2014) model contains holistic arguments for ethnic identity formation with components of exploration, affirmation and resolution by considering both young people's development and the context where they live. As an important distinction from other models, Umaña-Taylor and her colleagues particularly address the importance of active exploration process in ethnic identity development (for instance not only eating traditional foods but also participating in cultural events) and discuss the role of possible negative meanings and feelings towards ethnic identity. Thus, their ethnic identity formation model is able to explain not only the process of ethnic identity development (exploring, forming, and maintaining an ethnic identity) but also the content of ethnic identity (e.g. feelings and meanings). Their explanations of ethnic identity socialisation also provide detailed understandings of young people's social context during ethnic identity development by considering both familial and non-familial agents and interactions. It is a useful theory not only to understand ethnic identity formation with these conceptions and contextual considerations but also to measure<sup>11</sup> ethnic identity formation with exploration, affirmation and resolution components (Syed et al., 2013).

Umaña-Taylor et al.'s (2004) ethnic identity formation model has been used by identity researchers from all over the world, though predominantly in the US. Their model has been empirically supported as a way to investigate ethnic identity formation, and its mental health outcomes have been one of the most examined topics among different ethnic groups by a diverse range of researchers (Balidemaj, 2016; Brittian et al., 2013; Lantrip et al., 2015; Umaña-Taylor & Shin, 2007). In the next section, the conceptualisation of mental health and the body of ethnic identity formation research will be discussed in relation to mental health outcomes.

<sup>11</sup> Umaña-Taylor et al. (2004) designed the Ethnic Identity Scale (EIS) to measure the ethnic identity components of exploration, affirmation and resolution. EIS is able to capture not only meanings of ethnic identity, negative and positive feelings towards ethnicity, but also individuals' direct participation in ethnic identity activities (Syed et al., 2013).

## 2.5 Mental Health and Ethnic Identity Formation

Positive mental health can be supported when young people have a positive ethnic identity, therefore, here, the mental health issue becomes the focus instead of the ethnic identity per se. Mental health is a broad term ranging from well-being to mental disorders (WHO, 2005) and has been defined and understood with reference to a wide range of indicators such as positive adjustment, happiness, satisfaction with life and positive social relationships (Schwartz et al., 2015), self-esteem, absence of anxiety and depressive symptoms (Diener, 2006), and psychological well-being (Ryff & Singer, 2008). Previous ethnic identity research has tended towards a narrow focus on a few component parts of mental health, for instance limited to self-esteem or life-satisfaction (e.g. Brittan et al., 2013; Mandara et al., 2009) rather than using different indicators of positive mental health to produce more holistic results. In the current study, in order to have a comprehensive understanding of young people’s mental health, four different indicators are juxtaposed. These are *life-satisfaction*, *self-esteem*, and *depression* (used to examine young people’s happiness and feelings towards their lives and themselves) together with *psychological well-being*, which is used to examine young people’s social relationships and positive functioning in life (Diener, 2006; Ryff & Singer, 2008). Thus, young people’s mental health conditions can be captured and understood better with different positive and negative indicators (see Table 2 below for their definitions and directions).

Table 2: Mental Health Indicators in the Present Study

Direction	Mental Health Indicator	Definition
(+)	Life-satisfaction	A cognitive judgmental process for the assessment of a person’s quality of life and a marker of happiness (Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin 1985)
(+)	Self-esteem	Feelings of protecting and enhancing the feeling of self-regard (Rosenberg, Schooler & Schoenbach, 1989)
(-)	Depression	A negative affective state which influences how people feel, think and act, can cause feelings of sadness and/or a loss of interest in activities once enjoyed, interferes with daily life and can decrease a person’s ability to function at work and at home (APA, 2019)
(+)	Psychological well-being	A sense of mastery over one’s life tasks such as satisfying relationships and having a comfortable school environment (Ryff & Singer, 2008), has six dimensions: personal growth, having positive relations with others, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life, and self-acceptance (Ryff, 1989, 2014; Ryff & Keyes, 1995)

In the present study, positive mental health consists of high levels of life satisfaction, self-esteem, psychological well-being and the absence of depression symptoms.

In ethnic identity and acculturation research, some other aspects such as acculturative stress (see page 48 for more information) and social relationships with others are also used as mental health indicators (e.g. Lantrip et al., 2015; Ozer, 2017). In the present research, it was decided not to focus explicitly on measuring these factors and they were covered in the qualitative part because it was important to explore these issues by considering young people's experiences in context. Additionally, there were practical constraints around including stress and social relationships in the quantitative part of the study (e.g. the need to find appropriate and robust measures; the length of the survey; and the need to prevent the model from becoming more complex).

As a broad and complex aspect, psychological well-being deserves further explanations. According to Ryff's model (Ryff, 1989, 2014; Ryff & Keyes, 1995), psychological well-being includes six different dimensions: (1) *self-acceptance* is characterised as making a positive evaluation of and holding positive attitudes towards one's self, and acknowledging and accepting one's past life and multiple aspects of the self, including good and bad qualities; (2) *having positive relationships with others* refers having warm, satisfying, trusting and quality relationships with others; being concerned about the welfare of others; being capable of strong empathy, affection and intimacy; understanding of the give and take of human relationships; (3) *autonomy* is characterised by self-determination, independence, and the ability to resist social pressures to think and act in certain ways, and to regulate one's behaviour accordingly; (4) *environmental mastery* indicates a sense of mastery, competence and a capacity to manage one's life and the surrounding world, control of a complex order of external activities, the effective use of surrounding opportunities, and the ability to choose or create contexts suitable to personal needs and values; (5) *purpose in life* refers to goals in life and to a sense of directedness, to feeling there is meaning to both present and past periods of life, aims and objectives for living; (6) *personal growth* is characterised by the feeling of continued development, seeing oneself as growing and expanding, being open to new experiences, seeing a sense of realising one's potential; seeing improvement in oneself over time, and changing in ways that reflect greater self-knowledge and effectiveness (Vleioras & Bosma, 2005).

Ryff's model has received significant empirical support and has contributed to the psychology field by explaining psychological well-being in terms of multiple dimensions which provide a comprehensive theoretical framework for examining and measuring the positive functioning of adolescents across contexts (Akin, Demirci, Yildiz, Gediksiz & Eroglu, 2012; Gao & McLellan, 2018; Ryff, 2014). In particular, the aspects of self-acceptance and having

positive relationships with others are important in understanding the relationship between ethnic identity formation and psychological well-being in the present study, when considering both ethnicity as part of self-concept and the importance of ethnic identity socialisation in young minorities' lives (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

Previous research shows that positive mental health can be promoted when young people have an actively explored and meaningful ethnic identity. Syed et al. (2013) found that ethnic identity exploration -participating in ethnicity related activities vis-à-vis the search for ethnic identity- are significant in determining young people's identity coherence or confusion. The authors indicated that the relationship between the ethnic identity search (systematically questioning what an ethnic identity means) and well-being is negligible and can sometimes even be negative. However, participating actively in ethnicity-related events (trying to learn or having learnt something about what it means to be a member of an ethnic group) is found consistently to be associated with positive mental health indicators (e.g. higher self-esteem) and to help develop a coherent identity which also has beneficial impacts on well-being (Syed et al., 2013). Similarly, Umaña-Taylor et al. (2004, 2014) addressed the important role of the active exploration in the meaning-making process (resolution) of ethnic identity which contributes to people's sense of clarity and well-being in turn. Both ethnic identity exploration and resolution were found to be important socialisation processes in Mexican-origin young people (Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders & Updegraff, 2013) and positive predictors of self-esteem among Latinx youth in the US (Umaña-Taylor, Gonzales-Backen & Guimond, 2009; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007).

Not only the processes of exploration and resolution but also the content of ethnic identity has been examined with relation to mental health. Positive feelings towards ethnic identity are found to be related to positive psychosocial adjustment in Latinx and African American youth (Syed et al., 2013) and fewer depressive symptoms were found among African American young people (Mandara et al., 2009). Brittian et al. (2013) also clearly showed the relationship between higher ethnic identity affirmation (positive feelings towards ethnic identity) and positive mental health (e.g. lower anxiety and depressive symptoms) in Latinx, Asian and African youth in the US. The positive links from ethnic identity exploration, affirmation and resolution to self-esteem were also mirrored amongst Jewish Americans (Weisskirch, Kim, Schwartz & Whitbourne, 2016). Thus, previous research consistently shows the associations between young people's affect and positive feelings towards their ethnic group and positive mental health among different minorities (Brittian et al., 2015; Lantrip et al., 2015;

Rivas-Drake et al., 2014b). In addition, qualitative studies suggest that positive understandings/meanings about ethnic identity also have a vital role in young people's well-being (Adler et al., 2015, 2016). In summary, research suggests the constructs of greater ethnic identity formation (active exploration, positive feelings and meanings with clarity) are strongly related to young people's positive mental health.

However, much of the ethnic identity formation research has been conducted in the US and there has been relatively fewer ethnic identity research rooted in the European context (Erentaitė et al., 2018; Syed, Juang & Svensson, 2018). Studies focused on Turkish young people's identity development have mostly been conducted in Germany and the Netherlands (e.g. Dimitrova et al., 2015; Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2012; Spiegler, Sonnenberg, Fassbender, Kohl & Leyendecker, 2018). These studies have consistently shown that lower ethnic identity formation (e.g. low exploration and commitment) is associated with externalising (e.g. aggressive behaviours) and internalising problems (e.g. anxiety and depression) in Turkish young people in the European context (Belhadj Kouider, Koglin & Petermann, 2014; Erentaitė et al., 2018). Dimitrova et al. (2015) found that maintaining a Turkish identity is positively associated with well-being for young people who have Turkish ancestry in Bulgaria and Germany. However, this body of research -even in recent studies- in Europe has been mostly based on Phinney's model (e.g. Spiegler, Verkuyten, Thijs & Leyendecker, 2016) which has a limited understanding of ethnic identity exploration (not focusing on active exploration process) and feelings towards ethnic identity (ignoring possible negative feelings towards ethnic identity) (Schwartz et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004) (on pages 27-29 Phinney's model and criticisms towards the model are set out in more detail). Thus, there is an urgent need for a better understanding of Turkish young people's ethnic identity formation by considering their active ethnic identity exploration, subjective meanings, and both negative and positive feelings towards their ethnic identity in a particular context.

There has been no specific study examining second-generation Turkish young people's ethnic identity formation in the British context using Umaña-Taylor et al.'s model. In order to fill this lacuna and expand upon their approach, this study has primarily aimed to investigate ethnic identity formation (with the components of exploration, resolution and affirmation) and its mental health outcomes among second-generation Turkish young people in England.

### *2.5.1 Factors Influencing the Ethnic Identity Formation and Mental Health Relationship*

Looking at the ethnic identity and mental health literature further, the relationship between ethnic identity formation and mental health is likely to be changed by some additional factors such as ethnic identity centrality, ethnicity, religion and gender (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vedder, 2001). Brittian et al. (2013) examined the moderating role of ethnic identity centrality (the importance given by an individual to their ethnic identity) in ethnic minorities in the US and their results suggested that the association between ethnic affirmation and mental health is stronger for young people who reported higher levels of ethnic identity centrality. Similarly, ethnic identity centrality can be related to both ethnic identity formation and mental health and enhances the positive relationship between ethnic identity formation and mental health among second-generation Turkish young people because if young people attach importance to ethnic identity, their ethnic identity formation would be likely to change accordingly (e.g. high importance might motivate young people to learn about being Turkish and participate Turkish activities). This, in turn, might lead to better mental health than other individuals who might not find their ethnic identity as important as many as their peers do. Therefore, the role of ethnic identity centrality on the relationship between ethnic identity formation and mental health is examined in this study.

Other aspects such as ethnicity and religion can also have a function on the relationship between ethnic identity formation and mental health. When considering the ethnic and religious diversity of Turkish people in the UK, it is possible that ethnic identity formation might be different for Turkish and Kurdish, Sunni and Alevi young people with their probable different conditions and experiences. Research suggests that second-generation young people who are Kurdish and/or Alevi in England tend to have a “negative sense of identity” (mostly due to discrimination against them in Turkey and a perceived invisibility both in Turkey and the UK) which is related to negative mental health outcomes (e.g. higher substance use and several suicide cases) (Cetin, 2013). Thus, their meanings and feelings towards ethnic identity can be more negative than Turkish and/or Muslim people, and the relationship between ethnic identity formation and mental health can vary as a function of ethnicity and religion. Therefore, the roles of ethnicity and religion on the relationship between ethnic identity formation and mental health are also investigated within this study.

Finally, gender can also play an important role in mediating the relationship between ethnic identity formation and mental health. Research suggests that ethnic identity formation

varies by gender in Latinx-adolescents in the US and that young women's exploration and resolution processes were higher than young men (Umaña-Taylor, Gonzales-Backen & Guimond, 2009). It has also been suggested that women are more likely to develop strong connections to their ethnic heritage than men (Chae, 2002). These findings have been discussed as a result of gendered practices and expectations since immigrant women are generally seen as the carriers of culture and as such, are perceived as more likely to maintain traditional practices in the host society (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vedder, 2001). Consequent of the expected roles within the family, it is possible that socialisation messages may promote young women's processes of ethnic identity formation (Umaña-Taylor, Gonzales-Backen & Guimond, 2009). Verkuyten (2005) suggested that Turkish immigrant women behaviours are controlled and restricted in the Netherlands since being a woman becomes a subject for continuity of their ethnic group. This could also be the case for second-generation Turkish young people in England and in this way female young people might have better ethnic identity formation than males.

In summary, the relationship between ethnic identity formation and mental health can work differently for different groups who have distinct ethnic identity centrality, ethnicity, religion and gender. Salience is also affected by the given context, in this case, amongst second-generation Turkish young people in England. Therefore, these factors are important to consider as moderating (control) variables in order to understand whether/how the ethnic identification and mental health model (see Figure 2 on page 53) works for different groups.

Although existing research has suggested ethnic identity serves a promotive and/or protective factor for young minorities' mental health (Umaña-Taylor, 2011), this relationship is complex and can be contradicted depending on the context, when considering other factors such as acculturation challenges and experiences of discrimination, therefore, more factors are necessary to account for the relationship between ethnic identity formation and mental health (Erentaitè et al., 2018). Previous research has also examined these acculturation and discrimination factors to explain the relationship between well-being and ethnic identity (Smith & Silva, 2011), however, again there are still few studies based on these approaches in European context (Erentaitè et al., 2018), particularly for second-generation youth (Groenewold, Valk & Ginneken, 2013). In order to fill this lacuna for second-generation Turkish young people in England, this study has also examined multiple identities and the role of acculturation strategies and perceived ethnic discrimination. The next section will provide an overview of the complexity of multiple social identities and Berry's acculturation model.

## 2.6 Multiple Social Identities and Acculturation in Second-Generation

In ethnic identity formation processes, second-generation adolescents are also simultaneously facing acculturative tasks while growing up between cultures (Erentaitė et al., 2018). As a part of this, they also try to understand their complex and multi-faceted identities (Umaña-Taylor, 2011) since they have not only ethnic identity but also other social identities (e.g. national and religious) to negotiate. In this section, multiple identities and acculturation will be discussed in order to understand young people's possible difficulties during ethnic identity formation.

### 2.6.1 Identity Multiplicity and Social Identity Complexity

People are defined by multiple social identities as they have different characteristics and social roles (Settles, 2004; Umaña-Taylor, 2011). The answers to the question of “who am I” also depend on people's coordination of their multiple identities (Azmitia, 2015). However, this coordination is not always easy to negotiate (Settles, 2004) since multiple categories always encourage people to think about a wide range of different aspects which can be both assigned (e.g. gender and ethnicity) and/or chosen (e.g. club membership) (Crisp, Hewstone & Rubin, 2001; Knifsend & Juvonen, 2014). These identities become more relevant, central and salient in some particular social settings and situations which are coherent with young people's past experiences (e.g. being a British student at the school, daughter/son/sibling with family, being Turkish at home, and the Muslim minority in England). In other words, the reconciling of multiple social identities is both continuously under negotiation and strongly context-dependent (Verkuyten, 2005).

When young people identify themselves with multiple social groups, their social self-definition becomes significantly more complex (Knifsend & Juvonen, 2014) with different identities which have greater/lesser purchase corresponding to each other and sometimes present contrasting values and including conflicting demands (Verkuyten, 2005). If there is no overlap between these identities, the process of identity formation can be more difficult for young people and they might deal with *social identity complexity* which reflects “the degree of overlap perceived to exist between groups of which a person is simultaneously a member” (Roccas & Brewer, 2002, p. 88). Social identities provide a framework for thinking, feeling, and doing (Verkuyten, 2005), for example, Turkish and British identity can require thinking



and behaving in different ways. However, there might be rigid understandings of these identities and/or perceived value incompatibilities which make it difficult to feel a member of an ethnic minority group and the national community at the same time (Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2012). This situation can cause developing a relatively simplified identity structure (Roccas & Brewer, 2002) which might restrict young people's negotiation (e.g. meaning-making for both identities) and socialisation processes (e.g. intra and inter-group friendships). However, when an individual understands and accepts that their multiple identities are not fully overlapping, their related identity structure becomes more inclusive and complex (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Then, this complexity can help young people to behave "appropriately" in different social settings (Riehl, 2005; Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Schwartz, Birman, Benet-Martínez & Unger, 2017).

For ethnic minorities, the favourable outcome of this process would be to resolve the possible conflict between cultures, accepting both memberships, defining and understanding the multiple identities, having a secure ethnic identity to complement a positive orientation towards the mainstream culture (Phinney, 1989; Schwartz et al., 2014; Verkuyten, 2005). Thus, they can develop a bicultural identity by committing to their ethnic and national identities, combining the minority and majority cultures and using both their own and mainstream languages. These new understandings enhance people's behavioural repertoire and also bring to bear different types of complex behaviours such as *compartmentalisation* (which occurs when individuals consciously activate different cultural identities in different social settings) (Roccas & Brewer, 2002) and *cultural frame switching* (changing from one cultural stream to another when entering a situation that calls for a particular type of response such as *code-switching* -moving back and forth between languages) (Riehl, 2005; Schwartz, Birman, Benet-Martínez & Unger, 2017) or similarly *shifting social identities* (as a coping strategy with social comparison) (Mussweiler, Gabriel & Bodenhausen, 2000). The notion of feeling competence in and identification with multiple identities and cultures are variously referred to by researchers by names such as bicultural integration or harmony (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005), blended identity (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997), integrated identity (Birman, 1994) and hybrid identity (Ward et al., 2018).

In this vein, Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) have suggested that people who have higher levels of bicultural integration (harmony between identities), tend to have higher self-esteem and lower stress than people who keep their heritage and mainstream culture separate. However, having divergent identities might be contradictory for some individuals because of

not only possible differences between cultures but also ambiguous feelings and meanings towards multiple identities. Even though having multiple identities (when they are viewed as important and in harmony with one another) are positively related to psychological well-being, when there is a conflict between these identities, this conflict can negatively influence psychological well-being (Brook, Garcia & Fleming, 2008). For example, Zevallos (2008) found that the contradiction between Turkish and Australian identities (e.g. feeling Turkish but not Australian, or Turkish and slightly Australian) is negatively related to the process of identity construction among second-generation Turkish people in Australia. As a result, this contradiction and conflict between multiple identities might have negative consequences for young people's identity formation and mental health.

In addition, dealing with the complex representations of multiple social identities, binary thinking and competence in both cultures can be difficult for ethnic minority youths who live with their immigrant parents, particularly in cases where there is acculturation between two divergent cultures such as the Turkish and British ones. There has been a growing focus on the significance of integrating developmental, social-psychological and acculturation approaches to studying identity formation in ethnic minority youth (Erentaitė et al., 2018) and these processes (ethnic identity formation and making sense of multiple identities) have also been found to be related to young people's acculturation (Lantrip et al., 2015). To understand how second-generation Turkish young people are making sense of their multiple identities in different cultures, their Turkish/Kurdish and British identities are examined in this study. Moreover, the integration of these identities should be understood not only from an individual level but also at an inter-cultural one. Therefore, acculturation and Berry's strategies will be explained in the following section.

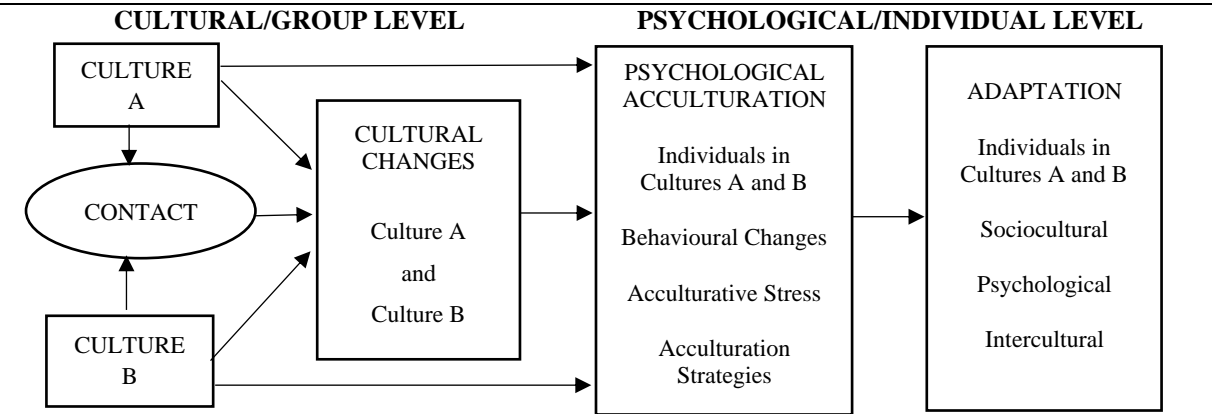
### *2.6.2 Acculturation and Second-Generation*

Acculturation psychology has developed rapidly within cross-cultural psychology since the 1980s (Ozer, 2013; Sam & Berry, 2006). Broadly speaking, acculturation covers "all the changes that arise following 'contact' between individuals and groups of different cultural backgrounds" (Sam, 2006, p. 11). Specifically, acculturation is defined as "an adaptation process that takes place as the immigrant adopts some ideas, values, and behaviours of the host culture and (typically) retains some of the ideals, values, and beliefs of his or her culture of origin" (Schwartz, 2005, p. 302).

There have been important theoretical discussions on acculturation in the literature largely around whether it is a unidimensional or a bidimensional process (Ozer, 2013; Sam, 2006). The unidimensional approach portrays a transformation of one group into forming part of another, in other words, one group changes to become like the other during their acculturation process (only immigrants need to learn about natives' cultures) whereas the bidimensional perspective considers acculturation as a mutual/reciprocal interaction between two individuals or groups in contact (both immigrants and natives learn from each other) (Sam, 2006). Most present psychological understandings approach acculturation as a bidimensional process rather than unidimensional (Sam, 2006) with the theoretical conceptualisation of acculturation having shifted from a unidimensional model to an understanding of the multi-faceted and complex process of acculturation (Berry, 1997, 2017a). In this study, intergroup relations and mutual interactions between immigrants and the members of the majority group are important, and the bidimensional perspective therefore is utilised (Berry, 2017b).

The bidimensional approach defines *acculturation* as “the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members” (Berry, 2005, p. 698). Berry addressed the changes in social structures at the cultural level (e.g. adopting different gender roles in institutions) and changes in a person’s behavioural repertoire at the individual level (e.g. learning each other’s languages). The bidimensional acculturation in cultural/group and psychological/individual level follows a line from intercultural contact to cultural and psychological change which are illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Cultural and Psychological Processes of Acculturation (Berry, 2017a, p. 3)



As can be seen in the figure, contact between cultures are mutual and the change happens interculturally and individually through psychological acculturation (with behaviours, feelings and strategies) and cultural adaptation. This process might have different outcomes;

For example, Berry (2017a) suggested that if this process is “successful” (with psychological acculturation and adaptation in both cultures), individuals can have a coherent and positive sense of self, supportive social and intercultural relationships, and that this process contributes to an individual’s overall well-being. However, if the adaptation is not “successful” (with psychological acculturation and adaptation in only one culture or none of them), people are likely to experience low self-esteem, feelings of incompetence, alienation from their community, and even hostile relationships with other cultural groups in the wider society (Berry, 2017a).

During acculturation, people can experience behavioural shifts (e.g. changing language and social norms), acculturative stress (e.g. anxiety), mental health issues (e.g. depression), psychological shifts (e.g. lower/higher self-esteem) and socio-cultural adaptation (e.g. relations between the acculturating individual and social contexts such as doing well in school or work) (Berry & Sabatier 2011; Berry & Sam, 1996). Considering this, Berry and Sam (1996) stated that this process can be affected by some specific features, for example, the society of origin (e.g. its ethnographic characteristics like language and religion), the society of settlement (e.g. attitudes towards immigration and specific groups), changes in the acculturating group (e.g. cultural changing like dresses and foods), moderating factors prior to acculturation (e.g. age, birthplace and parents attitudes/adaptation, generation status) and moderating factors during acculturation (e.g. acculturation strategies, social support and discrimination). Thus, not only personal/developmental aspects but also society/social characteristics are important factors in acculturating young individuals.

Generation status is a particularly significant factor when living in mainstream society in terms of dealing with those challenges. It is an important socio-demographic characteristic that can modify the process by which ethnic identity develops and acculturation happens (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013). Theoretical models explaining the second generation’s identity development and integration processes have taken a strongly ethnic stance (Vathi, 2015). Developing self-understanding can be particularly challenging for second-generation youth when considering their birthplace (host country) and their nationality in this country since feeling like a “proper” member of a national community is not at all easy for them (Deaux & Verkuyten, 2014, Wiley & Deaux, 2010).

Moreover, second-generation youth has been seen as having the special challenge of figuring out how to live with, and between, their parents’ cultural heritage and community and

their peers in the mainstream society (including being schooled and having community relationships) (Berry & Sabatier, 2011). Second-generation learning and adapting to the mainstream culture faster than their immigrant parents; thus, might bring particular acculturation differences from those of their parents which have been defined as *dissonant acculturation* (Nolan, 2010; Portes & Rumbaut 2001). Research suggests that different expectations (from family and the mainstream society) and cultural distance can both lead to acculturative stress and adaptation difficulties among second-generation youth (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Groenewold, Valk & Ginneken, 2013). Similarly, it is also important to acknowledge that acculturation is a continuous process that takes place over generations, just as long as cultural differences remain, and intercultural relations continue (Berry & Sabatier, 2011). Therefore, the research becomes increasingly relevant for second-generation immigrants, however, still relatively little is known of their attitudes and behaviours in European context (Groenewold, Valk & Ginneken, 2013). The main focus of this research is second-generation young people (children of immigrants from Turkey) in the context of England, and this study will contribute to a comprehensive view of ethnic identity development and acculturation within its social and intra-individual contexts in a particular group of second-generation immigrants in this context.

### 2.6.3 Berry's Acculturation Strategies

Although psychological and socio-cultural adaptation processes sometimes take years or, indeed, generations, people engage with acculturation strategies (Berry, 2005). In Berry's (1997, 2001, 2005, 2017b) model, four acculturation strategies are proposed at an individual level for ethno-cultural groups by using a cross-tabulation approach (set out in Table 3).

Table 3: Acculturation Strategies in Ethno-Cultural Groups (Berry, 2005, p. 705)

		Maintenance of heritage culture and identity	
		<b>High</b>	<b>Low</b>
Relations with larger society	<b>High</b>	Integration	Assimilation
	<b>Low</b>	Separation	Marginalisation

*Assimilation strategy* refers to not wishing to maintain one's own cultural heritage and actively searching for daily interaction with the mainstream culture. In contrast, *separation strategy* develops when people want to maintain their heritage culture and wish to avoid interactions with the other culture/s. When there is an interest in both maintaining one's heritage culture and engaging in interactions with other group/s, the *integration strategy* (also called *biculturalism*) is defined as a balanced option for both being a member of an ethnic group and a participant of the larger society. Integrating individuals can adopt some aspects from the receiving culture while still consciously maintaining some aspects of their heritage culture (Meca, Eichas, Schwartz & Davis, 2019). *Marginalisation strategy* refers to little interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss) and in having little interest in fostering and maintaining relationships with other/s (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination). For integration, second-generation need to adopt the basic values of the receiving society, adapting to the social life and also national institutions within those societies (Berry, 2001; Berry & Sabatier, 2011). In order to consider this, Berry (1989) developed an instrument to measure these acculturation strategies which has subsequently been used in wide range of studies<sup>12</sup> in different contexts such as in Britain (Vadher, 2010) and numerous other countries (e.g. Germany, Italy, Canada) (Berry, 2017b; Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006).

Although Berry's acculturation strategies have been applied to various acculturating ethnic groups and different cultural contexts (Ozer, 2017), his model has also been problematised by other theorists and researchers (e.g. Rudmin, 2003, 2009; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008; Vadher, 2010). These researchers suggested that Berry's acculturation model has several weaknesses; namely being relatively simple in conceptualisation (Ozer, 2017), having a lack of psychological and cultural content, its inefficacy in explaining differences between individuals/groups, including ambiguous items and poor psychometrics (e.g. low reliability) in its questionnaire (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Rudmin, 2003). Notwithstanding, the durability of Berry's model can be explained by it having provided a comprehensive and useful framework for understanding various acculturation processes and varieties of acculturation within different ethnic groups (Organista, Marín & Chun, 2010). In this study, Berry's model is used as an applicable framework to understand immigration-based acculturation (Chen, Benet-Martinez & Bond, 2008) among second-generation Turkish young people in England and their acculturation attitudes, processes and experiences. The possible

<sup>12</sup> See the projects of International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth (ICSEY) and Mutual Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies (MIRIPS).

problems about Berry's model and questionnaire have been duly noted and tried to overcome by using qualitative methods and considering certain acculturation challenges (e.g. cultural distance and parental difficulties) in social context as new acculturation approaches<sup>13</sup> suggested (Ferguson, Tran, Mendez & van de Vijver, 2017; Ozer, 2017; Rudmin, 2003). In this study, Berry's model has been discussed with a critical approach by considering multiple social identities and their complexity, and not only acculturation attitudes but also young people's perceptions and real experiences of acculturation.

#### *2.6.4 Previous Research on Acculturation, Ethnic Identity and Mental Health*

Psychological approaches to acculturation suggest that acculturation is closely related to the social and cultural aspects of identity (Ozer, 2017) and the relationship between ethnic identity and acculturation is complex and depends upon a number of contextual factors (Phinney, 2003). As expected by acculturation theory, Vadher (2010) suggested that assimilation and marginalisation are negatively related to strong ethnic identity, and separation is positively associated with ethnic identity among second-generation minority youth in Britain. Research also consistently presents ethnic identity is positively associated with integration/biculturalism. For example, second-generation Albanian-American youth who had positive feelings towards their ethnic identity also had a more adaptive acculturation orientation (Balidemaj, 2016). Moreover, ethnic identity commitment and integration were related to psychological adaptation (e.g. higher self-esteem, life-satisfaction and less mental health problems) among Turkish young people in Sweden and Norway (Virta, Sam & Westin, 2004). Acculturation research suggests that ethnic identity is not necessarily affected by a greater orientation towards the dominant culture, it can also remain strong when people participate in the larger society (Phinney, 2003). Therefore, young minorities can retain both a sense of ethnic identity, while establishing close ties with the larger national society (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006). In other words, the components of strong ethnic identity contribute to maintaining with the heritage culture, and this is not a barrier to be acculturated in mainstream culture.

<sup>13</sup> While the current study was being conducted, new models have appeared in the field which explain acculturation and bicultural identity development multidimensionally such as the Remote and Globalisation-Based Acculturation (Ferguson, Tran, Mendez & van de Vijver, 2017), Transformative Theory of Biculturalism (West et al., 2017), Cultural Identity Styles (Ward et al., 2018), Relational Developmental Systems Theory (Meca, Eichas, Schwartz & Davis, 2019).

When people socially relate and identify themselves to both their heritage culture and the larger society in which they live, they tend to have better well-being than if they are connected to only one or the other culture, or to neither culture (Berry, 2017b; Berry & Sam, 1996). In that vein, research shows that being integrated (having a high degree of contact and participation with mainstream culture and a high degree of heritage cultural maintenance) is the most effective adaptive strategy for the minority youth (Schwartz, Zamboanga, Rodriguez & Wang, 2007) since it has positive relationships with psychological adaptation (Berry & Sam, 1996) and favourable socio-cultural/psychological outcomes (Schwartz, Birman, Benet-Martínez & Unger, 2017). Similarly, integration/biculturalism was found to be related to positive aspects of development and well-being among different ethnic minorities (Balidemaj, 2016; Schwartz et al., 2015; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007; Vadher, 2010). For example, Vadher (2010) found that self-esteem is positively associated with integration but negatively marginalisation among ethnic minorities in Britain. Research also shows that assimilation, separation and marginalisation are related to negative mental health outcomes (higher stress and depression) (Berry & Kim, 1988). Similarly, Virta, Sam and Westin (2004) found that integration is related to good adaptation (higher self-esteem, life-satisfaction and positive mental health) whereas marginalisation is associated with poor adaptation among Turkish young people in Sweden and Norway. Nguyen and Benet-Martínez (2013) also showed in their meta-analytical study that there are strong and positive relationships between biculturalism and psychological/sociocultural adjustment. Overall, integration/biculturalism would appear the most significant acculturation strategy for youths' well-being and ethnic identity development.

However, bicultural/integrated individuals can differ in how they are negotiated and combined between two cultures (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). Research suggests that although integration is related to positive outcomes (e.g. higher self-esteem, dual cultural competence and flexibility, social support from both cultural networks), managing multiple cultures and identities might be psychologically difficult and lead to stress and identity confusion in different contexts (Ozer, 2017). In order to be integrated, individuals should combine different or contradictory cultural norms, beliefs, values and languages coming from their own culture and majority culture (Phinney & Goossens, 1996; Stathi & Roscini, 2016). If cultural differences, societal barriers, pressures, and contrasting expectations make these processes challenging, integration/biculturalism may not be always a favourable option for positive wellbeing and identity (Ozer, 2017; Schwartz et al., 2006). On this topic, Sam (2000) showed separation (rather than integration) was associated with greater life satisfaction and



integration was related to negative mental health among ethnic minority youth in Norway. Nevertheless, research consistently shows that the relationship between integration and adjustment (psychological and sociocultural) is stronger than the adjustment resulting from separation and assimilation strategies (Ozer, 2017). Here, it is important to acknowledge that some young people can develop less adaptive acculturation attitudes such as assimilation, separation and marginalisation (Stathi & Roscini, 2016) or integration and they can be affected by these orientations differently depending on the context.

When adapting to a new context, individuals can be unable to manage their acculturative challenges (Berry, 1997) and may perceive pressure towards or against assimilation, separation or integration that can lead to acculturative stress (Schwartz, Zamboanga, Rodriguez & Wang, 2007). Cervantes, Padilla, Napper and Goldbach, (2013) found that second-generation young people reported a greater number of acculturation stressors and displayed more delinquent and aggressive behaviours than first and third-generation counterparts, and that they reported more pressure to maintain traditional customs and values. Sirin, Ryce, Gupta and Rogers-Sirin (2013) found that greater exposure to acculturative stress was associated with withdrawn, somatic and anxious/depressed symptoms among immigrant-origin adolescents. Acculturative stress, therefore, is an important factor in understanding the mental health of immigrants and it might have various negative outcomes (Berry, 1997; Williams & Berry, 1991).

Considering these results, acculturation processes can have positive consequences and increase young people's ethnic identity formation and mental health, however, they can also be negative and perceived as psychologically stressful by some young people (Ozer, 2017). In order to understand these complex associations among second-generation Turkish young people in England, the mediating role of acculturation strategies (assimilation, separation, marginalisation and integration) on the relationship between ethnic identity formation and mental health are examined. Young people's possible stressful experiences related to ethnic identity and acculturation are also explored in the qualitative part of the study. Thus, the present study is able to test Berry's acculturation model and exemplify the complexity of these processes among second-generation Turkish young people in the British context.

As a result of these mixed results about the “advantageous” integration acculturation strategy, some other contextual factors of the acculturating group in their own context should be examined to better understand how different strategies/attitudes towards acculturation relate to mental health. Understanding the societal context can be helpful in ascertaining the consequences of the dissimilarity (e.g. different religions and languages) between heritage and mainstream cultures (Ozer, 2017). High levels of differentiation might lead to rejection by others and to being labelled as “eccentric” because of one’s socially different lifestyle and practices (Schwartz, 2001). In addition, geographical segregation (such as living in ethnic enclaves) can be an important factor when separation is enforced by the larger majority group (Berry, 2001, 2005), from a minority perspective, separation might be interpreted as exclusion (Verkuyten, 2005). Thus, some ethnic groups can be perceived as unwanted and exposed to more discrimination than other groups (Ozer, 2017). It can be argued that the success of acculturation also depends on the willingness of the dominant society to allow and foment it. Therefore, not only individual but also contextual factors are significant in contributing to effective psychological adaptation (Berry, 1997). One of these contextual factors is discrimination against ethnic minorities. In the next section, the significance of perceiving ethnic discrimination on young minorities’ lives (through their ethnic identity and mental health) will be explained by using theoretical and research literature.

## **2.7 Perceived Ethnic Discrimination**

Second-generation youth might experience discrimination because of their differences (e.g. appearance, language usage and cultural practices) and relationships with wider society (e.g. intergroup conflict, segregation and inequalities) during the identity development (Tajfel, 1978). According to Umaña-Taylor (2016), across ethnic minority groups, perceiving ethnic discrimination increases with age because young minorities’ awareness of ethnic identity develops due to developmental characteristics during adolescence. Perceiving ethnic discrimination also becomes particularly significant for the minority adolescents through their perceptions of the discriminatory events in relation to their understanding of how their ethnic group has been treated in their own context (Malcarne et al., 2006).

It is clear that perceiving discrimination can be a source of significant stress for young people, and this can particularly be the case for ethnic minorities (Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). For example, perceived ethnic discrimination was found to be positively related to greater depression symptoms (Tummala-Narra & Claudius, 2013), higher anxiety and aggression (Juang et al., 2016), lower self-esteem and poorer mental health (Virta, Sam & Westin, 2004), mental distress and negative well-being (Berry et al., 2006; Romero et al., 2014; Srivastava, 2012) in different young ethnic minorities across countries (Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). In addition, perceived discrimination was found to be related to lower self-esteem and poorer mental health among second-generation Turkish youth in Sweden and Norway (Virta, Sam & Westin, 2004). It can be seen that perceiving higher ethnic discrimination has been associated with a wide range of negative mental health outcomes (Umaña-Taylor, 2016). Furthermore, ethnic discrimination is also one of the important salience stressors and can make identity formation far more challenging for second-generation youth (Gonzales-Backen et al., 2017). However, ethnic identity also has an important role in protecting young people against the various negative impacts of discrimination (Umaña-Taylor, 2016) since aspects of the self (e.g. positive self-concept, higher self-esteem, strong ethnic identity) can minimise the negative effects of perceived discrimination (Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). For example, having a positive ethnic identity helps young minorities to draw positive self-regard from their group memberships and to deal with discrimination experiences using this and social support from their ethnic group (Rivas-Drake, Hughes & Way, 2008).

In summary, ethnic discrimination should be considered as an important risk factor for young people's mental health, however, it appears at odds with ethnic identity formation. In order to explain this complex relationship between ethnic identity and perceived discrimination, and their positive/negative outcomes among second-generation Turkish young people in England, the mediating role of perceived ethnic discrimination is also examined in this study.

In addition, although having a strong ethnic identity is related to positive mental health outcomes (Chae & Foley, 2010; Phinney, 1991; Smith & Silva, 2011), it is important to address the manner in which ethnic identity centrality plays a different role with a potentially negative implication for perceiving discrimination (Syed et al., 2013). For example, young people who have strong ethnic identity can perceive ambiguous situations (e.g. being ignored, stereotypical questions) as discriminatory (Jefferson & Caldwell, 2002). Research has shown that individuals who have higher ethnic identification are more likely to attribute ambiguous and negative experiences as discrimination than people who are less ethnically identified (Gonzales-Backen

et al., 2017). Other studies also suggest that higher degree of ethnic identity importance is related to perceived ethnic discrimination (Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Sellers et al., 2003; Wong, Eccles & Sameroff, 2003). Therefore, this study also examines the relationship between ethnic identity centrality and perceived ethnic discrimination among second-generation Turkish young people in England.

As mentioned earlier, it is clearly not only individual factors but also the social context is key to understanding whether experiences are interpreted as discrimination or not (Cassidy, O'Connor, Howe & Warden, 2005). Young people's experiences can vary according to diversity and multiculturalism in the context, intercultural contact may be viewed and experienced as both positive and negative, threatening and anxiety-provoking or interesting and enjoyable (Berry & Ward, 2016). Research has shown that second-generation Turkish youth perceive more group discrimination (perceptions of hostility or unfair treatment as a group due to origin/background) in Antwerp (a less immigrant-friendly context) than in Brussels (a more diverse and immigrant-friendly context) (Alanya, Baysu & Swyngedouw, 2015). Young people in multicultural and diverse cities such as London are exposed to many cultural streams, and biculturalism may be more encouraged in these contexts than in relatively less multicultural settings (Schwartz, Birman, Benet-Martínez & Unger, 2017). In order to understand these contextual differences in ethnic discrimination, second-generation Turkish young people's experiences and perceptions are also investigated in different cities in England (e.g. London, Bristol, Swindon) in this study.

## **2.8 Conclusion**

Ethnic identity formation and mental health have become important topics in the identity literature through considerable research on second-generation young people (Côté & Levine, 2002; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014b; Schwartz et al., 2014). It appears that ethnic identity formation and being an ethnic minority person can have both negative and positive outcomes and can be related to one's mental health in various ways. Ethnic identity formation processes might be demanding due to acculturation problems and ethnic discrimination, particularly for second-generation youth when considering their multiple social identities, cultural and contextual differences. The present study, informed by a meticulous review of existing literature, claims that the complex relationships between ethnic identity formation and mental health can be better understood and explained by considering acculturation and perceived ethnic discrimination

among second-generation Turkish young people in England. As has been discussed in this chapter, there has been no specific study which examines ethnic identity formation and mental health by considering these complex relationships in the sample of second-generation Turkish young people in England. This study is important in applying novel approaches to ethnic identity formation and uses various indicators for mental health. This study will contribute to identity literature by expanding on Umaña-Taylor et al.'s (2004, 2014) ethnic identity development model and providing important theoretical explanations from developmental and social-psychological perspectives in this specific sample.

Moreover, young people's experiences and perceptions in their own context should be examined to understand the relationship between ethnic identity formation, acculturation, discrimination and mental health. However, as has been set out in this chapter, developmental and social-psychological areas of research have used mostly quantitative methods, with only a few studies examining second-generation young people's experiences by also using a qualitative approach (e.g. Vadhver, 2010). The current study brings together both quantitative and qualitative approaches, uses an integrative perspective to capture the richness of identity aspects and second-generation Turkish young people's experiences in England (Vignoles, Schwartz & Luyckx, 2011). This mixed-methods research will provide a holistic understanding and a more comprehensive view of ethnic identity formation, acculturation, perceived discrimination and mental health within particular social and intra-individual contexts (Kiang & Baldelomar, 2016; Ozer 2017). In the next section, the proposed model (which guides the whole study), and the quantitative and qualitative research questions will be set out.

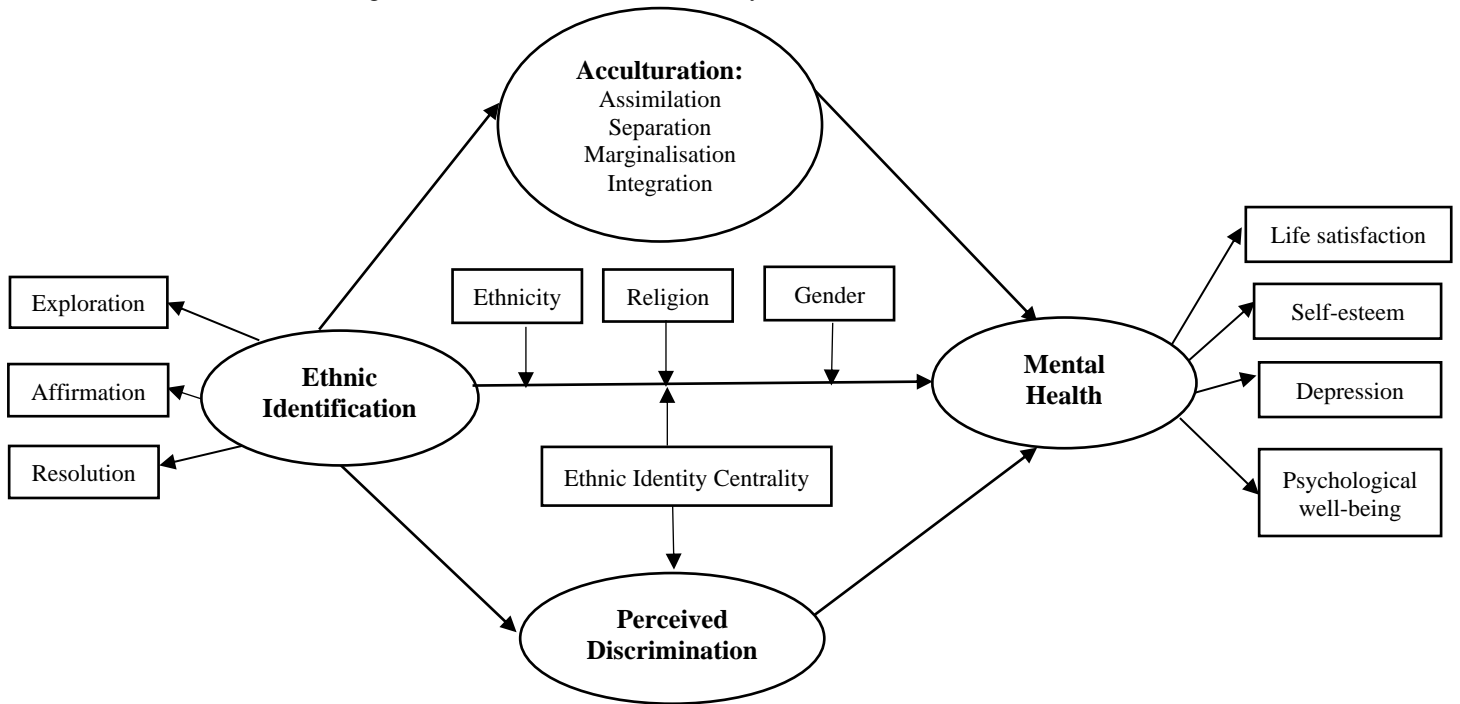
## **2.9 Proposed Model of the Study and Research Questions**

The focus of this study is to investigate the associations between ethnic identity formation and mental health. The mediating roles of acculturation strategies and perceived discrimination are also investigated to explain the relationship between ethnic identity development and mental health. Second-generation Turkish young people's experiences and perceptions regarding ethnic identity, acculturation, ethnic discrimination and mental health in their social context are also examined.

### 2.9.1 Proposed Model of the Study

Based on previous research, the model of Ethnic Identity and Mental Health in Context (see Figure 2 below) is proposed and tested in this study.

Figure 2: The Model of Ethnic Identity and Mental Health in Context



### 2.9.2 Research Questions

The main aim of this study is to investigate the complex relationships between ethnic identity formation, acculturation strategies, perceived ethnic discrimination and mental health among second-generation Turkish young people, as well as their experiences and perceptions in the particular context of England during the process of ethnic identity formation. To reach this aim, two research questions have been addressed by this study:

**RQ1:** How well does the proposed *Model of Ethnic Identity and Mental Health in Context* (see Figure 2) work for the second-generation Turkish young people in England? To test this model, this study has examined three main hypotheses:

**Hypothesis 1** (H1.1): Greater ethnic identification will be associated with positive mental health.

(H1.2): Ethnic identity centrality, ethnicity, religion and gender will moderate the relationship between greater ethnic identification and positive mental health.

**Hypothesis 2** (H2.1): Higher levels of assimilation will have an indirect effect on the relationship between greater ethnic identification and positive mental health.

(H2.2): Higher levels of separation will have an indirect effect on the relationship between greater ethnic identification and positive mental health.

(H2.3): Higher levels of marginalisation will have an indirect effect on the relationship between greater ethnic identification and positive mental health.

(H2.4): Higher levels of integration will have an indirect effect on the relationship between greater ethnic identification and positive mental health.

**Hypothesis 3** (H3.1): Higher levels of perceived discrimination will have an indirect effect on the relationship between greater ethnic identification and positive mental health.

(H3.2): Higher levels of ethnic identity centrality will be associated with higher levels of perceived discrimination.

**RQ2:** What are the experiences and perceptions of second-generation Turkish young people`s associated with ethnic identity, acculturation, discrimination and mental health in England? To answer this research question, five sub-questions have been examined among second-generation Turkish young people in the context of England:

**2.1.** What are their experiences during the identity formation process associated with ethnic identity exploration, feelings and meanings towards their ethnic identity?

**2.2.** How do they make sense of their multiple identities as Turkish and/or Kurdish and British?

**2.3.** What are their experiences of acculturation and the challenges they face during the identity formation process?

**2.4.** How do they perceive their discrimination experiences and deal with wider ethnic discrimination?

**2.5.** What are the mental health consequences of ethnic and multiple identities, acculturation and discrimination experiences for them?

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY AND MIXED-METHODS DESIGN

This chapter includes the methodological research approach of the current study. Firstly, the philosophical underpinnings of the study will be explained. Then, the mixed-methods research design will be presented, and the ethical and methodological considerations will be reviewed. Lastly, my positionality as a Turkish researcher will be discussed in this section.

#### **3.1 Philosophical Underpinning**

The pragmatic philosophical position underpins the current mixed-methods study. In this section, the utility of the pragmatic paradigm will be explained.

##### *3.1.1 Pragmatism*

Pragmatism is a philosophical movement that was initiated by Charles Sanders Peirce and further elaborated upon by William James, John Dewey, George Herbert Mead and Arthur F. Bentley, who agreed in their rejection of certain traditional assumptions about the nature of knowledge and inquiry (Maxcy, 2003). According to them, a set of various methods should be used in order to conduct a piece of meaningful research rather than using a uniform method attempting to find the “truth”. Pragmatism is a philosophical system which has simple notions about what is “pragmatic” (what works or is efficient in a given situation) thus, pragmatic researchers juxtapose diverse methods in order to answer effectively the research questions (Morgan, 2014).

Although the pragmatic paradigm places less importance on philosophical assumptions (ontological and epistemological) in carrying out research (Brierley, 2017), this study mostly reflects Dewey’s pragmatism. Ontologically, the pragmatic paradigm rails against reductionism and determinism as pragmatists consider both individual and social action as meaningful events rather than mechanic causality (Biesta, 2010). According to Dewey, there is no way that any human action can be separated from one’s personal experiences, perceptions and beliefs, since



people act according to their past experiences and the consequences of these experiences (Dewey, 1920; Morgan, 2014). Therefore, actions cannot be separated from the context in which they occur and no objective concept of truth/knowledge can be assigned to any particular action because people learn the likely outcomes of their actions, thus knowledge will offer us only possibilities rather than certainty (Biesta, 2010; Morgan, 2014). Consistent with this view of pragmatism, this study does not aim to generalise the findings. Instead, it examines people's general tendencies and commonalities by considering ethnic identity, acculturation and discrimination issues as complex aspects (which can vary according to people's experiences and perceptions) in particular social context.

According to Dewey, objectivism is impossible because knowledge is dynamic, the world always appears as a function of doing actions and seeing their results, and interactions between people depend on the coordination of subjective worlds of people (Biesta, 2010). Therefore, researchers and participants' beliefs are interconnected rather than isolated from each other (Morgan, 2014). Additionally, researchers are not free of prejudices, and as a researcher, I see the certain objectivity, and the existence of the clear distinction between facts and values as unachievable as Crotty (1998) suggested. Hence, I have paid attention to the relationships between the actions and consequences (particularly between myself and participants) and have conducted this study by considering not only subjective (individual) but also intersubjective (sociocultural) dimensions (Biesta & Vanderstraeten, 1997) and I used different ways (quantitative and qualitative methods) to understand participants' experiences and give meanings in their own social settings. During these processes, I benefitted from a flexible abductive approach (by moving back and forth between deductive and inductive approaches) which has allowed me to convert the findings into theories and to assess those theories through people's experiences (Brierley, 2017; Morgan, 2014; Wheeldon, 2010).

The pragmatic paradigm naturally leads to mixed-methods research, given the focus on using appropriate methods for answering both quantitative and qualitative research questions (Brierley, 2017; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Patton 2002). In this study, the pragmatic paradigm led to a mixed-methods study, to answer the quantitative and qualitative research questions by integrating surveys and interviews.

### **3.2 Mixed-Methods Research and Design of the Present Study**

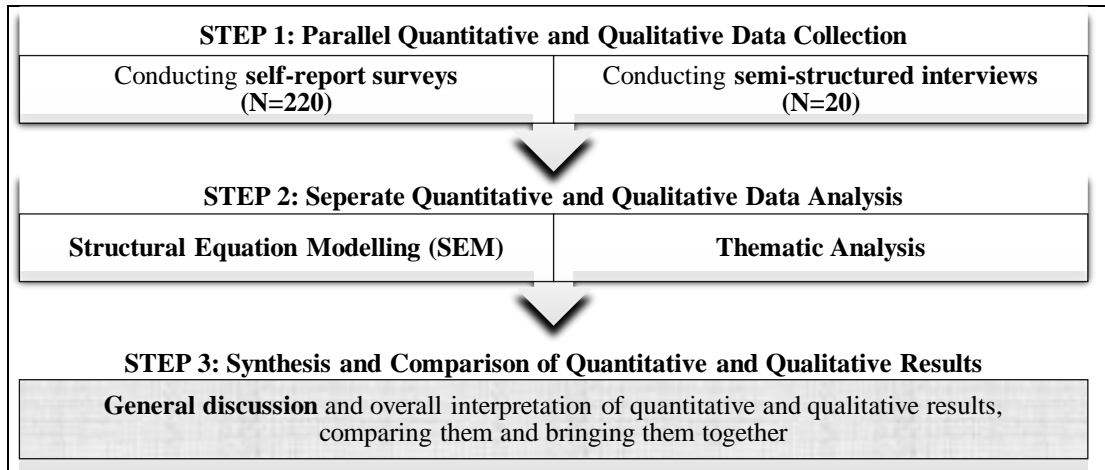
This research is designed as a mixed-methods study utilising self-report surveys and semi-structured interviews to understand ethnic identity formation in context (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). In particular, the aim is to investigate the complex relationships between ethnic identity formation, acculturation, perceived discrimination and mental health amongst second-generation Turkish young people, and also their experiences/perceptions in the context of England. In this study, quantitative surveys are used to examine general patterns/outcomes (development and mental health) and complex relationships between variables (mediations and moderations). The qualitative semi-structured interviews are also used to understand context and diversity (complexities, perceptions and experiences in social settings) and to obtain an in-depth understanding of the feelings and meanings that young people assign towards their ethnic identity. These quantitative and qualitative approaches provide a way to better understand the complexity of identity and acculturation phenomena through both significant relationships between variables, and young people's meanings and experiences (Roer-Strier & Kurman, 2009). They are also useful in capturing the context where young people construct their identities along with the position of their minority group and its particular characteristics (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Thus, both quantitative and qualitative results of this study provide important information for the specific ethnic group of Turkish people in England, the qualitative part is also particularly helpful in showing the heterogeneity/diversity within these Turkish people (Umaña-Taylor, 2011).

With regard to the research questions, qualitative research has documented interactions between ethnic identity and context (e.g. Adler et al., 2015), whilst quantitative research has more explicitly evaluated the complex relationships between variables (e.g. Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004). Thus, both quantitative and qualitative methods are helpful to interpret and understand the complexity of identity and acculturation within second-generation Turkish young people in England along with their contextual challenges and mental health problems in ethnic identity formation (Mack et al., 2005). To understand and conceptualise young people's ethnic identity formation and acculturation strategies, an ethnic identity development model (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004, 2014) and an acculturation model (Berry, 1997, 2001, 2005) are applied. These models are used to guide quantitative and qualitative data collection, analysis and interpretation of the findings.

The combination of these approaches will help to highlight the wider structural issues and thus achieve a better understanding of the social context, which has been neglected thus far in previous research. Much recent identity and acculturation research suggest that identity development and acculturation psychology need an integrative perspective which brings together the strengths of contrasting theoretical and methodological approaches without losing the unique contributions that each of these approaches can make (Vignoles, Schwartz & Luyckx, 2011). The aim of mixed-methods research is not to replace quantitative and qualitative approaches, but rather to draw from the strengths and minimise the weaknesses of both in single research studies and across studies (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Morgan, 2014). In this study, the findings are integrated in the discussion section, which has provided an opportunity to look at whether these different types of information confirm or deny each other. Thus, quantitative data becomes more contextual and meaningful through a detailed reading of the qualitative part.

This research is a concurrent mixed-methods study with equal weight apportioned to its quantitative and qualitative components [QUAN+QUAL] (Dörnyei, 2007; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004) since complex relationships between variables and contextual factors are equally important to understand young people's ethnic identity development in this study. The quantitative and qualitative parts were undertaken concurrently due to not only practical reasons (e.g. time, cost and recruiting hard-to-reach participants) but also methodological advantages. These included: answering independent quantitative and qualitative research questions which explore both general tendencies and specific experiences in context; analysing the quantitative and qualitative datasets independently; and exploring whether they confirm each other or not to better understand the complexity of ethnic identity and acculturation phenomena. The surveys were used as a means to recruit participants for interviews. Then, the datasets were analysed separately. The quantitative data were analysed by using structural equation modelling (SEM) (see Chapter 4) and the qualitative data were analysed with thematic analysis (see Chapter 5). Finally, the results were combined and discussed together (see Chapter 9). The steps of the research design are shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: The Research Design



In order to discuss the ethical and methodological issues of this study, the first steps will be briefly overviewed in this section. There were 220 participants for the quantitative study and the qualitative study consisted of 20 second-generation Turkish young people living in England. The inclusion criteria were an age range from 16 to 18, UK-born, and raised by Turkey-born Turkish/Kurdish parent(s). During data collection, the surveys and interviews were carried out by considering these inclusion criteria and participants' volunteering. The data were gathered mostly in schools and teachers played a key role in data collection. (see Chapters 4 and 5 for more information about the quantitative and qualitative parts of the study).

### 3.3 Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval was obtained from the University of Bristol's ethics committee (see Appendix 1) in February 2017. Before the surveys (paper-based and online) and interviews, information sheets (see Appendix 2) and consent forms (see Appendix 3) were provided to participants in accordance with ethical approval. Parental information sheets and consent forms (see Appendix 4 for their both English and Turkish versions) were used only for the participants in school settings within the University of Bristol Chair of Departmental Research Ethics Committee and supervisors' knowledge.

Due to consideration was given to ethnic identity, the nature of discrimination experiences and well-being issues, the sensitivity of these topics were considered during surveys and interviews. Particularly, being aware of these emotionally difficult topics was important since participants talked about themselves and their lives with someone whom they have not met before. The survey and interview information sheet were also clear about what

the topic of the study was. However, in order to protect participants' well-being and ensure they came to no harm, participants were also reminded verbally about the issues on the information sheet (e.g. they do not need to answer all the questions, they can withdraw from the survey or they can stop the interview whenever they want) and some important points (e.g. anonymity and confidentiality). Moreover, on the interview information sheet, the details of some counselling services were provided, so that they can access them if they need.

It was also important to ensure information was given to teachers since they played a key role in collecting data from students. In order not to force the students to fill out the questionnaires and reach the target population, important points such as the importance of student's volunteering and the inclusion criteria of sampling (exclusion of first-generation and Turkish Cypriots) were explained to teachers by addressing the research aims. Good communication and professional relationships were also established with teachers/staff/parents during the data collection.

### **3.4 Positionality and Reflexivity: My Role as a Turkish Researcher**

In the research process, the positionality of the researcher should be considered since being mindful about the position is fundamental to understanding the dynamics of researching within and across one's culture (Merriam et al., 2001). As a Turkish researcher, I had a reciprocal position due to being simultaneously both an outsider and an insider in the context of second-generation Turkish young people. I was an outsider as a researcher, a person who is half a generation older than the participants, a non-second-generation person who is not a British passport-holder, nor a native English speaker. However, I also had an insider position as a Turkish person who is living in England and thus sharing a similar cultural, linguistic, ethnic and religious heritage with the participants (Ganga & Scott, 2006). Being an insider as a Turkish speaker was advantageous to get some opportunities such as easy access to participants and parents, building effective relationships and a rapport with them relatively easily. Insider status was also helpful in recognising social/cultural ties and differences that participants mentioned (Ganga & Scott, 2006). Particularly, being able to speak both Turkish and English was an important commonality for me to conduct the interviews in two languages, which allowed me to see second-generation Turkish young people's unique mixing of English and Turkish languages at first-hand.

On the other hand, insiders have been accused of being inherently biased and outsiders undeniably have the “advantage” of being unfamiliar with the context and thus proffering what may be considered “objective” questions by some (Merriam et al., 2001). Both insider and outsider positions require significant critical reflection (Ganga & Scott, 2006). Therefore, I was mindful and reflective of the advantages and disadvantages of being both an insider and an outsider while not only interviewing participants but also communicating with teachers and parents. Furthermore, I needed to consider other differences and similarities in terms of gender, social class, educational level and other factors beyond that of being a “cultural insider” (Ganga & Scott, 2006). I tried to actively manage these characteristics (which were varied according to whom I spoke with and different shared experiences) and had a profound understanding of my experiences during fieldwork by using the insider and outsider position as a continuum rather than a dichotomy (Breen, 2007; Carling, Erdal & Ezzati, 2014). In order to manage this process, I was aware of possible differences between participants and I, and the power relations at play during interviews. Thus, I tried to establish an equal relationship with participants, teachers and parents by neglecting my expertise in the topic of study.

This process also required a reflexive approach not only during data collection but also in data analysis and writing up. I kept a research diary by writing my experiences, thoughts and feelings every day in the fieldwork. It helped me to understand and see myself during the different steps of the research, and my progress. I was also aware of my biases and potential effects of my background and past experiences in the context of the research. Keeping a research diary and talking about my fieldwork experiences and feelings with both my colleagues and supervisors were extremely useful exercises in being constantly mindful about reflexivity and my positionality.

Reflexivity is also closely connected to the ethical practice of research (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004); therefore, I was sensitive about not only ethical considerations that have been determined but also unpredictable ethical issues which occurred during the fieldwork. I particularly consider that following ethical principles and guidelines was helpful to show me relevant steps that I needed to take. Being aware of these important issues and conducting the research ethnically helped me to carry out a legitimate study and contributed to my development as a researcher.

### 3.5 Legitimation of the Research

When evaluating a mixed-method research, the study should be considered holistically rather than in terms of its individual components (Halcomb, 2018) due to the integration of quantitative/qualitative components and to the uniqueness of this integration (Fabregues & Molina-Azorin, 2016). Assessing the validity of mixed-methods research is complex because of the challenge of combining complementary strengths and the non-overlapping weaknesses of quantitative and qualitative methods, and validity in mixed-methods research is called *legitimation* which should be seen as a continuous process and made at each stage of the research (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006). In this study, Bryman's (2014) criteria have been used for checking legitimacy and evaluating the quality of the present study:

- 1) In this study, the various elements of the research process such as sampling, selecting the instruments, preparing interview questions, data analysis and discussion have been implemented and reported by using appropriate theories, context, sample, data and data analysis methods (see Chapters from 3 to 10).
- 2) For transparency, the core steps in this research have been described in detail (see Chapters from 3 to 10). In this study, there are three different chapters (Chapters 3, 4 and 5) to explain in detail the methodological processes and concerns each threw up. This current chapter is useful in explaining how quantitative and qualitative parts have been articulated by considering ethics and positionality. The separate methodology chapters for the quantitative (Chapter 4) and the qualitative (Chapter 5) components are also helpful in providing details about their implementation and the phasing of the different elements of the research process in each case (Bryman, 2014). In chapters 4 and 5, step-by-step data analysis were also described thoroughly.
- 3) The links between the research questions and using mixed methods are demonstrated in Chapters 1 and 2. The research literature and theoretical perspectives (which address the importance of understanding complex correlations between variables and individual/contextual differences on ethnic identity and acculturation processes) were used to justify the rationale for juxtaposing two methods within a single project and their suitability. In these chapters, how quantitative and qualitative methods complement each other is also explained in relation to the specific research questions.

- 4) The integration of qualitative and quantitative components of the study is discussed in Chapters 9 and 10. The similar patterns were considered to develop or corroborate an overall interpretation of quantitative and qualitative datasets and any weaknesses in one method were compensated by strengths brought to bear by another (Mays & Pope, 2006). In this process, the contradictory results between quantitative and qualitative findings were approached by taking a critical perspective to improve the quality of explanations and by providing additional insights extracted from the two sets of data (Bryman, 2014). The contributions of the study and implications and recommendations for further research are also discussed in these sections.



## CHAPTER 4

### STUDY ONE: TESTING A MODEL OF ETHNIC IDENTITY, ACCULTURATION, PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION AND MENTAL HEALTH

This section will represent the methodological elements of the quantitative study and the quantitative findings. Before the findings, the aims of the quantitative research, the sampling and participants, the research procedure, data collection materials and data analysis methods will be explained in detail. Subsequently, the findings will be represented and finally, the results will be summarised and briefly discussed with reference to the relevant literature.

#### 4.1 Quantitative Research

The aim of this study is to investigate the complex relationships between ethnic identity formation, acculturation strategies, perceived ethnic discrimination and mental health among second-generation Turkish young people in England. This was designed as correlational research using self-report surveys and was analysed by structural equation modelling (SEM) as part of a mixed-methods study.

#### 4.2 The Sampling and Participants

In this section, the sampling and sample size will be discussed, and the demographics of participants will be represented.

##### 4.2.1 *The Sampling and Sample Size*

In order to collect a set of quantitative data from second-generation Turkish young people in England, large-scale *convenience sampling* was applied. This allowed the target population to be reached and selected on the basis of their willingness to volunteer and specific characteristics according to the purpose of the study (Dörnyei, 2007). The inclusion criteria for this study were an age range from 16 to 18 (see Chapters 1 and 2 for the importance of this stage in identity development), UK-born and raised by Turkey-born Turkish/Kurdish parent/s.

Reaching an adequate sample size is important for studies using SEM because it affects the performance of the estimation methods: a small sample size might affect reliability as there would be less information available for estimations (Chumney, 2013). There is much discussion about sample size requirements to understand adequate cases in the SEM literature. Suggestions about what is an appropriate sample size mostly relate to the complexity of the model, so this varies greatly from model to model (Jackson, 2003; Wolf, Harrington, Clark & Miller, 2013). As a reasonable rule, Stevens (2009) suggested 15 subjects per predictor in multiple regression analyses which is closely related to SEM. Kline (2011) suggested using large samples (minimum of 200 cases) in SEM and this has been used as a common rule in the literature (Chumney, 2013). Considering the number of constructs (predictors, mediators and outcome variables) in the proposed model, 220 participants is considered sufficient for this study, based on these principles. It should also be noted that the somewhat small size reflects the difficulty of finding British-born young people (aged 16-18) who have Turkey-born parent/s in England. In order to determine an appropriately powered sample size for the current study, power analysis was conducted using G\*Power 3.1 (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner & Lang, 2009) for the test of linear multiple regression for seventeen predictors, with a 95% confidence interval and by using Cohen's (1992) criterion which are 0.80 power and 0.35 effect size for a high-quality quantitative study (Ferguson, 2009; Osborne, 2008). Since this calculation suggested that a minimum 98 cases are needed in this study, the sample of 220 participants indicated adequate and acceptable sample size in this quantitative research with high statistical power.

#### *4.2.2 Participants*

The participants of this study consisted of 220 young people (131 females, 86 males, and 3 other,  $M_{age}=16.73$  years) who have Turkey-born Turkish/Kurdish mothers and/or fathers (see Table-4). All of the participants were born in the UK and identified themselves as Turkish (30%), Kurdish (49.1%) or both Turkish and Kurdish (20.9%) respectively. In terms of religious orientation, 27.7% self-identified as Sunni, 60.5% as Alevi, 10.5% as atheist/deist and 1.36% declined to report any religious affiliation. Most participants' families immigrated to England in the 1990s (43.6%), and for others the 1980s (21.4%), the 2000s (12.7%) and the 1970s (4.1%) respectively. In terms of immigration reasons from Turkey to the UK, the most common reason proffered was having a new life/better life (42.7%). Of those surveyed, 72.2% of the participants reported that they speak mostly Turkish at home. Likewise, most participants (77.7%) considered Turkish as their first language, and English as a second language (73.6%).

Table 4: Demographics of the Participants

Demographic	Frequency	Percentage	Demographic	Frequency	Percentage	
<b>Age</b>			<b>Ethnicity</b>			
	16	105	47.7%	Turkish	66	30%
	17	69	31.4%	Kurdish	108	49.1%
	18	46	20.9%	Both Turkish and Kurdish	46	20.9%
	Total	220	100%	Total	220	100%
<b>Gender</b>			<b>Religion</b>			
	Female	131	59.5%	Sunni Islam	61	27.7%
	Male	86	39.1%	Alevism	133	60.5%
	Other	3	1.4%	Other (Atheist and deist)	23	10.5%
	Total	220	100%	Unstated	3	1.3%
				Total	220	100%
<b>Birthplace</b>			<b>Birthplace</b>			
	London	195	88.6%	Edinburgh	1	0.5%
	Bristol	7	3.2%	Essex	1	0.5%
	Luton	6	2.7%	Manchester	1	0.5%
	Swindon	3	1.4%	Birmingham	1	0.5%
	Sheffield	2	0.9%	Basingstoke	1	0.5%
	Liverpool	1	0.5%	Ipswich	1	0.5%
				Total	220	100%
<b>Mother's ethnicity</b>			<b>Father's ethnicity</b>			
	Turkish	76	34.5%	Turkish	63	28.6%
	Kurdish	117	53.2%	Kurdish	129	58.6%
	Both Turkish and Kurdish	25	11.4%	Both Turkish and Kurdish	23	10.5%
	Turkish Cypriot	1	0.5%	Turkish Cypriot	3	1.4%
	English	1	0.5%	Unstated	2	0.9%
	Total	220	100%	Total	220	100%
<b>Mother's birthplace</b>			<b>Father's birthplace</b>			
	Turkey	214	97.3%	Turkey	216	98.2%
	England	3	1.4%	Cyprus	3	1.4%
	Cyprus	2	0.9%	Germany	1	0.5%
	Germany	1	0.5%	Total	220	100%
	Total	220	100%			
<b>Year of immigration</b>			<b>Reasons for immigration</b>			
	1970s	9	4.1%	New life/Better life	94 (42.7%)	
	1980s	47	21.4%	Economic	54 (24.5%)	
	1990s	96	43.6%	Family	25 (11.37%)	
	2000s	28	12.7%	Political	21 (9.5%)	
	Unknown	40	18.2%	Marriage	7 (3.1%)	
	Total	220	100%	Unknown	59 (26.9%)	
<b>First language</b>			<b>Second language</b>			
	Turkish	171	77.7%	English	162	73.6%
	English	37	16.8%	Turkish	43	19.5%
	Kurdish	10	4.5%	Kurdish	4	1.8%
	Both Kurdish and Turkish	2	0.9%	Unstated	11	5%
	Total	220	100%	Total	220	100%
<b>Language spoken at home</b>			<b>Language spoken at home</b>			
	Turkish	158	72.2%	Turkish/Kurdish	9	4.1%
	English	33	15.0%	Kurdish	3	1.4%
	Turkish/English	1	7.28%	Total	220	100%

### 4.3 Data Collection Materials

In order to collect data, a self-report survey (see Appendix 3) was conducted with an anonymous 112-item self-report questionnaire consisting of a short demographic information form and eight different scales (summarised in Table 5) (see Appendix 6 for their reverse items and for information about how their total scores were calculated).

Table 5: Summary of Measurements

What has been measured?	Scale	Items
<b>Ethnic identity matters:</b>		
Ethnic identification (ethnic identity formation)	Ethnic Identity Scale (EIS) (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004)	17
Ethnic identity centrality	Collective Identity Subscale of Aspects of Identity Questionnaire (Cheek, Smith & Tropp, 2002)	8
<b>Acculturation strategies:</b>		
	Acculturation Attitude Scale (Berry et al., 1989, 2017b)	20
<b>Perceived ethnic discrimination:</b>		
	Perceived Discrimination Subscale of the Scale of Ethnic Experience (Malcarne et al., 2006)	9
<b>Mental health:</b>		
Depression	A Shortened Version of the Center for Epidemiological Studies-Depression Scale (Radloff, 1977)	10
Self-esteem	Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1979)	10
Life satisfaction	The Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener et al., 1985)	5
Psychological well-being	A Short Version of Scales of Psychological Well-Being (Ryff, 1995)	18

*Demographic Information:* The demographic information form was designed to measure participants' demographics such as age, gender, ethnicity, religion, birthplace, and obtain further information about their parents (their birthplace and ethnicity), immigration (year and reasons of immigration) and language usage (first, second language, and language spoken at home). These demographic considerations are useful in understanding whether participants meet the requirements for inclusion criteria of the sampling and to show the representation of respondents.

*Ethnic Identification:* The Ethnic Identity Scale (EIS) was used to measure participants' ethnic identity formation, as developed by Umaña-Taylor et al. (2004). It consists of 17 items which are designed to assess three dimensions of ethnic identity formation: (a) *exploration* (the degree to which individuals have explored their ethnicity); (b) *resolution* (the degree to which they have resolved what their ethnic identity means to them); and (c) *affirmation* (affect-positive or negative- that they associate with that ethnic identity resolution). EIS has a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (does not describe me at all) to 4 (describes me very well) and higher scores reflect higher exploration and resolution, and positive affirmation. Seven items were reverse scored. In this study, the ethnic identity components of exploration, resolution and affirmation have been used independently by using their sub-scale total scores. Total scores of these components indicate greater ethnic identification (it is originally called "achieved positive" identity with high exploration, resolution and affirmation). With the current sample, the overall scale obtained a coefficient alpha ( $\alpha=.85$ ) which shows high reliability. Similarly, its subscales of exploration ( $\alpha=.82$ ), resolution ( $\alpha=.79$ ), and affirmation ( $\alpha=.88$ ) respectively (Hinton, Brownlow, McMurray & Cozens, 2004).

*Ethnic Identity Centrality:* The Collective Identity Subscale of Aspects of Identity Questionnaire was used to measure participants’ ethnic identity centrality. It was designed by Cheek, Smith and Tropp (2002) to assess relational identity orientation. It consists of 8 items (e.g. “my race or ethnic background is important to my sense of who I am”) which measure communal orientation for social categories to which people belong. It is a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (not important to my sense of who I am) to 5 (extremely important to my sense of who I am). Higher scores indicate higher ethnic identity centrality. With the current sample, the scale obtained a coefficient alpha ( $\alpha=.83$ ) which indicates high reliability.

*Acculturation Strategies:* Berry et al.’s (1989) Acculturation Attitude Scale was used to measure participants’ acculturation strategies. It consists of 20 items designed to assess four different acculturation attitudes: *assimilation*, *separation*, *marginalisation* and *integration*. Each strategy has 5 items. Each item is a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Items were worded and modified to assess attitudes towards “British” (national) and “ethnic background” (ethnic) and to make them less ambiguous for Turkish/Kurdish youth. Each participant obtained a total score for each of the four acculturation strategies and their total scores were used to understand the relationship between each acculturation strategy and ethnic identification, mental health separately. Thus, like other studies (e.g. Pham & Harris, 2001), using acculturation strategies as continuous variables (rather than categorical) provided an overall pattern of each strategy.

Coefficient alpha values for each sub-scale were found as  $\alpha=.65$  for assimilation,  $\alpha=.67$  for separation,  $\alpha=.59$  for marginalisation, and  $\alpha=.48$  for integration within the current sample. Assimilation, separation and marginalisation subscales show moderate reliability whereas integration subscale shows low reliability (Hinton, Brownlow, McMurray & Cozens, 2004). These values are comparable with other research using the same scale (see Table 6). In this study, they showed higher reliability than these studies apart from the integration subscale (these issues are discussed further in Chapter 9).

Table 6: Comparison of Acculturation Attitude Scale Reliabilities ( $\alpha$ )

Scale	The present study	Berry et al. (2006)	Vadher (2010)
Assimilation	.65	.58	.60
Separation	.67	.64	.55
Marginalisation	.59	.55	.53
Integration	.48	.48	.56

*Perceived Discrimination:* The Perceived Discrimination Subscale of the Scale of Ethnic Experience was used to measure the level of perceived ethnic discrimination by participants. It was designed by Malcarne et al. (2006) to evaluate multiple ethnicity-related cognitive constructs across ethnic groups. The subscale consists of 9 items which assess perceptions of ethnic discrimination, and each item is a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The higher scores indicate greater perceived ethnic discrimination. Four items were reverse scored. With the current sample, the scale obtained a coefficient alpha ( $\alpha=.71$ ) which shows high reliability.

*Depression:* The short version of the Center for Epidemiological Studies-Depression Scale was used to measure the level of depressive symptoms. It was designed by Radloff (1977) to assess depressive symptomatology in the general population. It consists of 10 items and each item is a 4-point Likert-type scale including 0 (rarely or none of the time), 1 (some or a little of the time), 2 (occasionally) and 3 (most or all the time). Two items were reverse scored. Higher scores show higher levels of depressive symptoms. With the current sample, the scale obtained a coefficient alpha ( $\alpha=.80$ ) which indicates high reliability.

*Self-Esteem:* The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1979) was used to measure participants' self-esteem. It is a single-factor scale and consists of 10 items with a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). Higher scores show higher levels of self-esteem. Five items were reverse scored. In the current sample, the scale obtained a coefficient alpha ( $\alpha=.83$ ) which displays high reliability.

*Life Satisfaction:* The Satisfaction with Life Scale was used to measure participants' life satisfaction. It was designed by Diener et al. (1985) to assess global cognitive judgments of one's life satisfaction. It is a single-factor scale and consists of 5 items which ask how much they agree or disagree with a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Higher scores show higher levels of life satisfaction. With the current sample, the scale obtained a coefficient alpha ( $\alpha=.84$ ) which shows high reliability.

*Psychological Well-Being:* The short version of the Scales of Psychological Well-Being was used to measure participants' psychological well-being. It was designed by Ryff (1989) to assess positive psychological functioning with six dimensions: self-acceptance; environmental mastery; purpose in life; positive relations with others; personal growth; and autonomy respectively. The original version consists of six dimensions of 20 items each, whereas the short

version consists of 18 items in total, three items from each dimension. The total score of this scale was used in the statistical analysis as an indicator of overall psychological well-being, and its subscales were not taken into consideration separately because of including only three items for each. Each item is a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) (Ryff & Keyes, 1995). Higher scores on each subscale indicate greater well-being on that dimension. Eight items were reverse scored.

This short version of the psychological well-being scale has previously confirmed the proposed theoretical structure of psychological well-being and replicated it with different groups (Keyes, Shmotkin & Ryff, 2002; Ryff & Keyes, 1995). In this study, this short version was used to ensure that the overall survey length remains manageable for participants. With the current sample, the scale obtained a coefficient alpha ( $\alpha=.79$ ) which also indicates high reliability.

#### **4.4 Procedure**

Data collection was carried out by using self-report surveys (both paper-pen and online) between June and December 2017, mostly in North London (from schools, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), cultural events and festivals). Some of the data collection was also conducted in West London, Luton, Swindon, and Bristol (from Turkish schools), and Sheffield (from an Alevi festival). Before the fieldwork, the heads of sixth form and teachers from many mainstream schools in North London (where most Turkish people live, in districts such as Hackney, Harringay and Edmonton) were contacted by email or phone calls and then visited. In order to reach Turkish weekend schools, the Educational Counsel Office of London's Turkish Embassy was also visited. Furthermore, Turkish directors/staff of private tutorial colleges, music/art schools and NGOs who work for the Turkish community were also contacted and visited. Thus, these institutions were informed about the study, the participant and parent information sheets and consent forms were given to them, and appointments were taken for the data collection at a convenient time for them and the students. Teachers and staff played a key role in reaching participants and the data were gathered mostly on the second visit. Having a DBS check was helpful to enter the classrooms, access students and conduct the questionnaires. However, a few teachers preferred to take sheets/forms and questionnaires in the first visit and give/send them back after their students filled them in later.

The data collection process was slightly different with the NGOs since some of them invited me to attend their cultural events which were organised for Turkish youth/families. This was a good opportunity for not only gathering data but also making further ad-hoc observations about these events and second-generation Turkish young people. I participated in some of their smaller events and three large-scale Turkish/Kurdish/Alevi festivals in London and Sheffield. The organisers set up a booth or table in the parks to carry out the surveys and the data were collected from young people who were attending these events. Apart from these paper-based surveys, an online survey was also used at the NGOs' requests, 12 completed questionnaires were also gathered online (by using University of Bristol online surveys). Information sheets and consent forms were used only for participants (not for parents) in events/festivals and an online survey. Due to possible concerns about parental consent, this situation was discussed with University of Bristol Chair of Departmental Research Ethics Committee and the supervisors via email. After receiving their feedback, it was decided that the parent information sheet and consent form were not required when reaching participants outside of the school settings because of the participants' age (over 16). Completing each questionnaire took approximately 20-25 minutes.

#### **4.5 Quantitative Pilot Study**

Before the fieldwork, a quantitative pilot study was designed to understand how the survey questions functioned and were understood in practice and to modify them according to this experience prior to the main phase of data collection. The pilot study was conducted with 31 participants (18 males, 12 females and 1 other,  $M_{age}=16.16$ ) in a tutorial college in London in February 2017. This pilot study did not aim to feature advanced findings, therefore basic analyses such as descriptive statistics and correlations were applied to see the statistical capabilities of measures and to anticipate the possible relationships between variables of the study.

This pilot study showed significant preliminary links between ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination and mental health in the proposed model. These results and their directions (positive and negative relationships) were largely in line with the expectations despite some underperforming relationships between the variables. Participants spent around 20 minutes completing the survey and gave important feedback about the questions, statements and items such as identifying vague expressions and unclassified



responses of some demographic questions. After the piloting, the original plan of the study was implemented with some minor alterations to the demographic information form such as removing and adding questions and re-wording and amending some statements for the acculturation scale in response to the pilot. As a result of making these modifications, 31 piloting surveys were not used in the main study (see pilot study survey in Appendix 7).

#### 4.6 Analysis of Data

Data were analysed in SPSS 25.0 and AMOS 23.0. In order to test the proposed conceptual model (see Figure 2 on page 53), structural equation modelling (SEM) was utilised. SEM allows to specify and estimate models of linear relationships (both directional and nondirectional) among variables (both measured and latent) (MacCallum & Austin, 2000). Maximum Likelihood was applied as an estimation method in SEM. To assess the goodness of models, several fit indices were used:  $\chi^2/df$ -ratio, GFI (Goodness of Fit Index), RMSEA (Root Mean Square Error of Approximation), CFI (Comparative Fit Index) and NNFI (Non-Normed Fit Index). The cut-off criteria for these indices can be seen in Table 7 below (cited in Cokluk, Sekercioglu & Buyukozturk, 2012).

Table 7: Cut-off Criteria for Several Fit Indices (cited in Cokluk, Sekercioglu & Buyukozturk, 2012)

Parameter	Cut Points	Source
$\chi^2/df$ -ratio	$\leq 3$ = Perfect fit	Kline, 2005; Sumer, 2000
	$\leq 5$ = Good fit	Sumer, 2000
GFI/AGFI	$\geq 0.90$ = Good fit	Schumacker & Lomax, 1996; Hooper, Coughlan & Mullen, 2008; Kelloway, 1989; Sumer, 2000
	$\geq 0.95$ = Perfect fit	Hooper, Coughlan & Mullen, 2008; Sumer, 2000
RMSEA	$\leq 0.05$ = Perfect fit	Brown, 2006; Joreskog & Sorbom, 1993; Raykov & Marcoulides, 2008; Schumacker & Lomax, 1996; Sumer, 2000
	$\leq 0.06$ = Good fit	Hu & Bentler, 1999; Thompson, 2004
	$\leq 0.07$ = Good fit	Steiger, 2007
	$\leq 0.08$ = Good fit	Hooper, Coughlan & Mullen, 2008; Joreskog & Sorbom, 1993; Sumer, 2000
	$\leq 0.10$ = Limited fit	Kelloway, 1989; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001
CFI	$\geq 0.90$ = Good fit	Hu & Bentler, 1999; Sumer, 2000; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001
	$\geq 0.95$ = Perfect fit	Hu & Bentler, 1999; Sumer, 2000; Thompson, 2004
NFI/NNFI	$\geq 0.90$ = Good fit	Kelloway, 1989; Schumacker & Lomax, 1996; Sumer, 2000; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001; Thoompson, 2004
	$\geq 0.95$ = Perfect fit	Hu & Bentler, 1999; Sumer, 2000

#### **4.7 Dealing with Missing Data**

Dealing with missing data is one of the important statistical considerations in correlational research, particularly in the case of using SEM. Missing data issues generally occur when the participants fail to answer one or more questions in the survey and can affect the estimation of SEM and the results of the study (Allison, 2003; Hair, Black, Babin & Anderson, 2009). Firstly, it is important to indicate that forty-nine individuals' data were excluded from the dataset because of including a high number of missing values -over 50%- which is suggested by Collins, Schafer and Kam (2001).

Secondly, there are different approaches and methods for dealing with the missing data in the literature (Little & Rubin, 2002). For other missing values, the missingness rate for individual items ranged between 0.5% and 7.7% in this study. These missing values were missing completely at random (MCAR) [EM means for each scale were not significant,  $p > .01$ ] (Little, 1988), and they were handled with Expectation-Maximization (EM) algorithm (a form of Maximum Likelihood method) in SPSS. Thus, the maximum likelihood estimates of the means were obtained without imputing values. EM algorithm has been known as an effective method in many situations of missing data (Magnani, 2004) and maximum likelihood estimates have more robust statistical properties than conventional methods in SEM studies (Allison, 2003).

#### **4.8 Parcelling**

Parcelling was used in order to reduce the number of observed variables. A parcel can be defined as a clustered variable which comprises of the average of two or more items (Little, Cunningham, Shahar & Widaman, 2002). When the sample size is relatively small, parcelling -instead of using separate items- is statistically more reliable and has some psychometric and estimation advantages. These include fewer parameters to be estimated, more stable parameter estimates and more definitive rotational results, closer approximations to normal theory-based estimation, and reductions in various sources of sampling error (Hau & Marsh, 2004; Little, Cunningham, Shahar & Widaman, 2002). In this study, two parcels were created (by using their loadings as a guide) for each latent construct of assimilation, separation, marginalisation, integration and perceived discrimination in the structural model (see Table 10 on page 76 for their parcels).

## 4.9 Quantitative Findings

In this section, firstly descriptive statistics and preliminary data analysis will be given, then the relationships between ethnic identification and mental health, and findings of model testing will be represented. Finally, the results of this quantitative study will be summarised and interpreted with reference to the relevant literature. Based on previous research, a structural model (see Figure 4 on page 75) was designed to examine the relationships between ethnic identification, acculturation strategies (assimilation, separation, marginalisation and integration), perceived discrimination and mental health among second-generation Turkish young people in England.

### 4.9.1 Description of Variables in the Structural Model

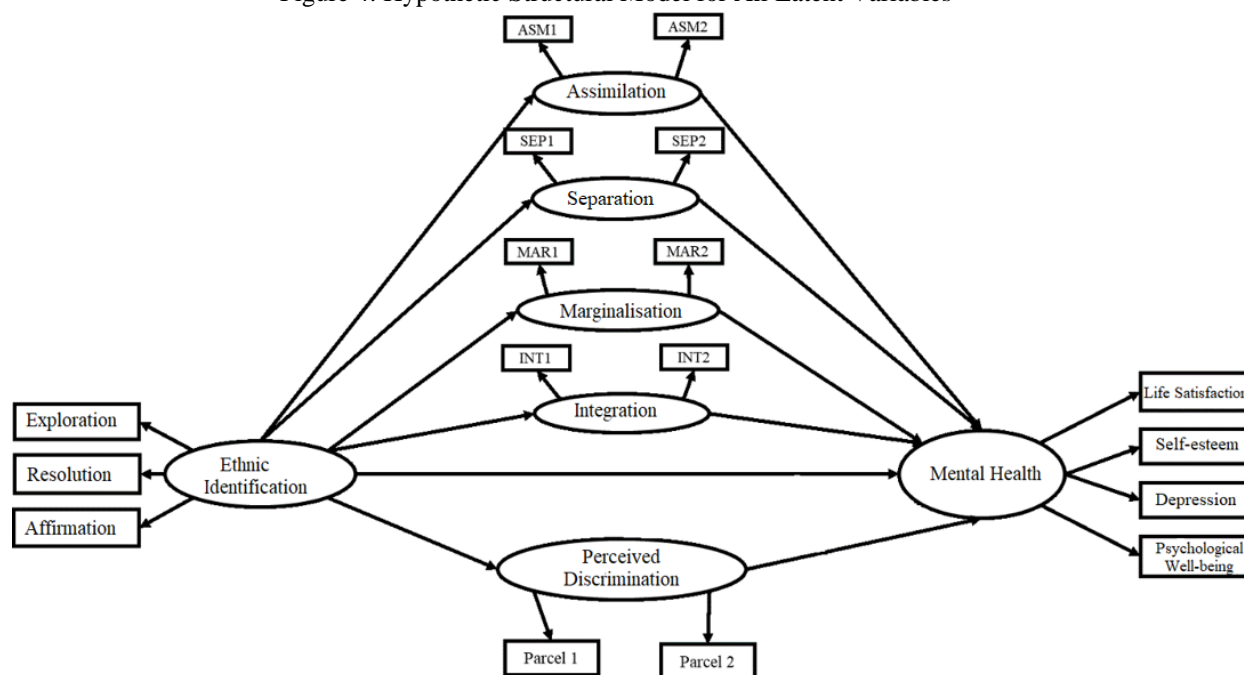
In this model, the predictor (or independent) variable was ethnic identification with three observed variables which were exploration, affirmation and resolution. The mediator variables were assimilation, separation, marginalisation and integration acculturation strategies and perceived discrimination, each of which had two parcels as observed variables. The outcome (or dependent) variable was mental health with four observed variables which were life satisfaction, self-esteem, depression and psychological well-being. The hypotheses of the study can be seen in Table 8.

Table 8: The Hypotheses of the Study

<b>Hypothesis 1</b>	(H1.1): Greater ethnic identification will be associated with positive mental health. (H1.2): Ethnic identity centrality, ethnicity, religion and gender will moderate the relationship between ethnic identification and mental health.
<b>Hypothesis 2</b>	(H2.1): Higher levels of assimilation will have an indirect effect on the relationship between greater ethnic identification and positive mental health. (H2.2): Higher levels of separation will have an indirect effect on the relationship between greater ethnic identification and positive mental health. (H2.3): Higher levels of marginalisation will have an indirect effect on the relationship between greater ethnic identification and positive mental health. (H2.4): Higher levels of integration will have an indirect effect on the relationship between greater ethnic identification and positive mental health.
<b>Hypothesis 3</b>	(H3.1): Higher levels of perceived discrimination will have an indirect effect on the relationship between greater ethnic identification and positive mental health. (H3.2): Higher levels of ethnic identity centrality will be associated with higher levels of perceived discrimination.

*Note.* Hypotheses 1.2 and 3.2 were tested separately from the structural model.

Figure 4: Hypothetic Structural Model for All Latent Variables



Note. INT1-2= Parcels from integration subscale of acculturation scale; ASM1-2= Parcels from assimilation subscale of acculturation scale; SEP1-2= Parcels from separation subscale of acculturation scale; MAR1-2= Parcels from marginalisation subscale of acculturation scale; Parcel 1-2=Parcels from perceived discrimination subscale of the scale of ethnic experience.

#### 4.9.2 Descriptive Statistics

Before testing the structural model, descriptive analysis was conducted (see Table 9).

Table 9: Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Scale name	N	Item	Min	Max	Mean	Std. D.
Ethnic identification	<b>Ethnic identity scale total score</b>	220	17	35.00	68.00	55.98	7.56
Exploration	Exploration subscale score	220	7	8.00	28.00	20.20	4.71
Resolution	Resolution subscale score	220	4	5.00	16.00	12.92	2.55
Affirmation	Affirmation subscale score	220	6	10.00	25.93	22.85	2.68
Ethnic identity centrality	<b>Collective identity subscale of aspects of identity questionnaire total score</b>	220	8	8.00	40.00	27.83	6.91
Perceived discrimination	<b>Perceived discrimination subscale of scale of ethnic experience total score</b>	220	9	10.00	40.00	25.34	5.21
Acculturation strategies:	<b>Acculturation attitude scale</b>	Total score is not applicable for this scale since it measures 4 separate acculturation strategies below.					
Assimilation	Assimilation subscale score	220	5	5.00	21.68	11.33	3.40
Separation	Separation subscale score	220	5	5.00	25.00	14.45	3.80
Marginalisation	Marginalisation subscale score	220	5	5.00	22.00	12.62	3.46
Integration	Integration subscale score	220	5	9.00	25.00	18.32	3.08
Life satisfaction	<b>Satisfaction with life scale total score</b>	220	5	7.00	35.00	23.21	6.01
Self-esteem	<b>Rosenberg self-esteem scale total score</b>	220	10	18.00	40.00	30.25	4.81
Depression	<b>Short version of the center for epidemiological studies-depression scale total score</b>	220	10	.00	26.00	10.36	5.67
Psychological well-being	<b>Short version of the scales of psychological well-being total score</b>	220	18	54.00	103.00	77.54	10.31

In the model, the latent variables were ethnic identification, mental health, assimilation separation, marginalisation, integration and perceived discrimination respectively. The summary of these latent and their observed variables and definitions are set out in Table 10.

Table 10: Latent and Observed Variables Used in the Model

<b>Latent Variables</b>	<b>Observed Variables</b>	<b>Definitions of Observed Variables</b>	<b>Items</b>
<b>Ethnic Identification</b>	Exploration	Total scores of the exploration subscale of Ethnic Identity Scale	7 items
	Resolution	Total scores of the resolution subscale of Ethnic Identity Scale	4 items
	Affirmation	Total scores of the affirmation subscale of Ethnic Identity Scale	6 items
<b>Perceived Discrimination</b>	Parcel 1	Total scores of items 5, 8, 3, and 6 Perceived Discrimination Subscale of the Scale of Ethnic Experience	4 items
	Parcel 2	Total scores of items 7, 9, 4, 2, and 1 Perceived Discrimination Subscale of the Scale of Ethnic Experience	4 items
<b>Mental Health</b>	Life satisfaction	Total Scores of The Satisfaction with Life Scale	5 items
	Self-esteem	Total Scores of Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale	10 items
	Depression	Total Scores of a Shortened Version of the Centre for Epidemiological Studies-Depression Scale	10 items
	Psychological well-being	Total Scores of a Short Version of Scales of Psychological Well-Being	18 items
<b>Assimilation</b>	ASMP1	Item 1, 10, 11 of Acculturation Scale	3 items
	ASMP2	Item 4, 15 of Acculturation Scale	2 items
<b>Separation</b>	SEPP1	Item 2, 8 of Acculturation Scale	2 items
	SEPP2	Item 7, 9, 12 of Acculturation Scale	3 items
<b>Marginalisation</b>	MARP1	Item 6, 16, 18 of Acculturation Scale	3 items
	MARP2	Item 13, 20 of Acculturation Scale	2 items
<b>Integration</b>	INTP1	Item 3, 14, 17 of Acculturation Scale	3 items
	INTP2	Item 5, 19 of Acculturation Scale	2 items

In the model, the total scores of the ethnic identity scale’s subscales of exploration, resolution and affirmation were used as observed variables of latent “ethnic identification” variable. The observed variables life satisfaction, self-esteem, depression and psychological well-being generated the latent “mental health” variable. Life satisfaction, self-esteem, and psychological well-being contributed to mental health positively and depression contributed negatively. For the latent variable of perceived discrimination, two parcels were used. In the acculturation scale, the total scores are only applicable to its subscales which measure different acculturation strategies: assimilation, separation, marginalisation and integration. Therefore, each total score of “assimilation”, “separation”, “marginalisation” and “integration” subscales was used as a separate latent variable and then added to the model.

### 4.9.3 Preliminary Data Analysis

Before testing the model, univariate normality and multicollinearity between variables were tested to check the assumptions of SEM analysis. First, the univariate normality of data distribution was investigated by using Skewness and Kurtosis values (see Table 11).

Table 11: The Normality Values of Observed Variables in the Model

Latent Variables	Observed Variables	Skewness	Kurtosis
Ethnic Identification	Exploration	-.34	-.55
	Resolution	-.59	-.36
	Affirmation	<b>-2.92</b>	<b>8.63</b>
Perceived Discrimination	Parcel 1	-.01	.73
	Parcel 2	-.09	.40
Mental Health	Life satisfaction	-.37	-.26
	Self-esteem	.06	-.28
	Depression	.38	-.49
	Psychological well-being	.33	-.27
Assimilation	ASMP1	.17	-.21
	ASMP2	.53	-.44
Separation	SEPP1	.12	-.38
	SEPP2	.05	-.26
Marginalisation	MARP1	.04	-.01
	MARP2	.40	.04
Integration	INTP1	-.49	-.10
	INTP2	.01	-.22
Ethnic identity centrality	-	-.54	-.05

*Note.* INT1-2= Parcels from integration subscale of acculturation scale; ASM1-2= Parcels from assimilation subscale of acculturation scale; SEP1-2= Parcels from separation subscale of acculturation scale; MAR1-2= Parcels from marginalisation subscale of acculturation scale; Parcel 1-2=Parcels from perceived discrimination subscale of the scale of ethnic experience. N=220

In this study, the Maximum Likelihood was applied for model testing as an estimation method and in order to use this method, the data needed to show a normal distribution. The values of Skewness between the range of  $\pm 2$  and Kurtosis between the range of  $\pm 7$  were determined as criteria for the normal distribution for the Maximum Likelihood estimation method (Hoyle, 1995). When examining the Skewness and Kurtosis values of the observed variables in the model, it can be seen from Table 11 that almost all of them were normally distributed, and the Skewness values ranged between -.59 and .53 and the Kurtosis values ranged between -.55 and .73. However, the Skewness and Kurtosis values of the total score of observed “affirmation” variables are out of these ranges (-2.92 and 8.63 respectively). Research literature on this issue proposes that the Maximum Likelihood estimation method provides more robust results than other estimation methods even if the assumption of normality is not applied for some variables (Boomsma & Hoogland, 2001; Chou & Bentler, 1995; Curran, West &

Finch, 1996; West, Finch & Curran, 1995). Furthermore, histograms and Q-Q plots were also examined in order to understand whether data were normally distributed (Field, 2005). As a result, the data were determined to be normally distributed in the current study, and further analyses were applied accordingly.

In order to check multicollinearity between observed variables in the model, the correlations between the observed variables were examined. The correlation findings between observed variables for general measurement model can be seen in Table 12 on the next page. The correlation coefficients between observed variables ranged between -.65 and .01. These values are lower than .80 and therefore, it can be said that the assumption of multicollinearity was met in this study (Stevens, 2009; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001).

Table 12: Correlations Between Observed Variables for General Measurement Model

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1 Exploration Total Scores	-																
2 Resolution Total Scores	.58**	-															
3 Affirmation Total Scores	.14*	.26**	-														
4 Life Satisfaction	.26**	.27**	.15*	-													
5 Self-Esteem	.15*	.29**	.23**	.51**	-												
6 Depression	-.09	-.13*	-.32**	-.54**	-.65**	-											
7 Psychological Wellbeing	.22**	.36**	.29**	.46**	.59**	-.54**	-										
8 Ethnic Identity Centrality	.43**	.42**	.18**	.26**	.11	.02	.18**	-									
9 ASMP1	-.23**	-.26**	-.47**	-.12	-.29**	.23**	-.34**	-.29**	-								
10 ASMP2	-.17*	-.25**	-.39**	-.03	-.19**	.13*	-.27**	-.11	.53**	-							
11 SEPP1	.23**	.22**	-.02	.20**	.09	-.06	.04	.35**	-.17**	.06	-						
12 SEPP2	.22**	.19**	-.05	.14*	.08	-.04	-.01	.33**	-.10	-.02	.55**	-					
13 MARP1	-.17*	-.12	-.21**	.01	-.07	.07	-.12	-.17*	.36**	.44**	-.03	-.07	-				
14 MARP2	-.02	-.22**	-.17**	-.07	-.20**	.22**	-.28**	-.16*	.36**	.36**	-.15*	-.13	.51**	-			
15 INTP1	.10	.20**	.24**	.13	.19**	-.17*	.28**	.24**	-.20**	-.20**	-.08	-.25**	-.12	-.16*	-		
16 INTP2	-.11	.00	.05	.04	-.04	-.01	.07	-.11	.14*	-.10	-.43**	-.41**	.10	.20**	.32**	-	
17 Parcel 2	.24**	.15*	.03	-.02	-.12	.17**	-.03	.23**	-.10	-.05	.11	.24**	-.10	.01	-.06	-.09	-
18 Parcel 1	.16*	-.01	-.12	-.08	-.21*	.15*	-.13*	.13	-.01	.11	.10	.11	-.05	.02	-.07	-.08	.61**

Note. INT1-2=Parcels from integration subscale of acculturation scale; ASM1-2= Parcels from assimilation subscale of acculturation scale; SEP1-2= Parcels from separation subscale of acculturation scale; MAR1-2= Parcels from marginalisation subscale of acculturation scale; Parcel 1-2=Parcels from perceived discrimination subscale of the scale of ethnic experience.

N=220 \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$

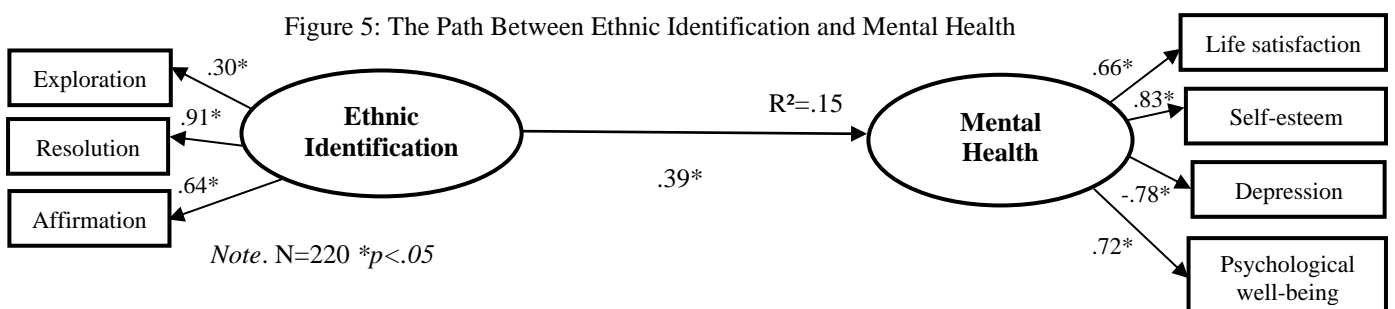


#### 4.10 Test of the Structural Model

In this study, in order to understand the direct and indirect relationships between ethnic identification, acculturation strategies (assimilation, separation, marginalisation and integration), perceived discrimination and mental health among second-generation Turkish young people, the structural model (see Figure 4) was tested. To avoid overcomplicating the model and to find a *parsimonious* model, the model of this study was tested with several steps by using separate models, starting with simple models transitioning to more complex model by using significant variables (Miles & Shevlin, 2004). Firstly, the relationship between independent (ethnic identification) and dependent (mental health) variables was examined. Secondly, the relationships between independent (ethnic identification) and mediator variables (acculturation strategies and perceived discrimination), and then the relationships between mediator (acculturation strategies and perceived discrimination) and dependant (mental health) variables were investigated. Thus, the indirect effects of acculturation strategies and perceived discrimination on the relationship between ethnic identification and mental health were understood independently. Finally, the full structural model with significant variables was tested together. Moving from simple models to complex models was insightful in both separate relationships and mediation effects, and their significant interactions in the last full model.

##### 4.10.1 Relationship between Ethnic Identification and Mental Health

Before testing the mediation models, the direct relationship between ethnic identification and mental health was examined. When looking at the goodness of the fit index for this model, it shows a good fit [ $\chi^2/df (52.65/13) = 4.05, p = .000, GFI = .94, RMSEA = .10$ , see Table 7 for the cut-off criteria for the good fit]. The standardised regression weights for this model are shown in Figure 5. It shows that greater ethnic identification is significantly associated with positive mental health ( $\beta = .39, p < .05$ ). Ethnic identification explains 15% of the variance in mental health.



The detailed relationships between ethnic identification and mental health (using their observed variables) were also given in Table 13. It shows that a greater ethnic identification is significantly and positively associated with life satisfaction ( $\beta=.22$ ,  $p<.05$ ), self-esteem ( $\beta=.22$ ,  $p<.05$ ), psychological well-being ( $\beta=.24$ ,  $p<.05$ ), but negatively with depression ( $\beta=-.16$ ,  $p<.05$ ). Particularly, ethnic identity exploration has a significant and positive relationship with life satisfaction ( $\beta=.16$ ,  $p<.05$ ). Ethnic identity resolution is also significantly and positively associated with higher self-esteem ( $\beta=.26$ ,  $p<.05$ ) and psychological well-being ( $\beta=.29$ ,  $p<.05$ ). Finally, ethnic identity affirmation is a significant and positive predictor of self-esteem ( $\beta=.17$ ,  $p<.05$ ) and psychological well-being ( $\beta=.22$ ,  $p<.05$ ), and a negative predictor of depression ( $\beta=-.31$ ,  $p<.05$ ).

Table 13: The Paths Between Ethnic Identification and Observed Variables of Mental Health

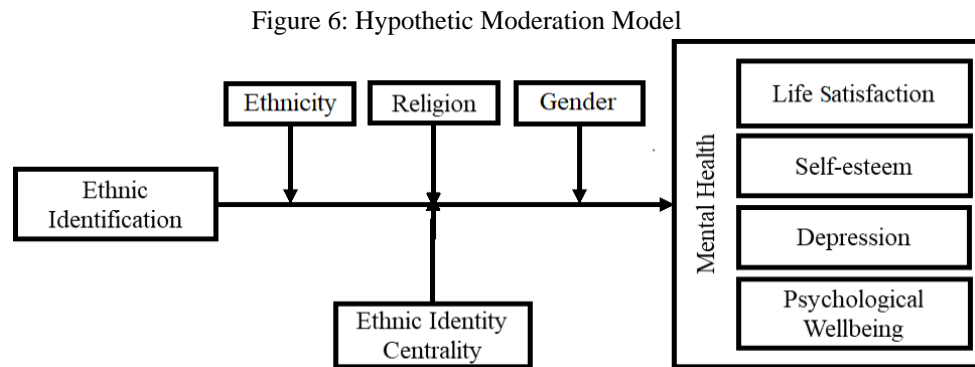
Predictor Variable	Dependent Variable	B	$\beta$	S.E.	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Ethnic Identification	→ Life Satisfaction	.17	<b>.22</b>	.05	3.58	<b>.001*</b>
	→ Self-Esteem	.14	<b>.22</b>	.04	3.49	<b>.001*</b>
	→ Depression	-.12	<b>-.16</b>	.05	-2.53	<b>.011*</b>
	→ Psych. Wellbeing	.32	<b>.24</b>	.08	4.11	<b>.001*</b>
Exploration	→ Life Satisfaction	.21	<b>.16</b>	.10	2.05	<b>.040*</b>
	→ Self-Esteem	-.02	-.02	.08	-.25	.800
	→ Depression	-.02	-.01	.10	-.17	.862
	→ Psych. Wellbeing	.07	.03	.17	.40	.691
Affirmation	→ Life Satisfaction	.20	.09	.15	1.36	.173
	→ Self-Esteem	.31	<b>.17</b>	.11	2.63	<b>.009*</b>
	→ Depression	-.66	<b>-.31</b>	.14	-4.75	<b>.001*</b>
	→ Psych. Wellbeing	.84	<b>.22</b>	.25	3.44	<b>.001*</b>
Resolution	→ Life Satisfaction	.36	.15	.19	1.88	.060
	→ Self-Esteem	.49	<b>.26</b>	.15	3.25	<b>.001*</b>
	→ Depression	-.10	-.05	.18	-.57	.568
	→ Psych. Wellbeing	1.16	<b>.29</b>	.32	3.67	<b>.001*</b>

Note. N=220 \* $p<.05$

These findings suggest that greater ethnic identification with exploration (actively exploring an ethnic identity), resolution (having a meaningful ethnic identity) and affirmation (positive feelings towards ethnic identity) are associated with positive mental health amongst second-generation Turkish young people in England. In addition, detailed findings show that ethnic identity exploration particularly is related to higher levels of life satisfaction. Having a meaningful ethnic identity together with positive feelings towards ethnic identity have a direct association to higher degree of self-esteem and psychological well-being. Holding negative feelings towards ethnic identity is associated with higher levels of depressive symptoms. According to these findings, greater ethnic identity formation is associated with positive mental health, and hypothesis 1.1 of this study was supported.

#### 4.10.2 Moderation by Ethnic Identity Centrality, Ethnicity, Religion and Gender

In this study, ethnic identity centrality, ethnicity, religion and gender have been examined as moderating (control) variables on the relationship between ethnic identification and mental health. The hypothetical moderation model can be seen in Figure 6 below.



According to moderation results (see Table 14), the relationship between ethnic identification and mental health is not significantly moderated by ethnic identity centrality, ethnicity, religion and gender ( $p > .05$ ). Thus, it can be said that the relationship between ethnic identification and mental health do not change as a function of ethnic identity centrality, ethnicity, religion and gender among second-generation Turkish young people in this study and thus hypothesis 1.2 was not supported. This result suggests that the relationship between ethnic identification and mental health holds regardless of the factors of gender, ethnicity, region and ethnic identity centrality among second-generation Turkish young people in England.

Table 14: Moderation Test Results

Predictor x Moderator	Predicted Variable	B	$\beta$	S.E.	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Ethnic Identity x Gender <sub>1</sub>	→ Self-Esteem	.12	.02	.62	.20	.84
Ethnic Identity x Gender <sub>1</sub>	→ Psych. Wellbeing	-.64	-.05	1.27	-.51	.61
Ethnic Identity x Gender <sub>1</sub>	→ Life Satisfaction	.36	.04	.75	.48	.63
Ethnic Identity x Gender <sub>1</sub>	→ Depression	.77	.10	.73	1.05	.29
Ethnic Identity x Ethnicity (Turkish)	→ Self-Esteem	.08	.01	.68	.12	.90
Ethnic Identity x Ethnicity (Turkish)	→ Psych. Wellbeing	-1.94	-.10	1.40	-1.38	.17
Ethnic Identity x Ethnicity (Turkish)	→ Life Satisfaction	-.96	-.09	.84	-1.14	.25
Ethnic Identity x Ethnicity (Turkish)	→ Depression	-.12	-.01	.82	-.14	.89
Ethnic Identity x Ethnicity (Kurdish)	→ Self-Esteem	-.06	-.01	.62	-.10	.92
Ethnic Identity x Ethnicity (Kurdish)	→ Psych. Wellbeing	.74	.05	1.30	.57	.57
Ethnic Identity x Ethnicity (Kurdish)	→ Life Satisfaction	.95	.11	.77	1.25	.21
Ethnic Identity x Ethnicity (Kurdish)	→ Depression	.41	.05	.75	.55	.58
Ethnic Identity x Ethnicity (Turkish/Kurdish)	→ Self-Esteem	.00	.00	.76	.00	1.00
Ethnic Identity x Ethnicity (Turkish/Kurdish)	→ Psych. Wellbeing	1.35	.06	1.58	.85	.39
Ethnic Identity x Ethnicity (Turkish/Kurdish)	→ Life Satisfaction	-.17	-.01	.94	-.18	.86
Ethnic Identity x Ethnicity (Turkish/Kurdish)	→ Depression	-.51	-.04	.91	-.56	.58

Predictor x Moderator	Predicted Variable	B	$\beta$	S.E.	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Ethnic Identity x Religion (Muslim-Sunni)	→ Self-Esteem	.11	.01	.69	.16	.88
Ethnic Identity x Religion (Muslim-Sunni)	→ Psych. Wellbeing	-.56	-.03	1.44	-.39	.70
Ethnic Identity x Religion (Muslim-Sunni)	→ Life Satisfaction	.66	.06	.85	.77	.44
Ethnic Identity x Religion (Muslim-Sunni)	→ Depression	-.60	-.06	.83	-.72	.47
Ethnic Identity x Religion (Alevi)	→ Self-Esteem	.58	.09	.63	.92	.36
Ethnic Identity x Religion (Alevi)	→ Psych. Wellbeing	.61	.04	1.30	.46	.64
Ethnic Identity x Religion (Alevi)	→ Life Satisfaction	.04	.01	.77	.05	.96
Ethnic Identity x Religion (Alevi)	→ Depression	.68	.09	.75	.91	.36
Ethnic Identity x Identity Centrality	→ Self-Esteem	.37	.08	.32	1.14	.25
Ethnic Identity x Identity Centrality	→ Psych. Wellbeing	.66	.06	.67	.98	.33
Ethnic Identity x Identity Centrality	→ Life Satisfaction	-.29	-.05	.39	-.73	.46
Ethnic Identity x Identity Centrality	→ Depression	-.06	-.01	.38	-.15	.89

Note. 1Gender, 0=Male, 1=Female; Psych.=Psychological; B=Unstandardised Regression Weights;  $\beta$ =Standardised Regression Weight; S.E.=Standard Errors. N=220

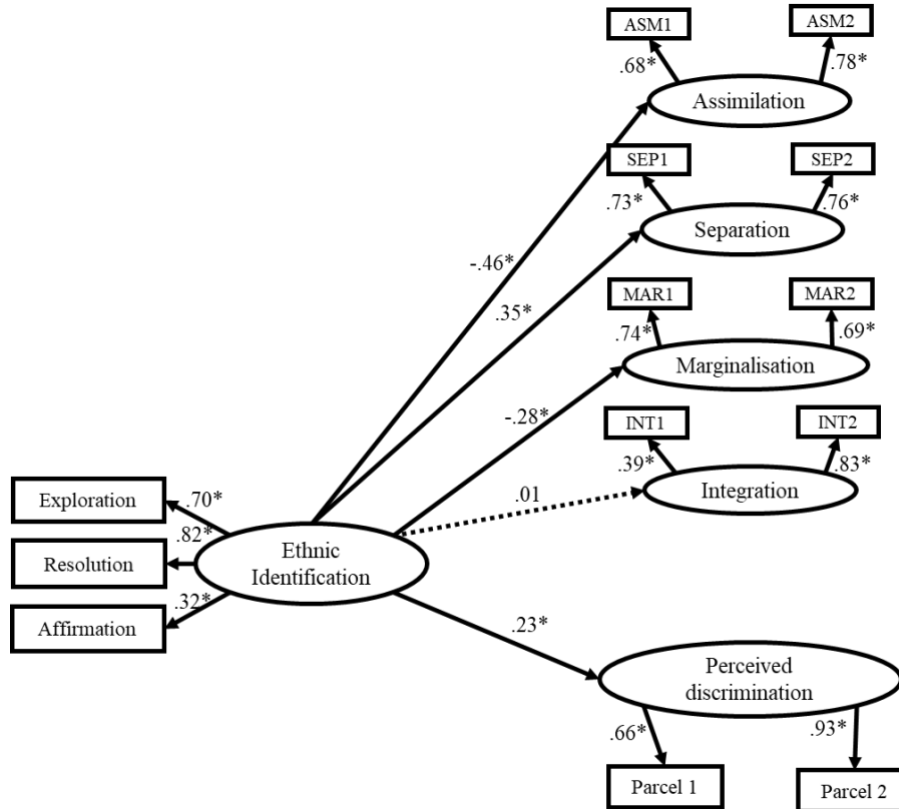
In the next section, to identify the possible mediators (hypotheses 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4 and 3.1) of the model, the relationships were examined through two simple models (see Figure 7 on page 84 and Figure 8 on page 86) separately. Subsequently, the full model has been tested by using the significant relationships which were obtained from these simple models.

#### 4.10.3 Relationships between Ethnic Identification, Acculturation and Perceived Discrimination

In this section, the relationships between the independent variable (ethnic identification) and mediator variables (perceived discrimination and acculturation strategies) were examined. The findings of the model testing showed a good fit [ $\chi^2/df$  (186.59/51) =3.66,  $p$ =.000, GFI=.89, RMSEA=.10 see Table 7 for the cut-off criteria for the good fit]. The standardised regression weights for this model are shown in Figure 7.

According to Figure 7, greater ethnic identification has positive significant relationships with separation ( $\beta$ =.35,  $p$ <.05) and perceived discrimination ( $\beta$ =.23,  $p$ <.05). However, ethnic identification is significantly and negatively related to assimilation ( $\beta$ =-.46,  $p$ <.05) and marginalisation ( $\beta$ =-.28,  $p$ <.05). In addition, there is no significant association found between ethnic identification and integration ( $p$ >.05). These findings suggest that greater ethnic identification is positively associated with separation acculturation strategy and perceived ethnic discrimination, but negatively associated with assimilation and marginalisation acculturation strategies among second-generation Turkish young people in England. However, there is no relationship between ethnic identification and integration acculturation strategy.

Figure 7: The Paths Between Ethnic Identification, Acculturation and Perceived Discrimination



Note. INT1-2= Parcels from integration subscale of acculturation scale; ASM1-2= Parcels from assimilation subscale of acculturation scale; SEP1-2= Parcels from separation subscale of acculturation scale; MAR1-2= Parcels from marginalisation subscale of acculturation scale; Parcel 1-2=Parcels from perceived discrimination subscale of the scale of ethnic experience. N=220 \* $p < .05$

The detailed relationships between acculturation strategies, perceived discrimination and observed variables of ethnic identification are also evident in Table 15.

Table 15: The Paths Between Acculturation, Perceived Discrimination and Ethnic Identification Variables

Predictor Variable	Dependent Variable	B	$\beta$	S.E.	$t$	$p$
Exploration	Assimilation	-.08	-.11	.05	-1.50	.13
	<b>Separation</b>	.15	<b>.18</b>	.06	2.31	<b>.02*</b>
	Marginalisation	-.01	-.02	.06	-.20	.84
	Integration	-.07	-.11	.05	-1.32	.19
	<b>Perceived Disc.</b>	.31	<b>.28</b>	.09	3.47	<b>.00*</b>
Resolution	Assimilation	-.15	-.11	.10	-1.57	.12
	<b>Separation</b>	.24	<b>.16</b>	.12	1.96	<b>.05*</b>
	Marginalisation	-.17	-.13	.11	-1.55	.12
	<b>Integration</b>	.20	<b>.16</b>	.10	1.94	<b>.05*</b>
	Perceived Disc.	-.16	-.08	.17	-.97	.33
Affirmation	<b>Assimilation</b>	-.58	<b>-.46</b>	.08	-7.75	<b>.00*</b>
	Separation	-.15	-.11	.10	-1.63	.10
	<b>Marginalisation</b>	-.24	<b>-.19</b>	.09	-2.79	<b>.01*</b>
	<b>Integration</b>	.19	<b>.17</b>	.08	2.48	<b>.01*</b>
	Perceived Disc.	-.16	-.08	.13	-1.22	.22

Note. N=220 \* $p \leq .05$

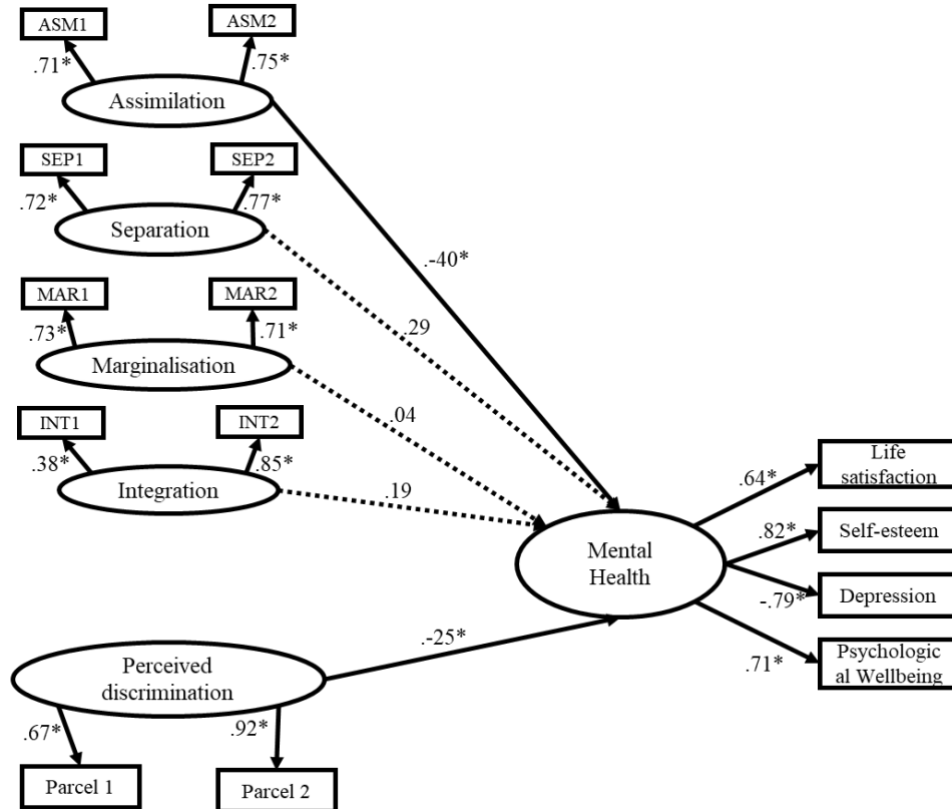
According to Table 15, ethnic identity exploration is significantly and positively associated with separation ( $\beta=.18, p<.05$ ) and perceived discrimination ( $\beta=.28, p<.05$ ). Ethnic identity resolution also has a significant positive relationship with separation ( $\beta=.16, p\leq.05$ ) and integration ( $\beta=.16, p\leq.05$ ) strategies. Finally, ethnic identity affirmation is a significant and positive predictor of integration ( $\beta=.17, p<.05$ ) and a negative predictor of marginalisation ( $\beta=-.19, p<.05$ ) and assimilation ( $\beta=-.46, p<.05$ ) strategies. These findings suggest that ethnic identity exploration is related to separation and to higher levels of perceived ethnic discrimination. Ethnic identity resolution is also positively associated with both separation and integration acculturation strategies. Positive feelings towards ethnic identity are related to integration, whereas negative feelings towards ethnic identity are associated with both assimilation and marginalisation acculturation strategies among second-generation Turkish young people in England.

#### 4.10.4 *Relationships between Perceived Discrimination, Acculturation and Mental Health*

In this section, the relationships between the dependent variable (mental health) and mediator variables (perceived discrimination and acculturation strategies) are examined. The model shows a good fit [ $\chi^2/df (156.66/62) = 2.52, p=.000, GFI= .91, RMSEA=.08$ , see Table 7 for the cut-off criteria for the good fit]. The standardised regression weights for this model are shown in Figure 8.

Figure 8 shows that higher assimilation acculturation strategy ( $\beta=-.40, p<.05$ ) and higher perceived discrimination ( $\beta=-.25, p<.05$ ) are negatively associated with positive mental health. However, the paths from separation, marginalisation and integration to mental health are not significant ( $p>.05$ ). These findings suggest that higher levels of assimilation and perceived ethnic discrimination is associated with negative mental health outcomes among second-generation Turkish young people in England. However, there is no significant relationship between separation, marginalisation, integration strategies and mental health.

Figure 8: The Paths Between Mental Health, Acculturation and Perceived Discrimination



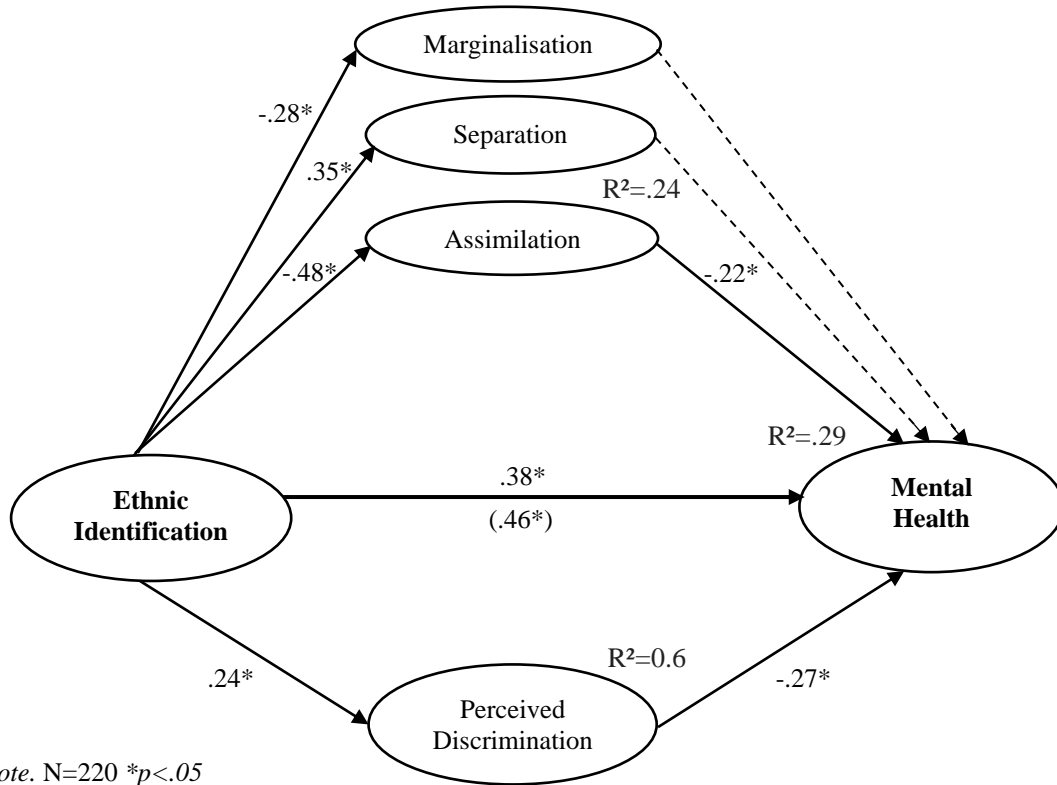
Note. INT1-2= Parcels from integration subscale of acculturation scale; ASM1-2= Parcels from assimilation subscale of acculturation scale; SEP1-2= Parcels from separation subscale of acculturation scale; MAR1-2= Parcels from marginalisation subscale of acculturation scale; Parcel 1-2=Parcels from perceived discrimination subscale of the scale of ethnic experience. N=220 \* $p < .05$

In the next section, the significant relationships from these simple models will be tested in the full model. Because of not obtaining any significant relationships between ethnic identification and integration (see Figure 7), between integration and mental health (see Figure 8), integration variable was not included further analyses. In this way, the hypothesis 2.4 were not supported; integration acculturation strategy did not have an indirect effect on the relationship between ethnic identification and mental health among second-generation Turkish young people in England.

#### 4.10.5 Full Model: Relationships between Ethnic Identification and Mental Health with the Mediators of Acculturation Strategies and Perceived Discrimination

The full model was tested to examine the relationships between the independent variable (ethnic identification), the dependent variable (mental health) and possible mediator variables (assimilation, separation, marginalisation and perceived discrimination). Findings indicate that the final model shows a good fit [ $\chi^2/sd$  (226.80/42) = 2.91,  $p = .000$ , GFI = .88, RMSEA = .093]. The standardised regression weights for this model are shown in Figure 9.

Figure 9: The Paths Between Mental Health, Ethnic Identification, Acculturation and Perceived Discrimination



The model shows that greater ethnic identification was found to be negatively associated with the assimilation acculturation strategy ( $\beta = -.48$ ,  $p < .05$ ), and that assimilation was negatively associated with mental health ( $\beta = -.22$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Furthermore, greater ethnic identification was positively associated with perceived discrimination ( $\beta = .24$ ,  $p < .05$ ) whilst perceived discrimination was negatively associated with mental health ( $\beta = -.27$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

Greater ethnic identification, assimilation and perceived discrimination explain 29% of the variance in mental health together. This proportion of the variance shows a substantial and medium effect size [ $R^2 \geq 0.25$  (Ferguson, 2009; Sullivan & Feinn, 2012)] on explaining mental health by ethnic identification, assimilation and perceived discrimination. The findings suggest that greater ethnic identity formation (with higher exploration, resolution and positive affirmation) is associated with lower levels of assimilation and higher levels of perceived ethnic discrimination which are related to negative mental health outcomes among second-generation Turkish young people in England.

Similar to previous findings, the full model also suggests that there is a positive relationship between ethnic identification and separation ( $\beta = .35$ ,  $p < .05$ ), and a negative relationship between ethnic identification and marginalisation ( $\beta = -.28$ ,  $p < .05$ ). However, due



to non-significant results from separation and marginalisation to mental health, they are not deemed to have met the criteria for the mediation test (see next section) (Baron & Kenney, 1986) and thus they have not been tested as mediators. In this way, the hypotheses 2.2 and 2.3 were not supported; separation and marginalisation acculturation strategy did not have an indirect effect on the relationship between ethnic identification and mental health amongst second-generation Turkish young people in England.

#### *4.10.6 Test of Mediation Effect of Assimilation and Perceived Discrimination on the Relationship Between Ethnic Identification and Mental Health*

For the mediation test, Baron and Kenney (1986) suggested four criteria widely used in social psychology (e.g. Rucker, Preacher, Tormala & Petty, 2011; Zhao, Lynch & Chen, 2010). According to their criteria, there needs to be a significant relationship between the (1) dependent and independent variables, (2) independent and mediator variables, (3) mediator and dependent variables, and also (4) the relationship between mediator and independent variables needs to be still statistically significant when the effect of dependent variable on the independent variable is controlled, and the relationship between dependent and independent variables needs to become insignificant and/or low when the mediator variable is controlled. In this study, only the assimilation and perceived discrimination variables met these criteria.

In order to test the mediation effect of assimilation and perceived discrimination on the relationship between ethnic identification and mental health, the effects of assimilation and perceived discrimination variables on mental health were controlled (paths were fixed at “0”) and the analysis was run again to understand the prediction of ethnic identification on mental health. The path from ethnic identification to mental health was significant ( $\beta=.46$ ,  $p<.05$ ), when the mediator effects of assimilation and perceived discrimination have been added onto the model. The path from ethnic identification to mental health has been still significant and reduced ( $\beta=.38$ ,  $p<.05$ ). Its goodness of fit statistics shows a good fit [ $\chi^2/df$  (240.44/42) =3.04,  $p=.000$ , GFI=.88, RMSEA=.097]. To check whether the difference between two mediation effects is statistically significant (Lau & Cheung, 2010), the chi-square difference test was run. This showed that mediation effects are significantly different ( $p<.001$ ). The results of bootstrapping (Shrout & Bolger, 2002) in Table 16 also shows that the indirect/mediator effect of assimilation acculturation strategy and perceived discrimination on the relationship between ethnic identification and mental health is significant.

Table 16: Mediation Bootstrap Test Results for Assimilation and Perceived Discrimination

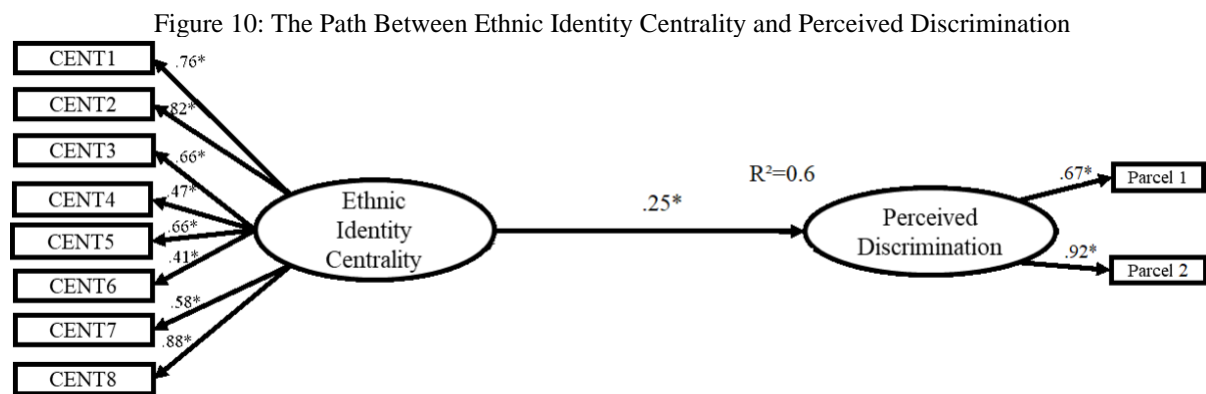
Path	Mediator	Point Estimate ( $\beta$ )	95% CI
Ethnic Identification - Mental Health	Assimilation and Perceived Discrimination	.38* (46*)	[0.037, 0.489]

Note. Bootstrap is based on 1,000 resamples (Hayes, 2009).  $\beta$  =Standardized coefficients. N=220 \* $p < .05$

These findings indicate that there is a partial mediation of assimilation acculturation strategy and perceived discrimination on the relationship between ethnic identification and mental health. Thus, the hypotheses of 2.1 and 3.1 were supported. These indirect effects suggest that greater ethnic identification is associated with positive mental health through lower levels of assimilation, and with negative mental health outcomes through higher levels of perceived ethnic discrimination among second-generation Turkish young people in England. It is important to note, however, that direct effects between ethnic identification and mental health were observed in both of the mediation tests meaning that that assimilation and perceived discrimination accounted for some (29%) but not all of the relationship between ethnic identification and mental health.

#### 4.10.7 The Relationship Between Perceived Discrimination and Ethnic Identity Centrality

In order to test hypothesis 3.2, the relationship between perceived discrimination and ethnic identity centrality were also examined. The standardised regression weights for them are shown in Figure 10. It shows that higher ethnic identity centrality has a significant and positive relationship with higher levels of perceived discrimination ( $\beta = .25$ ,  $p < .05$ ), and ethnic identity centrality explains 6% of the variance in perceived discrimination. This finding suggests that giving great importance to ethnic identity is associated with perceiving higher ethnic discrimination among second-generation Turkish young people in England.



N=220 \* $p < .05$

## 4.11 Summary of the Results

The quantitative findings of this study were summarised in Figure 11. According to these results, some hypotheses were supported and some not in the sample of second-generation Turkish young people in England. The hypothesis testing results were reviewed in Table 17.

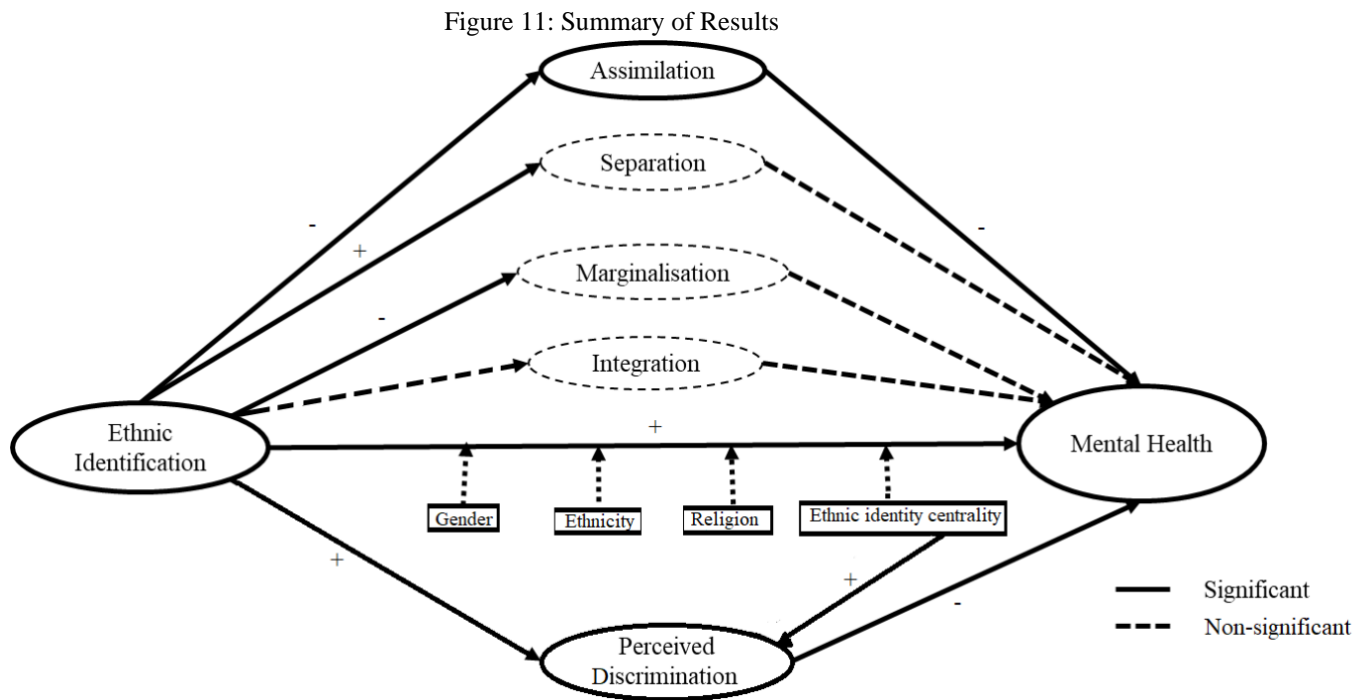


Table 17: Hypothesis Testing for the Structured Model

<b>Hypothesis 1</b>	<i>(H1.1): Greater ethnic identification will be associated with positive mental health.</i>	The hypothesis was <b>supported</b> because greater ethnic identification was found to be associated with positive mental health outcomes.
	<i>(H1.2): Ethnic identity centrality, ethnicity, religion and gender will moderate the relationship between ethnic identification and mental health.</i>	The hypothesis was <b>not supported</b> ; since the relationship between greater ethnic identification and positive mental health did not significantly vary as a function of ethnic identity centrality, ethnicity, religion and gender.
<b>Hypothesis 2</b>	<i>(H2.1): Higher levels of assimilation will have an indirect effect on the relationship between greater ethnic identification and positive mental health.</i>	The hypothesis was <b>supported</b> because assimilation acculturation strategy had an indirect effect ( <b>with partial mediator role</b> ) on the relationship between greater ethnic identification and positive mental health. Greater ethnic identification was negatively associated with assimilation and in turn, negative mental health outcomes.
	<i>(H2.2): Higher levels of separation will have an indirect effect on the relationship between greater ethnic identification and positive mental health.</i>	The hypothesis was <b>not supported</b> . However, greater ethnic identification (particularly ethnic identity exploration and resolution) was positively associated with separation acculturation strategy.

	<i>(H2.3): Higher levels of marginalisation will have an indirect effect on the relationship between greater ethnic identification and positive mental health.</i>	The hypothesis was <b>not supported</b> . However, greater ethnic identification (particularly ethnic identity affirmation) was negatively associated with marginalisation acculturation strategy.
	<i>(H2.4): Higher levels of integration will have an indirect effect on the relationship between greater ethnic identification and positive mental health.</i>	The hypothesis was <b>not supported</b> because integration was neither associated with overall ethnic identification nor mental health outcomes significantly. However, there were significant positive links from ethnic identity resolution and affirmation to integration.
<b>Hypothesis 3</b>	<i>(H3.1): Higher levels of perceived discrimination will have an indirect effect on the relationship between greater ethnic identification and positive mental health.</i>	The hypothesis was <b>supported</b> because perceived discrimination had an indirect effect ( <b>with partial mediator role</b> ) on the relationship between greater ethnic identification and positive mental health. Greater ethnic identification was positively associated with higher levels of perceived ethnic discrimination and in turn, negative mental health outcomes.
	<i>(H3.2): Higher ethnic identity centrality will be associated with higher levels of perceived discrimination.</i>	The hypothesis was <b>supported</b> because ethnic identity centrality was positively associated with perceived discrimination.

In summary, positive ethnic identity formation was associated with positive mental health among second-generation Turkish young people in England. Furthermore, this relationship did not differentiate with the moderators of ethnic identity centrality, ethnicity, religion and gender. Ethnic identity exploration was associated particularly with life satisfaction, and ethnic identity resolution was also related to self-esteem and psychological well-being. As an important aspect, positive feelings towards ethnic identity were associated with not only self-esteem and psychological well-being but also with lower depressive symptoms.

Mediation analysis revealed that assimilation had an indirect negative effect (partial mediation) on the relationship between ethnic identification and mental health. Specifically, having a greater ethnic identity was associated with lower levels of assimilation and in turn, more positive mental health. Assimilation appears one of the important acculturation strategies which had negative relationships with both ethnic identification and mental health among second-generation Turkish young people in England. In addition, ethnic identification was positively related to separation and negatively marginalisation acculturation strategies. These findings demonstrate the importance of developing an explored, meaningful and positive ethnic identity among second-generation Turkish young people in England.

Mediation analysis also revealed an indirect effect (partial mediation) of perceived ethnic discrimination on the relationship between ethnic identification and mental health. This finding suggests that greater ethnic identification is associated with negative mental health through higher levels of perceived ethnic discrimination among second-generation Turkish young people in England. Moreover, perceived ethnic discrimination was associated with ethnic identity centrality. According to that, young people who have central ethnic identity perceive more ethnic discrimination. To make more sense of these findings, the results will be discussed in the next section.

#### **4.12 Discussion**

Focusing on second-generation Turkish young people in England, this study examined the relationships between ethnic identification and mental health, and the mediating role of acculturation strategies and perceived discrimination on this relationship. Based on the previous research, three main hypotheses (see Table 17 on page 90-91) were tested.

In support of hypothesis 1.1, findings show that greater ethnic identification is positively associated with the factors indicating positive mental health including life satisfaction, self-esteem and psychological well-being and that it is negatively associated with depression. In addition to this, this relationship holds regardless of ethnic identity centrality, and demographics such as gender, ethnicity and religion. These findings are consistent with previous research which were conducted across different ethnic groups (e.g. Latinx, Asian and African Americans) and which demonstrated the positive relationships between ethnic identity and favourable mental health outcomes (e.g. higher psychological well-being and self-esteem, and lower depressive symptoms) (Brittian et al., 2013; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014a; Smith & Silva, 2011; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). Similar findings were found among different ethnic minorities including Turkish young people in the European context (Dimitrova et al., 2015; Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2012). It appears that greater ethnic identity formation (actively explored, meaningful and positive ethnic identity) can be a protective factor and enhance second-generation Turkish young people's mental health in England.

In support of hypothesis 2.1, the findings reveal that the assimilation acculturation strategy had a partial mediating role on the relationship between ethnic identification and mental health. This result suggests that greater ethnic identification is associated with positive mental health through lower levels of assimilation among second-generation Turkish young

people in England. It means that greater ethnic identification might hinder developing assimilation acculturation, which can then lead to the possibility of positive mental health outcomes. These results are consistent with previous research which show the relationship between assimilation and negative mental health outcomes (e.g. high stress and depression) (Berry & Kim, 1988) and negative association between assimilation and ethnic identity among ethnic minorities in Britain (Vadher, 2010). This result can be understood by considering the possible negative effects of poor ethnic identification on engaging with the heritage culture. Young people who have poorer ethnic identity formation (with low exploration, negative feelings, unclear meanings) might have difficulties in maintaining their own culture. The possible disadvantages of these attitudes (e.g. exclusion from the community, lack of social support and self-knowledge) could be potential sources of stress for young people which may result in the development of adverse mental consequences. Or vice-versa, young people with stronger ethnic identities could be assimilated less and as a consequence have more positive mental health.

The findings of this study show that greater ethnic identification is positively associated with separation but negatively with marginalisation acculturation strategy. These results mean that greater ethnic identification may promote second-generation Turkish young people's separation attitudes from the mainstream British culture. However, stronger ethnic identities can prevent marginalisation attitudes (little or no interest in both cultures) among them since ethnic identity exploration, positive feelings and clear meanings towards ethnic identity require at least some interest in ethnic identity and heritage culture. These findings are consistent with the perspective of Berry's (1997, 2001, 2005) acculturation model and also are along similar lines to previous research. Vadher (2010) found that marginalisation is negatively related to ethnic identity whereas separation is positively associated with ethnic identity among different minority youth groups in Britain. Therefore, greater ethnic identity formation can be an important factor preventing the development of separation and marginalisation attitudes in ethnic minorities.

Although there is no significant link between overall ethnic identification to integration acculturation strategy, the dimensions of ethnic identity resolution and affirmation are found to be positively related to integration. These findings suggest that assigning meanings and positive feelings towards ethnic identity can be helpful for second-generation Turkish young people in fomenting participation in mainstream culture while maintaining their heritage

culture. This finding supports previous research by Balidemaj (2016) who found that second-generation Albania-American youth who had positive feelings towards their ethnic identity had more adaptive/integrative acculturation orientation. This body of research suggested that ethnic identity can remain strong when people integrate into the wider society (Phinney, 2003). Therefore, clear meanings and positive feelings towards ethnic identity not only facilitate maintaining the heritage culture but also can make young people more self-confident and aware when interacting with the mainstream culture as bicultural individuals.

However, the acculturation strategies of separation, marginalisation and integration are not significantly associated with mental health among second-generation Turkish young people in England. These results contradict previous research which showed positive and strong relationships between integration and psychological adaptation/well-being (Balidemaj, 2016; Berry, 2017b; Berry & Sam, 1996; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007; Virta, Sam & Westin, 2004; Zamboanga, Rodriguez & Wang, 2007) and links from separation and marginalisation to negative mental health (e.g. high stress and depression) (Berry & Kim, 1988) across different groups such as ethnic minorities in Britain (Vadher, 2010) and Turkish people in Sweden and Norway (Virta, Sam & Westin, 2004). These non-significant results could be related to both Berry's bidimensional perspective of acculturation (see page 187 in Chapter 9 for more discussion) and some aspects which underperformed possibly attribute to measurement problems on Berry's acculturation scale.

As alluded to earlier, Berry's acculturation scale has been found problematic (Rudmin, 2003, 2009; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008); not only in terms of its low reliability of each measure of acculturation strategies (particularly integration) but also including ambiguous items that could have negatively influenced the quantitative findings of this study. Berry's acculturation scale includes some ambiguous questions that were not always understood as intended for different groups or the same way by all groups (Vadher, 2010). In this study, despite the rigorous re-wording of acculturation items, potential for participants misunderstanding certain parts remained plausible. For example, an integration item in social activities domain (*I prefer social activities that involve both British people and people of my own ethnic background*) might be interpreted as participation in only social activities which both British and Turkish people attend, rather than possible separate activities that British and/or Turkish people participate. Young people's understanding of social activities is also significant because these activities can range from listening to music, playing sports, going to

the cinema and eating out (Vadher, 2010) and they might seem not to be applicable for some participants. Moreover, the items in marriage domain (e.g. *I would be equally willing to marry either a British person or a person of my own ethnic background*) may not be seen as relevant to the participants because of their age group (16 to 18). Therefore, it will be fundamental for future research to examine Turkish young people's acculturation attitudes with more robust measures in place.

In support of hypothesis 3.1, the findings showed that perceived discrimination has a partially mediating role on the relationship between ethnic identification and mental health. This result suggests that greater ethnic identification is associated with negative mental health through higher levels of perceived ethnic discrimination among second-generation Turkish young people in England. It means that greater ethnic identification might have a negative effect on young people's mental health in the case of perceiving higher ethnic discrimination. This finding finds common ground with Smith and Silva (2011) metanalytical study which discussed people who identify strongly with a social group being able to perceive a threat to a group as a personal threat. Therefore, strong ethnic identity could exacerbate distress among young people who experience ethnic discrimination. Previous research also suggested that perceived ethnic discrimination is positively associated with mental distress and well-being (Berry et al., 2006; Romero et al., 2014; Srivastava, 2012) and lower self-esteem and more depressive symptoms in adolescents (Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). This mediation finding is along similar lines to one of the findings of this study (hypothesis 3.2), which shows a positive relationship between ethnic identity centrality and perceived ethnic discrimination among second-generation Turkish young people in England. Similarly, previous research showed that there are significant and positive relationships between perceived group discrimination and ethnic identification (Verkuyten 2005) and that higher ethnic identity centrality increases perceived ethnic discrimination (Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Sellers et al., 2003; Wong, Eccles & Sameroff, 2003).

Although this study makes a number of contributions to understanding the associations between ethnic identity formation, acculturation, perceived discrimination and mental health outcomes in the sample of second-generation Turkish young people in England, there are a number of limitations that are worth outlining. Firstly, it is significant to address the partial mediation role of assimilation and perceived discrimination play on the relationship between ethnic identification and mental health. Future research should identify and explore other



potential mediators which can account for the relationship between ethnic identity formation and mental health further. Secondly, assimilation, perceived discrimination and ethnic identification account for the medium amount of variance in mental health. As a consequence, the interpretation about the direct and mediation effects can be limited.

Understanding how different acculturation orientations are related to both ethnic identity formation and mental health is an important future direction to develop using more robust measures of acculturation. Using experimental designs on these aspects can be helpful to explore possible causal links between them and provide better explanations. It is also important to ascertain the complex and contextual relationship between ethnic identity formation and acculturation (Phinney, 2003). Both acculturation and ethnic discrimination can be experienced and perceived differently by individuals. Therefore, the quantitative results will be discussed further in the general discussion part with a critical approach by using the qualitative findings of this study (see Chapter 9 for more detailed discussion, more limitation and suggestion).

## CHAPTER 5

### STUDY TWO: ETHNIC IDENTITY, ACCULTURATION, DISCRIMINATION EXPERIENCES AND MENTAL HEALTH IN ENGLAND

This section will represent the methodological elements of the qualitative study and include the qualitative research design, the participant selection and characteristics of participants, the research procedure and data collection and analysis methods. Finally, an overview of the qualitative findings will also be presented before they are set out in detail in subsequent chapters.

#### **5.1 Qualitative Research**

This part was designed as a qualitative study which uses semi-structured interviews. The aim is to understand second-generation Turkish young people's experiences and perceptions during the identity formation process related to ethnic identity, multiple identities, acculturation and discrimination by linking to their mental health within the context of England where they live.

#### **5.2 The Sampling and Participants**

In this section, the sampling of the study will be discussed, and the characteristics of the participants will be represented.

##### *5.2.1 The Sampling*

In order to collect a qualitative dataset from second-generation Turkish young people in England, in line with the research aim and questions, *convenience sampling* (through recruitment from the surveys of this study) was applied as the most common form of non-probability sampling to reach the target population (Farrokhi & Mahmoudi-Hamidabad, 2012; Shaughnessy, Zechmeister & Zechmeister, 2012). It was insightful to collect rich data from the

participants during a relatively short duration of time since it provided easy access to the target population who have specific characteristics.

In the qualitative part of the study, 20 participants were recruited following the surveys by using the same inclusion criteria (aged 16-18, being UK-born and raised by Turkey-born parents). In the qualitative studies, researchers agree that participant selection should remain open (Dörnyei, 2007) since there are no specific rules to decide the number of participants in this type of qualitative research. Having adequate participants depends greatly on the study, and researchers can consider various aspects of their study such as the aim and research questions of the study (e.g. focusing on differences/comparisons or commonality), practical issues (e.g. time, funding, participants' availability) (Baker & Edwards 2013) and having enough data to tell a rich story portraying the complexity (Braun & Clarke, 2013).

In this study, I tried to reach participants with enough variety in terms of gender, ethnicity and religion by using their demographics (approximately equal number of interviews with males and females, Turkish and Kurdish, Sunni and Alevi young people as far as possible) and considering different degrees of feeling Turkish/Kurdish and British [through the Moreno (2006) question in survey (see page 254) *-how do you feel yourself in terms of your identity?* e.g. "Turkish not British", "more Turkish than British", "equally Turkish and British", "more British than Turkish", "British not Turkish"]. In accordance with the qualitative research questions of this study, some concerns also guided the decision vis-à-vis the number of participants such as young people's perceptions, feelings and meanings of being Turkish/Kurdish and British, acculturation practices and discrimination experiences. Furthermore, because of the important role of the social context on ethnic identity formation and acculturation (Berry, 1997, 2005; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014), I also aimed to understand young people's experiences in context and to reach the participants in different regions and schools. This meant not only in the main site North London but also in West London, Bristol and Swindon which have relatively smaller Turkish populations (UK Census, 2011 cited in Sirkeci et al., 2015). These regions were chosen due to easy and convenient access, and other pragmatic reasons such as time and the availability of participants.

### 5.2.2 Participants

Participants' characteristics in terms of age, gender, ethnicity and religion can be seen in Table 18. The real names of participants have been replaced with pseudonyms. Twenty

participants (10 women, 10 men) were interviewed in the qualitative part of this study. Two of them were participants from the pilot study, and 18 of them were interviewed in the main fieldwork. More than half of the participants were 16 years old, four of them 17, and four of them were 18 years old. The participants also represented a diverse group ethnically and religiously. Eight of them identified themselves as Turkish, and seven participants identified themselves as Kurdish. Four participants said that they felt both Turkish and Kurdish and/or one of their parents has a Kurdish background. In terms of religion, eight of them described themselves as Muslim as a child of a Sunni family, the other eight participants were Alevi. Three of them indicated themselves to be atheists, and only one of them identified as a deist.

Table 18: Characteristics of the Participants

<b>Participants</b> (Pseudonyms)	<b>Age</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>Religion</b>
Erol	18	M	Turkish	Sunni Islam
Ozlem	16	F	Kurdish	Alevi
Berfin	17	F	Kurdish	Alevi
Dilan	18	F	Kurdish	Alevi
Zeynep	16	F	Kurdish	Sunni Islam
Baran	16	M	Turkish-Kurdish	Alevi
Berk	18	M	Turkish	No religion
Mehmet	16	M	Turkish-Kurdish	Alevi
Baris	16	M	Turkish	No religion
Burak	16	M	Turkish	Sunni Islam
Ayse	18	F	Turkish-English	Sunni Islam
Tugba	16	F	Turkish	Sunni Islam
Eren	16	M	Kurdish	Alevi
Gizem	16	F	Turkish-Kurdish	No religion
Dilek	17	F	Kurdish	Alevi
Umut	17	M	Kurdish	Deist
Ahmet	16	M	Turkish	Sunni Islam
Yagmur	16	F	Turkish-Kurdish	Sunni Islam
Kubra	17	F	Turkish	Sunni Islam
Cem	16	M	Turkish	Alevi
<b>20</b> <b>Participants</b>	<b>Age 16:</b> 12 <b>Age 17:</b> 4 <b>Age 18:</b> 4	<b>Female:</b> 10 <b>Male:</b> 10	<b>Turkish:</b> 8 <b>Kurdish:</b> 7 <b>Turkish-Kurdish:</b> 4 <b>Turkish-English:</b> 1	<b>Sunni Islam:</b> 8 <b>Alevi:</b> 8 <b>No Religion:</b> 3 <b>Deist:</b> 1

In addition, at the beginning of the interviews, participants were asked about their living standards in England in order to understand their socio-economic background. Most of the participants responded by outlining their parents' occupations and education levels. Their parents' occupations are, for fathers: running a kebab/doner/coffee shop, beekeeping, merchandising, ironmongery, a taxi driver and a delivery person; and for mothers: a housewife, working in an organic market, selling homemade pastry, and nursing. Only two participants have parents with graduate and postgraduate degrees. Therefore, it can be said that their parents' profile mostly represents working-class first-generation immigrants in the UK.

### **5.3 Procedure**

The survey was used as a means to recruit participants and interviews were conducted in parallel with the survey (for more information about recruitment of participants see study-one in Chapter 4). Participants' contact details were provided on the survey; however, teachers played a key role in reaching participants. A total of 20 participants were recruited through British schools, Turkish supplementary schools, tutorial schools, music and art schools, and NGOs working for Turkish/Kurdish people in North London (15 participants) and West London (one participant), Bristol (two participants) and Swindon (one participant).

Two interviews were conducted for the pilot-study in February 2017 and they were used as part of the final dataset. Eighteen interviews were carried out during the fieldwork period between June and December 2017. The participants were interviewed only once in both the English and Turkish languages -usually mixed- according to participants' language preferences. Interviews for this study varied between 25 and 70 minutes, with a mean duration of 45.2 minutes. Thirteen of the interviews were carried out in an empty classroom in the schools at a convenient time for teachers and students. For the seven participants who were recruited through NGOs, interviews were conducted either in participants' homes (six) or a coffee shop (one). I went to participants' homes, and generally had a short conversation with their parent/s to introduce myself and the study, using an information sheet and consent form. I then requested to be alone with the participant in an empty room at their home. I met with one participant in a coffee shop after obtaining the parent's consent through a staff member of an NGO. I located the coffee shop, which had silent and less busy tables, before the interview.

### **5.4 Qualitative Pilot Study**

Before the fieldwork, a qualitative pilot study was conducted by interviewing two participants at a tutorial college in London in February 2017. This pilot study was designed to understand how well the interview questions work in practice and to modify them according to this experience. A basic thematic analysis was also applied to reflect upon whether the instruments would allow the collect of appropriate data and the identification of potential patterns.

As a result, the pilot study was beneficial for understanding the possible themes of this research. Participants could also express their feelings and experiences easily by answering the

interview questions and by using the visual tools (for more information see the data collection section of this chapter). Furthermore, since London has been mostly addressed as a multicultural city by the participants when they were talking about ethnic discrimination, Turkish young people from other locations (Bristol and Swindon) were also included in the fieldwork timetable to understand their experiences in less multicultural contexts.

In addition, it was useful to note some minor problems (in terms of expression and wording) about the interview questions and to gather feedback on this from participants. Listening to participants' experiences and the interview process itself were also beneficial for understanding the effectiveness of the interview questions. Overall, this qualitative pilot study was beneficial to gain important experience to understand how the fieldwork might be and eliminate any uncertainty about it. After the piloting, the original plan of the study was implemented with only a few minor modifications of the interview questions (see Appendix 8 for the pilot interview questions) such as adding some probing questions and editing some sentences to make them clearer. As a result of making only minor modifications, two piloting interviews were added to the dataset for the main study.

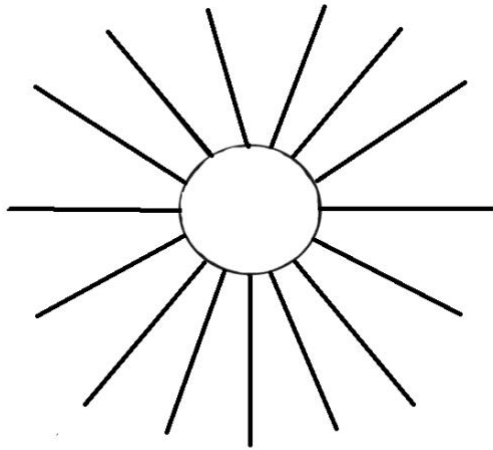
## **5.5 Qualitative Data Collection**

In this study, semi-structured interviews were utilised as the data collection method to capture second-generation Turkish young people's experiences and perceptions in context. Interviews are best suited to exploring individuals' understanding and perceptions about some certain issues in their lives and gathering the rich and detailed responses from them (Braun & Clarke, 2013). *Semi-structured interviews* were used as a planned activity which had open-ended questions and follows a general script and covers a list of topics (Bernard, 2006). The semi-structured interview was useful as a guide showing the basic structure and focus on the topics of the study. It also helped to obtain an in-depth understanding of young people's perceptions of their ethnic identity and experiences in the British context. Furthermore, it provided flexibility for asking additional questions according to the flow of the interview because the conversation was likely to change significantly between the participants and I.

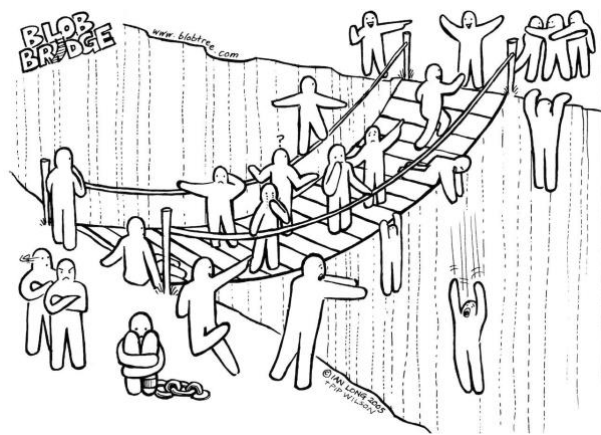
Interview questions were based on previous theoretical and research literature on ethnic identity formation (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004, 2014) and acculturation (Berry, 2001, 2005). The following topics were explored with the interview questions: ethnic identity formation, acculturation and discrimination experiences, mental health and social relationships. Firstly,

the self-description questions (e.g. “could you introduce yourself?”) was used as a starting point for the interview questions which consisted of several main and follow-up questions about participants’ experiences and perceptions about themselves and their life in England. To facilitate discussion of these topics, their feelings and social relationships, two tools were also utilised as visual prompts in the interviews: an “identity chart”<sup>14</sup> (see Picture 1) and a “blob-bridge”<sup>15</sup> (see Picture 2). (see Appendix 5 for the full interview outline and questions).

Picture 1: Identity Chart



Picture 2: Blob Bridge



The identity chart was useful as a warm-up activity to get the participants to talk about themselves and their sense of self. Participants were asked to write their names in the middle of the circle on the chart and fill the arrows by thinking about the question of “who am I?”. Then, they answered some self-description questions such as “can you describe your chart?”, “can you select the 5 items you think are most significant in shaping you?” and “why these?”. Participants were also expected to pick some “blob/s” as an indicator themselves and other people (e.g. parents and friends) in the blob-bridge and explain why they selected the particular one/s. Participants’ explanations were more important than which blob/s they picked to have a better understanding of their feelings and perceptions about their social relationships and wellbeing. The blob-bridge served as a prompt to enable understanding of their viewpoints, feelings and social relationships with others particularly in the section of well-being.

In addition, I kept a *research diary* (personal notes which include my feelings and thoughts during the fieldwork) and *fieldnotes* (observation notes) during the fieldwork. This diary and fieldnotes were useful not only as a reflexive practice but also as an important

<sup>14</sup> It has been drawn by the researcher.

<sup>15</sup> The image was purchased from <http://www.blobtree.com/products/blob-bridge> on 21 February 2017.

resource for the records of unstructured observations. Thus, they provided both an overview of the research process and important observations about the context.

## 5.6 Qualitative Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to represent and interpret the interview data about second-generation Turkish young people's experiences, perceptions and the context of where they live. Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It provides a systematic and coherent way/framework for organising the interview material, coding the data and identifying patterns across the dataset in relation to research questions which investigate people's experiences, perspectives and practices and trying to understand what they think, feel, and do (Banister, Burman, Parker, Yatlör & Tindall, 1994; Braun & Clarke, 2014, Clarke & Braun, 2017).

In this study, a *hybrid approach of thematic analysis* (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006) was applied by combining a primary inductive thematic analysis and an in-depth deductive analysis. Firstly, explicit codes and themes were generated to capture the surface meaning of data, and then the underlying meanings of codes and themes were interpreted and comparisons between participants were made by using the related pre-existing theories (mostly Umaña-Taylor et al.'s ethnic identity formation theory), concepts and previous research literature relating to ethnic identity, acculturation, ethnic discrimination and mental health among young minorities. A five-phase thematic analysis approach (see Figure 12 for the flowchart below) was used in this study, which was developed from Braun and Clarke's (2006, 2012) thematic analysis process.

Figure 12: Five Phases of Thematic Analysis



1) *Familiarising with the data*: Firstly, interviews were transcribed, which took almost two months after the fieldwork. It was an important process to be familiar with the data. After this, the transcriptions were organised to make them ready for analysis and to read all textual data several times to be more familiar with the data. During this process, some items which are potentially of interest were also highlighted by thinking about the meaning of the data.



- 2) *Generating initial codes:* After familiarisation with the data, significant insightful aspects and ideas were extracted for the production of initial codes (which are the short segments of data) by considering qualitative research questions of this study. Subsequently, potential codes were identified and important quotations from the interviews were noted by using NVivo 10.
- 3) *Generating the themes:* After generating a long list of different codes, patterned responses and meanings were refocused in order to reach a broader level of themes. These themes captured clusters of codes which were in meaningful groups and related to research questions. Following this, the relationships between the codes and themes were considered and the codes were sorted into potential sub-themes and themes. To make this process easier, some visual representations such as tables and maps (for examples see Figure 13 and Figure 14) were used.

Figure 13: An Example of Table for Organising Themes, Subthemes, Codes and Quotations

Themes	Subthemes	Codes
<p><b>1. Ethnic identity formation</b></p> <p>Definition: A process of making sense of an ethnic identity with exploration attempts, positive and negative feelings, and meaningful answers.</p>	<p><b>1a. Self-identification</b></p> <p>Definition: Participants' general characteristics to identify and introduce themselves.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Being a student</li> <li>-Being a Turkish</li> <li>-Being a Kurdish</li> <li>-Being a British</li> <li>-Being an Alevi</li> <li>-Being a Muslim</li> <li>-Being happy</li> <li>-Being both strong and sensitive</li> <li>-Being a social person</li> <li>-Being a tall person</li> <li>-Being a warm-hearted</li> <li>-Being a good listener</li> <li>-Being a good leader (28)</li> <li>-Being a helpful person</li> <li>-Being a helpful son/daughter</li> <li>-Being a good friend</li> </ul>
	<p><b>1b. Ethnic identity exploration and ethnic activities/cultural practices</b></p> <p>Definition: The cultural and ethnic activities in order to explore ethnic identity and Turkish/Kurdish culture</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Vacations to Turkey (holiday, visiting relatives, going to village) (31)</li> <li>-Going to cultural festivals (e.g. Alevi festival, Kurdish festival/celebrations)</li> <li>-Going to cemevi</li> <li>-Paying Turkish guitar (baglama)</li> <li>-Going to Turkish/Kurdish weddings</li> <li>-Following Turkish news</li> <li>-Going to mosque (29)</li> <li>-Going to protest</li> <li>-Going to Turkish restaurant</li> <li>-Eating Turkish food</li> <li>-Going to Turkish weekend schools</li> </ul>

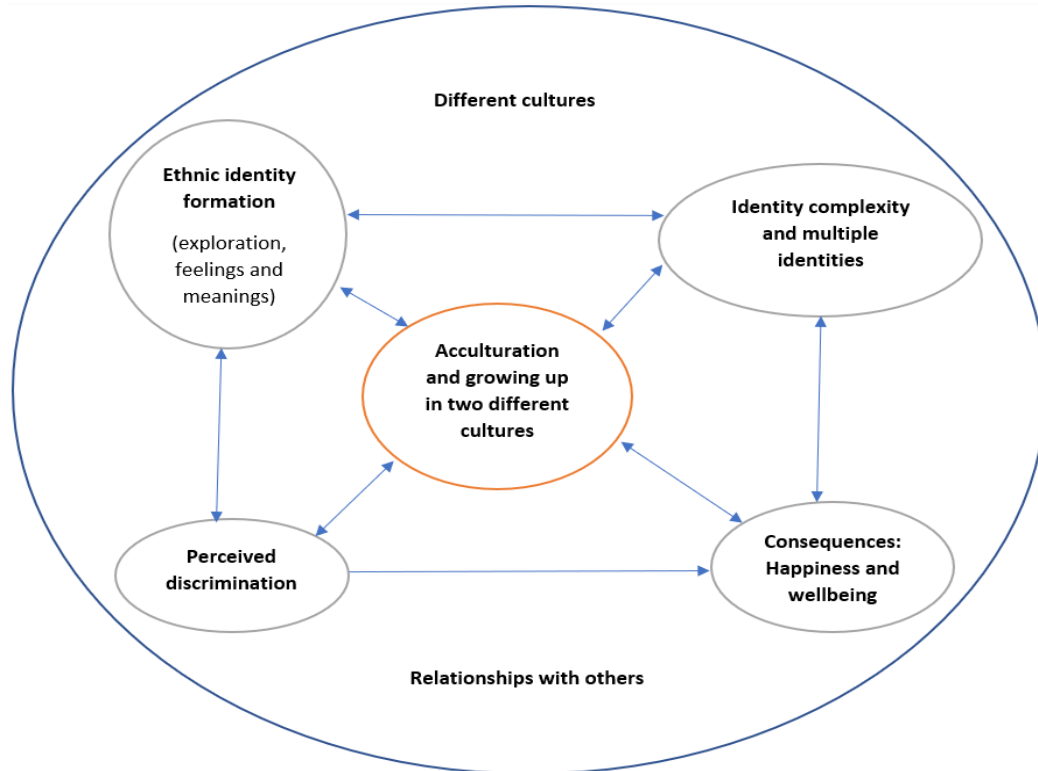
**Quotations**

(28) Leadership yazdim. Mesela sinifta derslerde de ben hep bastayim. Ben herkesi yonlendiriyorum. Annem de cok seviyor bunu, sen yoldan sasmazsin diyor. Bana guveniyorlar. (Yagmur)

(29) I go to mosque sometimes. Okul olmadigi zaman Cuma namazi, bayram namazlarına gideriz bir de. Tatillerde ben gitmek zorundayim. Kuran okumayi biliyorum. Arap'çayi ogrendim. Anlamiyorum ama okuyorum. (Ahmet)

(31) I really do not want to live there. I go there only for one reason. Bu da ailem icin cunku ailemi yilda bir sefer goruyorum bu yil bir kere bile gidemedim. Yani cok uzun zamandır goremedigim icin akrabalarimi ozluyorum Turkiye'de. (Umut)

Figure 14: An Example of Map to Understand the Relationships Between Themes



- 4) *Reviewing and refining the themes:* After having established a set of themes, each theme was reviewed to find a coherent pattern between them by considering the research questions. Subsequently, they were refined to identify and rework any problematic themes and data extracts. Afterwards, the transcriptions were read again to identify themes that might have been missed in the earlier coding stages.
  
- 5) *Defining the themes, reporting and interpreting:* Finally, the themes were defined and refined to describe and determine which aspect of the data each theme captures. Most of the themes and subthemes were renamed, and a figure for an overview was created (see Figure 15 on page 107). Thus, themes, subthemes and codes were described to assign a context and a voice to participants. Fieldwork notes were also used to enrich the sense of context. Direct quotations from participants were included in the final report. If the quotation was in English, it was reported verbatim. When translating from Turkish into English, I made the initial translation and then asked Turkish colleagues (who are experienced both in qualitative research and translating in English) to verify my translations. Finally, theoretical and research literature was used to interpret the themes. As a result, three main themes and their subthemes were generated.

## 5.7 The Quality of Thematic Analysis

Braun and Clarke's (2006) criteria (see the 15-point checklist<sup>16</sup> for good thematic analysis) were used as a guideline to ensure the quality of the thematic analysis. They provide a concise checklist of criteria for some particular processes of the thematic analysis: transcription, coding, analysis, overall and written report.

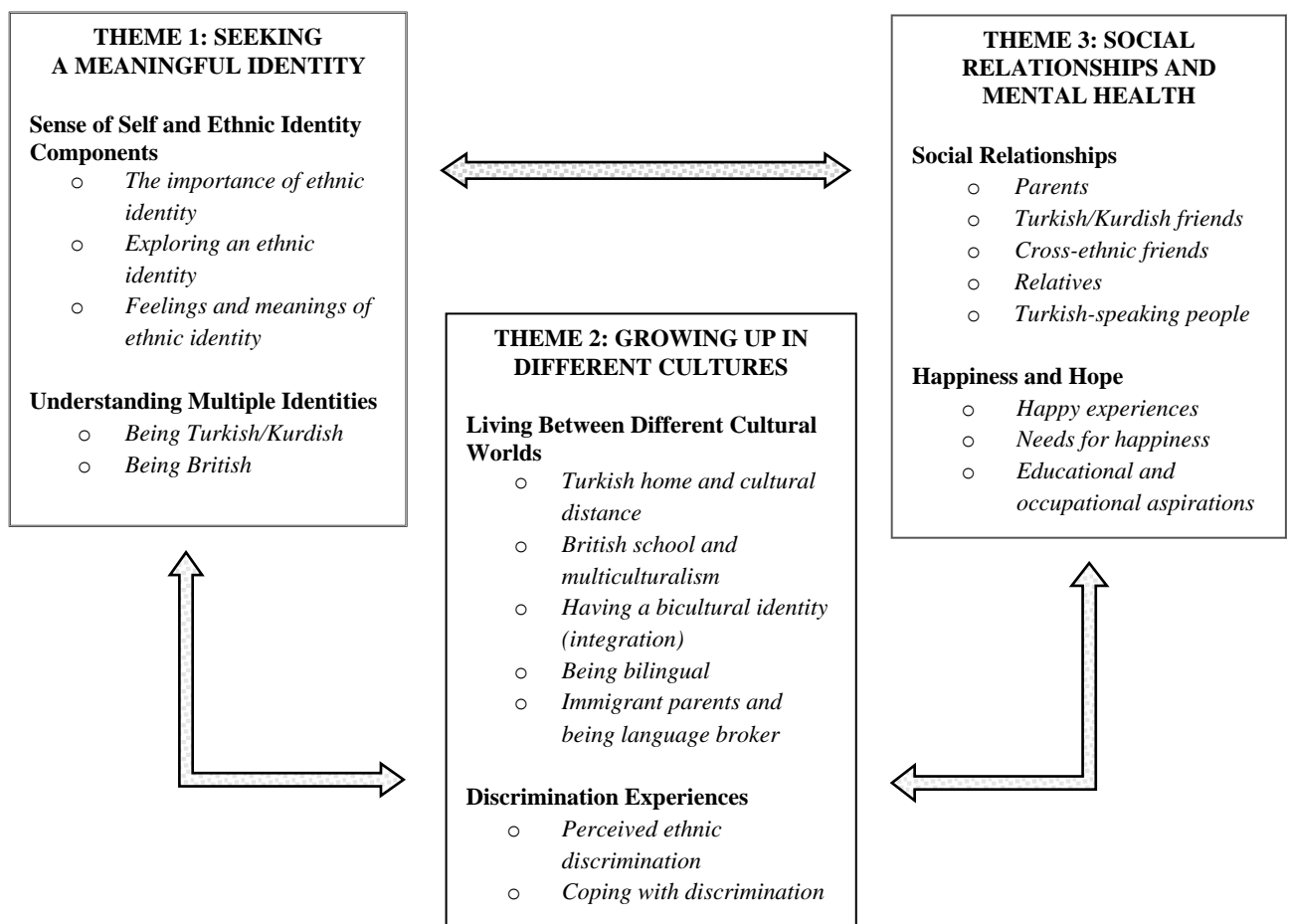
First, the interview data were transcribed in detail (every spoken English and Turkish words), and equal attention was given to each data item in the process of coding, which included all participants' experiences and perceptions. All relevant information for each theme was organised, and coherent and distinctive themes (by considering both participants' experiences and research questions) were organised and created by using some tools such as tables (see Figure 13 on page 104, see Appendix 9 for more examples) and maps (see Figure 14 on page 105). In these themes, both similar and different experiences were described: For example, most participants made a connection between their schools and multiculturalism, therefore, I created the subtheme of *British school and multiculturalism*. I also discussed their different experiences, for instance, I shared Berk and Burak's stories as different cases in terms of their ethnic identity and acculturation experiences. Data were not only described but also interpreted by using relevant theories (e.g. Umaña-Taylor's ethnic identity formation and Berry's acculturation model) and related previous research literature in order to make sense of participants' experiences. The quotations were also used to strengthen these analytic claims (with a good balance between them) and to give participants' voice. Three main themes of this study were fitted in a well-organised and interconnected narrative to tell participants' stories about ethnic identity formation, acculturation and social relationships sequentially. Enough time was allocated -it took almost ten months- to complete all phases of the analysis including writing the full report of qualitative findings. Lastly, the assumptions and positionality in the thematic analysis were also considered during this process and all phases were reported transparently in methodology sections to have a robust qualitative practice.

<sup>16</sup> For more information and full checklist, see page 96: Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3, 77-101.

## 5.8 Overview of Findings

Analysis resulted in three main themes and a range of subthemes being identified (see Figure 15). They represent: second-generation Turkish young people’s ethnic identity-related experiences, their perceptions, feelings and meanings (Theme 1), their acculturation and discrimination experiences when they grow up in both Turkish and British cultures (Theme 2), and their mental health and social relationships with others (Theme 3) in the context of England, and the interconnections between these three themes (arrows).

Figure 15: An Overview of the Themes



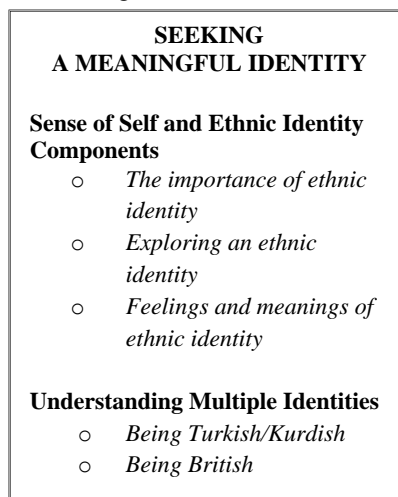
These themes and the interplay between them will be interpreted with the related theories and with previous research in order to gain a deeper understanding of second-generation Turkish young people’s ethnic identity formation, their acculturation, and perceived discrimination in the context of England and finally their mental health during these processes. They have been represented in separate sections set out by theme to enable a rich discussion of the results (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8 respectively).

## CHAPTER 6

### SEEKING A MEANINGFUL IDENTITY

This theme (see Figure 16) aims to represent the experiences of second-generation Turkish young people during their ethnic identity exploration, their feelings towards their ethnicity and what ethnic identity means to them. To understand these processes, their general sense of self, ethnic/cultural activities, their feelings and the subjective meanings they assign to ethnicity will be discussed. This will frame a discussion of their subjective meanings of ethnic identity, in terms of both self-concept and their relationships with others. Furthermore, second-generation Turkish young people's multiple identities in relation to their social identity complexity will be covered. These findings will contribute to identity research regarding second-generation youth and contextual differences. They will also provide a deeper understanding of the multiple identities of ethnic minorities in different social settings. In the following part, *sense of self and ethnic identity components* and *understanding multiple identities* subthemes will be discussed.

Figure 16: Theme 1



## 6.1 Sense of Self and Ethnic Identity Components

This subtheme encompasses several aspects of the general sense of self and ethnic identity components: *the importance of ethnic identity* (also called ethnic identity centrality), *exploring an ethnic identity* (culturally specific activities, practices and roles), *feelings* (positive, negative and ambivalent feelings to one's ethnic group) and *meanings of ethnic identity* (a personal sense of commitment to a specific view and meaning of one's ethnicity).

It is important to start with young people's general sense of self in accordance with the characteristics with which they define themselves to understand who they are. They have not only their social identities but also other characteristics and roles as a young person, a student, a sibling, and as a son/daughter. Therefore, I wanted to know how they address the question of "who am I?" at the beginning of the interviews. For that reason, I asked some self-identification questions to see how they talk about themselves and to understand their general representation of self-concept. When they were introducing and describing themselves, most of them addressed their age, hobbies, appearance, area of study and occupational aspirations, personal characteristics (e.g. being a leader, a helpful son/daughter, and a good friend) as well as their social identities (e.g. being Turkish/Kurdish, British, Londoner, and Muslim) as a part of themselves. For example:

Mehmet: *I was born and grew up in London. I have been focusing more on my studies for GCSEs. I like playing video games and going out with my friends. I would like to study something through Maths and Science at uni. I am half Kurdish and Turkish.* (Male, 16)

Ahmet: *I am 16 years old. I am British. My family is from Turkey. I was born here and have grown up mostly in this area, Enfield. Most of the time, I spend time here. I love football and I am a fan of Galatasaray and Tottenham. My favourite subject is Maths and pro-design it is about design stuff. I would like to be a manufacturing engineer.* (Male, 16)

These different characteristics are important since when participants were talking about themselves, salience is assigned not only their personal identifications (e.g. their hobbies, aspirations and academic interests), but also their social identifications (e.g. ethnic background, national identity and religion) as well as to the context (e.g. a British and Turkish/Kurdish person in London) where they are growing up. These answers show that their ethnicity is particularly one of the significant domains which occupy a place in their self-description.

In addition, young people's characteristics can be crucial indicators of their self-awareness and multiple descriptions of themselves in the stage of adolescence where they are trying to find a coherent identity. Being aware of these multiple characteristics/roles and verbalising them might be helpful for young people to reach a coherent combination of their multiplicity. Likewise, Erikson (1968) suggested that the combination of different characteristics are significant signs which indicate their integration to create a coherent overall identity for adolescents. Therefore, understanding young people's characteristics as important indicators of identity formation provided a logical and insightful starting point in grasping their subjective reality and the context in which they live. It was also useful to get to know them with their characteristics and different combinations (e.g. being both strong and sensitive, British as a child of a Turkish family, Muslim and Turk in England, both Kurdish and Alevi) from the outset of the interviews. Moreover, these various characteristics are significant signs which show not only individual differences but also inter-minority differences and the ethnic-religious heterogeneity/diversity of people from Turkey. Even though these aspects are only about their characteristics and important markers in defining themselves, identity is a far more complex construct. Accordingly, I will broach the subject and discuss the important identity aspects of young people and what influences their sense of who they are to better understand their identity and ethnic identity formation.

### 6.1.1 *The Importance of Ethnic Identity*

I also wanted to know which parts/aspects of their identity are important to them and the reasons why they attach importance to them. Their common answers for their important identity domains can be separated as *personal characteristics* (e.g. being disciplined, thoughtful, empathetic, friendly, social, good leader, lazy, family-orientated) and *social identities* such as ethnic identity (being Turkish, Kurdish, Turkish/Kurdish), national identity (being British, UK-born), and finally religious identity (being Muslim, Alevi, Atheist).

The importance of these personal characteristics varies among the participants. Twenty participants were interviewed in this research, 6 of whom talked only about their personal characteristics as important parts of themselves, whereas twelve participants stated that not only personal characteristics but also their ethnic identity were significant in shaping themselves. In this regard, for example, Erol disclosed that:

Erol: *I am adaptable, that is important for me because the world is consistently changing, and we need to be open to accepting new ideas. I am disciplined: if you can't do things in an organised way, you can lose your control of life. I am also understanding and empathetic, it is important because my friends come and tell me stories and I listen. So, I am a good friend in that way.* (Male, 18)

Interviewer: *What about being Turkish?*

Erol: *Being British and Turkish, I do not think that shapes my identity in any way, what gives me individuality, are these qualities that I circled, and not being British or Turkish. I think when describing someone they should not be even a part of someone's qualities.* (Male, 18)

As can be seen from this conversation, Erol's personal qualities are important for him in defining his "individuality". He could explain why he finds his ethnicity and nationality non-central to his identity. However, for other participants, being Turkish/Kurdish had much more importance in shaping who they are. For instance, Kubra and Ozlem explained that:

Kubra: *From my childhood, these really shaped my personality. Firstly, my parents taught me that I am Turkish, and that I need to live like a Turkish person. That has always been a very big part of the decisions I make and general life to represent Turkey in England.* (Female, 17)

Ozlem: *I chose my Turkish and Kurdish parts because being in the UK makes me more attached to my culture. For example, I enjoy going to Turkish weddings in the UK. If I lived in Turkey, these kinds of activities would be normal for me.* (Female, 16)

These participants addressed not only the importance of their ethnicity but also the reasons why being Turkish/Kurdish in particular is a significant aspect for them by considering their social relationships (e.g. learning from their parents), culture and the UK context (e.g. attaching more importance to cultural activities due to living outside of Turkey). They also indicated how the UK context affects their personal characteristics:

Ozlem: *I can also play piano and I love swimming. If I had not grown up in the UK, I would not have had these opportunities. I am also very stubborn because girls can speak up and state her opinions in the UK.* (Female, 16)



Yagmur: *I feel like in the UK, people judge you by your friends, hobbies and interests that you have. You have to have specific hobbies or interests for you to be clever. If someone asks you, what is your hobby? If you say I haven't got any that would be like: 'Wow you are probably lazy or stupid!' If you don't have friends that shame on you, if your friends aren't popular, they will shame you. They will be like: "you need to find new friends" and so they will judge you by your friends as well.* (Female, 16)

Like many teenagers, participants mentioned their hobbies, interests and personality as being important aspects to them. Kubra, Ozlem and Yagmur could also establish an association between their personal characteristics (e.g. hobbies, interests, and personality as a social person), the content of their ethnic identity (such as political ideology, practising Turkish culture, public regard as Turkish) and the UK context with their own positive and negative interpretations. It is particularly important to see their awareness of the possible influence of context on their specific identity characteristics/aspects (e.g. living as a Turkish person, being more attached to their culture, having specific hobbies because of the opportunities in the UK, and being able to speak up due to different gender roles and norms in the UK).

Furthermore, it is important to consider young people's different interpretations and subjectivity regarding living in England. This distinctiveness can be seen from Ozlem and Yagmur's answer. Ozlem interprets her stubbornness and hobbies by considering perceived opportunities and different gender roles in England in a very positive way, whereas Yagmur tends to think that she needs hobbies and friends due to "judgmental people" in the UK as a negative interpretation of British culture. Although Ozlem and Yagmur share a similar background as children of immigrants from Turkey, their perspectives about England are divergent. It has been suggested that the importance of ethnicity varies across adolescents within the same situation and that social relationships have a significant role on this process (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014; Yip, Douglass & Shelton, 2013). In this study, like Kubra, Ozlem and Yagmur, when participants were explaining their important parts of themselves, most also mentioned their social relationships and significant others such as their parents, siblings, friends. Umaña-Taylor et al. (2014) suggested that young people experience more familial socialisation and social transitions during adolescence, and that these experiences might make ethnicity more salient or important to youth. Once ethnicity is made salient to youth, they begin to integrate these experiences into their self-concept. Therefore, not only the wider UK context but also their social relationships and local context are important for young people's identity

development, and their social environment should be considered to understand the content of their identities.

In summary, young people's subjectivity and social relationships (particularly with parents) are important factors which might affect the given importance of their ethnic identity. When their ethnicity is important in their lives, adolescents are increasingly motivated to explore their ethnic identity and feel more connected to their ethnic group (Kiang et al., 2010). In addition, ethnic identity exploration is related to their feelings about ethnic identity and meaning-making process to seek and formalise a meaningful ethnic identity. In order to understand these processes, their ethnic identity exploration processes also need to be considered in their own context.

### 6.1.2 *Exploring an Ethnic Identity*

In the first part of the interviews, the participants talked about their personal characteristics, but then I asked them further questions to change the interview direction to the ethnic identity (particularly ethnic identity exploration, feelings and meanings) and their exploration experiences of Turkish/Kurdish identity.

Most participants mentioned a wide range of cultural/ethnic activities and practices which they engage with (e.g. watching Turkish news/movies/series, eating Turkish food, reading Turkish books, listening to Turkish music, attending Turkish weddings and cultural festivals, going to Turkish schools<sup>17</sup>). They also mentioned some alternative activities, such as going to Alevi Festivals, attending a protest, visiting the Turkish martyrs' cemetery, playing *baglama*<sup>18</sup> and Turkish folk dances which are relatively hard to access in the UK. Some of these activities became their hobbies and it was noteworthy participants referred to the *baglama* as the "Turkish guitar". I was unsure why they called the instrument the Turkish guitar instead of the *baglama*, and they explained their word choice as an attempt to make the custom more intelligible to English-speaking society since the instrument is not widely known in the UK. This active exploration attempt might also be a part of their meaning-making process during identity formation and acculturation in England.

<sup>17</sup> Turkish supplementary schools are affiliated with The Turkish Embassy Education Consultancy in London.

<sup>18</sup> A local musical instrument from Turkey.

Overall, most participants mentioned a wide range of activities where they can explore their ethnic identity and practise their culture, particularly in North London<sup>19</sup> (which includes numerous Turkish restaurants, supermarkets, barbers, community associations, local organisations, mosques and *cemevi*<sup>20</sup>, special saloons for Turkish weddings, tutorial and music schools<sup>21</sup>). However, the participants in Bristol, Swindon and West London stated that they wished they could have more Turkish/Kurdish activities in their surroundings.

It appears that second-generation Turkish young people have more opportunities to explore their ethnic identity in certain places in England, some participants believe that North London is the best place for this. Accordingly, other participants (from outside of North London) were aware of these differences. Tugba (from West London) said:

*Tugba: I wish I could live in North London. There are lots of Turkish people there, because of the shared culture I can find lots of Turkish stuff there and mosques too. (Female, 16)*

In Tugba's situation, she mentioned not only going to mosques as an activity to explore her identity but also, she talked about going to Turkish school at weekends and Turkish assemblies. However, her focus was about going to mosques as a child of a religious Sunni Turkish family. On the other hand, Mehmet and Eren talked mostly about going to Kurdish celebrations (such as Newroz) or demonstrations and *cemevi* with their parents. Like Tugba, Mehmet and Eren, participants also addressed the role of their parents when they were talking about ethnic and cultural activities that they attend. From this point of view, their engagement with these activities is related to their parental background politically and religiously in particular. Most of them also stated that their parents force them to participate in cultural practices and events (such as speaking Turkish at home, reading Turkish books, going to festivals and Turkish/Kurdish NGOs). At this point, it is important to clarify then, that young people are not only motivated to do ethnic/cultural activities of their own free will but also through the coercion of their parents.

Regardless of their source of motivation for participating, these activities are helpful and important for young people's ethnic identity exploration since young people can both engage with their culture and be more familiar with their second-generation ethnic group

<sup>19</sup> Particularly the Boroughs of Hackney, Haringey, and Enfield where Turkish/Kurdish people mostly live (Sirkeci, 2015). I also carried out a large part of my fieldwork there (15 interviews out of 20 were conducted in these areas).

<sup>20</sup> A place where Alevi people go for praying and doing other religious ceremonies.

<sup>21</sup> These private schools are owned by Turkish people and most of their students are Turkish/Kurdish.

membership. This exploration process represents a quest for knowledge and understanding about their ethnic heritage, and this increased awareness can help young people as they get to answering the question “who am I” (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). They can also practise their traditions, culture and language, and explore meanings and feelings connected to their ethnic identity more (Whitehead, Ainsworth, Wittig & Gadino, 2009; Yip, 2014). These activities are significant not only for ethnic identity exploration but also for its formation and maintenance. Some participants were aware of the importance of these activities and their needs as children of an immigrant family in the UK. Some participants also said that they are not only having fun when participating in these activities but also that these are very useful to understand and practise the Turkish culture. Yagmur also indicated her feelings:

*Yagmur: I can have a lot of fun at our weddings. I like being Turkish, if I could consider it again, I would not change being Turkish because of our culture and language. I love the culture, the weddings, the family-like how the family comes together; the food and everything just mix us. (Female, 16)*

Like Yagmur, most participants stated that they like being with their parents, relatives, and other Turkish people during these activities or some special days such as Eid. They also talked about their positive feelings towards warm relationships and social cohesion among Turkish people. Some participants pointed out that these warm relationships are not very common within “cold British society”.

However, some participants said that they prefer not to engage with Turkish activities. For example, Baris stated that:

*Baris: I just eat Turkish food when my mum makes it. My mum makes a variety of foods, so it is not really specifically Turkish. Apart from that, I don't engage in any Turkish activities like Turkish social activities. I don't get involved with the Turkish culture and I don't listen to Turkish music. I only eat Turkish foods and talk to my grandparents and cousins in Turkish. There are not really up to my phase. The environment like Turkish activities, I don't find them intellectual. For example, why they do stuff like playing music so loud, I don't like this environment. The conversations they don't really engage in a proper deep form. (Male, 16)*

Although Baris does not like the Turkish traditions, he expressed positive sides of being Turkish and its advantages for him by liking to the Turkish language. He added that:

Baris: *But, being Turkish gives you your identity and it does help a lot with your relationships, if someone is Turkish and they speak Turkish you can make friends with them much easier. I know people that if they did not speak Turkish, they would never be friends of mine because they would not have anything in common with me. For example, my friend does not speak Turkish, and I can predict that if he did speak Turkish, our relationship would be much better. He is one of my best friends now, but it would be better if he speaks Turkish. And, I can speak Turkish which is always useful having another language.* (Male, 16)

Baris could make a connection between his Turkish identity and his personal relationships (speaking Turkish language with some friends as an advantage and sharing common issues with them, see page 164 in Chapter 8 for more information about their friendship). He was also aware that speaking Turkish is very useful for him as a second language in general. However, when also considering Baris's first comments about the Turkish environment, he might experience a tension between a "shallowing Turkish environment" and the "advantages of being Turkish" with his negative and positive feelings.

### 6.1.3 Feelings and Meanings of Ethnic Identity

In contrast with Baris's contradictory feelings about being Turkish, most participants were clear about their feelings towards being Turkish/Kurdish. They expressed their positive feelings as *feeling pride, proud, happy, sense of belonging, sense of community, attachment*. For example, two of whom addressed positive feelings towards their ethnic identity:

Kubra: *I have the greatest pride of all the land as a Turkish person. Being Turkish means pride and my country and being proud of who I am. Being Turkish is being honest, being good, being kind and being fair for me. And that makes me happy.* (Female, 17)

Umut: *It is just who I am. It is a part of me, it is not just I have to because of my family. It is my culture, past, my ancestors and stuff like that. I feel like I'm very attached to that.* (Male, 17)

Furthermore, some participants addressed their sense of belonging to their ethnic group membership and community (e.g. not only being proud of Turkish identity but also feeling connection to Turkish ancestry and history, feeling closer and more attached to Turkish people in the UK). These positive feelings and this sense of belonging show their strong ties/connections and positive affects about their ethnic group membership. These feelings can protect their self-concept, private regard and may increase their self-esteem. Likewise, Rivas-

Drake et al. (2014b) suggested that individuals positively affect towards their own ethnic group as a significant component of their ethnic identity and that it is associated with a positive adjustment across different developmental periods. These positive feelings and this sense of belonging to their ethnic group might be one of the important factors to explore, engage and maintain a meaningful identity.

It also needs to be addressed that these patterns were mostly seen among participants who said that their ethnic identity is one of the important parts of themselves. For instance, being Turkish was not relevant for Erol, therefore, although he has a sense of community, he was prouder of his personal characteristics or achievements rather than his ethnic identity:

*Erol: Obviously it is giving me... I don't know; I have some culture from there and the genetic features of a Turkish person. But I don't have a strong connection. I have got a sense of community; again, I don't really have that much attachment. I think I am aware of it in that way; I feel like other people who have feelings of pride of being Turkish. I don't feel that way at all. I am prouder of my other qualities. (Male, 18)*

A few participants also expressed their negative feelings of ethnic identity as *feeling embarrassed, discomfort, and being detached*. Not only having these negative feelings towards their own ethnic identity but also accepting and admitting them might be difficult for them. Therefore, only one participant stated his negative feelings towards being Turkish explicitly:

*Berk: My parents are from there [Turkey] and they really like it. I like going there occasionally. But it has not been part of me, I don't really... I went there a lot when I was a kid, but I don't really care too much about it. I always hide my Turkish side, if people don't ask specifically, I don't say where I come from. It has always been like that when I was even younger. London is very multicultural, most people are not originally from England, but I am not proud of being Turkish because I suppose I have some negative connotations in my mind. I always wanted to be in the UK when I was a child, I didn't want to go there for summer holidays and stay there such a long time... I think I have a lack of practice too. (Male, 18)*

It is important to mention that Berk has a different background and distinct experiences from other participants in terms of his living standards, parental background, friendships, interests and aspirations. He was the only one who has parents<sup>22</sup> who went to university and he feels lucky as an only child without financial stress due to his parents' wealth. It appears that

<sup>22</sup> Both of them hold a post graduate degree from a UK university and do not have any English language difficulty.

there is a significant difference between him and other participants in terms of their economic and social status<sup>23</sup>. These resources might have had some effects on Berk's life such as his interests (e.g. British comedies) and his educational aspirations (e.g. studying Animation at an Art School in London<sup>24</sup>). He also added his parents do not have expectations from him, and they only care about his happiness. Therefore, he might feel less pressured to engage with Turkish culture and have more chance/opportunity to develop different interests and aspirations. Thus, he could explore British culture and feel more attached to his British identity. He stated that he does not engage with Turkish activities/practices apart from eating Turkish foods and reading about Turkey. Being Turkish only means a country to him and he embraces what he perceives as British social mores such as tending towards being "sort of very dry and sarcastic". Moreover, according to Berk, there are no cultural differences between his home and outside, the only difference is that his parents mostly speak Turkish at home.

In terms of friendship, Berk has only one Turkish friend at his school. Apart from him, his friends are all white British or European (his school and neighbourhood were mainly white British). He talked about his Turkish friend and said that "they don't really have much in common, Turkish people generally like sports, football and so on but I mostly like other stuff like games and magazines". At the end of the interview, he also clearly expressed his confusions by identifying himself with the blob shape that has a question mark in the blob-bridge:

*Berk: This one looks like me. Being Turkish is a bit confusing sometimes because I try to do the Turkish culture thing, but I don't really get it. I don't understand the need for people to be really close to own culture. If they want to, sure. But I don't really feel comfortable with it and they don't really take my interest. (Male, 18)*

It appears that Berk has experienced different ethnic socialisation from other participants of this study could easily be attributable to different parental, contextual and individual factors. He holds some "negative connotations" towards Turkey and being Turkish. Some of the consequences of this are explicit (e.g. hiding his Turkish side) and implicit (e.g. even though football is also a popular sport among British people he mentioned as if it is a unique aspect of Turkish society to show he does not have much in common with them). If

<sup>23</sup> Most participants have parents who did not receive higher education and work in manual labour (employed or self-employed) in the UK.

<sup>24</sup> Other participants generally have occupational aspirations towards common areas such as engineering, law and medicine.

people who belong to a disadvantaged ethnic minority group internalise negative associations towards their ethnicity, they can intentionally avoid in-group membership to protect their self-esteem, and this can disrupt the formation of positive attitudes towards the in-group (Dunham, Baron & Banaji, 2007). Moreover, this situation has some similarities to Umaña-Taylor et al.'s (2014) concept of *self-denial*, where individuals attempt to hide or minimise their ethnic background which can cause different problems such as low self-confidence in turn.

These findings suggest that Turkish ethnic identity plays a different role in young people's lives with the complexity of negative and positive feelings. Not only contextual factors (e.g. familial relationships) but also individual differences (e.g. their own interpretations) are important to understand these different roles and feelings during ethnic identity formation. In this process, their own interpretations and meanings of being Turkish/Kurdish are important since young people's identity develops as a function of their own exploration and experiences with their subjective questioning and understanding and as Umaña-Taylor et al. (2018) suggested profound understandings about themselves can help to develop self-confidence in their identity content.

In order to understand their subjective understandings and grasp the content of their ethnic identity, I also asked participants about what it means to be Turkish/Kurdish. Their answers were separated in three categories: Individual (e.g. it means *genetic, honesty* and a *good person*), relational (e.g. it means *language, parents* and a *place where they come from*) and collective (e.g. it means *background, ancestors, history, traditions* and *culture*). These answers show what they mean by being Turkish/Kurdish in the context of England, and they also provide important signs about their own interpretation and show the content of ethnic identity with individual, relational and collective considerations. Although these answers include different levels of belonging to their country and culture, they mostly seem to be related to accepting their roots either hereditary or culturally. Particularly collective contents of ethnic identity indicate young people's attempt to not feel a sense of rootlessness by means of this meaning-making process. Despite some commonalities, there were also certain differences between participants in terms of ethnic identity content and explanations about the meanings of ethnic identity. Most participants were able to express the meaning of ethnic identity by linking it to their feelings, and their cultural and personal considerations:



Dilan: *It means everything, it means being proud of being Turkish-Kurdish because they are one of the friendliest people, you can search from the internet. When I go to Turkey, the environment is very friendly as well and a lot of my English friends hear that.* (Female, 18)

However, it is also possible to not assign any meaning towards ethnic identity. Few participants were unsure what being Turkish/Kurdish means to them, and some of those gave also some pragmatic answers. For example:

Mehmet: *To be honest, being Turkish-Kurdish does not that really mean much. But it can get me a lot of friends because nowadays in secondary schools there are lots of Turkish people in London. It is a good society and you can have lots of friends.* (Male, 16)

Although both Mehmet and Dilan interpreted being Turkish/Kurdish within the frame of friendship, they care about different aspects of being Turkish/Kurdish. It means having many Turkish friends for Mehmet, but it means being from a place which has a good reputation as a friendly country for Dilan. However, when talking about being Kurdish, they pointed out the same distinction; both emphasised that being Kurdish does not mean anything to them because they do not speak the Kurdish language. Their common point was the language that they can speak to bring meaning to ethnic identity, and they also have established a relationship between the meaning of being Turkish and speaking the Turkish language.

In addition, some of them attempted to explain the complexity of being Turkish and/or Kurdish in detail by considering the UK context. It is important to address that these complex answers were given particularly by the participants with positive feelings towards their ethnic identity, who addressed their ethnic identity as an important part of themselves and engaged with many ethnic/cultural activities. Similarly, Umaña-Taylor et al. (2004, 2014, 2018) suggested that young people can achieve a sense of ethnic identity after they have explored their ethnicity and what it means to them, and after they have accepted and internalised it. Thus, ethnic identity exploration (engaging with cultural activities) and feelings towards ethnic identity are important in developing a personal sense of commitment and clarity regarding the meaning of ethnic identity and this seems to apply for second-generation Turkish young people in England.

However, reaching a coherent sense of self and a meaningful identity might be difficult for some young people who do not have certain opportunities or/and engagements (e.g. lack of cultural practices, activities, and ethnic socialisation) to explore their ethnic identity.

Importantly, when participants were explaining what their ethnic identity means to them, they mentioned the role of their parents, their extended family, their friends and strong relationships with other Turkish people, whereas others (who did not explain what being Turkish/Kurdish meant to them) tended to address their loneliness and isolated life between their school and home. Therefore, not only ethnic activities but also young people's social relationships can be important in the formation of a meaningful ethnic identity. In this vein, Umaña-Taylor et al. (2014) also suggested that there are different paths based on the broader ecological contexts and life experiences of an individual for arriving at identity coherence. It seems that social context (e.g. relationships with family and friends) is one of the important factors particularly in the meaning-making process of ethnic identity among second-generation Turkish young people in England.

Overall, it can be said that second-generation Turkish young people's ethnic identity exploration, feelings and meanings are shaped by their own interpretations and social interactions in their own context (with the influence of parents and other people around them). However, not only these aspects about their ethnic identity but also their multiple social identities (such as being British at the same time) should be considered to gain a nuanced understanding of their ethnic identity development, and the manifold difficulties/opportunities that they have during this process.

## **6.2 Understanding Multiple Identities**

This subtheme will represent the complexity of multiple social identities of second-generation Turkish young people during their ethnic identity formation. Here, their multiple identities will be discussed by covering *ethnic (Turkish, Kurdish and Turkish/Kurdish)* and *British identities* in England.

### *6.2.1 Being Turkish and/or Kurdish*

In this study, not all of the participants self-identity as ethnically Turkish. Some of them identify themselves as Kurdish since their parents are Turkish citizens of Kurdish origins. It is important to address that when Kurdish young people (seven participants identified themselves as Kurdish, and four participants said that they felt both Turkish and Kurdish) were talking

about being Turkish and/or Kurdish in England, some indicated their confusions about being Kurdish from Turkey. For example, Dilan said that:

*Dilan: It is confusing because sometimes my family says we are Turkish, sometimes they say we are Kurdish. For instance, my uncle says we are Kurdish, but my auntie says we are Turkish. As my family speaks Kurdish too, so I just say both. (Female, 18)*

Dilan found it is confusing due to contradictory self-identification remarks emanating from her parents and relatives about being Turkish and Kurdish. The same confusion has been observed in other research conducted amongst the Turkish community in the UK, with some stating their ethnicity as being Turkish despite also having a Kurdish background (D'Angelo, Galip & Kaye, 2013), whereas some are very clear that they are ethnically Kurdish. These differences appear to hinge upon participants' understanding of on-going political issues around Kurdish people in Turkey. This ambiguity can be also related to external agencies like being unrecognised since Turkishness is not a national inclusive identity within which every citizen of Turkey can identify themselves (Ünlü, 2018). However, some participants gave their own interpretation about this situation by considering aspects such as language, traditions and the country where they are from. For example, Ozlem stated that:

*Ozlem: My family is actually Kurdish. My parents can speak both Turkish and Kurdish. But I do not speak Kurdish and I do not know anything about it, that is why I always say I am Turkish because we are from Turkey... Although we live in England, we do not celebrate weddings in the same way the British people celebrate. We celebrate like Turkish people with traditional dance, and traditional basic stuff. (Female, 16)*

Being Kurdish was explicit for some participants. For example, Eren identifies himself as Kurdish and he is very interested in current political issues for Kurdish people. He also finds his Kurdish identity important to him, and he is very active in the Kurdish community in North London. According to him, being Kurdish means learning his culture and not forgetting about their people (Kurdish people around the world). Thus, he identified himself as a Kurdish person from Turkey and he had a clear meaning of being Kurdish. Notwithstanding, some participants who identify themselves as Kurdish said that it is difficult to explain. For example:

*Umut: I live in Britain; I usually tell people I am Kurdish. When I am saying I am Kurdish, they say "what is that?" Some people are very ignorant. They like "what is the difference between Turkish and Kurdish people" which is very long to explain. Sometimes I tend to say I am from Turkey. If someone does know, of course, I am saying Kurdish. (Male, 17)*

*Zeynep: My friends have recently found out Kurdish, they always thought I am Turkish because I am from Turkey. It is just so hard to explain. My Turkish friends know I am Kurdish but... People ask whether I am from Kurdistan, I say no, I am from Turkey. They know I am Kurdish, but they don't totally understand. So, I am like 'just remember me as Turkish'.* (Female, 16)

According to these participants, Kurdish identity is not a well-known ethnic category in the UK. Therefore, they mostly say “I am from Turkey” like Umut when they first meet with someone, however, a few of them stated that they say “I am Turkish” even though they do not believe that they are ethnically Turkish. This difficulty of internal confusion and ambiguous messages (not only from their parents and relatives but also from society) seems to make the identity formation process more confusing, demanding and complex for young people who have Kurdish ethnicity when they try to define clearly their identity.

Some participants stated that they sometimes have conflicts with their second-generation Turkish/Kurdish friends because of political issues. For example, Ahmet said that he does not want to talk to his Kurdish friends due to the political tension and aggression between him and them. As Roccas and Brewer (2002) suggested this confusion and complexity can affect not only their identity but also the nature of relationships with others. They also have some conflicts with their family and friends who have different understandings of being Kurdish and Turkish. In addition to these relationship problems, ethnic identity confusion might cause other negative outcomes such as stress, difficulty in making choices, lack of self-esteem and not having positive feelings towards ethnic identity (Navarrete & Jenkins, 2011). However, in spite of these possible negative outcomes, the ambiguity of being Turkish and/or Kurdish can be experienced and perceived with clear understandings and positive aspects by young people:

*Baran: It is like... I do not know how I can describe it or express myself. My father and mother are Turkish, so I am also Turkish. But my father is actually Kurdish, and I was born in England. I like being both, actually being different like Turkish, Kurdish and British too.* (Male, 16)

While Baran was talking about meanings and positive feelings towards his identity synthesis, he also addressed his British identity. In order to understand young people's multiple social identities and the process of this combination among second-generation Turkish young people in England, their British identity was also included.

### 6.2.2 Being British

When asked about what it means to be British, young people talked about various aspects: it means *settlement of society, citizenship, place of birth, opportunities, being bilingual, multicultural* and *a mixed person, doing some British activities* (e.g. going to cadets), *speaking English with a British accent*. Most pointed out directly their national identity by considering their birthplace, citizenship and residence in England. Some also focused on different ethnicities and diversity in the UK (particularly in London), and being multicultural when they were talking about their British identity. They also considered the positive sides of being British such as using the English language as a native speaker and having certain opportunities (e.g. having a comfortable life financially and accessing good education). Most of them also expressed their positive feelings towards being British: feeling *pride, honour, gratitude, and prestige*. Young people with these positive feelings mostly stated that their British identity is an important part of themselves.

In addition, I asked further questions about “being both” to understand the complexity of multiple identities. Some participants were able to explain the meaning of being both and were aware of the positive sides of this. Their common point was it is a *good cultural mixture*. For example, Baran gave clear answers about his multiple identities and continued to explain why being Turkish, Kurdish and British good for him:

Baran: *Some people are not very different; they have just one ethnicity and only focus on one culture. But I know a more mixed culture than them. I am both Turkish and Kurdish, I am also British because I was born here, and I go to school here. My friends are also British and mixed.* (Male, 16)

Perceiving multiple identities as a chance for mixture can give young people a sense of a bicultural identity and help them to combine different cultures (see Chapter 7 for more discussion). However, the explanations of being both varied between participants and some of them were aware only the advantages of being both:

Baris: *Being both is an advantage; I can speak two languages and I think it is a nice mixture because there are a lot of Turkish people in London that I can communicate with and alongside British people. So, my eye is opened up many possible relationships. Also, it allows me in the future to maybe get a job that includes both Turkey and England.* (Male, 16)

Zeynep: *As a Turkish and British person, I've more chance to find a job in a Turkish restaurant or any other shops in England than a person who can only speak English.* (Female, 16)

Baris and Zeynep are happy to be both Turkish/Kurdish and British, in terms of speaking two languages and thereby increasing their job opportunities. It is also important to note that some participants explained their meanings and feelings by approaching and considering their identities separately. Those participants tended to perceive their identities with a dominant influence (greater or lesser degrees such as feeling Turkish more than British or vice versa). In this kind of situation, someone can be Turkish in the first place and British as a secondary identity, or vice-versa. Thus, it is possible that both identities have their own meanings (Verkuyten, 2005). However, understanding multiple identities separately can be difficult due to the complexity of these identities. For example, Berfin expressed her confusions:

Berfin: *I wouldn't say I am British or English even if I am British because there is a stereotype about the typical white British person who would be white, blonde and blue eyes here in the UK. Obviously, I have a British passport, but I wouldn't say I am British. It is also wrong because I am British. Maybe I can classify myself British, but I don't classify myself as English. I don't know - I just never feel like British. I feel more Kurdish than British.* (Female, 17)

Berfin was concerned about “stereotypes about the typical white British person” in the UK. She was not sure about the content of Britishness because of the stereotypes which define a “proper” British person. Even though Britishness is known as an umbrella and inclusive term in the multi-ethnic and multi-racial British society (Kucukcan, 2009), it is also an ambiguous concept because of its background related to exclusionary and inclusionary tendencies in Britain's history<sup>25</sup> (Zriba, 2018). Berfin might feel and experience this ambiguity which is coming from the wider historical and political British environment through her interactions with that society. Despite the meanings and confusions attached to being British, a few participants were very clear that they do not identify themselves as British. They also expressed their negative feelings and ideas about being British. For example:

<sup>25</sup> There was a largely assimilationist phase (starting from 1945 till the end of the 1970's) and a multicultural phase (1980 till now) (Zriba, 2018).

Mehmet: *Being British means only language to me. I do not really like British society in general because there are lots of bad teenagers who are British. I really do not like the culture of them. Some of them, they are not good people in general. Turkish and British people are really different. For example, the food culture is different. A lot of British families they do not really cook, they get ready foods and stuff. Turkish fathers and mums, they generally cook their foods themselves which is nice. And houses are different, as you know we need to take our shoes off in any Turkish house whereas a lot of British people they wear their shoes in their houses.* (Male, 16)

Mehmet cares only about the English language in terms of being British and holds some stereotypes about “British society” perceiving himself to be an outsider from this culture. He made some comparisons between Turkish and British people to justify these thoughts of him. As a different case, according to Burak, being British only means citizenship to him. Similarly, he also expressed his negative thoughts against “British people” as well as by making more severe comparisons between Turkish and British people more than Mehmet. He disclosed that:

Burak: *They [British people] are dirty, whereas we are clean. They are also more stingy, greedy and ungrateful than us.* (Male, 16)

Mehmet and Burak (both do not identify themselves as British) have negative out-group stereotypes about British people, and their comments could be understood by considering social identity approaches. According to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), people tend to evaluate the status of the group that they belong to by making a social comparison between them (in-group) and others (out-group). They are motivated to evaluate in-group membership more positively than out-group in order to increase their self-esteem and maintain a positive self-image, and stereotypes form due to these associations of negative connotations. Both Mehmet and Burak do not feel that they belong to British society and thus perceive themselves as being outside of this group, and they might tend to evaluate their own Turkish ethnic group membership and culture positively, in comparison to the British outgroup. Research evidence suggests that individuals may hold stereotypical expectations and consequences bounded to the social category which show how a person who belongs to this category will (or will not) and should (or should not) behave (Verkuyten, 2005). Mehmet and Burak might expect some stereotypical behaviours from people who are seen as in-group members and also from outsiders. Furthermore, while they were talking about various distinctive characteristics of their ethnic identity confidently, they reduced being British to speaking the language or holding a passport. Multiple social identities might present

contrasting ideas and conflicting demands, and as Verkuyten (2005) suggested this issue is related to not only their self-identification but also particular (implicit and explicit) norms which bond their values learned at an early age. To understand this learning process, young people's experiences when they are growing up in different cultures should be discussed in depth. This is considered in more detail in Theme 2 (see page 138 in Chapter 7), drawing on Burak's experiences.

In conclusion, developing a positive sense of self is not easy when considering young people's multiple social identities. In addition, second-generation Turkish young people's ethnic identity development should be understood in its own social context since they have unique experiences and individual differences related to their multiple identities. They can also have different feelings and meanings during identity formation with both negative and positive outcomes. Having multiple identities brings with it the possibility of combinations (Verkuyten, 2005) which can be bicultural/multicultural identity. If young people know the meaning of their multiple identities and have positive feelings towards them, they can benefit from this combination with positive outcomes such as being self-confident and happy with themselves.

However, these processes not only occur at the individual level. Previous qualitative evidence has highlighted the vital role of immigrant parents in transmitting culture and influencing their children identity through not only daily life practices (e.g. celebrations, media and foods) but also language usage and possible clash between parents and children over cultural values (Garcia, 2019; Glozman & Chuang, 2019). In order to better comprehend the combination of multiple identities, young people's everyday interactions with their parents and mainstream society should be understood since second-generation young people also deal with some acculturation issues as children of immigrants. In the next chapter, their acculturation experiences associated growing up in different cultures will be discussed.

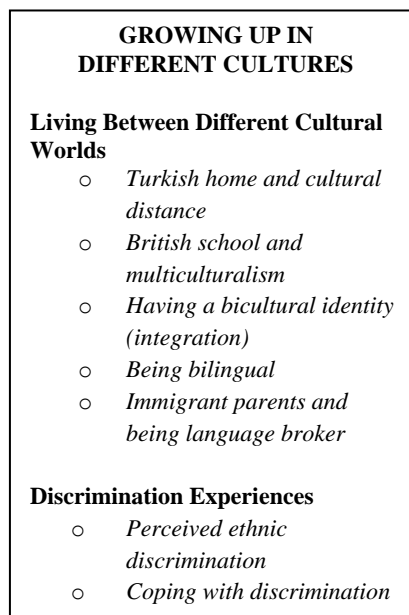


## CHAPTER 7

### GROWING UP IN DIFFERENT CULTURES

This second theme (see Figure 17) aims to represent what second-generation Turkish young people experience when they are growing up in British society (through schools) with Turkish culture (at home through their parents), and how they reconcile different cultures and combine their Turkish, Kurdish and British identities as a bicultural identity (integration). To understand these processes better, I will discuss the interactions between participants and their immigrant parents who tend to have language and acculturation problems. In addition, young people's negative experiences such as ethnic discrimination will be discussed to gain a more nuanced understanding of their difficulties and outline coping strategies during identity formation and acculturation processes. In this chapter, two subthemes will be discussed as *living between different cultural worlds* and *discrimination experiences*.

Figure 17: Theme 2



## 7.1 Living Between Different Cultural Worlds

In this subtheme, I will discuss second-generation Turkish young people's acculturation experiences by considering their multiple identities and lives in the settings of a *Turkish home* (young people's own cultural context at home with their parents and their understandings of cultural distance), and in a *British school* (as an indicator of the local British context that young people live in) along with *multiculturalism* (living in a diverse setting and its impact on the acculturation) with the wider political and socio-cultural context. I will also discuss second-generation young people's integration processes with the concept of *bicultural identity* and *bilingualism* (with the combinations of Turkish-British identities and Turkish-English languages). Finally, young people's *language brokering* (providing English language assistance to parents) experiences will be discussed by also covering their parents' ongoing integration process with the concept of *dissonant acculturation* (acculturation differences between parents and children).

### 7.1.1 Turkish Home and Cultural Distance

The participants in this study live in two cultures; they experience the Turkish culture at home (through their family life) and British culture outside of the home (through mostly schools). In this study, when participants were talking about the meaning of being British and Turkish/Kurdish, they highlighted perceived cultural differences between Turkish and British society. According to them, Turkish and British people have different *traditions* (e.g. different wedding ceremonies and music), *practices* (e.g. spending spare time with different activities and different cooking practices), *sentimental values* (e.g. Turkish society was characterised as more family-oriented, respectful and gerontocratic) and *social characteristics* (e.g. Turkish people are warmer than British people who are more competitive and individual). For example:

Berfin: *It feels weird because my mum and dad they haven't seen the same, they haven't got the same values as me. Their culture is different because of foods, the language, family values and everything is different. In Turkish and Kurdish families, they value looking after your parents when they get older, whereas in English families, they don't really care. As soon as you graduate, you leave but in Turkish and Kurdish families, a lot are different.* (Female, 17)

In differentiating the two cultures, Berfin pointed out that some cultural practices and dependant relationships in Turkish families are more important than in British culture. Participants also addressed that not only different values/ideas and practices but also distinct religions (such as Christianity vs Islam) are important factors which generate these differences between Turkish and British culture. Before mentioning second-generation Turkish young people's experiences in the UK, these perceived differences should be considered because young people might be conflicted between Turkish and British cultures and can thus feel "torn between two cultures" with high acculturative stress, and thus a greater cultural distance (dissimilarity between the two cultures) can affect young people's adaptation negatively (Berry, 1997). The possible conflicts and feelings about these differences will be discussed in this section through young people's social interactions, personal and institutional relationships.

When participants were talking about the differences between Turkish and British culture, most of them mentioned their relationship with parents by addressing different parenting styles between Turkish and British parents:

*Yagmur: I need to get approval from my parents for everything. I don't see the same thing outside of the home. British families also ask where their children go; I have seen it from my friends. But, ours is very different. When I try to get permission to go outside, my family asks ten different questions like where, with whom, what time I will go and be back home etc. But English ones just tell their parents "I am going" and they go. (Female, 16)*

Like Yagmur, some other participants also talked about their "protective parents" by complaining about their controlling behaviours through mostly *clothes* (not wearing revealing or eye-catching clothes for female participants in particular) and *friendship* (being mindful about their friendship choices, their friends should be willing to do them favours). Here, it is important to note that having immigrant parents with comparatively conservative values and a "controlling" parenting style might have a significant effect on second-generation young people. Previous research suggests that immigration and acculturation processes influence parents' childrearing styles and that the relationships between child and parents have a universally important role in shaping young people's well-being (Driscoll, Russell & Crockett, 2008). Not only parenting style but also their concern for keeping the traditional culture alive is important in mediating the relationship between immigrant parents and their children. Some young people are aware of the cultural distance and thus can understand why their parents coerce them into practising their culture. For example, Zeynep said that:

*Zeynep: My parents were not born here. Obviously, they know the culture and they feel familiar with it, but they haven't been raised into it. They are doubly scared of losing our culture, so they try to speak with me in Turkish at home and everything. (Female, 16)*

Even though this situation could be easy to understand for some second-generation young people, Ozlem criticised the first-generation Turkish parents and added that:

*Ozlem: I can also do activities that make me feel British, but they don't let me lose my Turkish side. (Female, 16)*

According to Ozlem, parents are concerned about their children unnecessarily when they engage with British activities. Turkish parents who have particularly high sensitivity to not losing their culture and attendant expectations of maintaining the Turkish culture can make their children more stressed/worried to learn and practise their own culture. Conversely, it follows that second-generation youth adapt and learn the dominant culture in accordance with the acculturation expectations of the majority population. These different expectations and this cultural distance can lead to acculturative stress among second-generation youth (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Groenewold, Valk & Ginneken, 2013). However, it is also important to acknowledge that not only their parents' rules and concerns about losing their culture, but also other environmental factors might be other reasons for Turkish parents to care for their children just like any other parents during the teenage years. For example, according to Baris, his parents are worried about him for other reasons beyond the risk of losing their culture:

*Baris: My parents they do not engage much with their culture, they are not culturally active compared with other Turkish people. So, it is pretty simple, my parents are a little bit stricter than British ones. In British culture, I know some parents that let their children out till 3.00 am to do whatever they want. I even know some parents let their children do drugs in the house without caring. Obviously, my parents care about these things. (Male, 16)*

According to Baris, his parents do not engage with the Turkish culture in the UK and in relation to this, they do care about protecting him from other things such as substance use and risky behaviours. Therefore, the importance of Turkish identity that is given by parents can also be another important point to not make young people feel under pressure for participating and engaging in ethnic activities/practices. In addition, Baris (like other participants such as Burak and Mehmet) shows some negative stereotypes towards British parents (e.g. letting their children use drugs) and does not consider in-group variations in British society. Generalising

Britishness and presenting it as homogeneous can also be significant in understanding young people's perspectives about British people as out-group members in their process of acculturation into British culture.

Most participants said that there are no similarities between Turkish and British people, practices, and values, and that they tended to interpret Turkish and British cultures as being completely different. These actual or perceived differences should be considered in order to understand young people's difficulties during acculturation since the degree of similarity between the heritage and receiving culture is important in determining young minorities' needs (can be demanding or unchallenging) for adaptation (Rudmin, 2003). When the cultural differences in their social setting become more divergent, being integrated might be more difficult for them. This can be the case particularly for female participants such as Yagmur since dealing with different gender roles between home (arguably more conservative) and British society (more egalitarian) could be hard in terms of understanding and adjusting to them. This issue can cause a conflict between them and their parents/family if they do not follow the expected gender roles. Furthermore, young people might also have some other social problems with their friends due to these rules. For example, Ayse said that:

*Ayse: I had an English friend for 13 years. We grew up together. Then she started to not understand Turkish culture. I can't do some particular things, but she could not understand that. Now, I don't have any "full English" friend, my friends generally have different ethnicities because I can get along with them. (Female, 18)*

Ayse has an English mother, however, she mentioned that her Turkish father has a dominant character and thus she needs to follow his strict rules (mostly related to traditional gender roles and norms such as not going to a distant place without first gaining permission from him, deciding what she should/should not wear). This may be a result of the first-generation's (those from traditional cultures) negative attitudes towards Western values which allow women greater freedom (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vedder, 2001). What is clear that these rules can limit young people's decision making and have negative effects on their lives. Additionally, as Ayse indicated, following/not following these rules may cause problems with both parents/family and friends in England through different perspectives towards gender roles. Verkuyten's (2005) points about Turkish people in the Netherlands can help to elaborate on gender roles and ethnicity together. He suggested that ethnicity and gender seem to intersect among Turkish people and that "being Turkish" can be closely linked to ideas about the role

of men and women. Thus, when men control and restrict women's behaviours, they can also ensure cultural and ethnic continuity. As a result, ethnic and cultural differences can be more explicit in terms of the positions of men and women, and this situation has negative effects on second-generation Turkish young people (for women in particular) psychologically and socially.

In addition to these contextual factors, personal characteristics and young people's own understandings play an important role in their acculturation attitudes. Learning and practising these different cultures and balancing/combining them can also be more difficult for some young people who do not give equal importance to their Turkish and British identity. For example, Erol (who feels that being British has contributed to his personality/qualities more than being Turkish) said that:

*Erol: It is quite hard actually because you know my family is Turkish and I am interacting as a Turkish person. When I go home it is like a different environment from outside. In the Turkish environment Turkish culture, you know, my parents are arguing, the personalities are different as well. (Male, 18)*

It seems that Erol struggles with the "different" Turkish environment when he goes home. In contrast to him, some participants stated that they get surprised due to different cultures when they go outside. When considering different answers and perceptions of other participants about British people/culture (such as Baris's perception and negative stereotypes towards British parents), it seems that participants understand, interpret and experience these cultures differently. For example, Ahmet said that:

*Ahmet: Some of my friends were embarrassed when they visited my home, I don't know why, we are different probably. When I went to their home, I was also embarrassed but then we got used to it and we did communicate. Now, I don't feel embarrassed if I go to in a group of English people because I speak the same language and I know what they are thinking. But, if I go to my friends' house, I do feel the distance. (Male, 16).*

The differences between Turkish and British culture do not have to be abstract, they can also be depending upon the physical environment (such as their home), and even the physical objects can express different feelings within the home environment. That could be understood by considering ethnicity and culture in everyday social spaces. According to Knowles (2003) the physical and practical signs of ethnic difference, the style and clothing of

spaces are important in “branding” a territory and showing markers of ethnic occupation. Thus, spaces like the home can be also an indicator of culture/habits, and an important social and physical environment to feel the culture and cultural differences for second-generation Turkish young people. Due to “differences” between homes, second-generation Turkish young people might feel the “distance” between the Turkish and British environments not only culturally but also physically.

However, as Ahmet said, speaking the same language, knowing “their mentality” and communication might make young people more familiar with this “different” culture. It is clear that they need to figure out how to live with, and between, their parents’ heritage culture (including practices, norms and parenting styles) and the larger society (including schooling and social relationships) (Berry & Sabatier, 2011). In the next section, second-generation Turkish young people’s experiences in British schools will be discussed in detail.

### 7.1.2 *British School and Multiculturalism*

Schools are significant places where young people spend most of their time. The majority of the participants of this study mentioned their schools (mostly English state-funded schools) as a significant context for learning British culture and socialising with British people, and also as being representative of British society. Most of them also said that their schools are important for them to feel British. For instance, Yagmur and Zeynep disclosed that:

*Yagmur: When I am at home, I feel fully Turkish because everything is Turkish like the music and series. I only feel British when I make English paperwork at home. I feel mostly British at school particularly in class because we cannot speak Turkish there, but in the schoolyard, we also speak Turkish with my friends. (Female, 16)*

*Zeynep: In my school, sometimes you get to visit universities, I think that is the time I feel mostly British because I see the British culture right in front of me. When it comes to school and everything you can see the easily ongoing British culture because you’re not allowed to speak any other language, everyone has to go with the rules like if we have one-minute silence for the Queen or something. That makes me feel very British. (Female, 16)*

Both Yagmur and Zeynep established a relationship between feeling British and the language that they speak at school. English language usage is also the most mentioned pattern by other participants which makes them feel more British. Some of them like Yagmur stated

that when they offer English language help to their parents or speak English with their second-generation siblings, they can feel British at home too. Therefore, second-generation young people tend to make a strong connection between being British and speaking English. It is also clear that language is key for a successful integration because learning and using each other's languages is a crucial behavioural change during integration into a new society (Berry, 2005). According to participants, schools have important roles for not only learning but also using the English language as it makes them familiar and involves them with the mainstream culture. Second-generation young people adopt the basic values of the receiving society, adapting to social life and national institutions (e.g. schools and health system) within those societies (Berry, 2001; Berry & Sabatier, 2011). Schools are crucial institutions which provide socio-cultural adaptation (e.g. qualities of relationships between the acculturating young person and their social context) (Berry & Sabatier 2011; Berry & Sam, 1996). Hence, other practices at British schools are also significant as Zeynep said that visiting universities and the "moment of silence" are moments that make her feel British beyond merely speaking the language.

Some participants also stated that having *multicultural schools* and *helpful teachers* are factors that make it easier to feel British and belong to British society. It seems that some school elements (such as teachers and diversity) in British schools can have a significant impact on second-generation Turkish young people's socio-cultural adaptation. In order to understand young people's socio-cultural adaptation at schools, perspectives and policies about immigration and ethnic minorities should be considered in a broader context. Most participants stated that they "feel at home" in the UK and some also added that they never feel alienated or excluded in the UK because of its multiculturalism. *Being a Londoner* was mostly addressed as an advantage due to the *diversity* at schools in London. For instance, Berfin said that:

Berfin: *At schools, there is chance to learn more about different cultures. It is not learning about one English, its England as a whole. I am in London and it is very multicultural. But I know for sure that most English people are not happy with the multicultural society at the moment. They just want to be English and care about British values.* (Female, 17)

Clearly, Berfin is pleased to live in multicultural London as a Kurdish person and is happy with the regulations at her school. However, she is also aware of other British people who view immigration negatively thus criticising their perceived "British values". Ahmet also pointed out the same issue about British people and stated some negatives aspects of living in the UK as a minority.



Ahmet: *We live with Turks, Kurds, Indians and black people here, so it is a very multicultural environment. But English people have run away from here, they went to the Essex area. We still have to obey the rules here because nobody can break the peace. For example, we play drums and a shrill pipe loudly on the street in weddings in Turkey, but we can play them only indoors in London. I think this breaks our fun. So, I would like to get married in Turkey.* (Male, 16)

Berfin and Ahmet's concerns and observations about British people seem to be in parallel with *white flight* identified in previous research (Kaufmann & Harris, 2015). In this work white British people were found to have moved away from the areas where non-white populations live, and they also appear to be avoiding these particular areas (Cantle & Kaufmann, 2016). Thus, ethnic division and segregation of minorities may increase by means of ethnic enclaves. In these situations, both immigrants and their children can feel excluded, unwanted and discriminated against in England. Furthermore, a few participants stated that they do not feel at home in the UK. When also considering Turkish young people's confusions regarding the meaning of being British and Britishness, these intergroup relations might make their multiple identities more complex even though young people are happy with their schools and with multicultural London. These issues can impact negatively upon young people's sense of belonging to British society because this sense depends not only on personal choice but also on community acceptance (Jones, 1999). Previous research with immigrant communities in Canada show that these issues (e.g. feeling different and feeling excluded) can become important acculturation challenges for young immigrants and also lead to depression among them (Akram, 2012).

Integration is also a political and governmental issue. Therefore, it is important to understand the reasons why some participants have positive feelings and thoughts about the multicultural context of the UK and why some others do not, and how their experiences differentiate within their own context and understanding. Following Modood's (2007, 2011) arguments, it can be helpful to think in more detail about integration from a sociological and political perspective. According to him, assimilation is a one-way integration process where minority groups have sole responsibility for their socio-cultural adaptation. However, he also argues that the state and the members of the majority population should also play an active role in bringing about the desired outcomes. Therefore, non-assimilative modes of integration processes are two-way where both the majority community and ethnic minorities are required to take action. Multiculturalism is one of these two-way integration processes, however, there are different forms of multiculturalism which depend on the different contexts and political

ideas at play (Modood, 2007, 2011). Furthermore, the effect of a multicultural environment might be experienced differently by young people depending on their actual level of exposure to diversity (Brewer, 2010). Thus, it is important to understand how young people's acculturation experiences play out and whether they experience and perceive them as two-way or one-way practices in the UK. In the next section, second-generation Turkish young people's integration (or bicultural identity) will be discussed by considering both individual and social aspects.

### 7.1.3 *Having a Bicultural Identity (Integration)*

In order to understand young people's experiences related to biculturalism, they were asked their views about the determinants of integration in England. Their common responses about effective ways to be integrated can be separated into four sub-indicators: *Belonging* (e.g. having positive feelings towards both cultures), *practices* (e.g. being good at both English and Turkish language), *participation* (e.g. doing "English activities", participating in activities in both cultures) and *personal characteristics* (e.g. making an effort, being open-minded). Some of these indicators include two-way interactions (e.g. having a Turkish culture at home and a British upbringing from school) with the expectations from both Turkish people and British institutions/people. However, participants gave many examples of being integrated which mostly related to the responsibilities of Turkish people (e.g. learning British culture and making effort) and one-way social relationships. This issue has been referred as "soft assimilation" in a cross-national qualitative study, that indicates immigrants' understanding of "integration" in where they are required to adopt the mainstream culture, especially in public domains due to mostly perceived power differences between immigrants and dominant group (Fedi et al. 2019).

This contrasts sharply with the idea that intercultural relations and change should be mutual and reciprocal in plural societies which have a multicultural vision (Berry, 2013). Thus, young people might be affected by these one-way relations negatively and thus they can develop unfavourable types of acculturation strategies (e.g. separation) rather than an integrated bicultural identity. In the next section, I will focus on a particular individual to illustrate these issues.

### 7.1.3.1. Burak: As a Case of Separation

Burak is one of the participants who has *separation* attitudes and does not feel at home in England. He is a son of Turkish-Sunni family, and he identifies himself as Turk, “ülküçü<sup>26</sup>” and Muslim. His political and Turkish ethnic identity is salient and central in his life. In terms of language, he was the only one who spoke excellent and fluent Turkish during the entire interview. He did not use any English words in contrast to his fellow second-generation Turkish peers who generally expressed themselves in a mix of English and Turkish. He also was very familiar with the common language which is used by religious people in Turkey. He said that he speaks English only at school, and he does not speak English unless he must in England.

Burak spends most of his spare time at home and engages with only Turkish activities and practices. He prefers Turkish shops and socialising with his Turkish friends in general. He finds England boring, and they live in the UK only due to economic reasons. Turkey means a love of country and nation, friends and good social relationships for him whereas England means only making money. Burak emphasised that he has never felt British anywhere in the UK and that being “British” only means holding a passport to him. However, being Turkish means martyrs, veterans, pride and the national flag to him. He has been excluded from his school several times because he has been involved in fights with his “English school friends” who “swore to Turks and him”. In addition to these problems with his peers, he said that his teachers’ show favouritism towards English students, and that he has experienced racism at school. He does not want to be a part of British society because he is a Turk and different from them. He added that he has started to say more frequently “I am a Turk” due to these experiences. In his opinion, nobody can change their race, and Turkish people fool themselves by saying “I am British”. Moreover, he uses some crude racist stereotypes about British people such as them being dirty. He indicated clearly that he is not happy to live in England, but he needs to be there because of his family and economic reasons. Thus, he feels trapped, both geographically and culturally, in a world he roundly rejects.

Firstly, it is important to note that Burak shares the same political and religious orientation as his parents. Parents have a large impact on the meaning of young people’s ethnicity, and they are also role-models for promoting positive feelings towards ethnic identity

<sup>26</sup> It literally means "idealists", notwithstanding it has come to be used as a political adjective for Turkish people who support the Nationalist Movement Party and support the extreme and essentialist form of Turkish nationalism.

in adolescence (Huang & Stormshak, 2011; Phinney & Ong, 2007). Consequent of his close relationship with his parents and their isolated life in England, it is highly plausible that Burak has learnt to be “ülkücü” from his parents and thus become a Turkish nationalist with high levels of commitment to his ethnic identity. Believing in this form of Turkish nationalism affects him because he holds some deeply essentialist political ideas which drive internal motivation not to engage with British or cross-ethnic people (Bigler & Liben, 2007). Thus, he restricts himself to be engaging with British culture and socialising with people who have different backgrounds.

Burak enjoys actively exploring his ethnic identity and choosing some particular ethnic practices (e.g. speaking the Turkish language most of the time) and activities (e.g. visiting the Turkish martyrs' cemetery). This causes unequal identification of his identities and his perception of Britishness. Like a vicious circle, he avoids British people and separates himself from mainstream culture, engaging only with Turkish culture and socialising exclusively with Turkish people. As a result, he builds a strong Turkish ethnic identity day by day. Strong identification with his ethnic group and a weak identification with the majority group indicate an ethnically embedded and separated acculturation orientation (Berry et al., 1986). It appears that he has experienced separation due to not only focusing his ethnic identity but also on a lack of interaction with British people/culture.

Seen in this context, having a strong ethnic identity can also have manifold negative implications (Syed et al., 2013) because high ethnic centrality increases perceived discrimination (Sellers et al., 2003; Wong, Eccles & Sameroff, 2003). Apart from Burak's family background, his views and experiences should be considered to better understand his situation. Burak attaches great importance to being Turkish (and Turkishness) and his political identity is certainly salient. In multicultural societies, the differences between majority and minority are perceived by both outsiders and group members and create not just some form of distinctness but a sort of *alienness* (Modood, 2011). Burak asserted several times that he is “very different” as a Turk from his British peers at school and indicated his feelings of being alienated. Due to these distinctions and negative feelings, he tends to perceive some of his experiences with his peers and teachers as being a type of ethnic discrimination. *Reactive ethnicity theory* suggests that when people experience discrimination, their identification with their ethnic group become strong, and thus this reactive ethnicity can cause resistance towards adaptation to the receiving culture (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). His strong ethnic identity might

make him more sensitive to discrimination, which can encourage him to remain separated from the British culture (Berry, 1997). As a result, Burak's experiences and perceptions towards ethnic discrimination strengthen his ethnic identity. However, these experiences regenerate a separation circle through his opposition to British culture. In summary, he holds *separation* attitudes, and both individual and social barriers restrict him from integrating or being integrated. Not only his individuality but also his parents and social environment play an important role in this process.

### 7.3.1.2. Balancing and Mixing Cultures

On the other hand, second-generation young people have various opportunities for *integration* and developing a *balance* between different cultures (or *biculturalism*: a harmonic option for both being a member of an ethnic group and a participant of the larger society). In this study, five participants said that they do not have a balance between Turkish and British cultures because these two cultures are very different from each other and one of them always dominates over the other one. However, 15 of the participants believe that they have a good balanced/integrated identity as both Turkish and British people culturally, and they also hold mostly positive feelings towards both identities.

In addition, I wanted to know how they perceive and feel about developing a balance between different identities and cultures to better understand their integration experiences. A few of them said that it was *hard to balance* two cultures because they are completely different and contradictory, whereas the majority of them stated that it was *easy to balance* them because of growing up in North London (as a multicultural context with a lot of Turkish people), getting used to acting differently at home and outside of home, becoming adapted to the different environments, using/speaking two languages, having both Turkish and British friends and getting along with them. For example, Umut disclosed that:

Umut: *I am British, but I can also speak Turkish. I also made a good balance between my friends and social activities. I have both Turkish and British friends. So, I know what I should do and how to behave in this environment.* (Male, 17)

According to him, balancing Turkish and British cultures means knowing how he should behave in different social settings. For him, using different languages, engaging in different social activities and having friends who are both Turkish and British helped him to balance his identities. Some participants said that this balance happened to them per se, as a

natural process and they do not know how it happened. However, this is not an automatic process in which people are totally determined by the existing social influences because the balance becomes meaningful through individual and collective interpretations of it (Verkuyten, 2005). In order to be integrated and to reconcile divergent identities, youths should combine different or contradictory cultural norms, beliefs, values, expectations and behaviours coming from their own culture and majority culture in identity development processes (Phinney & Goossens, 1996; Stathi & Roscini, 2016). Thus, they can actively create their own paths by negotiating and blending their cultures and multiple identities. Young people make sense of this process and use them according to social context. When participants were talking about the “automatic” process of balancing, they might mean the behavioural shift which depends on the context and the activation of particular social identities. Zeynep described this conscious and rapid process briefly:

*Zeynep: It doesn't really make a difference for me. I try to balance them out equally. If I go somewhere, I know which one I act more, for example when I go to Turkey with my family, if I act like I'm British that is gonna feel weird because you have to adapt to your environment. When I am out with my friends, I know there is a certain way you have to act. And with your family, you have a certain way to act. (Female, 16)*

According to her, she knows how she should behave in Turkish and British contexts and she is also aware that opposite behaviours would be strange for some particular social settings. In other words, depending on the context, a specific social identity becomes relevant and others recede into the background (Verkuyten, 2005) and *compartmentalisation* occurs when an individual consciously activates different cultural identities in different social settings (Roccas & Brewer, 2002) and situations they are in and in certain company (Phinney, 1990). In addition, it is not easy to be both Turkish and British at the same time, therefore, not only Zeynep but also other participants mostly mentioned that they compartmentalise their identities by mostly distinguishing different languages that they speak, cultural norms that they need to follow and the people who interact within the social context. Furthermore, compartmentalisation is also beneficial for young people in some circumstances. For example:

*Ozlem: There are times when being Turkish might be helpful in English culture and being British might be in Turkish culture. And sometimes I am saying to myself I need to be English here and your Turkish part going away. Because I found that like in a bad situation. Like Turkish people are so aggressive. When something happens, I am just saying okay to my Turkish side, be kind and respectful. (Female, 16)*

Ozlem explained how she can use her both sides in different situations and change the negative behaviours into positive ones. She prefers to be “kind” as a British person rather than to be “aggressive” as she perceives Turkish in some social contexts. It seems that she has also internalised the stereotype of being aggressive about Turkish people (*self-stereotyping*). Similarly, she has accepted the stereotype of excessive British politeness and using it (*counter-stereotyping*). As Ozlem did, shifting identities may also be an effective strategy to change the direction of threatening social comparisons (Mussweiler, Gabriel & Bodenhausen, 2000). Thus, young people can achieve a good mixture of being both Turkish and British by adopting a strategic essentialisation of what being Turkish and British is and also remaining appropriate for the context. Furthermore, if they have high levels of bicultural integration, they might see themselves as being part of a combined “third emerging culture” and find it easy to use different cultures in their everyday lives, these bicultural individuals tend to have higher self-esteem and suffer less stress than people who keep their heritage and mainstream culture separate (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005).

However, when considering the differences between the Turkish and British cultures, spontaneously deciding about the suitability of context sometimes could be complex, and a false behavioural choice could lead to unintentional conflicts and clashes. Despite that, the complex representations of multiple identities and binary thinking can make the process of dealing with stressful situations easy since young people who are less dependent on one particular social identity are able to find compensation in two different cultures when one identity is adversely affected (Linville, 1985, 1987). In the next section, these experiences will be discussed in relation to mixing languages.

#### 7.1.4 *Being Bilingual*

Language is one of the important tools for not only enabling young ethnic minorities to communicate with their family and the larger society but also in forming and consolidating their bicultural identity. Here, I will discuss *the role of the Turkish and English languages* in second-generation young people’s lives. Firstly, it is important to address that all participants of this study were both native English-speakers and Turkish-speakers but at different proficiency levels and with varying preferences in terms of which language they prefer to use. Five participants would rather speak only in English, two participants wanted to speak only in Turkish, and 13 participants preferred to use both Turkish and English during the interviews.

Some of those were very confident in speaking Turkish, whereas a few of them said that they felt embarrassed while they were speaking Turkish. Their confidence seemed to correlate directly with their learning opportunities/resources such as their parents' background and Turkish language education.

In this study, most participants had non-English fluent Turkish-speaking parents. Most of them said that their parents want to teach them the Turkish language by speaking Turkish at home. However, some parents (particularly those who have a low educational level) speak the Turkish language with their own local accent (which have less prestige). If second-generation young people have learnt to speak Turkish only from their parents, they also tend to have a similar accent or a lack of grammatical command/awareness of the Turkish language. However, some participants were doing A-level in the Turkish language at their schools and some were going to weekend schools to learn Turkish. These participants were generally good at using Turkish and they also said that they feel confident in speaking Turkish. Thus, there are considerable Turkish proficiency differences between second-generation Turkish young people which are mostly related to their parents' educational level and receiving Turkish language education from British schools (A-level) or Turkish schools (supplementary weekend courses).

The Turkish language has a fundamental role in second-generation Turkish young people's lives individually and socially. Speaking Turkish was referred to as a marker of being Turkish by most participants as was speaking English in the process of feeling British. They said that they feel Turkish when they speak the Turkish language regardless of the place where they are located. However, some of them attach even greater importance to the Turkish language. According to them if they cannot speak the Turkish language, they are not Turkish. It seems that language is a crucial marker for young people's identity, and like other second-generation Turkish young people in Europe, these participants use the Turkish language to authenticate their ethnic identity (Verkuyten, 2005). Moreover, the Turkish language is essential for second-generation Turkish young people's relationship building with other Turkish speakers. They socialise with their parents, Turkish friends, and extended family members both in the UK and in Turkey by speaking the Turkish language. However, some said that they mostly prefer to speak English with their siblings at home since they feel more comfortable with English and they can express their feelings better with English. However, this situation can bring other concerns for them. For instance, Baris was worried about a potential



communication breakdown or weakening of the bond with his father due to his imperfect Turkish:

*Baris: At home, I speak Turkish but when I cannot say something, I express myself in English because I cannot express myself in Turkish. My dad's English is not that good. I speak with my dad only in Turkish, my mum can understand both. But sometimes there are communication issues with my dad... He does not understand when I say something in English. It affects our relationship. I think I need to learn more Turkish. (Male, 16)*

Similar concerns about a lack of communication with parents and using English as a first language were also mentioned by some other participants. Some of them particularly were worried about being unable to express their feelings fully in Turkish. Their common point was that they want to be fluent in Turkish to improve their rapport with their parents and express their feelings properly at home. It has been suggested that children's language shift after starting school has had a negative influence on family since the family members could not understand each other due to the different languages used by parents and children (Fillmore, 2000). Therefore, families should provide basic elements for ethnic identity belonging, first language maintenance and cohesive relationships. This cultural learning is hard to achieve within school systems. It is important to emphasise that maintaining the first language is not a barrier to acquiring the new language particularly when the relationships between the children and the parents are secure (Fillmore, 2000; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002). In this study, first language maintenance is also found to be important for second-generation Turkish young people's relations with parents. Participants who have good relationships with their parents expressed their positive feelings towards their ethnic identity and self-confidence in speaking Turkish more than others. When also remembering the second-generation Turkish young people's strong link between Turkish language and ethnic identity, maintaining the Turkish language is fundamental for ethnic identity formation as well.

Notwithstanding school's limitations in cultural matters, they do have an important role in the maintenance of second-generation Turkish-young people's language. As has been mentioned before, some second-generation Turkish young people study Turkish A-level which influences their Turkish language performance and maintenance positively. However, most participants stated that they are not allowed to speak Turkish at school particularly in the classrooms, and some added that they even got detention due to speaking Turkish in the class. These students can speak Turkish only in the schoolyard and emphasised that they form their

groups of friends according to ethnicity, socialise with their Turkish friends and speak the Turkish language with them during the breaks. This issue (speaking only English at school or monolingual policy) may be justified by the school on pragmatic grounds; however, this obligation could easily be interpreted as a one-way integration practice and an act of majority group domination which negates diversity and multilingualism (Verkuyten, 2005). Indeed, supported by the theoretical literature, this type unidirectional practice contributes to feelings of exclusion and can severely restrict possibilities students' cross-ethnic friendships during the breaks, and importantly young people might experience this language practice at schools as a form of assimilation (Schwartz, Birman, Benet-Martínez & Unger, 2017). Qualitative evidence from a meta-analytic study has also suggested that these types of practices at school can lead to acculturative stress and contribute to an "acculturation dilemma" for youth (e.g. it is easier to fit into the national educational system versus loss of connection with their heritage culture) which may cause psychological distress (Makarova & Birman, 2016).

Regardless of the opportunities to study the Turkish language at schools, participants' English abilities tend to be better than their Turkish skills due to attending formal schooling in the UK and learning English as an official language at schools. Some participants also indicated their positive feelings towards the English language and talked about opportunities and contributions which the English language brings in their lives. Having a British accent was particularly important for some participants who feel some degree of Britishness. According to them, speaking British English is one of the significant indicators which shows their Britishness regardless of their ethnicity and appearance. The knowledge and usage of two languages help to develop bicultural competence and confidence which permit successful functioning in both cultures because they provide communication ability, culturally appropriate behaviours and social support in heritage and mainstream culture (Berry, 2011). Similarly, it appears that Turkish and English languages are self-evident aspects of two cultures and identities and both have important roles on second-generation Turkish young people's lives particularly for identity and integration processes.

#### 7.1.4.1. Mixing Languages

When second-generation Turkish young people are with other English-Turkish bilinguals, their world of thought and speech is changed considerably. They often shift their language from Turkish to English or English to Turkish. These alterations generally occurred

in different mixing strategies<sup>27</sup> as *switching across sentences* and *mixing within sentence* among second-generation Turkish young people. Dilan and Ozlem talked about this type of language usage:

Dilan: *I speak English with my friends at school, but with my Turkish friends I do speak both Turkish and English, and we always quickly switch them, or we speak half-Turkish and half-English.* (Female, 18)

Ozlem: *My English friends always ask me how I make it, going between two languages. They sometimes see me when I start a sentence in Turkish and I finish it with English.* (Female, 16)

Other participants also mentioned their unique way of a mixture of two languages as “half-Turkish and half-English” and some of them also called it “interchange”. Interestingly, some participants not only switch the Turkish and English languages but also use their parents’ accents. For example, one of the participants said that “o kadar ‘happy’imkine” (means “I am so happy that”) with conjunction of “kine” which is a way of expression which is mostly used by local Anatolian people. They also often added some English words into a sentence which is structured grammatically in Turkish due to their lack of Turkish vocabulary. This practice of moving back and forth between two languages (Riehl, 2005) and interaction can be done only by bilingual people and requires a great deal of bilingual competence (Muysken, 1995). Using this type of mixed languages has been widely seen in other second-generation minorities such as among Turkish-Germans and Turkish-Dutch people (Verkuyten, 2005). Thus, second-generation young people create their own way of communicating with people who share the same languages. This is neither Turkish nor English for second-generation Turkish young people in England. When also remembering some participants referred to the musical instrument of *baglama* as “Turkish guitar” to make sense of this instrument in the English language. Their innovative mixture of English and Turkish can be good examples of their language acculturation as a part of meaning-making and integration process in England.

With this in mind then, it is also important to note that the mixture of Turkish-British cultures and Turkish-English languages can generate a Turkish-British youth subculture. The possible cliques can exclude second-generation Turkish young people from some of their peers and vice-versa (e.g. white British and other ethnicities, and new-comer or first-generation

<sup>27</sup> These complex communication practices are called *translanguaging* in the current sociolinguistic literature and it refers to the flexible use of linguistic resources by bilinguals (Creese & Blackledge, 2015).

Turkish people) who do not share the same communication strategies and practices, particularly in some specific areas which have a large Turkish population such as North London. When also considering their possible acculturation problems (e.g. separation and marginalisation), this subculture may reproduce alienation and promote only in-group relationships.

#### 7.1.5 *Immigrant Parents and Being Language Broker*

In this study, most participants have Turkish-speaking, non-English fluent parents (they either do not know any English or they can only speak basic English). It is also important to highlight that there are some differences between fathers and mothers about speaking English. Most of their mothers are housewives and generally, fathers earn money for the family. Thus, according to most participants, generally their fathers' English skills are good. That is to say, at least they can basically communicate with people in English. However, their mothers tend to suffer from a lack of English language skills (e.g. they do not go shopping alone, they cannot communicate with a doctor). Therefore, they socialise with only other Turkish-speaking people and mostly rely on their children to go to the outside which make their relationships arguably more dependent.

Another consequence of parents' language deficiency is that, second-generation young people have an extra demanding duty at home; they usually translate English to Turkish and Turkish to English for their parents. For example, they help them for the *phone calls* (e.g. taking the appointments), *paperwork* (e.g. reading and responding letters/emails) and *requesting an interpreter for the important issues* (e.g. passport renewal). They also *go to hospital or GP, meetings* (e.g. parent-teacher meetings) and *shopping* with their parents. For example:

Umut: *They can understand little things, but they cannot speak. They can only say some basic things like numbers, hi, how are you. They have been here for 17 years, but they haven't been able to learn. They can understand the doctors' a little bit. Not for my dad, but for my mum I always go to doctor with her since I was 14. My oldest brother got married and my middle brother doesn't like this kind of work... So, I have started to help them when I was 14.* (Male, 17)

Umut started to help his parents when he was 14 years old. However, most participants said they have been helping their parents since they have learned how to read and write in English. Some also said that this responsibility is switched between siblings, for example when

one of them (the generally oldest one) leaves home, one of the other siblings takes over this responsibility. Most participants also gave an average time such as spending at least 1-2 hours per week. It would seem that second-generation Turkish young people spend a great deal of time on this ongoing duty and try to assist their parents since their childhood. This situation is called *language brokering* in the literature and it indicates the actions of children of the immigrants who are expected to help their non-fluent parents and/or family as translators (for written work) and interpreters (for verbal communication), and these children are referred as *language brokers* who provide assistance in complex “adult-like” situations (may or may not be developmentally appropriate for young people) (McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Morales & Hanson, 2005; Weisskirch, 2010). This situation has been commonly seen among immigrant communities; however, it is still controversial (Morales & Hanson, 2005) because the impact of language brokering can be both positive and negative on young people’s lives (Burton, 2007).

When looking at young people’s experiences, perceptions and feelings about language brokering, most of them perceived it negatively. Participants reported finding translating and interpreting duty *difficult, stressful, annoying, and boring, being fed up, feeling obliged to, and not enjoying it*. They also complained about their parents’ dependence on them. For instance, Ahmet and Gizem said that:

Ahmet: *I always say, “mum I can’t be with you all the time, you need to learn English”*. (Male, 16)

Gizem: *My mum always takes me when she goes somewhere to ask me to translate. She also asks me to call somewhere or read some letters. My older brother was doing that before me. He started to help them when he was 10, like for going to doctor, council. But now I help my mum and if I go another city for the university, she wants to come with me*. (Female, 16)

According to them, their parents need to learn a basic level of English at least in order to maintain their lives on their own in England to not rely on their children. This issue can limit young people’s lives and spare times, and their parents can also be seen powerless by their children. Conversely, some participants confessed to having benefitted from this translation duty by mistranslating and alternating intentionally. For example, they sometimes mistranslated the school letters about their absence to take advantage of it. In different research on Kurdish young people (from Turkey) in London, Cetin (2013) found the same parental problem of being dependent on the child because of the language barrier and addressed the

same mistranslation issue. He pointed out that being “powerless” can lead to inter-generational conflict between the child and the parents, and that mistranslation affects parental control negatively. Language brokering has also been argued developmentally problematic in terms of child “parentification” (Weisskirch, 2010) or “adultification” (Burton 2007; Trickett & Jones, 2007) since young people can be exposed to some experiences which are not appropriate for their age such as medical letters and complex documents (they might include some information which young people ought not to know). Importantly, language brokering can become a familial obligation and increase young people’s stress level. These issues add a layer of difficulty when considering their negotiation with multiple identities and different cultures.

However, there might also be some positive sides to language brokering and helping parents. Some young people have more positive language brokering experiences when the family make them feel appreciated (if the duty is suitable for their age). For example, in this study, a few participants indicated their positive emotions towards offering language help to their parents such as *appreciation*. For instance, Umut disclosed that:

*Umut: Seriously, I was 14, I found it annoying, to be honest. Now, I feel like I appreciate that what I did back then because if I did not do that, imagine where they would have been. If I did not help them translate and imagine how much they would struggle. (Male, 17)*

Being helpful and useful can make young people feel satisfied and thus influence their development positively since they have unplanned opportunities to learn in real contexts practising adult responsibilities such as making a GP appointment and writing formal letters. Being a “bridge” between home and the outside can also positively affect second-generation young people’s acculturation. As Umut and his experiences indicated, young people may perceive language brokering experiences differently over time and their emotions can change positively if a young person has a good relationship with their parents. Research also suggests that the outcomes of the language brokering are related to some conditions such as parenting practices and the child’s relationship with their parents (Kim et al., 2018; Sim, Kim, Zhang & Shen, 2019). It, therefore, appears that language brokering experiences can cause a range of emotions which are both negative (e.g. stress) and positive (e.g. feeling efficacious), depending largely on the parent-child relationship. As a result, the lack of English has important effects on both immigrant parents’ lives and their children directly and indirectly.

#### 7.1.5.1. Parents' Acculturation Issues

Second-generation Turkish young people's parents immigrated to the UK due to mostly economic reasons and/or political conflicts (for Kurdish and/or Alevi people generally) and largely from rural areas in Turkey. A majority of them tend to be less educated<sup>28</sup>. Therefore, it is important to note that they experienced drastic changes when they moved to the UK in terms of living conditions and lifestyles due to lack of resources (e.g. educational and economic difficulties in rural areas in Turkey) and the wherewithal to change their plight.

In addition to these difficulties and cultural differences, first-generation immigrant parents often had not attended formal schooling and were unfamiliar with social institutions in England. Therefore, they needed to deal with a number of acculturation issues from their children since they did not grow up in the UK. According to most participants, their parents are *missing Turkey, have desires/plans to go back to Turkey, and feel tired/fatigued* because of the incessant pressure of non-stop work in the UK. Some also added that their parents are not happy in the UK because they still have important adaptation problems. That is to say not only a lack of English ability but also unfamiliarity with the British systems (such as legislation and educational system) and culture. Some participants said that their parents want to go back to Turkey. For example:

*Yagmur: They kind of do miss Turkey. They always want to go back, for instance, my parents will go back to Turkey completely in like three years' time when I will be older like 18-19. They do not feel at home in the UK and they are not happy here because they miss the weather, culture and people in Turkey. They have their family there. I feel like I am in between, my family will be in Turkey, but I grew up here and I would like to stay here. (Female, 16)*

Her parents' integration issues seem to cause an internal dilemma for Yagmur. Most participants also talked about their immigration stories which they were told by their parents and include positive and negative aspects about England and British people (e.g. hospitable vs discriminative, welcoming vs non-inclusive environment). Parents' narratives and feeling homesick can influence young people's feelings towards England, living in England and their British identity, since the parents' integration into the host country is also in relation to young people's identity and acculturation (Berry & Sam, 1996). Similarly, research shows that the

<sup>28</sup> Most of them attended primary education only and a few of them have secondary school degree apart from Berk's parents who have postgraduate degree and came to the UK because of getting postgraduate education.

children of Turkish parents who identify strongly with their heritage culture and feel homesick generally have more negative feelings towards the host country (e.g. Germany, Norway, and the Netherlands) (Spiegler, Thijs, Verkuyten & Leyendecker, 2019). Second-generation children can learn and adapt to the mainstream culture faster than their immigrant parents and the possible acculturation differences between them is defined as *dissonant acculturation* (Nolan, 2010; Portes & Rumbaut 2001). When also remembering possible problems (e.g. cultural distance and gendered expectations) between second-generation Turkish young people and their parents from the previous themes, these acculturation issues and parents attitudes/adaptation could be the possible reasons which lead to important problems within the family such as conflicts about different values (Nolan, 2010; Portes & Rumbaut 2001). It, therefore, appears that parents' experiences and difficulties are also significant environmental factors which influence second-generation Turkish young people's ethnic identity formation and acculturation.

## **7.2 Discrimination Experiences**

In this subtheme, I will discuss second-generation Turkish young people's *discrimination experiences* faced by second-generation Turkish young people's growing up in England. I will particularly focus on young people's perceptions of ethnic discrimination and their coping strategies.

### *7.2.1 Perceived Ethnic Discrimination*

In this study, five participants stated that, to their knowledge, they had never been discriminated against in England. They mostly felt that it is a positive outcome of *diversity* in London, *multiculturalism* and *anti-discrimination regulations*. On the other hand, three participants indicated that they have experienced discrimination but that these were not "extreme" cases. Therefore, although they remember the feeling of being discriminated, they could not/did not precisely describe it. Erol also highlighted an important point:

Erol: *I have not experienced (discrimination) in an extreme way. Sometimes I felt it subtly. But this is about a person who does not like me anyway, it is about my traits not just because I am Turkish. So, it is not discrimination in that way. I feel like I have been, it is quite good, there is not a lot of racism in my community. But, my father, well, he faced a lot of it.* (Male, 18)



According to him, this experience was not only a result of his ethnicity since it could be related to his personality. It is important to highlight that there are different forms of discrimination and prejudice such as verbal/nonverbal and subtle (indirect and unintentional negative attitudes)/blatant (direct and intentionally expressed negative attitudes), and that these experiences are sometimes not easily discernible for young people. Individuals' perspectives play an important role in feeling discriminated against. Ahmet disclosed that:

Ahmet: *I can understand that, whether they swear or not, simply from their facial expressions. They made some jokes about Turkey, but they were laughing in a friendly way. I did not feel offended afterwards because it was just a joke.* (Male, 16)

Ahmet interpreted his friends' behaviours (e.g. jokes about Turkey) positively and as a result, he was not influenced by this experience negatively. However, this experience could easily be interpreted differently by some other young people. As has been mentioned, most discrimination is unclear and thus not easy to determine irrefutably, and young people's subjectivity was important to define the consequences of these experiences since people's feelings are closely linked to their interpretations about the experiences that they face. Therefore, it is important to understand these experiences in context because not only implicit and explicit discriminatory events, but also young people's perceptions of these experiences can be useful to change the direction of the outcomes (particularly negative emotions and ineffective responses to the perpetrators) of the discriminatory experiences.

In this study, more than half of the participants (12 participants out of 20) indicated that they have experienced ethnic discrimination in England by different people such as *school friends, teachers, "proper white" British people and neighbours*, and *unknown people* in British society, in different places such as at *school*, on the *street*, and on the *bus*. One of the participants added that some *political parties* (e.g. UKIP and Britain First) discriminate against Turkish people and other ethnic minorities by carrying out "racist" activities and speeches. Participants said that they were exposed to subtle prejudice, for example, *ethnic labelling, overgeneralisation* and *stereotypes* (e.g. you do not look Turkish) and blatant attitudes such as *racial/ethnic teasing* (e.g. about Turkey as an animal) and *bad comments* (e.g. go back to your country), and *offensive questions* (e.g. where are you actually from, what is Kurdish), *swearing at their ethnic group, friendship problems* and *bullying* because of their ethnic identity. As a result, they indicated that they have been affected negatively by these subtle

prejudices and blatant discriminatory experiences. As a different example, Kubra talked about discrimination against Turkish people governmentally:

*Kubra: I feel like a second-class citizen in England even though I am British, and I was born in England. I still feel like a second-class citizen. Often, I am still discriminated against, people assume that I cannot speak English, or I don't have certain intellectual ability because of the way that I look...my headscarf...Governmentally also we are not recognised as a large group of people even though there is a quite large amount of Turkish people in England. This really does influence how much we save and gain for our lives which is terrible because with that way none of us can get heard and it just continues your impression of Turkish people in England. (Female, 17)*

Kubra stated that she has experienced ethnic and religious discrimination, moreover, she feels the status of Turkish people is inferior in England. Some participants also pointed out similar concerns about Turkish/Kurdish people in England and complained about being classified as “*white others*”. For example:

*Berfin: My race, I am white that is really important because there is a lot discrimination against race. Not only classifying just Turkish or Kurdish is down point. Like when you are filling out an important form, no statement like Kurdish or Turkish, probably you just say, “white others”. I don't tick any boxes, or I am just saying any other. It is just difficult. (Female, 17)*

In Berfin's opinion, surveys should consider different ethnicities including Turkish and Kurdish. Otherwise, filling a form out can be complicated, difficult and discriminatory for her. When her ethnic identity is not specifically considered in a form, she finds selecting an “other” option is hard and she does not like this ambiguity and uncertainty regarding the (non)recognition of her ethnicity. This issue was interpreted by her as a problem of being ignored and perceived as discrimination against her ethnicity. She and some other participants also said that these kinds of issues were not a problem for them when they were a child, and subsequently, they have become more aware of their ethnicity and subtle practices against their ethnic identity. This could be understood by considering their developmental stage since perceiving ethnic discrimination increases with age among ethnic minorities due to their developing characteristics and cognitive abilities which also lead to identity formation in adolescence (Umaña-Taylor, 2016). During the period of identity formation, negative experiences and discrimination against their ethnicity become particularly significant for them and some young people become more sensitive to these issues. Thus, this “othering” can make

Turkish young people feel not only unrecognised but also alienated in England, which might also negatively affect their sense of belonging. Qualitative evidence suggested that second-generation individuals talked about their explicit and pervasive “othering” experiences more than first-generation, since this “othering” situation starts to occur at an early age and becomes cumulatively stronger over the years (Viruell-Fuentes, 2007). Thus, second-generation young people become more aware of differences between them (in-group) and members of out-group and compare themselves with their peers. Some participants addressed that some of their “white” teachers treated them unequally:

*Baran: I have been discriminated against ethnically by the teachers in the school because the teacher sometimes used to pick on me if I have done something wrong, I would get told off. If someone had done the same thing, they wouldn't get told off, but I would. (Male, 16)*

According to Baran (his school's students are predominantly white British), their teachers consistently favoured English students. In this situation, their perspectives about the status of their ethnic group in the UK and intergroup relations play an important role. If young people strongly believe that Turkish/Kurdish people are disadvantaged in England and they are not treated as equal as the majority group, they can interpret the teachers' behaviours as being against their ethnicity (whether it is actual discrimination or not) due to the negative preconception that they hold. These issues might also influence their acculturation processes, previous qualitative studies have shown that negative attitudes by native teachers and peers can cause a strong challenge for adolescents, when choosing their preferred acculturation strategy (Kennedy & Macneela, 2014). Thus, these negative experiences and perceptions can make it difficult for second-generation Turkish young people in England to feel British and engage with British culture. As per another example:

*Kubra: There is a language barrier for my parents, and it is hard to get a job for them. There is no language barrier for me here, but it means nothing. It is the fact that I have a Turkish name and I am Turkish, so I am less likely to be picked over someone who is British whether or my grades or abilities are better than them. (Female, 17)*

According to Kubra, her name is an important indicator of her ethnic and religious background, and she believes that she is disadvantaged in getting a job due to her ethnicity when compared to British people although she is a native speaker and has British national identity. Even though she has not had this recruitment discrimination experience before, she thinks that there is institutional discrimination against Turkish people in England regardless of

their skills and achievements. It appears that her opinions about the UK (particularly how her ethnic group has been treated) and her parents' previous experiences have important effects on her perceptions.

However, not only young people's beliefs about the wider social context but also their social identities can determine whether experiences will be interpreted as being discriminatory or not (Cassidy, O'Connor, Howe & Warden, 2005). For example, high in-group ethnic identification and having a strong ethnic identity can affect this interpretation process negatively through ethnic identity salience and centrality. There is also an interplay process between ethnic discrimination and identity since experiencing ethnic discrimination can also lead a young person to question their ethnic identity (Umaña-Taylor, 2014). With this in mind, I will now address the complex relationships between ethnic identity and perceived ethnic discrimination particularly in terms of reactive ethnic identity.

In this study, participants who attach high importance to their ethnic identity and do not identify themselves as British (such as Kubra and Burak, some parts of their story were given in previous themes) tended to talk about their discrimination experiences more than other participants who identify themselves not only as Turkish but also British. This finding seems related to *reactive ethnic identity* (this was also mentioned briefly in Burak's case detailing his acculturation problems) which is an important determiner of anticipating ethnic discrimination (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Research suggests that cases with higher ethnic identity centrality tend to have higher perceived ethnic discrimination (Sellers et al., 2003; Wong, Eccles & Sameroff, 2003). In this study, particularly Kubra and Burak's sensitivity to ethnic discrimination can be explained with reference to these studies. Neither identify themselves as British and their Turkish ethnic identity is extremely salient. They also see themselves as very different from British people, label most British people racist and can detail multiple examples of their discrimination experiences. Irrespective of their actual discrimination experiences, not only being a member of an ethnic minority group but also their cognition and negative beliefs about British people and British in-group favouritism (as well as having a very strong Turkish identity) can make them more reactive to their ethnic identity and thus ultra-sensitive to ethnic discrimination, much more so than other young minorities. Thus, they might interpret some of their negative experiences as discrimination against their ethnic identity.

However, on the other hand, some participants said that they do not perceive some of their experiences which point to ethnic and cultural differences as discriminatory because they tend to think positively. For example:

*Ozlem: Different cultures are respected over here like I am proud to say I am Turkish and Kurdish. But, one of my teachers said something weird recently. I think it was not wilful. We were talking about weddings in Sociology. She said that the bride covers all the wedding expenses here, and my Turkish friend said the groom covers all expenses in our culture. And the teacher said, "now we are talking about British people not Turkish people". I did not feel bad, but my friend did not like it and felt upset about it. I think I am too positive. (Female, 16)*

Some participants, like Ozlem (who identifies herself as both Turkish/Kurdish and British and has meaningful explanations for her multiple identities) attach importance to diversity and indicate themselves unambiguously to form part of this diversity. Examples like this exemplify how their cognition and some positive aspects such as *optimism* and *awareness* about both their ethnic identity and diversity are important markers in perceiving less discriminated.

However, as visible minorities, not only young Turkish people's perceptions but also their appearance should be considered in the case of ethnic discrimination. For example, Berk noted:

*Berk: People sometimes ask that "where are you from" and some say that "you have olive skin". I did not know that, I thought that I was white till someone asked me. They [white British people] said that my skin is a little bit yellow. (Male, 18)*

For Berk (who identifies himself as British and does not have a strong Turkish identity), this experience was upsetting, and these comments led him to question his identity in a negative way because he considers himself "white" and an in-group member of British people. Similarly, the questions and comments about appearance were also perceived as offensive and discriminatory by some other participants. Therefore, it is important to highlight the possibility that second-generation Turkish young people's ethnicity can be easy to pinpoint even they are lighter-skinned, and this kind of differentiation may mean young minorities might feel never as fully accepted by the majority society because of their appearance (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga & Szapocznik, 2013). Thus, regardless of their perceptions, second-generation

Turkish young people can easily be targets of ethnic discrimination in England and the effects of these experiences on their well-being should be considered critically and discussed.

Although the effects of discriminatory events on young people depend on their perceptions and social context, ethnic discrimination experiences can be a repeated source of stress for them and can act as a social stressor in their lives. In this study, participants who perceived ethnic discrimination several times in England talked about their negative feelings which resultant from their experiences: *unhappiness, anxiety, anger* and *low self-confidence*. Research suggests that mental distress is positively related to perceived ethnic discrimination (Berry et al., 2006; Romero et al., 2014; Srivastava, 2012), and that young minorities who reported more discrimination reported lower self-esteem and more depressive symptoms (Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). However, it is important to point out that it can be a vicious circle between these feelings and perceiving discrimination since positive self-esteem and self-concept related to a positive interpretation of real-world discrimination events whereas depression is positively related to the negative interpretation of them (Phinney, Madden & Santos, 1998; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). It appears that these negative feelings and poor well-being indicators are not only outcomes of ethnic discrimination but also an antecedent for young people's perceptions. To change the direction of these outcomes and promote young people's well-being and optimism, their coping skills and responses to perpetrators should also be analysed and discussed.

### 7.2.2 *Coping with Discrimination*

When looking at young people's responses to understanding how they deal with these discrimination experiences, it appears that some participants have applied *strategies* such as seeking assistance from the teachers and parents, using school legislations against discrimination, and sometimes directly confronting the discriminating person and saying "it is not okay". Those participants highlighted the fact that they felt positive feelings afterwards such as getting stronger and being more confident because of knowing their rights and how they can protect themselves. Thus, dealing with discrimination is not only a significant factor for ending discrimination but can also facilitate young people's personal growth. However, some other participants mentioned some *inappropriate responses* to ethnic discrimination (such as dealing with the problems alone, ignoring discrimination, not socialising, and fighting with discriminating people). For example:

Baris: *I do not really want to deal with that, I just stayed at home, I did not socialise a lot because I did not have enough friends to socialise.* (Male, 16)

Kubra: *I did not tell my parents because my mum cannot speak much English. And my dad did not quite know the educational system yet. They could not do too much about it. So, I was left on my own to deal with it. I did try to tell my headteacher who again did not really do much.* (Female, 17)

In this study, positive social relationships (such as having a good group of friends and good relationships with the extended family/Turkish networks) and asking/taking help from adults (such as parents and teachers) were considered by participants as important factors in being able to deal with ethnic discrimination. In contrast, some participants like Baris and Kubra had no proactive strategies and felt alone in having to cope with discrimination due to their lack of social capital and emotional support.

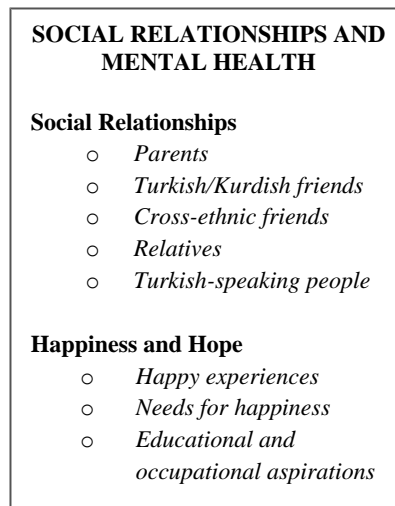
When also considering other participants like Ahmet, not only social support but also personal factors (e.g. self-confidence and higher levels of self-esteem) can be significant in dealing with discrimination. Although strong ethnic identity might make young minorities reactive to their ethnicity, some components of ethnic identity (e.g. positive feelings and clear meanings) seem to be helpful in cases of ethnic discrimination. Research suggests that having a more nuanced understanding of ethnic group membership helps young people to evaluate the basis for the discriminatory act and imbues them with a sense of confidence crucial to facing the issue effectively (Neblett, Rivas-Drake & Umaña-Taylor, 2012; Umaña-Taylor, Vargas-Chanes, Garcia & Gonzales-Backen, 2008). In summary, cognitive processes (different interpretations, optimism, diversity awareness), ethnic identification (having a meaningful identity) and social support (friends, community, parents and teachers) are all important protective characteristics against the negative effects of discrimination among second-generation Turkish young people in England. In the next theme, their social relationships and mental health will be discussed further.

## CHAPTER 8

### SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND MENTAL HEALTH

The third theme represents how second-generation Turkish young people interact with significant people around them and how these social relationships contribute to their ethnic identity formation and mental health considering the context in which they live. In addition, this theme discusses young people's happy experiences, their need for happiness as well as their goals and their hopes for the future. These findings will contribute to identity research which is concerned with possible protective and risk factors relating to social relationships which might be useful in increasing young minorities' positive development. In the following sections, the two subthemes (see Figure 18), *social relationships* and *happiness and hope* will be discussed.

Figure 18: Theme 3



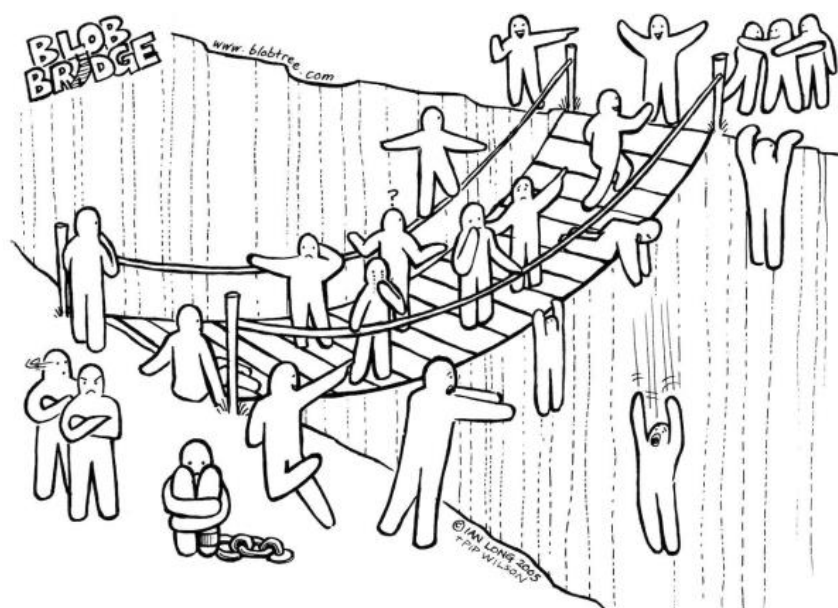
#### 8.1 Social Relationships

This subtheme includes various groups of people whom second-generation Turkish young people socialise with including *parents*, *Turkish/Kurdish friends*, *cross-ethnic friends*, *relatives*, and *Turkish-speaking people*. It is important to remember that a “Blob Bridge” (see Figure 19) was used to stimulate participants to speak about themselves, their feelings and



relationships with others. Participants were expected to pick some blob/s as an indicator of a person or group (e.g. themselves, parents and friends) and to explain why they selected these in particular. The explanations proffered are more important than which blob they picked to understand their feelings and perceptions about their lives. The interpretation of the bridge was left to them, and most participants tended to make an analogy between the bridge and acculturation, probably due to the flow of the interview questions. Some said it resembles a linear flow chart (from left to right) which indicates the beginning of their immigration, the middle of their adaptation and finally a happy ending with a good sense of community.

Figure 19: Blob Bridge



I firstly wanted to understand their feelings towards themselves and their position on the “bridge” before they proceeded to locate those around them. When they were describing the blob/s which represented them, some participants used *positive words* (e.g. happy, part of a good society, helpful, not alone, social, friendly, safe, hopeful and cool) and some used *negative words* (e.g. confused, hesitant, distracted, under pressure, frustrated, less confident, sad and uneasy). Some of them also expressed *confusion and ambivalent feelings* towards their lives (e.g. being happy and unhappy, complicated and having a question mark). Their confusions were mostly related to life in general, education, responsibilities and future, however, they always made some connections indicating their relationships with parents and friends.

### 8.1.1 *Parents*

Participants were asked to indicate the position of their parents on the bridge to better understand the social relationships between them. Participants mostly picked the apposed blob/s around them for their parents. Again, they described these blob/s with both *positive* (e.g. happy, supportive, accepting, loving, attached and together), and *negative* (e.g. unhappy, confused, feeling pressure and being out of breath, stress, uneasy, anxious, and being angry, high expectations and divorce) aspects and feelings.

For example, when Zeynep was talking about herself, she expressed her feelings of being under pressure due to her responsibilities (e.g. being a role model for her siblings) and parents' expectations (e.g. being a successful student). According to Zeynep, her "parents expect too much even though they do not know what the best thing for her is because they didn't grow up where she grew up" [Turkey vs London]. Moreover, her mother always "worries about something" and Zeynep constantly needs to calm her down. However, as a young person, she needs not only guidance but also emotional support, and she feels overwhelmed, stressed, and confused regarding her options due to lack of parental support. When she struggles with problems as an adolescent, particularly in terms of decision making, her parents are not involved in this process because of their own concerns and lack of familiarity with the British context. When considering parents' acculturation, it seems that their integration difficulties play a negative role in their children's lives as they are unable to offer the parental support they would probably wish to ideally. Similarly, research also shows that parental supervision and emotional support is important not only for good relations between parents and their child but also for second-generation youth's positive well-being more generally (Harker, 2001). In relation to that, relationships with parents and their parenting styles will be discussed further to understand risk factors for second-generation Turkish young people's mental health.

As a different example, Ayse's main problem was mostly her parents' parenting style. When she was talking about her parents (a "controlling" Turkish father and an English mother), she indicated her feelings, difficulties and confusions:

*Ayse: I am this blob with the question mark because being both Turk and English is hard. Sometimes I don't know what I believe and feel, and I can't recognise my Turkish and English friends. Even if I feel mostly Turk, I have still a question mark. This bridge is like collapsing because there are lots of people there and everybody is too different and various, so it is hard to understand everybody, then they fall apart. (Female, 18)*

As both English and Turkish person, Ayse feels confused and torn between two identities and cultures. Cultural and religious conflict between her parents and different practices and values of her Turkish and English family members mean that she worries about her relationship breakdowns and also questions her identity despite identifying herself as mostly Turkish. These parental and relationship matters clearly influence young people's identity and acculturation processes. Moreover, although Ayse likes her father, she cannot understand his authoritarian style and "strict" rules regarding her behaviour, clothes and friendships. In contrast, her English mother is mostly passive and is barely involved in any decisions about Ayse. Therefore, not only having different cultures and a lack of harmony between parents but also inconsistent parenting practices leave her confused and ambivalent. Similarly, Ozlem also established a link between her feelings and her parents' strictness:

*Ozlem: My parents are very strict when some stuff comes - like having a boyfriend. They don't want me to have a boyfriend before a certain age because of their Turkish part I believe. But I disagree with them. I wish I could have less disciplinarian parents because I don't like to have to lie to them or do something behind their backs. I wish I could make them calmer and softer. (Female, 16)*

Ozlem complains about her parents' parenting style and she believes being too "disciplinarian" is linked to their Turkish culture. Other female participants also mentioned similar problems with their parents and indicated their negative feelings towards constant restrictions in their lives (e.g. clothing, going out and friendship).

Research suggests that lower self-esteem and higher depression is most prevalent among young people who have authoritarian parents (Driscoll, Russell & Crockett, 2008). These possible negative consequences could be attributable to a lack of *environmental mastery* (Ryff, 1989, 2014) since these young people might not feel competence in managing their lives/environment (e.g. not being able to choose their clothes), not be effective in using surrounding opportunities (e.g. being sceptical about new friends and not being open to the new experiences) and not able to choose a suitable context and relationships which correspond

to their need for intimacy (e.g. not being able to have a boyfriend). The possible opportunities for engaging with Turkish and British cultures and exploring multiple identities can also be limited due to a lack of environmental mastery. Similarly, some participants reported that they can participate in British activities only at school because of their parents' rules. Some also feel under pressure to engage with Turkish activities/practices (e.g. some of them must speak Turkish at home). If those young people want to manage their life, they believe their only option is to hide their decisions/behaviours or simply to lie and deceive their parents which also affect their interactions and self-esteem negatively. It can be said that these parenting issues influence their acculturation and identity formation processes and cause inappropriate solutions, uncertainty and unhappiness among second-generation Turkish young people, in particular women.

Another common problem highlighted by participants, about relationships with parents were their "*high*" expectations. Most participants said that they felt under pressure due to their parents' *educational* (e.g. being successful, achieving good grades, going to university), *occupational* (e.g. becoming a doctor, giving Turkish people a voice in the UK, and securing good employment) and *personal* (e.g. being responsible, a "good" person, happy, and not forgetting who she/he is) expectations. According to some participants, their parents could not go to university due to a lack of education opportunities in Turkey. They also believe that a degree from UK universities will open many more doors to their children. Moreover, if their fathers are barbers or work in kebab shops, parents are more concerned about their children's education because according to them, these types of jobs are typically done by Turkish/Kurdish immigrants in England, and they do not want to be a role-model for their children due to the difficulties of these sectors such as long working hours. It is clear that these issues are related to their immigration background and to perceived disadvantages.

These types of educational and occupational expectations are commonly seen in first-generation parents. However, these high expectations can fail to take sufficient account of the resources and individual characteristics of their children and contribute to lower educational aspirations and poorer achievement among second-generation young people (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). It has also been suggested that people who have immigrant parents are likely to feel under pressure about occupational and educational goals because of their parents who have strong desires for their children to get a professional job which promises clear economic benefits (Phinney & Baldelomar, 2010). As a result, these "ambitious" expectations can unduly

influence children's aspirations for the future, even if meeting them could be good for children's future, the actual process and its outcomes can be demanding and stressful for second-generation young people.

Despite all parenting issues, gendered and "high" expectations, there are essential differences in young people's relationships with their parents. Even though young people's lives are restricted by their parents, some participants talked about their essentially positive relationships with their parents and expressed their sense of closeness and attachment. It seems that emotional support and positive interactions can compensate for problems with these first-generation parents. These young people can benefit from adults' advice and guidance. Importantly, participants who have positive wholesome relationships with their parents enjoy attending the ethnic activities (e.g. cultural festivals) and going to community organisations (e.g. Alevi cultural centre) together. As has been discussed, these active exploration attempts have an essential role in developing positive feelings and meanings towards ethnic identity.

Research suggests that positive parent-child relationships are not only a protective factor for young minorities' well-being (Huang & Stormshak, 2011) but also, they have an important effect on their ethnic socialisation and identity formation with the feelings of ethnic pride and connectedness (Kiang & Fuligni, 2008). These positive outcomes could be explained by *positive relations with other/s* as another important aspect of positive psychological functioning (Ryff, 1989, 2014). The high quality of social relationships helps to meet the need for intimacy, brings supportive people and provides overall positive feelings such as happiness, enjoying life and loving others (Diener, 2019). These reciprocal relationships can give young people not only guidance and social support but also a sense of confidence and of being attached during ethnic identity formation. In summary, positive relationships with parents play an important role in making second-generation Turkish young people active in their decisions and to promote their ethnic identity development in England.

#### 8.1.2 *Turkish/Kurdish and Cross-Ethnic Friends*

Participants were also asked about their friendships by using the blob bridge. Participants who had "good friends" described them with positive adjectives such as *funny, happy, like a family, supportive, helpful, not fake, and safe*. Moreover, they indicated the importance of friendships to them. For example:

Berk: *If I did not have many friends, I would not care about England that much. If I had friends in Turkey, I always wanted to go there. Here is enjoyable only with friends. I have had a great time with my friends and feel so happy to have them.* (Male, 18)

According to Berk, friends make the places liveable to him, even if he would rather live in England, he would consider living in Turkey if he had friends there. Furthermore, some participants also made comparisons between their friends and family to indicate the significance of friends by considering the context where they live. For instance:

Ozlem: *This blob because I like making new friends. Family never change, it is good or bad. But, for friends you always welcome the new one. So, I always want to have new people in my life because you need people like you.* (Female, 16)

Ahmet: *A happy family is important but if you want to survive in London you need some people with you. My mother cannot be with me all the time. So, friends are needed.* (Male, 16)

According to Ozlem and Ahmet, friends are important and necessary especially for social support. In order to interpret the significance of positive relationships with friends in general, young people's age and the current stage should be also considered. It is important to note that relationships with peers and friends have an important role on adolescents' development because they spend most of their times with them (generally at schools) and practise having independent relationships with each other during these years (Steinberg, 2007). Moreover, research suggests that young people with at least one reciprocal friendship feel less lonely and vulnerable to social distress, and have higher self-esteem compared with their friendless peers (Graham, Munniksmas & Juvonen, 2014). The similar psychological outcomes of positive relationships and friendships which were also seen among the participants of this study. Participants who reported having good friendships indicated more far positive aspects about their lives and themselves such as having fun, being social, happy and feeling confident than other participants who are suffering from lack of friends. Best friendship has also great importance on young people's lives, for example:

Baris: *My parents were getting divorced which was pretty sad. And then I stopped talking to some friends [British] and they were completely removed from my life... I did not feel like my friends at school. They were not interesting to me and some of them were even using drug. I do not really wanna do that. And then my environment changed, now I have one best friend [Turkish], I always rely on him and my other friends. I was in a depression, but I am fine now.* (Male, 16)

Having a reliable friend has been a crucial protective factor for Baris's happiness and recovery from depression. However, Baris and other participants made a distinction between their *in-group friends (same-ethnic)* and *cross-ethnic friends*. Most participants tend to be friends with other second-generation Turkish young people, and according to them, making friends with them is easier than with other people because they have personal and cultural things in common (e.g. similar life experiences, political stance and humour), they can all speak both Turkish and English and mix these languages comfortably, and their culture and hang-ups with their parents are also similar. It, therefore, can be concluded that *homophily (personal similarity* such as hobbies and humour, *cultural congruence* such as language, problems with parents and cultural practices) is an important criterion for the friendship choices of second-generation Turkish young people.

Most participants also mentioned that their best friends (who are mostly Turkish/Kurdish from schools and out of school settings), and again the common point was sharing similar characteristics and experiences. They talked about not only similarities but also about contact between their parents as being a significant factor in forming trustworthy friendships. Interestingly, a few of them indicated that their best friends' families are from the same towns/villages in Turkey. It means that they share one more social identity which is bound to their homeland. This similar tendency towards in-group friendships was found by other researchers among Turkish/Kurdish youth in the UK (Cetin, 2013; Enneli, 2001). According to my fieldnotes too, there were many second-generation Turkish cliques on the street, in the bus and in schoolyards, they seem one of the majority ethnic groups of friends particularly in North London.

Having close relationships and socialising with some particular people who have the same background might be understood by considering the theory of Umaña-Taylor et al. (2004, 2014) approach regarding ethnic identity socialisation. They suggest that friends are important non-familial socialisation agents for young minorities, and in-group friends have another role in facilitating their ethnic identification by sharing mutual ethnicity-related experiences (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004, 2014). Furthermore, in-group friends can provide important feedback and answers regarding ethnic identity issues which cannot be recognised/given by their first-generation parents (Steinberg, 2007). It can be seen that in-group friendships provide an optimal environment for second-generation young people's ethnic socialisation and development. For instance, they can talk about their culture and explore it more, they can learn

from their friends' experiences and seek advice about their common issues (e.g. translation for parents) and they also can share their similar emotions and problems (e.g. feelings of discrimination).

Additionally, it is important to note that sharing similar characteristics with in-group members is not only related to friendship selection or tendencies but is also an outcome of their mutual ethnic socialisation process (Syed & Juan, 2012). Due to interactions with same-ethnic friends, differences between in-group and out-group members become more explicit for young people over time. Young people's perceptions about these differences and out-group friends are also important since most participants experience ethnic diversity when they are growing up in England, however, they try to socialise with the same-ethnic friends and hold some out-group stereotypes towards the members of other ethnicities/races. As a result, these perceptions and experiences maximise perceived difference between them and their cross-ethnic friends.

When participants were talking about their *cross-ethnic friendships*, they considered various aspects like some *characteristics* (e.g. races/ethnicities, cultures and religions) and *shared space* (e.g. school and neighbourhood). Some of them expressed their feelings of yearning about their childhood friends since they said that they had many friends from different backgrounds when they were in primary school. However, their groups have become more ethnically homogeneous as they have grown up. Most participants had/have cross-ethnic friends from different groups (mostly by means of schools) such as "white British", Pakistani, African. Importantly, some Turkish participants perceive Kurdish people as being outsider and vice-versa. It seems that political stances about the Kurdish question in Turkey is one of the important friendship determinants for those participants. It appears they distanced themselves from each other and this could attribute to the transition of the Turkish-Kurdish conflict from Turkey to the UK by diaspora groups (Baser<sup>29</sup>, 2012). Some participants also said that they preferred contact with mostly Muslim friends among their cross-ethnic friends due to the same reason of sharing common characteristics. Berfin explained why friendship is confusing with out-group members and what the important differences are for her:

<sup>29</sup> For in-dept information and analyses, see her PhD dissertation with the title of "Inherited Conflicts: Spaces of Contention between Second-Generation Turkish and Kurdish Diasporas in Sweden and Germany".



Berfin: *I would say this question mark one because most of my friends are black, so I don't know whether I fit into them or not, probably I am the only white person. I feel like most black people in London, they complain a lot. Even at school, whatever happens, they are just like because I am black. They just base everything on being black. They don't see religion or other problems.* (Female, 17)

According to Berfin, some of her black friends have a salient black identity and they are only concerned about issues regarding their minority group membership; however, they could take notice of other minority issues ethnically and religiously. It can be said that not sharing any of the social identities seems an important reason which makes cross-ethnic friendships less preferable for second-generation Turkish young people. In other words, one of their multiple social identities (e.g. religious, ethnic or political identity) need to be overlapped to make friends for some participants. Therefore, young people's identification with their multiple identities should also be considered to understand their perceptions about who forms part of the in-group and out-group.

In addition, British identity is not seen as being a shared identity with friends by most participants, and these participants tend to see British friends as out-group members and make same-ethnic friends with Turkish/Kurdish peers. However, participants who also feel themselves as British have more cross-ethnic friends. It is important to mention that opportunities for positive intergroup contact can also be significant in these friendship issues. For example, Cem (identifies himself as both Turkish and British) talked about his good experiences and great times when he was in the cadets with his cross-ethnic friends who are mostly "white British":

Cem: *I do English activities like going to cadets which is mainly for the English community. There are few Turkish people go there, maybe one or two. We do teamwork, flying, shutting, camping, a lot stuff in the cadets, and we look after each other. I develop leadership skills and I like activities there such as rope walking, I succeeded there... and I also feel a part of the English community in school and at cadets.* (Male, 16)

As can be seen, caring about people and collaboration not only helped him to develop important skills but also provided important social cohesion and unity with his English peers. Similarly, other participants who had positive contact with other ethnic groups and hold positive attitudes towards them talked more about their cross-ethnic friendships. Research also shows that if young people have positive feelings towards out-group members, they have more

interaction with them (Knifsend & Juvonen, 2014). The authors also suggested that young people's social identity complexity is important because people with a high social identity complexity (feeling they belong to not only one category but also other non-overlapped categories) reported feeling less distant from ethnic out-groups. Even though most participants' friendship patterns tend to be based on sameness and shared identities, some of them (particularly who identify themselves both British and Turkish/Kurdish) talked about the positive sides of cross-ethnic friendship and expressed their positive feelings towards their cross-ethnic friends. They pointed out that they can learn new languages, cultures and religions thanks to these friends from all over the world. Thus, second-generation young people can experience diversity, develop intergroup relationships and multicultural understanding.

On the other hand, few participants mentioned their loneliness and struggles due to their friendship problems. One of them is Burak (see page 133 in Chapter 7 for his case) who identifies himself strongly as Turkish and wants to socialise only with Turkish people, however, there are few Turkish people around him (he lives outside of London). He has also had some bad experiences and negative contact with his cross-ethnic friends at schools such as ethnic discrimination and exclusion. When considering his negative intergroup experiences, it is worth acknowledging that the ideal circumstances for positive intergroup contact do not always occur in young people's everyday lives (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003). It can be said that the availability of same-ethnic friendship is essential whereas opportunities for cross-ethnic friendship sometimes do not create an environment propitious for positive intergroup contact. Burak was also the only one who said that he has not had any happy experiences in England in his entire life, and all he desires is having a group of friends for his future while his peers were talking about their educational and occupational aspirations.

In summary, positive relationships with parents and with same-ethnic friends are particularly important for young minorities' ethnic identity formation (particularly for ethnic identity exploration) and well-being. Cross-ethnic friends can also promote positive intergroup relationships, diversity awareness and social identity complexity. In conclusion, good social relationships with parents and friends affect second-generation Turkish young people's happiness and well-being positively both at school context and home.

### 8.1.3 Relatives

Not only parents and friends but also *relatives* or *extended family* (grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins) have a significant role in second-generation Turkish young people's lives. Participants talked both about their relatives who reside in England and Turkey and it seems that these relatives are one of the important agents who provide *cultural resources* to second-generation Turkish young people. Some participants indicated that they have learned interesting information regarding their culture and ethnicity (e.g. their ancestors in Turkey, old customs and immigration story) from their relatives. Importantly, participants who have relatives in England said that their relatives or extended family members help to make them *feel at home in England* and to *give them a sense of belonging*.

However, some participants have only a few members of the extended family or do not have any relatives in England, and they are not happy with this situation. For example, Baris said that the relatives are important because they provide a network to find a job easily and added:

Baris: *I do not have a large network in England because I don't have a family here. I have just one uncle. So, I have to find everything on my own.* (Male, 16)

According to Baris, having relatives mean also a “*good network*” and “*not being alone*” in England because relatives can take care of young people when they need help. The importance of social interactions and networks can be explained by *social capital* which plays a significant role on immigrant youth's sense of belonging, adaptation and integration process as well as positive educational outcomes through additional support (Hébert, Sun & Kowch, 2004). Furthermore, some participants expressed their happiness when they see their relatives in Turkey or when their relatives come to the UK to visit them. They also added that they are pleased with their relatives' hospitality in Turkey and that they can learn their culture from them in a “*real atmosphere*”. Thus, their relatives, particularly in Turkey, become important role-models in terms of cultural behaviours and practices. Therefore, they can also be helpful for young people's cultural understanding which positively influences their engagement with heritage culture and acculturation in turn. As a result, relatives (both in Turkey and England) are significant people who can promote second-generation young people's acculturation, and well-being particularly through feelings of being supported, connected and attached.

#### 8.1.4 Turkish-Speaking People

*Turkish-speaking people* (Turkish and Kurdish people from Turkey and Turkish Cypriots) in England are also important for young people's lives as a source of social support. As has been discussed in the ethnic identity exploration subtheme, there is a large Turkish-speaking community in London, their local/cultural NGOs are particularly located in North London. There are also a few similar organisations in different areas of London and other UK cities (e.g. Bristol, Swindon which has relatively less Turkish populations). These organisations not only organise events for the Turkish community but they also provide support in terms of mental health (e.g. counselling in Turkish and English), legal issues (e.g. providing solicitor and helping for welfare benefits), English language courses (for first-generation parents), Turkish language and Turkish folk dances courses (for second-generation young people). Turkish organisations are important for not only making first-generation parents' lives easier in England but also for providing ethnic identity exploration and ethnic socialisation opportunities for second-generation young people. Thus, they can promote immigrants and their children's positive mental health and create social cohesion among Turkish people.

When participants were asked to indicate the position of the other Turkish/Kurdish people in the "blob bridge", young people (if their ethnic identity is one of the important parts of them) defined their "tight-knit" ethnic community by addressing the feelings of *togetherness* and mentioned some *gatherings* with them such as funeral ceremonies, Eid celebrations, weddings, and cultural festivals. For example, Ahmet said that:

Ahmet: *I love our traditions like weddings and Eid. Having breakfast on Eid morning all together is really nice. That makes us cheer up. I also enjoy being together with my cousins and other Turkish people in our weddings, there is a different cheerfulness in our weddings with shawm-and-drum.* (Male, 16)

Being together with relatives and community is important for Ahmet to be happy and he can also feel unique with different practices and feel a kinship and commonality with them. It seems that both first-generation parents and second-generation young people can experience their culture with crowds who have the same background (Knifsend & Juvonen, 2014) and they share their social identities and have positive experiences with them (Hopkins et al., 2016) by attending these sorts of events which help them to develop in-group ties and a sense of community. Qualitative studies have also shown that adolescents' connection to heritage

culture helped to maintain solidarity in not only their immigrant family but also community (Kennedy & Macneela, 2014).

In addition, some participants have several Turkish teachers at their schools who they look up to and view as important role-models for them. These teachers help second-generation young people and their parents in both English and Turkish languages. These participants see their Turkish teachers as “one of them” who has the same background and similar cultural experiences in England. They talked about their positive teacher-student relationships. Similar to relatives and the Turkish community, Turkish teachers help them to “feel at home” in England. After friends, Turkish-speaking communities and teachers can be seen another non-familial ethnic socialisation agent which contribute to young people’s involvement in ethnic activities and promote positive feelings towards ethnic identity (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). They have positive effects on not only young people’s ethnic identity development but also well-being by providing social support, a sense of belonging and community.

The importance of friends, relatives and Turkish-speaking people can also be explained in the aspect of *social cure* (Haslam, McMahon, Cruwys, Haslam, Jetten & Steffens, 2018). Research suggests that social groups and networks provide a sense of meaning, purpose, and belonging, and they can enhance young people’s self-esteem and have buffer effects on their well-being particularly when they need to cope with the negative consequences of being a member of a disadvantaged group (Haslam, Jetten, Postmes & Haslam, 2009). It appears that not only parents and friends but also relatives and Turkish-speaking communities are important for seeking support to ethnic minority youth. Considering second-generation Turkish young people’s challenges during identity development, parents’ barriers, acculturation difficulties and discrimination experiences, social networks and support can have positive effects on young people as well as they can act as protective factors for their well-being.

In conclusion, positive social relationships with others play pivotal roles in second-generation Turkish young people’s ethnic identity formation and mental health. To understand their individual factors related to mental health, their happiness, needs and hopes, and educational/occupational aspirations will be discussed in the next section.

## 8.2 Happiness and Hope

In this subtheme, I will represent second-generation Turkish young people's subjective happiness and hopes for the future by considering their *happy experiences*, *needs for happiness*, and *educational/occupational aspirations* (refers to their desires and aims) to deepen understanding of their psychological well-being in the context of England.

### 8.2.1 *Happy Experiences and Needs for Happiness*

At the end of the interview, I asked participants for memories of happy and positive experiences and moments to understand what makes them feel happy in general. Their answers for the happy experiences can be separated into two categories: *happiness with people* (e.g. spending time with parents and friends, being at school with friends, going to a trampoline park with friends, going outside with British friends, being able to get permission from parents to go somewhere, being with relatives who came to England from Turkey) and *happiness with personal achievements* (e.g. getting good grades in A-levels, being successful at school, finishing school with resilience, achieving rope walking, mixing cultures and speaking both languages). As can be seen from these responses, friends, family and relatives are important social resources to provide the conditions for happiness in different social spaces such as at school and in the park. Personal resources for happiness are also related to not only academic success and being good at games but also to bicultural and bilingual competence.

It was particularly interesting to see how some second-generation Turkish young people made a connection between their positive feelings/happiness and stories/experiences about their integration/cultural competence. These participants were happy with and aware of the advantages of being bicultural and bilingual (e.g. being good at two different cultures, speaking two languages as native, possible job opportunities in both Turkish and British society, and having different friends from all over the world). According to Diener (2019), there are significant individual differences in adaptation to circumstances. He suggested that resilience and regulating oneself makes people more adaptable to difficult/negative events and happier in turn. When considering individuals' adaptation in connection with being second-generation and living in different cultures, young people's adaptation skills to difficult circumstances could also be related to their developed behavioural repertoire and mixing/using different cultures. Thus, they can feel good in both cultures and make good relationships with both

Turkish and British people (e.g. parents and friends) in England. These positive factors (e.g. good social relationships and being good at both British and Turkish culture as second-generation) can interplay with psychological adjustment and contribute to providing happiness.

However, on the other hand, some participants were not happy with themselves and the decisions/choices they have made. When these young people looked at the past, they talked about their regretful and negative experiences which have made them less satisfied with life such as *not studying enough, fighting with peers, arguing with parents, not being positive enough, having “bad” friends and bad habits*. Some participants also have different problems related to their social environment such as *parental divorce, strict parenthood, having unfaithful father, father absence and familial economic issues*, and they expressed their negative feelings towards these experiences such as sadness, loneliness, anxiety and anger. A few of them mentioned that they suffered from depression due to these issues. These familial problems can be an immense source of stress and important risk factors for young people’s mental health, and they might make second-generation Turkish young people vulnerable and ultimately make their lives more unpleasant. It appears that not only poor relationships with parents, but also other familial problems are often related to young people’s unhappiness. Young people also harbour desires from other people particularly from their parents to be happier. When they were telling me their happy and unhappy memories, they also revealed their desires and expectations. For example, Ayse said that:

*Ayse: Once, we went to London with friends, it was before uni. My family [father] normally did not let me go, but we insisted too much, and they allowed us to go for once, and we went and had so much fun. This was the first happy moment that comes to my mind. (Female, 18)*

As it can be remembered from the previous themes (see page 132), Ayse often cited her father’s strict parenting as a factor limiting her life. In this happy story, she was able to go to London with her friends independently. This indicates that she wanted to be more self-determined and have more autonomy to be happier.

In relation to this, I also asked about young people’s desires to understand their *needs for happiness*. Participants established many different connections between their desires and happiness. These answers can be separated into two different groups: *internal/personal factors* (e.g. being more positive, determined, confident, successful, finishing school and having a good career) and *external/contextual factors* (e.g. taking support and guidance from parents, not

having strict parents, having happy parents, having good relationships with family and friends, meeting with different people, making many friends, togetherness and sense of community, having equal opportunities). Participants living outside of North London often indicated that they needed a sense of community to be happier. However, some participants believed that they need to change themselves to be happier, for example, Berk talked about one of his personal desires:

Berk: *I would like to be more confident with people and to be better socially. That's the big issue. Besides, my life is good, there is just some insecurity. I was more social when I was younger. But now, it is just difficult because I am afraid of not being liked by people or maybe I talk silly... That is why I hide my Turkish side.* (Male, 18)

Berk wished to be more self-confident, social and not to be afraid of his personal characteristics and ethnic identity. As mentioned in Chapter 6 (see page 117), Berk has some negative attitudes towards being Turkish and he prefers to hide his Turkish ethnic identity. In relation to this situation, it is clear that he evaluates one of his social identities negatively, and he assumes that other people may also not accept and like it and by extension him. His situation can be explained in terms of lack of *self-acceptance* which is characterised by positive attitudes towards the self, and acknowledgement and acceptance of multiple aspects (including good and bad qualities) of the self and feeling positive about past life (Ryff, 1989, 2014). Ryff argued that self-esteem and self-acceptance have a symbiotic relationship and that being afraid of not being loved and hiding ethnic identity causes low self-esteem and by extension poor psychological functioning. Berk might need to be more self-confident, accept himself fully and love his identity in order to be happier. This issue can be particularly important for second-generation young people who self-stereotype themselves and hold negative attitudes against their ethnic group memberships.

### 8.2.2 Educational and Occupational Aspirations

Finally, participants' educational and occupational goals and hopes for the near future were asked since these immigration-related experiences and their ethnic background might influence their future aspirations. A couple of questions about their own image of themselves at the age of 21 by using blob/s in the bridge were used to try to understand their future aspirations. Most participants either talked about their *educational aspirations* (e.g. getting good grades, going to university/college and studying specific areas such as Medicine and Law)



or *occupational aspirations* (e.g. being a doctor, an engineer, animator, barber, member of parliament, a lawyer, an electrician, and a footballer). Although they have different occupational aspirations, 16 participants out of 20 indicated their educational aspirations for attending the university. This high frequency of university aspirations could be related to their parents' high educational and occupational expectations.

Research also indicates that educational aspirations are higher among second-generation ethnic minority students in England who tend to try to compensate for the negative effects of ethnic disadvantages and barriers (Khattab, 2018). This might be the case for some second-generation Turkish young people, and their high educational aspirations might be related to not only their parents' expectations but also to their perceptions and awareness about possible ethnic barriers to deal with (e.g. Kubra's perceptions of ethnic discrimination in recruitment as discussed in perceived discrimination theme). However, these aspirations do not mean realisation and they are also related to perceived opportunities in ethnic minority adolescents (Hill, Ramirez & Dumka, 2003). If some participants turn their parents' expectations into their own aspirations, they might not perceive any serious obstacles (e.g. being an ethnic minority) preventing them from fulfilling their goals (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), and this could also be related their multiple identifications as both British and Turkish, feeling good within both cultures and being bilingual in the multicultural British context.

Some participants were motivated to actualise their aspirations and were also aware of their interests and strengths which are relevant for their desired education and occupation. Research shows that there are strong associations between educational aspirations and actual achievement, and positive relationships between lower educational aspirations and low well-being (e.g. psychological distress, depressive symptoms and low self-esteem) (Rothon, Arephin, Klineberg, Cattell & Stansfeld, 2011). With concern with this link between psychological well-being and aspirations, young people's educational aspirations can be an important indicator for their *personal growth* (Ryff, 1989, 2014) which is characterised by feeling continued development and seeing themselves as growing, seeing a sense of realising their potential and their improvement over time. In relation to this, young people's aspirations seem useful in increasing the possibility of achievement, realising their potential (e.g. using their strengths), overcoming obstacles (e.g. ethnic discrimination) and promoting their well-being.

However, two participants had “no idea” about what they want to do in the future, and thus felt hopeless. One of them only wants to support his parents somehow, and as a different answer Burak simply responded: “God knows”. Burak’s aspirations were also limited relative to other participants since while his peers were talking about their educational/occupational aspirations, Burak’s big desire was to have a good group of Turkish friends in the near future (his ethnic and separation experiences, and friendship problems were discussed in previous themes, see page 13 in Chapter 7). These types of aspirations can be an indicator of lack of a sense of directedness and of purposelessness which limit the feeling of “life is meaningful” and limit beliefs that give life purpose (Ryff, 1989, 2014). In order to make second-generation young people more motivated and hopeful about their lives and future, conditions of positive well-being (e.g. positive relationships with others and positive feelings about self) should be provided in different social settings (e.g. home and school) by means of adults (e.g. parents and teachers).

Finally, when participants were talking about their aspirations, some also commented on several problems in broader society (e.g. conflicts between people, immigration issues and Brexit) at the end of the interview. They empathically indicated their hopes to togetherness and peace for the people who live in conflict and diverse settings. These desires and positive expectations were also valuable for indicating the importance of positive social relations as both reasons and outcomes of a peaceful and happy person/society. Moreover, even though previous research focuses on negative parts of the identification and its relationship to well-being, it is important to acknowledge that social identities can also be a source of peace for youths (McKeown, Cavdar & Taylor, 2020). Young people’s ethnic identity formation and social identities with positive meanings and feelings can be an important determinant of positive expectations for not only about themselves but also other people and society more generally. This positive approach to both the self and society might also be helpful to share similarities, celebrate differences and promote intergroup relationships and social cohesion.

## CHAPTER 9

### GENERAL DISCUSSION: MEANINGFUL IDENTITIES AND BLENDING CULTURES FOR POSITIVE MENTAL HEALTH

Having adopted a mixed-methods design, the overall aim of this research was to investigate the relationships between ethnic identity formation, acculturation, perceived discrimination and mental health among second-generation Turkish young people in England. This chapter juxtaposes and brings into dialogue the findings, contributions and conclusions of the quantitative and qualitative studies presented in this dissertation. The findings will be discussed in relation to key areas in the research literature on ethnic identity formation, acculturation, perceived discrimination and mental health. Finally, a discussion of the implications and limitations of the research will also be covered at the end of the chapter.

#### **9.1 Exploration, Feelings and Meanings: Ethnic Identity Formation**

In this study, ethnic identity formation was defined as including three dimensions: (1) *exploration* (which refers to actively exploring an ethnicity by engaging in culturally specific activities, behaviours and roles), (2) *resolution* (which refers to a sense of commitment and understanding regarding meaning of the ethnic identity) and (3) *affirmation* (which refers to both negative and/or positive feelings towards an ethnic identity), and the existence of these three ethnic identity dimensions indicate greater ethnic identification in this study (which is originally called an “achieved positive” ethnic identity) (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004, 2011, 2014).

The results from Study 1 show that **greater ethnic identification** is positively associated with factors indicating positive mental health (life satisfaction, self-esteem, psychological well-being and absence of depression symptoms). These results are consistent with previous research which linked ethnic identity formation to positive mental health outcomes such as psychological well-being and self-esteem (Brittian et al., 2013; Chae & Foley, 2010; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014a; Romero et al., 2014; Smith & Silva, 2011; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). In explaining this association, Umaña-Taylor, Gonzales-Backen

and Guimond (2009) referred to the increased knowledge about self and feeling positive towards ethnic identity (as a part of self). It was argued that when young people feel more self-confident regarding their ethnicity, these positive identity aspects might facilitate their abilities to cope with ethnicity-related stressors, which in turn may contribute their self-esteem and happiness. However, there are important contextual differences in ethnic identity formation among young minorities (e.g. depending on their country of origin, ethnicity, religion, country/city of residence and ethnic identity socialisation), as suggested in the qualitative findings.

Specifically, discussions with young people during the interviews showed that participants held different social identities (e.g. Turkish/Kurdish, British, Muslim). They also make unique and different combinations of these attributions (e.g. a child of a Turkish family and a British, a Kurdish/Alevi Londoner). Some young people attach great importance to their ethnic identity while some attach little or do not attach any importance to their ethnicity. The latter group care about their other social identities and about different characteristics of themselves in general. The qualitative results indicate that social relationships with others (particularly with parents and friends) and learning from them (mostly in relation to their religious and political orientation) are important determinants which can alter the importance of ethnic identity and make ethnic identity appear more salient to second-generation Turkish youth. The positive ethnic socialisation (e.g. good relationships with parents, friends and relatives, ethnic/cultural practices with them) contributes to ethnic identity development (e.g. more ethnic exploration, positive feelings towards being Turkish and sense of belonging) and by extension promotes better mental health (e.g. feeling happier and more confident) among second-generation Turkish young people. Therefore, the quantitative and qualitative results build upon previous work by indicating that ethnic identity formation has positive effects on young people's mental health through not only individual (e.g. self-awareness, self-confidence and coping with ethnicity-related stressors) but also societal factors (e.g. positive social relationships and ethnic identity socialisation).

When exploring the findings of ethnic identity in more depth, survey results show that greater **ethnic identity exploration** (actively exploring an ethnicity) is associated with participants' life satisfaction. This finding suggests that exploring ethnic identity and engaging with ethnic/cultural activities is related to second-generation Turkish young people's feelings of satisfaction with their lives. The qualitative findings are insightful in understanding the

possible reasons why these ethnic identity exploration experiences make second-generation Turkish young people more satisfied with their lives. Specifically, interviews corroborate the notion that engaging with cultural activities is perceived to not only be a part of ethnic identity exploration (e.g. learning their culture, understanding and practising it) among second-generation Turkish young people, but also brings young people together with their family (e.g. parents and relatives) and other Turkish people (e.g. same-ethnic friends and Turkish community) which then facilitates a sense of community and belonging. These findings are aligned with previous research which has highlighted ethnic identity exploration as an important factor for ethnic socialisation and formation (Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders & Updegraff, 2013).

The qualitative findings reveal that ethnic identity exploration can also be stressful when some second-generation Turkish young people feel under pressure to engage with their culture as their parents force them to practise it (e.g. speaking Turkish at home) and participate in ethnic activities (e.g. attending the cultural festivals). Therefore, young people's motivation and the considerable effects of parents bring to bear also play an important role in ethnic identity exploration. In addition, it is important to highlight that although some young people have a salient ethnic identity and high motivation to attend the cultural events, they do not have the same opportunities to reach these activities as their peers in large and diverse cities, such as London. As a result, the relationship between ethnic identity exploration and life satisfaction is contingent upon not only contextual factors (e.g. parental force, positive relationships with parents and other Turkish people, and opportunities for cultural activities) but also individual factors (e.g. ethnic identity salience, sense of belonging, tendency and feeling motivated to engage with culture).

Survey results reveal that **ethnic identity affirmation** (positive feelings towards ethnic identity) is associated with second-generation Turkish young people's self-esteem and psychological well-being as well as lower level of depression. These findings suggest that second-generation Turkish young people who hold positive feelings towards their ethnic identity can be less depressed, have higher self-esteem and better psychological well-being. It means that holding positive feelings towards ethnic identity is related to young people's happiness, feeling positive and regardful about themselves, and positive functioning in life. These findings are parallel with previous research which shows individuals' positive affect towards their ethnic group associated with positive adjustments such as fewer depressive

symptoms (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014b). Similarly, positive feelings about ethnic identity had protective effects on depressive symptoms (Brittian et al., 2015; Lantrip et al., 2015) and protective-enhancing effects on self-esteem (Romero et al., 2014). This association can be explained by social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) which suggests that people's positive identification with their social group membership and sense of belonging can enhance their self-esteem. It has been shown that positive feelings towards ethnic identity provide not only personal strengths (e.g. self-esteem) but also some social advantages (e.g. sense of belonging and social support from their community) (Smith & Silva, 2011) which are important constructs of psychological well-being. However, it is important to acknowledge that positive feelings towards ethnic identity may not necessarily reflect better adjustment which also depends on other contextual and relational agents (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004, 2014, 2018).

The qualitative findings support the quantitative results, showing that young people's positive feelings towards their ethnic identity are mostly connected to their positive self-evaluation (e.g. being proud of Turkish and accepting themselves), happiness and sense of belonging (e.g. being proud of belonging to the Turkish community). However, it is important to note that young people may consciously or unconsciously harbour negative feelings towards their ethnic identity (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004). Research showed young people who have negative feelings towards their ethnic identity experienced more stress and that this, in turn, accounted for their tendency to report more depressive symptoms (Lantrip et al., 2015). The consequences of these negative feelings drawn from interviews are consistent with previous research and quantitative findings. For example, although Berk (who has negative feelings towards being Turkish, see Chapter 6 for his case) may try to protect his self-esteem by avoiding Turkish membership, he was struggling with low self-confidence, a lack of same-ethnic friendship and stressful ethnicity-related experiences. What is distinctive about this finding is that possible negative feelings towards ethnic identity might affect not only the ethnic identity formation process, but also other aspects such as friendship. Both quantitative and qualitative results show that feeling positive about ethnic identity is related to second-generation Turkish young people's self-affirmation and positive social relationships, which then positively contributes to their well-being.

Moreover, second-generation Turkish young people's feelings cannot be reduced to a mere dichotomy of either positive or negative emotions, some young people also felt array ambivalent feelings towards their own ethnic identity. This ambiguity mostly related to the

meanings of being Turkish/Kurdish since some young people do not know what their ethnicity means to them and this uncertainty makes it more difficult to answer the question of “who I am”. Thus, although meta-analytic studies addressed the positive relationship between ethnic identification and mental health (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014b; Smith & Silva, 2011), stressful exploration process, ambivalent feelings and confusions about the meaning of ethnic identity can both be challenging and threatening factors.

Furthermore, the quantitative findings show that **ethnic identity resolution** is associated with participants’ self-esteem and psychological well-being. It means that having a meaningful ethnic identity is linked to second-generation Turkish young people’s feelings of being regardful with themselves and positive psychological well-being. They are consistent with previous research which showed that ethnic identity resolution is associated with young people’s positive socialisation (Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders & Updegraff, 2013) and higher levels of self-esteem (Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). A body of qualitative studies also showed that positive meanings about ethnic identity play vital roles in young people’s well-being and mental health (Adler et al., 2015, 2016). This association can be explained by considering ethnic identity confusion (as a result of the lack of meanings and commitments) (Erikson, 1950, 1958) which may bring possible negative outcomes such as stress, conflicted social behaviours and difficulties in making choices and the lack of self-esteem (Navarrete & Jenkins, 2011). Similarly, the qualitative findings of this study suggest that young people who know clearly what their ethnic identity means to them tend to be aware of themselves with their strengths and weaknesses and pursue their goals and make their decisions confidently.

In particular, the qualitative findings of this research are useful to represent second-generation Turkish young people’s subjective understandings (sense of personal meaning) of their ethnic identity. These findings provide important additional information about the content of their ethnic identity with their individual, relational and collective meanings. These answers show that being Turkish/Kurdish have different meanings to second-generation Turkish young people (e.g. being honest, Turkish language, their ancestors and history, culture and traditions). Even though they are all important attempts at making meaning of an ethnic identity, there are important divergences between them, which can be considered as depth (with the recognition of the complexity of being Turkish/Kurdish in the UK context), surface (e.g. being Turkish means just genetically), and pragmatic (e.g. being Turkish means job opportunities). These meanings also include different levels of sense of belonging to their ethnic identity. There could

be a relationship between the ethnic identity exploration attempts and gaining an in-depth understanding of ethnic identity since some young people were able to explain being Turkish/Kurdish with the complexity of historical, personal and cultural issues by linking them to the aspects that they learned from their in-depth and active exploration experiences (both high attendance to ethnic activities, high levels of knowledge and cultural practice).

## **9.2 Being Turkish/Kurdish and British: Multiple Social Identities**

The interview results show that multiple social identities (being Turkish, Kurdish, Turkish/Kurdish, and British) play different roles in young people's lives, with positive, negative and ambivalent feelings along with subjective meanings. These feelings and meanings are mostly related to their experiences and perceptions about Turkishness both in England (being categorised as "white-others") and Turkey (being non-inclusive for Kurdish people), and also Britishness (with its unclear definition). Although being Turkish/Kurdish and British seems confusing for most young people, some participants appear to deal with these confusions and ambiguities with a high awareness of multiplicity (e.g. different values, traditions and expectations) and a rich behavioural repertoire (e.g. different languages and behaviours suitable to both British and Turkish contexts).

These findings are consistent with the social identity complexity explanations which suggest that when an individual understands and accepts their multiple in-groups are not fully overlapping, their related identity structure becomes more inclusive and more complex (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). This complexity can provide different types of complex behaviours (e.g. compartmentalisation, shifting social identities, cultural frame switching and using multiple languages) and thus be beneficial for young people psychologically and socially (Mussweiler, Gabriel & Bodenhausen, 2000; Riehl, 2005; Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Schwartz, Birman, Benet-Martínez & Unger, 2017). For instance, they can apply suitable behavioural shifts dependent on the context, and they can use/mix the different languages and cultures. Moreover, research shows that people who have bicultural/combined identities tend to have higher self-esteem and suffer less stress (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). As a result, these cultural understandings and behavioural repertoires may compensate for possible minority stress and risks upon their well-being.



Moreover, the qualitative findings indicate that participants (with high social identity complexity) tend to share their similarities with same-ethnic friends and learn from their cross-ethnic friends. It is important to note that diverse schools are important sites both for understanding the nuances of multiple social identities by practising different roles (as Turkish/Kurdish and British person) and for developing and consolidating intercultural relationships. Research showed that high social identity complexity promotes social identities, cross-ethnic friendships and positive intergroup attitudes among young people in diverse schools (Knifsend & Juvonen, 2014). Thus, social identities and their attendant complexities can become advantages for positive intergroup relationships and activate these identities in different social environments such as home and school.

The period of meaning-making of being Turkish/Kurdish and British, its exploration and its resolution processes appears particularly important. The qualitative results show that young people who have the opportunity to explore both their ethnic and British identity (e.g. not only eating Turkish food at home, speaking British-accent at school, but also being active, looking for opportunities and attending inclusive social activities) tend to understand the complexity and have an identity synthesis with clarity. On the contrary cases, passive exploration, surface and pragmatic meanings (e.g. simplifying their ethnic identity with a country or language, and job opportunities) appear to bring uncertainty and confusion to young people's lives.

These findings could be explained with reference to developmental theories. For example, Erikson (1968) suggested that identity exploration is a critical component for reaching coherence and clarity within a particular identity. In addition, Umaña-Taylor et al. (2004, 2014) addressed the importance of ethnic identity exploration with active participation in the meaning-making process of ethnic identity formation. Research also suggests that the intensification of identity exploration is important for commitment making and achieved identity (developed on the basis of exploration and commitment) which is associated with well-being (Klym & Ciecuch, 2015). These issues can also be related to ruminative identity exploration (a passive aspect of exploration, difficulties with active exploration) which is associated with a lack of commitments towards identity, lower levels of self-esteem, higher levels of depression and anxiety symptoms (Beyers & Luyckx, 2016; Luyckx et al., 2008). It can be said that similar to ethnic identity formation outcomes, having actively explored and coherent multiple identities contributes to second-generation Turkish young people's well-

being probably with higher self-knowledge, self-acceptance and self-esteem. However, it can be important in future research to examine further the ruminative side of ethnic identity exploration and its relationship with mental health among ethnic minority youths.

In summary, it is possible to consider active ethnic identity exploration, positive feelings and clear meanings as being important protective factors for second-generation Turkish young people's mental health. These results also indicate that the relationships between ethnic identity formation and mental health interact with other factors, the most important one being in the relationships with other people (both intragroup and intergroup). Moreover, the results of this study suggest that having different and complex social identities can be positive for second-generation Turkish young people when they have a sense of the complexity through active exploration. These findings provide new understandings on multiple social identities by considering identity processes (e.g. active exploration and resolution) and content (positive/negative feelings and subjective meanings). As such, this study brings additional insight to the understudied topic of second-generation Turkish young people's identity development, particularly offering important points in explaining away their ethnic identity formation in the specific context of England. This research also differs from the previous identity and mental health research as it addresses individual and contextual issues among young minorities. To understand how young people are using their multiple identities in their cultural context and to better explain the relationship between ethnic identity formation and mental health, the findings of acculturation and perceived discrimination will be addressed in the following sections.

### **9.3 Poor Ethnic Identification and Assimilation: Risks to Mental Health**

In order to understand the complex relationship between ethnic identity formation, mental health and acculturation in second-generation Turkish young people, the mediating role of acculturation strategies and young people's acculturation experiences are examined. In this study, acculturation includes four different strategies which are (1) *assimilation* (not maintaining cultural heritage and searching for daily interaction with other culture/s), (2) *separation* (maintaining the heritage culture and avoiding interaction with other culture/s), (3) *marginalisation* (showing little interest in not only heritage culture but also relations with other culture/s) and (4) *integration* (the harmonious option for both being a member of an ethnic

group and participant of the larger society) (Berry, 2005) (see Chapter 2 for more in-depth review of these terms).

The quantitative findings of this study show that **assimilation acculturation strategy** has a mediating role on the relationship between ethnic identification and mental health. This result suggests that greater ethnic identification is associated with positive mental health through lower levels of assimilation among second-generation Turkish young people in England. It means that at least for this particular sample, poorer ethnic identity formation may promote assimilation attitudes, which in turn can then increase the possibility of negative mental health outcomes. As discussed at the end of Chapter 4, these findings are in the similar line with both theory (Berry, 2005) and research (Berry & Kim, 1988; Vadher, 2010) addressing the negative relationship between ethnic identification and assimilation, which is related to negative mental health. Furthermore, even though the links from greater ethnic identification to separation (positively) and marginalisation (negatively) are significant, the results of integration acculturation strategy seem inconsistent with previous research which shows the positive links from integration to ethnic identification and mental health (Schwartz, Birman, Benet-Martínez & Unger, 2017; Schwartz, Zamboanga, Rodriguez & Wang, 2007; Vadher, 2010). Here, these findings will be discussed by considering interview results and criticisms towards Berry's acculturation model in the literature.

Firstly, interview findings support the assimilation results by showing experiences of the assimilation cases. They are helpful to understand the contextual factors which can explain the relationships between ethnic identity formation, assimilation and mental health. In this study, two participants have explicit assimilation tendencies and both of them mostly talked about their problems related to engagement with only British culture and little interest in Turkish culture (e.g. hiding their Turkish side, dealing with confusions, ambivalent and negative feelings towards themselves, ethnic socialisation problems, low self-confidence).

One of them (Berk, see Chapter 6 for his case) seems to have poor ethnic socialisation mostly due to his negative perceptions towards being Turkish, and different parental and socioeconomic background (e.g. educated parents, no expectations for cultural maintenance, better socioeconomic conditions, living in predominantly "white" area in London). Although his family circumstances provide several advantages to him (e.g. feeling less pressure to maintain Turkish culture and developing different interests/aspirations), they also appear related to lower levels of ethnic identification (with low exploration and negative feelings) and

more engagement with British culture. These findings are consistent with previous literature which suggests that, if ethnic minorities internalise the culturally negative associations of their ethnicity, they might intentionally avoid their ethnic group in order to protect their self-esteem. However, this negativity can disturb the formation of positive attitudes towards ethnic identity and themselves, and it can mean positivity towards the majority prevails (Dunham, Baron & Banaji, 2007). Thus, limited ethnic identification can be a risk factor for having assimilation attitudes (by engaging with only the majority culture) and developing negative outcomes such as self-denial (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). As a result, young people's individual differences and contextual aspects are hugely important for ethnic identification, acculturation processes and their outcomes. It will be important in future research to explore on young ethnic minorities' individual, parental and socioeconomic differences to better understand the complex nuances governing the relationship between ethnic identity formation, acculturation and mental health in their own context.

#### **9.4 Integration or Assimilation: Acculturation Matters**

While discussing acculturation findings, it is important to discuss the **differences between assimilation and integration** and to understand how young people experience these strategies because the qualitative findings reveal that they are perceived and experienced differently by young people involved in this research. Young people find the aspects of sense of belonging, cultural practices and participation to be particular personal traits that are important integration indicators in their lives. Some of these indicators include two-way interaction processes (e.g. having a Turkish culture and a British upbringing from school) with the mutual expectations from both Turkish and British society. However, most aspects that they perceive as “integration” are devoid of this mutuality (for instance, it is only Turkish people's responsibility such as learning/practising British culture and speaking only English at schools). It is also hard to define what constitutes “successful integration” in Berry's model. Rudmin (2003) argued that Berry's “integration” can mean assimilation in practice in some social settings. In that vein, it can be said that second-generation Turkish young people's acculturation experiences seem closer to assimilation acculturation strategy rather than integration in the British context in this study.

This study also shows that diverse schools and cities (such as London, with a large population of Turkish people) can perform a dual role of both contributing to Turkish young people's integration by offering various opportunities to engage with Turkish culture, and the chance to interact with same-ethnic friends but also provide a chance of feeling British at school. Theoretically, it is clear that acculturation not only at an individual level but also as a cultural aspect (Berry, 2017b) and plural societies which have a multicultural vision tend to support integration through intercultural relations and mutual change (Berry, 1997, 2013). However, young people's acculturation experiences and outcomes vary widely according to context even in similar settings. For instance, although commitment to Turkish ethnic identity and integration was found to be related to positive outcomes (e.g. higher self-esteem and life satisfaction, less mental health problems) comparing Turkish young people in Sweden and Norway, Turkish young people in Norway were found to have poorer well-being than Turkish young people in Sweden because of lower degree of Turkish identity and higher perceived discrimination (Virta, Sam & Westin, 2004). These findings show that people from the same ethnic group, even in two neighbouring Scandinavian countries, can differ in their ethnic identification, acculturation experiences and mental health outcomes.

When considering second-generation Turkish young people's integration experiences in the British context, although diversity can be an opportunity for Turkish young people in London, most young people have ambiguous perceptions about Britishness and thereby difficulties to identify themselves as British in turn. This issue seems associated with modern conceptions of "Britishness" ostensibly embracing multiculturalism but arguably in a way reflecting its monocultural orientation by granting racial inclusiveness at the price of cultural assimilation (Ashcroft & Bevir, 2018). The qualitative findings show that although some young people can learn and speak Turkish at school, some schools seem to implement monolingual policies (e.g. Turkish students are not allowed to speak Turkish at school, they can get detention when they speak Turkish in the class). However, multicultural policies should allow developing different forms of integration which vary according to people's culture and individuality (Modood, 2007). Thus, integration is strongly context-dependent, and second-generation youth's experiences can change in real-life contexts according to the political culture of the host country.

Moreover, the qualitative findings show that, in spite of the diversity of London, some second-generation Turkish young people feel like they live in ethnic enclaves and experience segregation. This can be explained by critical approaches to contact theory which suggest meaningful intergroup interactions do not necessarily occur in diverse settings since people's actual everyday interactions and making sense of these relations also play an important role in the outcomes of this contact (Dixon, Durrheim & Tredoux, 2005). In this vein, Groenewold, Valk and Ginneken (2013) suggested that contextual factors (e.g. city of residence, the orientation of integration policies, experiencing discrimination, social networks) may be more important than individual factors (e.g. educational attainment) in explaining acculturation preferences among second-generation Turkish people in Europe. It can be said that young people's integration experiences vary greatly depending on the broader social setting. Therefore, future research should approach acculturation with new understandings which integrally consider individual and contextual factors by centralising the person in the wider cultural context.

Berry's acculturation model and scale consider individuals' behaviours and practices in different domains (e.g. language, friendship, social activities, marriage and cultural traditions) to explain and measure acculturation. However, it is important to understand the roles of multiple identities and their complexity in acculturating young people's lives, particularly how young people shift their social identities and behave in a manner considered culturally appropriate in different settings. Interview results show that young people's exploration, feelings and meanings towards Turkish, Kurdish and British identities are important in determining their behaviours and practices. In this meaning-making process, they negotiate differences between their home and society (e.g. distant cultures with different values, practices, traditions and religions) and stressful situations vis-à-vis their parents' acculturation issues (e.g. parents' English barriers, language brokering, dissonant acculturation, highly gendered expectations). These parental problems interplay with acculturation and identity formation, and can bring inappropriate solutions, uncertainty and unhappiness in Turkish young people's lives. In this case, integration/biculturalism may not be a favourable option for the positive mental health due to possible cultural differences, societal barriers, pressures and contrasting expectations (Ozer, 2017; Schwartz et al., 2006).

This study suggests that when young people overcome the complexity of their multiple identities, they can create their own way as a bicultural individual. For example, someone can behave as a British person in one context and as a Turkish person in a different context by using behavioural repertoire (e.g. compartmentalisation, shifting and activating different identities and using multiple languages), and they can mix/blend between two different cultures and create a new hybrid version. Thus, it is possible that young people can develop different forms of acculturation according to their own context (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013) and there might be multiple variants of integration (e.g. combination of the assimilation and integration or partial bicultural) (Rudmin, 2003; Schwartz, Birman, Benet-Martínez & Unger, 2017; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008). Even, as has been currently suggested, bicultural individuals can *hybridise* by recombining identities and mixing cultures with the most desirable elements of both cultures, and thus actively create a unique and novel “third culture” which bridges distinct cultures and identities (Schwartz et al., 2019; Ward et al., 2018; West et al., 2017).

The domains in the acculturation model and scale look limited in capturing this complexity and the various contextual issues shaping the process/fluidity of acculturation and multiple identities. As a result, the binaries of multiple identities were not always apparent in second-generation young people’s lives, and their multiple identities and behaviours cannot be restricted to a single acculturation orientation regardless of social context, and therefore, acculturation can be multidimensional rather than unidimensional (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga & Szapocznik, 2010; Vadhver, 2010) with the different dimensions such as identity, cultural, social and political (Charsley & Spencer, 2019). The present study suggests that young people’s integration/bicultural processes are more complex when the contextual issues and multiple identities are given due consideration. These understandings can be important to showing the complexity of acculturation for future research and developing multi-modal methods to understand the acculturation of young people’s identities, attitudes and lives multidimensionally.

In summary, the findings of this research provide mixed support for Berry’s model and additional insights about ethnic identification and acculturation processes. In consideration of these insights, it can be important in future research to be mindful of the importance of individual and contextual differences, the complexity of multiple identities, multidimensional understandings of acculturation and context-dependency of the outcomes of these processes.

## 9.5 Another Side of Ethnic Identity: Perceived Discrimination

In order to understand the relationships between ethnic identity formation and mental health among second-generation Turkish young people in England, the mediating role of perceived ethnic discrimination is examined by considering young people's discrimination experiences and perceptions in the context where they live. The association between ethnic identity centrality and perceived ethnic discrimination is also taken into account.

In this study, perceived discrimination refers to young people's subjective perceptions of discriminatory events in relation to their understanding of how their ethnic group has been treated (Malcarne et al., 2006) in the UK context. The quantitative findings of this study show that **perceived discrimination** partially mediates the relationship between greater ethnic identification and positive mental health. This finding suggests that greater ethnic identification is associated with negative mental health through higher levels of perceived ethnic discrimination among second-generation Turkish young people in England, suggesting that greater ethnic identification can have negative mental health consequences in the case of high perceived ethnic discrimination. As has been discussed in Chapter 4 and 7, these findings are along similar lines with both reactive ethnic identity theory (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001) and findings from previous research (Berry et al., 2006; Romero et al., 2014; Smith & Silva, 2011; Srivastava, 2012; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007; Verkuyten 2005; Yoo & Lee, 2008) addressing links between ethnic identification and perceived discrimination, which is related to negative mental health.

When exploring the facts of ethnic identification and perceived discrimination in more depth, survey results show that ethnic identity exploration is associated with higher perceived ethnic discrimination in particular. This result is consistent with the previous research (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2015) and it can be related to ethnic identity exploration process (without clear meanings and feelings) as a period of uncertainty in young people's identity development (Erikson, 1968; Phinney, 1990). During this exploration period, young people might be more focused on and sensitive to their ethnicity-related experiences and thus tend to perceive ethnic discrimination more easily. When also considering ethnic identity formation results, this result means that although young people who experience greater levels of ethnic identity exploration have high levels of life satisfaction, they can also perceive higher ethnic discrimination.



Furthermore, quantitative findings show that higher **ethnic identity centrality** (referring to ethnicity as an important part of one's self-concept) is positively related to higher perceived ethnic discrimination, which is consistent with the previous research (Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Sellers et al., 2003; Wong, Eccles & Sameroff, 2003). The qualitative findings support this to some extent, by showing that some young people (e.g. Burak and Kubra) who give high importance to their ethnic identity accordingly perceive more ethnic discrimination. However, in these specific participants' cases, not only giving high importance to ethnic identity, but also other factors should be considered such as only being interested in Turkish culture, not identifying as British, the salience of Muslim identity, living in less diverse settings (outside of London) and an overall lack of intergroup relations for example. Both their ethnic identification and these contextual circumstances seem related to their perceived ethnic discrimination. Although some studies suggest that greater ethnic identification can buffer the negative outcomes of ethnic discrimination by increasing in-group identification, sense of belonging, social support and resiliency (Branscombe et al., 1999; Romero & Roberts, 2003), Dimitrova et al. (2016) suggest that the relation between ethnic identification and perceived discrimination, and their outcomes can change depending on the social context, particularly in case of experiencing lasting discrimination. Therefore, for further research, contextual considerations (e.g. diversity, intergroup relations, conflict between groups) would be insightful in explaining away these mixed results and examining the predictors of perceived ethnic discrimination.

The interview results also suggest that some young people with a clear ethnic identity interpret similar experiences in a positive way. Those young people are more self-confident, optimistic about their environment and aware of the diversity around them. As research suggests, having a clearer understanding of ethnic group membership can help young people to evaluate the basis for a given discriminatory act and this gives them a sense of confidence (Neblett, Rivas-Drake & Umaña-Taylor, 2012; Umaña-Taylor, Vargas-Chanes, Garcia & Gonzales-Backen, 2008). These young people also use particular strategies for dealing with ethnic discrimination such as asking for help from parents and teachers. It seems that both individual (e.g. ethnic identity centrality and multiple identities) and contextual aspects (e.g. diversity and intergroup relations) are important in interpreting discrimination experiences in positive and/or negative directions. The findings of the current study show not only the complexity of perceiving ethnic discrimination but also possible protective factors such as optimism, diversity awareness, positive beliefs/interpretations, social support and

understanding multiple social identities. However, it appears that the relationship between ethnic identity and perceived discrimination merits further exploration regarding mental health and coping skills among minority youth.

In conclusion, both assimilation acculturation strategy and perceived discrimination are negatively related to mental health, even though they are affected by greater ethnic identification inversely. Not only these quantitative relationships but also young people's experiences and perceptions provide important contributions to understanding better the role of acculturation and perceived ethnic discrimination on second-generation Turkish young people's ethnic identity development and mental health. In particular, the acculturation and perceived discrimination findings show both the complexity of these topics and the importance of contextual and individual differences. In summary, it can be argued that greater ethnic identity formation contributes to second-generation Turkish young people's positive mental health when they make sense of their multiple social identities, blend/mix/harmonise Turkish and British cultures and perceive less ethnic discrimination. This study opens up new perspectives for understanding the relations between ethnic identity development and mental health in young people, with the considerations of complexity and social context.

## **9.6 Implications for Theory and Research**

This study raises several significant points for theory and research with methodological, cultural and contextual considerations. Firstly, it extends the literature by providing new insights into the relationship between ethnic identity development and mental health. This study provides empirical evidence for the associations between ethnic identity dimensions (exploration, affirmation and resolution) and mental health indicators (life satisfaction, self-esteem, depression and psychological well-being). To date, there are significant lacunas in ethnic identity and mental health literature with regard to studies that investigate different dimensions of ethnic identity formation and various indicators of mental health. Therefore, considering ethnic identity development not only as a whole but also with individual dimensions and conceptualising mental health by using a wide range of positive and negative indicators provides a comprehensive understanding of ethnic identity formation and youth functioning.

Moreover, previous research often neglects the negative feelings towards ethnic identity and lacks depth in showing its outcomes for youth. This study considers both positive and negative feelings towards ethnic identity in relation to mental health outcomes. Unlike previous research, this study also approaches the dimension of ethnic identity exploration as an active participation process which is an important part of the meaning-making process of ethnic identity. These theoretical considerations can be important for future research seeking to understand the complex process of ethnic identity formation in adolescence.

Secondly, this study gives an additional explanation to account for the complex relationship between ethnic identity formation and mental health by using the various mediators. Even though only assimilation acculturation strategy and perceived ethnic discrimination significantly and partially explain this relationship, the qualitative part of the study provides additional insights about Turkish young people's real-life experiences and perceptions in a British context. These are useful to better understand how these aspects (ethnic identity formation, acculturation, perceived discrimination and mental health) are related to each other and how they play a role in young people's lives.

In addition, this study both confirms and problematises some of the existing theories on ethnic identity formation and acculturation. Findings offer support for Umaña-Taylor et al.'s (2004, 2014) ethnic identity formation model. This model has not been used among the second-generation Turkish young people in the previous literature. This is the first study to provide significant insights about their ethnic identity development and its relationship with mental health in the context of England. However, Berry's (1987, 2005) bidimensional acculturation model has been discussed and critiqued in this study. From these discussions, it is important to understand the complexity and context-dependency of acculturation processes. With these challenges of Berry's model, this study contributes to the new integrative acculturation psychology (Ferguson, Tran, Mendez & van de Vijver, 2017, Ozer, 2017) by addressing the multifaced and complex side of acculturation which claims that acculturation is multidimensional and protean according to context. These insights might be helpful in providing new ideas for developing new instruments and using various methods to understand multidimensionality in acculturation.

Furthermore, the acculturation discussions of this study are related to social identity complexity explanations (Roccas & Brewer, 2002) which has been mostly confirmed in this study. These results particularly provide a clear understanding of the complexity of being

Turkish/Kurdish and British by revealing young people's meaning-making process and role/behavioural repertoire (e.g. compartmentalisation, shifting and activating different identities, blending cultures and using multiple languages). Therefore, the present research contributes to the literature by addressing and explaining the complexity of acculturation processes and multiple social identities.

Finally, this study offers empirical evidence for the roles of contextual/relational factors (e.g. the importance of ethnic socialisation, possible influence of social relationships with particularly parents and friends) and individual differences (e.g. subjective meanings of social identities, and perceptions about discrimination experiences) in the relationship between ethnic identity formation and mental health. These aspects contribute to ethnic identity development by addressing the importance of the social environment around young people. Therefore, it is important for the future research to employ innovative mixed-method methodologies which grasp heterogeneity, crucial contextual and individual differences, particularly vis-à-vis the social, cultural and political settings of immigrants.

## **9.7 Implications for Policy and Practice**

This study provides empirical evidence for policy and practice and raises a number of practical points with cultural and contextual considerations to support positive youth development. This study particularly highlights the salience of ethnic identity development (with active exploration, positive feelings and clear meanings) and understandings of multiple identities and acculturation in second-generation Turkish young people's lives. Therefore, it raises the question of how actively explored, meaningful and positive ethnic identity can be pursued and how young people's multiple identities may be sustained in a meaningful fashion.

Young people spend most of their times at schools, thus mainstream schools are particularly important for second-generation Turkish young people to feel British and practice British culture. Therefore, schools can work for providing an optimal environment to second-generation for positive ethnic identity development and participation in British society. In this regard, parent and teacher involvement in this process can be key to successful implementation when considering parents' importance on ethnic socialisation and teachers' attitudes towards second-generation youth. Particularly on an institutional level, it would be beneficial for teachers to be better equipped to comprehend second-generation young people's challenges between different cultures and their needs towards cultural maintenance, particularly in less

diverse social settings. They can also promote cross-ethnic friendships and intergroup relations in order to reduce prejudice between students and gain diversity awareness. Therefore, policy makers can develop policies to improve teachers' cultural sensitivity/knowledge and prepare them for diversity in schools through specific trainings.

In addition, this study addresses the mental health outcomes of ethnic identity development, assimilation acculturation strategy and perceived ethnic discrimination in second-generation youth. When considering possible mental health difficulties of children of immigrants in the UK, this study also provides valuable insights for mental health practitioners. Therefore, mental health practitioners by taking the results of this study into consideration can consider possible ethnic identity, acculturation and discrimination problems when helping an ethnic minority young person. It would be beneficial for implementation in mental health services if they can encourage young people to explore themselves and develop positive feelings towards their multiple identities. When considering the importance of parents, related interventions can be designed and implemented for second-generation young people and their first-generation parents.

This study reveals that not only schools, but also local community organisations and NGOs have a significant role in Turkish people's lives in England. The results of the study about active ethnic identity exploration can be beneficial for their programs which target second-generation Turkish young people. If these Turkish NGOs and parents can comprehend second-generation young people's possible acculturation needs and challenges, it might be helpful to reduce their acculturative stress between home and outside. They can also collaborate with and support parents in order to promote positive parent-child relationships and young people's ethnic identity development in different social environments.

Furthermore, this study shows that acculturation is a multidimensional process and that young people's acculturation experiences can differ according to context. Importantly, integration includes different variations and can be experienced in diverse ways by young people according to their social and political environment. Therefore, policy makers should be aware of the multidimensional approach to acculturation and how the acculturation policies experience by young people in practice particularly when they are using the term of "integration".

Finally, the findings from the structural model and contextual considerations drawn from this study can improve the understandings of policy implementation issues regarding children of immigrants in the UK. These results can provide a holistic picture of second-generations' ecological systems in-between school, home and society with different local, relational and political platforms. These implications in policy and practice can be preventive by minimising negative outcomes derived from a lack of ethnic identification, high assimilation attitudes and perceived discrimination. During these practices, Umaña-Taylor et al.'s (2004, 2014) ethnic identity development model and their ethnic identity scale can also be used.

### **9.8 Limitations of the Present Study**

Whilst this research makes a new contribution to knowledge, there are some limitations that should be acknowledged. First, in terms of sample representativeness, the participants of this study are not fully representative of the second-generation Turkish population in the UK. Participants were mostly from London. This made it easier to access the specific population, but due to the unique characteristics of multicultural London, youth here may have very different experiences to their counterparts in other parts of the UK. The quantitative part of this study is limited with the 220 second-generation Turkish/Kurdish young people (aged 16-18, have Turkey-born parent/s) who live in London, Luton, Bristol, Swindon and Sheffield. The qualitative part is also limited with 20 Turkish/Kurdish second-generation young people from London, Bristol and Swindon. The rural areas (e.g. small towns) are also not represented in the current study. Therefore, this study may represent second-generation Turkish young people who live in several cities of Southern England and both quantitative and qualitative findings cannot be generalisable to the population at large. This study focuses on specific participants (second-generation Turkish young people) in a specific context (mostly in London and some cities in Southern England), it, therefore, needs to be replicated in other social settings such as different cities and areas in the UK.

Second, the present research is limited in its age focus on late adolescence (16-18 age range), meaning that conclusions about early and mid-adolescents cannot be made. According to developmental explanations on ethnic identity in adolescence, the late (15-19 years) adolescence is more crucial than other years. Therefore, the age range for this study was determined as 16 to 18, before young people's transition to the university. However, it would be interesting for future research to understand other young groups' ethnic identity

development and socialisation in early adolescence (10-14) or emerging adulthood (18-25) where young people have different characteristics developmentally and socially.

In addition, this study focuses on only one form of perceived discrimination; therefore, this study is limited to investigating only perceived ethnic discrimination. However, there are different types of discrimination experiences, for example, religious discrimination can also be important for second-generation Turkish young people. Thus, future studies should examine how different types of discrimination experiences are related to their identity development and mental health.

Finally, the data collection of this study was undertaken in the second half of 2017, almost one year after the Brexit referendum. Participants and their parents generally mentioned apparent changes with regard to Brexit in societal level. There were also terrorist attacks at the Manchester Arena and London Bridge just before the fieldwork. Thus, like other immigrants, people from Turkey tended to experience anti-immigrant attitudes more intensely at the time of data collection. Similarly, the research is also coloured by increased racism, xenophobia, anti-immigration attitudes, and Islamophobia unleashed post-Brexit in the UK (e.g. Burrell et al., 2019; Rzepnikowska, 2019). Moreover, it has been claimed that Turkey's possible EU membership an important determiner of leave votes in the Brexit referendum (Ker-Lindsay, 2018). Here, it is important to address that the findings of this study may reflect the influence of this turbulent socio-political environment on the day-to-day experiences of Turkish people, perceived discrimination and other related answers. These issues also include important implications for future research to consider the temporal nature of contexts which can influence second-generation' understanding of discrimination issues, ethnic identification and citizenship at any given time.

## CHAPTER 10

### CONCLUSION

The main aim of this research was to investigate the relationships between ethnic identity formation, acculturation, perceived discrimination and mental health among second-generation Turkish young people, and their related experiences and perceptions in the context of England. In this concluding chapter, the main findings and their contributions will be presented. Subsequently, potential further research directions will be offered, having carefully considered the state of the field and areas requiring further attention derived from this thesis.

#### 10.1 Conclusions

This study shows that greater ethnic identification (with active exploration, positive feelings and clear meanings) is associated with positive mental health through lower levels of assimilation and perceived ethnic discrimination among second-generation Turkish young people in England. However, when their multiple social identities and acculturation experiences are considered, these relationships are complexified considerably. The qualitative results of the study suggest that the complexity of social identities can be beneficial for ethnic identity development and acculturation processes when young people sense the multiplicity and complexity of these identities. Contextual (e.g. positive social relationships, community support and diversity) and individual (e.g. blending different cultures, use of multiple social identities and diversity awareness) factors are fundamental in making sense of these multiple identities, developing a positive meaningful ethnic identity and different variants of integration. In relation to these findings, this study mainly contributes to identity and the acculturation literature in different ways.

Firstly, this study confirms Umaña-Taylor et al.'s (2004, 2014) ethnic identity development model for the sample of second-generation Turkish young people in the context of England, which has not been done in the previous literature. The present study also highlights the importance of ethnic identity development (with active ethnic identity exploration, clear meanings and positive feelings towards ethnic identity) on positive mental



health. This research utilises ethnic identification as a whole and also examines dimensions of ethnic identity exploration, affirmation and resolution separately assisting us in understanding the relationship between ethnic identity formation and mental health outcomes in more depth through detailed relationships. Thus, the present study contributes to identity literature by not only identifying the associations between ethnic identity formation and mental health but also explaining the roles of ethnic identity processes (e.g. active exploration and resolution) and the content of ethnic identity (positive/negative feelings and subjective meanings).

The ethnic identity development model has worked well to understand second-generation Turkish young people's ethnic identity formation, whereas the deficiencies of Berry's (1997, 2001, 2005) model of acculturation have been clearly critiqued. The current study suggests that Berry's approach to acculturation and integration is limited, and that it is fundamental to consider acculturation as multidimensional rather than bidimensional. This study reveals how acculturation processes are complex and can be experienced and perceived variously by young people in different social contexts. From Berry's perspective, ethnic minorities are categorised as either integrated, separated, assimilated, or marginalised based on their engagement with ethnic and national identity (Berry, 1997). However, this study builds on the existing literature by suggesting an alternative approach; second-generation can create their own route to acculturation by clarifying their multiple social identities and developing a complex behavioural repertoire (e.g. compartmentalisation, shifting and activating different identities, blending cultures and using multiple languages). In other words, second-generation young people have more acculturation options (based on their individual traits and social circumstances) than Berry suggested, and this helps us think through acculturation multidimensionally in a way more propitious to the intended results.

Ethnic identity formation and acculturation processes can be challenging, but they can also be seen through a lens which acknowledges the cultural affluence and abundant opportunities also present. This research shows that although second-generation Turkish young people can perceive ethnic discrimination and have some difficulties as children of immigrants in England, it is equally possible they draw upon the rich resources they possess to negotiate these difficulties, even turning some of them to their advantage becoming bi/multicultural individuals with positive mental health. Therefore, this study also reveals the positive potential of Turkish young people in England. As such, this study brings additional insights about second-generation Turkish young people's positive development, particularly in terms of more

sophisticated explanations of their ethnic identity formation, acculturation and perceived discrimination in England.

This research also differs from previous studies in identity development and mental health by addressing individual and contextual considerations. The results of the present study suggest that contextual (e.g. positive relationships with parents, extended family and friends, community support, political environment and diversity) and individual (e.g. blending different cultures, use of multiple languages and social identities and diversity awareness) aspects are important to make sense of the complexity of multiple identities and acculturation processes. It contributes to the literature on second-generation Turkish young people in England by examining not only the associations between variables but also considering the socio-cultural context where young people live and their perceptions and lived experiences. These findings can also highlight wider considerations applicable across the Turkish diaspora facing integration issues in various Western countries.

In addition, the current study makes a methodological contribution due to juxtaposing both quantitative and qualitative methods. In psychological research, the most common way is to investigate identity and mental health issues with quantitative methods. However, the present study utilises not only quantitative but also qualitative methods and takes a person-in-context approach. Thus, this study considers and integrates both universal sides of identity development in adolescence and contextual issues (e.g. experiences, perceptions, complexity, diversity, social relationships and individual differences). As a result, the major contribution of this study is to be providing a considerably more nuanced understanding of the manifold issues at play in ethnic identity development with new insights around multiple social identities and their complexity in relation to acculturation by using a holistic and integrative approach.

## **10.2 Future Research Directions**

Through utilising a mixed-methods design, this research investigated the complex relationships between variables and related experiences/perceptions by considering contextual and individual differences among second-generation Turkish young people in England. In order to better explain the relationships between ethnic identity formation and mental health, other potential mediators (e.g. social relationships, ethnic identity socialisation, parental and community support, same-ethnic and cross-ethnic friendships, aspirations) could be added and examined in a new model. The possible positive relational and social factors might facilitate

young people's ethnic identity development and thus promote positive mental health outcomes. The new models can be particularly tested in different social settings such as diverse and less diverse contexts since these positive aspects in young minorities' lives can be protective in non-diverse and discriminatory environments.

In addition, acculturation might be assessed by taking a multidimensional position and adopting and inventing new theoretical frameworks for the aspect of acculturation (Ferguson, Tran, Mendez & van de Vijver, 2017; Ozer, 2017) would certainly useful for guiding data collection and analysis. More empirical mixed methodology research ought to be conducted in order to better understand immigrants' multidimensional acculturation processes and different variations of acculturation.

This study extends the literature by examining ethnic identity formation and several mental health indicators such as self-esteem, life satisfaction, depression and psychological well-being. However, more research is still needed to provide better understandings of how ethnic identity formation is associated with different aspects of mental health. For example, anxiety and stress can be added to understand young people's ethnicity-related stress, acculturative stress and discrimination experiences as sources of stress. Furthermore, in order to have a better understanding of these complex relationships, further research can investigate the causal associations between them (if any) by applying some experimental designs. In addition, to understand how ethnic identity develops over time, longitudinal studies can be done and intra and inter individual variations can be examined. Thus, how early years experiences contribute to this development process and how their ethnic identity change over time can be first considered and eventually better understood.

This study was mostly carried in London. A few participants were also included in this study from other places in England such as Bristol and Swindon. In order to understand general patterns of ethnic identity formation in Turkish young people in the UK, a large sample of Turkish people ought to be incorporated into further studies from a range of different cities/settings and other types of area in different parts of the UK. Thus, contextual differences and patterns can be understood better by comparing these diverse settings with London. In order to understand the contextual issues more, further research can investigate young people's ethnic socialisation processes by collecting data from other people such as parents, friends and teachers. Furthermore, additional methods can be used in this research such as observations at home and school. Thus, not only young people's perspectives and experiences but also their

surroundings could be understood. This can contribute to the literature with a broader understanding of different social settings.

In order to better understand the multiple social identities at play along with the discrimination experiences perceived, other social identities and types of discrimination can be investigated among Turkish young people and also other minorities. Religious identity and religious discrimination can be one of them for Turkish young people or other prominent minorities such as Pakistani and Bangladeshi. Thus, both making comparisons and using different social identities (e.g. ethnic, religious) can give better explanations for multiple identities and their complexity in relation to perceived discrimination.

Further comparative research should also be conducted in a variety of different samples, such as different ethnic groups in the UK, mainland Turks, Kurds from Turkey and Turkish Cypriots in London, different minority groups (e.g. not only immigrants but also asylum seekers, indigenous communities) in different countries to understand how other contextual issues interplay with ethnic identity formation and mental health. Possible mediating variables can also be added to the model by considering the sample characteristics and cultural differences. Moreover, there can be other comparative multi-site studies on ethnic identity development and the mental health of Turkish diaspora (first-second-third generation) in the UK to understand the contextual issues about generation status. In addition, other comparative studies can also be conducted between the Turkish diaspora in different countries to better understand the relationship between ethnic identity formation and immigration-related issues, political and social contexts.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Research Ethics Form

#### GSoE RESEARCH ETHICS FORM

It is important for members of the Graduate School of Education, as a community of researchers, to consider the ethical issues that arise, or may arise, in any research they propose to conduct. Increasingly, we are also accountable to external bodies to demonstrate that research proposals have had a degree of scrutiny. *This form must therefore be completed for each piece of research carried out by members of the School, both staff and students*

The GSoE's process is designed to be supportive and educative. If you are preparing to submit a research proposal, you need to do the following:

**1. Arrange a meeting with a fellow researcher**

The purpose of the meeting is to discuss ethical aspects of your proposed research, so you need to meet with someone with relevant research experience. A list of prompts for your discussion is given below. Not all these headings will be relevant for any particular proposal.

**2. Complete the form on the back of this sheet**

The form is designed to act as a record of your discussion and any decisions you make.

**3. Upload a copy of this form and any other documents (e.g. information sheets, consent forms) to the online ethics tool at: <https://dbms.ilrt.bris.ac.uk/red/ethics-online-tool/applications>.**

**Please note: Following the upload you will need to answer ALL the questions on the ethics online survey and submit for approval by your supervisor (see the flowchart and user guides on the GSoE Ethics Homepage).**

If you have any questions or queries, please contact the ethics co-ordinators at: [gsoe-ethics@bristol.ac.uk](mailto:gsoe-ethics@bristol.ac.uk)

**Please ensure that you allow time before any submission deadlines to complete this process.**

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#### Prompts for discussion

You are invited to consider the issues highlighted below and note any decisions made. You may wish to refer to relevant published ethical guidelines to prepare for your meeting. See <http://www.bris.ac.uk/education/research/networks/ethicscommittee/links/> for links to several such sets of guidelines.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Researcher access/ exit                            | 8. Data collection                                     |
| 2. Information given to participants                  | 9. Data analysis                                       |
| 3. Participants right of withdrawal                   | 10. Data storage                                       |
| 4. Informed consent                                   | 11. Data Protection Act                                |
| 5. Complaints procedure                               | 12. Feedback   |
| 6. Safety and well-being of participants/ researchers | 13. Responsibilities to colleagues/ academic community |
| 7. Anonymity/ confidentiality                         | 14. Reporting of research                              |



Be aware that ethical responsibility continues throughout the research process. If further issues arise as your research progresses, it may be appropriate to cycle again through the above process.

**Name(s):** Duygu Cavdar

**Proposed research project:** Identity Formation in Adolescence: Mental Health, Acculturation and Discrimination among Young Immigrants in the UK

**Proposed funder(s):**

**Discussant for the ethics meeting:** Paola Ramirez ([pr15367@bristol.ac.uk](mailto:pr15367@bristol.ac.uk))

**Name of supervisors:** Dr Jo Rose, Dr Shelley McKeown Jones

**Has your supervisor seen this submitted draft of your ethics application? Y**

**Please include an outline of the project or append a short (1 page) summary:**

Identity formation process has an essential role in adolescence, when young people try to develop self-understanding (Schwartz, 2001; Steinberg, 2007). Although identity development is a normative process for all adolescents, it is particularly complex for members of ethnic minorities (Gray-Little & Hafdahl, 2000). Their ethnic identity formation process should be investigated with reference to context, because young minorities might experience difficulties of acculturation and discrimination. This process, therefore, can also have consequences for mental health (Brittian et al., 2015; Lantrip et al., 2015; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Romero et al., 2014). In this study, I will particularly focus on young people of Turkish origin who live in the UK.

The main aim of the current study is to investigate second-generation Turkish young people's ethnic identity development, acculturation strategies, perceived discrimination and mental health, in relation to their experiences in the UK context. The participants of the study will be second-generation (born in the UK and raised by Turkey-born mother and/or father) Turkish young people (16, 17 or 18 years old high school students) who live in the UK.

This research is designed as a mixed-methods study (quantitative and qualitative) utilising a survey and interviews. First of all, I will conduct the survey (See Appendix 2) with a questionnaire (118 items in total) which consists of a short demographic information form and nine different scales: Ethnic Identity Scale (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004), Collective Identity Subscale of Aspects of Identity Questionnaire (Cheek, Smith & Tropp, 2002), Moreno (2006) Question, Acculturation Attitudes Scale (Berry, Kim, Young & Bujaki, 1989), Perceived Discrimination Subscale of the Scale of Ethnic Experience (Malcarne, Chavira, Fernandez & Liu, 2006), A Shortened Version of the Center For Epidemiological Studies-Depression Scale (Radloff, 1977), Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1979), The Satisfaction With Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin, 1985), and A Short Version of Scales of Psychological Well-Being (Ryff, 1995). I will reach the participants through the support of British schools which have large proportions of Turkish young people, and Turkish supplementary schools. I will also approach NGOs (which work for Turkish community in the UK) for support in reaching schools. The survey and interviews will take place in participants' schools.

In the qualitative part of the study, I will conduct semi-structured interviews. To reach participants, I will use an additional question on the survey which asks for their phone number, if they are happy to join an interview with me. After completing the quantitative part, I will also request help from teachers to reach participants again or I will call the volunteer participants by using their phone number and invite them to do an interview. The interview

questions (See Appendix 3) will be use the survey as a starting point. Interviews might be either in English or Turkish language (depends on participants' preferences). I will provide an information sheet and consent form for both the parents (See Appendix 4) and participants (See Appendix 5). I will also give relevant information to participants during the data collection process.

**Ethical issues discussed and decisions taken (see list of prompts overleaf):**

I and Paola Ramirez have met on February 8, 2017 and we discussed the 14 ethical issues suggested. The taken decisions are summarised below:

**1. Researcher access/exit, information given to participants, participants' right of withdrawal, informed consent, complaints procedure**

First of all, we discussed access to participants. To access the participants, I will send emails to several British schools and Turkish supplementary schools informing them about my study and asking for their support in accessing participants. This will be followed up by phone calls. For those schools who are interested in supporting my research, I will send them participant information sheets and consent forms to distribute to pupils and parents. I will visit schools to explain the study to interested pupils, and after gaining consent, I will administer the questionnaires at a convenient time for schools and teachers (for example I can implement the questionnaire with Turkish volunteer students when a class is over). For the interviews, I will request an empty class or room from the head of school and teachers. The timing of the interviews will be discussed with the school and take place when they feel is appropriate.

I will give relevant information about the study by using an information sheet for both participants and their parents. I will prepare parents information sheet both in English and Turkish in the case of non-English speaking parents. I will contact the parents by sending a letter to their home with their daughter/son. In the information sheet, I will include participants' right of withdrawal. This will clarify that they can withdraw during the survey (takes approximately 20-30 minutes) and interview (takes around 1 hour depending on the participant). They can stop and withdraw their permission at anytime during the study without penalty by indicating their declaration of unwillingness to me. There will be relevant information on the information sheet for the complaints too. I will write my formal email address and my supervisors' email address to taking any complaint. As well as the information sheet, I will take the time to explain the purpose of my study and answer any questions before collecting data through the survey or interview.

I will as participants for consent at the beginning of the survey and of the interview. The information presented will include the aim of the research, the research procedures, explanations about the anonymity of participants, a statement indicating that participation is voluntary, the right of the participants to withdraw from the study, and an offer to answer any questions concerning procedure. In the interview, I will also repeat the ethical principles, the purpose and process of the study. Participants will be able to withdraw their interview data up to two weeks after the date of interview by contacting me by email. However, this will only possible with the survey if they have included their names. I will also offer participants the opportunity to receive a summary of the research at a later date, if they would like it.

When providing willingness and accessing the participants, I need to be aware of power relationships between teachers and students, NGOs and schools/participants. I will have an open communication with schools in order to remind them not to give pressure to students to be a participant, and to clarify to students that it is not obligatory to participate. Furthermore, the same pressure can be given by NGOs to schools/teachers/participants. For this concern, I will repeat and make sure teachers/NGOs are aware that being a volunteer is important for the study and saying no is absolutely fine. Specific NGOs might try to persuade particular people to participate and discourage or restrict others from participating. In this case, I will also use open communication with NGOs, again to emphasise the voluntary nature of participation. I will try to collaborate with different types (e.g. politically, religiously) of NGOs in order to access different volunteer participants.

## **2. Safety and well-being of participants/ researchers, anonymity/confidentiality**

In the case of any problem (e.g. about my health or any racist behaviour in the field work because of the nature of topic) which has possible effects on the research process, I will let my supervisors know. In this research process, I will also be aware of schools' conditions in the case of fire, and their fire and emergency procedure that they have.

Furthermore, because of the nature of the research topic (especially around ethnic identity, discrimination and mental health), participants' feelings might be affected. Discussing their mental health, for example, may foreground particular issues or unresolved problems. Therefore, to protect participants' well-being, the information sheet will be clear about what the topic of the study is, so that participants are aware in advance what they will be asked to discuss. I will also clarify that participants do not need to answer all questions and they can stop the survey and interview whenever they want. Additionally, if some participants need, I will also provide details of counselling services that they can access.

To provide anonymity, I will not use participants' names, and I will code them by using numbers or letters, which will be matched to participant' names in a separate code file. The data itself will be stored in a different file with a special code without names. I will also ensure that transcripts do not include details which identify who participants are. Both participants and their parents should be satisfied about the anonymity for survey, interview and voice recording.

## **3. Data collection, data analysis, data storage, data protection act, feedback, responsibilities to colleagues/ academic community, reporting of research**

In the process of data collection, firstly I will reach the scales for quantitative part through online resources. I will check the copywriting issues of the scales. If necessary, I will email authors for permission to use the scale. In the qualitative part, I will collect data by using audio recording; therefore, I need to be careful about confidentiality as well. The recording will be transcribed by me anonymously and then will be deleted. After the data entry on SPSS and transcriptions are completed, I will destroy all questionnaires and audio recording after one year. However, SPSS data set and the transcriptions will be stored under password protection for 10 years after collection, in order to revisit the data in any possible publishing work. During quantitative and qualitative data analysis, I need to consider anonymity again. I will not use participants' names in transcriptions or during the coding process. I will also check the transcriptions to not include any identifying information about participants. Participants will

also be given the opportunity to check the transcription of their interview for correctness and clarity of meaning.

If the participants or schools want to receive feedback about the research, they can reach me by my university email address. I will provide a research summary to them after the research is over if they request it. The study will of course be written up in my doctoral thesis. Additionally, I would like to share this study with Education Counsellor of the Turkish Embassy in London in order to take action for young Turkish immigrants in the UK. The result of the study will be presented or published in academic environments and journals. I will include that in the information sheet as well.

If you feel you need to discuss any issue further, or to highlight difficulties, please contact the GSoE's ethics co-ordinators who will suggest possible ways forward.

Signed: Duygu Cavdar (Researcher)

Signed: Paola Ramirez (Discussant)

Date: 08/02/2017

## Appendix 2: Participant Information Sheet



Graduate School of Education  
35 Berkeley Square,  
Bristol, BS8 1JA  
+44 (0) 117 928 9000

June 2017

Dear participant,

My name is Duygu Cavdar. I am a doctoral researcher at the University of Bristol. I completed my undergraduate degree (in Primary Education) and master`s degree (in Counselling Psychology) at Ankara University. In my doctoral research, I am looking at the lives of Turkish young people in the UK, and how they feel about themselves as they are growing up.

### **Procedure**

There are two parts of this study. Firstly, you will complete a questionnaire which will take 20-30 minutes. Then, I will have conversations with you in more detail what it is like growing up as a Turkish person in the UK. This will take around one hour (the meeting will be arranged later for an interview). You do not have to participate in both parts of the study, if you do not want to, and there will be no problems if you choose not to participate in either part.

### **Participants` Rights**

I will not use your names or any special information about you and you will not be identifiable in my thesis or any published material. You may also withdraw at any time during the study without penalty by letting me know that you do not want to participate. In addition, you do not need to answer all questions, if you do not want to. You can stop the survey and interview whenever you want.

### **Benefits**

When you are filling out the survey, you will review your past/current experiences in the UK and review your well-being. In addition, you will have the opportunity to speak about these topics in the Turkish language, if you want to. These experiences can help you develop self-awareness about your development. You will also contribute the existing knowledge about young second-generation immigrants. Thus, this will also help professionals develop their ways of supporting second-generation young people.

### **Contact Information**

If you have any questions, concerns or complaints about this study, please contact me ([duygu.cavdar@bristol.ac.uk](mailto:duygu.cavdar@bristol.ac.uk)) or my supervisors Dr Jo Rose ([jo.rose@bristol.ac.uk](mailto:jo.rose@bristol.ac.uk)), Dr Shelley McKeown Jones ([s.mckeownjones@bristol.ac.uk](mailto:s.mckeownjones@bristol.ac.uk)). If you also would like to have any feedback about the results of the study, please contact me by my email address.

Please complete the consent form of permission to participate next page.

Duygu Cavdar  
Doctoral Researcher  
University of Bristol  
Graduate School of Education

This project has been approved by the Graduate School of Education`s Research Ethics Committee at the University of Bristol

### Appendix 3: Participant Consent Form and Questionnaire

Please tick/cross as appropriate box below:

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet of study and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.
- I am happy to participate in the **survey**.
- I am happy to participate in the **interview**. To arrange a meeting with the researcher my phone number is ..... OR my email address is .....

***IF YOU ARE HAPPY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SURVEY, YOU CAN START NOW!***

Please cross  the matching answer/answers to you for each question OR write in gaps (.....). ***If the question is not applicable for you, write N/A next to the question.***

Q1. What is your <b><u>date of birth?</u></b>	...../..... (month/year, e.g. 12/2000)
Q2. How would you describe yourself in terms of your <b><u>gender?</u></b>	<input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify) .....
Q3. <b><u>Where</u></b> were you born?	Country: .....    City: .....
Q4. What is your <b><u>ethnic background?</u></b> (If you have multi, select all)	<input type="checkbox"/> Turkish <input type="checkbox"/> Kurdish <input type="checkbox"/> Cypriot <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify) .....
Q5. What is your <b><u>mother's ethnic background?</u></b> (If she has multi, select all)	<input type="checkbox"/> Turkish <input type="checkbox"/> Kurdish <input type="checkbox"/> Cypriot <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify) .....
Q6. What is your <b><u>father's ethnic background?</u></b> (If he has multi, select all)	<input type="checkbox"/> Turkish <input type="checkbox"/> Kurdish <input type="checkbox"/> Cypriot <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify) .....
Q7. What is your <b><u>religion or belief?</u></b>	<input type="checkbox"/> Muslim <input type="checkbox"/> No religion (Including Atheist or Agnostic) <input type="checkbox"/> Alevi <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify) ..... <input type="checkbox"/> Christian <input type="checkbox"/> Jewish
Q8. Where were your <b><u>mother</u></b> and <b><u>father</u></b> born?	<b><u>Mother</u></b> <b><u>Father</u></b> Country: .....                              Country: .....
Q9. <b><u>Which decade</u></b> did your family immigrate to the UK?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1970s <input type="checkbox"/> 1980s <input type="checkbox"/> 1990s <input type="checkbox"/> 2000s <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
Q10. <b><u>Why</u></b> did your family immigrate to the UK? (Select all which are appropriate)	<input type="checkbox"/> New Life <input type="checkbox"/> Economic <input type="checkbox"/> Political <input type="checkbox"/> Education <input type="checkbox"/> Family <input type="checkbox"/> Marriage <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
Q11. What is your <b><u>first language?</u></b> And <b><u>second</u></b> language?	First.....                                      Second.....
Q12. When you are <b><u>at home, what language</u></b> do you speak the most?	.....

**SECTION 1: ETHNICITY and EXPERIENCES IN THE UK**

**Q13. How do you feel yourself in terms of your identity? (please select one of these options)**

Please cross  the matching answer, if you have **Turkish background.**

**I FEEL:**

- Turkish not British
- More Turkish than British
- Equally Turkish and British
- More British than Turkish
- British not Turkish
- Don't know

Please cross  the matching answer, if you have **Kurdish background.**

**I FEEL:**

- Kurdish not British
- More Kurdish than British
- Equally Kurdish and British
- More British than Kurdish
- British not Kurdish
- Don't know

Please cross  the matching answer, if you feel both **Turkish and Kurdish.**

**I FEEL:**

- Turkish/Kurdish not British
- More Turkish/Kurdish than British
- Equally Turkish/Kurdish and British
- More British than Turkish/Kurdish
- British not Turkish/Kurdish
- Don't know

<b>Circle the number of each statement which best describes you.</b>	<b>Does not describe me at all</b>	<b>Describes me a little</b>	<b>Describes me</b>	<b>Describes me very well</b>
<i>Think about your <b><u>ethnic background</u></b> as you have indicated in the first page, and please answer the following questions</i>				
<b>Q14.</b> I have participated in activities that have exposed me to my ethnicity	1	2	3	4
<b>Q15.</b> I have a clear sense of what my ethnicity means to me	1	2	3	4
<b>Q16.</b> I have attended events that have helped me learn more about my ethnicity	1	2	3	4
<b>Q17.</b> I have experienced things that reflect my ethnicity, such as eating food, listening to music, and watching movies	1	2	3	4
<b>Q18.</b> I am clear about what my ethnicity means to me	1	2	3	4
<b>Q19.</b> I have read books/magazines/newspapers or other materials that have taught me about my ethnicity	1	2	3	4
<b>Q20.</b> I feel negatively about my ethnicity	1	2	3	4
<b>Q21.</b> I have learned about my ethnicity by doing things such as reading (books, magazines, and newspapers), searching the internet, or keeping up with current events	1	2	3	4
<b>Q22.</b> I wish I were of a different ethnicity	1	2	3	4
<b>Q23.</b> I am not happy with my ethnicity	1	2	3	4
<b>Q24.</b> My feelings about my ethnicity are mostly negative	1	2	3	4
<b>Q25.</b> I understand how I feel about my ethnicity	1	2	3	4
<b>Q26.</b> If I could choose, I would prefer to be of a different ethnicity	1	2	3	4
<b>Q27.</b> I know what my ethnicity means to me	1	2	3	4
<b>Q28.</b> I have participated in activities that have taught me about my ethnicity	1	2	3	4
<b>Q29.</b> I dislike my ethnicity	1	2	3	4
<b>Q30.</b> I have not participated in any activities that would teach me about my ethnicity.	1	2	3	4

<i>Please rate how <b>IMPORTANT</b> each of the following statements are to the sense of who you are.</i>					
..... IS IMPORTANT TO MY SENSE OF WHO I AM.	Not important	Slightly	Somewhat	Very	Extremely
<b>Q31.</b> Being a part of the many generations of my family	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q32.</b> My race or ethnic background	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q33.</b> My religion	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q34.</b> Places where I live or where I was raised	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q35.</b> My feeling of belonging to my community	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q36.</b> My feeling of pride in Turkey	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q37.</b> My commitments on political issues or my political activities	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q38.</b> My language, such as my regional accent or dialect or a second language that I know	1	2	3	4	5

<i>Circle the number of each statement which best describes you.</i>					
<i>Think about <b>your ethnic background</b> as you have indicated in the first page, and please answer the following questions</i>	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly agree
<b>Q39.</b> Generally speaking, my ethnic group is respected in the UK	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q40.</b> My ethnic group has been treated well in British society	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q41.</b> My ethnic group does not have the same opportunities as other ethnic groups in the UK	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q42.</b> I often have to defend my ethnic group from criticism by people outside of my ethnic group	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q43.</b> Discrimination against my ethnic group is not a problem in the UK	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q44.</b> My ethnic group is often criticized in the UK	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q45.</b> In the UK, the opinions of people from my ethnic group are treated as less important than those of other ethnic groups	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q46.</b> In my life, I have experienced prejudice because of my ethnicity	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q47.</b> I have not felt prejudiced against in British society because of my ethnic background.	1	2	3	4	5



<b>Circle the number of each statement which best describes you.</b>  <i>Think about <b>your ethnic background</b> as you have indicated in the first page, and please answer the following questions.</i>  <i>("British" is referred here as nationality and mainstream culture in the UK)</i>	<b>Strongly disagree</b>	<b>Somewhat disagree</b>	<b>Not sure/neutral</b>	<b>Somewhat agree</b>	<b>Strongly agree</b>
<b>Q48.</b> I feel that people of my ethnic background should adapt to British cultural traditions and not maintain those of their own	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q49.</b> I would rather marry a person of my own ethnic background than a British person	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q50.</b> I feel that people of my ethnic background should both maintain their own cultural traditions and also adapt to those of Britain	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q51.</b> I would rather marry a British person than a person of my own ethnic background	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q52.</b> I would be equally willing to marry either a British person or a person of my own ethnic background	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q53.</b> I feel that it is not important for people of my ethnic background either to maintain their own cultural traditions or to adapt to those of Britain	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q54.</b> I feel that people of my ethnic background should maintain their own cultural traditions and not adapt to those of Britain	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q55.</b> It is more important to me to be fluent in my ethnic language than in English	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q56.</b> I prefer social activities that involve only people of my own ethnic background	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q57.</b> It is more important to me to be fluent in English than in my ethnic language	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q58.</b> I prefer social activities that involve British people only	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q59.</b> I prefer to have only friends of the same ethnic background as myself	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q60.</b> I feel that it is not important for me to participate in either British social activities, or social activities with people of my own ethnic background	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q61.</b> It is important to me to be fluent in both English and my ethnic language	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q62.</b> I prefer to have only British friends	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q63.</b> It is not important to me to be fluent in either English or my ethnic language	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q64.</b> I prefer social activities that involve both British people and people of my own ethnic background	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q65.</b> I feel that it is not important for me to have either friends who are British or friends of the same ethnic background as myself	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q66.</b> I prefer to have both friends who are British and friends of the same ethnic background as myself	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q67.</b> It is not important to me to marry either a British person or a person of my own ethnic background.	1	2	3	4	5

**SECTION 2: PERSONAL WELL-BEING**

<i>Circle the number of each statement which best describes you.</i>	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
<b>Q68.</b> In most ways my life is close to my ideal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>Q69.</b> The conditions of my life are excellent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>Q70.</b> I am satisfied with my life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>Q71.</b> So far I have gotten the important things I want in life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>Q72.</b> If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

<i>Circle the number of each statement which best describes you.</i>	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
<b>Q73.</b> On the whole, I am satisfied with myself	1	2	3	4
<b>Q74.</b> At times I think I am no good at all	1	2	3	4
<b>Q75.</b> I feel that I have a number of good qualities	1	2	3	4
<b>Q76.</b> I am able to do things as well as most other people	1	2	3	4
<b>Q77.</b> I feel I do not have much to be proud of	1	2	3	4
<b>Q78.</b> I certainly feel useless at times	1	2	3	4
<b>Q79.</b> I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others	1	2	3	4
<b>Q80.</b> I wish I could have more respect for myself	1	2	3	4
<b>Q81.</b> All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure	1	2	3	4
<b>Q82.</b> I take a positive attitude toward myself.	1	2	3	4

<i>Circle the number of each statement which best describes how often you felt or behaved this way <u>DURING THE PAST WEEK.</u></i>	Rarely or none of the time (less than 1 day)	Some or a little of the time (1-2 days)	Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)	Most or all of the time (5-7 days)
<b>Q83.</b> I was bothered by things that usually don't bother me	0	1	2	3
<b>Q84.</b> I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing	0	1	2	3
<b>Q85.</b> I felt depressed	0	1	2	3
<b>Q86.</b> I felt that everything I did was an effort	0	1	2	3
<b>Q87.</b> I felt hopeful about the future	0	1	2	3
<b>Q88.</b> I felt fearful	0	1	2	3
<b>Q89.</b> My sleep was restless	0	1	2	3
<b>Q90.</b> I was happy	0	1	2	3
<b>Q91.</b> I felt lonely	0	1	2	3
<b>Q92.</b> I could not "get going".	0	1	2	3

<i>Circle the number of each statement which best describes you.</i>	Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree
<b>Q93.</b> I tend to be influenced by people with strong opinions	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q94.</b> In general, I feel I am in charge of the situation in which I live	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q95.</b> I think it is important to have new experiences that challenge how you think about yourself and the world	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q96.</b> Maintaining close relationships has been difficult and frustrating for me	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q97.</b> I live life one day at a time and don't really think about the future	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q98.</b> When I look at the story of my life, I am pleased with how things have turned out	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q99.</b> I have confidence in my opinions, even if they are contrary to the general consensus	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q100.</b> The demands of everyday life often get me down	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q101.</b> For me, life has been a continuous process of learning, changing and growth	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q102.</b> People would describe me as a giving person, willing to share my time with others	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q103.</b> Some people wander aimlessly through life, but I am not one of them	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q104.</b> I like most aspects of my personality	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q105.</b> I judge myself by what I think is important, not by the values of what others think is important	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q106.</b> I am quite good at managing the many responsibilities of my daily life	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q107.</b> I gave up trying to make big improvements or changes in my life a long time ago	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q108.</b> I have not experienced many warm and trusting relationships with others	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q109.</b> I sometimes feel as if I've done all there is to do in life	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q110.</b> In many ways, I feel disappointed about my achievements in life	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q111.</b> I am so happy in my life.	1	2	3	4	5	6

**Q112.** If you have any other comments about the survey, please write them here:

.....

.....

.....

.....

*This is the end of the survey. Thank You for your Participation. Contact: Duygu Cavdar ([duygu.cavdar@bristol.ac.uk](mailto:duygu.cavdar@bristol.ac.uk))*

## Appendix 4: Parent Information Sheet and Consent Form



Graduate School of Education  
35 Berkeley Square,  
Bristol, BS8 1JA  
+44 (0) 117 928 9000

June 2017

Dear parent,

My name is Duygu Cavdar. I am a doctoral researcher at the University of Bristol. I completed my undergraduate degree (in Primary Education) and master`s degree (in Counselling Psychology) at Ankara University. In my doctoral research, I am looking at the lives of Turkish young people in the UK, and how they feel about themselves as they are growing up.

I am writing to ask your permission for your daughter/son to participate in my research. I hope to work with your daughter/son in order to understand Turkish young people`s concerns and increase their well-being in the UK.

### **Procedure**

There are two parts of this study. Firstly, I will ask young people to complete a questionnaire which will take 20-30 minutes. Then, I will have conversations with individual people to ask them in more detail what it is like growing up as a Turkish person in the UK. This will take around one hour. Your daughter/son does not have to participate in both parts of the study, if they do not want to, and there will be no problems if they choose not to participate in either part.

### **Participants` Rights**

I will not use individuals` names or any special information about them and they will not be identifiable in my thesis or any published material. Participants or parents may also withdraw their permission at any time during the study without penalty by letting me know that they do not want to participate.

### **Benefits**

When your daughter/son is filling out the survey, they will review their past/current experiences in the UK and review their well-being. In addition, they will have the opportunity to speak about these topics in the Turkish language during the interview, if they want to. These experiences can help them develop self-awareness about their development. They will also contribute the existing knowledge about young second-generation immigrants. Thus, this will also help professionals develop their ways of supporting second-generation young people.

### **Contact Information**

If you have any questions, concerns or complaints about this study, please contact me ([duygu.cavdar@bristol.ac.uk](mailto:duygu.cavdar@bristol.ac.uk)) or my supervisors Dr Jo Rose ([jo.rose@bristol.ac.uk](mailto:jo.rose@bristol.ac.uk)), Dr Shelley McKeown Jones ([s.mckeownjones@bristol.ac.uk](mailto:s.mckeownjones@bristol.ac.uk)). If you also would like to have any feedback about the results of the study, please contact me by my email address.

Please complete the attached consent form of permission for your daughter/son to participate.

**If you DO NOT want your child to participate please return this form.**

Sincerely,

Duygu Cavdar  
Doctoral Researcher  
University of Bristol  
Graduate School of Education

This project has been approved by the Graduate School of Education`s Research Ethics Committee at the University of Bristol

## PARENT CONSENT FORM

Please tick as appropriate box below:

I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet of study above and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

I am happy for my daughter/son to participate in the **survey**.

I am happy for my daughter/son to participate in the **interview**.

I **do not** want my daughter/son to participate in this research.

Your Full Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Daughter/son's Full Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Daughter/son's School: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature of Parent: \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

## Parent Information Sheet and Consent Form (in Turkish)



Graduate School of Education  
35 Berkeley Square,  
Bristol, BS8 1JA  
+44 (0) 117 928 9000

Haziran 2017

Sayın veli,

Ben Duygu Cavdar, University of Bristol'da doktora arařtırmacısıyım. Lisans (Sınıf Öğretmenliđi) ve yüksek lisansımı (Psikolojik Danıřma ve Rehberlik) Ankara Üniversitesi'nde tamamladım. University of Bristol'daki doktora arařtırmamda, İngiltere'de doğmuş ve yařayan Türkiye kökenli gençlerin (16-17-18 yařındaki) yařamlarını ve İngiltere'de iki farklı kültürde büyürken kendileri hakkında nasıl hissettiklerini arařtırıyorum. Bu mektubu kızınız ya da ođlunuzun arařtırmama katılım göstermesi konusunda izin istemek için yazıyorum. İngiltere'de yařayan ikinci kuřak Türkiyeli gençlerin sorunlarını anlamak ve iyi oluřlarını artırmak için çocuđunuzun çalışmama katılmasını umuyorum.

### İřlem

Bu çalışma iki ařamadan oluřmaktadır. Öncelikle, 20-30 dakika kadar süren bir anketi doldurmaları için çocuđunuzun doldurmasını isteyeceđim. Sonra, bu öğrencilerden gönüllü olan bazıları ile İngiltere'de Türkiyeli olarak büyümenin nasıl bir şey olduđuna dair daha detaylı 1saat-45 dakika kadar süren yüzyüze görüřmeler yapacađım. Ođlunuz ya da kızınız istemedikleri sürece, bu çalışmanın her iki kısmına da katılmak zorunda deđiller ve katılmadıkları için hiç bir problemle karřılařmayacaklar.

### Katılımcı hakları

Bu çalışmada çocuklarınızın isimleri ve kendileri ile ilgili her hangi özel bir bilgi alınmayacak ve tezimde/bařka yayınlarda çocuklarınızın tanınmaları söz konusu olmayacak. Hem katılımcılar hem de veliler istedikleri zaman çalışmadan onaylarını çekme hakkına sahiptir ve bunun için hiç bir cezai yaptırım olmadan bana artık katılmak istemediklerini bildirmeleri yeterlidir.

### Faydalar

Kızınız/ođlunuz anketi doldurduđu sırada, İngiltere'deki geçmiş ve řuandaki yařamını, aynı zamanda iyioluřunu gözden geçirecek. Buna ek olarak, eđer isterlerse bu konularda kendilerini Türkçe ifade etme fırsatı yakalayacaklar. Bunların hepsi gelişimleri hakkındaki farkındalıklarını arttırmalarına yardımcı olacak. Ayrıca ikinci kuřak göçmenler hakkında var olan bilgilere katkı getirmiş olacaklar. Bu sayede ikinci kuřak gençleri desteklemek için çalışan profesyonellerin onlar için programlar geliřtirmelerine yardımcı olmuş olacaklar.

### İletişim Bilgileri

Bu çalışma hakkında soru, endiře ya da řikayetleriniz varsa benimle ([duygu.cavdar@bristol.ac.uk](mailto:duygu.cavdar@bristol.ac.uk)) ya da tez danıřmanlarım Dr Jo Rose ([jo.rose@bristol.ac.uk](mailto:jo.rose@bristol.ac.uk)), Dr Shelley McKeown Jones ([s.mckeownjones@bristol.ac.uk](mailto:s.mckeownjones@bristol.ac.uk)) ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz. Ayrıca çalışmanın sonuçları hakkında bilgi almak isterseniz de bana mail göndererek ulařabilirsiniz.

řimdi lütfen kızınızın/ođlunuzun bu çalışmaya katılımı hakkındaki bir sonraki sayfada yer alan onay formunu doldurunuz.

**Eđer çocuđunuzun bu çalışmaya katılmasını istemiyorsanız bu formu doldurarak okula geri gönderiniz.**

Saygılarımla  
Duygu Cavdar  
Doctoral Researcher  
University of Bristol  
Graduate School of Education

Bu çalışma Graduate School of Education's Research Ethics Committee at the University of Bristol tarafından etik açıdan onaylanmış ve gerçekleştirilmesinde bir sakınca bulunmamıştır.

## Veli Onay Formu

Aşağıdaki size uygun olan cümleleri kutuları işaretleyerek onaylayınız.

İlk sayfada yer alan çalışmanın bilgi formunu okudum ve anladım, çalışma hakkında soru sorma fırsatına sahip olduğumu biliyorum.

Kızımın/oğlumun bu çalışmanın **anket** kısmına katılmasını onaylıyorum.

Kızımın/oğlumun bu çalışmanın **görüşme** kısmına katılmasını onaylıyorum.

Kızımın/oğlumun bu çalışmaya katılmasını **İSTEMİYORUM.**

İsminiz: \_\_\_\_\_

Kızınızın/Oğlunuzun İsmi: \_\_\_\_\_

Kızınızın/Oğlunuzun Okulu: \_\_\_\_\_

Velinin imzası: \_\_\_\_\_

Tarih: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 5: Interview Information Sheet and Interview Questions



Graduate School of Education  
35 Berkeley Square,  
Bristol, BS8 1JA  
+44 (0) 117 928 9000

June 2017

Dear participant,

In this research, I am looking at **the lives of Turkish young people in the UK, and how they feel about themselves as they are growing up**. You are being invited to join an interview for this study. Please read the following information carefully and inform the researcher if there is anything you do not understand or if you would like to have more information.

In this interview, I will have conversations with you in detail what it is like growing up as a Turkish person in the UK. This will take around **one hour**. I will not use your names or any special information about you and you **will not be identifiable** in my thesis or any published material. You may also **withdraw** at any time during the interview by letting me know that you do not want to participate. In addition, you do not need to answer all questions, if you do not want to. You can **stop** the interview whenever you want. The interview will be **audio recorded** and will be **transcribed**. The recording and transcription will be stored under password protection. **The transcription of your own interview also will be available to be sent to you, when you are requesting.**

In this interview, you will review your past/current experiences in the UK and your **well-being**. This can help you develop self-awareness about your development. You will also contribute the existing knowledge about young second-generation immigrants. Thus, this will also help professionals develop their ways of supporting second-generation young people.

### Contact Information

If you have any questions, concerns or complaints about this study, please contact me ([duygu.cavdar@bristol.ac.uk](mailto:duygu.cavdar@bristol.ac.uk)) or my supervisors Dr Jo Rose ([jo.rose@bristol.ac.uk](mailto:jo.rose@bristol.ac.uk)), Dr Shelley McKeown Jones ([s.mckeownjones@bristol.ac.uk](mailto:s.mckeownjones@bristol.ac.uk)). If you also would like to have any feedback about the results of the study, please contact me by my email address.

**I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet of study above and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.**

Date:

### Contacts for further support and counselling

**Young Minds:** 020 7089 5050, [ymentquiries@youngminds.org.uk](mailto:ymentquiries@youngminds.org.uk)

**Youth Access:** 020 8772 9900, [admin@youthaccess.org.uk](mailto:admin@youthaccess.org.uk)

**Derman:** 020 7613 5944, [services@derman.org.uk](mailto:services@derman.org.uk)

Duygu Cavdar  
Doctoral Researcher  
University of Bristol  
Graduate School of Education

This project has been approved by the Graduate School of Education's Research Ethics Committee at the University of Bristol



## Interview Questions

### Ethnic Identity

1. Firstly, I would like to know you. Could do you introduce yourself?
2. What kind of activities do you like to do in your life?
3. Do you engage Turkish/Kurdish activities such as eating Turkish foods, watching Turkish channels, and going to Turkish weddings?
4. How often and where do you speak English and Turkish language? How do you feel about your Turkish performance?
5. What do you think about your living standards in the UK?
6. Identity chart questions:
  - Could you write your name in the middle of the circle? Now, I would like to see you in this chart, please fill the arrows. *When thinking about the question, "Who am I?" such as your role in a family (e.g. daughter, sister, etc), your hobbies and interests (e.g. guitar player, football fan, etc), your background (e.g. religion, ethnicity, nationality, hometown, or place of birth), and your physical characteristics. Now, can you create your own chart? (2 mins)*
  - Now, can you describe it for me? Can you select the 5 items you think are most significant in shaping you? Why these?
  - Can you think about the 5 factors that are most significant to shaping you in the UK specifically? Why these?
7. What does 'Being Turkish/Kurdish' mean to you? What do you like about being Turkish/Kurdish?
8. Can you think any situations where you feel very Turkish/Kurdish in the UK? Why this situation make you feel Turkish/Kurdish?
9. What does 'Being British' mean to you? What do you like about being British?
10. Can you think any situations where you feel very British in the UK? Why this situation make you feel British?
11. What does 'Being both British and Turkish/Kurdish' mean to you? What do you think about their differences and similarities?
12. Do you believe that can you balance these identities? How?

### Acculturation

11. Do you feel yourself at home in the UK? How? How do other people help you feel at home in the UK? Or make you feel stranger?
12. When you compare your family's heritage culture with the UK mainstream culture, how do you feel yourself?
13. What do you think about your parent's life in the UK? How about their expectations from you?
14. Do you know any person who is good at both Turkish and British culture in the UK? Why do you think they are good at? What are their differences from others?

### Discrimination and Mental Health

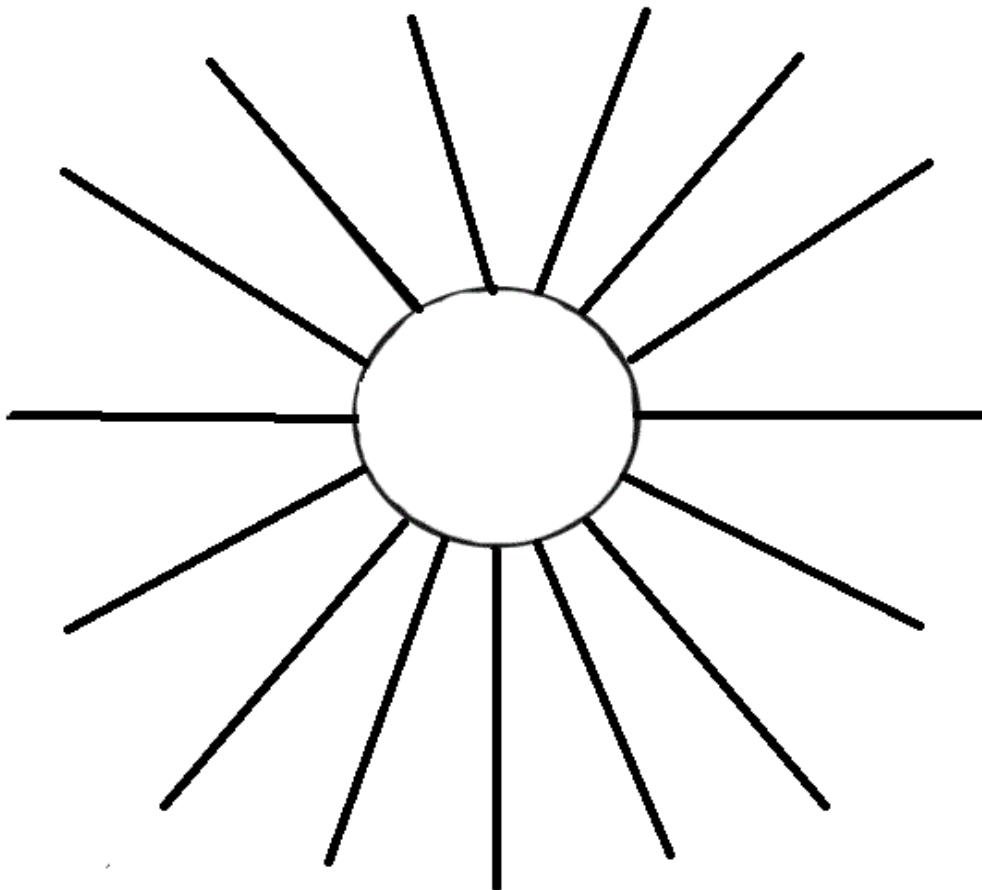
15. Blob questions
  - If you think this bridge represents your life in the UK, which Blob best represent you? Why? Can you express her/his story? How does she/he feel about herself/himself?
  - Which Blob would you like to be? Why?
  - Which Blob do you feel like when you are with your family/parents?
  - Which Blob do you feel like when you are with your friends?
  - Which blobs represent other Turkish/Kurdish people in the UK? How about your parents? How about other British people?
  - Which blobs reminds you of one of your good experiences in the UK?

- Which blobs reminds you of one of your bad experiences in the UK?
- 16. Have you ever experienced discrimination in the UK? How did you deal with them?
- 17. How these experiences influence you and your life?
- 18. Generally speaking, are you happy in the UK? If you have a magic wand, what would you change in your life at the moment and why?
- 19. Lastly, which Blob is what do you think you will feel at the age of 21? Why?

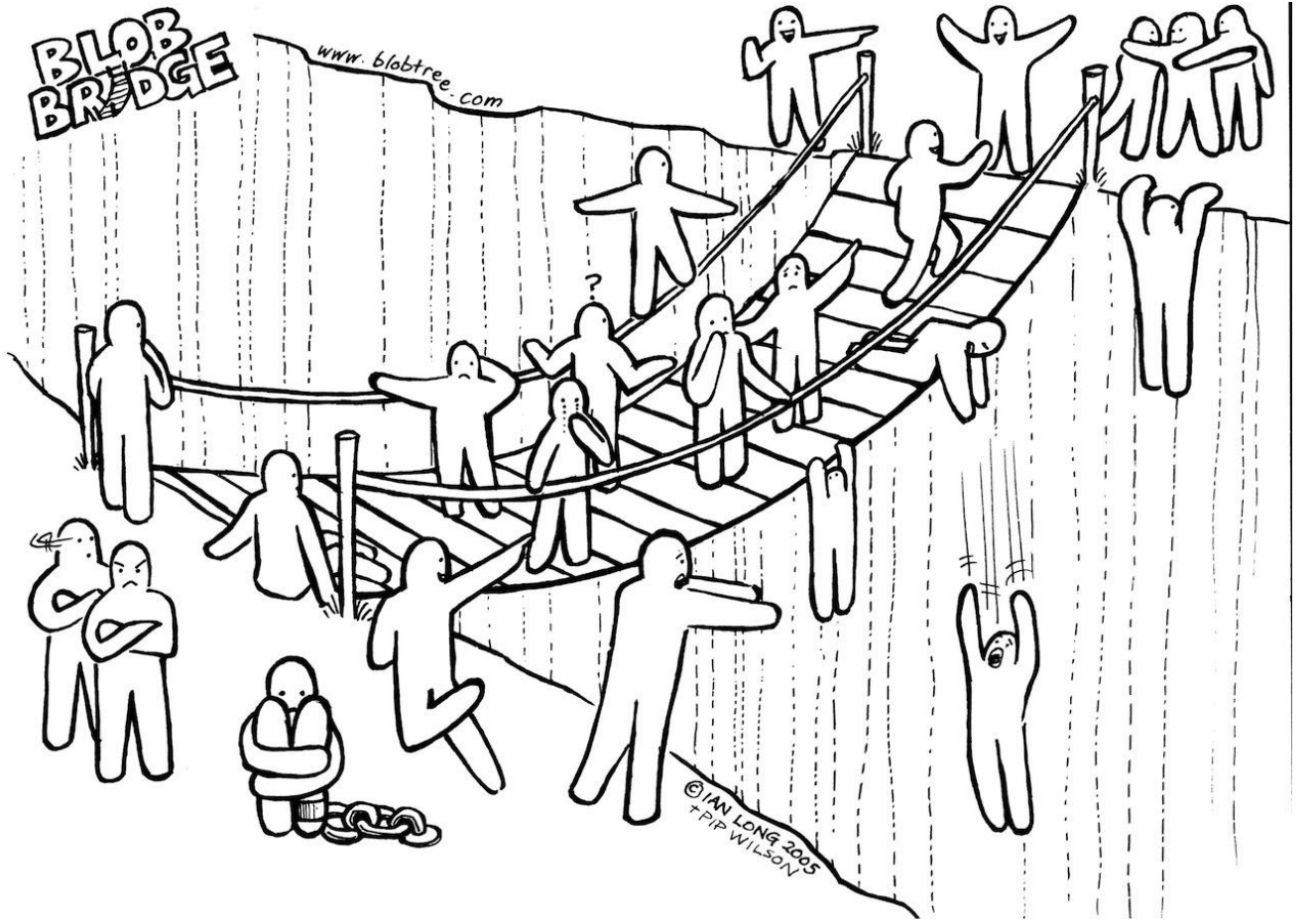
*This is the end of the interview. Is there anything you would like to add or ask?*

*Thank you for taking part in the interview.*

### Identity Chart



## Blob Bridge



### Interview Questions (in Turkish)

#### Etnik kimlik

1. Öncelikle seni tanımak istiyorum. Bana kendini tanıtabilir misin?
2. Ne gibi aktiviteler yapmaktan hoşlanırsın? Örneğin geçtiğimiz haftasonu ne yaptın?
3. Kendi kültürünle ilgili etkinliklerden hoşlanıyor musun? Türkiye yemeği yemek, resturantına gitmek, Türkiye kanalları izlemek, Türkiye düğünlerine gitmek gibi.
4. Hangi sıklıkla ve nerelere İngilizce, Türkçe konuşursun? Türkçe becerilerin hakkında ne düşünüyorsun?
5. İngilteredeki yaşam standartlarınız hakkında ne düşünüyorsun? Geçiminiz rahat mı?
6. Kimlik çizelgesi soruları:
  - Su yuvarlığın içine ismini yazar misin? Şimdi, seni bu çizelgede görmek istiyorum. Bu okları "ben kimim?" sorusuna yanıt olarak doldurabilir misin? Örneğin, bizim kim olduğumuzu pek çok rol belirliyor evde (kardes, evlat), ilgilerimiz ve hobilerimiz (iyi gitar çalan ya da futbol fanatigi), geldiğimiz background (din, etnik kimlik, vatandaşlığımız, nereli olduğumuz, nerede doğduğumuz), fiziksel özelliklerimiz bizim kim olduğumuzu anlatıyor. Şimdi bunları düşünerek bu çizelgeyi doldurur musun? (2 dakika)
  - Şimdi bu çizelge ile bana kendini anlatır misin? Şimdi bunlardan senin kimliğini en çok etkilediğini düşündüğün en önemli 5 tanesini seçer misin? Neden bunlar?
  - Şimdi de senin kimliğini özellikle İngiltere`de en çok etkilediğini düşündüğün en önemli 5 tanesini seçer misin? Neden bunlar?

7. Senin için Turk/Kurt olmak ne anlama geliyor? Turk/Kurt olmanın en çok neyini seviyorsun?
8. Kendini çok fazla Turk/Kurt hissettiğin bir durum düşünür musun? Neden bu durum sana Turk/Kurt olduğunu hissettirdi?
9. Senin için British olmak ne anlama geliyor? British olmanın en çok neyini seviyorsun?
10. Kendini çok fazla British hissettiğin bir durum düşünür musun? Neden bu durum sana British olduğunu hissettirdi?
11. Senin için hem Turk/Kurt hem de British olmak ne anlama geliyor? Bunların farklılıkları ve benzerlikleri hakkında ne düşünüyorsun?
12. Sence sen hem Turk/Kurt hem de British olmak arasında bir denge kurabildin mi? Bunu nasıl yaptın?

### **Kulturleşme**

11. İngilterede kendini evinde hissediyor musun? Nasıl oluyor bu? Diğer insanlar, İngiltere`de kendini evinde hissetmen için sana nasıl yardımcı oluyorlar mı? Ya da tam tersi seni burada yabancımissin gibi hissettiriyorlar mı?
12. Kendi aile kültürüne, İngilteredeki kültürünü karşılaştırdığın zaman kendini nasıl hissediyorsun?
13. Ailenin İngilteredeki yaşamı hakkında ne düşünüyorsun? Senden beklentileri neler?
14. İngilterede tanıdığın biri var mı hem Türkiye hem de İngiltere kültürünü çok iyi bilen ve yaşayan? Neden onun her iki kültürde de iyi olduğunu düşünüyorsun? Sence bu kişinin diğerlerinden farkı ne de bunu başarabilmiş?

### **Ayrımcılık ve ruh sağlığı**

15. Blob soruları
  - Eğer bu kopyayı senin İngilteredeki yaşamının bir temsili olarak düşünürsek, hangi Blob seni en iyi yansıtır? Neden? Bana onun hikayesini anlatabilir misin? Bu Blob kendisini nasıl hissediyor?
  - Peki hangi blob olmak isterdin bu kopyada? Neden?
  - Ailen ile birlikteyken hangi blob gibi hissediyorsun? Neden?
  - Arkadaşların ile birlikteyken hangi blob gibi hissediyorsun? Neden?
  - Bu kopyada hangi bloblar Turk/Kurtleri temsil ediyor sence? Diğerleri kimler? Neden?
  - Hangi blob sana İngilteredeki güzel deneyimlerini sana hatırlattı? Neden?
  - Hangi blob sana İngilteredeki kötü deneyimlerini sana hatırlattı? Neden?
16. İngilterede hiç ayrımcılığa maruz kaldığını hatırlıyor musun? Bununla nasıl başa çıktın?
17. Bu gibi deneyimler seni ve yaşamını nasıl etkiledi?
18. Genel anlamda İngilteredeki hayatından mutlu musun? Eğer eline bir sihirli değnek verilse, hayatında neyi değiştirmek isterdin? Neden?
19. Son olarak, hangi blob senin 21 yaşındaki halini temsil ediyor ve bu blob nasıl hissediyor? Neden?

*Görüşmemizin sonuna geldik. Ekleme istediğin ya da sormak istediğin bir soru var mı?*

*Benimle görüşme yaptığın için teşekkür ederim.*

## Appendix 6: Reverse Items and Total Scores

**\*Reverse items were shown with \_R**

**Exploration\_total**= EIS14 + EIS16 + EIS17 + EIS19 + EIS21 + EIS28 + EIS30\_R

**Resolution\_total**= EIS15 + EIS18 + EIS25 + EIS27

**Affirmation\_total**= EIS20\_R + EIS22\_R + EIS23\_R + EIS24\_R + EIS26\_R + EIS29\_R

**EthnicIdentity\_total**= Exploration\_total + Affirmation\_total + Resolution\_total

**Identitycentrality\_total**= centrality31 + centrality32 + centrality33 + centrality34 + centrality35 + centrality36 + centrality37 + centrality38

**PercDisc\_total**= DISC39\_R + DISC40\_R + DISC41 + DISC42 + DISC43\_R + DISC44 + DISC45 + DISC46 + DISC47\_R

**Assimilation\_total**= accult48 + accult51 + accult57 + accult58 + accult62

**Seperation\_total**= accult49 + accult54 + accult55 + accult56 + accult59

**Marginalisation\_total**= accult53 + accult60 + accult63 + accult65 + accult67

**Integration\_total**= accult50 + accult52 + accult61 + accult64 + accult66

**Lifesatisfaction\_total**= lifesatis68 + lifesatis69 + lifesatis70 + lifesatis71 + lifesatis72

**Selfesteem\_total**= selfesteem73 + selfesteem74\_R + selfesteem75 + selfesteem76 + selfesteem77\_R + selfesteem78\_R + selfesteem79 + selfesteem80\_R + selfesteem81\_R + selfesteem82

**Depression\_total**= DEPRES83 + DEPRES84 + DEPRES85+ DEPRES86 + DEPRES87\_R + DEPRES88 + DEPRES89 + DEPRES90\_R + DEPRES91 + DEPRES92

**Wellbeing\_total**= wellbeing93\_R + wellbeing94 + wellbeing95 + wellbeing96\_R + wellbeing97\_R + wellbeing98 + wellbeing99 + wellbeing100\_R + wellbeing101 + wellbeing102 + wellbeing103 + wellbeing104 + wellbeing105 + wellbeing106 + wellbeing107\_R + wellbeing108\_R + wellbeing109\_R + wellbeing110\_R

## Appendix 7: Pilot Questionnaire

Please cross  the matching answer/answers to you for each question OR write in gaps (.....)  
If the question is not applicable for you, write N/A or DON'T KNOW next to the question.

Q1. How old are you? What is your date of birth?	<input type="checkbox"/> 16	<input type="checkbox"/> 17	<input type="checkbox"/> 18		
	...../...../.....				
Q2. How would you describe yourself in terms of your gender?	<input type="checkbox"/> Female	<input type="checkbox"/> Male	<input type="checkbox"/> Other.....		
Q3. Where were you born?	Country:..... City:.....				
Q4. What is your nationality? (If you have multi, select all)	<input type="checkbox"/> Turkish	<input type="checkbox"/> British	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify).....		
Q5. What is your ethnic group? (If you have multi, select all)	<input type="checkbox"/> Turkish	<input type="checkbox"/> Kurdish	<input type="checkbox"/> British (English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish) <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify).....		
Q6. What is your <b>mother's</b> ethnicity? (If she has multi, select all)	<input type="checkbox"/> Turkish	<input type="checkbox"/> Kurdish	<input type="checkbox"/> British (English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish) <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify).....		
Q7. What is your <b>father's</b> ethnicity? (If he has multi, select all)	<input type="checkbox"/> Turkish	<input type="checkbox"/> Kurdish	<input type="checkbox"/> British (English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish) <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify).....		
Q8. What is your religion?	<input type="checkbox"/> No religion	<input type="checkbox"/> Islam	<input type="checkbox"/> Christianity	<input type="checkbox"/> Jewish	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify).....
Q9. If you are Muslim, what is your sect?	<input type="checkbox"/> Sunni (Hanefi)	<input type="checkbox"/> Alevi	<input type="checkbox"/> Şafi	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify).....	
Q10. Where was your <b>mother</b> born?	Country:..... City:.....				
Q11. Where was your <b>father</b> born?	Country:..... City:.....				
Q12. What is the highest level of education completed by your <b>mother</b> ?	<input type="checkbox"/> Primary school	<input type="checkbox"/> Secondary school	<input type="checkbox"/> High school	<input type="checkbox"/> Bachelor's degree	<input type="checkbox"/> Post-graduate (e.g. Master's, Doctoral)
Q13. What is the highest level of education completed by your <b>father</b> ?	<input type="checkbox"/> Primary school	<input type="checkbox"/> Secondary school	<input type="checkbox"/> High school	<input type="checkbox"/> Bachelor's degree	<input type="checkbox"/> Post-graduate (e.g. Master's, Doctoral)
Q14. What is your annual household income?	<input type="checkbox"/> Under £10,000		<input type="checkbox"/> £50,000 to £100,000		
	<input type="checkbox"/> £10,000 to £25,000		<input type="checkbox"/> Over £100,000		
	<input type="checkbox"/> £25,000 to £50,000		<input type="checkbox"/> I do not know.		
Q15. Which year did your family immigrate to the UK?	..... (If known)				
Q16. Why did your family immigrate to the UK?	..... (If known)				
Q17. What is your first and second language?	First..... Second.....				
Q18. Please give a score for your <b>English language</b> proficiency?	<input type="checkbox"/> Very poor	<input type="checkbox"/> Poor	<input type="checkbox"/> Average	<input type="checkbox"/> Good	<input type="checkbox"/> Excellent
Q19. Please give a score for your <b>Turkish language</b> proficiency?	<input type="checkbox"/> Very poor	<input type="checkbox"/> Poor	<input type="checkbox"/> Average	<input type="checkbox"/> Good	<input type="checkbox"/> Excellent

**THE SECTION of ETHNICITY and EXPERIENCES IN THE UK**

**Q20. How do you feel yourself in terms of your identity?**

If you have Turkish background:

- Turkish not British
- More Turkish than British
- Equally Turkish and British
- More British than Turkish
- British not Turkish

If you have Kurdish background:

- Kurdish not British
- More Kurdish than British
- Equally Kurdish and British
- More British than Kurdish
- British not Kurdish

<b>Circle the number of each statement which best describes you.</b>	<b>Does not describe me at all</b>	<b>Describes me a little</b>	<b>Describes me well</b>	<b>Describes me very well</b>
<b>Q21.</b> I have participated in activities that have exposed me to my ethnicity.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q22.</b> I have a clear sense of what my ethnicity means to me.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q23.</b> I have attended events that have helped me learn more about my ethnicity.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q24.</b> I have experienced things that reflect my ethnicity, such as eating food, listening to music, and watching movies.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q25.</b> I am clear about what my ethnicity means to me.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q26.</b> I have read books/magazines/newspapers or other materials that have taught me about my ethnicity.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q27.</b> I feel negatively about my ethnicity.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q28.</b> I have learned about my ethnicity by doing things such as reading (books, magazines, and newspapers), searching the internet, or keeping up with current events.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q29.</b> I wish I were of a different ethnicity.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q30.</b> I am not happy with my ethnicity.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q31.</b> My feelings about my ethnicity are mostly negative.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q32.</b> I understand how I feel about my ethnicity.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q33.</b> If I could choose, I would prefer to be of a different ethnicity.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q34.</b> I know what my ethnicity means to me.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q35.</b> I have participated in activities that have taught me about my ethnicity.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q36.</b> I dislike my ethnicity.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q37.</b> I have not participated in any activities that would teach me about my ethnicity.	0	1	2	3

<b>Circle the level of IMPORTANCE of the statements below.</b> .....is important to my sense of who I am.	<b>Not important</b>	<b>Slightly</b>	<b>Somewhat</b>	<b>Very</b>	<b>Extremely</b>
<b>Q38.</b> Being a part of the many generations of my family	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q39.</b> My race or ethnic background	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q40.</b> My religion	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q41.</b> Places where I live or where I was raised	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q42.</b> My feeling of belonging to my community	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q43.</b> My feeling of pride in Turkey	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q44.</b> My commitments on political issues or my political activities	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q45.</b> My language, such as my regional accent or dialect or a second language that I know	0	1	2	3	4

<b>Circle the number of each statement which best describes you.</b>	<b>Strongly disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Neither</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly agree</b>
<b>Q46.</b> Generally speaking, my ethnic group is respected in the UK.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q47.</b> My ethnic group has been treated well in the UK society.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q48.</b> My ethnic group does not have the same opportunities as other ethnic groups.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q49.</b> I often have to defend my ethnic group from criticism by people outside of my ethnic group.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q50.</b> Discrimination against my ethnic group is not a problem in the UK.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q51.</b> My ethnic group is often criticized in this country.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q52.</b> In the UK, the opinions of people from my ethnic group are treated as less important than those of other ethnic groups.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q53.</b> In my life, I have experienced prejudice because of my ethnicity.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q54.</b> I have not felt prejudiced against in the UK society because of my ethnic background.	0	1	2	3	4



<b>Circle the number of each statement which best describes you.</b>	<b>Strongly disagree</b>	<b>Somewhat disagree</b>	<b>Not sure/neutral</b>	<b>Somewhat agree</b>	<b>Strongly agree</b>
<b>Q55.</b> I feel that Turkish/Kurdish people should adapt to British cultural traditions and not maintain their own.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q56.</b> I would rather marry a Turkish/Kurdish person than a British person.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q57.</b> I feel that Turkish/Kurdish people should maintain their own cultural traditions but also adapt to those of British.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q58.</b> I would rather marry a British person than a Turkish/Kurdish person.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q59.</b> I would be just as willing to marry a British person as a Turkish/Kurdish person.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q60.</b> I feel that it is not important for Turkish/Kurdish people either to maintain their own cultural traditions and not adapt to those of the British.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q61.</b> I feel that Turkish/Kurdish people should maintain their own cultural traditions and not adapt to those of British.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q62.</b> I would not like to marry either a British or a Turkish/Kurdish person.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q63.</b> It is more important to me to be fluent in Turkish than in English language.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q64.</b> It is more important to me to be fluent in English language than in Turkish.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q65.</b> It is more important to me to be fluent in both English language and in Turkish language.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q66.</b> It is not important to me to be fluent in either Turkish language or in English language.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q67.</b> I prefer social activities that involve both British and Turkish/Kurdish members.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q68.</b> I prefer to have only British friends.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q69.</b> I prefer to have only Turkish/Kurdish friends.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q70.</b> I prefer social activities that involve British members only.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q71.</b> I prefer to have both British and Turkish/Kurdish friends.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q72.</b> I don't want to attend either British or Turkish/Kurdish social activities.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q73.</b> I prefer social activities that involve Turkish/Kurdish members only.	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Q74.</b> I don't want to have either British or Turkish/Kurdish friends.	0	1	2	3	4

**THE SECTION of PERSONAL WELL-BEING**

<b>Circle the number of each statement which best describes you.</b>	<b>Strongly disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Slightly disagree</b>	<b>Neither agree nor disagree</b>	<b>Slightly agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly agree</b>
<b>Q75.</b> In most ways my life is close to my ideal.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q76.</b> The conditions of my life are excellent.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q77.</b> I am satisfied with my life.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q78.</b> So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Q79.</b> If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

<b>Circle the number of each statement which best describes you.</b>	<b>Strongly disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly agree</b>
<b>Q80.</b> On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q81.</b> At times I think I am no good at all.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q82.</b> I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q83.</b> I am able to do things as well as most other people.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q84.</b> I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q85.</b> I certainly feel useless at times.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q86.</b> I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q87.</b> I wish I could have more respect for myself.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q88.</b> All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q89.</b> I take a positive attitude toward myself.	0	1	2	3

<b>Circle the number of each statement which best describes how often you felt or behaved this way DURING THE PAST WEEK.</b>	<b>Rarely or none of the time (less than 1 day)</b>	<b>Some or a little of the time (1-2 days)</b>	<b>Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)</b>	<b>Most or all of the time (5-7 days)</b>
<b>Q90.</b> I was bothered by things that usually don't bother me.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q91.</b> I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q92.</b> I felt depressed.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q93.</b> I felt that everything I did was an effort.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q94.</b> I felt hopeful about the future.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q95.</b> I felt fearful.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q96.</b> My sleep was restless.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q97.</b> I was happy.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q98.</b> I felt lonely.	0	1	2	3
<b>Q99.</b> I could not "get going."	0	1	2	3

Circle the number of each statement which best describes you.	Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree
<b>Q100.</b> I tend to be influenced by people with strong opinions.	0	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q101.</b> In general, I feel I am in charge of the situation in which I live.	0	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q102.</b> I think it is important to have new experiences that challenge how you think about yourself and the world.	0	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q103.</b> Maintaining close relationships has been difficult and frustrating for me.	0	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q104.</b> I live life one day at a time and don't really think about the future.	0	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q105.</b> When I look at the story of my life, I am pleased with how things have turned out.	0	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q106.</b> I have confidence in my opinions, even if they are contrary to the general consensus.	0	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q107.</b> The demands of everyday life often get me down.	0	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q108.</b> For me, life has been a continuous process of learning, changing and growth.	0	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q109.</b> People would describe me as a giving person, willing to share my time with others.	0	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q110.</b> Some people wander aimlessly through life, but I am not one of them.	0	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q111.</b> I like most aspects of my personality.	0	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q112.</b> I judge myself by what I think is important, not by the values of what others think is important.	0	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q113.</b> I am quite good at managing the many responsibilities of my daily life.	0	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q114.</b> I gave up trying to make big improvements or changes in my life a long time ago.	0	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q115.</b> I have not experienced many warm and trusting relationships with others.	0	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q116.</b> I sometimes feel as if I've done all there is to do in life.	0	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q117.</b> In many ways, I feel disappointed about my achievements in life.	0	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Q118.</b> I am so happy in my life.	0	1	2	3	4	5

*This is the end of the survey. Thank You for Your Participation.*

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## **Appendix 8: Pilot Interview Questions**

### **Ethnic Identity**

1. Firstly, I would like to know you. Could do you introduce yourself?
2. What kind of activities do you like to do in your life? What did you do last weekend?
3. Which activities do you think more important than others in terms of how you see yourself?
4. Identity chart questions:
  - Could you write your name in the middle of the circle? Now, I would like to see you in this chart, please fill the arrows. When thinking about the question, "Who am I?" such as your role in a family (e.g., daughter, sister, etc), your hobbies and interests (e.g., guitar player, football fan, etc), your background (e.g., religion, ethnicity, nationality, hometown, or place of birth), and your physical characteristics. Now, can you create your own chart? (2 mins)
  - Can you describe your chart for me? Can you select the five items you think are most significant in shaping your identity? Why these?
  - Can you think about the five factors that are most significant to shaping your identity in the UK specifically? Why these?
5. What does 'Being Turkish/Kurdish' mean to you? What do you like about being Turkish/Kurdish?
6. Can you think any situations where you feel very Turkish in the UK? How did that make you feel? Why this situation make you feel Turkish?
7. What does 'Being British' mean to you? What do you like about being British?
8. Can you think any situations where you feel very British in the UK? How did that make you feel? Why this situation make you feel British?
9. What does 'Being both British and Turkish/Kurdish' mean to you? What do you think about their differences and similarities?
10. Do you believe that can you balance these identities? How?

### **Acculturation**

11. If England played Turkey in a football match, which team would you support?
12. Do you feel yourself at home in the UK? How? How do other people help you feel at home in the UK? Or make you feel stranger?
13. When you compare your family's heritage culture with the UK mainstream culture, how do you feel yourself?
14. Do you know any person who is assimilated in the UK? Why do you think they are assimilated?
15. Do you know any person who is integrated in the UK? Why do you think they are integrated? What is the difference?

### **Discrimination and Mental Health**

16. Blob questions
  - If you think this bridge represents your life in the UK, which Blob best represent you? Why? Can you express her/his story? How does she/he feel about herself/himself?
  - Which Blob would you like to be? Why?
  - Which Blob do you feel like when you are with your family?
  - Which Blob do you feel like when you are with your friends?

- Which blobs represent other Turkish people in the UK? How about others? Why?
  - Which blobs reminds you of one of your good experiences in the UK?
  - Which blobs reminds you of one of your bad experiences in the UK?
- 17.** Have you ever experienced discrimination in the UK? How did you deal with them?
  - 18.** How these experiences influence your life? Your ethnic identity?
  - 19.** Generally speaking, are you happy in the UK? If you have a magic wand, what would you change in your life at the moment and why?
  - 20.** Lastly, which Blob is what do you think you will feel at the age of 21? Why?

*This is the end of the interview. Is there anything you would like to add or ask?*

*Thank you for taking part in the interview.*

## Appendix 9: Tables for Organising Themes, Subthemes, Codes and Quotations

Descriptive qualitative data
<p><b>Who They Are: Their General Characteristics?</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Language preferences</b> (13 English-Turkish, 5 English, 2 Turkish)</li> <li>2. <b>Their self-assessment of language usage</b> (better Turkish than English, mostly better English than Turkish)</li> <li>3. <b>Their hobbies and interests</b> (designing, math, self-defence sports, gym, fitness, sports, football, painting, reading, writing, playing guitar, going to tuition, going to cadets, swimming, trekking, social events, spending time with family and friends)</li> <li>4. <b>Education</b> (all of them either GSEC or A levels students and most of them aiming to Uni)</li> <li>5. <b>Living standards</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Parents occupation           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>Fathers:</b> running a kebab shop, apiculture in Turkey and merchandising buildings in the UK, forging, running a franchise coffee shop, delivery guy, running a doner shop.</li> <li><b>Mothers:</b> working in an organic market, housewife, selling homemade pastry.</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Going to Turkish doctors rather than NHS in the UK</li> <li>- Harder daily life in Turkey (40*)</li> <li>- Average livings standards in the UK</li> <li>- Better living standards in the UK compare to Europe (41)</li> <li>- Financially easy life and having more benefits</li> <li>- Having a good educational system</li> </ul> </li> </ol>

\*The numbers indicate a particular quotation which can highlight the content of subtheme as a good example.

Themes	Subthemes	Codes
<p><b>1. Ethnic identity formation</b></p> <p>Definition: A process of making sense of an ethnic identity with exploration attempts, positive and negative feelings, and meaningful answers.</p>	<p><b>1a. Self-identification</b></p> <p>Definition: Participants' general characteristics to identify and introduce themselves.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Being a student</li> <li>-Being a Turkish</li> <li>-Being a Kurdish</li> <li>-Being a British</li> <li>-Being an Alevi</li> <li>-Being a Muslim</li> <li>-Being happy</li> <li>-Being both strong and sensitive</li> <li>-Being a social person</li> <li>-Being a tall person</li> <li>-Being a warm-hearted</li> <li>-Being a good listener</li> <li>-Being a good leader (28)</li> <li>-Being a helpful person</li> <li>-Being a helpful son/daughter</li> <li>-Being a good friend</li> </ul>
	<p><b>1b. Ethnic identity exploration and ethnic activities/cultural practices</b></p> <p>Definition: The cultural and ethnic activities in order to explore ethnic identity and Turkish/Kurdish culture</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Vacations to Turkey (holiday, visiting relatives, going to village) (30) (31)</li> <li>-Going to cultural festivals (e.g. Alevi festival, Kurdish festival/celebrations)</li> <li>-Going to cemevi</li> <li>-Paying Turkish guitar (baglama)</li> <li>-Going to Turkish/Kurdish weddings</li> <li>-Following Turkish news</li> <li>-Going to mosque (29)</li> <li>-Going to protest</li> <li>-Going to Turkish restaurant</li> <li>-Eating Turkish food</li> <li>-Going to Turkish weekend schools (32)</li> <li>-Reading Turkish books</li> <li>-Reading Turkish history</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Talking politics with Turkish friends (33)</li> <li>-Watching Turkish/Kurdish news channels (34)</li> <li>-Watching Turkish movies/series/soup operas/shows</li> </ul>
	<p><b>1c. Importance of ethnic identity</b></p> <p>Definition: The important parts of the identity</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Being disciplined</li> <li>-Being a good friend</li> <li>-Being thoughtful</li> <li>-Being empathetic</li> <li>-Being a social person</li> <li>-Being a good leader</li> <li>-Being lazy</li> <li>-Being family-orientated</li> <li>-Being Turkish</li> <li>-Being Kurdish</li> <li>-Being Turkish/Kurdish,</li> <li>-Being British</li> <li>-Being a Londoner</li> <li>-Being Muslim</li> <li>-Being Alevi</li> <li>-Being Atheist</li> </ul>
	<p><b>1d. Feelings about ethnic identity</b></p> <p>Definition: Participants' feelings towards their ethnic identity (can be negative too)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Feeling more Turkish/Kurdish when attending the weddings (36) (37)</li> <li>- Going to Cemevi</li> <li>- Family gatherings</li> <li>-Pride of being Turkish/Kurdish</li> <li>-Being happy to be Turkish/Kurdish</li> <li>-Not wanting to say I am Kurdish</li> <li>-Not wanting to say I am from Turkey</li> </ul>
	<p><b>1e. Meanings about ethnic identity</b></p> <p>Definition: what does mean being Turkish and/or Kurdish</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Just a background and genetic</li> <li>-Having a lot fun as Turkish</li> <li>-Place where they come from</li> <li>-Being honest</li> <li>-Being good</li> <li>-Being kind</li> <li>-Being fair</li> <li>-Do not know</li> <li>-Confusions</li> </ul>
	* Parents' and family's roles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Having very dependent parents</li> <li>-Forcing to engaging ethnic activities</li> <li>-Learning from parents' experiences for to be educated</li> </ul>
	*Friends' roles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Having close Turkish friends</li> <li>-Sameness with 2<sup>nd</sup> generation friends</li> <li>-Having same experiences with Turkish people in the UK</li> </ul>
	*Schools' roles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Not having any Turkish society at schools</li> <li>-Doing A level in Turkish language</li> <li>-Speaking Turkish in schoolyard</li> <li>-Not allowing Turkish language in classrooms</li> </ul>
<p><b>2. Identity complexity and multiple identities</b></p> <p>Definition: How they understand and live with their social identities particularly ethnic</p>	<p><b>2a. Being British</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Settlement of society</li> <li>-Speaking English</li> <li>-Having a British accent</li> <li>-Spending time with British friends</li> <li>-Going to British activities (e.g. cadets)</li> <li>-Confusions</li> <li>-Britishness</li> </ul>
	<p><b>2b. Being both British and Turkish/Kurdish</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Doing activities in two cultures (39)</li> <li>-Being bilingual</li> <li>-Knowing two different cultures very well</li> </ul>

(Turkish/Kurdish) and British.	<b>2c. Being Turkish-English</b>	<i>(One participant)</i> confusions		
	2d. Religious identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Being Alevi as a cultural identity (26)</li> <li>-Being a British Muslim</li> <li>-Being Hijabi (having headscarf)</li> <li>-Being confused as a Deist (27)</li> <li>-Being an Atheist</li> </ul>		
	*Conflict between Kurds and Turks			
	*Being “white others”			
<b>3. Acculturation and growing up in two different cultures</b>  Definition: Their experiences and challenges between Turkish home and mainstream society.	<b>3a. Feeling at home in the UK and schooling</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Getting familiar with the British culture</li> <li>-Welcoming British educational system</li> <li>-Multicultural and diverse</li> <li>-Different cultures at schools</li> <li>-British values</li> </ul>		
	<b>3b. Living in the UK</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Advantageous England (25)</li> <li>-Not happy English people because of immigrants</li> </ul>		
	<b>3c. Living in London as a multicultural city</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Being a Londoner</li> <li>-Not feeling stranger because of multiculturalism</li> <li>-An easy life for Turkish speaking parents</li> </ul>		
	<b>3d. Parents’ lives</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Language barriers (13) (14) (15)</li> <li>-Missing Turkey</li> <li>-Desires to go back to Turkey</li> <li>-Having non-stop working lifestyle</li> <li>-Having adaptation into UK</li> </ul>		
	<b>3e. Language assistance for their parents since young ages (18)</b>	Workload	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Spending 1-2 hours per week</li> <li>-Phone callings</li> <li>-Paperwork (e.g. bank letters, school letters)</li> <li>-Going to hospital (17)</li> <li>-Going to meetings (16)</li> <li>-Going to shopping</li> <li>-Going to parents meeting at school</li> <li>-Requesting interpreter for important issues like passport renewal</li> </ul>	
		Feelings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Finding it difficult</li> <li>-Feeling fed up</li> <li>-Feeling boring (19)</li> <li>-Finding it annoying</li> <li>-Not enjoying it</li> <li>-Feeling obliged to do</li> <li>-Feeling appreciated (20)</li> <li>-Feeling not boring (21)</li> </ul>	
		Mistranslation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Doing mistranslation intentionally</li> </ul>	
	<b>3f. Language</b> Definition: How they use Turkish and English languages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Code-switching with peers (22) (23)</li> <li>-Tool for integration</li> <li>-Speaking English with siblings at home</li> <li>-Speaking Turkish with parents at home</li> </ul>		
<b>3g. Balance between identities</b> Definition: How they use their multiple identities and different cultures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Getting along with Turkish and British people</li> <li>-Multicultural schools</li> <li>-Speaking English at school</li> <li>-Speaking Turkish at home</li> <li>-Having balance naturally</li> <li>-Changing behaviours automatically (50)</li> </ul>			



	<b>3h. Thoughts about the conditions of integration</b> (But how automatically?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Being social is necessary</li> <li>-Being born in the UK</li> <li>-Going to British schools and having British upbringing</li> <li>-Doing ethnic/cultural activities</li> <li>-Doing English activities</li> <li>-Defending peace</li> <li>-Getting married with an English person</li> <li>-Growing into both in Turkey and the UK</li> <li>-Having knowledge about differences and similarities</li> <li>-Being good at both English and Turkish language</li> </ul>
	*Comparison between Turkey and the UK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Better Turkish weddings in the UK (38)</li> <li>-Better Turkish weddings in Turkey</li> <li>-Quieter Turkish weddings in the UK (35)</li> <li>-Funnier Turkish weddings than English weddings</li> </ul>
	*Cultural differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Different weddings traditions (eg weddings in churches in the UK)</li> <li>-Different music in weddings</li> <li>-More individualistic UK society</li> <li>-Different celebrations (e.g. Eid vs Christmas)</li> </ul>
	*Acculturation stress	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Learning British culture by observing other people</li> <li>-Getting surprised when going to outside</li> </ul>
	*Gender roles (being a woman)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Not allowing to be outside till the late hours as a young woman</li> <li>-Being careful about their behaviours</li> <li>-Being careful about their clothes</li> <li>-Being careful about friends (48)</li> </ul>
<b>4. Discrimination</b>  Definition: How they perceive their discrimination experiences and deal with it.	<b>4a. School experiences</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-By school friends</li> <li>-By teachers</li> </ul>
	<b>4b. Experiences in the street/bus</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Stalking by other British people (46)</li> <li>-Swearing British people because of talking Turkish in the bus</li> </ul>
	<b>4c. Discrimination types</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Making jokes by saying “animal Turkey”, “go back to your country”</li> <li>-Calling as a terrorist because of being Kurdish</li> <li>-Asking “What is Kurdish?”</li> <li>-Having an “Olive skin”</li> <li>-By other Turkish people and Muslims for being Alevi</li> <li>-Offensive questions and weird comments about being an Alevi</li> <li>-Discrimination because of headscarf (47)</li> </ul>
	<b>4e. Dealing with discrimination</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Asking for help from parents</li> <li>-Asking for help from teachers</li> <li>-Dealing with alone (42)</li> </ul>
	*Parents’ discrimination experiences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Against mother because of her headscarf (43)</li> <li>-Ethnic discrimination against mother (44)</li> </ul>
	*Discrimination in Turkey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Charging Turkish/British people more money (45)</li> <li>-Discrimination by Muslims against Alevis</li> </ul>
	<b>4h. Learned things after discrimination</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Learning different cultures</li> <li>-Being stronger</li> <li>-Taking an understanding of an objective right or wrong</li> <li>-Getting motivated to study Law</li> </ul>
<b>5. Relationships with others</b>  Definition: Their social relationships	<b>5a. Relationships with parents and family</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Being a helpful son/daughter</li> <li>-Getting along with parents/family</li> <li>-Having a very close family</li> <li>-Having an attached family (6)</li> <li>-Having accepted and loving family</li> </ul>

<p>with parents, friends, other people around them such as teacher and Turkish community. How are their relationships and how these relations make them feel?</p>	<p><b>5b. Relationships with friends</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Being a helpful friend (1)</li> <li>-Togetherness with friends</li> <li>-Having a good small group of peers</li> <li>-Getting along with friends</li> <li>-Having supportive friends</li> <li>-Accepting and loving friends</li> </ul>	
	<p><b>5c. Relationships with relatives</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Having good relationships with cousins (5)</li> <li>-Having a good relationship with grandparents</li> <li>-Having a good relationship with uncles/aunties</li> </ul>	
	<p><b>5d. Relationships with their community</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Being a part of a good society</li> <li>-Going to Turkish NGOs</li> <li>-Helping parents for Turkish schools</li> <li>-Helping other Turkish people</li> </ul>	
	<p><b>5e. Perceptions about other Turkish/Kurdish people</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Arguing with aggressive Kurdish people about politics</li> <li>-Happy Turkish people as long as they adapt in the UK</li> <li>-A close-knit community and togetherness (24)</li> </ul>	
	<p><b>5f. Perceptions about other British people</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Adventurous British people</li> <li>-Unhappy British people with immigrants</li> <li>-Being limited with one British culture</li> <li>-Feeling alone</li> </ul>	
<p><b>6. Mental health and wellbeing</b></p> <p>Definition: General happiness, feelings about past, now and future. Possible stress factors in their lives.</p>	<p><b>6a. Current position/feelings</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Being happy as a social person (3)</li> <li>-Being happy in the UK</li> <li>-Being happy to have positive stuff like friends and family</li> <li>-Being content with their life</li> <li>-Question mark</li> <li>-Not being sad</li> <li>-Having self-complacent about their life</li> <li>-Having self-confidence about themselves</li> <li>-Being confused because of parents' expectations (12)</li> </ul>	
	<p><b>6b.A glance to past/memories</b></p>	<p>Bad experiences</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Having depression because of granduncle's death</li> <li>-Having less friends in primary school</li> </ul>
		<p>Good experiences</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Family celebrations</li> <li>-Spending time with friends</li> <li>-Rope walking in cadets</li> </ul>
	<p><b>6c. Parents' expectations</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-High educational expectations (7) (8)</li> <li>-Having a good life</li> <li>-Not losing their cultural identity (9)</li> <li>-Being a good person</li> <li>-Vocational expectations (10)</li> <li>-Getting Turkish people heard (11)</li> </ul>	
	<p>*Difficult circumstances</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Parental divorce</li> <li>-Political issues of parents</li> <li>-Family problems</li> <li>-Job problems</li> </ul>	
	<p>*Educational stress</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Less self-confident in studying</li> <li>-Feeling unsuccessful</li> <li>-Feeling under pressure to study hard</li> <li>-Being stressed for GCES (4)</li> <li>-Not studying enough because of social media</li> <li>-Not studying enough because of friends</li> </ul>	

	<b>6d. Educational aspirations</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-High grades form GSEC</li> <li>-High grades from A levels</li> <li>-Studying medicine</li> <li>-Studying law</li> <li>-Studying accounting</li> </ul>
	<b>6e. Occupational aspirations</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Being a barber (49)</li> <li>-Being an engineer, doctor, lawyer</li> <li>-Working for parliament</li> <li>-Being an animator</li> </ul>
	*Control	-Knowing the capacity about being helpful (2)
	<b>6f. Their desires about life</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Being confident</li> <li>-Having a big house</li> <li>-Passing exams</li> <li>-Being happy</li> <li>-Having friends</li> <li>-Having more opportunities and equality</li> </ul>
	<b>6g. Future expectations and hope</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Finishing the university</li> <li>-Achieving the goals</li> <li>-Having their dream job</li> <li>-Not losing friends</li> <li>-Dealing with discrimination better</li> <li>-Hoping peace and solidarity between all people from Turkey</li> </ul>