

**Exploring the Impact of Managing Bicultural Identities on Wellbeing
in the UK Cypriot Refugee Community: 'Being Both and Being
Neither'**

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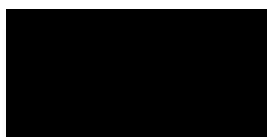
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Thesis Declaration Form**

I confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Date: 14th June 2023

Overview

In the UK, migrants present with higher levels of mental health distress than their native counterparts. Little is known about why this disparity exists, but it is thought that managing multiple cultural identities could be linked with mental health difficulties. This thesis explores the link between bicultural identities and wellbeing. It gives particular consideration to how this link is exhibited in the Cypriot refugee community living in the UK.

Part One presents a scoping review of the literature. Using narrative synthesis, it broadly reviewed the existing literature on the association between bicultural identity and mental health in various communities. It summarised a number of findings from 14 studies. The outcome of the review suggested several factors that could contribute to the existing link between how one integrates multiple cultural identities and how they experience mental distress.

Part Two consists of the empirical study exploring the impact of managing bicultural identities on wellbeing within the cohort of Cypriot migrants that came to the UK due to the 1974 war. Qualitative analysis facilitated the exploration of the themes relevant to this population's experiences of integrating to life in the UK. Themes highlighted that there was continual negotiation of cultural identities that was facilitated and inhibited by various factors, and that this might relate to the way distress is managed.

Part Three provides a critical appraisal of the research process. It outlined the rationale for selecting this particular project and discussed the limitations and issues that arose while completing it. It reflected on the challenges of conducting such a study, particularly as an insider-outsider representative of the community itself.

Impact Statement

The first part of this thesis, a narrative scoping review, summarised the existing research exploring how experiences of navigating bicultural identities impact mental wellbeing. This appeared to be the first review focusing on this link, so both added to the body of literature and highlighted several recommendations for future research. Findings suggested that more integrated bicultural identities were associated with better mental health. Further research requires more inclusivity of non-westernised populations, longitudinal approaches, and possibly, integration of qualitative methods. Better understanding this link in different contexts may help how psychological distress is understood and formulated in a clinical setting. This will be key as society continues to diversify and more people identify as bicultural. Promoting intercultural links may support bicultural integration such that it may lead to improvements in mental wellbeing.

The second part of this thesis, the empirical paper, outlined a research study exploring how the above link actualised in the experiences of Cypriot refugees in the UK. Few studies have investigated this qualitatively, and this seemed to be the first using this community, adding to the literature. Findings suggested that despite length of time settling in the UK, participants continued to report fluctuating relationships between their cultural identities. How they negotiated these identities had implications for the expression and regulation of distress while in a non-heritage environment. Future longitudinal work would build on findings to understand more about how intercultural relationships change over time. This would help to inform and improve clinical provisions for migrant populations.

Findings have implications for how support is offered to migrant groups, particularly by understanding the complexity of navigating dual cultures. Understanding how people manage the integration of their identities in their given contexts could be key in formulating how psychological distress is maintained, expressed and regulated. This would help improve clinical practice to provide effective support that may be more accessible to these groups.

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Part One: Literature Review

A Scoping Review Exploring the Link between Bicultural Identity Integration and Wellbeing

Abstract

Aim: This scoping review aimed to synthesise existing literature on the relationship between bicultural identity integration and wellbeing. **Method:** PsycInfo, CINAHL, Scopus and Web of Science database searches initially yielded 2655 papers. 14 articles met the inclusion criteria and were assessed for quality before they were formally reviewed. The sample characteristics, operationalisation of biculturalism and mental health, as well as the interaction between the two, were presented for each study. **Results:** There were conflicting findings in the included studies, but the most common findings were that highly-integrated bicultural identities had protective benefits for mental wellbeing when compared to identities that were opposing or conflicting. Furthermore, bicultural identities were better integrated for subsequent generations than the non-native-born first-generations. **Conclusions:** Although different constructs were used to measure bicultural identity and mental health, typically, they were found to be related. This may be clinically relevant for formulating mental health distress and wellbeing. Further research in the field could support development of materials to promote bicultural identity integration for a clinical population.

Introduction

As society has continued to diversify, the literature has given more emphasis to representing migrant communities. Mental health disparities in these communities have also been increasingly better documented. Particularly, the focus has been on refugees and first-generation migrants, given their first-hand experiences of potentially stress-inducing circumstances leading to and throughout their emigration; especially, if many left in search of safety and stability (Bulik & Colucci, 2019). The literature established interest in exploring trauma experiences from migrants' home countries, as well as managing acculturative and minority stress within their host communities. Therefore, there has been a growing understanding that there are many routes by which migrants might experience distress. Recently, research has further theorised about the mechanisms involved in processing this distress and how it is managed throughout resettlement periods; a consensus has developed that culture might play a key role in the interaction between migration and distress-regulation (Kwon et al., 2013). However, there are multiple ways in which culture could be defined and so, this review focused specifically on one type of culture, namely ethnicity. The main components of ethnic culture are a shared history and ancestry, differentiating it from other cultural subgroups such as race or religion (APA, 2019). Accordingly, migrants have the task of managing their own ethnocultural identity and that of the country to which they migrate. As a means of facilitating this process, research has highlighted the importance of the culture of the country to which one has migrated, and its compatibility with the individual's heritage culture (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005).

The literature described many different ways that one might navigate multiple ethnocultural identities (West et al., 2017). This review focused on one of those potential mechanisms, bicultural identity integration (BII).

Bicultural Identity

Bicultural identity, or biculturalism, refers to an individual's identification with two cultural identities; their heritage culture and that of the country in which they have settled (Schwartz et al., 2015). For additional clarity, the terms ethnic, home and heritage culture were used interchangeably to mean one's cultural identity pre-migration. Residential, national and host culture were used synonymously to mean the cultural identity of the place in which the individual resettled post-migration. Historically, a unidimensional theory of culture suggested a binary process whereby one either acculturated, taking on the host culture, or enculturated, maintaining their heritage culture (Gordon, 1964). Later research proposed that both cultures might be able to coexist within the individual, with the acquired culture combining with the heritage culture with additive effect (Ryder et al., 2000). However, similar to developments in intersectionality research, recent literature has posited a bidimensional, transformative theory of culture where managing multiple cultural identities is a more integrative, dynamic process rather than cumulative (West et al., 2017). The theory distinguished a bicultural's experience from the way two monoculturals would experience each culture independently, because of the cross-cultural interactions that occur within the individual. Therefore, while some identify with 'being both' cultural identities, others describe 'being neither', as the cultures 'transform' as they interact. This hinges on the premise that their experiences intersect and integrate or hybridise to form a nuanced and individual employment of their cultural identities. BII is one example of such a process (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Here it is proposed that the more highly-integrated individual would identify with both their heritage and host cultures simultaneously and cohesively; the sense of compatibility and lack of tension between their cultures would ease any conflict within their sense of identity. The literature acknowledges that the BII mechanism may overlap with acculturation and enculturation processes, but that it is a separate construct where the emphasis is on cultural development rather than cultural loss. Ultimately, this happens

through a process of navigation and adaptation, reconciling differences in cultural expectations on behaviour, social norms and belief-systems (Huynh et al., 2018).

Given that this transformative theory of culture is relatively recent, it has no one measure that is consistently used. Many authors have operationalised it slightly differently and developed a number of models and measures to assess it (Szabó et al., 2020). However, the defining factors of various models all emphasise that the two cultural identities integrate and interact with each other in some way. Moreover, they emphasise the importance of the individual's perception of the compatibility of their cultures e.g. how much their cultural value systems overlap or their ideals correspond. An example of these measures is the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale (BIIS), which identifies levels of cultural compatibility or dissonance; respectively, this is based on subscales assessing cultural Harmony and Blendedness, and cultural Conflict and Distance (Huynh et al., 2018). Alternatively, the Multicultural Identity Styles Scale (MISS) uses the Hybridisation-Alternation paradigm, where higher levels of hybridised cultural identities indicate better integration, whereas higher levels of alternating cultural identities depict lower cultural compatibility (Ward et al., 2018). Here, alternation suggests each identity remains more segregated, and individuals switch between them depending on the context in which they find themselves.

Due to the broad nature of this scoping review, studies will be included that explicitly measure the integration of bicultural identities. As aforementioned, although there is some overlap with literature on concepts such as acculturation or enculturation, these are more unidimensional constructs, so remain outside the remit of this review.

Clinical Relevance

Early literature suggested that those maintaining monocultural identity, either their ethnic identity or that of their residential identity, are at a higher risk of psychological impairment (Szapocznik et al., 1980). This risk was considered to be emphasised if the

cultural segregation was due to individuals experiencing cultural dissonance; perceiving the cultural identities to conflict with each other making it harder for the identities to integrate. Subsequently, Berry (1997) proposed that integrating the two cultures was psychologically preferable for adjustment and wellbeing than simply acculturating or maintaining enculturated frameworks. Later research also supported a psychological and cognitive benefit to a biculturally integrated approach rather than monocultural for migrant individuals (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). Despite the evidence that a bicultural identity is more than a summation of two monocultural identities, much of the literature continued to reference and measure separate social identities, acculturation and enculturation, overlooking the process of integratively 'biculturating' (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Additionally, the papers that did acknowledge the bicultural process tended to focus on cognitive and behavioural outcomes, such as frame and code switching and language fluency, but largely omitted how the configuration of bicultural identities related to wellbeing (Huynh et al., 2018; Arias-Valenzuela et al., 2019).

Most of the literature on managing bicultural identities came from a sociological perspective. Clinically speaking, little emphasis has been given to the mental health impact of navigating bicultural processes in first-generation or subsequent generation migrants. Those belonging to minoritised ethnic groups receive comparatively more mental health diagnoses than their majority ethnic counterparts (Grey et al., 2013). These groups are overrepresented in secondary care services, but less likely to access primary care support (UK Parliament, 2022). Little is known about the psychological impact of biculturalism beyond the identification of minority stress or refugee-related trauma. As such, it would be imperative to further conceptualise the nuances involved in being bicultural and how this integration of multiple identities is negotiated. Furthermore, it would be essential to identify whether there are specific components of these processes that contribute to a link regarding mental health.

The current scoping review synthesised the existing literature exploring the link between BII and mental health. Given the scope of the review, various criteria had to be met for studies to be included. This is outlined in the next section.

Method

Eligibility Criteria

This review identified evidence in the literature that explored the relationship between BII and mental wellbeing. As previously explained, given the number of possible cultural identities that could interact in a person at any given time, the remit was limited to studies reporting on populations with only two ethnocultural identities. An initial search of the literature suggested that there was no existing review of this nature. Subsequently, the review was registered on Prospero (CRD42022352054). The inclusion criteria were quantitative and qualitative studies with measures of BII, measures of mental wellbeing and participants over the age of 15. Initially, the criteria had been for adult (18+) participants only, however, some studies included older adolescents as part of their wider sample, so these were not excluded. Studies were excluded if they focused on child populations, samples with more than two ethnocultural identities, unidimensional constructs of culture (e.g. acculturation, assimilation), other cultural identities (e.g. race or religion), or outcomes not explicitly linked to mental wellbeing (e.g. adjustment, sleep, substance use or physical health). Additionally, single case studies, meta-analyses and reviews were excluded.

Search Strategy and Data Management

A literature search was conducted systematically using 4 databases (*PsychInfo*, *Cinahl*, *Scopus* and *Web of Science*). The search terms used were derived from previously published literature reviews on biculturalism and mental health respectively (Safa & Umaña-Taylor, 2021; Schmitt et al., 2014). *Table 1* lists the search terms associated with bicultural identity and mental health that were used in the current search. In total, the search

combining these terms identified 2655 studies. This also captured some grey literature, in the form of dissertations that were retrieved from ProQuest. *Figure 1* maps the process by which studies were identified or removed based on their eligibility. 902 duplicate articles were identified and removed, and a further 126 were identified to be ineligible based on the automation tools in Rayyan (Ouzzani et al., 2016). Subsequently, the titles and abstracts of the remaining 1627 articles were screened using the review criteria. Following this, the remaining 77 papers were reviewed to ensure their eligibility for inclusion and ineligible papers were excluded. This resulted in 14 studies being included in the review.

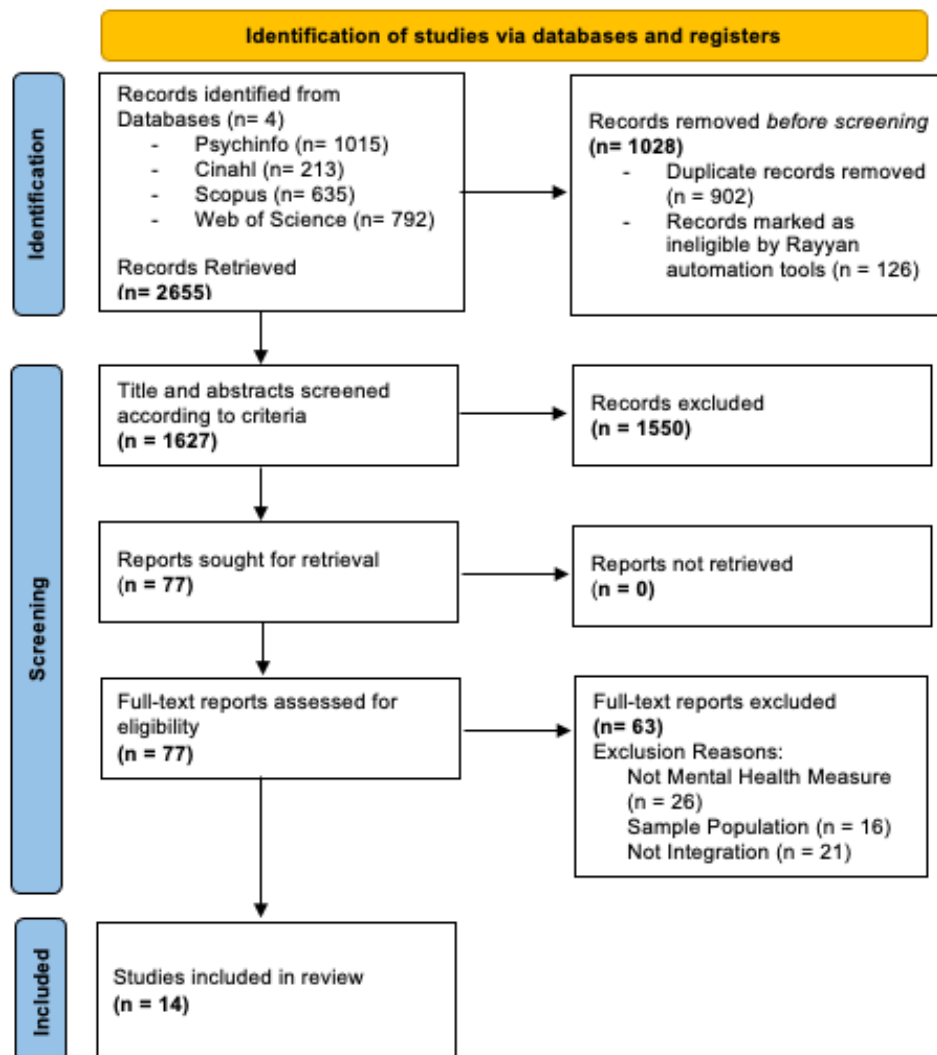
Table 1

Search Strategy

Terms	
1.	"bicultura*" [mp=title, abstract, heading word, table of contents, key concepts, original title, tests & measures, mesh]
2.	"well?being or mental?health or self?esteem or adjustment or depress* or anxi* or stress* or affect or emotion* or life?satisfaction or mood" [mp=title, abstract, heading word, table of contents, key concepts, original title, tests & measures, mesh]
3.	1 & 2

The data retrieved from the searches were managed using Rayyan Software (Ouzzani et al., 2016). At each stage of screening, each paper was marked by the reviewer against the eligibility criteria, and a second reviewer screened ten percent of the sample per stage. Agreement between the initial and second reviewer was high, though any disagreements were discussed and resolved, with the option of support from the thesis supervisor if required. Alerts were set up per database for any new literature meeting the review criteria; none of these retrieved eligible papers and therefore, no additional studies were included. The references of all remaining articles were also checked to ensure no relevant studies were missed. However, no further relevant studies were identified.

Figure 1
PRISMA 2020 Flow Diagram



Note. Adapted from Page et al.'s (2020) guideline for reporting reviews.

Data Synthesis

Data were extracted from the remaining sample using an excel spreadsheet and checked against the QualSyst tool for assessment of the quality of the included studies (Kmet et al., 2004). Subsequently, a second reviewer repeated this process for all 14 studies. Agreement between reviewers was high, and any discrepancies between ratings were discussed and an agreed score was reported. Study characteristics were also collected and these will be discussed in the following section. Given the heterogeneity in the

remaining studies, a narrative synthesis of the data was deemed to be appropriate to conduct. This was guided by the main concepts in the Synthesis Without Meta-analysis (SWiM) guidelines (Campbell et al., 2020). SWiM is a methodological and reporting framework constructed from nine items; these aim to ensure that there is a clear rationale for grouping studies for synthesis, describing methodology and criteria for the review, as well as presenting results and limitations of the synthesis. It should be noted that while SWiM was initially constructed for interventional studies, the authors have since discussed its usability in narrative syntheses as a whole, if appropriately adapted (Thompson & Campbell, 2020). As such, the SWiM framework was adapted to suit the studies included in this review, for instance giving less emphasis to metrics.

Results

As detailed above, 14 studies met the eligibility criteria to be included in the current review. Subsequently, they were subject to formal quality assessment and study characteristics were extracted and summarised. Study findings were then synthesised narratively into the following categories: bicultural identity outcomes, psychological symptomatology outcomes and relationships between the two, which was further categorised into sections on depression, anxiety and general psychological wellbeing.

Quality Appraisal

The QualSyst Tool provided a structure of assessment criteria for evaluating primary research papers (Kmet et al., 2004). The tool consisted of two checklists, one for qualitative and the other for quantitative studies. Although one paper did employ mixed-methods, the qualitative data recorded in the study appeared to be focused on operationalising biculturalism rather than explaining its relationship to mental health, and so it was decided that these data would not be included in the review (Hussain, 2019). Therefore, as all relevant data from the 14 studies were quantitative, this was the pertinent checklist for this

review. It listed 14 items where each item was scored from zero to two. A score of '2' indicated that the criterion was fully met, '1' indicated that it was partially met, '0' indicated it was not met and 'not applicable' was scored if it did not apply to the paper reviewed. Final scores were deduced by dividing the sum by the possible total of all applicable items. This process was repeated by the second reviewer. Although agreement between reviewers was high, any conflicting ratings were discussed until a rating was agreed upon. The appraisal scores for all 14 studies were displayed in *Table 2*, and those with higher quality ratings were highlighted as such in the body of the review. The full scoring profiles were detailed in the *Appendix 1*.

Table 2

Quality Appraisal Ratings

Study	Score
Ward et al., 2018	0.82
Tikhonov et al., 2019	0.82
Hussain, 2019	0.86
Rahman, 2017	0.82
Broustovetskaia, 2016	0.91
Basilio, 2014	0.82
Vollebergh & Huiberts, 1997	0.64
Ying, 1995	0.73
Safa et al., 2018	0.86
Okin, 2022	0.77
Lee & Church, 2017	0.82
Yamamoto, 2010	0.77
Rivera-Sinclair, 1997	0.77
Firat & Noels, 2022	0.86

Note. Quality rating based on QualSyst Tool (Kmet et al., 2004)

Study Characteristics

Characteristics of the included studies were presented in *Table 3*. The 14 studies ranged from 1995-2022. It was considered that these would be representative of the current literature, so no studies were excluded based on their publication date. Six of these were dissertations retrieved from ProQuest. The remaining eight articles were published in seven different peer-reviewed journals, both in the fields of psychology or international studies. The samples totalled 5809 participants, with *Ns* ranging from 99 to 1143. Only one study had a sample size of less than 100 (Yamamoto, 2010). While data from studies with small sample sizes should be interpreted with caution, this particular study was included as it still used a moderately-sized sample ($N=99$). The participants ranged from 15 to 83 years of age. Eleven studies included students in their participant pool, and the remaining recruited through community organisations, from existing longitudinal studies, or through convenience sampling. However, recruitment strategies were not always explicitly detailed. The studies were mostly cross-sectional, though two reported their findings as part of a longitudinal study (Basilio, 2014; Safa et al., 2018). None of the studies were interventional.

In line with inclusion and exclusion criteria the studies looked at first or second generation immigrants. Twelve of the 14 studies were conducted in North America; eleven in the USA and one in Canada. The remaining studies were conducted in the Netherlands and across New Zealand, Mauritius and Israel (Vollebergh & Huiberts, 1997; Ward et al., 2018). As summarised in *Table 3* the ethnicities of participants were not always well-documented, and some studies used continental labels such as 'Asian' or simply referred to participants as 'first and second generation immigrants', where each category encompassed a number of ethnic groups. The latter seemed to use convenience sampling which kept variability within the self-identified bicultural samples. Of the studies that purposively identified the ethnocultural identities when recruiting their participants, ethnicities included Mexican ($k=2$), Chinese ($k=2$), Indian ($k=1$) Japanese ($k=1$), Cuban ($k=1$), and one study included New

Zealander, Greek and Mauritian participants. Some studies did discuss participants of racial or religious minority backgrounds rather than ethnocultural identities, but these data were not included in this review. As outlined earlier, this was both to limit the scope of the review, as well as to account for the potential differences in compounding factors and experiences navigating as an ethnic minority compared with racial minorities; the literature also supported that these cultural constructs were independent of each other (Goodstein & Ponterotto, 1997).

Table 3*Study Characteristics and Participant Demographics*

Study (Journal)	Country	N	Sample Criteria	Age (years)	% Female
Ward et al., 2018 (Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology)	New Zealand, Mauritius, Israel	730	- Recruited through ethnic organisations, field assistants and students - Overseas born (1st generation) and New Zealand born (2nd and 3rd generation) - Ethnicities included New Zealander, Chinese, Greek, and Mauritian	16-83 (<i>overall M & SD not reported</i>) <i>M</i> ranged from 21.17 to 47.6 <i>SD</i> ranged from 2.12 to 17.14	(% <i>not given for total group</i>) % ranged from 50 to 82
Tikhonov et al., 2019 (Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology)	USA	766	- Undergraduate students ^a 1st or 2nd generation immigrants (of any background) Or - Black-African or African-American	18-36 (<i>M</i> = 19.89; <i>SD</i> = 2.40)	60.4
Hussain, 2019	USA	198 ^b	- Undergraduate students of South Asian background 1st, 1.5, 2nd or 3rd generation	18-25 (<i>M</i> = 20.1; <i>SD</i> = 1.88)	68
Rahman, 2017	USA	156	- University students or recent alumni and their families (18+) - Asian-American or Asian internationals - First-generation regardless of immigration status, or 2nd generation - Stayed in USA for minimum of 2 years	18-46 (<i>M</i> = 26; <i>SD</i> = 5.96)	56.4
Broustovetskaia, 2016	USA	176	- University students (18+) selected through convenience and snowball sampling - Including 1st, 1.5 and 2nd generation immigrant and international students	18-53 (<i>M</i> = 23.79; <i>SD</i> = 5.14)	52.3
Basilio, 2014	USA	316	Adolescents of Mexican heritage ^c	15-18 (at 10th grade <i>M</i> = 15.86, <i>SD</i> = .43; at 12th grade <i>M</i> = 17.37, <i>SD</i> = .52)	48.7

Study (Journal)	Country	N	Sample Criteria	Age (years)	% Female
Vollebergh & Huiberts, 1997 (Social Behavior and Personality: An International Journal)	Netherlands	705	• Pre-university students • Identifying as 'allochthonous' • Both parents were born outside Netherlands • Non-western heritage	M = 16	56
Ying, 1995 (American Journal of Community Psychology)	USA	143	• Chinese-American adults (19+) in San Francisco	19-85 (M = 36.78; SD = 14.82)	51
Safa et al., 2018 (Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology)	USA	749	• Families of Mexican heritage ^c • Biological mother living with child • No step-father figure living with child • Child in 5th grade with no special educational needs	Age details for current stage of longitudinal study not given	49
Okin, 2022	USA	119	• University students: • Identifying Chinese or Indian origin	18-44 (M = 26.4)	50.5
Lee & Church, 2017 (Asian American Journal of Psychology)	USA	255	• Students and community members • Asian-American	18-71 (M = 23.10; SD = 8.29)	76.5
Yamamoto, 2010	USA	99	• Japanese-Americans living in USA, recruited through organisations and personal contacts in California • Able to read and understand English	(M = 50; SD = 17)	73.7
Rivera-Sinclair, 1997 (International Journal of Intercultural Relations)	USA	254	• Adults (18+) of Cuban origin or descent • Members of International Latin American Community of Metropolitan Washington	18+ (M = 48; SD = 17)	Not given
Firat & Noels, 2022 (Group Processes & Intergroup Relations)	Canada	1143	• Undergraduate students • 1st, 2nd or 3rd generation immigrants	17- 52 (M = 19.18; SD = 2.65)	66.4

Note. Only those that were published in peer-reviewed journals were marked as such. Those without journals were academic dissertations.

^a Participant pool from ongoing study on culture and psychosis link

^b Analysis completed on 196 participants and 25 completed interview

^c Part of a longitudinal study

Bicultural Identity Outcomes

Measures

As seen in *Table 4*, there were multiple ways that researchers operationalised and measured BII. Due to inconsistent scoring, it was difficult to give an overview of BII levels in the samples. The most frequently used measure was the BIIS, both the first and second versions of the scale (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Huynh et al., 2018). Respectively, the BIIS-1 was used twice ($k=2$) and BIIS-2 was used three times ($k=3$) (Ward et al., 2018; Lee & Church, 2017; Tikhonov et al., 2019; Rahman, 2017; Okin, 2022).

In addition to using the BIIS, Ward and colleagues also incorporated data from the Multicultural Identity Styles Scale (MISS; Ward et al., 2018). Here, styles were considered to be hybrid or alternating, where hybridised identities were deemed more integrated, whereas alternating identity styles were conceptualised to be more conflicting. Moreover, two studies, Hussain (2019) and Broustovetskaia (2016), used the Bicultural Self Efficacy Scale (BSES; David et al., 2009). The scale measured one's felt confidence and competence moving and living as part of two cultures. Higher scorers were considered to have a higher level of bicultural integration. Additionally, two studies used the Basilio et al's (2014) Mexican American Biculturalism Scale (MABS) to measure bicultural competence as a means of identifying levels of integration between the two cultures (Safa et al., 2018 and Basilio et al., 2014). Additional measures were summarised in *Table 4*. It should be noted that Ying's study (1995) did not use a standardised measure, but instead operationalised BII through questions relating to cultural orientation.

Table 4*Measures of Bicultural Identity and Psychological Wellbeing*

Study	Bicultural Identity	Psychological Wellbeing		
		Depression	Anxiety	General
Ward et al., 2018 ^a	• BIIS-1 • MISS • EICS • Cultural identity consolidation	-	-	Psychological Symptoms
Tikhonov et al., 2019 ^b	• BIIS-2 • MEIM-R	CES-D	STAI	-
Hussain, 2019 ^c	• BSES	CES-D	-	RWBS
Rahman, 2017	• BIIS-2	-	-	RWBS
Broustovetskaia, 2016	• BSES	-	-	RWBS
Basilio, 2014 ^d	• MABS		C-DISC	
Vollebergh & Huiberts, 1997 ^e	• MEIM • Questions on ethnic attitudes & self-identification	-	-	GHQ Cantril-ladder
Ying, 1995	• Questions on cultural orientation	CES-D	-	-
Safa et al., 2018	• MABS		C-DISC	
Okin, 2022 ^f	• BIIS-2	-	PROMIS-57	-
Lee & Church, 2017 ^g	• BIIS-1	-	SIAS	-

Study	Bicultural Identity	Psychological Wellbeing		
		Depression	Anxiety	General
Yamamoto, 2010 ^h	• Behaviour-focused biculturation • Values-focused biculturation ○ AAVS-M ○ EAVS-AA-R	-	-	PANAS BSI-18
Rivera-Sinclair, 1997 ⁱ	• BIQ	-	STAI	-
Firat & Noels, 2022 ^j	• BIOS		DASS	-

Note. Please see individual studies for any additional measures used in their analyses. Below are citations and abbreviations for the measures not previously cited in the main text

^a Ethno-Cultural Identity Conflict Scale (EICS; Ward et al., 2011); Cultural identity consolidation construct adapted by Cameron, 2004; Psychological Symptoms (Berry et al., 2006)

^b Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure—Revised (MEIM-R; Phinney & Ong, 2007); Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression (CES-D; Andresen et al., 1994); State–Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI; Spielberger et al., 1983)

^c Ryff Well-Being Scale (RWBS; Ryff, 1989)

^d The Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children (C-DISC; Shaffer et al., 2000)

^e General Health Questionnaire (GHQ; Goldberg, 1978); Cantril-ladder (Cantril, 1965)

^f Patient-Reported Outcome Measurement System (PROMIS-57; Rothrock et al., 2020)

^g The Social Interaction Anxiety Scale (SIAS; Mattick & Clarke, 1998)

^h Behaviour-focused biculturation (Arends-Toth & van de Vijver, 2006); Values-focused biculturation: Asian American Values Scale - Multidimensional (AAVS-M; Kim et al., 2005); European American Values Scale for Asian Americans-Revised (EAVS-AA-R; Wolfe et al., 2001); Positive Affect Negative Affect Scales (PANAS; Watson et al., 1988); Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI; Derogatis, 2000)

ⁱ Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (BIQ; Szapocznik et al., 1980)

^j Bicultural Identity Orientation Scale (BIOS; Comănanu et al., 2018); Depression Anxiety Stress Scales (DASS; Lovibond and Lovibond, 1995)

Group Differences

Some of the included studies noted differences in levels of biculturalism between participant groups. Studies mostly reported that there were generational differences in BII where first-generation immigrants scored significantly lower on the bicultural measures than subsequent native-born generations (Firat and Noels, 2022). Tikhonov et al. (2019) and Rahman (2017) found this to be the case on both BII-Harmony and Blendedness subscales. Similarly, Rivera-Sinclair (1997) found that biculturalism related to longer exposure to their host culture, and younger age of migration was linked to higher degrees of biculturalism than in older migrants. Basilio's study (2014) also found that biculturalism increased over time. However, Broustovetskaia's (2016) results showed no age differences in biculturalism.

Additionally, there were moderate differences between the ethnic groups. Tikhonov et al. (2019) found their Hispanic bicultural group scored higher BII than the other groups in the study. They also found positive correlations between BII-Harmony and Blendedness and American and Ethnic identities, suggesting that BII captured the affiliation with host and home cultures. Nonetheless, Lee and Church's (2017) results highlighted that assimilation to host culture seemed to be linked to a lowered sense of bicultural conflict and distance; higher levels of perceived compatibility could have come from higher familiarity with the cultures and less uncertainty navigating them. Although, higher immersion in home ethnic culture did not appear to be linked to higher degrees of cultural conflict and distance. Interestingly, Okin (2022) found that the correlation for Blendedness and country of origin was not significant, but the correlation for Harmony and country of origin was. Additionally, Firat and Noels (2022) found significant differences between the types of bicultural orientation styles. Conflicted orientation correlated with higher levels of monocultural and alternating orientations, but with lower hybrid and complementary orientations. They also noted differences in cultural orientations between ethnic identities, and that belief in religion

predicted a stronger endorsement of hybrid orientation and BII. However, Basilio (2014) found no differences in biculturalism between native groups.

In terms of gender differences in biculturalism, there were conflicting findings. Firat and Noels (2022) found that male identity was associated with lower BII. Further to this, Tikhonov et al. (2019) reported that women scored significantly higher on BII-Blendedness, but men scored significantly higher for BII-Harmony. Nonetheless, these links were statistically weak and other studies found no evidence of differences between male and female participants (Lee & Church, 2017; Basilio, 2014; Broustovetskaia, 2016).

Psychological Symptomatology Outcomes

While all the studies investigated psychological wellbeing or mental health, they explored different aspects (see *Table 4*). Tikhonov et al. (2019) and Firat and Noels (2022) explored both anxiety and depression, using the CES-D/STAI and the DASS respectively (Andresen et al., 1994; Spielberger et al., 1983; Lovibond & Lovibond, 1995). Although, it should be noted that Firat and Noels (2022) reported their results in terms of psychological distress, rather than depression or anxiety independently. Two additional studies also focused on depression outcomes and used the CES-D (Ying, 1995; Hussain, 2019). In the four studies that measured depression, scores were found to range from mild to moderate in their samples.

Tikhonov et al. (2019) found no gender or generational differences in scores on the mental health measures. Additionally, no differences were found in mental health scores between ethnic groups, suggesting it was not membership to the ethnic group that impacted mental health, but rather the way one negotiated the different cultures they belonged to. They proposed that the degree of integration and compatibility between cultural identities was key for positive mental health.

In terms of anxiety, in addition to the aforementioned papers, there were another three studies that incorporated anxiety measurement (Okin, 2022; Lee & Church, 2017; Rivera-Sinclair, 1997). Respectively, they used the PROMIS-57, SIAS and STAI. In the five studies exploring anxiety outcomes, scores ranged from low to high in their samples. Okin (2022) in particular, reported that the participants had high levels of anxiety and there was no moderating effect of country of origin. However, there are likely to be other factors contributing to these increased anxiety levels than simply BII effects. For instance, both first-generation immigrants and international university students would arguably have increased anxiety due to their context of coming to a new country or navigating university processes. Nonetheless, it was found by Rivera-Sinclair (1997) that anxiety also reduced with length of time in the host country, perhaps as familiarity with the host increased.

None of the remaining studies focused on specific diagnoses. While Hussain (2019) looked at general wellbeing in addition to depression, the remaining seven studies looked at psychological wellbeing alone. Of the total eight papers looking at general wellbeing, the RWBS was used in three (Hussain, 2019; Rahman, 2017; Broustovetskaia, 2016). Basilio (2014) and Safa et al., (2018) used the C-DISC, although Basilio reported results in terms of anxiety and depression separately. One study, Vollebergh and Huiberts (1997) used the GHQ and Psychological Wellbeing: Cantril-Ladder. Alternatively, Yamamoto (2010) used the PANAS and the BSI (Watson et al., 1988; Derogatis, 2000). Finally, Ward et al., (2018) looked at psychological symptoms using a measure developed by Berry et al. (2006).

Due to reporting inconsistencies it was difficult to give an overview of wellbeing levels. However, studies did make note of some of the main group differences. Rahman (2017) highlighted that in the sample, there were generational differences whereby non-native born participants displayed significantly lower wellbeing than native-born individuals. Contrastingly, Basilio (2014) did not find nativity or gender differences in depression.

Although they did find that there were significantly higher levels of anxiety in the female participants. This was similar in Vollebergh and Huiberts (1997) where they found higher stress and lower wellbeing in female participants. However, Broustovetskaia (2016) found no gender differences, but slight age differences in wellbeing, where younger participants had poorer wellbeing than older individuals. Additionally, female identity and particular ethnic identities were associated with higher psychological distress (Firat & Noels, 2022).

Relationships between Biculturalism and Psychological Wellbeing

While all the reviewed studies measured the wellbeing of their bicultural participants, there was also an emphasis on attempting to explain the relationship or interaction between biculturalism and mental wellbeing. This was reviewed below.

Depression

Tikhonov et al. (2019) and Hussain (2019) reported that depression was significantly, negatively correlated with BII. Tikhonov et al. (2019) reported that this held true on both the BII-Harmony and Blendedness scales; this link was supported by significant regression analyses. Hussain (2019) demonstrated that depressive symptoms were significantly different depending on the degree of bicultural competence. Similarly, Ying (1995) found that a more integrated bicultural orientation predicted lower depression, with less negative affect, more positive affect and better wellbeing, than more separate cultural identities. They attributed much of the link to the social aspects of biculturalism, suggesting that higher rates of socialisation with both cultural groups might be protective against depression, as in existing research on depression and isolative experiences. Additionally, activity aspects of orientation predicted negative and positive affect as well as depression, but this was not seen in social aspects of cultural orientation. Contrastingly, Basilio (2014) did not find that biculturalism predicted depression levels. However, they did find that biculturalism was advantageous in the female participants only, in that it was negatively associated with

depression. They also concluded that the type of environment, either multicultural, or monocultural in favour of the host culture, could support wellbeing. However, these results were not consistent across participants.

Anxiety

Most studies suggested that BII and anxiety were negatively correlated. Okin (2022) found that BII-Harmony was significantly and negatively predictive of anxiety, but BII-Blendedness was not. However, Tikhonov et al. (2019) reported that anxiety was negatively correlated with BII on both the Harmony and Blendedness scales. This link was supported by significant regression analyses, which showed moderate and small differences respectively. Additionally, it was reported that strong host identity was only indirectly linked with anxiety through its association with BII-Harmony. That is, when there was a strong affiliation to the host culture group, this was related to a sense of balance between the cultures, whereas decreased host identity was related to feeling trapped and conflicted about one's bicultural identities. This conflicted with Lee and Church's findings (2017) where stronger host identity related to BII-Conflict. Moreover, BII-Conflict, not BII-Distance, was significantly, negatively associated with, and predictive of, social anxiety. The reports highlighted that higher levels of host affiliation could be due to an assimilation and integration into the host society, familiarity with their norms and comfort in social interactions. However, higher home culture alone was not linked to social anxiety in this paper, suggesting that these processes were not linear, and integration did not appear to come at the cost of neglecting one's existing ethnic identity. Given that BII-Conflict contributed to the prediction of social anxiety beyond the other BII variables, the perception of one's dual cultural identities, particularly when deemed incompatible, could have clinical implications. Here, they suggested that perceiving one's cultures as compatible or integrated might reduce anticipatory anxiety relating to BII-Conflict. Therefore, it is possible that psychoeducation around maintaining positive bicultural identity and promoting a social

identity in one's host country, along with more modelling of BII and blending may help to improve one's sense of compatibility and harmony amongst the cultures. For the purpose of this review, no comment will be given on the BII relationships found with personality variables, but it is possible that personality had an impact on social anxiety, and openness seems to be linked to lower perceived distance between cultures.

Rivera-Sinclair (1997) also found a significant relationship between scores on the BIQ and anxiety where lower biculturalism predicted higher levels of anxiety. They suggested that maintaining solely one's existing ethnic identity was related to higher anxiety than when identities were integrated. This was supported by Basilio (2014) who found that biculturalism was a significant predictor of anxiety where higher biculturalism was associated with fewer anxiety symptoms. They found that for males, bicultural comfort was slightly negatively associated with anxiety, but this was not true in the female group.

General Wellbeing and Psychological Distress

It was found that biculturalism was significantly and positively related to wellbeing, with significant differences in wellbeing depending on the level (high or low) of bicultural competence (Hussain, 2019). The paper also reported that above a correlational link, bicultural competence positively predicted psychological wellbeing. It was proposed that bicultural competence might even have a slight protective effect against the negative effects that minority stress has on wellbeing. While it will not be explored in the scope of this review, it may be worth noting that they further suggested that low biculturalism would be a particular concern for mental health if coping abilities were also low.

Some studies found indirect links between bicultural identity and psychological symptoms (Ward et al., 2018). They found that hybrid cultural identity led to stronger feelings of consolidation and therefore higher levels of life-satisfaction, particularly in the Chinese

bicultural sample. Contrastingly, alternating styles of cultural identity predicted increased levels of cultural identity conflict, which subsequently negatively predicted life-satisfaction and was positively associated with psychological symptoms. However, this was most significant in the Greek sample compared to the other ethnic groups in the study. This is suggestive that, beyond one's ability to comfortably switch cultural frames, there may be nuances in the way each culture is experienced that impacts the perception that they would be compatible.

BII-Harmony, Blendedness and BII overall were predictive of higher psychological wellbeing (Rahman, 2017). It was found that there was a strong, significant, positive relationship with BII-Harmony, but that there was seemingly a generational effect such that native-born biculturals' wellbeing was less dependent on BII than the non-native born individuals for whom this was strongly affected. In terms of Blendedness, there was a moderate positive relationship with wellbeing, and Blendedness explained significant and unique variance in wellbeing, but this was not affected by generational status. Bicultural self-efficacy was also shown to be significantly, positively related to psychological wellbeing, as supported by regression analyses (Broustovetskaia, 2016). Similarly, Safa et al. (2018) found that bicultural facility predicted lower levels of externalising symptoms but not internalising symptoms. Additionally, there was no association between bicultural comfort and internalising or externalising symptoms either. Therefore, the suggestion was that various components of bicultural identity interacted differently with wellbeing.

Vollebergh and Huiberts (1997) also found that biculturals reported higher psychological distress and lower wellbeing and this was more evident in the non-native born sample than the native-born; although overall, there were no differences in cultural orientation or nativity on wellbeing. Firat and Noels (2022) also found bicultural identity was correlated with psychological distress. Specifically, complementary and hybrid orientations negatively correlated with psychological distress. Monocultural, alternating and conflicted

orientations were positively correlated with distress. Additionally, perceived discrimination was indirectly associated with psychological distress via the alternating and conflicted orientations. Contrarily, Ward et al., 2018 did not find that hybrid or complementary bicultural styles were associated with psychological distress. They theorised this may be due to the focus on negative symptomatology rather than positive or overall wellbeing. Nonetheless, hybrid style was associated with life-satisfaction i.e. positive affect. This suggested a more complex relationship with wellbeing in that it may be linked to positive and negative affect differentially or independently of each other.

Yamamoto (2010) separated biculturalism into value-focused and behavioural components. Values-focused and behavioural items were correlated positively with life-satisfaction and positive affect whereas they had no correlation with distress or negative affect, which was supported by regression analyses. Value biculturation had a large effect on life-satisfaction and was found to have a causal effect on positive affect. Overall, there appeared to be causal effects on psychological distress and negative affect, however these were not consistent among the individual variables. This is suggestive that relationships between bicultural identity and affect are not linear, positive and negative affect may coexist, and there may be cultural-specific value systems that appear more compatible than others. There was also variation in generational status, but only for negative affect, and they also showed employment had significant effects on positive affect and psychological distress. They suggested that learning language might also be key in fostering and building bicultural competence and might support engagement in both cultures, in turn affecting life-satisfaction and positive affect.

Discussion

Findings and Clinical Implications

This review gave an overview of the findings in the existing literature regarding BII and psychological wellbeing, suggesting a positive relationship between the two. As

presented above, the studies included in the review typically showed that more integrated and blended cultural identities appeared to predict better mental health outcomes i.e. fewer reported symptoms of depression, anxiety and psychological distress.

Given that many studies used correlational analyses, this made it difficult to establish causation or directionality of the relationship between biculturalism and wellbeing; poorer mental health could impact BII or vice versa. Therefore, the implications discussed below remain tentative. Nonetheless, literature often framed that the difficulties integrating cultural identities led to difficulties with mental health (Szapocznik et al., 1980; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). It was discussed that bicultural conflict, especially if there was a reduced affiliation with one's host cultural identity, could link to distressed feelings of being trapped (Tikhonov et al., 2019). Therefore, BII-Conflict might have reflected one's understanding of rejection or isolation from either host or home culture (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Huynh et al., 2018). Higher affiliation with one's host identity could reflect the opposite, a sense of acceptance and less perceived discrimination, which in turn positively impacted the sense of integration and wellbeing within host society. In keeping with this, maintaining pre-existing ethnic identity alone predicted higher anxiety levels (Rivera-Sinclair, 1997). This suggested that higher BII reduced psychological distress potentially, due to not having conflicting cultural loyalties and having to choose one identity over the other, which has been linked with maladjustment (Szapocznik et al., 1980). Nonetheless, it is likely that this link is mitigated by a number of factors, including one's enjoyment of host culture or motivation to migrate, which likely impact on feeling included and integrated and consequently, less isolated. These are also key protective factors to anxiety and depression and so, feeling less isolation could reap benefits for mental health difficulties (Rohde et al., 2015).

Furthermore, BII-Conflict appeared to significantly and uniquely predict social anxiety beyond the other BII variables (Lee & Church, 2017). This could suggest that perceived bicultural compatibility would positively influence distress by reducing the socialised and

anticipatory aspects of anxiety relating to BII-Conflict. Ultimately, this could allow individuals to feel more at ease in their host environment, especially while still adapting to the new environment. While this link was not found to be the case for the BII-Distance subscale, this was consistent with literature suggesting that BII-Conflict reflects emotional or affect-based elements of the bicultural identity experience, whereas BII-Distance has been linked more to behavioural factors (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). This might be key in understanding clinical implications of higher and lower levels of bicultural integration and their interaction with emotional distress.

Another possible explanation for the relationship given by Tikhonov and colleagues (2019) was that merging two cultural identities might be complicated by mental health because of the added cognitive load influenced by emotional states; in turn, this could influence one's sense of cultural affiliation at various life stages. For instance, it might be harder when feeling depressed to use cognitive efforts on complex tasks, and this could include BII (Bowie et al., 2016). Blending cultural identities requiring cognitive effort is somewhat supported by the notion that BII-Blendedness and Harmony measure cognitive and emotional domains respectively (Huynh et al., 2018). Additionally, while outside the scope of this review, it is likely that resilience and coping account for some of the variability found in the relationship between biculturalism and psychological wellbeing (Rahman, 2017; Hussain, 2019).

Moreover, it was suggested that biological factors e.g. hormonal differences or heritability, and environmental factors e.g. life stressors and sociocultural context could play a role in the development and maintenance of mental health difficulties (Basilio, 2014). Therefore, it may be possible that these factors also contributed to people's capacity for higher BII and ability to deploy it. Additionally, group differences were seen between first and subsequent generations. It was found that BII was lower in first-generation migrants and increased significantly through subsequent generations (Tikhonov et al., 2019; Rahman,

2017; Firat & Noels, 2022). This could be due to increased familiarity and the amount of exposure to the host culture and increasing perception of compatibility between value systems (Szapocznik et al., 1980). Additionally, it was suggested that younger participants may have had more mental health symptoms and lower bicultural identity because of the possibility that coping abilities emerge in adulthood or later in life (Broustovetskaia, 2016; Basilio, 2014). Vollebergh and Huiberts (1997) did not find a significant impact of length of stay, acquaintance with host country and language on wellbeing. Therefore, it could be hypothesised that these alone won't impact negatively on wellbeing, but that there is likely to be a much more complex process in operation.

Limitations

Reviewed Studies

Despite the rigour of the studies' authors, key limitations remained within the papers included. Nearly all were undertaken in the context of USA students and lacked monocultural controls, and typically, they were cross-sectional. This made it difficult to infer causation and directionality of the relationships found. Additionally, there were some noticeably absent data e.g. many studies did not comment on participants' motivation or willingness to migrate. Theoretically, this would likely impact one's mental health and integration (Khoo et al., 2008). Furthermore, although overall trends were similar, there were different conclusions drawn by the studies. This suggested that these relationships are particularly nuanced and specific to particular cultural backgrounds and personal contexts; findings cannot necessarily be generalised. Therefore, more investigation across cultures would be beneficial to explore this further. Moreover, the studies employed different measures of biculturalism as well as mental health measures, which might explain some of the variability in the conclusions authors drew. All measures relied upon self-report and required interpretation with caution due to inherent self-report biases and confounding variables (APA, n.d.). As all of the studies

included quantitative analysis, future exploration using qualitative or mixed methodology could be useful.

It is also integral to mention that some of the studies grouped racial, ethnic and geographic identities (e.g. Tikhonov et al., 2019). As far as possible, the review attempted to comment on the factors relevant to ethnocultural identities. However, there were difficulties disentangling the nuance pertaining to the individual experiences. As well as differences in language used in defining bicultural constructs, much of the literature on biculturalism used terminology that appeared to be aimed at non-native born or first-generation immigrants. For instance, they discussed enculturation as the opposite of acculturation, as well as the terms home and host cultures, ethnic and national identity etc. For subsequent generations that are native-born but still identify as ethnically minoritised groups, or even for those without formalised nationality, these labels could be confusing and restrictive. This is likely to require further consideration in the body of literature in order to represent individuals' experiences fairly and appropriately.

Half of the included studies ($k=7$) looked at general wellbeing (positive and/or negative symptoms alone), without specifically identifying mental health symptomatology. However, all of the cohorts were non-clinical and so, it is possible that this might have been a restriction of not using a clinical population. It should also be noted that none of the included papers included any form of trauma measurement. Given the extensive research on migration and trauma, particularly those who may have migrated from countries experiencing conflict, commentary on trauma was noticeably absent in the reviewed papers.

Furthermore, Tikhonov et al. (2019) mentioned that their study took place in a particularly multicultural setting where the student populations often lived in their home neighbourhoods. The authors proposed that this may have impacted how bicultural they may have felt, as they were mostly within their ethnic enclaves. Moreover, although some studies

recruited younger populations (e.g. Basilio, 2014; Safa et al., 2018), including older adolescents and emerging adults, it is possible that these may not have been representative of the experiences of adult participants. So, while in some respects, it may be easier for the younger generations to be better integrated into their receiver culture, it is also likely that there may be intergenerational conflicts stemming from the perceived contrasting cultural settings (Ahn et al., 2008; Rahman & Witenstein, 2013).

Current Review

Based on the existing literature, the concept of BII has been widely accepted and the included studies portrayed the operationalisation of the term to be precise and well-defined. Nonetheless, it remained clear from this review that identity was far more abstract and complex. Ethnicity is one of many socially-constructed labels placed on a person, and it encompasses largely abstract concepts about their identity in relation to the external world. Studies often included multiple cultural identities in their analyses, making it difficult to identify confluences or distinctions between factors other than ethnocultural identities, such as race, social class, age and gender. By extension, this review then faced a similar challenge whereby attempts to limit the scope by isolating ethnicity-related biculturalism from other aspects of one's identity could not be exact. Therefore, given the subjectivity and complexity of an individual's internal and external experiences, it would be difficult to ascertain that what was deemed to be bicultural identity had not been influenced by other lived and perceived factors contributing to the individual's cultural self.

In an attempt to add breadth to the scope of the review, grey literature was included, and a large proportion ($k=6$) were dissertations retrieved from ProQuest. This does mean that some papers had not undergone peer-review. However, quality appraisal was conducted to try to mitigate against this to some degree. Nonetheless, there were disagreements between raters about the ratings on the QualSyst Tool, implying an inherent

subjectivity of quality rating. For this review, the raters were able to confer and come to a rating agreement, though it is still possible that some subjectivity remains in the way QualSyst items were interpreted or how ratings were assigned. This may have limiting implications for drawing conclusions of clinical relevance.

Moreover, the search strategy, though adopted from similar reviews in the field, could be perceived as narrow. It is possible that there are papers that have referenced the integration of bicultural identities using language not captured by the search. However, allowing for breadth, while adopting stringent inclusion criteria was a difficult balance to find to ensure that the conclusions drawn were representative of the available literature. Additionally, in terms of synthesising and reporting the studies included in the review, this was done with the SWiM guidance in mind as a broad framework. Although SWiM was developed for interventional studies, authors have discussed its adaptation in narrative synthesis of other types of studies too (Thompson & Campbell, 2020). Though it is possible that another frame of reference might have fit better.

Recommendations for Future Research and Clinical Implications

This review has highlighted several key areas in the current literature that require further exploration. As discussed, many of the studies recruited from student populations, within North America. Given the nature of integration and identity formation, it is likely that these associations continue to change and develop across the lifespan. It could also be hypothesised that North American culture is somewhat globalised in media and publications, which could influence the way people adapt to the westernised culture (Pells, 2004). As immigration reaches across the globe, it would be imperative to widen the lens and investigate the way these phenomena differ within other cultural formats that are perhaps less globally familiar.

Moreover, due to the methodological limitations mentioned above, without control participants, it could be difficult to ascertain to what extent these findings were due to the processes of managing bicultural identities. Additionally, it has been problematic to infer causal relationships. Therefore, further research may benefit from replicating some of the findings within the included papers in order to draw firmer conclusions. Many of these factors make it difficult to generalise the findings of the papers and, as with any ethnocultural research, the context and circumstances of the individual remains key to formulating the impact felt on their wellbeing. It may be worth considering how qualitative strategies may provide a further characterisation of the samples and the individual circumstances faced by migrants. This may facilitate explanation of the nuances within the observed link between BII and wellbeing. Further understanding of this link may help in the way psychological distress is formulated, especially as society continues to diversify and more people may identify with multiple cultures. Subsequently, this may better inform psychoeducation regarding the importance of promoting BII and may improve the provision of support within a clinical population.

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Part Two: Empirical Paper

Exploring the Impact of Managing Bicultural Identities on Wellbeing in the UK

Cypriot Refugee Community: 'Being Both and Being Neither'

Abstract

Introduction: In a continually diversifying nation, millions of migrants navigate the process of integrating to their new host country. Despite some research discussing the psychological implications of migration, little is known about the impact of belonging to and negotiating two distinct cultural identities on one's wellbeing. Particularly, this is the case in communities where resettlement was not intended to be permanent. This study explored bicultural identity integration (BII) and psychological wellbeing in the Cypriot refugee community. **Method:** The qualitative approach included semi-structured interviews and thematic analysis. To help characterise the sample, participants completed a questionnaire, providing demographic information, BII score and initial migration experiences. **Results:** Common themes suggested perceived temporality of resettlement, isolation and uncertainty minimised motivations to integrate. Depression and trauma symptoms were described, with the caveat that psychological support was neither available, nor would it likely have been accessed due to stigma and de-prioritisation of help-seeking. Having known relatives or friends in the UK helped to ease the transition, though partially contributed to further segregation, as networks remained within the self-contained community. Moreover, it appeared that younger migration age and parental accompaniment mitigated some of the challenges of managing multiple cultures. **Conclusions:** Bicultural identities appeared to fluctuate over time depending on motivation to integrate, perceived threat and support available. This also had implications for mental wellbeing, particularly during early adjustment to the new host country. Despite length of residence, participants reported continually changing bicultural identities in different contexts. Further investigation will inform development of clinical support that may benefit newly migrating individuals and longstanding bicultural residents.

Introduction

An estimated six million people living in the UK have non-British nationality, with hundreds of thousands of people migrating to the UK each year (Sturge, 2022). As such, they have had to navigate the use of both their own home culture and that of the UK host. A general term used to describe this phenomenon is 'biculturalism'. However, there are many different ways in which people manage their bicultural identity, and these can be associated with effects on psychological wellbeing in their receiver nation (West et al., 2017). It's suggested that identities which are better integrated with each other have a positive effect on life satisfaction, self-esteem and mood (Chen et al., 2008; Ward et al., 2018). Moreover, studies have shown an interpersonal benefit associated with intergroup relatedness, sense of belonging and authenticity (Fleischmann et al., 2016). Contrastingly, two separate or conflicting cultural identities necessitate the individual to compartmentalise these aspects of themselves, lowering the degree of bicultural identity integration (BII), and negatively influencing wellbeing. While settled immigration status and citizenship can facilitate the group experience, it cannot mitigate the impact of being multicultural (Scribner, 2007). More research is needed on the phenomenon in order to understand the collective, inter and intrapersonal processes of living as a bicultural (Hong et al., 2016).

As outlined in *Part One*, BII is a phenomenon ascribed to the management of two distinct cultural identities (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). While this can be observed in various sociocultural domains, for the purpose of this empirical study, the focus remained on those with two ethnocultural identities. Particularly, it aimed to understand the experiences of migrants that identified as holding both their home (heritage) and host (majority) identities. Early biculturalism literature posited that having multiple cultural ties assumed that acculturating, adopting the host culture and enculturating, maintaining heritage culture, were oppositional processes (West et al., 2017). More recently, studies proposed that cultural identities might be more independent, placing emphasis on the processes involved in the

way these identities interacted in various settings (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). The literature also had conflicting conclusions on whether strong identification with home culture was beneficial for wellbeing; while it maintained a sense of belonging, it also highlighted lack of belonging to the host culture in which they lived (Ikram et al., 2016). Contrastingly, studies have found that any monocultural identification, i.e. rejection of either home or host culture rather than integration of both, was associated with poorer wellbeing and higher negative affect (Zhang et al., 2018; Yampolsky et al., 2016). Therefore, more integrated cultural identities were seen as key to psychological wellbeing.

It has been documented that there is poorer mental health among immigrant groups (GOV.UK, 2017; UK Parliament, 2022). Research has proposed that, in part, this could be due to cultural differences in emotion-regulation and expression of mental health difficulties (Kwon et al., 2013; Ford & Mauss, 2015). Additionally, disparities could stem from traumatic events witnessed in their home country and during transition, or from conflicts arising while adjusting to their dislocation and a new country that may differ considerably in terms of language, culture and values. It is hypothesised that the way these multiple identities are managed might be a contributing factor to the poorer mental health among these populations (Yamaguchi et al., 2016). In particular, this could be heightened for those who anticipated their move to be temporary, but were forced to remain for varying reasons. This particular study focused on the nuances of this phenomenon in a refugee group forced to migrate abruptly due to ongoing war, conflict and occupation. The process through which bicultural identities are managed for individuals who did not anticipate permanent displacement from their homes was of particular interest in the current study. This informed the selection of the Cypriot refugee community specifically. Nonetheless, it should be noted that this paper was not intended to be a political commentary on the ongoing conflict, but rather an exploration of how the uncertain events, unresolved situation and continued hope for resolution might continue to impact migrant groups in the UK despite having established a life here. For context, many Cypriot people were displaced from their homes due to the 1974 conflict,

which resulted in Northern Cyprus being occupied by Turkey, which has remained the case to this day. Throughout 1974 and 1975 roughly 160,000 Greek-Cypriots living in the northern part of the island and 40,000 Turkish-Cypriot people living in the South were expelled from their homes when the country was divided by the war (Psaltis et al., 2019). Some stayed on the island as internally-displaced refugees, and sadly, many remain missing, but a considerable proportion came to the UK to seek refuge; the goal of migration being to wait until the conflict resolved and they could return home. However, the segregative conflict remains today one of the longest-standing since the formation of the UN (Finnis, 2014; Vila Zeka, 2015). Hence, most of those that came to the UK during this period temporarily, and by extension those that came beforehand, with the intention of returning to Cyprus, were forced to remain and build new lives in the UK (Anthias, 1992). Little is known about how this disparity in perceived temporary, and actual permanent, residence has impacted the community psychologically, and how they negotiated their cultural identities while maintaining core heritage traditions and values. Given these factors, and informed by the general literature on BII, the aim of the project was to investigate the bicultural experience of Cypriots who migrated and stayed in the UK due to the conflict. It sought to explore their perception of their identities and how this interacted with their mental health. This study considered how this might have been further complicated by perceived temporary migration turning into an unplanned permanent residency. Additionally, it highlighted the role of having an existing ethnic community in the UK, particularly, how this helped or hindered the BII process.

A literature search resulted in no articles looking specifically into managing bicultural identity in the UK's Cypriot population that migrated around the time of the 1974 war. Some research outlined the impact of trauma and physical detriment associated with the invasion and subsequent displacement (Agathangelou & Killian 2002; Taylor, 2009; Loizos & Constantinou, 2007). However, there appeared to be no focus on how forced migration impacted the integration of two competing cultural identities, and consequently, how it

impacted wellbeing. Much of the existing literature identifying post-war Cypriot narratives was also collated outside of the UK, for example, within survivor groups in Cyprus, or Cypriot migrants in the United States of America (Ines, 2017; Leonard, 2014; Georgiades 2009). As such, to my knowledge, this project has taken a novel approach to exploring biculturalism in this group.

Moreover, as outlined in *Part One*, much of the existing BII literature was conducted in North America. North American culture has been described as globalised and potentially more familiar to incoming migrants, which could have influenced the process of BII in those studies (Pells, 2004). Alternatively, the UK has produced less of this research. Cypriot biculturals in the UK have also been under-researched, particularly the older established first-generation immigrants. Historically, Cypriot immigrants were not well-received by their English hosts, and for numerous sociopolitical reasons, were viewed as a “suspect community” (Smith & Varnava, 2017). This contributed to self-contained Cypriot communities being created, but hindered their integration and sense of belonging to the UK. This indicated that there might be higher levels of bicultural conflict within this group. Evidence suggested that there was higher psychiatric morbidity among the Cypriot UK population compared to the general UK population; despite this, Cypriot people were found to be less likely to present to professional services for support (Zorba, 2015; Mavreas & Bebbington, 1987). Therefore, more focus on identifying consequences of dislocation on individuals could improve the support provided. Future implications of research include identifying the need for the right type of support for immigrant populations, especially those arriving during times of conflict and those that differ considerably to their host culture e.g. collectivist societies such as Cyprus.

Therefore, given the little research into this phenomenon amongst migrant communities, particularly years after initial resettlement, and the little representation of the Cypriot refugee community, this paper aimed to:

- Explore the impact of lived experiences on wellbeing and identity prior to, and throughout, migration.
- Explore how perceived temporary dislocation impacted cultural integration and wellbeing, and how these changed with adjustment to the UK.
- Explore the negotiation of bicultural identities, its impact on wellbeing, and how this process changed over time.

Method

This study employed qualitative methodology. Semi-structured interviews were undertaken with people who fled Cyprus and stayed in the UK due to the 1974 invasion.

Ethics

The Research Ethics Committee at University College London granted ethical approval for the study (UCL REC 22911/001; see *Appendix 2*). Conditions of ethical approval were adhered to, and data were pseudonymised swiftly to prevent confidentiality breaches.

Participants

The inclusion criteria were broad to ensure accessibility to a diverse set of participants. Participants all met the following inclusion criteria:

- (1) Over the age of 18 and currently living in the UK
- (2) Able to understand written and spoken English or Greek
- (3a) Greek-Cypriot and came to the UK between 1972-1976 due to the conflict in 1974

OR

- (3b) Greek-Cypriot and previously emigrated from Cyprus to the UK temporarily, and forced to remain due to the conflict in Cyprus.

Criterion 3 was included to encompass individuals that were either forced to leave, or prevented returning to, Cyprus due to the 1974 conflict. Thus, it seemed reasonable that

individuals may have arrived in the UK in the years surrounding 1974 too. Given that participants must have entered the UK in the 1970s, all participants were over 18 at the time of interview but may have been any age at the time of migration. The interview schedule was adapted depending on how old they were when they came to the UK and therefore, how involved they were in decisions about leaving Cyprus and migrating. All participants came to live in England rather than other countries within the UK. Although a minority did not move to London when they first arrived in Britain, by the time of interview, all had moved to and lived in London for a number of years. Further demographic information was presented in *Table 1*.

Table 1**Participant Demographics**

Demographic Information			Migration Information			BIIS and RPMS Scoring ^c		
Variable	N	%	Variable	N	%	Variable	N	%
Gender			Age (at migration)			BIIS		
Male	9	60	0-10	3	20	Low	0	0
Female	6	40	11-20	6	40	Low-Med	4	27
Age (current)			21-30	3	20	Med-High	9	60
50-60	3	20	31-40	3	20	High	2	13
61-70	7	47						
71-80	2	13	Accompanied from Cyprus			Range		2-4.5
>80	3	20	Family	7	47	M		3.39
Preferred language			Alone: knew someone in UK	7	47	SD		0.62
Greek	7	47	Alone: knew no one in UK	1	7	RPMS		
English	3	20				Low	2	13
Both	5	33	Anticipated length of stay			Low-Med	7	47
Religion			<1year	12	80	Med-High	5	33
Greek Orthodox	14	93	1-10 years (temporarily)	3	20	High	1	7
Other	1	7						
Described identity			Formal refugee status			Range		1.3-4.1
British	3	20	Yes	6	40	M		2.75
Cypriot	7	47	No (incl. students or those with British documents)	9	60	SD		0.74
British-Cypriot	5	33						
Working status			Psychological distress					
Retired	6	40	No	3	20			
Working full-time	6	40	Maybe	3	20			
Working part-time	3	20	Yes ^b	9	60			
Level of education ^a			Mental health support accessed	2	13			
Incomplete schooling	2	13						
6th form/ College	3	20						
Undergraduate	6	40						
Masters	1	7						
PhD	1	7						

Note. Total N=15. For conciseness, only selected responses were included in this table. For a full list of response options given in the questionnaire, please see *Appendix 3*.

^a 2 missing responses.

^b Symptoms relating to PTSD, depression and anxiety were described.

^c Scoring via likert scales. Low=1-2; low-med=2-3; med-high=3-4; high=4-5. On BIIS, higher scores indicated higher levels of integration. On RPMS higher scores indicated higher levels of distress.

Design and Measures

Development of the Interview

A topic guide was composed based on existing literature regarding migration and wellbeing. Subsequently, a more thorough interview schedule was co-constructed with an expert by experience, someone who resettled in the UK at the time of the invasion in Cyprus (*Appendix 4*). As outlined by Bierwiazzonek and Waldzus' review (2016), the sociocultural literature pertaining to expatriates, international students and first-generation migrants all tended to focus on different aspects of the adjustment process, such as employment, educational or psychological factors. However, it concluded that more permeation was needed throughout the literature to provide a person-oriented overview of individuals' cross-cultural experiences. This provided part of the rationale for including broad topics in the topic guide, allowing guidance from interviewees about which domains to place emphasis on for them, creating a more holistic representation of bicultural processes. Moreover, in the current study, this group's initial motivation to leave Cyprus was specific to the war and ongoing threat. However, participants ranged in ages, and have resided here for almost 50 years. Hence, despite initial motivations of safety-seeking, they also became students and employees in the UK over time. Thus, it was deemed important not to reduce individuals to specific student or expatriate labels as in previous literature, because there was fluidity in their experiences living in the UK for prolonged periods despite the original temporality of the move.

The semi-structured approach enabled flexibility in participant input, such that the content was not solely researcher-led. Additionally, it facilitated the adaptation of interview questions to allow for inclusion of variable sets of responses. For instance, if participants were children at the time of migration, questions were adapted to reflect that they may not have had agency in the decision-making process when leaving Cyprus e.g. 'what is your understanding of why your parents left' versus 'why did you leave Cyprus'. Furthermore,

open questions were used where possible to minimise interviewer bias and encourage participant-driven dialogue (Roulston, 2010).

Development of the Questionnaire

The survey was designed to gather demographic details and further identify experiences of managing bicultural identities. In order to gain insight into the level of BII and refugee-related distress experienced, a set of quantitative measures were included. These were not intended for data manipulation or analytical purposes; instead, they helped to characterise the sample and identify variability regarding experiences navigating bicultural processes. Hence, this was conducted after the interview so as not to skew interview responses. Having reviewed literature pertaining to BII and experiences of being a first-generation immigrant, the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale (BIIS-2; Huynh et al., 2018) and the Refugee Post-Migration Stress Scale (RPMS; Malm et al., 2020) were selected. Both appeared to be valid instruments for assessing BII and the psychological toll of migration respectively. The scales included potentially sensitive topics, such as questions on belonging and experiences of discrimination. The BIIS-2 included items like 'I feel that my Cypriot and British cultures are incompatible', 'I feel conflicted between the British and Cypriot ways of doing things'; the RPMS questions included 'worry about family members that I am separated from', 'feeling excluded or isolated in the British society', 'feeling disrespected due to my national background'. The scales were included in an online questionnaire hosted on *Qualtrics Software* ©, approved by UCL as a user-friendly and GDPR compliant platform (*Appendix 3*). Participants gave responses verbally for the interviewer to input onto the system.

Setting and Procedure

A preliminary sampling matrix was created to guide data collection based on the study's criteria (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). It aimed to ensure sufficient representation across different characteristics such as gender, age and age upon arrival in the UK, by assigning

approximate quotas to each characteristic. The sampling matrix suggested 10-15 participants would be sufficient to make a meaningful addition to the wider literature. The study used a mixture of purposive and snowball sampling. Cypriot community organisations were approached to assist with recruitment by circulating the study information to their members and partner organisations. Snowballing was also used with a view that different streams of recruitment would yield more variable samples.

The study's information sheet was disseminated to those that expressed an interest in participating (*Appendix 5*). This outlined the context of the study, rationale for choosing the target population, and the study details, including the offer of a £15 voucher as a token of appreciation for their support; interestingly, none of the participants accepted this. Interested individuals were invited to contact the researcher to set up a screening call, enabling them to ask clarifying questions, check eligibility to participate and schedule an interview. Eligible participants that agreed to take part, were prompted to provide informed consent (*Appendix 6*). One-to-one interviews with the researcher were conducted remotely via *Zoom Conferencing Software* ©, though telephone interviews were offered as an alternative. Interviews were 60-90 minutes long with comfort breaks if needed. Participants were reminded that they could withdraw their consent at any time during, and up to a week after, the interview. Following the interview, questionnaire completion was facilitated by the researcher. Given the demographic, this strategy was used to assist those less familiar or confident using online survey tools.

Additionally, while the study population was non-clinical, due to the sensitive nature of the topic, participants were offered a debrief and a distress-management procedure was put into place. Emergency support details and the contact information of the researcher, project supervisor and ethics committee were provided for all participants should they have needed it. Participants were also informed that interviews would be audio-recorded and their details would be pseudonymised in any dissemination or publication of results. Recordings

were transcribed manually and analysed as outlined in the following section. Furthermore, bracketing was used throughout the research process from initial scoping stages when setting up the project (Tufford & Newman, 2010). This provided a space to reflexively acknowledge biases that arose throughout the study, especially at the points of data collection and analysis.

Data Analysis

The transcribed data were analysed by the researcher, aided by the qualitative analysis software *NVivo* © (Version 1.7.1). A reviewer was invited to second-code two transcripts; this was to sense-check and explore multiple interpretations of the data to generate a richer thematic framework, rather than to achieve inter-reviewer consensus (Braun & Clarke, 2019; Byrne, 2021). Braun and Clarke's (2019) reflexive thematic analysis method was adopted, as an inductive and critical-realist approach could be employed. This suited the exploratory nature of the study. Analysis was conducted across stages including familiarisation with the data set, systematically generating initial codes, identifying, developing and refining the overarching themes. In this way, people's individual and collective experiences guided the mapping of patterns in the data. Importantly, the analytic process was not linear and allowed for reflexivity, as described by Braun and Clarke (2019). The fluidity in this approach lent itself well to the insider-outsider role in which the researcher was positioned, particularly, by acknowledging areas of bias when gathering the data and generating themes from it (Bukamal, 2022). For instance, from an insider standpoint, as a member of the UK Cypriot community it is likely that pre-existing concepts of the war and some shared knowledge about the Cypriot community in the UK shaped the conversation and subsequent interpretation of codes and themes. While as an outsider who was not a refugee from 1974, there were considerations that this might have inhibited participant openness in some ways. This was discussed further in *Part Three*.

Quality Assessment

Yardley (2000) presented a set of evaluative criteria such that the quality of qualitative research could be assessed against four main guidelines.

Sensitivity to Context

In an attempt to minimise the bias of the researcher's prior understanding of the social context, an in-depth review of the literature regarding the Cypriot war in 1974 was undertaken. Alongside this, a wider scope of the literature regarding refugees and biculturalism across multiple groups was undertaken to understand some of the nuances in people's experiences. Adopting open questions and flexibility in the interview questioning was an effort to address some of the power imbalance through reflecting on the ways which the researcher and participants might have influenced each other. Bracketing throughout also helped to keep these within awareness.

Completeness of Data

The data were comprehensively considered at each stage of collection, analysis and interpretation. Sample size was guided by a sampling matrix such that the data would hopefully be representative of wider group experiences, while still being manageable within the context of the DClinPsy. The matrix was chosen in place of thematic saturation, which undermined reflexivity of the approach and the critical-realist stance that knowledge is subjective and reality is intangible (Braun & Clarke, 2019). The datasets were coded line-by-line to ensure completeness and rigour, and collaboration with a second-coder, as well as ongoing bracketing, helped to acknowledge potential biases.

Reflexivity

Both personal and epistemological influences were discussed, particularly the context of being an insider-outsider researcher. Reflections were given throughout the study

in line with reflexive thematic analysis, as well as through ongoing bracketing throughout the research process. Participant narratives were hopefully represented throughout the paper, using direct quotes as a way to depict how themes were generated. These themes were presented in a way to summarise what the participants themselves recognised as key experiences.

Research Importance

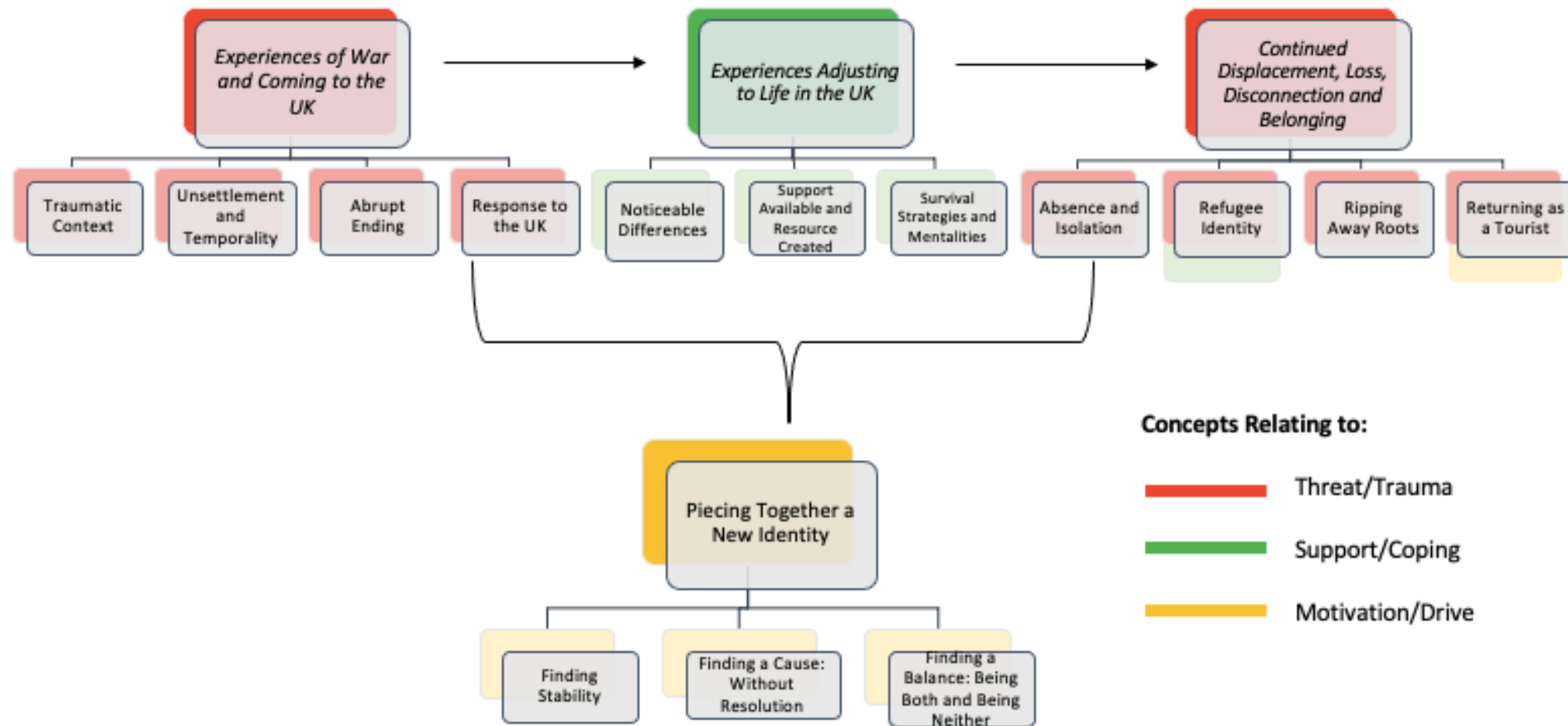
The current study holds practical and theoretical utility, by expanding the literature on the relationship between bicultural identity and mental health. In an ever-diversifying society, more and more people are having to negotiate multiple cultural identities. As such, it would be imperative to understand more about how this impacts their wellbeing, in order to inform clinical practice moving forward.

Results

Four main themes and a further 14 sub-themes were generated through the process of reflexive thematic analysis. The main themes were the 'experiences of war and coming to the UK', 'experiences adjusting to life in the UK', 'continued displacement, loss, disconnection and belonging' and 'piecing together a new identity'. *Figure 1* showed the relationships and interconnections between the themes. Below, each theme was given an overview before summarising some of the sub-themes generated from the data. The themes and sub-themes were organised this way to highlight the stages of the individuals' journey from Cyprus to the UK and the ongoing fluidity of the relationship to their cultures despite years of residence in England. The themes derived were one possible way of interpreting the participants' narratives, and there were likely many other ways to re-organise them. As part of the reflexive process, further reflection was detailed in the discussion and in *Part Three* about the possible influences and biases that directed the thematic coding and interpretation processes.

Figure 1

Thematic Cluster Map



Theme 1: Experiences of War and Coming to the UK

All participants spoke to varying extents about the context necessitating them to flee Cyprus to the UK. Either they witnessed war-related violence first-hand or heard accounts of people across the island as troops advanced throughout the country.

"We were really afraid in case they captured us. So we left. We had heard stories of women being captured and raped or killed by the invading soldiers, so we had to get out of there...it wasn't safe." (P1)

For those that fled their homes, the dislocation was perceived as "a temporary thing" (P7), and even when leaving Cyprus, all of those interviewed discussed believing they would return within a short time. In fact, all participants recalled the exact dates they left Cyprus and entered the UK, as it remained a prominent memory. While some came without formal refugee status, all attributed the war as their reason for leaving Cyprus. Distance from war seemed to come with a sense of relief, but an acknowledgement that they would be separated from loved ones who were unable or unwilling to flee. Additionally, some came with existing connections or knowledge of the UK, especially as Cyprus had recently gained independence from British colonisation and had a continued British military presence on the island. All of these factors likely influenced their response to the UK.

1.1 Traumatic Context

Participants described vivid memories of the war in Cyprus necessitating them to leave their homes and, in the cases of those interviewed, flee to the UK.

"You're watching something happen, which is so horrific and yet you are standing there unable to move because 50 or 100 yards away there are machine guns aiming at you. So the most disturbing thing was that you can witness a tragedy, but you were unable to do anything about it." (P9)

Fear of death was particularly pronounced for those that were soldiers at that time or anyone old enough to have understood what was going on around them. People noted "really scary

and strong memories" of "bullets flying everywhere", "[seeing people] shooting each other" and "[hearing] people screaming out for help, people that were shot but weren't dead" (P3). For participants that did not witness the violence first-hand, accounts were also consistent that there was an overarching fear of death and sense of unsafety. There was an understanding of the atrocities already committed in other parts of the country and that the troops would likely continue to ascend. There seemed to be a felt pressure to evacuate in order to avoid any further destruction of their family units. The UK provided sanctuary and a space to distance themselves both physically and mentally from the traumatic circumstances in Cyprus. "I didn't want to hear about Cyprus at all...for three, four years I didn't read the papers, I wasn't listening to the news. I was so shaken by the unimaginable events" (P9). Thus, there was a motivation to lean towards the adoption of a new life and new culture when initially moving, as a way to put the difficulties and, by association, parts of their known culture behind them. However, many reported a reluctance to leave.

"In that position, where nothing is left and we were in the fields and you're at the mercy of people's charity, you need to survive, not just for yourself, but because you have a child and...we couldn't stay there with a child...it's not what you lost or how much you lost, that's almost irrelevant. It's what you've got left, so that you can restart your life...if you have anything, and that's why we came to England.

Otherwise, we would not have done. We would have stayed." (P10)

Despite this, the trauma of the events stuck with people in many ways. Some continued to struggle talking about their experiences, or suffered with nightmares and flashbacks. Others spoke of the somaticised impact that these traumatic events had on their physiological wellbeing.

"The sound of Land Rover engines at night gets me out of bed; thunder and lightning...you think it's bombs! It takes me straight back there. It was horrendous what happened to people. I was having nightmares, nightmares! Even now, after so many years, sometimes I dream of those things, and I wake up in a sweat and say thank God it's just a dream." (P8)

“I believe we suffered such trauma that has caused issues for us later in life e.g. health issues...because of the tension, the stress, the depression, everything...[physically] we paid, there’s no denying it.” (P11)

These were some factors impacting the way people orientated themselves to renegotiating their Cypriot culture in the process of migration. There seemed to be a mentality of holding onto Cypriot identity, because there was no felt need to integrate to the new setting. However, it was a painful reminder of what they survived and left behind in Cyprus. Therefore, the response to the traumatic events, whether promoting avoidance or attachment, seemed to influence the conscious and unconscious pull towards either Cypriot or British culture. Nonetheless, it seemed that at this stage, there was no considered need to integrate the cultures.

1.2 Unsettlement and Temporality

A key part of the migrational journey discussed by interviewees, was the universal idea that they left their homes believing they would return to them shortly.

“We all thought that it was temporary, so we just took some essentials with us. We were taken to a camp where we stayed for a few days, and then we were taken to another camp. So, it was all very temporary. We were told ‘it’ll blow over soon, you’ll be able to go back home.’” (P4)

Many of the participants described having to constantly move to find safety once they evacuated, and so had no personal belongings with them. This constant moving extended throughout their journey from Cyprus to the UK, and when finding stable and appropriate accommodation in Britain. Participants conveyed the sense that, despite the trauma, there was a felt collectivism where people banded together to find safety. This was described to have a profound impact on the strength of relationship to the Cypriot community. “I don’t

think you can understand what we actually went through if you haven't suffered those moments yourself" (P11). Ultimately, this uprooting, perceived temporality and expected return seemed to maintain a sense of unsettlement, making it harder to connect or integrate fully into life in the UK. "The life we lived in Cyprus got cut short and it was lost forever. With the English you meet, you can't go back to those times, but with your Cypriot friends you get together and tell stories from the past" (P11). While the expectation to return diminished over the years, there was a sustained hope for resolution, which seemed to help some to cope when displaced, but also exacerbated a felt disintegration and instability within life in the UK, particularly as there remains no resolution almost 50 years later. "The 'few months' became 48 years, and when people ask me where I'm from, or where I live, I usually say I'm living here (UK) temporarily for the last 48 years" (P13). There was a notion that this maintained the pull towards Cypriot culture and created a barrier for integrating more with the British.

1.3 Abrupt Ending

Similar to above, there was the acknowledgement of the impact of such a sudden and unplanned exit from Cyprus. Many discussed their reluctance to leave and the family decision to wait as long as possible until it was "no longer a choice" (P10). This conveyed a lack of agency and sense of passivity throughout the process of leaving Cyprus and entering the UK, "like a leaf being blown...no direction" (P6). Moreover, it was discussed that, as there was "no time to think" (P12), people entered a "*survival mode*". Therefore, there was no conscious decision made about how to navigate life in the UK and little time to reflect on the losses they had experienced at this time, although the level of this differed between participants. "There's this uprooting from your normal life. All of a sudden overnight, you leave your home, then you leave your country and you come to another country. So from the psychological point of view, that's what happened" (P12). Others described the move to the UK as a way to "take back some control and determine [their] exit from Cyprus, and the

terms of that” (P14). They actively sought safety rather than waiting for a resolution, which seemed to give more space to reflect on adjusting to life in the UK.

1.4 Response to the UK

Many of the individuals noted that their perception of the UK changed somewhat over the initial period of coming, particularly if they were younger at the time of entry. Some suggested that their initial feeling towards the UK was one of gratitude at the safety being offered, as well as the economic security that later came with building a life here. However, at the time of interview, and arguably with a number of decades over which to reflect, the relationship with the UK seemed to be more complicated, and some noted “resentments” (P10). For instance, many lived through British colonisation, or had difficulties receiving support either from the British bases or at the border. Some commented that they felt “really unwelcome [and] unwanted” (P3) when they came and had mixed feelings towards their being here. “The British government was tightening up a lot the entrance to the refugees...they wanted to control the incoming immigrants...they were very strict. It wasn’t a very warm welcome” (P6). Contrastingly, the UK was perceived more favourably by those with prior experience or a close network in the UK, or those with positive experiences of the British. This included being given British documentation that facilitated support with evacuation from the Bases.

Additionally, there were differences noted by those that came to live in London, which had more ethnic diversity and particularly, had more areas with a Cypriot community compared to non-London areas. There was a consensus that having diversity in London was a facilitator to integrate more with ‘British’ identity. However, participants distinguished this from being ‘English’, categorising them as distinct cultures where ‘British’ encompassed more diversity and ‘English’ referred more to a traditionally “White, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon” (P15) stereotype, with which they did not align. At the time of interview, all participants had

settled in London and the majority mentioned maintaining a largely Cypriot network. Many participants also referred to some felt discrimination and othering in the initial transition, which got less overt over time. This ranged from “general slurs to ‘go back to your country’ or ‘you bloody foreigners’” to people being “patronising and condescending” (P11).

“There were overt instances of racism but also this undercurrent of racism that doesn’t exist in Cyprus, and it threw you off a bit; you didn’t know where you stood with people. In Cyprus you don’t have to guess what people are thinking, they’ll tell you!” (P10)

This created a backdrop for the formation, and orientation towards, the relationship with the UK culture and ultimately, people’s willingness to integrate.

Theme 2: Experiences Adjusting to Life in the UK

The next conceptualised phase of integration was once individuals migrated and started adapting to life in the UK. Various factors seemed to affect the degree to which people assimilated, and many participants discussed that a state of assimilation was not reached. “It’s like we’re aliens. We’re in Noman’s Land” (P7). Rather than adopting the UK culture as a whole, there were facilitators and barriers to integration. Moreover, none of the participants spoke of wanting to abandon their Cypriot culture, and so ensued a process of negotiation of how much to lean towards or away from each cultural identity. This seemed to be influenced by a felt pressure to not risk drawing attention to their differences, rather than a desire to be part of the community. “I think what was the worst for me, from the psychological point of view, was the fact that you had to conform all the time. You couldn’t get out of line because you were expected to be a ‘good boy’ all the time” (P12). “You have to really behave, not put a foot out of line and play by the rules” (P10). Through interpretation of the material, it became apparent that bicultural identity was fairly changeable and took time to navigate, but ultimately levels of BII fluctuated throughout the stages of adaptation. Specifically, as one learnt about their sociocultural context, they gained safety, security and

stability. This seemed to depend on both external environmental factors and internal factors to do with one's psychological resource in navigating the process.

2.1 Noticeable Differences

Although everybody's experiences were unique and individual, there were commonalities in the accounts about the stark differences they faced when comparing their lives in the UK with Cyprus. Many of these were objective, such as the weather. Most who migrated in 1974, experienced the war in Cyprus at the peak of Cypriot summer and came to England by the autumn and winter, experiencing snow for the first time. Participants reported that it was an obvious reminder that this environment was new, unfamiliar and somewhat hostile.

"I remember it was so so so cold, we had no heating, it'd snowed outside. I woke up thinking 'what? I'm not going to survive this!' I could hear clicking in my head, I thought my head froze. I'll never forget that [I asked my brother,] 'come and defrost my head because I'm gonna die'...where I lived in Limassol, you never had temperatures like that." (P3)

Moreover, many interviewees had come from small villages in Cyprus and were accustomed to being surrounded by land and being able to safely roam outdoors with their peers, which was not possible in the UK. "The crime numbers here are far more [than in Cyprus] and...that hit me when I came here, the degree of cruelty" (P9).

"I really loved the outdoors and being able to go to the beach every day after school and play outdoors in the orange and lemon groves. That for me was quality of life, and having family nearby, good meals and good weather, and I still hold those things dear." (P4)

This made it difficult to connect with activities that they used to engage with in Cyprus and the people with whom they would socialise, creating a pronounced sense of isolation.

“I hadn’t realised how sad and lonely I was until many years went by. It was all very grey and muddy-literally and figuratively. It was like a misty window you couldn’t see through. I ended up not having an emotional compass really, I didn’t know where I was, I was feeling things I didn’t know what they meant or what they were. It wasn’t until I went into therapy, and it still took a long time.” (P3)

Additionally, those that were school age when they arrived, noted many contrasts between the schooling systems, exacerbated by knowing little-to-no English.

“Here was this new thing, you go to school for the whole day...you go in the morning and you eat there and you leave in the afternoon. In Cyprus we didn’t have this...you’d go in and leave by 1.30 and that was it. So, there was this new structure...even having to queue in a canteen to eat. There were quite a lot of rough students there too. And although there were other minorities, no one was mixing. So, the Cypriots formed their own cluster and we were always together.” (P6)

However, a recurrent notion was that while extra educational support would have been useful in the early stages, there was mostly appreciation of the British school system and many of the interviewees received higher-education qualifications here, encouraging their children to do so too. There was a shared opinion by the participants that education was highly-valued in Cypriot culture, but that this was amplified by the circumstances they faced, identifying that an education “could not be taken away from you as so much else had been...it’s the most secure thing” (P6).

Another main difference that appeared was in the experience of the cultural values and class systems. They described noticing a “non-experience of [living] under domination...people don’t understand in this country, because they’ve never been ruled by anybody, what it is to be told what to do and not do” (P9).

“My Cypriotness came out...because of the suffering in Cyprus, because I saw the beauty of Cyprus and the easiness of life. That’s where my life was and where I

wanted it to be. The closeness of the community, that real feeling of support and oneness on those beaches...It was a community. It was just people and love...from one family to the next; you'd know everyone's grandparents, there was a continuation. Here it's very transitory. Things change, your neighbours change.

Typically, that didn't happen in Cyprus.” (P10)

Overarchingly, there was a sense of loss over the collectivist values in Cyprus, which promoted maintenance of Cypriot culture and created some barriers connecting to the British. “Values and obligations, and intergenerational respect. Those quite old fashioned [Cypriot] things still matter” (P14). Although, there was also an acknowledgement that the UK provided opportunities which were unavailable in Cyprus, and that the British allowed them to stay here and rebuild their lives in a more open-minded society. “We've gained a lot from living here. From being educated here (UK) we have a different, much better and healthier outlook to life, to tolerance, to society” (P13). Whether these cultural differences were experienced as positive or negative, promoted a closeness to or distance from British culture. As familiarity and stability built, it seemed there were more motivations and opportunities to integrate.

2.2 Support Available and Resource Created

Due to the previous colonisation of Cyprus, some of the citizens had British documentation and were eligible to leave for England aided by the British bases. For those that came to the UK as formal refugees without British passports, the process was more complicated and required facilitation through sponsorship from known British citizens. Typically, this meant that whether or not they were familiar with the country itself, they had some known network, albeit limited to the Cypriot community already residing in the UK. The overarching consensus was that the majority of support in the UK, including housing, practical support and employment opportunities, was given by the established Cypriot community that migrated in the 1950s-1960s. There was also an acknowledgement that

many of that cohort had come to the UK to work and earn enough money to later resettle in Cyprus; although, these plans were disrupted by the 1974 war. While the Cypriot community was described to be an asset and support for which the incoming cohort were grateful, especially while unfamiliar with the English language, there were also descriptions of the community as somewhat ghettoised and self-contained. This prevented socialisation with wider British society. Moreover, all participants reported receiving no psychological support at the time. "There was no support, it was just a matter of survival" (P7). Some reflected that this would have been helpful during the initial aftermath, others considered that it would have been difficult to engage with. They outlined that this was partly due to the stigma attached to accessing psychological therapies, and because it is only with "time to reflect on it [you realised] the reaction to the loss" (P6) and acknowledged the full extent of the impact of events on their mental wellbeing.

Participants discussed that support varied substantially from place to place. Those describing higher levels of isolation and a lack of support in the UK tended to create their own networks. "There was a lot of (British-born) Cypriots that couldn't speak Greek or very broken Greek and I kind of got them together...and we all became friends. We still meet now" (P3). People also described participating and, in a number of cases, developing Cypriot associations in the UK. These were set up to gain representation from areas in Cyprus occupied during the invasion, in order to promote political change and regain a sense of community that was lost.

"Part of the (war's) plan was to destroy this community cohesion by spreading out the refugees. So, what we did in response to that, we founded these associations in order to keep the spirit of the community alive for every community that existed in the occupied part. We also encouraged the writing of the history and the preservation by doing photographic exhibitions, because remember, until 2004, no one was allowed to even travel there. We couldn't see the place." (P9)

Therefore, it seemed that people were drawn towards a Cypriot network. Having a shared culture, language and value-system, and an inherited history promoted the desire to seek out like-minded individuals over the English, which were an unknown entity.

“You feel removed. I appreciate the people here, but I won’t go out of my way to be with them...there isn’t that joy. I remember being joyful with my friends in Cyprus. I don’t have that here...when we meet up with the Cypriots over here, we always reminisce and talk about the good times we had there...with the English we don’t have that; we talk about the weather...there’s nothing that ties me to them or the past. I have become stuck in the past in Cyprus.” (P11)

Perceived discrimination and othering from the English society inhibited intercultural mixing and enhanced proximity to the Cypriot community. Strength was found from within the Cypriot community, which helped to gain stability and subsequently, begin the process of growth into branching out into the British societies.

2.3 Survival Strategies and Mentalities

In addition to the environmental issues mentioned above, participants mentioned that their psychological orientation towards events was key in how they navigated processes of adjustment and BII. Their survival strategy seemed to depend on their relationship to their life in Cyprus and their motivation to create stability in the UK. For many that were older and had an established life and status in Cyprus, there was an understandable difficulty moving past the felt “injustice”. “We struggled a lot to rebuild our lives. It can hit you in two ways: either you get knocked down completely and you can never get back up again, or you fight and find the energy to create a new life.” (P11) Particularly, this seemed to be the case for those that had children. “We needed to build a life for [our child] because ours was finished” (P10). Moreover, there was a sense of pragmatism and all participants that were working-age at the time of resettlement described a drive to work and improve financial security.

They suggested that this was to feel less of a burden on their supporting network, and that it was prioritised at the cost of finding social opportunities to integrate.

Contrastingly, those that were younger or accompanied by family described a more collective mindset and need to move forward. Consistently, those that came as children with their parents described that their parents “shielded” (P14) them from much of the hardship, allowing them to feel more at ease and secure enough to initiate integration earlier. That said, there were those who came as unaccompanied minors. This seemed to change the way that they oriented themselves towards the UK and their openness to the culture here.

“There was a psychological toll, I have to admit to it. I wouldn’t say depressed, but I felt frustrated. Frustration and anger, perhaps, as to what happened and that kept me away from my family, and to make me make decisions on my own at an earlier age...this built up over the years.” (P12)

Additionally, others became stuck in hypothetical possibilities about how life might have been different had they stayed in Cyprus. “Reflecting on what could have been, fantasising...I don’t know how I would have turned out, but I can’t help but project and think it could have been a better life.” (P4)

Theme 3: Continued Displacement, Loss, Disconnection and Belonging

Overall, the most common experiences were that of displacement and lack of belonging. A profound sense of loss formed part of a grief reaction and difficulty moving forward without motivation to assimilate or culturally integrate.

“It’s the linkage of your presence there with the previous history of that island. It wasn’t just a piece of land. It’s not just materialistic. It’s not just property...It’s the DNA I think, there’s an element that’s part of you, the DNA that won’t let you rest. You have to go and find that kind of link” (P15).

Above all the material losses, there was a sense that the disconnection from family, network and heritage was particularly destabilising, leaving individuals yearning for reconnection with these systems by any means.

“It was a very abrupt end to the life, that wonderful life, in Famagusta where we had everything and everybody around us...I’m constantly searching for people that I haven’t seen. You see I heard about you, I thought, I might know her, I might know her family. I might actually see somebody I haven’t seen for fifty years. There’s this constant search for people, and because we came to the UK and we were away for a long time before we could go back, because of all the restrictions of not being able to go back. Then we waited to go back in case we were not allowed to come back, and all that business with the visas” (P13)

There was a suggestion that this impeded connection to the UK to some extent, as the priority was to regain a sense of belonging from the Cypriot systems from which they were displaced. Interestingly, it also highlighted that this state of searching for belonging continued and was evident even throughout the interviews whereby participants questioned possible connection with the researcher.

3.1 Absence and Isolation

As mentioned within the theme above, separation from family and network was a key factor in people's mindset adjusting to life in the UK. Particularly for those that came as unaccompanied minors, they described that relocation to the UK forced their resilience and maturity from a young age, navigating these processes alone. “I had to be on my own and make decisions of my own earlier in life. Maybe that made me stronger. Made me look at things in a more realistic, pragmatic way without dwelling” (P12). While the isolation promoted a sense of pragmatism in some, there were others on whom it had profound psychological implications.

“I felt like my mum couldn’t cope with me being boisterous and she chose the option of letting go...I still feel that to this day really. I know she felt guilty that she let me go, and I’ve forgiven her for that, but for many years I kind of resented her.” (P3)

Many also described that it was their “first time travelling, never mind through Europe” and there was a sense that “you don’t think of these things, you just do it...there was no choice...you just had to keep moving...and you have to mature more quickly” (P12). This seemed to convey that decisions were made through necessity rather than desire or motivation to leave Cyprus and resettle in the UK. Therefore, the process of integration was not through conscious decisions, but like “autopilot”, and there was a sense that no one around them could guide them on what they should do even though “having someone to listen solves half the problem” (P9). So, they focused on building security through non-materialistic endeavours, such as education that “could not be taken away” (P6). This was a sentiment shared by all participants, and they maintained that in the absence of material stability, they prioritised education as a way to gain security, but at the cost of exploring opportunities for social integration. People also reported gratitude for the support of their relatives that sponsored and housed them in the UK. However, there was undeniable isolation reported, being in a foreign environment without a command of the English language and away from the familiarity of home networks. “You have lost everything, but you live in this big house...a house that’s not yours” (P6).

To exacerbate the loneliness and distance from home, this was a time without internet, and making calls abroad was costly and difficult since relatives in Cyprus were also moving around to find safety. Therefore, contact with home was limited and getting messages to loved ones was often a rare occurrence, especially during initial months following the invasion. Some described this as particularly difficult, as they were missing major life events at home, and were often not notified about them through others wanting to prevent additional disruptions to their life-adjustments in the UK.

“[My dad] died, they buried him and when they went home from the burial, they called to tell us that he died and they had a funeral already. That sent me into some serious depression. I couldn’t go to school. I stopped working at my part-time job for that year. So, it’s not like it didn’t interrupt things.” (P3)

Another participant who was separated from his wife and child discussed that “I knew how I was, but she didn’t know how I was. She thought that I died” (P5). Circumstances precluded people visiting their family in Cyprus for many years because of the unrest. This was exacerbated by worries about finances and deportation, as discussed in the next sub-theme.

3.2 Refugee Identity

“I cannot call myself somebody from [England], I wouldn’t, I am not from there” (P13).

In addition to the isolation itself and external reminders of being in a foreign environment, further cues signalled that this cohort was different to the UK population and therefore, there was some perceived incompatibility of identities. This seemed to include incompatibility with the established Cypriot community in the UK and often participants distinguished themselves based on the unique set of experiences they faced. Often, some participants relied on context being shared knowledge between them and the researcher by using shorthanded stereotypes of the groups rather than explicitly describing some of the tensions within the UK Cypriot community. “It’s so difficult for a person to understand what it means to be a refugee, if you’re not one yourself” (P11). Many participants came to the UK with formal refugee status. By definition, this was set up as a temporary measure until it was safe to be repatriated; a message that they were temporary residents and not permanent citizens. Participants described that this message was reinforced by the visa-renewal process every three-to-six months, which again served as a reminder that they did not belong. “I am Cypriot. I don’t care, they can do whatever they want. I was born Cypriot. I became a British National...I didn’t have a choice.” (P2). “I’ve never really felt comfortable here. It’s not that I didn’t want to, I just couldn’t manage it. I’m just very Cypriot. I mean basically, it’s difficult to

leave behind your culture. Especially if you're forced to." (P11). Ultimately, many agreed that British identity was something "forced" upon them and came with an expectation that they would disconnect from their held identity to function in the new environment. For instance, people discussed having to anglicise their names to facilitate their integration, but also that their names were accidentally changed by British officials when producing documentation. Those that described this, reported that it compounded a sense of incompatible identities and that at later stages in their lives, they reverted back to their names at birth and to reconnect with their Cypriot identity while in England, when it felt safer to do so.

While on the one hand "refugee identity" created some distancing from English cultural identity, it also both promoted closeness to and distance from a Cypriot cultural identity. Participants recalled that due to the specific context in Cyprus, the aforementioned lack of agency and forced migration, they wanted to maintain their Cypriot culture and values. They also implied that, as culture naturally evolved over time in Cyprus, it was important to those in the UK to uphold what their memory of this was. In essence, while this maintained a traditional sense of their Cypriot culture, it also made them aware that they seemed different to their peers in Cyprus too that had moved on, unifying the refugees and their shared experience. "There's still that very strong sense of belonging to a group of people who are now scattered all over the world." (P14). This highlighted that BII was not a binary process and identities were not mutually exclusive. Distance from one identity did not necessitate proximity to the other, and this very much evolved over time. This will be discussed further in the final theme.

Consequently, participants described "refugee identity" as something unique to this cohort of people. This was not least due to the shared traumatic experiences prior to seeking refuge, but also to the collective experiences when dislocated and trying to adjust and integrate to the sociocultural patterns in the UK. "You have status within your community;

people know you, they understand you, they respect you, and then you're somewhere else where you're completely unknown" (P13).

"I had something else missing, and that was the link to my roots which was for me the fundamental factor of life. The fact that I was cut off from my roots was extremely painful and at the end it became more painful than the pictures and the images I had in my mind of the war." (P9)

Some described that in being away from home, they often sought opportunities to connect with other refugees or minoritised groups, not just Cypriots, because there was an understanding that they had some common experiences and similarities. They discussed aligning with refugee stories, hoping others would be able to return home because "it never happened for us and we could totally understand" (P13). "Because it's such a small community (Cypriot), to be able to express oneself, you had to become part of the bigger, minority community. And of course, they were living in similar, poorer areas" (P10). Again, this did not necessarily promote development of an English identity, but instigated acknowledgment of value in a more hybridised cultural identity, which encompassed the differences they would have compared to the majority population. Overall, many agreed that there was strength and resilience wrought from the "refugee identity".

"Having had this experience, traumatic as it has been, I feel we are better people, we have different values in life, maybe not all refugees do, but you know that money is not everything, that your family is more important, your health is more important, and having good relationships with your family and friends. I think probably we're better people for it." (P13)

3.3 Ripping Away Roots

Similar to ideas around abrupt endings and felt absence, there was a sense that the losses experienced as a consequence of the occupation were more than just material. The losses were described as "an uprooting" from heritage, lineage and the microsystems that

were curated over generations. This seemed to promote proximity to Cypriot culture over English.

“Maybe because I was uprooted so suddenly from my own country, my own house. Maybe that plays a role as to how I feel. If I had left voluntarily to come here, maybe I would have felt, perhaps, less Greek than I want to feel at the moment.” (P12)

“I enjoy living in this country, however, there is no link with my roots...I haven’t developed roots here, it’s like I’m living in a pot...The question is not whether I want to go back...that is my choice. The question is, the right that I have to go back into my land, the land of my parents, the land of my grandparents and ancestors. This is what I’m fighting for. Whether I decide to go and build a caravan, or a house, or a shed...or even abandon it, this is my choice. At the moment this right, of me going back to a place, is denied.” (P9)

Multiple participants commented on the fact that land and houses in Cyprus were never sold, only passed down transgenerationally. This meant that the neighbours were often an extended and permanent network of support, noticeably different in the UK. Multiple participants commented on how jarring it had been to come to the UK and see ‘for sale signs’ and it being normalised not to know or see your neighbours. These contrasts in the UK exacerbated an already felt incompatibility with the culture. Thus, it promoted the importance of holding on to core traditional Cypriot values and passing these down through the generations. “I do think when you’re further away from your home, as you might regard it, you make even more of an effort to keep those values and traditions going.” (P4). While this meant maintaining a closeness to Cypriot culture, there was an acknowledgment that for multiple generations to come, maintenance of Cypriot culture would continue, but that this might diminish as generations progressed, settled and became more established in British society. For instance, some commented that the ‘immigrant’ label is regularly used for first, second and third generations, but rarely beyond. This indicated that generally it takes time for individuals to navigate bicultural identity processes, but this also happens on a systemic

level. As aforementioned, people distinguished English and British identities, suggesting that British identity carried connotations of encompassed diversity. Therefore, rather than aiming to be monoculturally 'English', people aligned more with 'British', which fit with more hybridised, integrated cultural identities.

3.4 Returning as a Tourist

The situation in Cyprus meant that Greek-Cypriot people were unable to visit for a number of years due to ongoing threat. Even when they returned, they described difficulty with the temporality of "visiting the homeland as tourists" (P14). Restrictions visiting the Northern, occupied part of the island persisted, and the border only opened to visitors in recent years. Nonetheless, some identified that that was the only place they recognised as home.

"I'm waiting to go back to my hometown, because going back to Cyprus is not really going home. I haven't got the same connection. So, I'm a temporary resident for the last 48 years, despite the fact that I've become British and everything, the only home place is actually Famagusta." (P13)

Ongoing segregation, potential threat and a lack of resolution in Cyprus caused understandable distress with various implications for both wellbeing and integration. For some, the sense of injustice drove activism, facilitating the rejection of English identity in favour of alignment with Cypriots to further advocate the cause. However, for others it sent the message that they would have to tolerate and accept the uncertainty of circumstances in Cyprus, promoting their ability to move forward and connect with British society and culture in order to progress.

Furthermore, many reported that when they were able to visit Cyprus years later, they realised that life in Cyprus had largely moved on from the war, and even internally-displaced refugees had different experiences of refugee life; perhaps, as the movement from

North to South was not as contrasting to the move from Cyprus to the UK. People observed that those displaced to the South of the island displayed more of an acceptance of a resolution not being found. This created some distance from the Cypriot collective identity and feelings of difference to their peers. Additionally, many highlighted how the war brought with it much change to Cyprus. There were visual reminders of segregation through the 'Green Line' border and Turkish flags, and notable financial difficulties and societal changes. "When I went to Cyprus I really really hated it. People were different, [they] were being exploited financially" (P3). This seemed to signal that this was no longer home and promoted a realisation that continued life would be in the UK, instigating a motivation to integrate more. Some participants noted that this was the turning point of starting to concentrate on building their lives in the UK and starting to see the merit in forming a hybridised sense of identity that could "take the best" from either culture. "You integrate up to a level. You enjoy elements that are not present in the country that we come from" (P9).

Theme 4: Piecing Together a New Identity

In addition to the above themes, there were some thematic commonalities that linked the narratives of the individuals. These were factors that impacted wellbeing, drove alliance with Cypriot or British cultures, or influenced the integration of the two in various ways.

4.1 Finding Stability

As discussed, part of the difficulty with ongoing unsettlement and lack of resolution, was around temporality. "We tried to secure ourselves by being much more cautious" (P13). This led to feeling on edge and not belonging to the UK society, creating barriers in perceiving compatibility for long-term integration.

"I was telling some people at work, you are so lucky that you are born in a free country. Your aim every Friday afternoon is to go to the pub and get drunk, and I wish one day I will join you without having at the back of my mind what attacks are

going to happen next, and when I'm going to get my home back, and when I'm going to free my country.” (P9)

Many also reported becoming self-employed to create a sense of control over decisions pertaining to their livelihoods, and possibly due to some difficulties navigating English employment systems. They expressed gratitude to the UK for providing educational and employment opportunities that were not available in Cyprus. However, this came at the price of social integration with the UK community, as there was a felt pressure to “do well” and “make the most” of these opportunities, with the hope that they would return home to Cyprus with these skills. Thereafter, it was described that although there was no conscious decision to stay in the UK, as the situation in Cyprus failed to progress, people became more open to building their lives in the UK, focusing more on finding stability and network. This had positive implications for wellbeing and optimism moving forward; a level of acceptance came with the opportunity and space to reflect on the benefits of adopting aspects of British culture. It appeared that only as people found stability in the UK, could they consider more actively participating in UK networks. “Initially you keep within your own community...you go into an enclave, and you grow from there. When you become more confident or more affluent, then you move...I do think [our Cypriotness] becomes diluted because we've become more secure” (P3). Nonetheless, all participants continued to hold importance in upholding Cypriot values and traditions, reinforced by speaking Greek, listening to Greek music and regularly visiting relatives in Cyprus. This seemed to be commonly instilled transgenerationally, wanting the next generation to “know where they came from.” (P7).

4.2 Finding a Cause: Without Resolution

Some highlighted that “not forgetting” and being active in protests and marches kept a resolution for Cyprus on political agendas. This seemed to form part of the journey towards navigating identity. While some spoke about this being more prominent in the earlier years while they were still optimistic about a return, others discussed that it seemed Cypriots in

England were “doing more” than those in Cyprus. This seemed to create a further splitting from Cypriot identity and enhanced felt powerlessness. It should be noted that others have remained politically active and found strength in the UK community and power, considering that Cyprus itself had little political strength to enact change.

“The community were very encouraging, and also in my case, a lot of people encouraged me to take leadership in these aspects, so that helped, and also they offered support in many ways. So, you had the support, and that is extremely important. In other words, you found the community spirit back in here developing again.” (P9)

Therefore, Britain started to be perceived as an asset, not just temporarily while initially seeking safety, but longer term in using the opportunities and platforms as available resources to promote Cypriot issues.

“My heart is Cypriot, my brain is British. I have to be British to be able to speak about Cyprus so the British will listen to me...Of course I’m not British, but my brain says I have to be. My passport is British, I live in Britain, in this country they have accepted us. We have to be good citizens of this country. We get education, financial benefits, we get culture.” (P5)

This seemed to describe one of the many negotiations in which the two cultures could merge and be compatible. It came with some realisation that it did not have to be either or.

4.3 Finding a Balance: Being Both and Being Neither

“Norman Tebbit said, ‘you decide whether you’re English or not based on the Cricket Test; who would you support?’ It’s the same with me. If the Cyprus football team was playing England, I would support Cyprus. That tells you how everybody feels deep down. I’m grateful to this country, and I recognise what they do for me...but if I had to choose between Greek and English, I would say Greek.” (P12)

While many participants described being “Cypriot first”, all spoke to some degree about acknowledging the influence of British culture on their sense of identity. They discussed that they did not have the same experiences as those raised and living in Cyprus. Similarly, they were not born into English heritage and therefore, differed from the English too. “We’re too Cypriot to be British and too British to be Cypriot...we’re just torn personalities really” (P13). This created some conflict in terms of belonging. “In my heart it’s Cyprus, but if I use my head, my brains, it’s British” (P5). Furthermore, participants described that belonging to the UK slightly improved with British citizenship, but some chose not to hold it. Others chose to maintain dual citizenship to encompass their felt belonging to both ethnic groups. “I’m a Greek-Cypriot living in England. Although I’ve got a British passport, I’m not really [British]...and obviously, my accent remains” (P9). Moreover, while they rationalised being biculturally-integrated, what they described was more in line with conflicting and alternating cultural identities.

“[In Cyprus] we speak Greek; when we’re there, we’re Cypriots. We mix with them, we do what they do. We don’t just go there and say, ‘in London we do XYZ’...Same over here. You adjust, because you don’t want to be excluded, you want to be part of the community you’re in.” (P8)

“I think the difference is in the house. If you come to my house, without me saying anything to you, you would know this is a Cypriot household, because of the paintings, photographs, religious items, all Cypriot. But, you come out of the doors and it’s British.” (P5)

Interestingly, this same sentiment was demonstrated differently across the participants.

“I’m going to flip this around and say, in Cyprus, I would never pretend I’m Cypriot, and in England I would never pretend I’m English. I would never claim somebody else’s identity as my own...and because I’m not claiming somebody’s identity, they don’t feel the need to reject me, and I’m not distancing myself from them...If you meet people where they’re at, they will generally embrace you and welcome you. And so, dual identity doesn’t mean that I’m English in England and Cypriot in Cyprus...it’s

actually the other way around. Therefore, I'm both accepted and not rejected in both places." (P15)

Participants expanded that the consequence of this was that, in the case of being "bits of both", they ended up being "neither one": "I don't have an identity...I'm nothing" (P15). In taking preferred elements from each culture, identities developed with new individualised or hybridised cultural identities. However, from the participants' descriptions, these identities were employed differently in different settings. Most participants described taking decades to feel settled in the UK.

"I was really unwell, and it affected me for many many years until I went into therapy in later life, but it was very hard. It was very hard learning a language, learning a completely different way of life, and adjusting to this life that was only going to be a part-time life, because we were going to go back. But, I ended up being completely mixed up, and I didn't belong to either country." (P3)

They reported noticing improvements in their wellbeing as time went on as they better understood "the damage that was done by the 1974 war and the separation" (P3). They were then able to feel less isolated, reporting it felt safer to extend their network beyond just the Cypriot community. Interestingly, most participants discussed that their networks were still made up mainly of Cypriots. However, generally, they described feeling more integrated. Only as this progressed, were they able to reflect on the value of exposure to two distinct cultural systems, and begin navigating the process of bicultural identity integration. It seemed that with better mental health, there was more of an ability to 'take the risk' of testing out new things within British society and learn about the compatibility of carrying dual cultures. This also happened bidirectionally, where people identified that once they felt more able to integrate, they noted improvements to their mood and psychological wellbeing.

Discussion

This study aimed to explore the relationship between the negotiation of bicultural identities and wellbeing, particularly when displaced from home. As identified in *Part One*, while there is some literature on the impact of BII and mental health, it is particularly limited to quantitative research undertaken in North America. This appeared to be the first qualitative study to contextualise this link in the Cypriot refugee community, and after a long period of residence in the UK. Almost 50 years on, participants that initially perceived their stay in England to be temporary, remain long-term residents. Given the motivation to resettle in the UK was highly-related to the 1974 war in Cyprus, it was imperative that the study be embedded in the context of trauma, survival and resilience in which participants grounded their narratives.

As highlighted in the 'Results' section, the study's reflexive thematic analysis generated four main themes and 14 sub-themes. Below, the main findings were discussed in the context of existing literature. However, as an exploratory piece of work, conclusions remained tentative.

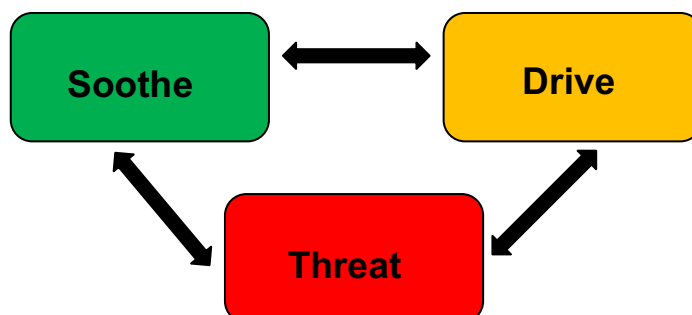
Findings

As seen in the thematic map (*Figure 1*), the themes derived from the qualitative interviews were organised to follow the chronology of events when leaving Cyprus and adjusting to UK life; additional factors were identified as cross-cutting each of those stages when developing a new sense of self. It seemed to be an individual's approach and orientation to their circumstances that influenced whether they moved towards or away from each of the cultures to which they were exposed. Consequently, there did not seem to be distinct facilitators and barriers to integration and wellbeing, as each factor was experienced differently by the individual. For instance, having an existing Cypriot community in the UK was described as both helpful and inhibiting for BII depending on the individual's context. As

per the reflexivity of the analytic process, there were various ways that the data could be interpreted from the themes presented (Braun & Clarke, 2019). One such way was through formulating three central organising concepts, as outlined by the legend on *Figure 1*. These key interlinking domains were ‘trauma and threat-survival’, ‘support and security-seeking’ and ‘motivation to integrate versus drive to return’. The way one orientated themselves towards these key factors seemed to compound one’s integration and employment of emotional coping strategies. Observationally, this seemed to mirror the threat, drive and soothe domains of affect-regulation theory, as portrayed in *Figure 2* (Gilbert, 2005). Therefore, it is possible that there may be some overlap between these processes. Existing literature has suggested links between culture and emotion-regulation (Kwon et al., 2013; Ford & Mauss, 2015). Based on current findings, it seemed plausible that this could extend to a bicultural population, where these regulation processes were possibly influenced further by the negotiation of two cultural identities. This may have explained some of the variance in both emotional coping and expression of distress, though this would need further investigation.

Figure 2

Affect-Regulation System



Note. Adapted from Gilbert, 2005

From the current findings, it could be theorised that these three factors influenced both emotion-regulation and the regulation of cultural identities for this group. For instance, different participants described varying initial responses to the high-distress felt from the threat of war. In turn, whether they avoided ‘Cypriotness’ or denied ‘Britishness’ when they

first arrived in the UK, seemed to depend on their distress response. After leaving the heightened trauma context in Cyprus and seeking safety in the UK, people described having some ability to soothe in the absence of immediate danger. Although, feeling stable 'enough' in the UK took a prolonged period of time. As high-distress started decreasing, people described being more able to engage with their cultural communities, either through seeking solidarity in their Cypriot connections, or by being able to expand into British circles, as their felt security increased. This seemed to align with previous literature highlighting that when emotions are dysregulated, the ability to be reflective about situations is inhibited (Hill, 2015). From a place of safety, more emotional and cognitive resource can be made available to be used for other tasks, such as reflecting on their experiences (Bowie et al., 2016). Subsequently, individuals identified that they moved from a state of 'survival' to considering what their motivations were to stay or return, enabling them to protest against the situation in Cyprus or move towards acceptance. This was described as particularly prominent as the uncertainty and sense of threat continued to challenge their likely return to Cyprus and, by extension, their reintegration to their home culture. People described themselves moving between these states of acceptance and protest; this seemed to mirror the way their emotional states also fluctuated at different time points, as did their affiliation to each culture. Therefore, it was largely described that, rather than being static or linear, the BII process was ongoing, fluid and multidimensional.

Trauma and Threat-Survival

All participants described vivid and traumatic memories of the war in Cyprus and the subsequent journey to safety. Processing traumatic events was noted by participants as delayed because of the need to prioritise survival and safety-seeking. When the immediate danger of war was removed, the sense of threat appeared to continue throughout their time living in the UK. In some cases, this was more of an overt threat, such as discrimination, fear of deportation, or hearing of ongoing unsafety of peers in Cyprus. However, people mostly

described that there was a more subtle perceived threat, owed to the residual effect of being continually uprooted and dislocated. Similar to other literature, participants described that this left them on-edge, needing to stay 'below the radar' in the UK without risking stability (Berger & Gabriel, 1991). This seemed to link to dips in mood and heightened anxiety, both due to lack of connectedness, and ongoing displacement. Throughout initial resettlement periods, ongoing separation from family and close relationships, compounded by traumatic events, has been linked with mental health risks for many years following post-migration (Fazel et al., 2012). This was evident throughout all four themes. Findings were also in keeping with literature about how mental distress can remain high in refugees for a number of years beyond initial trauma points and after resettling, potentially due to having to navigate the process of identity development (Gonzalves, 1992). Almost 50 years on, participants continued to mention these challenges despite feeling more settled in the UK. So, even if acute distress decreased over time, there were residual difficulties that lasted much longer. In line with previous research, settlement and residential status did not seem to mitigate the trauma of loss or lack of belonging (Scribner, 2007). However, left untreated, unprocessed trauma has psychological and physical implications throughout life, and increased risks of intergenerationally transmitted difficulties (Loizos & Constantinou, 2007; Lev-Wiesel, 2007; Sangalang & Vang, 2016).

Support and Security-Seeking

Across the themes, seeking connection and belonging was common. Fostering a sense of belonging has had positive implications for wellbeing for this community (Taylor, 2009). Pre-migration and while resettling in the UK, individuals reported seeking safety where possible. Reportedly, they typically found it from within the UK Cypriot community. Participants outlined that no formal psychological support was available, despite experiencing acute distress. Literature suggested that stigma towards help-seeking was high in this community, and participants hypothesised that this would have inhibited access to

formalised mental health support (Papadopoulos et al., 2002). Instead, the preference was to seek support from Cypriot peers, which seemed most familiar and safe to them due to shared language and culture. Previous literature affirmed that promoting maintenance of heritage culture had positive and protective effects on wellbeing, especially for younger or unaccompanied refugees (Erentaité et al., 2018; Ikram et al., 2016; Oppedal et al., 2020). However, it was reported to disrupt the BII process and, perhaps, amplify perceived intercultural differences. Language-learning and establishing support networks within the host culture has been shown to be imperative for resettling and fostering belonging (Oppedal et al., 2020; Salvo & Williams, 2017). Therefore, increasing English fluency and adapting somewhat to new social norms helped minimise further posed risks, but this was typically gained over time. While financial security was needed, the narratives were largely about finding stability in non-materialistic endeavours. For some, they were able to integrate opportunities accessed in the UK with more traditional Cypriot values e.g. using educational opportunities to improve stability for their family.

Additionally, many identified that they tended to adopt different cultural identities in different contexts, which was interpreted as a safety precaution to minimise potential detriment relating to being othered (Schmitt et al., 2014). Previously literature has conceptualised that alternating cultural identities are distinct from hybrid, integrated selves (Ward et al., 2018). However, participants in this study described these identity styles as more interlinked. Participants suggested that the alternating identities they had were built on their specific sets of experiences, so that they could take bits from each culture and form their own identity i.e. a hybridised identity. Specifically, even though they aligned more with Cypriot cultures in a Cypriot network, they recognised they were different from those that held the core culture in Cyprus. Therefore, there were ways in which these hybrid identities were negotiated and employed depending on setting. This echoed frame-switching literature, which suggested this has both positive and negative implications for wellbeing and acceptance (West et al., 2018). In essence, BII could be conceptualised as a multilinear and

fluctuating process where each 'identity' and, one's proximity to it, develops over time within and across individuals. This would explain how perceived stability and comfort in the UK did not translate to assimilation or traditionally conceptualised cultural integration. This could have further implications for mental health.

Motivation to Integrate versus Drive to Return

Overarchingly, participants described that losses, rootlessness and displacement were maintained by the lack of resolution in Cyprus and the lack of autonomy in the decision to leave home or adopt British identity. For many, the reluctance to leave Cyprus sustained their motivation to return, despite the time that lapsed; there was no perceived motivation or intention to integrate. This was reflected in the continuation of stronger identification with Cypriot culture over British even when seemingly settled in the UK. Previous literature has commented on similar concepts in terms of the bond that people have to different places (Hernández et al., 2007). While non-natives became attached to a non-heritage place (place attachment), identifying as a person from there (place identity) took much longer, and this relationship was likely mediated by many factors.

Some participants discussed that once safe, and with the support of the Cypriot community, there was a collective drive to protest the political situation in Cyprus. Although they acknowledged the benefits reaped by life in the UK, there was little reported desire to remain, which brought a resentment of the injustice sustaining their dislocation from home. They also reported underlying frustration at not being able to fully-express themselves, advocate for themselves or push boundaries to better their situation. Partly, this seemed due to lack of confidence navigating a foreign environment, fear of discrimination or deportation and the limited time and financial resources, which saw that study and work were prioritised. Similar to Alavi (2021), there were limited opportunities to progress and develop as this was seen as a risk to their sought stability. As with other temporary migration contexts, this

seemed to mean that people integrated 'enough' with the function to survive the environment until they were able to return. Khoo et al. (2008) suggested that finding skilled and stable work influenced one's decision to become a permanent resident despite the motivation to relocate temporarily. The current study suggested that this sentiment reached other domains of one's life too, namely building a family as well as building economic and political stability. However, many participants spoke of being torn by the injustice of being forcibly separated from their homes rather than choosing to migrate. Only after finding stability, and with some acceptance that return would not be possible, did people describe less resistance to integration. This allowed more space to emotionally regulate and consider the positives of being biculturally-integrated, subsequently, allowing them to focus on building a life here. This had implications in line with the aforementioned concept that better mental health, psychological capacity and available cognitive resource might be required to consciously integrate (Tikhonov et al., 2019; Gilbert, 2005; Algan et al., 2012). Consistently, the motivation to remain was discussed to be a passive process that happened over time or due to accepting the lack of resolution in Cyprus.

Moreover, although the BII score was given just to characterise the sample and ensure variable levels of biculturalism, it was of note that participants often gave conflicting narratives of their cultures being separate and incongruent, but minimised this on the self-report measure. This seemed to align with a conflicted sense of self and the fluctuating motivations between accepting the situation in Cyprus to progress more integratedly in the UK, and not wanting to abandon hopes of return. Building on existing theories of hybrid, alternating and integrated bicultural identities, it is possible that these processes all coexist within the individual (Ward et al., 2018; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005).

Furthermore, as described in *Part One*, West et al. (2017) deemed bicultural identity "more than the sum of its parts". Nonetheless, it seemed that 'integrated' cultural identities did not equate levels of adjustment on a societal level and vice versa. Literature suggested

that 'integrated' identities had better outcomes for self-concept and cognition; however, the individual's own context must be taken into consideration. For instance, in the current study, cultural frame-switching was often regarded as a necessity to 'stay safe', figuratively and literally, whereas other studies have found this process to be detrimental to wellbeing (West et al., 2018). Participants suggested that it was helpful because it minimised perceived differences between cultural groups and therefore, reduced possible threat of isolation or rejection. Participants consistently reported that for them identity formation and integration was a more passive process. In the context of the experienced trauma and heightened desire to return home due to having forcibly fled, the concept of using cognitive and psychological efforts to integrate seemed at odds with the goal of finding temporary stability until return home was possible. This built on the existing literature regarding malleability of bicultural loyalties (Chiou & Mercado, 2016). The current findings also elaborated on concepts raised by transformative, bidimensional models of biculturalism (Repke & Benet-Martínez, 2019). It could be interpreted that closeness to one culture did not necessitate distance from the other; instead, the process of bicultural negotiation appeared to change bidirectionally over time depending on people's experiences or life stages.

Limitations

It should be acknowledged that there were limitations to the current study. There may have been biases in the sample given that snowball sampling meant that participants likely knew each other and, due to the project's nature, they immigrated around the same time. Additionally, participating individuals only included those that stayed to live in the UK. However, there was an acknowledgment that much of the refugee population remained internally-displaced in Cyprus, and many that came to the UK decided to return to Cyprus, even if unable to go back to their own homes. This suggested they might have experienced some potential barriers integrating culturally in the UK, and consequently, some potential bias in the interviewee sample that did not return.

Additionally, it should be noted that while a voucher was offered as a gesture of thanks, none of the participants accepted this. Generally, this was on the basis of not wanting a 'reward' for supporting the project. It would be interesting to consider possible ethical dilemmas this might have demonstrated, but there could also have been culturally held views worth considering for future projects with a similar cohort. Upon reflection, it seemed likely that the position as an insider-outsider researcher may have increased participants' desire to support a member of the community, rather than wanting to participate in the project itself. Moreover, multiple participants spoke of seeking connection between them and the researcher. This likely influenced how and what they shared of their experiences during the interview.

Moreover, language was highlighted as one of the key ways of staying connected with their Cypriot culture. Particularly, it was noted that this was to the extent that all participants commented on the importance of their children being able to communicate in Greek. This was to facilitate talking with relatives, but also to maintain connection with their heritage. The majority of interviews were in whole, or partially, in Greek, this prevented automated transcription on the available softwares and necessitated simultaneous translation and transcription by hand. Due to variations of vocabulary and colloquialisms, it remained possible that some of the nuance conveyed in people's stories might have been lost when translating into English. Furthermore, participants were free to use both Greek and English languages within the interview. While not within the scope of this project, it may have been interesting to further analyse how language use changed and at what points people switched between languages, if they did so. For instance, it was noted by the researcher that poignant anecdotes were usually spoken in Greek. This was in keeping with previous studies that suggested Greek-Cypriots in the UK code-switched to Greek, particularly the Cypriot dialect, at more 'emotionally-charged' points of a conversation e.g. when using humour or

arguing (Finnis, 2014). However, there was no scope within the project to further characterise this.

Although bracketing was used throughout the reflexive process, it would not have been possible to remove bias from the research (Dahlberg & Dahlberg, 2019). The interpretation of data was likely influenced by many factors e.g. pre-understanding of the Cypriot context in the UK, the critical-realist stance, and the role of being a trainee clinical psychologist. Moreover, there would likely have been many other ways to interpret the data or link it to other literature bases, so there was inevitable subjectivity throughout the qualitative process. Nonetheless, there were many promising implications from the study.

Clinical Implications and Future Research

Current clinical practices and policies tend to differentiate between migrants and settled residents, suggesting that there are binary distinctions between them; they are either in-group or out-group. However, the current study showed implications that there is much more variability in the way one relates with their cultural identities and the way these processes interact with mental wellbeing. Particularly, it is likely that fluctuations happen over time and as reactions to different life events. This could mean that in terms of identifying and formulating psychological distress relating to migration and ongoing BII, people identified as 'settled' due to long-term residence, are likely to be overlooked by services. As highlighted by previous literature, there is a need to learn more about the psychological effects of varying bicultural identity orientations (Repke & Benet-Martínez, 2019). While the literature supported that maintaining heritage culture was imperative for wellbeing, it is possible that this enhances segregation between identities. Therefore, promoting opportunities for positive intergroup contact and having more culturally diverse networks could help to bridge some of the areas of perceived difference or threat (Wiley et al., 2019; Mok et al., 2007). Further longitudinal work following migrants through the process of resettlement and beyond would be essential to add to the current findings.

Conclusions

Overall, results suggested that there were conflicting ways that the integration of bicultural identities was described. This highlighted that this was an ongoing, fluid process that changed and fluctuated across different contexts, and there was a spectrum on which participants oscillated. Participants seemed to consistently identify with both cultural identities, but this was to varying degrees. While cultural identities appeared somewhat linked, identifying as having high Cypriot identity did not 'deplete' identification with British identity. Arguably this has shown a difference between integrating into one's host society and feeling integrated with regards to one's identity. Given the existing literature, how people negotiate bicultural identities may have further implications for how they manage, regulate and express distress in a non-heritage environment. Learning more about these processes could lead to improvements in clinical practice in the way psychological need is identified and support is offered to migrant populations.

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Part Three: Critical Appraisal

Overview

This chapter reflected on some of the factors that contributed to the selection and development of a project in this field. It also outlined challenges that arose throughout the process of conducting the research, discussing some of the barriers and dilemmas involved in the methodology and researcher positionality. Lastly, the appraisal concluded with hopes for dissemination of the study outcomes.

Project Development

As a bicultural individual myself, discussion around managing bicultural identities would often come up informally within my peer group. Although, I have found it particularly interesting to learn more about how diverse characteristics impact different cohorts of people from an academic perspective. Additionally, throughout my years working for the NHS in a variety of mental health services, it seemed increasingly more noticeable that ethnic minority groups often accounted for a disproportionate number of service users with severe mental health difficulties, but these groups were often under-represented in primary care. Typically, assumptions ingrained in organisational systems often put the onus on the individuals from these groups 'not engaging with services'. Unfortunately, there seems to be continued difficulty challenging more systemic biases that may contribute to the formation and maintenance of barriers accessing services for individuals that come from different, often minoritised, backgrounds (Memon et al., 2016). There has been research regarding trauma within refugee communities and studies into the effects of migration fairly soon after their arrival in the host country. General findings suggested that integration and continued support was key to wellbeing. However, there seemed to be relatively little describing the processes of how people integrate their cultures or negotiate the interplay between them in order to form a sense of identity in a foreign environment.

Expert by Experience (EBE) Involvement

Through the early development of the project, it became evident that support from bicultural individuals who had experienced the displacement of 1974 would be integral to the study. This helped ensure that there was collaboration in how the research was conducted such that it could appropriately represent the impact of the refugees' experiences on their integration and wellbeing in the UK. This was particularly useful in the creation of the preliminary interview schedule, not simply to ask questions that would be specific enough to the Cypriot refugee experience, but also ones that would be open enough as not to lead the participants' narratives. Moreover, choosing language that would facilitate a more open dialogue was especially important as it was felt that the participants may have been affected by some social desirability biases. Additionally, we considered my role as an insider-outsider researcher in that, while I am not a first-generation migrant displaced during the 1974, I have Cypriot heritage, familial ties to the, now occupied, North of Cyprus, and membership to the Cypriot community within the UK (Bukamal, 2022). Having the support of an EBE was particularly useful in discussing these ethical considerations while researching this population. For instance, we considered how this might promote people's engagement with the research in order to help a 'fellow Cypriot' rather than because they were intrinsically motivated to participate. Alternatively, people might have potentially inhibited more honest responses for fear of judgement or for worries about disclosures reaching any possible mutual connections.

Insider-Outsider Positionality

In addition to the aforementioned considerations of being an insider-outsider researcher, it would be pertinent to outline the impact of this stance on the research process and outcome. Despite attempts at reflexivity, it is likely that biases in my own culturally-informed ideas about these topics and pre-existing understanding of the war and this cohort of people, was reflected somewhat in the derivation of codes and themes. This might be

more obvious in what was left absent in the findings due to my own blindspots. Although, there were attempts to bring light to this by approaching a second coder and comparing the codebooks for a small sample of the collected data. While the aim was not for inter-rater agreement or reliability, the exercise allowed for other interpretations of the data to generate different understandings of the data and potentially missed themes.

Another impacted area was in setting up and conducting the interviews, especially with participants that perceived me as an insider to the community. This was felt in their attempts to find a mutual connection or common experiences of living with Cypriot heritage in the UK. This potentially impacted the authenticity of the responses in a number of ways e.g. feeling more concerned about in-group stigma, or feeling more able to be open in the space. Many participants questioned the purpose of the study and wanted to know how findings would be disseminated; knowing that their experiences would be heard and potentially published seemed to increase motivation to participate. This was further demonstrated by the fact that no participant accepted the voucher offered as a token of appreciation of their involvement with the study. It appeared that they were not extrinsically motivated by the voucher and instead seemed more concerned with how they could contribute beneficially to the study. While it is possible that this was enhanced by my membership to the Cypriot community, it is also worth noting that some of the participants were familiar with research and had participated in previous studies relating to the 1974 war. It seemed noticeable that some were used to talking about the political and pragmatic consequences of the war, but some reported that this was the first study they had been involved in that necessitated them to reflect on the personal and psychological toll. These factors likely impacted how comfortable they were to share parts of their story depending on whether they were comfortable speaking about it.

Additionally, during the interviews participants commonly assumed that I had knowledge of certain experiences giving vague responses or using self-stereotypes

frequently used in the community. For instance, spoke broadly about 'Cypriot values and traditions', and some distinguished between cohorts that migrated in the 1970s and those in the 1950s. Oftentimes, I would ask for clarification, despite some of my own preconceptions about what they might have meant, but there were occasions when I didn't question or challenge statements that were presented as fact or assumed to be shared knowledge. Similarly, participants knew I was not a refugee and, although I have Cypriot heritage, I was born in the UK. This likely influenced their own ideas and assumptions about my experiences and ability to understand their context. It is possible that this inhibited more authentic responses due to a perceived threat of saying something 'wrong' or 'offensive'. For instance, interviewees might have limited detail around difficulties from within the existing Cypriot community in the UK or their account of what it is like for the sequential generations born in the UK.

Furthermore, it is worth considering that having these conversations about traumatic experiences as a researcher gave me a fairly different stance than I am used to as a clinical practitioner. My background working in mental health, assessing and formulating people's experiences, likely guided the way I conducted this piece of research from question style to thematic generation and interpretation e.g. which existing theories I drew from (British Psychological Society, 2011). Acknowledging that these interviews were not formal therapy, might have inhibited my own curiosity in asking expansive questions or offering as much reassurance or reflections as I might have otherwise (Kornhaber et al., 2016). Additionally, this seemed further confused and compounded by some of the participants commenting that they found the space therapeutic, particularly if they had not spoken about the events of 1974 before or had not had any experience talking to a psychologist. Again, while it is difficult to know the impact this had on people's accounts, it is useful to factor it in as a likely influencer of the narrative they gave, whether or not it happened consciously or intentionally.

Dilemmas and Methodological Choices

It is imperative to mention that this research was not intended to be a sociological or politicised commentary on Cypriot history. That said, it is unlikely that my research could be completely without bias, despite making efforts to attempt to challenge this. Particularly, it was difficult to speak to the experiences of refugees' experiences leaving Cyprus for Britain due to an invasion, without contextualising the years of colonisation by the British Empire and the political differences of Turkey and Greece that contributed to the unrest experienced by Cypriot islanders. Prior to the invasion many Cypriot villages were bicommunal, with both Greek and Turkish-speaking populations. It would have been interesting to consider how bicommunal living might have impacted their experience of the war. Additionally, there is a noticeable absence of Turkish-Cypriot narratives. These populations were also displaced from their homes when the war ensued and the country divided. The choice to narrow the scope of the study to Greek-speaking Cypriot refugees was due to the practical restrictions of the doctoral thesis. It was considered that there would be separate sets of themes for these individuals, as they might have experienced the 1974 war differently. However, it would be preferable to include these voices in future research to ensure that the experiences of Cypriots as a whole are appropriately represented. Additionally, there is an issue of language e.g. categorising the 'invasion', but more neutral terminology often refers to the event as an 'intervention'; 'invasion' was used due to reflect the language used by the participants. Moreover, for clarity we opted to use hyphenated identities in Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot and participants often used 'Greek' as a shorthand for 'Greek-Cypriot'. However, there should be an acknowledgement that this language is somewhat politicised and polarising. There is a movement informally to use Greek-speaking or Turkish-speaking to distinguish the languages used by both groups which are overarchingly considered Cypriot.

In terms of recruitment, there were initial difficulties with the purposive sampling strategy via community groups. This delayed the start of data collection. There were some hypotheses about what the barriers might have been, for instance, that it was less personal, and that many people remain uncomfortable talking about their experiences of 1974. However, when snowballing was adopted, recruitment appeared to be much more successful. Participants agreed this was a more personal way to reach people and build trust (Sharma, 2017). However, as mentioned, there is a possibility this added a certain amount of bias into the sample. It is also worth mentioning the impact of the pandemic. When the project was initially set up there were still some COVID-19 restrictions in place (GOV.UK, 2021). Although they were slowly being reduced, it was considered that the study should be designed such that if the COVID restrictions increased again, it would not impede the study. Video interviews were conducted over Zoom as approved by the university. However, many participants did ask for face-to-face interviews, but as this was neither approved by the ethics board, nor covered by the risk assessment, this could not be facilitated for the current study. It is possible that the preference for face-to-face may have inhibited more open responses being given over video-call. Remote sessions have been considered to be an effective way to conduct research, though some perspectives identified that it might inhibit rapport building and openness (Archibald et al., 2019). Nonetheless, as participants were called first to discuss the project, there were opportunities for any concerns around the remote session to be addressed prior to the interview. This seemed a helpful step, not just for information-giving and eligibility checks, but also to allow an extra contact to attempt to increase comfortability once in the interview, as they would have already spoken with me.

Subsequent difficulties were faced once interviews were done. The transcription service initially selected was no longer licensed by the university and transcripts obtained from the Zoom recordings could not be used as they were inaccurate due to participants' accents and switches between English and Greek language. Therefore, the transcription had to be done by hand, which was time-consuming, but it allowed me to familiarise myself with

the content of the interviews, facilitating coding and the generation of themes. However, this meant that when I had to condense my initial set of codes, I had difficulty reducing themes, wanting to represent all the nuanced experiences people spoke about. In deciding what was or was not pertinent to the study, it is likely that my cultural and clinical backgrounds informed where I focused more or less attention. This was particularly evident in the way I reflected on models of formulation throughout the thematic interpretation, identifying similarities in affect-regulation psychoeducation used when people experience high-threat (Gilbert, 2005). Dilemmas arose as I wanted to ensure peoples' experiences were accurately represented, but felt some restriction in the process of analysis. Partially, this might have been due to the thematic analysis technique or empirical stance adopted, but also due to the practical constraints and focus of the doctoral thesis preventing further expansion of themes. As such, unfortunately, much of the richness of individual narratives was likely lost. Further research in the area would help to build on ideas presented in this thesis. For instance, it might have been helpful to do a trauma screening questionnaire or to further investigate how biculturalism levels change according to the contexts people are in. Ultimately, this could help better understand about the experiences of people resettling in different communities and how they navigate the use of multiple cultural identities.

Clinical Implications and Dissemination

While clinically, we have gotten better at identifying and formulating trauma, typically, it has been seen as a discrete label assigned to particular concrete events. Research such as this continues to support the notion that trauma is expressed, and exists, in many forms. Bicultural schisms appear to continually play an integral role in one's ever-evolving formation of their own identity. When dislocated from the world they know, migrants have to re-learn how to live safely in a new society that may not necessarily receive them well. Negotiating the tradeoffs between what makes up someone's identity and what may not be tolerated within the context of their new environment, is a continually evolving process. Heritage

culture also serves as a reminder both of what was left behind and of the planned future that was lost. It reinforces a state of displacement and non-belonging. Evolutionarily, belonging to a network has been integral to human survival. Hence, when that comes under threat there is further fear of endangerment beyond any war or singular event. Interestingly, we continue to refer to further generations as second and third generation immigrants. It inherently suggests that these cultural schisms do not simply go away. It is imperative that we place more consideration on the impact these processes have, and continue to have, on our diversifying society, particularly individuals seeking psychological support. Only then, may we be able to understand more about their experiences and the context they bring.

All participants showed an interest in learning the results of the empirical study and the findings will be relayed to them. Additionally, I hope for the opportunity to disseminate findings both through formal publication and informally such that the research is fed back to the community from which it stemmed. I am exploring various avenues within the Cypriot network to consider how findings from the empirical paper can be disseminated in a format best suited to the community.

Conclusions

It was a privilege to have worked alongside the 15 participants and EBE involved in the study and who contributed so richly and honestly to this project. Despite the challenges conducting research of this scope and nature and some of the difficulties initially setting-up the project, I appreciate the opportunity to have constructed the project and particularly, to have given voice to more marginalised communities in research. I welcomed the reflexivity of the process and being able to reflect and acknowledge my own biases and assumptions throughout the process. This is something I will endeavour to take forward into my clinical practice post-qualification in order that I may improve my quality of care to diverse sets of clients.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: QualSyst Appraisal Tool

QualSyst Item	Study													
	Ward et al., 2018	Tikhonov et al., 2019	Hussain, 2019	Rahman, 2017	Broustove tskiaia, 2016	Basilio, 2015	Vollebergh & Huiberts, 1997	Ying, 1995	Safa et al., 2018	Okin, 2022	Lee & Church, 2017	Yamamoto, 2010	Rivera-Sinclair, 1997	Firat & Noels, 2022
1. Question / objective sufficiently described?	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
2. Study design evident and appropriate?	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	2
3. Method of subject/comparison group selection or source of information/input variables described and appropriate?	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4. Subject (and comparison group, if applicable) characteristics sufficiently described?	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1
5. If interventional and random allocation was possible, was it described?	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
6. If interventional and blinding of investigators was possible, was it reported?	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
7. If interventional and blinding of subjects was possible, was it reported?	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
8. Outcome and (if applicable) exposure measure(s) well defined and robust to measurement /	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2

QualSyst Item	Study													
	Ward et al., 2018	Tikhonov et al., 2019	Hussain, 2019	Rahman, 2017	Broustova et al., 2016	Basilio, 2015	Vollebergh & Huiberts, 1997	Ying, 1995	Safa et al., 2018	Okin, 2022	Lee & Church, 2017	Yamamoto, 2010	Rivera-Sinclair, 1997	Firat & Noels, 2022
misclassification bias? Means of assessment reported?														
9. Sample size appropriate?	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
10. Analytic methods described/justified and appropriate?	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
11. Some estimate of variance is reported for the main results?	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	2
12. Controlled for confounding?	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
13. Results reported in sufficient detail?	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	2
14. Conclusions supported by the results?	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
Score		0.82	0.86	0.82	0.91	0.82	0.64	0.73	0.86	0.77	0.82	0.77	0.77	0.86

Note. QualSyst Tool taken from (Kmet et al., 2004). Final scores were agreed between two reviewers

Appendix 2: Ethical Approval Letter

UCL RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
OFFICE FOR THE VICE PROVOST RESEARCH



26/07/2022

Dr Joshua Stott
Division of Psychology & Language Sciences
Faculty of Brain Sciences
UCL

Cc: Madalena Lykourgos

Dear Dr Stott,

Notification of Ethics Approval with
Project ID/Title: 22911/001: Exploring the impact of bicultural identity on wellbeing and integration,
following the 1974 war in Cyprus and associated migration to the UK.

Further to your satisfactory responses to the reviewer's comments, I am pleased to confirm that your study has been ethically approved until 26/07/2023.

Ethical approval is subject to the following conditions:

Notification of Amendments to the Research

You must seek Chair's approval for proposed amendments (to include extensions to the duration of the project) to the research for which this approval has been given. Each research project is reviewed separately and if there are significant changes to the research protocol you should seek confirmation of continued ethical approval by completing an 'Amendment Approval Request Form'

<http://ethics.grad.ucl.ac.uk/responsibilities.php>

Adverse Event Reporting – Serious and Non-Serious

It is your responsibility to report to the Committee any unanticipated problems or adverse events involving risks to participants or others. The Ethics Committee should be notified of all serious adverse events via the Ethics Committee Administrator (ethics@ucl.ac.uk) immediately the incident occurs. Where the adverse incident is unexpected and serious, the Joint Chairs will decide whether the study should be terminated pending the opinion of an independent expert. For non-serious adverse events the Joint Chairs of the Ethics Committee should again be notified via the Ethics Committee Administrator within ten days of the incident occurring and provide a full written report that should include any amendments to the participant information sheet and study protocol. The Joint Chairs will confirm that the incident is non-serious and report to the Committee at the next meeting. The final view of the Committee will be communicated to you.

Office of the Vice Provost Research, 2 Tavilton Street
University College London
Tel: +44 (0)20 7679 8717
Email: ethics@ucl.ac.uk
<http://ethics.grad.ucl.ac.uk/>

Final Report

At the end of the data collection element of your research we ask that you submit a very brief report (1-2 paragraphs will suffice) which includes in particular issues relating to the ethical implications of the research i.e. issues obtaining consent, participants withdrawing from the research, confidentiality, protection of participants from physical and mental harm etc.

In addition, please:

- ensure that you follow all relevant guidance as laid out in UCL's Code of Conduct for Research: www.ucl.ac.uk/srs/governance-and-committees/research-governance
- note that you are required to adhere to all research data/records management and storage procedures agreed as part of your application. This will be expected even after completion of the study.

With best wishes for the research.

Yours sincerely



Sagal Elmi
On behalf of the chairs of the UCL Research Ethics Committee

Appendix 3: Participant Questionnaire

What's your year of birth?

Where were you born?

What's your nationality?

-British

-Cypriot

-Dual Nationality: British & Cypriot

-Other (please describe)

What religion are you, if any?

-Greek Orthodox

-Other Christian (not Greek Orthodox)

-Muslim

-Jewish

-Buddhist

-Hindu

-Other, please specify:

Do you attend religious services?

-No

-Sometimes

-Yes

Do you usually vote in UK elections?

-Yes

-No

-Sometimes

When did you move to the UK?

How old were you when you came to the UK?

With whom did you come to the UK?

-Family

-Friends

-Alone, but knew people in the UK

-Alone, but did not know people in the UK

When you moved to the UK where did you live?

- Mostly Cypriot area, and still live in mostly Cypriot area
- Mostly Cypriot area, but no longer live in mostly Cypriot area
- Not a very Cypriot area, and still don't live in a very Cypriot area
- Not a very Cypriot area, but later moved to a mostly Cypriot area

How long were you planning to stay in the UK?

- Less than 1 year*
- Between 1-10 years*
- More than 10 years or Permanently*

What is your preferred language?

- English*
- Greek*
- Mixture of English and Greek*
- Other, please specify:*

What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

- Did not attend school*
- Some schooling but did not complete*
- College/ 6th Form*
- Undergraduate degree*
- Master's degree*
- PhD or Doctoral degree*
- Other, please specify:*

What is your background?

- White*
- Black*
- Middle Eastern*
- Asian*
- Mixed Heritage, please state:*
- Other, please state:*

How do you describe yourself?

- Male*
- Female*
- Non-binary*
- Prefer to self-describe:*
- Prefer not to say*

Which of the following best describes your sexual orientation?

- Heterosexual (straight)*
- Homosexual (gay)*

- Bisexual
- Prefer not to say
- Prefer to self-describe:

What best describes your employment status over the last three months

- Working full-time
- Working part-time
- Unemployed and looking for work
- A homemaker or stay-at-home parent/ carer
- Student
- Retired
- Other, please state:

BII Scale (adapted from Huynh, Benet-Martínez, & Nguyen, 2018): ***omitted in this version***

Have you ever experienced difficulties with your mental health?

- Yes, please specify:
- Maybe
- No

Have you ever received support for your mental health?

- No
- Maybe
- Yes, please specify:

RPMS adapted from Malm, Tinghög, Narusyte & Saboonchi (2020): ***omitted in this version***

Thank you for your participation

Appendix 4: Interview Schedule:

Although this not a finalised interview schedule, as it will continue to be co-created with EBE and informed by the existing literature on bicultural integration, some example questions may include:

- What was it like coming to Britain? What was the journey like? Who did you come with?
- What was your experience leaving Cyprus? What was your experience of the conflict in Cyprus before you came to Britain?
- How did you view Britain?
- How did you view your Identity?
 - How did this affect your behaviour etc....? Your parenting etc? Your friendship network?
- Did you know anyone in Britain when you came to the UK? How easy was it to find people that were similar to you? What was it like being around people that were different to you?
- Was it important to you to live among other Cypriots in the UK?
- Did you plan on going back to Cyprus?
- How long were you planning to stay in the UK?
 - What impact did the invasion have on that?
- When did you start to realise you might not be going back?
 - What impact did that have on you? Your identity/ behaviour? Your view of Britain and relationship with it? On parenting styles? What you passed on to your kids?
- How did this impact your relationship with the UK etc?
- How would you describe your mental health?
- How many of the Cypriot traditions do you keep up and pass on?
- What support (if any) was available in the UK when you arrived? What support would you have liked/ would have been useful when arriving in the UK?

It is worth noting that some people may have been children when migrating to the UK. In these cases and with consultation from EBE, wording of the questions should be amended to reflect that they may not have had agency in the decision-making process when leaving Cyprus e.g. looking back, do you have a sense of why your parents might have left?

Appendix 5: Participant Information Sheet

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT OF CLINICAL,
EDUCATIONAL AND HEALTH PSYCHOLOGY



Participant Information Sheet For Adult UK Cypriots

UCL Research Ethics Committee Approval ID Number: 22911/001

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET

Title of the Project:

Exploring the impact of bicultural identity on wellbeing and integration, following the 1974 war in Cyprus and associated migration to the UK.

Department: School of Clinical, Educational and Health Psychology, Faculty of Brain Sciences, Div of Psychology & Lang Sciences

**Name and Contact Details of the Researcher(s): Madalena Lykourgos;
Madalena.lykourgos.14@ucl.ac.uk ; University College London, Gower St, London WC1E 6BT**

**Name and Contact Details of the Principal Researcher: Dr Joshua Stott;
j.stott@ucl.ac.uk ; University College London, Gower St, London WC1E 6BT**

1. Invitation Paragraph

“You are invited to take part in a research project. Participation is voluntary. Please read the information below to help you understand what participation will involve. Take time to read the information and, if anything is unclear, please ask for more information. Thank you for reading.”

0. What is the project's purpose?

For my thesis, I am running a research project aimed at understanding more about the experience of being a Cypriot in the UK and how people manage living in the UK and also being members of the Cypriot community. In particular, we are hoping to learn more about the impact on those who migrated to the UK or had to remain here indefinitely due to the 1974 Turkish invasion.

The purpose of the study is to find out more about the experiences faced by those that were not able to return home to Cyprus, how this affected their integration here in the UK and the impact this has on their wellbeing. Participants would be expected to fill in a brief questionnaire and have a 60-90 minute conversation with me about their experiences coming to the UK. Participants will be given a £15 voucher to thank them for their time.

0. Why have I been chosen?

You have been identified as a Greek-Cypriot who came to the UK, but was unable to return to Cyprus because of the ongoing conflict in Cyprus around 1974.

You may take part if you are:

- over the age of 18
- currently living in the UK - able to understand written and spoken English or Greek
- Greek-Cypriot and came to the UK due to the Turkish invasion in 1974
 - OR Greek-Cypriot and previously emigrated from Cyprus to the UK temporarily and were forced to remain due to the conflict in Cyprus.

0. **Do I have to take part?**

"Participation is entirely voluntary. There is no penalty for choosing not to participate and should you agree to take part, you may change your mind without giving a reason. You can withdraw your consent up to a week after you participate. If you decide to take part, you can keep this information sheet for future reference, and you will be asked to sign a consent form for our records. If you have any questions, please feel free to ask."

0. **What will happen to me if I take part?**

Participants who chose to take part will need to fill in a brief questionnaire and have a 60-90 minute conversation with me about their experiences coming to the UK. These can happen over Microsoft Teams, Zoom or over the phone, whichever you prefer. These will be recorded so that they can be later analysed and any personal information that is stored, will be made anonymous to make sure you will not be identifiable. All data will be deleted after the project is complete. Participants will be given a £15 voucher to thank them for their time.

0. **Will I be recorded and how will the recorded media be used?**

"The audio recordings of our interviews will be transcribed and analysed only for the purpose of this project. Some sections may be used in university conference presentations and publications, however all identifiable material will be removed to maintain your privacy. The recordings will not be used for any other purpose without your permission and no one outside of the project will be allowed to access the original recordings."

0. **What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?**

There are no major risks that we can foresee. However, participants can stop or take breaks at any time. We will ensure no interview exceeds 90 minutes to prevent individuals getting tired or uncomfortable. All discussions will be kept confidential except if I become concerned about a participant's safety or that of someone around them. Additionally, the conversation will focus on potentially difficult times in participants' lives. This may bring up some distressing thoughts and memories. Therefore, participants will receive a debrief following the interview and be provided with information signposting them to further support if needed.

0. **What are the possible benefits of taking part?**

Whilst there are no immediate benefits for those people participating in the project, there is limited research on the UK Cypriot community and we hope that this research will provide an

opportunity for people to tell their stories. I hope this can help us understand more about the difficulty many face trying to integrate two competing cultures when migrating to another country, and the impact this can potentially have on their wellbeing. Hopefully, this research can contribute to building more support for the community and future migrating generations.

0. **What if something goes wrong?**

“If you have any concerns or complaints about the project, please contact the Principal Researcher, Dr Joshua Stott at j.stott@ucl.ac.uk. However, should you feel that it has not been handled to satisfaction then please feel free to contact the Chair of the UCL Research Ethics Committee at ethics@ucl.ac.uk “

0. **Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?**

‘All the information that we collect about you during the course of the research will be kept securely and strictly confidential. Your information will be pseudonymised, so that you will not be able to be identified in any ensuing reports or publications. All personal information will be deleted after the project finishes.’

0. **Limits to confidentiality**

Please note that confidentiality will be maintained as far as it is possible, unless during our conversation I hear anything which makes me worried that someone might be in danger of harm. In this case, I might have to inform relevant agencies of this to keep everybody safe.

0. **What will happen to the results of the research project?**

We will write a report for university to capture what participants have said throughout the study. We might use quotes from different people during our conversations, but will not include names or other identifiable information. This way, no one will know you have taken part in the study. We can send you a copy of the report once it's finished if you like. The hope is that the study will be presented at conferences and published in research journals. You will not be identified in any of the reports, publications or other talks about the project.

0. **Local Data Protection Privacy Notice**

Notice:

The controller for this project will be University College London (UCL). The UCL Data Protection Officer, Alex Potts provides oversight of UCL activities involving the processing of personal data, and can be contacted at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk

This ‘local’ privacy notice sets out the information that applies to this particular study. Further information on how UCL uses participant information can be found in our ‘general’ privacy notice: [here](#)

The information that is required to be provided to participants under data protection legislation (GDPR and DPA 2018) is provided across both the ‘local’ and ‘general’ privacy notices.

The categories of personal data used will be as follows:

Number/ Email Address (initially, just for contact)

Age

Gender

Sexuality

Ethnicity

Nationality

Religion

The lawful basis that would be used to process your *personal data* will be [performance of a task in the public interest.]

The lawful basis used to process *special category personal data* will be for scientific and historical research or statistical purposes.

Your personal data will be processed so long as it is required for the research project. If we are able to anonymise or pseudonymise the personal data you provide we will undertake this, and will endeavour to minimise the processing of personal data wherever possible.

If you are concerned about how your personal data is being processed, or if you would like to contact us about your rights, please contact UCL in the first instance at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk.

0. Who is organising and funding the research?

University College London

15. Contact for further information.

For further information please feel free to contact Dr Joshua Stott at j.stott@ucl.ac.uk

Thank you for reading this information sheet and for considering to take part in this research study.

Doctoral Programme in Clinical Psychology
University College London Gower Street London WC1E 6BT
General Enquiries Tel: +44 (0)20 7679 1897
<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/clinical-psychology>

Appendix 6: Consent Form

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT OF CLINICAL,
EDUCATIONAL AND HEALTH PSYCHOLOGY



CONSENT FORM FOR ADULTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Study: Exploring the impact of bicultural identity on wellbeing and integration, following the 1974 war in Cyprus and associated migration to the UK.

Department: School of Clinical, Educational and Health Psychology, Faculty of Brain Sciences, Div of Psychology & Lang Sciences

Name and Contact Details of the Researcher(s): Madalena Lykourgos;
Madalena.lykourgos.14@ucl.ac.uk ; University College London, Gower St, London WC1E 6BT

Name and Contact Details of the Principal Researcher: Dr Joshua Stott; j.stott@ucl.ac.uk ;
University College London, Gower St, London WC1E 6B

Name and Contact Details of the UCL Data Protection Officer: Alexandra Potts; data-protection@ucl.ac.uk

This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee: 22911/001

Project ID number: Z6364106/2022/01/54

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

I confirm that I understand that by ticking/initialling each box below I am consenting to this element of the study. I understand that it will be assumed that unticked/initialled boxes means that I DO NOT consent to that part of the study. I understand that by not giving consent for any one element that I may be deemed ineligible for the study.

		Tick Box
	*I confirm that I have read and understood the Information Sheet for the above study. I have had an opportunity to consider the information and what will be expected of me. I have also had the opportunity to ask questions which have been answered to my satisfaction <i>and would like to take part in an individual interview</i>	
0.	*I understand that I will be able to withdraw my data up to <i>1 week after interview</i>	
0.	*I consent to participate in the study. I understand that my personal information (<i>Number/ Email Address (initially, just for contact), Age, Gender, Sexuality, Ethnicity, Nationality, Religion</i>) will be used for the purposes explained to me. I understand that according to data protection legislation, 'public task' will be the lawful basis for processing.	
0.	Use of the information for this project only *I understand that all personal information will remain confidential and that all efforts will be made to ensure I cannot be identified. I understand that confidentiality will be respected unless there are compelling and legitimate reasons for this to be breached. If this was the case we would inform you of any decision that might limit your confidentiality.	

	I understand that my data gathered in this study will be stored anonymously and securely. It will not be possible to identify me in any publications.	
0.	*I understand that my information may be subject to review by responsible individuals from the University for monitoring and audit purposes.	
0.	*I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason. I understand that if I decide to withdraw, any personal data I have provided up to that point will be deleted unless I agree otherwise.	
0.	I understand the potential risks of participating and the support that will be available to me should I become distressed during the course of the research.	
0.	I understand the direct/indirect benefits of participating.	
0.	I understand that the data will not be made available to any commercial organisations but is solely the responsibility of the researcher(s) undertaking this study.	
0.	I understand that I will not benefit financially from this study or from any possible outcome it may result in in the future.	
0.	I understand that I will be compensated for the portion of time spent in the study (if applicable) or fully compensated if I choose to withdraw.	
0.	I agree that my pseudonymised research data will be used for this study. No one will be able to identify you in any ensuing reports and publications.	
0.	I understand that the information I have submitted will be published as a report and I wish to receive a copy of it. Yes/No	
0.	I consent to my interview being audio/video recorded and understand that the recordings will be: EITHER Stored securely and anonymously and destroyed within 12 months following transcription.	
0.	I hereby confirm that I understand the inclusion criteria as detailed in the Information Sheet and explained to me by the researcher.	
0.	I hereby confirm that: a. I understand the inclusion criteria as detailed in the Information Sheet and explained to me by the researcher; and b. I fall under the inclusion criteria.	
17	I am aware of who I should contact if I wish to lodge a complaint.	
18	I voluntarily agree to take part in this study.	
19	Use of information for this project and beyond I would be happy for the data I provide (transcripts of the interviews) to be archived securely at UCL. I understand that other authenticated researchers will have access to my pseudonymised data.	

If you would like your contact details to be retained so that you can be contacted in the future by UCL researchers who would like to invite you to participate in follow up studies to this project, or in future studies of a similar nature, please tick the appropriate box below.

☐	Yes, I would be happy to be contacted in this way	☐
☐	No, I would not like to be contacted	☐

 Name of participant Date Signature

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