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## HOW THE CHALLENGES FOR SOMALI MUSLIM MEN IN THE UK AFFECT THEIR IDENTITY RESILIENCE?

*İngiltere'deki Somalili Müslüman Erkeklerin Karşılaştığı Zorluklar Kimlik Dayanıklılıklarını Nasıl Etkiliyor?*

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## HOW THE CHALLENGES FOR SOMALI MUSLIM MEN IN THE UK AFFECT THEIR IDENTITY RESILIENCE?

### Abstract

Somali men living in the UK mostly encounter difficulties related to racism, discrimination, Islamophobia, social position, and economic circumstances, which may be attributed to their relatively recent arrival in the UK. The current study explores how the intersecting identities of Somali Muslim men in the UK affect their lives, challenges and identity resilience. The objective of this research is not to generalize the difficulties encountered by Somali men in the UK. Instead, the purpose is to thoroughly investigate how the personal experiences of Somali men impact their identity resilience. The study adopts the qualitative research methodology, employing semi-structured individual in-depth interviews with Somali men in the UK, and applying Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). The research findings revealed that the intersection of race and religion, being a first generation and the lack of a concrete role model among Somali men, low social class and socioeconomic standing, and finance and interest-related matters seem to create unique challenges for Somali men in the UK. Moreover, these challenges experienced by Somali men in the UK seem to impact their emotions. It appears that the challenges faced by Somali men also negatively affect the identity principles of "self-efficacy", "self-esteem", "distinctiveness", and "continuity", which are fundamental concepts in Identity Process Theory (IPT) and the recently developed "Identity Resilience Model". Although the religious identities of Somali men in the UK usually create challenges that negatively impact or threaten their identity resilience, their religious beliefs and religiosity also strengthen their identity resilience by providing a strong coping mechanism for their challenges.

**Keywords:** Psychology of Religion, Somali Men, Islamophobia, Identity Resilience, The UK.

### İngiltere'deki Somalili Müslüman Erkeklerin Karşılaştığı Zorluklar Kimlik Dayanıklılıklarını Nasıl Etkiliyor?

#### Öz

İngiltere'de yaşayan Somalili erkekler çoğunlukla ırkçılık, ayrımcılık, İslamofobi, sosyal konum ve ekonomik koşullarla ilgili zorluklarla karşılaşmaktadırlar ve bu durum, ülkeye diğer Müslüman gruplara göre daha sonraki dönemlerde göç etmiş olmalarına bağlanabilir. Bu çalışma, İngiltere'deki Somalili Müslüman erkeklerin kesişen kimliklerinin hayatlarını, yaşadıkları zorluklarını ve kimlik dayanıklılıklarını nasıl etkilediğini araştırmaktadır. Bu araştırmanın amacı Somalili erkeklerin Birleşik Krallık'ta karşılaştığı zorluklara ilişkin genellemeler yapmak değildir. Bunun yerine amaç, Somalili erkeklerin kişisel deneyimlerinin kimlik dayanıklılıklarını nasıl etkilediğini kapsamlı bir şekilde araştırmaktır. Nitel araştırma desenini benimseyen, İngiltere'de yaşayan Somalili erkeklerle yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine bireysel görüşmeler yapılan ve Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analiz (IPA) yaklaşımını uygulanan bu araştırmanın sonuçlarına göre; ırk ve dini kimliklerinin kesişmesi, ülkede birinci nesil Somalili göçmen olmaları ve somut rol modellerinin olmayışı, düşük sosyal sınıf ve sosyoekonomik durumları, finans ve faiz ile ilgili konular İngiltere'deki Somalili erkekler için

daha farklı sorunlara yol açıyor gözükmektedir. İngiltere'deki Somalili erkeklerin yaşadığı bu zorluklar ayrıca onları duygusal anlamda da etkiliyor gözükmektedir. Somalili erkeklerin yaşadıkları zorlukların aynı zamanda Kimlik Süreç Teorisi (IPT) ve yakın zamanda geliştirilen "Kimlik Dayanıklılığı Modeli"nin temel kavramları olan "öz-yeterlik", "özsaygı", "ayırt edicilik" ve "süreklilik" kimlik ilkelerini de olumsuz yönde etkilediği görülmektedir. Her ne kadar dini kimlikleri İngiltere'deki Somalili erkekler için genellikle kimlik dayanıklılıklarını olumsuz yönde etkileyen veya tehdit eden zorluklar ve problemler yaratsa da dini inançları ve dindarlıkları aynı zamanda karşılaştıkları zorluklara karşı güçlü bir başa çıkma mekanizması sağlayarak kimlik dayanıklılıklarını güçlendiriyor gözükmektedir.<sup>1</sup>

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Din Psikolojisi, Somalili Erkekler, İslamofobi, Kimlik Dayanıklılığı, İngiltere.

## INTRODUCTION

The current study explores, within the UK, how the intersecting identities of Muslim males contribute to the exacerbation of their challenges and how the experiences of various groups of Muslim men differ. The intersection of religion, race, ethnicity, and gender may bring difficulties for all groups of Muslim males. However, it appears that Somali men residing in the UK encounter particularly severe challenges due to factors such as skin colour, social class, and socioeconomic status. This challenge may be attributed to their relatively recent arrival in the UK, which has resulted in ongoing difficulties in their process of integrating and settling into British society.

The main purpose of this article is to examine how the challenges facing Somali men in the UK impact their identity resilience from a socio-psychological perspective. Therefore, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with Somali men to shed light on their lived experiences, and the data was analysed from a phenomenological perspective. According to the study findings, Somali males living in the UK mostly encounter difficulties related to racism, discrimination, Islamophobia, social position, and economic circumstances, which proved that the intersecting identities of Somali men in the UK create or exacerbate their difficulties. The research findings revealed that the intersection of race and religion, being a first generation and the lack of a concrete role model among Somali men, low social class and socioeconomic standing, and finance and interest-related

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<sup>1</sup> Declaration of Ethics: The Ethics Committee Approval of this study was taken from the Ethics Committee of the Brunel University London on November 27, 2019, with Decision No. 17735-MHR-Nov/2019- 21330-4

matters seem to create unique challenges for Somali men in the UK. The challenges experienced by Somali males residing in the UK also seem to impact their “self-efficacy”, “self-esteem”, “distinctiveness”, and “continuity”, which are fundamental identity principles within Identity Process Theory (IPT) as proposed by Breakwell,<sup>2</sup> as well as the recently developed Identity Resilience Model by Breakwell.<sup>3</sup>

## 1. SOMALI MEN IN THE UK AND THEIR CHALLENGES

Muslims in the UK come from a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds. Based on the most recent census data, a total of 150,649 individuals in the UK identified themselves as belonging to the Somali ethnic group, representing around 0.3% of the whole population.<sup>4</sup> The mass immigration of Somalis to the UK has historical roots, since the first waves of migration occurred throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Nevertheless, there was a significant surge in Somali migration to the UK throughout the latter decades of the 20th century. The political turmoil and violence in Somalia, which have had a substantial impact on migration, have led to a substantial increase in the Somali diaspora in the UK in recent decades. The turbulent political situation, ongoing conflicts, and widespread human rights abuses in Somalia have led to the involuntary relocation of numerous Somalis, compelling a portion of them to seek refuge and asylum in the UK. A substantial proportion of individuals from Somalia residing in the UK initially relocated as refugees and then obtained asylum.<sup>5</sup> Conversely, a significant number of Somalis have migrated to the UK from other Western nations in recent decades. According to van Liempt,<sup>6</sup> around 10,000 to 20,000 Somali immigrants have moved from the Netherlands to the UK since 2000. Consequently, the Somali population has continuously grown, and subsequent generations have been born in the UK.

The Somali refugee population constitutes the most significant demographic group among refugees in the UK. The substantial influence of the political upheaval and civil conflict in Somalia over the past few decades has been observed on Somali men in the UK. Many Somali men had previously resided as refugees in foreign nations prior to their arrival in the UK. Somali men have been residing among marginalised working-class communities

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<sup>2</sup> Glynis Marie Breakwell, *Coping with threatened identities* (London: Psychology Press, 1986).

<sup>3</sup> Glynis Marie Breakwell, “Identity resilience: its origins in identity processes and its role in coping with threat”, *Contemporary Social Science* 16/5 (2021), 573-588.

<sup>4</sup> Office for National Statistics (ONS), “Somali individuals in England, Wales and the UK”, (Accessed 30 December 2023).

<sup>5</sup> Anja van Heelsum, “Why Somalis move? An investigation into migratory processes among Somalis”, *ECAS* 4/4 (June 2011), 12.

<sup>6</sup> Ise van Liempt, “‘And then one day they all moved to Leicester’: the relocation of Somalis from the Netherlands to the UK explained”, *Population, Space and Place* 17/3 (April 2011), 254-266.

and inner-city neighbourhoods. Somali men in the UK face a range of problems, including the process of adapting to a novel societal environment, navigating familial and educational spheres, pursuing educational opportunities, securing jobs, establishing, and defining their own identities, and setting and striving towards their objectives and ambitions.<sup>7</sup>

Somali men encounter a range of challenges in the UK. Firstly, their refugee and asylum seeker status places them at a disadvantage. Secondly, their classification as “dark-skinned migrants” further compounds their difficulties. Additionally, they confront the disadvantages associated with being an ethnic minority. Lastly, their religious affiliation as Muslims presents another layer of disadvantage for Somalis.<sup>8</sup> For instance, some members of the Somali community in the UK perceive their low incomes as a result of unfavourable attitudes exhibited employers, as well as factors related to religious and ethnic affiliations.<sup>9</sup> The gender constructions and gender roles of refugees are influenced by many conflicts and crises due to the intersection of dominant discourses on race, gender, and social class.<sup>10</sup> According to Markussen,<sup>11</sup> the conceptions of masculinity among Somalis are influenced by their former social standing in their home country, in conjunction with factors such as age, gender, class, and ethnic minority status. Thus, the Somali males face numerous obstacles due to their intersecting identities, which include religion, ethnicity, gender, social class, and socio-economic status, all of which overlap and exacerbate their challenges.

## 2. IDENTITY PROCESS THEORY (IPT) AND IDENTITY RESILIENCE MODEL

The conceptualization of Identity Process Theory (IPT) aims to provide a comprehensive understanding and predictive framework for the responses of individuals and communities to psychological threats, particularly those that threaten their sense of identity.<sup>12</sup> According to IPT, “identity structure should be conceived in terms of its content and value/affect di-

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<sup>7</sup> Aweys O. Mohamoud, *Growing up Somali in Britain: the experience of a group of young Somali men and women coming of age in London and their parents* (London: University of London, Institute of Education, Doctoral Dissertation, 2011).

<sup>8</sup> Aweys, *Growing up Somali in Britain*, 18.

<sup>9</sup> Ellen Silveira - Peter Allebeck, “Migration, ageing and mental health: an ethnographic study on perceptions of life satisfaction, anxiety and depression in older Somali men in east London”, *International Journal of social welfare* 10/4 (2003), 309-320.

<sup>10</sup> Jesse Mills, “I should get married early: Culturally appropriate comprehensive sex education and the racialization of Somali masculinity”, *Spectrum: The Journal of Black Men* 1/1 (2012), 5-30.

<sup>11</sup> Marith Kristin Gullbekk Markussen, “‘Nobody comes to Baba for advice’: negotiating ageing masculinities in the Somali diaspora”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 46/7 (July 2020), 1442-1459.

<sup>12</sup> Breakwell, *Coping with threatened identities*, 86; Marco Cinnirella, “The role of perceived threat and identity in Islamophobic prejudice. Identity Process Theory: Identity”, *Social Action and Social Change* (2014), 253.

mensions, as this structure is governed by two universal processes, namely the accommodation/assimilation process and the evaluation process".<sup>13</sup> Breakwell<sup>14</sup> argues that accommodation/assimilation and evaluation are universal psychological processes that are also highly dynamic and regulate identity structures. "As components of the same process; assimilation refers to the absorption of new components into the identity structure; accommodation refers to the adjustment which occurs in the existing structure in order to find a place for new elements".<sup>15</sup> The evaluation process contributes allocation of meaning and value to both new and old identity content.<sup>16</sup> According to IPT, the accommodation/assimilation process and the evaluation process are engaged when forming an identity, both of which are driven by "identity principles", namely "continuity", "self-esteem", "self-efficacy", and "distinctiveness". These principles refer to the motivational foundations of identity and set out the end states for the identity's ideal structure.<sup>17</sup>

The continuity principle refers to continuity across time and situation. Typically, accommodation/assimilation and evaluation processes collaborate in order to maintain consistency over time and in various contexts.<sup>18</sup> Self-esteem is accepted as a fundamental principle of all identity theories.<sup>19</sup> According to IPT, accommodation/assimilation and evaluation processes work in unison to produce feelings of personal worth or social value.<sup>20</sup> The self-efficacy principle refers to the motivation to maintain feelings of competence and control.<sup>21</sup> The distinctiveness principle serves "as a motive pushing toward the establishment and maintenance of a sense of differentiation from others, with implications for cognition, affect, and behaviour".<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Rusi Jaspal - Marco Cinnirella, "The construction of ethnic identity: Insights from identity process theory", *Ethnicities* 12/5 (January 2012), 505.

<sup>14</sup> Breakwell, *Coping with threatened identities*, 36.

<sup>15</sup> Breakwell, *Coping with threatened identities*, 34.

<sup>16</sup> Breakwell, *Coping with threatened identities*, 35.

<sup>17</sup> Breakwell, *Coping with threatened identities*, 34; Glynis Marie Breakwell, "Social representations and social identity", *Papers on social representations* 2 (1993), 198-217; Vivian L. Vignoles, "Identity motives", *Handbook of identity theory and research*, ed. S. J. Schwartz et al., (New York: Springer, 2011), 403-432; Glynis Marie Breakwell, et al., "The identity resilience index: Development and validation in two UK samples", *Identity* 22/2 (September 2021), 166-182.

<sup>18</sup> Breakwell, *Coping with threatened identities*, 34; Lada Timotijevic - Glynis Marie Breakwell, "Migration and threat to identity", *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 10/5 (2000), 355-372.

<sup>19</sup> Breakwell, *Social representations and social identity*, 198-217.

<sup>20</sup> Breakwell, *Coping with threatened identities*, 34; Timotijevic - Breakwell, "Migration and threat to identity", 355-372.

<sup>21</sup> Breakwell, "Social representations and social identity", 198-217.

<sup>22</sup> Vivian L. Vignoles, et al., "Evaluating models of identity motivation: Self-esteem is not the whole story", *Self and Identity* 1/3 (January 2002), 203; Vivian L. Vignoles et al., "Beyond self-esteem: influence of multiple motives on identity construction", *Journal of personality and social*

Accommodation/assimilation and evaluation processes work together to generate personal uniqueness or distinctiveness.<sup>23</sup>

Breakwell<sup>24</sup> introduces a model of “identity resilience” in her recent research conducted in the field of social psychology, which is drawn on the core principles of IPT.

“Identity resilience refers to the extent to which an individual possesses an identity structure that: facilitates adaptive coping in the face of threat or uncertainty, can absorb change while retaining its subjective meaning and value, and is perceived to be able to cope with threat or trauma without experiencing permanent undesired change. Identity resilience is defined as a relatively stable self- schema based on self-esteem, self- efficacy, positive distinctiveness and continuity”.<sup>25</sup>

In short, identity resilience can be defined as the ability of individuals to effectively manage and navigate challenges that pose a threat to their sense of self and personal identity.<sup>26</sup> Identity resilience refers to the psychological reflection of individuals’ personal conviction in their ability to comprehend and overcome obstacles, their perception of self-worth and value, their firm sense of identity amidst inevitable transformations, and their positive distinctions from others in terms of self-construal.<sup>27</sup> According to Jaspal and Breakwell,<sup>28</sup> identity resilience in the field of IPT is conceptualised as a durable self-schema, similar to a characteristic, and throughout the trajectory of an individual’s lifespan, people will gradually build a comprehensive understanding of their own identity resilience. The concept of identity resilience is influenced by various social phenomena and experiences, including group affiliations, educational background, cultural exposure, religious beliefs, and individual characteristics. These individual characteristics, which can be partially shaped by social experiences, encompass personality traits, intellectual capabilities, and physical abilities.<sup>29</sup>

Research so far has indicated that the level of identity resilience an individual possesses plays a crucial role in their ability to effectively manage stressors that may pose a threat to their identity. These stressors can include negative social and psychological experiences related to their stigmatised intersected identities.<sup>30</sup> Recent studies have shown that the concept of

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*psychology* 90/2 (2006), 338.

<sup>23</sup> Breakwell, *Coping with threatened identities*, 34; Timotijevic – Breakwell, “Migration and threat to identity”, 355.

<sup>24</sup> Breakwell, “Identity resilience”, 573-588.

<sup>25</sup> Breakwell, “Identity resilience”, 573.

<sup>26</sup> Rusi Jaspal - Glynis Marie Breakwell, “Identity resilience, social support and internalised homonegativity in gay men”, *Psychology & Sexuality* 13/5 (January 2022), 1270.

<sup>27</sup> Breakwell. et al., “The identity resilience index”, 166-182.

<sup>28</sup> Jaspal – Breakwell, “Identity resilience”, 1273.

<sup>29</sup> Jaspal – Breakwell, “Identity resilience”, 1275.

<sup>30</sup> Jaspal – Breakwell, “Identity resilience”, 1277.

identity resilience serves as a protective factor against adverse emotional experiences.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, the concept of identity resilience might potentially strengthen individuals to deal with the negative societal perceptions associated with their stigmatised intersecting identities. In the UK and other Western countries, Somali Muslim males often face stigmatisation due to the intersectionality of their identities.<sup>32</sup> Despite this, scholarly research on the responses and reactions of Somali Muslim men to their intersecting challenges and the ways in which they develop identity resilience in the face of such challenges is scarce. This article intends to examine the influence of intersecting challenges on the lives of Somali males and on their identity resilience in the UK. A comprehensive analysis of Somali men's identity resilience in the context of their unique circumstances might contribute to a deeper comprehension of the identity resilience model across different settings, including minority communities in Western societies.

### 3. THE STUDY

This article is based on findings from fieldwork I conducted to investigate the challenges faced by Muslim males in the UK. The major focus of the main study was to examine the challenges encountered by Muslim men living in the UK, a country that has seen a notable increase in Islamophobia. The study especially aimed to explore the concept of Muslim masculinities. In the main study, a total of 21 individual semi-structured and in-depth interviews were conducted with Muslim males living in the UK. The participants were selected from three distinct backgrounds, namely Pakistani, Algerian, and Somali Muslim men. Qualitative research approaches and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) perspective were adopted in the research. I applied the phenomenological approach in this study to examine and offer understanding regarding the challenges encountered by Muslim males residing in the UK through an exploration of their subjective experiences. Following the granting of ethical permission by the University, I employed purposive and modified snowball sampling techniques to choose and recruit individuals for the study. The interviews were conducted between February 12, 2019, and August 20, 2021, using a mix of in-person and online interviews. The names of all participants were anonymised.

Qualitative research frequently applies content and descriptive analysis methods to the data gathered from study participants. In order to en-

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<sup>31</sup> Glynis Marie Breakwell - Rusi Jaspal, "Coming out, distress and identity threat in gay men in the United Kingdom", *Sexuality Research & Social Policy* (July 2021), 1166-1177; Glynis Marie Breakwell - Rusi Jaspal, "Identity change, uncertainty and mistrust in relation to fear and risk of COVID-19", *Journal of Risk Research* 24/3-4 (December 2020), 335-351.

<sup>32</sup> Emmanuel Mauleón, "Black twice: Policing black Muslim identities", *UCLA L. Rev.* 65 (2018), 1326.



hance my understanding of the data, I engaged in repetitive listening of the interviews and carefully wrote down any thoughts, recollections, or reflections that emerged throughout the process. Subsequently, the objective was to identify and emphasise exploratory remarks, important aspects, facial expressions, and sentiments, in addition to the key words and phrases articulated by the participants. The coding scheme was established within the framework of the primary research questions. The subsequent steps involved the identification and development of emerging themes. The researcher's subjective interpretation of the participant's expressions influenced the emergence of themes. Following this, the objective was to determine emerging themes and assess visual patterns in order to identify possible connections between them. During the final stage of the analysis, I recognized recurring patterns among the cases and determined the final themes by renaming or altering specific ones.

By prioritising the examination of personal experiences and employing individual semi-structured and in-depth interviews, I was able to gather a substantial amount of rich data including various distinct life narratives, intricacies, tales, and interesting experiences. Specifically, some young Somali men's accounts motivated me to write this article to illustrate how their challenges influence their lives, and particularly their identity resilience in coping with their challenges. Even though all groups of Muslim men (e.g., Pakistani, Algerian, and Somali) in the UK seem to face similar obstacles, the accounts of young Somali men indicate that their challenges are more severe than those of Pakistani and Algerian men, affecting their social and inner lives more profoundly and making them more disadvantaged within the society. The adverse circumstances they find themselves in appear to have a detrimental effect on their ability to maintain identity resilience in the face of threats that specifically target their identities. Moustakas<sup>33</sup> posits that the application of the phenomenological method necessitates an extended and comprehensive engagement with a limited number of participants in order to discern significant patterns and connections. Therefore, this phenomenological investigation focuses on conducting a thorough examination of the narratives provided by only three young Somali males residing in the UK. Table 1 below sets out demographic data pertaining to place, age, marital status, occupation, years spent in the UK. Pseudonyms have been assigned to every participant. According to the narratives presented by the participants, an analysis of the dataset revealed four key challenges (themes) that were recognised as the most prevalent and impact young Somali men's identity resilience in a negative way. The following

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<sup>33</sup> Clark Moustakas, *Phenomenological research methods* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1994).

subjects will now be thoroughly analysed.

Table 1. Participants' profiles

<i>Name</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>M. Status</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>In the UK Since</i>
Uzair	Birmingham	21	Single	Engineer	Born in the UK
Wahab	London	21	Single	Engineer	Born in the UK
Yousuf	Birmingham	22	Single	IT	2010

#### 4. BLACK AND MUSLIM – THE INTERSECTION OF RACE AND RELIGION

Skin-color has often been raised as an issue by the Somali men in the interviews. Somali men's blackness seems to intersect with specifically their Muslimness and worsen their challenges. Recent research revealed that the skin colour of the victims of a racist or discriminatory attack has a significant role in the development of the national inferiority complex among minority groups.<sup>34</sup> The development of the selective national inferiority complex is attributed to the combination of the target's skin colour and cultural origins.<sup>35</sup> The experience of feeling stigmatised can be intensified among individuals belonging to historically marginalised groups due to their distinctiveness, which may be attributed to their numerical minority status or the prominence of their physical or social attributes.<sup>36</sup> However, the formation of a shared group identity can mitigate the effects of stigmatization-related factors, such as sentiments of racial or ethnic distinctiveness, which would otherwise result in reduced levels of satisfaction or commitment.<sup>37</sup>

The stigmatisation of Somali males in the UK appears to be heavily influenced by their skin colour, which is considered a significant determinant. Their racial or ethnic distinctiveness (opposite to their positive distinctiveness) tends to have a detrimental impact on their ability to maintain their identity resilience.

“... I have experienced passive aggression because of my religion. It is just making life just a little bit harder or more annoying that it doesn't need to be. And obviously I've had similar cases because of my skin colour. So, it's not exclusive to being a Muslim, but I'd say people just not liking you and not taking a li-

<sup>34</sup> Malek Abduljaber - Ilker Kalin, “Evaluating the Explanatory Power of Social Identity Theory, Inter-group Contact Hypothesis, and Integrated Threat Theory in Explaining Prejudice against Muslim Americans in the United States”, *The Rest: Journal of Politics and Development* 9/2 (2019), 89-106.

<sup>35</sup> Marcos Francisco dos Santos - Cicero Roberto Pereira, “The social psychology of a selective national inferiority complex: Reconciling positive distinctiveness and system justification”, *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 95 (2021), 104-118.

<sup>36</sup> John Dovidio. et al., “Racial, ethnic, and cultural differences in responding to distinctiveness and discrimination on campus: Stigma and common group identity”, *Journal of social Issues* 57/1 (2001), 169.

<sup>37</sup> Dovidio. et al., “Racial, ethnic, and cultural differences”, 170.

king to you. It's increasing when it comes to people being a Muslim".<sup>38</sup>

Uzair is 21 years old, was born in the UK, and currently works as an engineer. When Uzair was describing how he suffered passive aggression from others due to his Muslim identity, he brought attention to the fact that his blackness also plays a significant role in this regard. Uzair appears to have faced a great deal of passive-aggressive discrimination, such as racist or Islamophobic jokes, as well as attempts to humiliate him in public because of his Muslim and black identities, and he seems to be nearly convinced that he is unloved because of his race and faith. It could suggest that the intersection of blackness and Muslimness appears to bring significantly more difficulties for black Muslim males (Somali men in this context), and that these issues have a far greater emotional impact on Somali men. However, beyond emotional harm, being both black and Muslim seems to bring more varied difficulties for Somali men.

"We suffer because we're both black and Muslim at the same time. ... I think like statistically, if you see like someone with a Muslim name and a person with a white name like a famous name, the person with a white name is more likely to be hired. Obviously being visually black, it is the same (less likely to be hired). ... It surprises a lot of people that sometimes you can be black and Muslim at the same time. ... You also get a lot of black people that are quite Islamophobic, but then you also get a lot of Muslim people that are quite racist. So, it's coming from like two sides".<sup>39</sup>

Minority groups in the UK may have challenges obtaining employment due to potential discrimination based on their identifying characteristics. Yousuf is 21 years old, has been living in the UK since 2010, and currently works as a computer technician. Interestingly, Yousuf at once raised the issue of employment when he was explaining why they suffer due to their intersecting identities, namely their blackness and Muslimness. Yousuf drew attention to an important point: having a Muslim name might be an obstacle to being hired in the labour market, even without a face-to-face interaction such as an interview. On the other hand, visibility plays an essential role in discriminating against black people on the job market, as blackness cannot be identified just by names on the paper. It may imply that Somali men's intersecting black and Muslim identities pose a difficult barrier for them in the job market, as they are readily identified as Muslim (by name or look) and black (by appearance). Yousuf further indicated more issues related to Somali men's intersecting black and Muslim identities. First, some people feel surprised when they learn that they are Muslims and black, and this impression appears to be a bit offensive to Somali men because they think that there is nothing to surprise them about a black man's

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<sup>38</sup> Uzair, Individual Interview, 18 October 2020.

<sup>39</sup> Yousuf, Individual Interview, 7 February 2021.

Muslimness. Secondly, discrimination towards Somali men seems to come also from both their black and Muslim fellows. It could suggest that discrimination towards black Muslims, Somali men in this context, is much more than the sum of racism and Islamophobia.

In both instances, Yousuf and Uzair's narratives show that their skin colour (black) placed them in a disadvantageous position within society in the UK, as black skin colour is usually deemed in a negative way. Thus, their skin colour as a distinctive feature of their identities appears to have a negative effect on the identity resilience of Somali men. In the interviews, Somali men highlighted several positive distinctiveness of their identities, such as being Muslim, but their skin colour appears to exert greater pressure on them as a (negatively) distinctiveness in the UK. As a result, their identity resilience appears to be weakened by their (negative) blackness-related distinctiveness. The adverse consequences of being black (as a distinctiveness) appear to outweigh the beneficial effects on the resilience of Somali men's identity, which is derived from the positive distinctiveness of their identities.

## 5. BEING FIRST GENERATION IN THE UK

Although the Muslim men from various backgrounds face a variety of obstacles in the UK, Somali men seem to face notably greater challenges due to their relatively recent arrival to the country. Interestingly, a few Somali participants specifically emphasised that being first-generation Somali men in the UK is one of their biggest challenges.

"The Asians, they came here about three generations ago. So, they have established themselves. Somalis, they do not have a sort of a hold of the Muslim community in the UK, as much as them. And I feel like there is a lot of priority. And a lot of the faces of Muslims in the UK will always go down to Bangladeshis and Pakistanis. ... They came here three generations ago. So like when I went to school, my parents did not know how to speak English. Right. All of the Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, not only their parents are English to a point, even some of their grandparents were born here. So, they have had a lot of stability maintained here, but because Somalis, we are first generation or second generation, I do not know how to describe it. It is very difficult for us to sort of adapt to this sort of environment we have, like, I would say a huge disadvantage compared to a lot of different Muslim communities".<sup>40</sup>

Somali men seem to still have trouble settling down in the UK because of problems with language, jobs, housing, education, etc. These are mostly the problems of the first generation of immigrants in their host countries, and Somali men seem to face these challenges deeply in the UK. Uzair explicitly emphasised this issue, noting that being a first-generation Somali in

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<sup>40</sup> Uzair, Individual Interview, 18 October 2020.

the UK poses a significant disadvantage for them compared to other Muslims. Although being a first-generation (or generational classification) is not a social category like gender, race, or religion, in their very specific context, being a first-generation seems to intersect with their other disadvantages, bringing more challenges for Somali men in the UK. The elderly Somalis in the UK face challenges in understanding and connecting with the experiences and hardships of the British-born youth. Consequently, interpersonal and emotional attachments between different generations become strained. The prevalence of English as the preferred language among Somali adolescents is generating significant apprehension within Somali society at large.<sup>41</sup> This also seem to create a big challenge for Somali people in the UK. Some other Somali participants called attention to another significant disadvantage of being first-generation: the lack of a concrete role model among Somali men in the UK to whom they can look up.

“Since we are first generation, there is not really anyone to look up to. Like, there is no one to look up to and say, oh, like, I can actually do that”.<sup>42</sup>

Wahab is 21 years old, was born in the UK, and currently works as a mechanical engineer. The lack of an exemplary male role model in his communities yet, along with the fact that many Somali men in the UK are first-generation, seems to discourage Wahab from reaching his full potential and motivation. Similarly, Yousuf provided a thorough explanation and provided examples from his own life experience.

“Another problem is the lack of role models in the Somali community in the UK. Especially like in my city, a lot of us are like first generation. A lot of us are young. A lot of the people that grew up within from school days that are Somali. They do not have like great jobs, or they did not necessarily go to university, but that is mainly because of the lack of role models. ... I never had a role model growing up, a lot of the time when I was growing up, going through different things often I was like the first. I was the first in my school in my family go to school or first in my family go to university and amongst some other things. ... Most of the time, it was just like me just navigating myself, sometimes get taken a decision and hoping it actually ends up being the right decision. ... I remember going up to my head teacher in sixth form asking that, because I wanted to go physics at that time. I asked him what sort ways I can find to get experience within physics. And he went up to me and he said, ‘I have no idea. You just need to look up on the internet’. But so it was very, yeah, it was very difficult. ... It was the hardest thing I would say during growing up”.<sup>43</sup>

According to Hopkins<sup>44</sup> despite the abundance of Somali community

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<sup>41</sup> Sahra Bashir Abdullahi - Li Wei. “Living with diversity and change: intergenerational differences in language and identity in the Somali community in Britain”, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 269 (2021), 15-45.

<sup>42</sup> Wahab, Individual Interview, 20 May 2020.

<sup>43</sup> Yousuf, Individual Interview, 7 February 2021.

<sup>44</sup> Gail Hopkins. “Somali Community Organizations in London and Toronto: Collaboration and

organisations operating in the UK that offer a variety of services, including housing assistance, employment support, language instruction, and legal aid, the Somali community remains marginalised with regard to collective representation and the provision of services. Highlighting the challenges and hardships encountered by Somalis further solidified the perception of Somalis as "problem communities" and "passive supplicants of the welfare state".<sup>45</sup> However, there has been a growing trend among young Somalis living abroad to be less involved in sending financial contributions and more focused on sharing knowledge and developing skills.<sup>46</sup> It seems having a role model in their communities plays a significant role for young Somali men.

Because they are new to the UK and their parents typically do not speak English well or know how life is in the UK, many Somali participants, particularly young ones, appear to have tried finding other role models in their own communities who can navigate and guide them for their future. Yousuf's narrative makes it evident that many young Somali boys face the challenge of not having an influential role model in their own group who has achieved amazing accomplishments and has the capacity to inspire the next generation. This challenge faced by Somalis obviously affects and threatens their self-esteem and self-efficacy, both of which are crucial motivational identity principles for individuals. Being the first in many areas of life seems to give young Somali men more responsibilities and force them to make several important decisions without enough supervision, which seems to threaten their self-esteem and self-efficacy. They appear to be emotionally affected by this as well, maybe because they are expected to bear their families' and parents' dreams for a bright future. This weight of responsibility appears to push them to choose wisely, but only after they have sought out solid guidance, maybe from their teachers. However, in this case, they seem to come across with reluctance from their teachers which may include prejudice or discrimination. Several of the Somali participants shared their experiences of discrimination and prejudice from their teachers, which discouraged them from improving their educational knowledge. It could suggest that being of the first generation seems to bring more challenges for Somali men, intersecting with their other disadvantages in the UK and mostly affecting and threatening their senses of self-esteem and self-efficacy.

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Effectiveness", *Journal of Refugee Studies* 19/3 (2006), 361–380.

<sup>45</sup> Hermione Harris. *The Somali community in the UK: What we know and how we know it* (London: The Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees in the UK (ICAR), 2004).

<sup>46</sup> United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Cash and Compassion: The Somali Diaspora's Role in Relief, Development and Peacebuilding* (New York: UNDP, 2011).

## 6. SOCIAL CLASS

Muslims in the UK come from a wide range of socioeconomic backgrounds, and for certain communities, this diversity is one of their greatest obstacles. The Somali participants typically classified their own group as belonging to low or working class in the UK. Social class seems to pose more difficulties for Somali men than other Muslim men such as Pakistani and Algerian men. Somali participants often made intriguing comparisons between the social standing of their community and that of other Muslim groups and provided illustrative instances.

“Let me give you a good example. I went to a school that is not selective. And a lot of them, my friends were Asians, but the thing is, their grandparents, they are the ones who struggled like how my parents struggled. So, their grandparents have sort of laid the blocks for the future generations to come. When I was doing my GCSEs, one of my friends did not care. I said, ‘why do not you care, bro? This is the rest of your life’ and he said ‘because bro, my dad has got six businesses. My mom has got three businesses. I will just take up all of those businesses’. And at the very least, all of my friends, they had multiple houses, and I was living in a thing. So, these guys, they understood that the hard work has been done. Of course this is not for all of them. There is still a lot of people that from those communities that were struggling financially. ... this may apply to Algerians as well, because quite a few Algerians maybe first, second generation as well, but this is specifically to the Asian communities where they have the building blocks. But this is a specific, this is a big, big issue for Somali guys. ... Every Somali guy I speak to when I went to university, we always talked about pressure of providing and succeeding. Like it is just, it is like a mountain on my shoulders all the time. Because we are always thinking about it that we have to do really well for our parents, siblings, our families back home. This is not going to be an issue in the next generation, because hopefully this generation would obviously help and leave good things for the next generation to sort of work on. But maybe that is maybe another reason for the difference in motivation. ... This thing specifically, it makes or breaks you. That is why you see a lot of Somali men turning to gangs and stuff like that because it is quick money, it is quick money. So, this sort of circumstance it makes or breaks you. So it makes you into what you were meant to be, or it breaks you to the point where you completely go off the rail and you look for alternative sort of things that break the law obviously, and it is not going to end”.<sup>47</sup>

Uzair provided a lengthy explanation to demonstrate how differences in socioeconomic level and social class impact the lives of Somali men in comparison to those of other Muslim communities. Throughout the conversation, he focused mostly on the social class and socioeconomic standing of Somali men in order to illustrate how their issues are often influenced by these factors. His explanations and personal experience clearly demonstrate how several elements (e.g., race, social class, financial position, being a

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<sup>47</sup> Uzair, Individual Interview, 18 October 2020.



first-generation immigrant, etc.) intersect and provide obstacles for Somali men living in the UK. Their social class and socioeconomic challenges seem to mostly affect and threaten Somali men's continuity, self-esteem, and self-efficacy identity principles. Uzair's account shows that being first-generation has a direct correlation with their present socioeconomic status since, in his view, the first generations are the ones who suffer, struggle, and work very hard to provide a foundation for the succeeding generations. Consequently, according to Uzair, the second and third generations are the ones who benefit from their predecessors' efforts and sacrifices. Moreover, Uzair's account demonstrates unequivocally that Somali men are highly aware of their social and economic situations and that these problems are extensively addressed among them. He appears to have profound insight into his own community, and he expressed that many young Somali men do not want to suffer or struggle for a long time to build a successful life in the UK, and so many opt to join gangs instead, where they can get quick money in exchange for their allegiance. However, it appears that Somali men are quite optimistic about leaving a better future for their next generations in the UK, which can be interpreted as having a strong sense of continuity identity principle. This finding could be interpreted as indicating that social class plays a crucial (maybe even the most crucial) part in the difficulties faced by Somali men living in the UK.

## **7. RELIGION, FINANCE, AND INTEREST ISSUE**

Religion is one of the intersecting identity components of Muslim men in the UK that may pose many challenges for them. There may be occasions when obeying religious commandments and meeting their daily life requirements at the same time are in direct opposition to one another. The financial issues, for example, seem to pose difficulties for Muslim men as Islamic principles and the British financial system are incompatible in some sense.

"One thing as a Muslim, I find very hard is finance. Finance is a very, very big issue. Like how I am going to get my mortgages interests on, it is haram (religiously forbidden). How am I going to university? If like you have to get a loan out. I feel like these are the issues, especially that is very hard for Muslim men. Because with Muslim men, we have the burden of providing our families. So, the burden of providing for your families means that you have to be the one of economically successful. And obviously that sort of burden is even more like amplified in a situation where you are like a first or second generation person where your parents have specifically come here for you to better your life. But also in turn, ... you need to make better the lives of the family around you, what I am saying is to give back what they are struggled for. So like it is very difficult because a lot of this like tuition fees and crazy household prices and stuff like that. In a long term, it does not make life sustainable as a Muslim man to live in the UK.... finance is a huge, huge issue and I would say finance is a big,



big issue. I would say finance is a very, very huge burden".<sup>48</sup>

Muslim men in the UK, especially Somalis, seem to face challenges at the intersection of religious commandments, masculine duties and responsibilities, being a first-generation immigrant, and socioeconomic standing. Since they are still trying to establish their settlements and do not have a sufficient economic standing, Somali men appear to have much more financial difficulties than Pakistanis and Algerians. In a similar vein, the issue of interest appears to be far more difficult for Somalis, as the other set of participants may not need to take out loans or mortgages due to their own or their families' significantly stronger financial standing. The issue of interest is one of the greatest challenges Muslims face around the world, however, many Muslims apply for it. While some Muslims who use interest may not be bothered by the religious status of interest despite the fact that it is forbidden in Islam, others provide secular grounds for its use, such as the connection between inflation and interest rates. On the other hand, there are many Muslims who avoid all forms of interest and banks, as well as Muslims who solely utilise the interest-free Islamic banking system. As Uzair pointed out, mortgages and university loans seem to be particularly difficult for Somali men due to the religious status of the interest issue. This appears to create some internal conflict between their religious convictions and their desire to uphold traditional gender roles as men. Their difficulties appear to be compounded by the intersection of their religious beliefs, masculine duties, being a first-generation immigrant, and their financial circumstances. These challenges seem to mostly affect and threaten Somali men's continuity, self-efficacy, and self-esteem identity principles. Yousuf elaborated on how difficult it is for his generation to be homeowners in the current banking system.

"For my generation, I think the hardest problem will be owning houses. There are not enough products that are Sharia (Islamic) compliant that allow Muslims to earn houses and also allow Muslims to bank. For example, there needs to be more options. I definitely think there were more options 10, 15 years ago in the form of HSBC had like an Islamic banking sector in the UK, but now that has gone. ... Companies try to provide Sharia compliant, like mortgages, for example, ways to purchase houses. I think that is one of the biggest problems".<sup>49</sup>

Although homeownership could be difficult for individuals of any background, the *riba* (interest is banned in Islam) issue in mortgages appears to make it more challenging for Muslims in the UK. Homeownership seems to be one of the most desired goals for young Somali men in the UK. It should come as no surprise that homeownership relates more to the cur-

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<sup>48</sup> Uzair, Individual Interview, 18 October 2020.

<sup>49</sup> Yousuf, Individual Interview, 7 February 2021.

rent state of one's finances. It is interesting to observe that most Somali men do not even consider buying a property outright with cash, instead believing that a mortgage is their only alternative. This demonstrates conclusively that Somali men's financial situations have a significant impact on their lives and future expectations. However, since interest is considered *riba* (interest is banned in Islam), this can be a significant obstacle for Somali men. This specific challenge seems to affect and threaten their continuity, self-efficacy, and self-esteem identity principles.

## DISCUSSION

The primary purpose of this article is to investigate the intersected identity challenges experienced by Somali Muslim men living in the UK and how their challenges affect their identity resilience. Through the lens of intersectionality, the research findings revealed that Somali Muslim men in the UK encounter unique challenges due to their intersected identities, which significantly shape their experiences and challenges, placing them in a more disadvantageous position in the UK. Although religion, race, ethnicity, and gender are the primary identity components that intersect and pose challenges for all Muslim men in the UK, the results show that skin-color, social class, and socioeconomic status create much more significant difficulties exclusively for Somali men living in the UK. For instance, Somali men appear to have significantly more socioeconomic difficulties than Pakistani and Algerian men since they are relatively new to the UK and are still attempting to build their settlements.

Intersectionality is a concept that was developed to understand how different aspects of a person's identity, such as race, gender, class, and religion, intersect and can create unique experiences of discrimination and privilege.<sup>50</sup> This current research findings clearly revealed that the challenges of Somali Muslim men in the UK mostly revolve around their intersected identities, and their varied identity components intersect and create (or worsen) challenges for them. According to research findings, the main identity components of Muslim men in the UK are their religion, ethnicity, and gender, all of which overlap and bring difficulties in their daily lives. However, skin-color, social class, and socioeconomic level appear to bring more significant challenges for certain communities, such as Somalis. The intersection of multiple social identities (e.g., Muslim, British, Islamic, male, black, etc.), where multiple forms of discrimination, oppression, dominance, and disadvantage interact, places individuals in highly situated positions. Intersectionality posits that all facets of a person's identity interact simul-

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<sup>50</sup> Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics", *Feminist legal theories Routledge*, ed. Karen Maschke (New York: Routledge, 2013), 23-51.

taneously, influencing one's privilege and perception in the social world.<sup>51</sup> According to Alkhamash,<sup>52</sup> gender and race have a crucial role in shaping the identity of current Muslims in the UK, and the experiences of British Muslims can be influenced by their gender, social class, and racial background. On the other hand, Black and Asian (predominantly Muslim) masculinities dominate the ideological sphere of masculinity.<sup>53</sup> In particular, the combination of their skin colour and Muslim identity seems to worsen Somali men's challenges in several aspects, particularly in finding jobs. Their challenges also impact their conceptions of masculinity, since their disadvantaged socioeconomic condition poses a huge obstacle for them to meet their manly responsibilities, such as financially supporting their families. This seems to induce heightened levels of stress in individuals, leading to a detrimental impact on their overall psychological well-being.

According to Breakwell,<sup>54</sup> identity resilience shapes the way individuals respond cognitively, emotionally, and behaviourally to uncertainty or threats. Identity resilience, in this context, pertains to the ability of one's identity to shape reactions to threats that extend beyond self-preservation alone. Identity resilience is based on having a well-defined identity structure that includes high levels of self-esteem, self-efficacy, positive distinctiveness, and continuity, which are personally satisfying and optimised.<sup>55</sup> According to current research findings, the intersected identities of Somali Muslim men in the UK create (or worsen) challenges for them and their challenges seem to directly target or threaten their continuity, self-esteem, self-efficacy, and distinctiveness identity principles. The unique challenges of Somali Muslim men (being black and Muslim, being first generation, low social class, and finance/interest issues) threaten their motivational identity principles and thus negatively impact their identity resilience and overall psychological well-being.

The persistence of racism, Islamophobia, and discrimination in the UK has made it more challenging for Muslim males who identify with multiple identities to maintain a secure existence consistent with societal standards. Their intersected identities, such as being black, Muslim, and of low social class, seem to make Somali men's lives harder and more challenging to continue their lives safely. A crucial and defining characteristic of identity is a

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<sup>51</sup> Paul Garden, *How do Muslim men in the UK talk about their experiences of discrimination?* (London: City University of London, Department of Psychology, Doctoral dissertation, 2019).

<sup>52</sup> Reem Alkhamash, "Islamophobia in The UK Print Media: An Intersectional Critical Discourse Analysis", *International Journal of English Language and Linguistics Research* 8/2 (March 2020), 91-103.

<sup>53</sup> J. Paul Baker - Erez Levon, "'That's what I call a man': representations of racialised and classed masculinities in the UK print media", *Gender and Language* 10/1 (2016).

<sup>54</sup> Breakwell, "Identity resilience", 573-588.

<sup>55</sup> Breakwell, "Identity resilience", 573-588.

sense of continuity and adhering to one's self-perceptions can result in more dependable information, enhanced recollection, and more favourable social environments that ensure self-validating feedback.<sup>56</sup> Consequentially, Somali men's sense of continuity, which is vital and a distinguishing feature of their identity, appears to be threatened. Islamophobia and prejudice significantly affect the continuity identity principle among Muslim males, who encounter numerous challenges in preserving their sense of continuity. On the other hand, the inclusion of their skin colour as a distinguishing characteristic of their identities seems to have an adverse impact on the ability of Somali males to maintain a strong sense of identity resilience. Although Somali male participants in the interviews highlighted several positive distinctiveness of their identities, such as being Muslim, their skin colour appears to exert greater pressure on them as a (negative) distinctiveness in the UK. From a psychological standpoint, ethnic and religious identity constructs are very significant characteristics that are intimately linked to distinctiveness.<sup>57</sup> However, Somali men's ethnic and religious identities seem to bring them more challenges that negatively impact their identity resilience.

According to research findings, all of their challenges pose an obvious threat to Somali men's self-esteem since they undermine their sense of personal and social worth, which also negatively impacts their identity resilience. People constantly strive to preserve their self-esteem, since possessing a robust perception of one's personal or societal worth is a fundamental element in shaping and safeguarding one's identity.<sup>58</sup> Individuals who perceive a threat to their self-esteem may develop symptoms of sadness or depression, alter their thoughts or actions in an attempt to shield their identities, or respond angrily to the source of the threat.<sup>59</sup> The challenges encountered by Somali males in the UK, such as discrimination, racism, and Islamophobia, specifically aim to undermine their sense of personal and societal value, as these attacks include the devaluation of the victims. Therefore, Somali men's sense of self-esteem is under threat in the UK due to their challenges. Similarly, the challenges faced by Somali males pose a serious threat to their self-efficacy, since these challenges often undermine their belief in their ability to achieve success and exert control over their own circumstances. Vignoles et al.<sup>60</sup> demonstrated that when people have

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<sup>56</sup> Vignoles. et al., "Evaluating models of identity motivation", 201-218.

<sup>57</sup> Jaspal - Cinnirella, "The construction of ethnic identity", 510.

<sup>58</sup> Breakwell, *Coping with threatened identities*, 34; Timotijevic - Breakwell, "Migration and threat to identity", 355.

<sup>59</sup> Vignoles. et al., "Beyond self-esteem: influence of multiple motives on identity construction", 308.

<sup>60</sup> Vignoles. et al., "Evaluating models of identity motivation", 201-218.

increased feelings of self-efficacy, it is closely linked to greater subjective well-being. Consequently, this boosts their actual success and effectiveness within groups. In contrast, feelings of futility, alienation, helplessness, anxiety, and depression may result from loss or lack of self-efficacy.<sup>61</sup> The difficulties faced by Somali males in the UK appear to undermine their self-efficacy since their disadvantaged intersecting identities are usually associated with their capabilities.

On the other hand, religious identity and the level of religiosity may influence (or be influenced by) underlying constituents of identity construction<sup>62</sup> and therefore provide protection against identity threats in times of distress, specifically by ensuring the avoidance of identity threats, which contributes to greater psychological wellbeing and resilience.<sup>63</sup> Breakwell asserts that highly personalised threats (e.g., racism, discrimination) and societal threats (e.g., major health hazards associated with reactions to the risks of COVID-19) may significantly threaten and impact individuals' identity resilience. However, strengthened identity resilience has been linked to improved coping abilities in the face of threats.<sup>64</sup> Another study revealed that personal faith and religiosity seem to help the development of identity resilience among schoolteachers during challenging periods, such as when they are dealing with illness, emotional exhaustion, or caring responsibilities.<sup>65</sup> In a similar vein, their religious beliefs and religiosity seem to strengthen Somali men's identity resilience towards the challenges they face in the UK, providing them with a strong desire to maintain their sense of continuity, self-esteem, self-efficacy, and distinctiveness. Interestingly, although their religious identities usually create challenges for them in the UK that negatively impact or threaten their identity resilience, their religious beliefs and religiosity also strengthen their identity resilience by providing a strong coping mechanism for their challenges. Therefore, it could be interpreted that Somali men's religious identities seem to be both a threat to their identity resilience and a coping mechanism to bolster their identity resilience in the UK.

## CONCLUSION

This study investigates the challenges faced by Somali Muslim males in the UK. Muslim men in the UK face challenges due to their intersecting iden-

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<sup>61</sup> Breakwell, "Social representations and social identity", 198-217.

<sup>62</sup> Renate Ysseldyk, "Religiosity as Identity: Toward an Understanding of Religion From a Social Identity Perspective", *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 14/1 (2010), 60-71.

<sup>63</sup> Rita Phillips, "Teachers' faith, identity processes and resilience: a qualitative approach", *British journal of religious education* 43/3 (2021), 310-319.

<sup>64</sup> Breakwell, "Identity resilience", 573-588.

<sup>65</sup> Phillips, "Teachers' faith, identity processes and resilience", 310-319.

tities, including religion, race, ethnicity, and gender. However, Somali men in the UK seem to face more severe challenges due to factors like skin colour, social class, and socioeconomic status. Their recent arrival in the UK has made it more difficult for them to integrate and become a part of British society, which has exacerbated these issues. These challenges impact Somali men's self-efficacy, self-esteem, distinctiveness, and continuity, which are fundamental principles within Identity Process Theory (IPT) and the recently developed identity resilience model. The study aims to examine how these challenges impact their identity resilience from a socio-psychological perspective. The findings reveal that Somali men face severe challenges, affecting their social and inner lives more profoundly and making them more disadvantaged within society. The adverse circumstances they face negatively impact their ability to maintain identity resilience. The study identifies four key challenges that negatively impact Somali men's identity resilience. The findings highlight the need for further research to better understand the experiences of Muslim males in the UK.

Firstly, the intersection of race and religion, particularly blackness, is a significant determinant of the stigmatisation of Somali males in the UK. Blackness and Muslim identity also contribute to passive aggression and discrimination, making life harder and more annoying for Somali men. Secondly, being a first generation and the lack of a concrete role model among Somali men in the UK seem to discourage them from reaching their full potential and motivation. Thirdly, social class and socioeconomic standing intersect with other factors, such as race, social class, financial position, and being a first-generation immigrant. Finally, finance and interest-related matters pose additional economic obstacles for Somali men residing in the UK, leading to a conflict between their religious beliefs and their masculine responsibilities, such as providing for their families or purchasing a house. All these factors impact and threaten Somali men's continuity, self-esteem, self-efficacy, and distinctiveness identity principles, which are fundamental constituent identity principles of identity resilience model. Therefore, the challenges Somali men face in the UK appear to specifically target and negatively impact their identity resilience.

This article has significant potential for addressing the often-neglected problems concerning Muslim minorities in the UK. The article offers a more comprehensive analysis of Somali Muslim males residing in the UK, with an emphasis on their unique challenges and lived experiences. This study specifically provides a thorough examination of the stigmatisation experienced by Somali male individuals of low socioeconomic status and low social class in the UK, as well as the ways in which this particular obstacle influences their emotions, feelings, and responses. Most importantly, the study investigates how their challenges impact Somali men's identity resilience, which

they develop towards their challenges in the UK. According to research results, their challenges significantly affect their identity resilience, making their lives more challenging. The research findings presented in this study could offer valuable insights for policymakers and social workers seeking to develop more comprehensive policies concerning minority groups, Muslim communities, and Somali Muslim males in particular.

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**Etik Beyan / Ethical Statement:** Bu çalışmanın hazırlanma sürecinde bilimsel ve etik ilkelere uyulduğu ve yararlanılan tüm çalışmaların kaynakçada belirtildiği beyan olunur. / It is declared that scientific and ethical principles have been followed while carrying out and writing this study and that all the sources used have been properly cited.

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