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Exploring the Lived Experiences of Second-Generation British Asian Women Living in the UK: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

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ABSTRACT

This study aimed to explore the lived bicultural experiences of second-generation Asian females living in the UK. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with four university students, lasting between sixty and ninety minutes. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of the interview data yielded four main themes, with an overarching pattern of difficult experiences arising from a lack of intersubjectivity between themselves and others. These themes were: an integrated, context-dependent identity; difficulty fitting in with different cultural groups; restrictions on independence; and negative impacts on family relationships. The findings of this research support previous literature, and have implications for overcoming the challenges faced by second-generation Asian women.

KEY WORDS:	IPA	BICULTURAL	BRITISH ASIAN	PHENOMENOLOGY	IDENTITY

Introduction

Background

Recent statistics indicate that the UK is becoming increasingly diverse, with the Asian British ethnic group as the second largest after White British (Office for National Statistics, 2012). As diversity in the UK increases, it is important to understand how different ethnic cultural groups interact with British culture.

Western countries, such as the United Kingdom and the United States, hold a largely individualistic culture where a focus is placed on individuals, encouraging autonomy, independence and pursuing personal goals (Sullivan, 2009). By contrast, non-western cultures, such as Asian cultures, are typically known to be collectivist, where the needs of the community are central and regarded as more important than the needs of individuals (Sullivan, 2009). A traditional south Asian family is hierarchical, in which children are submissive and obedient, expected to bring honour to the family through behaviour and achievements (Segal, 1991). There are also aspects of patriarchy and strict gender roles, whereby males are more valued and hold more authority, whilst women are raised as caretakers and prepared for marriage (Segal, 1991; Jayakar, 1994), this opposes with western culture which often strives for equality. Given that the fundamental values of British and Asian cultures are so opposing, it is of interest to recognise and understand how individuals manage an environment in which they are connected to both cultures.

This can be explored through the concept of acculturation, which is understood as the long-term process of cultural and psychological change that results from distinct cultural groups coming into contact (Berry, 2005). This is commonly considered in the context of immigration, as individuals who have developed in one cultural context have to adapt to a new cultural context in a different country. Berry (1997) proposed the concept of acculturation strategies to explain how individuals might choose to adapt in new cultural contexts, with respect to their preference for cultural maintenance and involvement with other cultural groups. For immigrants, who can be regarded as the ethnic minority in a new country, these are: *assimilation*, rejecting one's original culture and wishing to interact with others; *separation*, placing value on and maintaining one's original culture while avoiding others; *integration*, maintaining some degree of one's original culture whilst also seeking interaction with others in the larger society; and *marginalisation*, having little interest in cultural maintenance or interaction with others. The process of acculturation not only applies to first-generation immigrants, but also to their children who can be considered second-generation immigrants, as they are raised in a given society and culture, and likely have strong links to their heritage culture through their family (Schwartz and Unger, 2010). Integration has been emphasised as the most favourable acculturation style, providing more positive outcomes, including less stress and better psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Berry, 2005). Asian Indian adolescents with an integrated acculturation style have been found to have higher academic performance and greater self-esteem, than those who were separated or marginalised, providing

further support that integration has better outcomes (Farver et al., 2002a). An integrative acculturation style can be understood as biculturalism, which generally represents an individual's comfortability with both their ethnic culture and resident culture (Schwartz and Unger, 2010).

Although Berry's work on acculturation has been invaluable in providing a foundational framework for understanding and investigating the best approaches for immigrant adaptation, it is limited in explaining exactly how individuals might achieve integration of two cultures in their lives, and variation within how this is negotiated. In response to this gap, Benet-Martínez et al. (2002) proposed a theoretical construct of Bicultural Identity Integration (BII), which refers to bicultural individuals' perceived compatibility between the two cultures in their life. Similar to findings of acculturation styles, higher BII (i.e. greater perceived compatibility between cultures) leads to better psychological adjustment when managing multiple cultural environments (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005; Chen et al., 2008). Although lower BII is associated with more negative outcomes, such as internal conflict (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005), it has also been found that these individuals are more likely to resist cultural group norms (Mok and Morris, 2010), a critical response that can lead to positive changes. Furthermore, differences in BII have been found to influence how bicultural individuals adjust their behaviour with regard to their immediate contextual setting, termed cultural frame switching (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002; Cheng et al., 2006). More specifically, when in a situation associated with a particular cultural background, individuals behave in culturally appropriate or inappropriate ways, depending on their perceptions of how integrated their bicultural identity is (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005). The understanding that bicultural individuals are able to switch between cultural frames in response to their environment (Hong et al., 2000) has since been supported by subsequent research. For example, Xi et al. (2016) found that individuals who experience direct exposure to two cultures are more flexible in how they represent themselves, as they are able to easily access different cultural frames. Similar findings are also present in qualitative research (Vadher and Barrett, 2009; Lee and Kim, 2014), where it can be seen that bicultural individuals are able to integrate both their heritage and resident cultures into their life by being flexible in their behaviour, according to the standards of those around them in different circumstances; this corresponds with the notion of cultural frame switching.

It is clear that integrating aspects of both cultures is a favourable strategy for immigrant adaptation, with previous research demonstrating how this might be achieved. However, other research has revealed some of the difficulties one might encounter when trying to do so. Vadher and Barrett (2009) found that young British Asian adults experience discrimination from both British and Asian groups, when they display behaviour that does not neatly fit with a cultural category. Additionally, individuals vary in the extent to which they pursue acculturation strategies, and within families, these differences in acculturation can lead to increased conflict and stress, making adaptation more difficult (Farver et al., 2002b; Berry, 2005). Second-generation Asian immigrants tend to be less oriented towards their heritage culture than their first-generation parents, indicating generational differences in acculturation (Khaleque et al., 2015), which therefore creates the potential for family conflict.

Khaleque et al. (2015) also found that young males in the United States are more oriented towards western culture than young females, suggesting there may also be gender differences in how second-generation Asian immigrants acculturate. This could be explained by differences in how they are socialised, as research shows that adolescent females of south Asian immigrant families feel that their parents have stricter standards for girls, which are implemented through control over their social activities and arranged marriages; they accept these conditions in hopes of gradual improvements over time, as vocalising how they feel could bring damaging repercussions (Talbani and Hasanali, 2000). Spending time with friends has been highlighted as the most common source of family conflict for this population, as a result of their parents living by Asian cultural values, whereby it is unacceptable for girls to go out with friends due to fear of being stigmatised by the community (Khuwaja et al., 2013). These family conflicts can be received as negative experiences with biculturalism, which can reduce an individual's perceptions of how integrated and compatible their heritage and resident cultures are (Cheng and Lee, 2013). Moreover, this population of second-generation Asian females who experience high parental control and cultural value conflict are reported to have higher depressive symptoms than those who are not subject to these experiences (Varghese and Jenkins 2009), demonstrating the significant implications for these young women's psychological wellbeing.

Present study

Previous literature can provide some understanding of the bicultural experience Asian immigrants face living in a western society, displaying a general consensus that integration of one's heritage culture and resident culture is the most suitable approach for living successfully. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged that this bears some challenges, particularly for second-generation immigrants who are raised with two cultures simultaneously. Furthermore, it appears that within this population, Asian females are confronted with a more complex experience of acculturation, yet many of these findings are drawn from quantitative methods, and little research has made an attempt to understand their experience from their own perspectives. A more holistic understanding of how young Asian women experience biculturalism can inform ways to overcome the challenges they may face. Therefore, the present study aims to understand the complex bicultural experience of second-generation Asian females living in the UK, using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) to offer unique insights as to how they make sense of their experiences and what it means for them.

Methodology

Design

This study employed an explorative qualitative approach, through the use of semi-structured interviews as the method of data collection. A qualitative approach was considered the most suitable for this research, as it aimed to explore and understand the subjective experiences of living with biculturalism, as opposed to directly testing

a hypothesis and searching for cause and effect, for which a quantitative approach would be more suitable (Creswell, 2009).

Epistemological Position

A phenomenological approach was adopted for this study, with the assumption that a phenomenon is best understood through an examination of lived experiences (Willig, 2013). In-depth interviews with individuals who have experienced biculturalism first-hand can offer the most informative understanding of their unique experiences. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was chosen as the approach to analysis, as this was most suited to the research aims, with theoretical underpinnings rooted in phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography, thus placing an emphasis on understanding the lived experiences of particular individuals, and the meanings they attach to their experiences (Smith et al., 2009).

Participants

When conducting research using IPA, it is recommended to select a relatively small homogenous sample who are most suitable for the research aims, for the purpose of keeping an idiographic focus and staying committed to conducting an in-depth analysis of each interview (Smith and Osborn, 2003). Therefore, a sample of four female participants were selected through purposive sampling, from a network of university students. Inclusion criteria required that all participants were females of south Asian ethnic background (Indian/Pakistani) and that they classify as a second-generation immigrant (i.e. they have at least one foreign-born parent) as this study aimed to understand and explore the experience of biculturalism for this specific population. All selected participants were university students between 19-21 years of age, considered a suitable age to allow reflection on their experience thus far.

Materials

An interview schedule (Appendix 6) was used to guide the interview, consisting of broad, open-ended questions, as participants were aware of the topic of investigation and this approach allowed them to freely share their experience on their own terms (Smith et al., 2009). Interview questions were designed to encourage discussion of participants' life experiences, by probing significant areas of life such as social and family relationships, which serve as different sources of interaction with Asian and British culture (Schwartz and Unger, 2010). Examples of such questions include 'tell me about your relationship with your family' and 'what was life like in and out of school?'.

Ethical Considerations

This study was carried out in accordance with the British Psychological Society (BPS) ethical guidelines and ethical approval obtained from Manchester Metropolitan

University (Appendix 1). Participants who expressed interest in the study were invited to participate via email (Appendix 2). Before participating in interviews, all participants were provided with a detailed information sheet (Appendix 3) and consent form (Appendix 4) regarding their participation in the study, which explained that interview data would be kept anonymous, and any quotations used within the report would be referred to with a pseudonym. Participants were reminded of their right to withdraw or decline any questions they wished not to answer. The interview schedule encouraged some discussion of culturally sensitive topics, however it was participant-led, allowing them flexibility in how they chose to answer. At the end of each interview, participants were fully debriefed and provided with contact details for any questions and concerns, or access to counselling and support if they felt they needed to (Appendix 5).

Data Collection

Data was collected through semi-structured interviews, recognised as the exemplary method of data collection for IPA (Smith and Osborn, 2003). This method of data collection allows the participant to lead the interview and discuss their experience on their own terms, whilst also allowing the researcher some flexibility to probe and further examine any areas that are interesting and relevant to the research question. These features are crucial in order to gain a rich and detailed account of the participants perceptions and lifeworld, with little impact of the researcher's preconceptions about the phenomenon. Interviews lasted approximately sixty to ninety minutes, enabling in-depth discussion and exploration of participants' experiences.

Data Analysis

As this study aimed to understand the lived experiences of biculturalism for young British Asian females, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was selected as the analytic strategy of choice. IPA generates a 'double hermeneutic', in that the researcher takes an interpretative stance on the participants' own interpretations and meanings of their experience, this is to gain an understanding from the perspective of the individual (Smith et al., 2009). Particular attention is given to understanding the participant's 'lifeworld', regarding temporality, spatiality, embodiment, and intersubjectivity. Analysis was carried out following the IPA guidelines specified by Smith et al. (2009). The first step of analysis involved the researcher reading the interview transcript multiple times to become familiar with the content, offering opportunities to discover new insights upon each examination. Next, initial annotations were made describing the content, focussing on the language used, and noting any primary conceptual interpretations. These notes were then explored for interconnections and patterns, to develop emergent themes in relation to the research aims, which were further examined for connections and overlap to establish superordinate themes. This was done for each individual transcript, before conducting a cross-case analysis, comparing and searching for patterns to form the final themes.

Analysis and Discussion

Through Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, four main themes were established: an integrated, context-dependent identity; difficulty being accepted by different cultural groups; restrictions on independence; and negative impacts on family relationships. These themes were closely interlinked with an overarching pattern of difficult experiences from a lack of intersubjectivity.

An Integrated, Context-Dependent Identity

All participants described themselves as a combination of both British and Asian culture, which they recognised as separate components that they have managed to integrate into their self-identity. This is something they felt was flexible depending on the nature of their immediate surroundings.

> *"… I'm glad my parents have given me that freedom and they've let me embrace both sides of my British and Asian background and I'm a bit in between." (Aiysha, 374-375)*

> *"…there's an actual balance between the two [cultures], like both exist side by side… Of course, there are times when ones above the other, say for example when you're out and stuff, western culture is above Asian culture…" (Nadia, 591-593)*

Aiysha positions herself 'in between' the two cultures, demonstrating that she does not feel a clear sense of belonging with either specific cultural background, but rather creates her own identity as a combination of both. This integrated identity is also observed in Nadia who describes Asian and British cultures as having equal significance in her life, however she explains that in different situations or spaces, a single aspect of her bicultural identity holds greater influence. In the above extract, Nadia uses the example of being 'out', which she refers to as a behaviour that is representative of western culture, and explains that while participating in this, western culture is dominant to her self-concept. This suggests that an integrated, Asian British identity is not one that remains fixed, but instead is one that is flexible, changing in response to the immediate contextual setting.

In addition to engaging with different behaviours and settings, participants also expressed that being around different groups of people has an influence on their self-identity at any given moment, as shown in the following extracts:

> *"I think it changes. I think if you're with Asian people, your Asian side comes out more, I think if you're with western people, your western side comes out more." (Nadia, 615-617)*

> *"… I feel like it really depends on who I'm with, like, it's a bit of a mix. It's very much like based on who I'm with, my company pretty much." (Yasmin, 540-542)*

Both Nadia and Yasmin explain that their self-identity changes in relation to others around them, showing the influence of social context. Referring to themselves as being a 'mix' and having different 'sides' suggests that these bicultural individuals feel like they have two separate versions of themselves that they are able to tune in to, which further supports that their bicultural identity is adaptable and context-dependent. These findings support the concept of cultural frame-shifting in response to particular circumstances (Hong et al., 2000; Benet-Martinez et al., 2002; Cheng et al., 2006) and the idea that bicultural individuals are more flexible in their behaviour and self-identity (Lee and Kim, 2014; Xi et al., 2016).

Difficulty Being Accepted by Different Cultural Groups
Within this theme, participants expressed that they had experienced difficulty fitting in with different cultural groups, as they do not always share the same perspectives on behavioural norms. In response, they would adjust their behaviour when in different settings, which relates to the previous theme of having a flexible identity.

> *"… it sounds really weird but like you joke about your own faith and your own self and your own colour, just to make them laugh… my personality and the things I was interested in, it was only to suit them. Like make-up and stuff, I wasn't into that until they were, like I'm not into it at all now…" (Zara 124-129)*

Zara voices that she would criticise aspects of her Asian background to gain positive responses from others, and would also engage in behaviours and demonstrate interests that she believed were representative of British culture, in order to feel accepted by her peers at school. This implies that she felt her own British Asian identity was not compatible with those around her, as she had adjusted to fit in with others from different cultural backgrounds.

Other participants also stated a difficulty fitting in with British culture due to differences in interests, which could arise from cultural upbringing:

> *"I feel like sometimes it can be a bit hard to fit in with the culture, this British culture. It can be harder for Asians to fit in… I think it could be because there are a lot of things that we wouldn't have in common… like drinking alcohol for example, going out, going to bars, that's something that you could speak to someone about – whereas a lot of people wouldn't of my background, because they wouldn't do that, and I think that puts up a barrier…" (Aiysha, 399-423)*

Aiysha explains that she, and other people of her ethnic background, face difficulty when trying to integrate with the larger society, as not sharing the same interests and being in the same spaces, prevents being able to relate and form friendships with others who do not share the same bicultural background.

Interestingly, difficulties fitting in are not only apparent with British cultural groups, but also with Asian cultural groups:

"…when I'm speaking to people of my own culture, a lot of people say that I try and act like 'a white girl' and that really annoys me, so sometimes hold back and I try not to say too much, because I don't want someone to think that I'm trying too hard to be of a different culture when I'm not. It's just the way I've been brought up in a sense and that's the way I've picked up on things, and I'm comfortable with that…" (Aiysha, 427-431)

"… have you ever heard the phrase 'you're too brown for white people and you're too white for brown people'? So when I used to be out, my friends used to think that I'm too Asian… but when I used to go home, they used to say 'oh you're too white'…" (Nadia, 303-305)

Aiysha and Nadia explain that when interacting with people from an Asian background, people would attempt to categorise them into a distinct cultural group, indicating that others fail to recognise and accept their integrated bicultural identity. Both made reference to being labelled as 'white', suggesting that their physical embodiment of an Asian background leads to assumptions and expectations from others to display Asian culture alone, which is incongruent with their bicultural self as a combination of both British and Asian culture. Therefore, to feel accepted and avoid being categorised, Aiysha suppresses parts of her identity that feel natural to her, which indicates a self-awareness of others' perceptions about her.

From the participants' accounts, it appears that as an Asian British bicultural, they feel a lack of belonging and acceptance with both Asian and British cultural groups, demonstrating the difficulties of their bicultural experience. This is consistent with earlier findings that British Asians face discrimination from white British and Asian ethnic people who are unable to sympathise with their bicultural identity (Vadher and Barrett 2009).

Restrictions on independence: "If only I was western"
Upon reflection, all participants explained that their parents imposed certain restrictions and boundaries on their independence at younger ages, particularly in relation to socialising with friends and being away from the family. They described feelings of confusion and frustration, with perceptions that their 'childhood was controlled' (Aiysha, 33), however justified this by presenting themselves as growing out of these restrictions with time.

"there would be times where my mum would be like 'oh you can't go' and I'd feel really frustrated like 'well why can't I, my friends go out everywhere whenever they want'…. I'd be so annoyed, I just don't think I'd speak to them for days or something. I was like 'why can't I, like what's wrong with it?' Cos you're in this society where everyone's doing whatever they want…" (Zara, 44-46/59)

"even now I'd say my mum still tries to put a lot of restrictions on me… it's a bit of her saying 'girls shouldn't be out as much' …. And it's like I don't understand why… I'm just like 'mum this is the 21st century, we're in the UK…" (Aiysha, 60-64)

From these extracts it is clear that as young girls, they would encounter disagreements with their parents about the limitations placed on their social life, which is in line with previous research on young south Asian females living in a western society (Khuwaja et al., 2013). Both Zara and Aiysha brought attention to the current space and time period they are living as a justification for these disagreements, indicating that they consider themselves as part of a larger society where their parents' traditional Asian values and beliefs are no longer valid, a 'modern world' (Zara, 186). Aiysha also implies that over time she started to openly challenge and act against these boundaries, when stating that her mother 'still tries' to stop her from going out. Other participants exhibited similar perceptions about gaining more independence over time:

> *"I thought maybe when I turn 18 they would like, I guess I thought our relationship would be a little bit better, that [my parents] could trust me to go certain places or whatever… I had to push those boundaries a little bit…" (Yasmin, 419-421)*

> *"… I think it's just gonna be easier when we don't have those reigns on us anymore, like constantly being monitored and stuff. Like when we're older, it'll hopefully be better, but you just kind of get on with it…" (Zara 531-532/3)*

The way in which Yasmin and Zara discuss their experiences illustrates that it is one of great difficulty, even having an effect on their relationship with their parents. They both convey expectations that their parents would allow them more freedom and independence with age, however when this did not come to fruition for Yasmin, she made an effort to defy the barriers, whereas Zara appears to have accepted the current circumstances with anticipation that they will improve at a later stage in time. Similar findings can be seen in previous research (Talbani and Hasanali, 2000), however the present findings reveal how these young women justify their experiences, with regard to their social surroundings and the location of their upbringing.

Negative Impacts on Family Relationships

All participants expressed a lack of intersubjectivity between themselves and their family members, which they attributed to differences in cultural values and beliefs. Consequently, they felt that their family relationships 'could be better' (Aiysha, 97), as these disagreements created distance and sometimes serious arguments.

> *"I can't talk as much to my parents, because they've still got that mind-set, but I can speak more to my mum because she's lived here and been born here…" (Zara, 189-191)*

> *"… I wasn't as close to my mum anymore because I had to keep those secrets…" (Zara, 272-273)*

Zara describes difficulty communicating openly with her parents, due to their attitudes being fixed in Asian culture, which can strongly oppose with her own

attitudes as a mix of British and Asian culture. However, she also explains that she has somewhat a greater level of closeness with her mother, as she has grown up in the same environment as her, which allows them to share a more mutual understanding.

These divergences of attitudes within families can lead to arguments, which creates further distance in their relationships:

> *"My [eldest] brother, he's traditional – me and him don't really get along that well… we disagree too much, and he knows, like he's seen me out with my boyfriend, so from that he hates me… we don't really talk… we argue about the way I dress, what I eat, about boys…" (Nadia, 169 – 177)*

> *"I'll still hide the fact that I go clubbing or drink, or if I get into a relationship, from my dad… just to avoid fighting to be honest." (Nadia, 409-411)*

Nadia explains that her relationship with her brother has suffered as a result of the different cultural attitudes they each hold. Similar to Zara, she also resorts to secrecy to avoid confrontation and preserve family relationships. The ability of these young women to be selective in what they tell their parents shows that although they do not necessarily agree, they are able to understand their parents' beliefs and present themselves in a way that fits their expectations and standards. This portrays a perception that the conflict originates from their parents' inability to empathise with their own point of view. The findings of this study expand on past research, showing not only that cultural differences within families can lead to conflict and stress (Farver, 2002b; Berry, 2005), but also that this conflict is perceived as a lack of parental understanding and therefore avoided through secrecy.

Overall Discussion

This study explored the bicultural experiences of second-generation Asian females living in the UK, aiming to provide them with a voice and understand their experiences from their own reflective perceptions. The findings reveal how these young women feel they have an integrated British Asian identity, combining aspects of both cultures into their life; they feel this is not understood and accepted by others, making their interactions and relationships more difficult. Difficult experiences with others is a finding also present in previous research (Berry, 2005; Vadher and Barrett, 2009; Khuwaja et al., 2013), however an overarching pattern is established between the emergent themes of this study, showing that these all arise out of the absence of shared meanings between the individuals and other people in their life. This causes particular difficulty within family settings, where these females felt that their parents' traditional Asian values meant their own independence and ability to socialise was restricted, which in turn causes distance within their family relationships. In most instances, others' lack of understanding leaves these young women having to adjust their behaviour in line with the expectations of those around them, in order to feel accepted.

The findings illustrated in this research have implications for overcoming the challenges faced by these individuals. An informed approach can take progressive steps to make society more culturally aware of the complexities involved in the bicultural experience, thus enhancing others' understanding and empathy. This could allow for a collective movement away from harmful expectations attached to distinct cultural backgrounds, giving second-generation Asian females the space to express themselves without facing complications. A limitation of this study however, is the ambiguity of whether the findings are related solely to the bicultural experience, or if the influence of religion might play a role in participants perceptions, and if so, how. For example, when alcohol is referenced as a barrier to fitting in with British culture, it is unclear to what degree this can be attributed to religious background as opposed to strictly cultural. Future research could investigate the interaction between culture and religion for British Asian females, exploring how this might influence their bicultural experience. Furthermore, the findings of this study can be explored from an alternative perspective of the first-generation parents in these bicultural immigrant families, and perhaps use these perspectives to reach a mutual understanding between both generations.

Reflexive Analysis

As a second-generation Asian female myself, I have first-hand experience with biculturalism as explored in this study. I therefore inevitably have my own presumptions on the matter and a great passion for the research topic. However, one of the key elements of IPA is to begin analysis by reflecting upon one's own preconceptions and making a conscious effort to suspend these, in order to capture the true essence of the data. Due to my own background and experiences, I expected to find that participants experienced family conflict arising from parents' lack of understanding and empathy for their desire to embrace both British and Asian culture. However, by approaching the data with an open-mind, I was able to find that this difficulty extended beyond the family, into friendships and larger cultural groups in general.

Reflecting upon my position in the interviews conducted, I believe that some participants demonstrated a level of comfortability with me upon the assumption that I could immediately understand the experiences they were discussing and what these meant, so consequently they may not have been as thorough in their discussion. Alternatively, I believe that with some participants, the assumption that I could understand and relate might have made them more comfortable to discuss their experiences openly and in more detail, without the intimidating feeling of not being understood. Equally, as the researcher I tried to balance my position between making sure the participants felt understood, but also being careful to not settle for minimal detail because of my 'already-there' understanding. This was initially challenging, and I may not have been as inquisitive and curious as a researcher could be with a lesser understanding, however I learnt from earlier interviews and developed the skills to conduct later interviews in a manner that would gather the richness of their experiences.

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