Identities of young second generation British Muslims

Non-everyday places beyond the borders of the UK

MASTER THESIS

October 5th, 2015

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Abstract

Identity is an ongoing meaning making process consisting of various intersecting parts that relate to other individuals or collectivities. How these parts intersect is depending on the everyday places in which individuals are positioning themselves by making meaning of those parts. Non-everyday places can inform these different parts of which individuals can construct a meaningful understanding of who they are.

This thesis explores how the places beyond the borders of the United Kingdom (UK) can influence identities that are negotiated in everyday places in Newcastle upon Tyne. It focuses on the identities of young second generation migrants who are British and identify as Muslims. They are likely to share experience of making meaning of their identities in everyday places of the UK shared because they differ from the dominant culture since they have migration background and identify as Muslim. Eight individuals participated in this research, their parents migrated from Bangladesh and Pakistan the UK.

In order to explore how places beyond the borders of the UK influence their identities a qualitative method is conducted. In this approach semi-structured in-depth interviews are integrated with making a geo-egocentric map. The map elucidates narratives of belonging (Anthias, 2001) in relation to places beyond the border of the UK that the participants indicate as important for whom they are. This provides information on the places that are important for the participants and how they are tied to this places and it shows how participants position themselves in everyday places in relation this non-everyday places.

The findings of this research suggest that young second generation Muslims identities in everyday places are influenced in various way by the places that beyond the UK. Several participants did perceive this ties as an enrichment of their identity, others expressed that they perceived this more as the reasons for feelings of exclusions or not fitting in their childhoods. Generally, the participants consider two places beyond the UK important for them; those can be categorized as family and religious places. Family places are places that relate to the places of origin of the parents seem most important on small scales such as the village. The ties to this places are especially prominent in the lives of participants during their childhood in which the tie to these places is established and endure to inform the identity during young adulthood. The religious places mainly include the holy sites in Mecca. The identification with religious places seems more important in young adulthood. In interviews with some participants this religious identification contributed to create a meaningful understanding of the intersecting parts.

This study contributed to research on identity in relation with non-everyday places by showing several ways in which identities of second generation Muslims are influenced by the ties to places beyond national borders of the UK.

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1. Introduction

This thesis focuses on identities of young second generation migrants who are British and identify as Muslims. It explores how the places beyond the borders of the United Kingdom (UK) can influence their identities.

Like many contemporary scholars, this research takes a post-modern approach on identity in which it is understood as an intersectional and relational concept (e.g.: Anthias, 2001; McAdams, 2001; Martin, 2005; Brettel, 2006; Schwartz et al, 2006; Hopkins, 2007; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010; Zoch, 2010; Dowling & McKinnon, 2011; Buitelaar, 2014). This approach rejects essentialist notions in which identity is considered a static possession of an individual and stresses the dynamic and multiple character of identity (Dowling & McKinnon, 2011). Identity is seen as an on-going process in which individuals make meaning of the different intersecting 'parts' that inform who they are (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010; Zoch, 2010). For young second generation Muslims in the UK these parts can for example include; me as Brit, me as Muslim, me as a child of my parents, me as Bangladeshi, me as the husband of my wife, me as a migrant, me as a student, me as a young person, and more. During the whole life course individuals make – often unconsciously - meaning of these intersecting parts that can provide them with a meaningful understanding of who they are (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Establishing a meaningful understanding out of these different parts is especially a prominent process in the youth and young adulthood (Beczi, 2008). How these parts are intersecting is context depended since identity is related to the *others*. This points to the relational character of identity, which refers to the way individuals *position* themselves in relation to others (Dwyer, 2000; Zoch, 2010). This includes not only how individuals identify with - or distance themselves from – others, but also how others identify with that individual (Zoch, 2010). These others can be individuals or collectives, as well as dominant discourses in a society can include or exclude groups as not belonging or belonging to the majority. This also affects the individual meaning-making processes (Buitelaar, 2014). So, others are an inherent part of making-meaning process of the intersecting parts that form the identity in a specific context (Zoch, 2010).

Within these meaning-making processes places matter (Hopkins et al., 2007). First, places are seen as the context in which one has to make meaning of the self. Hopkins et al. (2007) explain in one place identities are negotiated, challenged, confirmed, resisted and expressed differently than in another place (Ehrkamp & Leitner, 2006; Hopkins et al., 2007; Fleishmann, 2011). This study is conducted in the context of Newcastle upon Tyne, the biggest city in the North East of the UK, which provides a comparable context in terms of dominant discourses and political and public climate to study the identities of individuals. Second, individuals can maintain ties to places that inform their understanding of who they are (Martin, 2005; Jack; 2010; Trell, 2013).

These places can be everyday places in which one lives or frequently visits (Trell, 2013). However, also places that one rarely physically encounters can be important for the identity of an individual (Martin, 2005; Jack, 2010). In this study I refer to these places as 'non-everyday places' and focus on that non-everyday places located beyond the borders of the UK.

The way second generation Muslims position themselves in Newcastle upon Tyne and many other places in Western Europe is especially interesting because of two dimensions of otherness that may influence their identities. First, the second generation has the unique position in which they are British by birth but often perceived as the immigrant other (Batainah, 2008). As McAuliffe (2008) states: 'More than their parents, the individuals of the second generation are mediators of cultural difference, negotiating the parts of identity that that link them to two national cultures' (p. 128). Second, identifying as Muslim is in many western places perceived as dimension of otherness. Then negative discourse on Muslims is related to associations with global issues on terrorism and Islamic extremism (Fleishmann, 2011; Sunier & Landman, 2015). Furthermore, many countries of Western Europe (including the UK) are predominantly secular (with Christian heritage) in which identifying as Muslim and British simultaneously is perceived as incompatible and raises questions of loyalty to the nation (Sunier & Landman, 2015; Sadar & Ahmad, 2012; Fleishmann, 2011;). Muslims are increasingly framed as the other (Sunier & Landman, 2015).

Taking into account the heterogeneity among second generations British Muslims in terms of ethnicity, gender, educational level, religious beliefs and so on (Anthias, 2009; Hopkins & Gales, 2009), they are perceived as one social category in this research. In terms of identity formation, this social category seems to be different from their parents', from their peers' without a migration origin, and from the secular British majority social category (McAuliffe, 2008; Batainah, 2008). In other words, individuals in this social category are likely to share experiences in terms of their meaning-making process in which they make meaning around the described dimensions of otherness in combination with other intersecting parts.

The focus of this research on places beyond borders of the UK is prompted by recent political and public debates on immigration and national security in the UK and other parts of Western Europe. Concerns about non-western immigrants, integration issues, and international security issues are center of these debates (Ehrkamp & Leitner, 2003). This current climate seems to impose pressure on how second generation Muslims are expected to position themselves and possibly causes or intensifies the experiences of otherness that are described above(Hopkins et al., 2007; Hopkins & Gale, 2009). In recent years, the importance to 'maintain' a national identity is stressed (Ehrkamp & Leitner, 2003). Identifications with the country of origin are seen as

undesirable and are professed as lack of willingness to integrate (Sunier & Landman, 2015). Especially, Muslims' religious relations that reach beyond borders are highly monitored today as a consequence of past terroristic attacks and the threats of potential future attacks by Islamic extremist groups (Hopkins & Gale, 2009). Therefore, policies in many western societies generally aim to develop a private Islam, so a 'British Islam', that is cut loose from religious movements abroad (Sunier & Landman, 2015). So, focusing on the second generation Muslims, the ties to places beyond borders of the UK and identification with those places are generally perceived as undesirable.

Understanding the link between, one the one hand, the different types of places beyond the borders of the UK and ties to these places, and on the other hand, the way individuals make meaning of these ties in a specific context, helps to understand identity formation of second generation migrants and contributes to the literature on identity in relation to non-everyday places.

1.1 Aim and research questions

This research uses a qualitative approach to explore the ways in which identities of young second generation British Muslims are influenced by their ties to places beyond national borders of the UK. In line with the aim of this research the following research questions are formulated.

How are the identities of young second generation British Muslims influenced by their ties to places beyond national borders of the UK?

- What are the places beyond the borders of the UK that young second generation British Muslims identify with?
- How are young second generation British Muslims tied to places beyond the borders of the UK?
- How do ties to places beyond the UK influence the way the young second generation British Muslims position themselves in their everyday lives?

The remaining part of this thesis is composed of five main chapters. The subsequent chapter presents the theoretical frame of this research. The third chapter explains the method of this research. The fourth chapter presents the findings of the research. The final and fifth chapter will conclude this thesis by answering the research questions and discussing the outcomes of this research.

2. Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents a theoretical frame that positions this research in current academic debates and critically discusses relevant concepts. It will elaborate on ways identities and places beyond the borders of the UK are related in this research. Those places cannot only inform the identity of second generation British Muslims in the UK, but can also be used as a strategy to evoke the dynamic character of identity. This theoretical framework draws on notions from different disciplines to gain insight into identities of second generations Muslims and as well as into the characteristics of the places they are tied to in various ways. The next section (section 2.1) will first explain why this research focuses on young people. Thereafter, section 2.2 will elaborate on the dynamic character of identity by focusing on ways to understand and research this intersecting relational concept. Section 2.3 presents a predominantly geographical perspective on how identity and non-everyday places are related. Section 2.4 shows how studies in the field of transnationalism in migration studies can contribute to this theoretical frame. It provides empirical insights into the identities of second generation and religious migrant and suggests approaching transnationalism form a more grounded perspective. Section 2.5 conceptualizes the various ties second generation Muslims can maintain to places beyond the borders of the UK to analyze the ways in which migrants can be tied to places they identify with. The final section of this chapter (section 2.6) presents the conceptual model in which the theoretical frame of this study is visualised.

2.1 Identities of young people: a life course perspective

This section explains why this research focuses on identities of young people. As explained in the introduction, identity is an ongoing meaning making process that can provide a meaningful understanding of who we are. Some people will have more difficulties to establish such this understanding which can negatively influence the individual´s well-being (Schwartz et al., 2006). However, the process of developing a meaningful understanding is typically related to the period from childhood to adulthood (Bezci, 2008). This implies that identity can also be approached form a life course perspective (Bezci, 2008; Collins; 2001).

This can be explained by the relatively old theory on psychological development of the psychologist Erikson (1968). His theory rejects essentialist notions of identity and acknowledges the importance of the social environment (Collins, 2001). Erikson (1968) identifies eight chronological phases in the life course of individuals in which the 'ego' is developed. In every stage individuals encounter a crisis, but especially the fifth phase is significant in the establishment of a meaningful understanding of your identity. This crisis is named 'identity vs. role confusion' and takes place between the ages twelve to eighteen. Around this period people generally search for their role in society and try to find out to what groups they belong. Erikson

(1968) seems to suggest that that identity is a process that can be 'completed' after this phase, in contrast to the intersectional and relational approach that stresses identity as an ongoing process. However, this latter approaches Erikson's theory continues to be largely accepted and confirmed nowadays (Bezci, 2008). McAdams (2001) also found that during young adulthood people are able to create 'self-defining stories' in which they can reflect on how they understand themselves. Erikson's theory also contributes to several studies that aim to understand the dynamic character of identity in the post-migration context (Zoch, 2010; Schwartz et al., 2006). For migrants this is typically the period in meaning-meaning around the parts of the identity that relate to different cultures (Schwartz et al., 2006). So, this life course perspective on identity and the intersectional and relational approach can complement each other. It shows that the period between childhood and adulthood is crucial in making meaning of the intersecting and relational parts that inform the identity (McLead, 2013).

This research focuses on young people that are between eighteen and thirty years old who are likely to have passed the period that Erikson describes as the fifth phase. Focusing on these young adults, to which I refer as young people throughout this thesis, allows exploring how they reflect on the negotiation of the ties to places beyond the UK in aiming to understand who they are. Additionally, I expect to gain an understanding on how those places contribute to the process of meaning making.

2.2 Places to capture the dynamic character of identities

The meaningful understanding individuals have about their identity is not as dynamic as intersecting parts, it seems to be a quite coherent understanding from one context to the other. So, while much of the current literature on identity acknowledge its dynamic character, it is important to note that identity is rarely explicitly experienced by the individuals as such (Martin, 2005). Martin (2005) clarifies this as follows:

> When filling in forms, many of us unquestioningly tick the box indicating our 'nationality 'or 'sex'. When we go abroad we often understand our sense of cultural differences in the common-sense terms of 'them' and 'us'. Thus identities are often not perceived by those who hold them as transitory and artificial but as essential an intensely personal (Martin, 2005; p.100).

In other words, most people do not perceive their identity as dynamic process, but in more essentialist terms that is quite coherent over time. This coherency provides a meaningful and stable understanding of whom they are (Zoch, 2010). In other words, multiplicity and coherence are simultaneously part of identity formation processes (Stock, 2014). So, this section shows that the experienced identity is different from how the concept is theorized.

2.2.1 Identity markers as powerful social constructs

The understanding of identity is often expressed using identity markers. Identity markers are socially constructed categories that postulate boundaries between collectivities (Anthias, 2001). They indicate belongingness to a certain group which can be based on for example culture, ethnicity, race, language, age (Anthias, 2001). These social constructs are not only used to express the own understanding of identity but are also attributed as a consequence of the way others understand your identity (Anthias, 2001; Hopkins, 2007). Power is imbued in the social construction of identity marker. Which identity makers are available and dominant can be a result of institutionalization as became clear in Martins (2005) quote presented above. Also media or public discourses can enhance the dominance of certain identity makers. These social constructs do not only have the power to bind people, but also to exclude that individuals that do not fit into the dominant categories that frame identities. Stock (2014) shows the consequences of being marked as 'Moroccan' which has negative connotations in The Netherlands. Those negative connotations can result in stereotyping, racialization or discrimination in which 'Moroccan' is inferior to 'Dutch'. This implies hierarchical relations between identity markers (Hopkins, 2007). In other words, the expression of identity is limited by the available identity markers that are socially constructed. Even when second generation migrants that are born in Britain identify as 'British', they could be excluded from this identity makers because others identify them as 'immigrants' or 'Pakistani' for example (Dwyer, 2000). The 'British' identity marker is confined by associated with white people (Dwyer, 2000). Also Muslims seems to be excluded from the socially constructed definition of 'being British' (Dwyer, 2000; Sunier & Landman, 2015).

As reaction upon these static constructs that raise boundaries and incite processes of exclusion, hybrid forms of identities are proposed as a solution (Howard et al., 2002; Anthias, 2001). These new forms of identities can assemble cultures that are associated with different countries (Dwyer, 2000). These hybrid forms of identities should indicate that a second generation migrant can feel simultaneously 'Britain' and 'Pakistan'. However, in order express those hybrid forms of identity, hyphenated identity makers are used (Anthias, 2001) which results in 'British-Pakistani'. This marker seems to indicate multiple feelings of belongingness that are not regarded as divisive (Chaundry, 2005; Modood, 2005). In the 1990s, UK government institutionalized hyphenated identities which were perceived as a major changed in the understanding of what a British identity entailed according to Purkayastam (2014). Even though, hyphenated identities seem to acknowledge multiple was belongingness, it is questionable if it breaks down the hierarchical relations between social constructs and the boundaries that incite processes of exclusion.

Anthias (2001) shows that introducing hyphenated identities only redefine boundaries and processes of inclusion and exclusion. Still, hierarchy between being British and being Pakistani-British exists, in which the latter implies that an individual is not completely British. So, hyphenated identities do not seem to indicate simultaneous belonging to both markers that are combined, but to neither of them completely. Hyphenated identities seem the new social constructs that indicate that the British population does not only involve 'British' people, but also others ('non-British') such as 'British-Pakistani'. Hyphenated identities do by no means show dynamic character of identity as they are also static notions (Anthias, 2001)

This indicates one of the greatest challenges in this research. Exploring the identities of young second generation British Muslim should not approached only by the ways people express their identities. Focusing on identity markers provides us with static insights on identities. In order to understand identity in this research it necessary to move beyond this powerful social constructs that do not capture the intersectional relational aspects of identity. The next section proposes a place-based approach to achieve that.

2.2.2 Moving beyond identity markers: Narratives of belonging

Anthias (2001, 2008) offers a place-based approach on identity that is called 'narratives location, dislocation and translocation', but also referred to as narratives of belonging. Throughout this thesis I will use the latter. This approach is based on the idea explains feelings of belonging to places which enables to uncover the intersectional and relational character of identity. Hopkins (2009) applies this approach in researching national and religious identities of young Muslim man in Scotland. He shows that this approach enables young Muslims in Scotland to create a narrative around their social constructed categories that are used differently in relation to or places or in actual places themselves (Hopkins 2007). This resulted in more in-depth understanding on their identities (Hopkins, 2007). The use of narratives to enact identities is widely acknowledged (Bagnoli, 2012) also in relations to migrants or their descendants (Buitelaar, 2014; Stock, 2014). Narrative about the understanding of the identity, also called self-defining stories' (McAdams, 2001), stresses that identity is a process rather than something that is possessed (Bagnoli, 2012). Furthermore, such an approach provides the opportunity to explore both past and present processes of identification (Stock, 2014). So, narratives of belonging move away from expressing identities merely in socially constructed categories but in also in notions of belonging.

Identity and belonging are closely related; the concepts 'live together but involve a different emphasis' (Anthias, 2008; p8). Belonging refers more to experiences and emotions of inclusion and exclusion and can be seen as a conscious connection to a particular group (Levitt and Glick

Schiller, 2004). Identity also covers that, but deals as well with labeling this understanding and presenting who you are (identity markers) (Anthias, 2001). In other words, while expressions of identity refer to the way second generation British migrants understand themselves, focusing on belonging will give a more context dependent approach that show the dynamic character of identity.

Overall, identity is understood in different ways. It can be theorized as dynamic concept and from a life course perspective, while it is experienced and expressed in quite static ways. The focus on places can provide insights into the intersectional and relational character of identity, by exploring the way in which second generation Muslims experience belonging to places. This strategy stands apart from the fact that this research focuses on identities in relation to places beyond national borders of the UK. Anthias' (2001) approach can also be useful in studies on identity which is not as explicitly linked to places as in this research. However, it provides opportunities to gain insight into dynamic identities and into the actual (non-everyday) places people identify with, at the same time. Chapter 3 (research method) elaborates further on the way this approach is employed in this research. While this section presented how places can be used to research identity, the next section will shift in emphasis and show how identities are informed by non-everyday places.

2.3 Identities and non-everyday places

> 'Just as young people's identities will influence and be influenced by particular places, the specific places or locations that young people find themselves in also act as important markers of identity and sense of identification.' (Hopkins, 2010; p. 11)

In the introductory chapter is explained that place provide a context in which second generation British Muslims negotiate their identities. This section presents theoretical insights into the influence non-everyday places can have on their identity negotiation in a specific context.

What place exactly entails is topic of debate (e.g.: Creswell, 2005). Place is, like identity, a term used commonly in everyday conversations, but is criticized by academics for its conceptual inconsistency (See Creswell, 2005 for place' see Lawler, 2008 for identity). In this research I will use Massey's (2005) understanding of place. She explains that place is not singular but has multiple meanings or identities attached. Power-relations define which meaning is more dominant and which meaning is more concealed. This also means that places are changing, because meanings to places are not fixed (Massey, 2005). Furthermore, places are not enclosed with a fixed border but have blurred boundaries that are based on the perceptions of people (Massey, 2005). So, place is more than just a location.

The way places influence identities is mainly a subject of the field of cultural geography (Creswell, 2004; Martin, 2005). Most scholars research identities of individuals in relation to everyday places that one regularly encounters in a physical way (Martin, 2005; Hopkins; 2010; Trell, 2013). According to Martin (2005) identity can be developed in relation to social processes but also to the relation with places. 'When attachment to place grows, we start to identify with ourselves with these places both at a larger scale (such as the nation or a region) and at a smaller scale (such as neighbourhood, workplaces homes, rooms)' (Martin, 2005). This quote shows that the relation to a place is significant for the identification with that place. This is denoted as place attachment in cultural geography which points towards an emotional relationship with a place (Cresswell, 2004). The quote also indicates that people can identify with places on different scales. Trell (2013) found that especially places on a small scale are essential for identity formation processes among youth in rural Estonia, such as community centers, meeting places and so on. Also Hopkins (2010) show that places like the street, neighborhood and school seems most important for young people (Hopkins, 2010). Although, scale could not be considered as a 'pre-existing category' (Hopkins, 2010; p.267), these studies indicate that the identification with places is likely to be on a small scale and not on larges scales like countries or continents.

Both the studies of Hopkins (2010) and Trell (2013) mention that especially for young people places are important in terms of their identity. Jack (2010) confirms this by explaining that childhood seems an important period in life in which relations to places are established that will continue to play a role in the identity formation processes in adulthood (Jack 2010). After all, places can have a continuing importance for identity through memories (Mazumbar & Mazumbar, 2012). This implies that also non-everyday places - places that one does not encounter physically on a regular basis - that were important in the childhood can remain important in terms of identity. So, when migrants leave their country of origin they are likely to identify with the places where they grew up. As explained in the introduction the second generation is often raised in a transnational social environment in which different cultures are important. Also the people that did not move themselves could maintain ties to the home country of the parents (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004). The relationship of the second generation to places beyond the UK is not much addressed. However, the ties are sometimes researched by the concepts of 'home' or 'roots' (e.g: and routes) (e.g.: Stock, 2014). Both the terms roots and home are likely to limit the findings on places since they imply a relation to the places where the parents are from and could neglect other places of importance.

This section showed that the relations to places are important for the identification with those places and often established in the childhood. This may apply to everyday places but also seems relevant in non-everyday places. In the next section I will review literature in the field of transnationalism with regard to the identity of second generation is related to non-everyday places beyond the borders of the UK.

2.4 Transnationalism in migration studies

This section reviews literature that is positioned in the field of transnationalism in relation to migration studies. This field stresses that many migrants maintain ties to their country of origin which influence their everyday lives in the country of settlement (Waldinger, 2011; Vetrovec, 2001). In the broadest sense transnationalism is concerned with 'the accelerated exchange across national borders of information, labour, cultural and capital by non-state actors in ways that challenges, rework, and or reinforce those borders and their relationship to states' (Olson & Silvey, 2006; p.806). Since two decades transnationalism was introduced by anthropologists as a field of research in migration studies (Waldinger, 2011), because scholars urged the need for a new analytical framework to approach to social phenomena in relation to migration (Glick Schiller et al, 1992). Although, this field involves many different approaches and is criticized for vagueness (Vetrovec, 2001; Waldinger, 2011; Stock, 2014) they all reject 'methodological nationalism' (Levitt, 2011; Waldinger, 2011). In other words, studies in transnationalism argue that a nation should no longer be seen as a natural unit of analysis (Portes, 2003; Levitt & Glick Schiller; Glick Schiller & Faist, 2009; Waldinger, 2011). Although, the nation should be acknowledged as a powerful socio-political construct - also in terms of identity formation processes - it should not dominate the research on migrants (Stock, 2014; Levitt, 2011). In terms of identity this means that the nation state could not be seen as a container by which identities are bounded (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Nilsson De Hanas, 2013). This explains why this field is relevant to my research that focuses on the places beyond the borders of the UK and underpins it relevance.

Transnationalism makes us rethink concepts as identity (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). Society and culture do not coincide with national borders. Some migrants may continue to identify with their country of origin. This can even be the case for descendants of migrants that where actually born there (Boccagni, 2011). As Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) explain also descendants of migrants, so the second generation, are also likely to be part of the transnational social field that transcend national borders.

2.4.2 The religious and the second generation

Little research is done on the religious second generation in relation to transnational processes and identity formation (see for exceptions: Lee, 2008; McAullife, 2008; Batainah; 2008; Haller & Landolt, 2005). Most research on the religious second generation focuses on the national contexts in relations to integration issues (E.g.: Ehrkamp & Leitner, 2006) and especially on how Islam is domesticated in this context (Sunier & Landman, 2015).

Much literature suggests that religion is considered an underexposed area in the field of transnationalism that is expected to be relevant in terms of relations that cross borders and influence the everyday lives of migrants (Levitt, 2011; Waldinger, 2011). Lee (2008) indicates that religion deserves more attention in studying identities of the second generation. So, religion is slowly gaining its importance by recognizing its unwarranted absence. After all, religion is considered an important marker of identity (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Cadge & Ecklund, 2007) and is not bounded by the borders of a nation (not in practice and ideology). Fleishmann (2011) states that religion enables migrants to continued participation in affairs related to the country of origin (Fleishmann, 2011). Her study also shows that religious networks that transcend borders are important for the well-being migrants in the country of settlement. It contributes to establishing new social networks for example. Some research suggests that religious identities are likely to be more salient after migration because they contribute in maintaining an ethnic identity (Cadge & Ecklund, 2007). Migrant communities may identify as a religious group instead using identity markers that are related to ethnicity for example (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004). So, these studies already indicate that religion is evidently important in the lives of religious migrants.

Much more studies in transnationalism are concerned with the second generation especially in relation to the first generation. It seems that the second generation is less strongly tied to the parents' country of origin than their parents, especially when this generation is still young (Portes, 2003; Waldinger; 2011). This becomes clear in 'both declining language fluency and survey findings that indicate that the children of immigrants have no intention to returning to live in their ancestral homes' (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; p134). Lee (2008) states that that the difference between the first and the second generation lies in their declined feelings of responsibility towards the family that lives in the country of origin. Also Brettels (2006) argues that in the lives of second generations the actual connections with for example family or organisations do not play a central role as much as in their parents' lives. However, Levitt (2011) argues the second generation many not maintain actual connections with the country of origin of their parents during their youth, but do accumulate the resources that enable them establish an

actual relationship later in their lives. Wessendorf (2010) study has another emphasis and stresses that parents play an important role in the way second generation feel related to the country of origin. When parents express their emotional relationships the descents are more likely to feel connected also. The role of the parents is especially important in everyday relations during the period from childhood to adulthood. This is in line with the earlier findings that argued that the childhood is an important period to identify with places that remain important for the identity later in life (Jack, 2010). Wessendorf (2010) also found that the experiencing of visiting places plays an important role in their identities.

Overall, the second generation is mainly research in relation to the generation that actually migrated. They are less likely to have actual connections with the country of origin than the first generation and their parents seem to have an important role shaping of the feelings of belongings of the second generation. The importance of the parents is not addressed in the studies on religion in transnationalism.

The few studies that focused on the religious second generation provide insight in a some specific cases. Batainah (2008) compares identity formation process of second generation Muslims and Christians that are born in Australia. She found that for the Christians their religion facilitated the process of integration in the Australian society, while for Muslims their religion was the reason why they could not be 'Australian'. Furthermore, McAullife's (2008) studied the Muslim and Bahaí second generation who originated from Iran. She found the second generation increasingly uses religion as primary source of identity. Moreover, Muslims were more likely to return to the parents' country of origin in comparison with the Bahaí. The studies seem to suggest that Muslims encounter more difficulties to feel part of the society of settlement.

Finally, Haller and Landolt (2005) research provides insight into the religious second generation. The children of migrants of the Caribbean Basin in Miami found that religion is a significant predictor for transnational practices (Haller & Landolt, 2005). The findings are summarised as follows: 'religiousness is positively related to travel back to sending countries, positively relation to sending remittances and not related to feeling equally at home' (Haller & Landolt, 2005; p. 1204). These studies seem to suggest religion influences the maintenance of ties to the country of origin of the parents.

2.4.3 Translocality as a grounded form of transnationalism

The previous section showed that notions of transnationalism provide useful insights in terms of the (religious) second generation migrants and ways that they could be influences by their ties that reach beyond national borders. Nevertheless, this field does not address how these places

are connected to places beyond these borders. This can be explained by the traditional role of place in the field of anthropology from which transnational studies emerged (Waldinger, 2011). Traditionally anthologist where interested in foreign places which also involved a specific culture (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). Due to increasing migrations flows and access to mobility, cultures could not be regarded as territorialized anymore (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). Cultures and places did not coincide anymore by which places became irrelevant automatically (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992). However, places are central to the migration experiences (Brettel, 2006).

These de-territorialized notions in transnationalism provoked a reaction of geographers. Brickell and Datta (2011) argue for the use of the concept of translocality. Translocality 'captures the increasingly complicated nature of spatial processes and identities, yet it insists on viewing such processes and identities as place-based rather than exclusively mobile, uprooted or traveling' (Oakes & Schein, 2006; p.20). So, translocality can be considered as a grounded form of transnationalism which stresses that the relations that cross borders are grounded in a specific context in the country of settlement, but also on the other sides of the tie to which one relates (Brickell & Datta, 2011). This is especially important in researching identity which can be tied to places beyond the UK and is negotiated in a specific context. Furthermore, translocality stresses the importance of different scales of places. While, transnationalism is concerned with the relations between the country of settlement and country of origin, it is already discussed that identity are likely to be related to places on smaller scales (Martin, 2005; Trell, 2013; see section 2.3)

So this research takes into account the various local contexts to which transnational ties refer and that influence the identities of second generation Muslims in a specific locale. So the translocal approach builds further on notions of transnationalism when considering identity formation processes. In other words, the concept of translocality does not reject the field of transnationalism but expands it by introducing the importance of places.

2.5 Ties to places beyond national borders

As explained in 2.3, maintaining a tie to a non-everyday place is considered a prerequisite for identification with that particular place. Migrants can maintain different ties to the country of origin (Glick Schiller et al., 1992; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Waldinger, 2011). So far, little attention has been paid to what those ties actually are. This section presents migrants' potential ties to places beyond the UK that provide a tool to analyze how identities of second generation British Muslims identify with those places.

This section will draw on notions of transnationalism since this study is concerned with migrants' ties that reach beyond border of the nation (Portes, 2003; Levitt & Glick Schiller,

2004). Glick Schiller (2002) separates the actual connections and more emotional ties that migrants or descendants of migrants can maintain with the home country. She makes a distinction between transnational ways of being and transnational ways of belonging. Transnational ways of being refer to the actual and regular connections with the country of origin. In other words, it refers to the connections with people or institutions that are evident; for instance, the exchange of money, goods, information or phone calls with family members (Portes, 2003; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). Sociological approaches in transnationalism considered these ties as the only ones that matter; however, those studies neglect the emotional relationships that appear to be more directly related to identity.

Transnational ways of belonging 'refer to the practices that signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group' (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). This does not mean that transnational ways of being are irrelevant in studying the ties of the second generation British Muslims; those ties could be preconditions for establishing a more emotional tie. Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) explain that the transnational ways of belonging also should entail a concrete action to be considered as such. In spite of this, geographical theories showed earlier (section 2.3) that a feeling of attachment to places can endure during the life course, which does not mean that any form of action has to be involved. In this research transnational ways of belonging can also refer to an emotional attachment to a place without any actions involved. In order to make this distinction applicable to research identity formation, the meaning of transnational ways of being and belonging is slightly changed. The emphasis of the distinction is now based on the action component. This means that transnational ways of being refer to ties that entail any kind of action, and that transnational ways of belonging refer to the invisible verbally expression of an emotional attachment to a particular place. As a consequence some ties that would be categorized as transnational ways of belonging in Glick Schillers' (2002) distinction will be assigned to transnational ways of being in this research. For instance, wearing traditional clothes can be seen as an embodied way of identity expressions, and is associated with a transnational way of belonging in Glick Schillers' (2002) approach. However, in this research this would be categorize as an action in which the individual expresses a way of *being* culturally connected, which indeed can enact identity.

The denominations of the Glick Schillers' (2002) concepts are changed to denote the slightly different way they are used in this research. Instead of transnational ways of being and belonging the terms translocal ways of being and translocal ways of belonging are used. Furthermore, these terms indicate that these ties can refer to places on various scales and not merely to the country of origin as become prominent in this theoretical framework.

Translocal ways of being and belonging can embrace several ways in which people are tied to places beyond the UK. As implied before, wearing traditional clothes can be indicated as a cultural tie of being. More type of ties can be indicated that amplify the analysis of the ways second generation British migrants are related to places they identify with. These type of ties derive from the different domains in society, discussed by Levitt and Jaworsky (2007), on which transnational ties have a substantial impact. These are the economic, political, social, cultural and religious domain. The domains are discussed regarding the macro-impacts of transnationalism (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007); however, those macro-impacts are consequences many ties of individuals or organisations to places beyond the UK (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). In other words, those domains are used to subdivide the translocal of ways of being and belonging into type of ties. Table 1 shows these ties and provides concrete examples which illustrate the differences between translocal ways of being and belonging.

Table 2 Overview and examples of the type of ties to places beyond national borders

Type of tie[1]	Translocal way of Being – Connection	Translocal Way of Belonging - Attachment
Economic	Sending or receiving remittances. Income related to businesses. Paying taxes in country of origin.	Feeling economically responsible for family members abroad.
Political	Being involved in political campaigns. Electoral participation. Following the news actively.	Being concerned with political situations. Feeling responsible to be political involvement.
Social	Having contact with family/friends Using phone, Skype, social media.	Feelings of belonging to your family or to friends over there.
Cultural	Eating/cooking traditional food. Speaking the language. Wearing traditional clothes.	Feelings roots lie there. Feelings of home Feelings of being part of that culture
Religious	Participating in a religious network.	Feeling belongs of belonging to co-religionist beyond national borders

[1] Categories are based on Levitt and Jaworsky (2007)

Few clarifications are made to explain the classifications of Table 1. First, Translocal ways of being and belonging can perform simultaneously. Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) also explain that transnational ways of being and belonging do not have to exclude each other. For some type of ties this is more likely than for others. Take for instance the economic tie; people that send money to family members have an economic connection and are also likely to feel financially responsible for their family members. Lee (2008) shows with her research that second generation migrants are more likely to send remittances to family when they have feelings of belonging to those places. The same seems to apply to political ties. It is likely that if the second generation is political involved (translocal ways of being) in activities beyond the borders of the UK, are also concerned with the political situation over there (translocal ways of belonging)

Second, social and cultural ties are by some scholars merged into socio-cultural relations (Portes, 2003). However, following Levitt and Jaworsky (2007) describe social and cultural domain as separate domains in which transnational ties have an impact. Based on their distinction, this research refers to social ties when the tie concerns personal relations such as family members and friends. A cultural tie means a connection of attachment to the society, so for example Bangladeshi people in general or the culture of that specific region or place.

Third, the religious tie seems to have more possible subdivisions. 'While most scholars acknowledge the salience of migrants' transnational economic, political and sociocultural practices, they have only recently begun to pay attention to the relationship between transnational migration and religion' (Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004; p.1026). Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) suggest that instead of looking to ways of being and belonging (Glick Schiller, 2002) in terms of transnational religious ties, another distinction may be more useful. Religious ties to transnational networks that refer to people in the country of origin should be distinguished from ties to non-state based religions attachments, such as Christian, Hindu's or Muslim beliefs (Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004). Although there has been little empirical evidence that substantiates this distinction, Nilsson deHanas (2013) suggest that the Islamic notion of the Ummah can be important for Muslims. The Umma is a global identification in Islam with other co-religionists (Nilsson deHanas, 2013). Furthermore, religion and cultural ties could be difficult to distinguish because of the intersectional character of identity. Religion and culture often go hand and hand (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007) and it could be difficult to explain what it means to be Bengali and to explain what it means to be Muslim, without referring to each other (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007).

In conclusion, second generation British Muslim can be tied to places beyond the UK in various ways. In this section an analytical tool is presented in order to gain an in-depth understanding on how the ties to place beyond the borders of the UK influence the identities that they negotiate in a specific context.

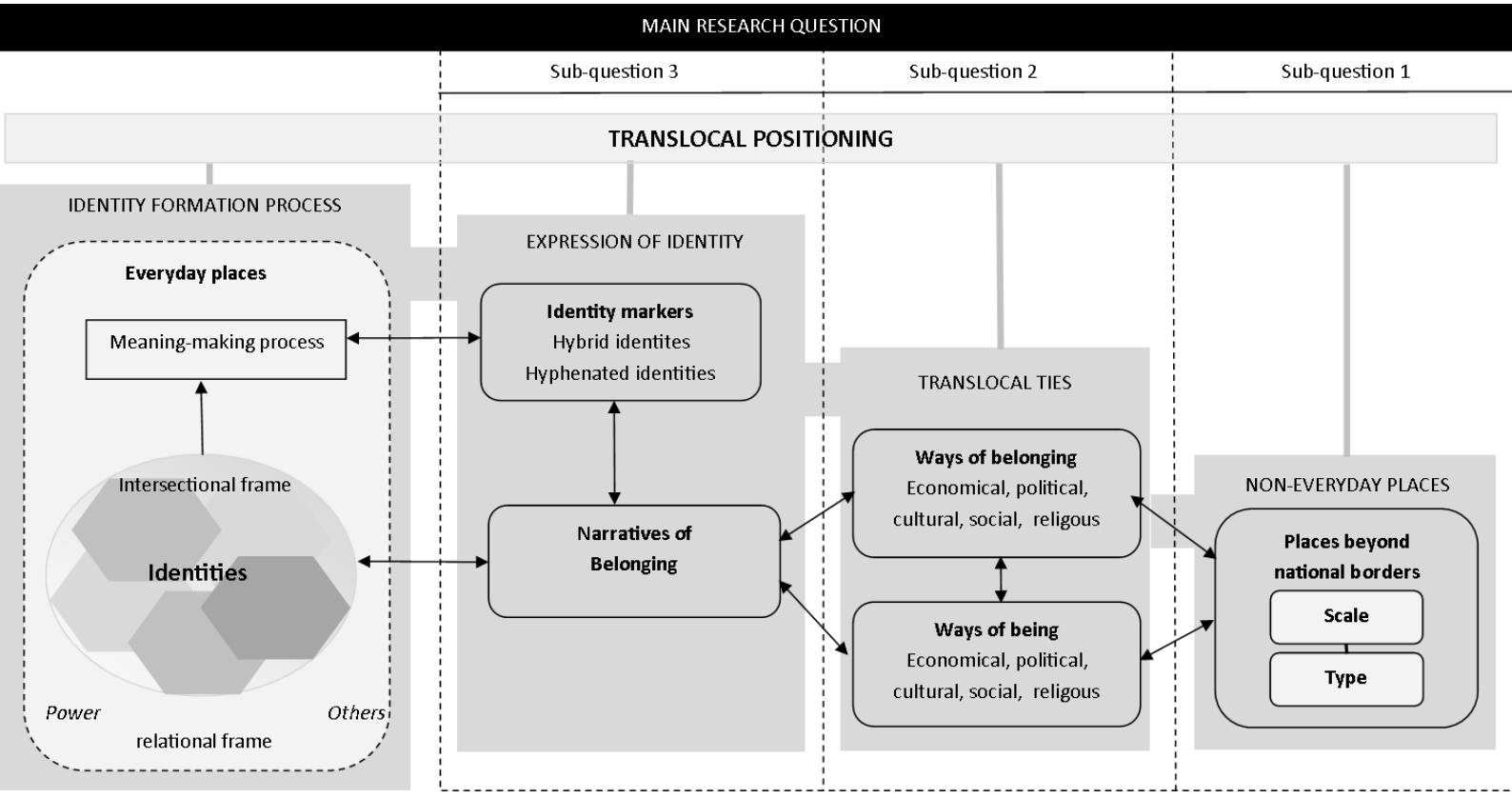
2.6 Conceptual model

Figure 1 visualises the relations between the discussed concepts that provide theoretical framework to explore how places beyond the borders of the UK influence the identities of young second generation British Muslims.

It shows that identities are relational and intersecting and that they are negotiated in everyday places. In order to research these identities not only identity markers are taken into account,

but also the narratives of belonging in order to capture the mutable character of identity. These narratives of belonging are related to the ways people are tied to places. In this research I focus that ties that refer to places outside of the UK. This are often places that one does not regularly encounter; non-everyday places. These places can vary in terms of scale and could be form vary in type of places. So, how do these places beyond the national border influence the identity formation of individuals in everyday places? How does somebody position him or herself in the everyday places while with regard ties to places beyond the borders of the UK? That is the overarching focus of this research. The sub-questions are also incorporated in the conceptual model in order to show how these questions together can formulate an answer on the main research question.

Figure 1 Conceptual model



How are the identities of young second generation British Muslims influenced by their ties to places beyond national borders of the UK?

1. What are the places beyond the borders of the UK that young second generation British Muslims identify with?
2. How are young second generation British Muslims tied to places beyond the borders of the UK?
3. How do ties to places beyond the UK influence the way the young second generation British Muslims position themselves in their everyday lives?

3. Research method

Studying new theoretical concepts requires methodological innovations (Pink, 2011; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). This method is inspired on the theoretical notions of narratives of belonging (Anthias 2001; 2008; see section 2.2.2.) to move beyond static identity markers and, at the same time, to move beyond the dominance of the nation as an analytical tool in migration research. In order to understand identities through narratives, it is beneficial to complement traditional methods of data collection (such as interviews) with other strategies such as visual methods (Bagnoli, 2012). This research is characterized by a qualitative research design that involves interviews in combination with a visual component of map-making. This chapter elaborates on the different components of this method; the type of research (section 3.1), the method of data collection (section 3.2), the method of the analysis (section 3.3), and the research ethics (section 3.4).

3.1 A qualitative and visual approach

This research adopts a qualitative approach to study the identity formation of young second generation Muslims in relation to places beyond the borders of the UK. Qualitative methods offer an effective way of gaining an in-depth understanding of social behaviour and beliefs in a specific context (Hennink et al., 2011; Babbie, 2013; Ormston et al., 2013; Richard, 2015). However, qualitative research is an overarching term that covers various ways in which data can be collected and analyzed (Babbie, 2013; Ormston et al., 2013;). This research adopts an emic approach (Babbie, 2013) in which the researcher is 'seeking peoples own understanding in their own words' (Richards, 2015). Although, these words are interpreted by me as a researcher (see section 3.4.2 for positionality), I also took into account that the way people express identity does not always correspond with the way identity is theorized (see section 2.2).

This qualitative research also embraces a visual component (in the form map-making) which is considered beneficial in researching the identities of young people (Bagnoli, 2009; Pink, 2011; Jung; 2014). Using visual elements can be is a way to break powerful social constructs - such as identity markers - since visual methods trigger the mind to think differently (Pink, 2011). Furthermore, young people tend to better express themselves making images instead of verbal communication (Bagnoli, 2009).

The visual component involves map-making since maps are useful in studying how people relate to places (Trell, 2013) As Caquard and Cartwright (2014) state: 'Maps have not only been used to decipher and geolocate stories, but to tell them as well'. In this research participants are asked to make a map during the in-depth interview. This triggers them to talk about the way they identify with these places and also shows which places beyond the national borders of the UK

are important for them. The maps that are created are ego-geocentric maps. In section 3.2.2 I will explain how they are used in this research.

3.2 Method of data collection

The textual and visual data collected during the interviews are rich data, this means that they include information on context and annotations (Babbie, 2013). Eight interviews are conducted in the second half of June and the beginning of July of 2015 in Newcastle Upon Tyne, United Kingdom. All the interviews are conducted in English and recorded on tape. Most interviews took around 50 minutes, excluding introductory talk and explanation of the informed consent. The interviews were held in public places as coffee shops, community centers or in the university library (see Table 2 in section 3.2.3 for an overview of the interviews and participants).

3.2.1 In-depth interviews

The interviews are semi-structured; a general structure is provided, but there is also room for the participants to tell their own stories (Hennink et al., 2011). Only open-ended questions are used in order to encourage participants to talk and express themselves in their own words (Richard, 2015). So, the interview guide (Appendix I) does not suggest to follow a standard list of questions, but is used to ensure that all the interviews cover the main topics. The most relevant questions are stressed as key questions in the guide. The other questions are raised when the participant did not address that topic already by answering the key questions. Besides, prompts are included in the interviews in case questions needed to be rephrased or explained (Hennink et al. 2011).

Prior to the data collection pilot interviews were conducted in order optimize the utility of the interview guide and to reflect on the key questions and the structure of the interview (Hennink et al., 2011). The pilot was conducted with two of my peers. One of them personated the participant and the other observed the interview. This proved particularly useful in order to indicate abstract and unclear terms in the questions (like 'identify with') and showed some inconveniences in the interview structure. Furthermore, I prepared the actual data collection by talking to a key informant related to an Islamic organisation in The Netherlands in order to gain knowledge on potential ties or places that could be specifically important for the Muslims participants. This enriched my knowledge on places important in the Koran and proved useful in the discussion on religious places during the interview.

Before commencing the actual interviews the aim of the interview and the informed consent form (Appendix III) are discussed. Furthermore, it was stressed that participants could refer to places on any scale during the interview, ranging from the world or continents to small scale

places like a room or a street for example. Besides, I initiated some small talk preparing the interview setting in order to create a trustful and comfortable atmosphere which is important in establishing rapport (Hennink et al., 2011).

In order to manage the flow of the interview, the interview is divided in introductory questions, core questions and closing questions (Hennink et al., 2011). The main structure of the interviews is visualised in Figure 2. The introductory questions create a situation in which the participant can talk comfortably (Hennink et al., 2011). Whereas some scholars (e.g. Hennink et al., 2011) state that straightforward or closed questions are most suitable to start interviews with, I decided to begin with a broad and open question following Valentine (1997). This gave me the opportunity to create an atmosphere that shows that the participants are expected and encouraged to tell their own stories (Valentine, 1997). When asking them 'Can you tell me about the places your parents come from?' the participants become familiar with the open character of the interview (Valentine, 1997). Besides, it can create the feeling that participants are also in charge of the interview which balances power relation between researcher and interviewer (Valentine, 1997). The core questions are designed to collect data needed to answer the research questions (Hennink et al. 2011). This central part exists of three sequential components; sub-questions per place, map-making and potential remaining topics (See Figure 2).

The part on sub-questions per place stimulates participants to tell about the places beyond the UK that they perceive as important for whom they are now, or in the past. The places that are raised by the participants are discussed one by one using the sub-questions per place. In the next part of the interview the discussed places are used as input for the participants' geo-egocentric maps. Figure 2 visualises the order in which these maps are shaped. Each step is conducted for all places at once. This stimulates the participants to restructure their thoughts by thinking in a more comparative way about the places, instead of discussing them one by one as the previous part. Besides explaining why places are important to them, the participants are also asked to visualise and explain their ties to the places by drawing lines and assign a colour to them. This will provide a deeper understanding on how they are tied to the places. The last part of the central component of the interviews contains topics that only should be mentioned when the topics they cover were not discussed yet. In case other places that are important for the participant come up during the creation of the map or when discussing the remaining topics, the sub-questions per place are addressed again and that particular place will be added to the map (Figure 2 see feedback arrow). To conclude the interview naturally two closing questions are raised. These questions are important to establish some distance between researcher and participant before ending the interview (Hennink et al. 2011). Moreover, I took notes right after

each interview (for instance on interview setting, issues on ethics, or how the map-making went) which was useful to contextualize the data analysis and to make improvements for the next interviews.

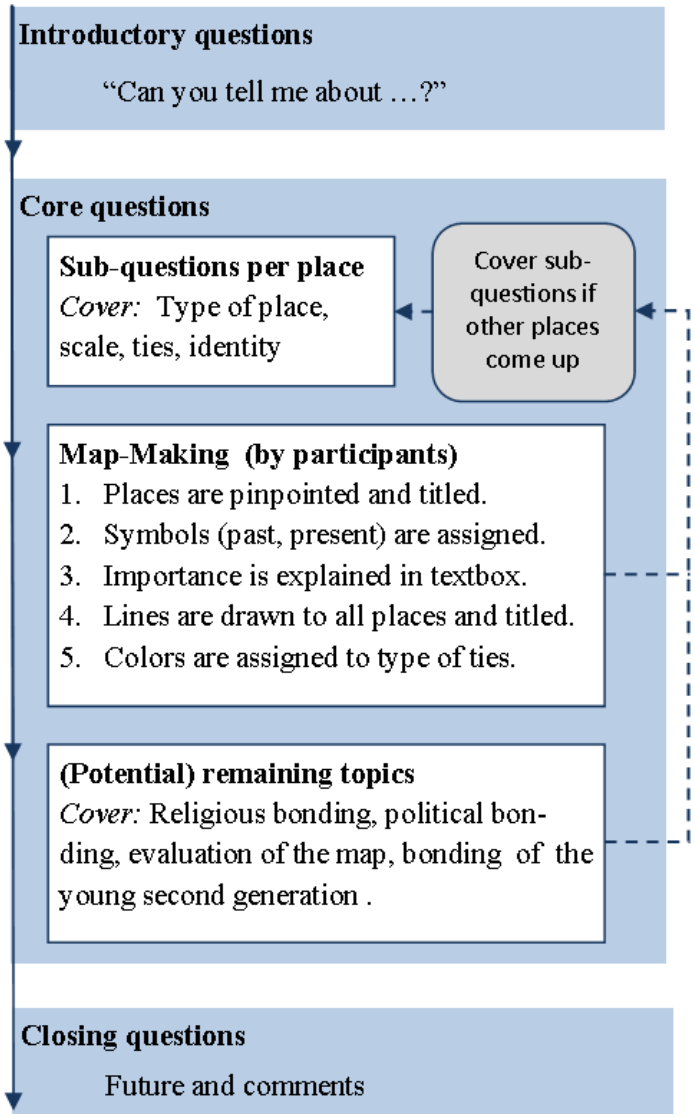


Figure 2 Visual representation of the interview structure

3.2.2 A geo-egocentric map

All participants made a geo-egocentric map during the interview. The main purpose of geo-egocentric map is to trigger places on different scales and to evoke the dynamic character of identity through narratives of belonging. Jung (2014) has shown that the use of geographical maps is useful to talk about concrete sites, name them and recall stories, memories or concrete habits and feelings connected to them. The geographical basis used is available through GoogleMyMaps. GoogleMyMaps offers an adequate (online and free) tool in which simple maps can be created. It provides possibilities to pinpoint various symbols, to draw lines, and to add

descriptions to them (see Figure 2). The map format provided to the participants contains a geographical base and shows the participants positioned in Newcastle upon Tyne (see Figure 3 for an example). The participants create their own geo-egocentric map by pinpointing the places that are important to them and visualising their ties to these places on the map. Using a digital map seemed very useful to trigger participants to zoom in and out and refer to different scales. For example the map of Shahana[1] contains two overlapping scales; she did not only pinpoint the region where her parents are from, but also a village located in this region.

Figure 3 Geo-egocentric map of Shahana (19)

The geo-egocentric map is based on Richter's (2012) method in studying transnational spaces of people who migrated from Spain to Switzerland. He uses two separate maps; a geographical map and an egocentric map. In the latter the participant is represented in the middle of concentric circles on which the participants need to indicate which people living in Spain are important to them. Thereafter, those people are pinpointed on a geographical map of Spain in order to trigger stories on those specific places. I decided to use only one map that combines elements of both maps Richter (2012) uses. The most important reason for that is that Richter (2012) seems to

[1] Fictitious names are used in this research

assume that all places are related to people, which can exclude places that ties the participant in another way (e.g: political, religious) and that does not necessarily involves people.

Mapmaking as a research method is mainly used in the field of geography. Especially, mental map became popular during the last few decades (White & Green, 2012). The geo-egocentric maps should not be confused with a mental map. While mental maps represent a mental representation of places, the template of the geo-egocentric map is quite fixed, so participants are not free to visualise their own mental representations of those places. Although mental representations of places are also useful in researching the ways in which people identify with places, this research considers the advantages of the geo-egocentric outweigh this alternative opportunity. More than a mental map, this map triggers to indicate other places on different levels as being important to them. I think that geo-egocentric maps are even more suitable to move beyond socially constructed expressions of identities trough places, since they provide a certain template that can restructure the way participants think. Furthermore, a concern with mental maps is that the subjectivity of the drawer can be misreading easily which distinct them from geographical maps (Jung, 2014). This given template of the geo-egocentric map stimulates the shared understanding between researcher and the participant which limits misreading or misinterpretation. Another advantage of this digital map was that participants seemed to enjoy it which was beneficial for the atmosphere and seemed to break a more formal interview setting. Young people react enthusiastically when I explained them how GooglyMyMaps works.

> **Shahana (19):** This is cool I never done this before.
> **Kamil (22):** Wow, that is cool.

The young adults did not seem to encounter difficulties in making the maps. During one interview the participant asked me if I could make the map because of the participants' impaired vision. When I zoomed in each of the places, the participant could pinpoint the exact location and the co-production also in this interview led to a great shared understanding of the map.

However, a substantive disadvantage of using this digital online format is the need of internet. In four interviews the WIFI connection could not be established, in these cases I used hardcopy maps that visualised the participants in Newcastle on a world map (see Appendix VI for the results). Using this hardcopy map confirmed the advantages of trigger that the zooming function provided in the digital maps. Furthermore, there was barely any interaction between me and the participants when they made their hardcopy maps by which a shared understanding was less naturally established. Apparently, the shared understanding was not encouraged by the fact that

this method had a visual component, but seemed more derived from the setting of sitting behind the computer, a setting that invites interaction more than drawing on a the hardcopy map. This is interaction is important because it is more about the actual process of mapping that elucidates the narratives rather than what the map represents (Caquard & Cartwright, 2014).

However, the use of the hardcopy maps also provided some information that could not been observed by the making digital maps with GoogleMyMaps. It showed that participants were often unable to geographically locate the country where their parents are from - or other places that were important to them - on the world map. The map only presented the borders of the country because the scale of the map did not allow visualising the names of each country. The following quotations illustrate this difficulty:

> **Tee(23):** I'm so horrendous with geography so you might need to help me out [laughing]
> **Tammy (17):** I'm not quite sure where Mecca is.
> **Nida***:* So I don't know all the places of the countries, like where they are. I just circle this region. I'm going to circle this region as well. This complex as well. That's it for now.

When these moments occurred, I carefully suggested the right location and stressed that it is not important for the research that the places are correctly located on the map in order to mitigate potential feelings of discomfort that could influence the rest of the interview. Only during the interview with Nida the inability to identify the locations of the places could have influenced the interview. As the quotation above indicates, she drew large circles on the map that covered several countries in ones. As a consequence the separate places (in terms of scale and other characteristics) where not discussed extensively.

Furthermore, the hardcopy map showed that the fixed format of the digital map limited the freedom of the participants to present their feelings of attachment that reach beyond the borders of the UK. The hardcopy map of Tee (23) visualises her attachment to Muslims around the world by dots all over the world map. In interviews these religious forms of global attachment were mentioned multiple times, but could not be presented on the map.

3.2.3 The participants

Before presenting the participants in this research, it should be underlined that they are not meant to represent any collectivity, such as second generation British Muslims living in Newcastle upon Tyne. This is an idiographic study in which the interviews are used to collect data on the 'particular' or the 'unique' (Babbie, 2013) to contribute to an explorative and in-depth understanding of the identity formation processes in relation to places.

Eight individuals participated in this research. All of them identify as Muslim and are born in the UK and have parents who immigrated to the UK. Table 2 presents an overview of the characteristics of the participants and the interviews. Their ages range from 17 to23 years old. Nida's exact age is unknown, but based on the information in the interview she is most likely in the beginning of her twenties. I had the feeling she was not comfortable to share her age after she decided to not fill in her age on her hardcopy geo-egocentric map. Tammy turned out to seventeen during the interview but I saw no reason to exclude her form the research. The parents from six participants migrated from Bangladeshi to the UK. The parents of the other two participants originated from Pakistan. Only the parents of Kamil did not migrated both; one of his parents originates from Pakistan and the other is British. Furthermore, Kamil is the only male participant in this study. The table shows that the interviews with Tammy and Nida did not take as long as the other six interviews. A possible explanation is that we did not talk long about the places their parents are from because both of them did not regard those as important to them, while the other participants did.

Table 2 Characteristics of the participants and the interviews

Participants		Age	Sex	Date 2015	Location	Map	Time (min)	Parents country	Recruitment
1	Shanana	19	F	18-jun	University	D	57	Bangladesh	University
2	Tammy	17	F	24-jun	Coffee shop	H	27	Bangladesh	Student1
3	Tee	22	F	29-jun	Youth centre	H	47	Bangladesh	Student1
4	Hasina	20	F	30-jun	University	D	59	Bangladesh	Student1
5	Arida	23	F	5-jul	University	D	61	Bangladesh	Facebook1
6	Nida	?	F	5-jul	Islamic centre	H	37	Pakistan	Facebook2
7	Jada	23	F	6-jul	Coffee shop	H	46	Bangladesh	P3 Tee
8	Kamil	22	M	6-jul	University	D	50	Pakistan	Facebook2

F: Female / M: Male
D: GoogleMyMaps-map/ H: Hardcopy Map

In order to recruit the participants a non-random recruitment technique (Hennink et al., 2011) is used to reach those individuals that meet the combination of characteristics we aimed to interview (young, identifying as Muslim, second generation, living in Newcastle upon Tyne). There are several non-random recruitment techniques of which snowballing seemed most useful. In this strategy one contact leads to another or multiple other potential participant (Valentine, 2005; Hennink et al., 2011). Snowballing has the advantage that it can raise trust prior to the interview because potential participants can be comforted by the fact that somebody familiar is already involved (Hennink et al., 2011). Contact with gatekeepers can start the snowballing method. In this research two gatekeepers helped me to find participants. In table 2 they are named 'student1' and 'university'. Having more than one gatekeeper makes it less likely

that all participants are 'like-minded-people' and more likely that you gain a more nuanced in-depth understanding (Valentine, 2005; p.117). In addition, another strategy was employed, since the limited time for the data collection and the uncertainty on the number of participants this snowballing technique would generate. I posted requests for participants on the Facebook pages of Facebook-groups that were related to Muslim or Islam in Newcastle upon Tyne (I reflect on the ethical aspects of this strategy in section 3.4.1). I also approached a few individuals that where members of those groups personally through Facebook by sending them a private message (Appendix II). Using this technique three volunteers were recruited for this research.

3.3 Method of data analysis

In order to interpret the qualitative data, the data are described, categorized and interconnected (Kitchin & Tate, 2000). Prior to the actual analysis the data records are prepared carefully because they function as a basis for the analysis (Hennink et al., 2011). The recorded interviews are transformed into textual data by verbatim transcription. Since identity is a dynamic concept and context is important for its formation it is most suitable to transcribe the whole interview. The transcripts also include some interpretive elements such as laughing, silences, and stressed words. Appendix IV exemplifies the beginning of one of the transcripts. The interview of Jada could not be transcribed completely because of disturbing background noise in the coffee shop where the interview was held. Jada's interview is used in the analysis mainly on the basis of the notes and the created map and will therefore have a smaller share in the findings chapter. Based on the transcripts and the geo-egocentric maps I made an overview of the places pinpointed by the participants. These have proven to be a useful synopsis for interpreting the data (Appendix VII). Before the actual analysis the transcripts and maps are anonymised.

To interpret the data codes are developed to categorize the data. The software ATLAS.ti is used to organize the data in the categorization process. Both deductive codes and inductive codes are used in the analysis. The codebook is presented in Appendix V. Deductive codes derive from theory (Hennink et al., 2011) including multiple ways the participants are tied to places beyond the UK based on Levitt and Jaworsky (2007) (e.g.: being.economic, being.political, being.social, being.cultural, being.religious). An inductive code is an important category that comes up from the data. An example of an inductive code is belonging.place which was assigned to the quotations in which belonging was expressed to an actual place. Also some in vivo codes where included such as 'roots' and 'home', but were in the end always overlapping with other categories and did not have an added value for the analysis. The codes that do not show internal coherency are merged or spliced (based on Kitchin & Tate, 2000). Thereafter, the interpretation of the data started by connecting categories and trying to find for example recurrent patters (Kitchin & Tate, 2000).

3.4 Ethics

Researchers need continuously to be aware of ethical challenges during the whole research process (Richard, 2015). This section shows that ethical issues in qualitative research cannot be considered straightforward. Section 3.4.1 addresses ethical issues that are generally considered in all studies. Section 3.4.2 presents the ethical considerations around issues typical for this research. In section 3.4.3 shows a reflection upon my role as a researcher.

3.4.1 Informed consent and confidentiality

Preventing participants from harm as a result of the research is an overarching ethical issue (Babbie, 2013). This research only interviewed people that participated on a voluntarily basis. Furthermore they were informed about the aims of the research from the moment that I approached them to participate. In that way I tried to ensure they participants made an informed decision on participation or not. Furthermore, before the interview started the ethical issues and aim of the research were discussed again using an informed consent form (Appendix III). This signed consent forms indicate a mutual agreement between researcher and participant and shows that the participants give permission to be involved in the research (Dowling, 2010). The participants received a copy of this agreement immediately after the interview.

Anonymity and confidentiality are both concerned with the privacy of the participants. The individuals volunteering in the research are anonymous when the researcher cannot identify them (Babbie, 2013). However, in this research (and most other qualitative studies) anonymity cannot be guaranteed since we had face to face meetings. The data is anonymised in the sense that all the personal characteristics that could the reveal the identity of the participant are removed from the data (Babbie, 2013). This means that confidentiality can be guaranteed. In this research participants where denoted with fictitious names and all personal information on the maps and in the interview transcripts that considered typical for the participants is removed. This involved for example the names of specific villages where the parents of the participants were from or information on their hobbies, work and studies.

3.4.2 Ramadan and Facebook

In relation to this research, two more ethical considerations need to be discussed. The period of data collection coincided with the period of Ramadan. Ramadan is the ninth month of the Islamic calendar in which most Muslims are fasting and do not eat or drink anything from dawn to sunset. I was in doubt whether it was appropriate to approach Muslims for this research in this period. Shahana, the first participant I interviewed suggested herself to meet on the second day of Ramadan. Together we discussed potential ethical around the Ramadan. She did not expect

that other Muslims experienced it as disrespectful when they were contacted during Ramadan and advised me to indicate that I was aware of the fact that it is Ramadan. I integrated this into my messages to potential participants (Appendix II).

Furthermore, during the data collection process considered recruiting participants through the medium of Facebook as an ethical issue, since I was entering their online personal space. The decision to use this medium was related to the consideration that I revealed my own personal page by contacting them and therefore mitigated potential power relations. Furthermore, the message that potential participants received asked for their help by providing suggestions in terms of possible volunteers or organisations to contact. Asking them to participate would assume that I already framed them in the profile of being a young, being a second generation migrant and that identifies as Muslim. Some potential participants did not react on my message; other never read it[2], and all individuals that replied where positive and willing to help.

3.4.3 Positionality: A space of inbetweenness

Using qualitative data collection instruments, the researcher is part of the data (Richard, 2015). The social role of the researcher influences the production of data (Richard, 2015). I expect these considerations to play in particular a role in this research since the clear relational character of identity. Therefore it is important to reflect on the own role (Dowling, 2010). The process in which the own role is evaluated is referred to as reflexivity (Richard, 2015). My own particular combination of gender, race, class and age and other characteristics can have influenced the collected data (Hopkins, 2009; Richard 2012). This is also clear in the relational character of identity as explained in the first two chapters of this research.

Although, I did not perceive a great social distance between me and the participants during the interviews, in some interviews I seemed to share more characteristics with the participants than in others. However, my position as a researcher did not only vary from one interview to the other but did also change during the interviews. This is in line with what Hopkins (2009) explains as positionality: a space of inbetweenness. This approach can be described as the role of a researcher as 'never being completely the same nor entirely different form their participants'. Being similar or different depends on the context in which the interview is conducted but also on my own particular combination of gender, race, class and age characteristics and how this is perceived by the participants. 'These negotiations between various degrees of difference and similarity can be seen as a position of inbetweenness' (Hopkins, 2009; p6). Although the

[2] When a personal message is send to somebody that is not a 'facebook friend' or friend of a friend, the message will not be send towards the Inbox of that participant but to the 'other' file. Facebook does not send the receivers a notification of this.

positions of inbetweenness are not entirely knowable, it is important to reflect on them in order to understand my own role in the generation of data (Hopkins, 2009).

Longhorst (2012) explains that the way the participants perceive the researcher can be (partly) influenced by the latter. In the small talks prior to the interviews I attempted to stress the similarities between me and the participants by talking about university life in case participants were also students of example. Similarities can be important to establish trust which can be advantages for the richness of the data (Valentine 2005). This position of inbetweenness is something that I experienced in some interviews. Shahana (19) and I had talked about similar interests prior to the interview, but when she was stressing the differences between her and what she called, her 'white friends', she hesitated probably because of me being 'white' and her distancing herself from her 'white' friends. Furthermore, the difference between me and all participants was that they are Muslim while I am not religious. During the interviews this position of difference could be noted by them assuming I lacked of knowledge on what Islamic terms (e.g.: Aid or Hajj) mean. In general, I did not think this difference was a disadvantage because participants often deliberately explained what a religious bonding was and how they experienced that. However, the following quote shows also that this outsider position result in more superficial explanations.

> **Hasina (20):** It is important to me because, as a Muslim, it is one of the places where I wish to go to complete my religious devotion. As a Muslim Hajj is a integral part of showing religiosity and to perform Hajj is showing a big part of devotion.

In this quotation Hasina (19) seems to explain how Muslims are related to Mecca, instead addressing her personal religious tie which could be a consequence of me as an outsider with regard to this position of difference. Overall, it is not possible to know precisely how the data is influenced by my position as a researcher (Hopkins, 2009) reflecting on that differences and similarities that are identifiable throughout the interviews can strengthen the interpretation of the data in the analysis.

4. Findings

4.1 Introduction

The interviews with second generation young British Muslims provide insight into the ways their identities – negotiated in Newcastle upon Tyne – are influenced by non-everyday places beyond the borders of the UK. As explained in the introduction, second generation migrants have a unique position in terms of identity formation processes (Batainah, 2008). The intersecting parts involved in the ongoing meaning making processes are likely to link hem to two national cultures (McAuliffe, 2008). All the interviews confirmed that parents´ cultures were a salient part of the participants´ everyday lives during their childhood in the UK and formed generally still an important part of their lives. This can be illustrated by a quoting Arida, whose parents migrated from Bangladesh to the North-East of England before she was born.

> **Arida (23):** I think because they [parents] are from Bangladesh, obviously from a young age we are speaking Bengali. So, speaking Bengali all the time, eating what they eat there; so we are eating rice and curry all the time. Obviously when you are a child, like you see your mum dressed in a certain way and the other mums are not dressed in that certain way. But I don't feel that this like affected me negatively, I know that I was different in terms of my mum and dad are from somewhere else, but I kind of took that with pride, also because it was a bit of a journey from them. [...]. So, I think in terms of my childhood … probably the food, clothing, celebrations, language and what is a big part … not celebrating what other people celebrate, so we don't do Halloween, not doing Christmas because we don't believe in Christmas as Muslims. So, things like that.

The language, celebrations, clothing and food played an important role in the childhood of Arida. Also the other participants' childhoods were imbued with the Bangladeshi or Pakistani customs and traditions related to places their parents originate from. The links to the culture her parents country of origin makes her feel different to many of her peers without migration background, which shows the relation character of identities. The quote also confirms that not only the lives of people that moved themselves are influenced by the places they left behind, but it shows that also the lives of the second generation that are born in the UK are effected as well (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). Furthermore, this quote illustrates that participant should not be perceived as passive actors that struggle to establish a meaningful understanding of themselves (Buitalaar, 2014). Arida's feelings of being different did not resulted in a negative experience as she explains. More participants saw their differences as an advantage that enriched their lives as will become clear throughout this chapter.

Moreover, the findings confirm the theoretical notions that non-everyday places can be important for identities of individuals as is argued in the theoretical frame (based on Martin, 2005; Jack, 2010; Trell, 2013). Without elaborating on the places beyond the borders of the UK

that that Tee and Arida address in the following quotes, it indicate the importance of non-everyday places.

> **Tee (22):** Even though I don't live there now it is like still a massive part of me.

> **Arida (23):** Even though I've never been [there], I would say my attachment to there is something beyond … like I can't describe it.

Tee's quote illustrates that a non-everyday are important for who she is and how she understands herself. Arida describes her attachment to a place where she has never been and being related to a place is a condition of identity formation in relation to non-everyday places (Martin, 2005). This chapter will also elaborate on the type of places and the ties to this places that Tee, Arida and the other participants identify with in order to explore how the identities of young second generation British Muslims are influenced by those places. Besides this introductory section, this chapter is divided in three main sections. The subsequent section presents how identity markers are used by the participants in relation to different contexts. Section 4.3 elaborates on the type of places beyond the UK that participants perceive as important for their identity and presents findings on how they are tied those places. Section 4.4 addresses how the participants make sense of those identifications with the places beyond the borders of the UK in the context of Newcastle upon Tyne.

4.2 Relational identity markers; shifting positions in everyday places

The participants expressed their identities using identity markers. Identity makers are social constructs that denote similarity or distinctness in relation to collectivities (Dwyer, 2000; Anthias, 2001; Hopkins, 2007). Although, (hyphenated) identity markers are simplified and static understandings of identity and do not capture the dynamic character of identity (Anthias, 2001; Hopkins, 2007) as argued in the theoretical frame, the finding show that different markers are used in different contexts. The participants did generally use hyphenated identity markers when they explicitly they talked about their identity; most participants used a combination of British, Muslim and a marker that denoted country of origin of their parents. Tee explains her identity as follows:

> **Tee (22):** Like I' m British and Bangladeshi and I'm a Muslim. So, I am all three of those. They are like my three predominant … like, if somebody will say 'describe yourself in the fewest words possible', those three would be the most [adequate]. And after that it would be like, I am a student, I am an artist, I am creative and everything else.

So, Tee combines the identification with two national cultures simultaneously which can be seen as the purpose of hyphenated identity markers (Dwyer, 2000). In almost all the interviews the

participants raised religious identity markers - as Tee does as well - when they explicitly explained their identity. This is in line with Cadge and Ecklund (2007) who explain religion can be important basis for identification in the lives of migrants in western countries. However, another or additional reason that explains the explicit expression of their religious identity is related to the relational part of identity in the context of this research. After all, the participants know they volunteer in this research about young descendants of migrants that are Muslim and born in the UK. This research topic could enact the identity explained in British, Muslim and Bangladeshi for example since this research setting could also be seen as context in which the relational character of identity is important. Imagining doing another research, for example conducting interview about creativity among British young adults, could have prompted Tee's identity marker as being creative instead of her Bangladeshi or Muslim identification. Nevertheless, that does not alter the fact that she choose to use this markers in context in this research setting; it highlights the relational aspect of identity. This is interesting because although identity markers are by explained as static (Anthias, 2001), discussing different context in relation to various places and 'others' with the participants, shows that participants use identity markers in different compositions.

This relational aspect of the identity markers is shared among the participants and is illustrated by the way how Tee's uses different identity markers shift by discussing places beyond the borders of the UK that she regards as important to her. It shows that identity markers shift quite easily in relation to various places. So, while Tee explicitly identifies as British, Bangladeshi and Muslim, she uses other markers when she does not explicitly talks about her identity but the ways she belongs or is tied to these places. In the following quote, Tee elaborate on the positive experience she had as a child when visiting the places in Bangladesh where her parents are from.

> **Tee (22)**: I really enjoyed[3] it. I was quite scared because everybody says: 'Oh because you're British, because you're brought up in the west, you're not going to like it because life is so different'. But I loved it (LP). All of my siblings we all loved it, yeah.

In this quote 'everybody' refers to her Asian friends in Newcastle upon Tyne that collectively seems to identify as British in relation to the places in Bangladesh. This group distance themselves from the Bangladeshi people in the places they are going to visit by expressing that they are British and brought up in the West. In other words, the identity marker British that Tee's friends also attributed to her becomes obvious in relation to places her parents are from in

[3] Underlined words are stressed by the participants

Bangladesh. So this shows that in relation to the place beyond the borders of the UK also influences the way the collectivities express themselves in everyday places.

The meaning of this British identity marker shifts when explaining that many people in the UK do not consider het to be British. In the next quote the Tee explains that the places in Bangladesh are important to her and her siblings (denoted by 'us') because it enables them to explain her identity in relation to others in the everyday context.

> **Tee (22):** Yeah, it is really important to us. Even though I don't live there now it is like still a massive part of me. Even when someone from the UK, like a British person would ask me: it is important for me to tell what [Places in Bangladesh her parents are from] it is about. They are always asking me because clearly I am not British, so when somebody does ask me I like to know where I'm talking about.

In this quote the identity marker 'British' does not applied to Tee, because others already attribute the marker of non-British on her by asking her where she is from. In contract to the previous quote, she does not seem to fit in the identity marker British. Both quotations show that identity markers are not only self-attributed but also by others (Zoch 2010). The fact that others perceive Tee non-British is likely to influence her identification as not fully British. So, in line with the literature, these findings show that others are an inherent part of the identity formation processes (Zoch 2010).

Most participants easily shift identity markers and relation to different places that include different people or others to relate to. The participants seemed not to be conscious about using various identity markers in the interviews and those shifting markers does not result in contradictory stories. On the contrary, Batainah (2008) showed that in her study the identities of Arab-second generations in Australia seemed contradictory and unnatural. However, this could be explained by the fact that the participants were not explicitly asked to explain their identities in relation to the different places, but were encouraged to discuss the importance of these places in terms of belonging.

So, focusing on these different contexts, for example by using the maps and narratives of belonging as in this study, elicit identity markers in a more relational way. So, this section showed, by focusing on identity makers and various places, that identity is relational. So in terms of this research, the young second generation British Muslims seems to position themselves differently in everyday places in relation to non-everyday places. However, second generation British Muslims use hyphenated identity markers to express their identities. As explained, hyphenated identity markers such as British-Pakistani are institutionalised in the UK

(Purkayastam, 2014). Those identity markers are powerful and dominant social constructs (Anthias, 2001). When focusing on those identity markers it seems that the participants mainly identify with Pakistan, on the national scale. However, identifications with places are often with places on a smaller scale as explained in the theoretical framework (Based on Jack, 2010; Trell 2013) which can be important for exploring the identities formation processes. It will not only show relational character of identity in terms of belonging to British people, or Pakistani people but also to other collectivities which gives a more nuanced view on dynamic character of identity formation processes. The next section will elaborate on the type of places that the participants consider important to them and will explain how they are tied to these places in order to explore the ways these places influence the identities in everyday places.

4.3 Identification with non-everyday places beyond the UK

This section shows that the participants are tied to places on several scales and in various ways. Focussing on the places that are important to the participant and explore how they are tied to this places give a more in-depth understanding on the relational and also intersectional character of identity. This chapter consist of several sub-sections. Section 3.4.1 presents what type of places seems important for the participants and distinguishes two broad categories. Section 4.3.2 and 4.3.3 both elaborate on these categories by presenting the way people are tied to them and the way it could influence their identities. Section 4.3.4 gives a brief summary of this part.

4.3.1 Two categories: family and religion

The most evident finding to emerge from the analysis is that a pattern can be recognised in the places that the participant pinpointed on the map. They were asked to mention places beyond the borders of the UK that they consider important for who they are now or in the past. Thereafter, those places are extensively discussed in terms of belongingness for example. The number of places on the participants' maps range from two till eight. A division can be recognised in places that are important for religious reasons and place important for family related reasons. In the rest of this thesis I will refer to them as family places and religious places, respectively. Six of the eight participants pinpointed places on their geo-egocentric map of which at least one could be labelled as family place and one as religious place. Exceptions that could not be classified in those two categories are two of the three places that Jada pinpointed on her map (See appendix VI). This involved places that she considered important for her because the trips to those places made her more independent; however, she does not maintain a tie to those this places or identify with that places. Therefore she also struggled to explain her ties to the places them as 'influenced me through charity work' and 'independence' (see appendix VII). It seems

that for Tee it was more the experience of being away from home that influenced her, than the importance of that place. This chapter focuses on those non-everyday places beyond the borders of the UK to which people are tied and that can inform their intersecting parts that are negotiated in the places of Newcastle upon Tyne in the UK. Those places can be categorized in family places and religious places.

The geo-egocentric maps of Hasina and Kamil illustrate the pattern that could be found in the data on the distinction of the family and religious places that is shared by most participants. Hasina's map (Figure 4) shows the places beyond the UK that are important in her perception of whom she is or who she was in the past.

Figure 4 Geo-egocentric map of Hasina (20)

The first place she mentioned is the village her parents are form. She titles this place as 'parents birthplace' and chooses a symbol circle[4] to denote that this place was more important to her past

[4] The symbols that indicate present and past differ in the other maps because the participants can choose themselves how to represent the maps.

than it is now. When she was asked to summarize the importance of this place in the textbox[5] on the map she explains:

> **Hasina (20):** It is important for who I am, because it is the place my parents were born and because I was raised with Bangladeshi traditions.

This place is categorised as a family place because the fact that her family originates from there makes this place important to her. The second place she mentioned is Mecca, which is a holy site for Muslims and can be categorised as religious place as the her description of the importance of this place shows:

> **Hasina (20):** It is important to me because, as a Muslim, it is on of the places where I wish to go to complete my religious deviotion. As a Muslim Hajj [the pelgrimage] is a intergral part of showing religiousity and to preform Hajj is showing a big part of devotion.

Hasina assigns a star to this place to show that the place is more important to her now than in the past and titles it as 'pilgrimage'. Hasina titles her ties to these places by the words, 'motherland' and 'religious journey' (Figure 4), which underlines the classification in family and religious places. The map of Kamil shows that. Although the map of Kamil (Figure 5) contains most places; those places are all related to family and religion as well, which underlines the found pattern in the data.

Figure 5 Geo-egocentric map of Kamil (22)

[5] The textboxes are associated to each place in which the participants summarise why the particular place is important to them. This is not visible on the output of the maps made with GoogleMyMaps.

The family related places on the map refer to the place Kamil's father originates from and to places beyond the borders of the UK where family members are live[6]. The religious places include the holy sites Mecca and Medina. When he is asked to summarize his relation to all the places separately, he suggests making a distinction between family and religious ties himself.

> **Interviewer:** How would you summarise your link to that place?
> **Kamil (22):** I would just family than, yeah just that word. I think probably it is a split between family and religion though.

Kamil uses the yellowish colours to indicate the relations to the places he feels religiously attached to and greenish colours to the family places (Figure 5).

This pattern of family and religious places can partly be explained by the literature. In many migration studies in the field of transnationalism, stress on the importance of the relations between the country of settlement and country of origin in the everyday lives of migrants (e.g.: Waldinger, 2011). Although the many participants, such as Hasina and Kamil, did not pinpoint the country as a whole as important place to them, the studies indicate a relation between family origin in important and influence the everyday lives of many people in country of settlement (Levitt, 2011). A more unexpected finding is that the religious places show a similar consistency in the pattern since migration studies still speculate about the importance of religious ties across borders (E.g.: Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004) they do not refer to the importance of religious ties or places. The religious places are also not suggested as possible important places during the interviews, all the participants that pinpointed religious places were not asked for any religious places or connections beyond the borders of the UK.

However, two categories of family and religion are quite broad and contain some internal differences. Going back to the geo-egocentric map of Kamil some internal differences are recognisable. Kamil makes a distinction between a strong family attachment to a place his dad is from because he feels more tied to this place than to the other places where family lives (Figure 5; see the nuances in the colours). Most participants only relate to the family places that Kamil indicate as a strong family tie. One obvious reason for this could be that most people simply do not have so many relatives spread over different countries. Furthermore, one family related place has a religious significance which is the only time family and religion are merged into one among all the maps. Kamil decided colour these tie between yellow and green. Three participants (Tee, Kamil, Nida) also considered to pinpoint religious places on the map to which

[6] It was verified with Kamil if this map could be presented in the thesis since many places related to family in different countries raises questions of confidentiality. He approved by email that I could present this map.

they refer in a more political way. Those places are mainly related to the current situation in the Middle-East and conflicts in Palestine-Isreal and Syria. Tee writes for example that these places are important 'because of all the atrocities currently happening where Muslims are being attacked and killed'. Kamil decided to not pinpoint the political-religious place on his map since he did not consider it to influence who he was or will become. For Nida and Tee this it was also not clear how these places became relevant in their everyday lives or identity formation. Furthermore, the political-religious places were always prompted by me as interviewer and never induced by the participants themselves. These are the reasons that I did not include this places in the category of religious places. So, although family and religious places could include multiple places, this found pattern is based on family related places that refer to the parents' place of origin and the religious places that refer to holy sites of Islam. This can still involve multiple places per geo-egocentric map. Those places are included in an overview in Table 3 that shows the summaries on why participants consider those places as important to them and whether they were perceived as more important in the past or in the present.

The table shows that the importance on the family places seems to be quite consistent of which some refer more explicitly to identity than others. The explanation of the importance of religious places seems to combine two differences in emphasis. It is important for the way participants understand themselves as Muslim in relation to these places (e.g.: spiritual home, spiritual attachment, who I am) and it is important place for as a Muslim (e.g.: Ka'ba is located there, Hajj, holy sites). So this table also confirms that non-everyday family and religious places are important for the lives of many participants of this study in the way they understand themselves in the everyday places. However, in some descriptions of Table 3 this is more explicit than in others.

Furthermore, the findings in the columns that indicate if a place was more important now than in the past, suggest that religious places are more prominent in the times of young adulthood (present). All participants considered the religious places as important in the present and Shahana and Jada expected the religious places to become increasingly important later in their lives. Shahana did pinpointed this religious place already on the map and assigned the symbol representing future to it since she expects that that the pilgrimage to the holy sites whould intensify her attachment to that places. With regard to the family related places the period in which the place is or was important differs among the participants. However, some participants stated that the family related places would remain important to them but would not become stronger and choose to label these places as present, while other participants choose for the same reason the label past. So, these findings on period of importance of family related places

should be interpreted with caution. Possible explanations for importance of religious places in the present will be discussed in section 4.4.

Table 3 Participants' explanations why places are important for them

Participants	Family places		Religious places	
Shahana [3 places]	▪ Family origination of culture. ▪ Emotional attachment – good childhood memories – countryside is nicer than city – freedom.	Present	▪ Pray facing there – everyday importance but not the most significant place for me.	Future
Tammy [2 places]	▪ Because my family is from here.	Past	▪ Because of my faith and who I am.	Present
Tee [6 places]	▪ It's a massive part of my identity + who I stand for. ▪ My family village, where most of my family grew up. ▪ Family/memories.	Present	▪ Close relation to my religions/pilgrimage (Hajj). ▪ This is where the Ka'ba is located.	Present
Hasina [2 places]	▪ It is important for who I am because it is the place my parents were born and because I was raised with Bangladeshi traditions.	Past	▪ It is important to me because, as a Muslim, it is one of the places where I wish to go to complete my religious devotion. As a Muslim Hajj is an integral part of showing religiosity and to perform Hajj is showing a big part of devotion.	Present
Arida [3 places]	▪ Family, easy access to village, emotional attachment with parents home.	Past	▪ Big religious importance/significance, spiritual attachment, important for Muslims, my spiritual home away from home.	Present
Nida [6 places]	*Not pinpointed on the map, although she explained in the interview that it has been relevant in childhood through parents.*	*Past*	▪ Holy sites in Islam. Places related to my understanding of my identity/history/ heritage as a Muslim[7]	Present
Jada [3 places]	▪ Cultural identity.	Past	*Not pinpointed on the map, but she expects that is will become important in the future.*	*Future*
Kamil [8 places]	▪ Father roots, contact been there many times, on-going.	Present	▪ Religious origin, holy sites.	Present

So far, the key finding is that two types of place beyond the borders of the UK seemed to be important for young second generation British Muslims that participated in this research; places related the family origins and religious places in terms of the holy sites in Islam. Furthermore, it is remarkable that religious places appear to be more important in the present than in the past.

[7] Nida gives an overall explanation that is associated to all six religiously related places she indicated as important in terms or her identity. See appendix VI for her geo-egocentric map.

Although the importance of the places as described by the participants seem to be quite consistent, the relations to these places are also important in terms of identity formation processes. After this more descriptive section on the patter, the next two sections provide a more in-depth understanding on how family and religious places can influences identities of second generation British Muslims in everyday places.

4.3.2 Identifying with small scale family related places

In this sub-section the family related places are discussed by looking at the scale and the way participants are tied to the places. As is explained in the literature transnational ties are often researched by focusing on the home country (Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004; Lee, 2008; Brickell & Datta, 2011). The findings in this section support the argument to focus more on other scales in migration studies (Brickell & Datta, 2011). The family places that are pinpointed by participants refer mainly to scales like the village, city or region where their parents originate from. Five of the eight people referred to the village as an important scale with regard to family places. Some referred to multiple family related places as was shown in Table 3. Tee is one of them and pinpointed three different scales on the map. She explained that her attachment could be presented on three different scales after I asked her to what place more specifically she was tied to.

> **Tee (22):** A bit of everything really. I only really saw the village and the city, I did not really see much around it. But I have seen pictures of everywhere else and it is so beautiful. It is a really beautiful country [Bangaldesh].

So, Tee refers to three scales the city, the village and the country. Tee is one of the two participants that also assigned to the national scale on the map which she considered to be a 'massive part of her identity'. This could be explained by the dominance of identity markers (Anthias, 2001) because it seemed that to the scales of the village and the city she expressed a stronger attachment and feels part of the village community. However, she could be used to the way of expressing her identity in terms of identity markers. The other participant who pinpointed the family related places on a national scale is Tammy. This was the only family related place. A clear difference between those two participants is that Tee valued her ties to the family related places as positive and Tammy perceived her family related ties in a more negative way. In the next quote she explains her relation with this place.

> **Tammy (17):** It is not very good. I don't think I get Bangladesh and I don't think Bangladesh gets me at all.

A possible explanation for the relation to identifying on small scale places could be related to the ways the places were present in lives during the childhood. Not only through customs, food or language, but also because all the participants visited the place(s) their parents are from. All the participants in this study visited these places. As Wessendorf (2010) argues the experiences of visiting a particular place can be important for the identification with that place. Although Wessendorf (2010) does not distinguish between negative and positive experiences of the visits, it seems logical to suggest that Tammy who experienced the visit to family places during childhood as negative, did not develop an identification with places on a smaller scale. Furthermore, also Nida did not talk in a positive way about her migration background; she decided to not pinpoint any family related place on her map. She also never visited that place. All other participants had like Tee positive experience en memories of visiting that place. Especially, visits in the period of childhood seem to have impact as Jack (2010) because identification with places is established in the childhood of places that were important to them. The important places in the childhood are expected to endure to be important during the rest of the life course. The places were also prominent in the childhood, as is explained before but endure to be important now. Kamil describes this place as important because it is ongoing (among other explanations), but is not going to be any stronger as explained by Arida.

> **Arida (23)**: I would say that kind of like the attachment is going to be like a part of you but it is not going to change any. Because I will always remember that my mum and dad are from Bangladesh and that they are Bengali because I speak Bengali every day of my life and I know Bangladesh and my parents voyage, I won't forget that.

The way participants identify with family places beyond the UK will be explored by using Table 4 in which an overview is presented of the ties that link participants to the family-related places. The third column of Table 5 show the way that their ties to the places important to them are coded based on the literature (Portes, 2003; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). The fragments of the quotations that belong to these ties are presented in the final column.

Table 4 shows that all participants are connected to family related places in social ways. In other words, translocal way of being social to the family related place they pinpointed on the map. However, t also showed that many participant had not contact themselves but mainly through their parents. This correspond with the literature on the second generation which states that in terms of being connected the second generation are less strongly tied to family (Waldinger, 2011; As Lee (2008) states that the difference between first and second generation is the feelings of responsibility to stay into contact, maybe also because this is facilitated by many of their parents. So the actual connections seems to be important in their lives and for the ways individuals develop an identification with those places. Wessendorf (2010) that the parents play

an important role in the way second generation feel related to the country of origin. When parents express their emotional relationships the descents are more likely to feel connected also (Wessendorf, 2010).It also shows that the parents are important in facilitating this social way of being connected and can be seen as a facilitating code for becoming belonging. However, this research did not focussed on the ration of the first generation or the relation with the paretns.. Belonging refers to a more emotional attachment with the place or with the people that live there for example (Glick Schiller, 2002).

Table 4 Overview of ties to family related places per participant

By participants		**By researcher**	Fragments of the quotations that indicate the quotes that are assigned.
Part.	**Title ties**	Assigned codes	
Shahana	Cultural significance	**Being social** **Being parents** **Belonging socially** **Belonging culturally** **Belonging place**	*Going, family lives there* *Mum and dad talk to family* *Feel part of family their* *The distinct part of culture that comes from me* *Just that place as well, memories and environment*
Tammy	Family	**Being social** **Being parents**	*Parents are form there: only reason I want to learn it* *Contact just through my parents*
Tee	Cultural/ family/ social	**Being social** **Being parents** **Belonging cultural**	*Go there and keep in touch* *Tell stories all the time, implemented it into us, contact* *Part of the community there, not always seen as such*
Hasina	Motherland	**Being social** **Being parents** **Being cultural** **Belonging social**	*Go there every other year, also keep in touch herself.* *Raised with Bangladeshi cultures, parents call daily* *Speak Bengali at home* *Feel connected to people emotionally, granddad buried*
Arida	Family roots, ethnicity	**Being social** **Being parents** **Belonging place** **Belonging culturally** **Belonging socially**	*Stories about Bangladesh. Social media in contact* *Hear though parents about family* *Arranged marriage, dads village is there.* *Ethnicity and culturally wise, always be part of me* *Emotional attachment because mum and dad from there*
Nida	-	**Being social** **Being parents** **Being cultural**	*Only been there when I was 7.* *Raised with this customs, really wanting us to take part* *Traditional Pakistan customs, heritage and learning*
Kamil	Family stronger	**Being social** **Being parents** **Belonging social**	*Contact with family and friend through social media* *Impacted him that his dads told him stories* *Feel connected with family and neighbours, fathers' roots*

Coming back to the possible explanation of small scale places it is possible that the way of being connected in social ways could be the reason to refer to a small place because that is the place where people actually visited or are in contact with as the participants indicate themselves. All the participants visited the family related places at least ones in their lives. However, ways of belonging to a place is also according to Glick Schiller more related with identity. In the columns showing the fragments these also relate more to identity than ways of being. This reasoning is correct when looking a Tammy that who was negative about her visit to the place her parents are form. She only relates in social ways of being to Bangladesh as a country her parents are from and is not tied to that place in terms of belonging. However, the lack of a belonging tie does not mean that that this places does not influence the identity formation of Tammy in places in Newcastle upon Tyne. She can also feel excluded from this place for example, or others can identify her as in relation to family places which mean that her identity is influence while she does not identify with that place. Ways and being and belonging are useful as an analytical tool but often go hand in hand (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). Generally it seems that the combination of being socially connected (through parents) and feelings of belonging to places in the family category tend to make the participants identify with the small scale places such as the villages.

So this means that the family related places beyond the UK that are important considered important for the individuals in terms of whom they are. Findings on the ties to family places suggest that those ties are mainly social and cultural ties. The importance of these places is developed in the childhood in which the identifications with places are established that seem to endure in the rest of the live. And it seems that family places goes through the parents and that a positive experience of visiting those places seems to enact the identification on a small scale such as the village where the parents are from. The village seems especially important in the everyday lives of some participants. The next section will present another finding which explains the importance of the village for this particular research.

4.3.2.1 Identifying with Dad's village

The data points to the direction of another more explicit explanation for the fact that mainly smaller scales of the village among the participants which shows a more direct relation between places beyond the borders of the UK and identity. The father's villages seem to have a direct influence on the identity of his descendants. This is explained extensively by Arida and in the following quote in which she explains that this is typical Bengali persons.

> **Arida (23):** For a Bengali person, like your dads name and village is really important. Because for example if I meet somebody Bengali at work, and this is an older person, and I haven't come

> across that person before [ ],[8] they ask like, 'ah are you Bengali?' And I am like 'yes I am Bengali' and then they ask like 'what is your dad's name?' And I am like 'oh well my dad's name is [ ]' and then they are like 'where is your home?' and I am like [*name of the village*] and they are like 'oh!' and they will certainly know my granddad and what restaurant the worked in and all that kind of stuff (laughing).

This quotation shows that among the Bangladeshi people living in Newcastle upon Tyne, the village of where the father is from can also be seen as an identity marker attributed by other. Arida explains that is especially important in the older generation but not among second generation. This also shows that the Bangladeshi community consist of people that migrated from the same region, since they know the villages around. The two participants that are from the same region as Arida also stated, less explicitly, the importance of the village of the father.

> **Tee (23):** The village we are form, my whole family is form there, and the way Bangladesh works is like the village you are from is a huge part of your identity. Like I'm from a village called [ ] And each village has like his own sort of perception, like its own character.

> **Shahana (20)**: This [*name of the village*] is sort where my mum's from (K). Really in a normal way I supposed to feel much more attached to where my dad comes from, but really I think it is because of the memories and of the environment of that village I feel much more attached there.

Although they are not as explicitly as Arida, the quotes above are certainly enhancing this finding. Tee talks about 'the village', but does not specify if this is the village her mum grew up or her dad grew up. In relation to Arida's it is likely that Tee, whose parents originate from the same region as the parents of Arida, also refers to the important of the scale of the village. This is underlined by Shahana, who acknowledges that it is quite strange to feel more attached to your mum's place instead of your dad's places.

Both three quotes of Arida, Tee and Shahana show that others are an inherent component of identity formation processes (Zoch, 2010), especially in relations to the village where the dad is from. Arida explains that this is especially significant among the generation of their parents and that is why she is used to be identified by it and therefor also identify with it. It also shows that the ties to places and identification with places changes over time because Arida stresses that especially in phase she is in now the places become important for her identity again.

> **Arida (23):** Because like now, at this stage of my life where I am in, we are talking about arranged marriage and stuff like that. What is happing now is that mentioning villages back home and were people are from is certainly important again, because they are important for my mum and dad.

Arida explains that she does not really care much about the importance of villages to find a suitable husband since her husband will also live in the UK; however, it is important for her

[8] [ ] indicates that confidential information is deleted from the transcript.

parents. She wants to find the right balance between a match of the village and on the other the good partner in terms of her own requirements. The direct relation between the dad's village and the identities of the second generation for people that have their family origins in this specific region also underline again that non-everyday places can be important in the lives of individuals in terms of their identity (Jack, 2010). It implies a direct identification with the places also without belonging but imposed by others especially first generation.

So, two possible explanations are found in this section that provides understanding on which why participants identify with places on a small scale. The latter, the identification with the dad's village is expected to depend very much on culture of the parents of the second generation migrant and also on the region they are from. The other explanation suggest that being socially tied in a positive way and having positive memories of visits seem to relate participants seems to identify with small scale places, such as village. Both explanations are in line with the argument in the theoretical framework that transnational ties are indeed grounded locally because it also covers how people identify with places across borders (Brickel & Datta, 2011). The following explanation also fits into these theories. That the levels on a lower scale are important in ways people relate across national borders is in line with and contributes to the statement that transnationalism is often about grounded and local-local relationships as Brickell and Datta (2011) argue.

4.3.3 Religiously tied to two different levels

In the next subsections the findings on the religious places are presented in relation to scale and type of ties to explore how they relate to the participants' identities that are negotiated in Newcastle upon Tyne. The data suggest that religious ties participants maintain reach beyond the borders of the UK in two different ways. This becomes evident in the hardcopy map of Tee in Figure 6. The purple lines that Hasina drew are the ties to holy places in Islam. Those ties and places are categorized as religious places earlier in this chapter. Saudi-Arabia is important to her because of the Hajj. This annual pilgrimage is named Hajj[9] in which Muslims pass by several holy places in Saudi-Arabia and perform different rituals. Besides, her geo-egocentric map also represents a religious tie that crosses the borders of the UK but does not seem to refer to one specific place. She expresses that tie on the map as the globally dispersed pink dots (see section 3.2.2 for the advantages and dis advantages of the digital and hardcopy maps) that show her

[9] The Hajj is a pilgrimage ritual that every Muslim is expected to do when economic and health allows it. The pilgrimage takes place from the eight to the thirteen of the month of Dhu al Hijja of the Islamic calendar
The remaining five pillars are: 'reciting the testimony of faith, praying five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramadan, the given of alms' (Buitelaar, 2015)

attachment to all Muslims all over the world. She explains this global religious tie to the world as follows:

> **Tee (22):** A person in America being a Muslim and a person in Palestine being a Muslim: we are all Muslim. We have that one common ground. So yeah, I do feel connected because of that, because we have a shared religious value. So I do feel connected although I am not physically communicating with them or have any contact, I do have that sort of connection.

This religious belonging to Muslims around the world is also addressed by other participants but not visible on the map since the format of digital maps does not allow this way of representation. So, this suggests that the religious ties of the participants should be approached on two different levels. Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) state that religious ways of being and religious ways of belonging could be replaced by another distinction more useful in terms of religion. They state that besides the religious ties that show a relation to the country of origin, also a non-state based religious attachment should be distinct. The finding of the global attachment to all Muslims seems to fit into the latter part of this distinction, while the ties to holy places does not seems to be captured by this proposed distinction by Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) since they does relate the participant to the country of origin of the parents. It is remarkable that none of the participants mentioned a religious tie (next to a cultural or social tie for example) to the places of origin of the parents, while they were always asked of their where other ways they felt related to the places that they pinpointed on the map.

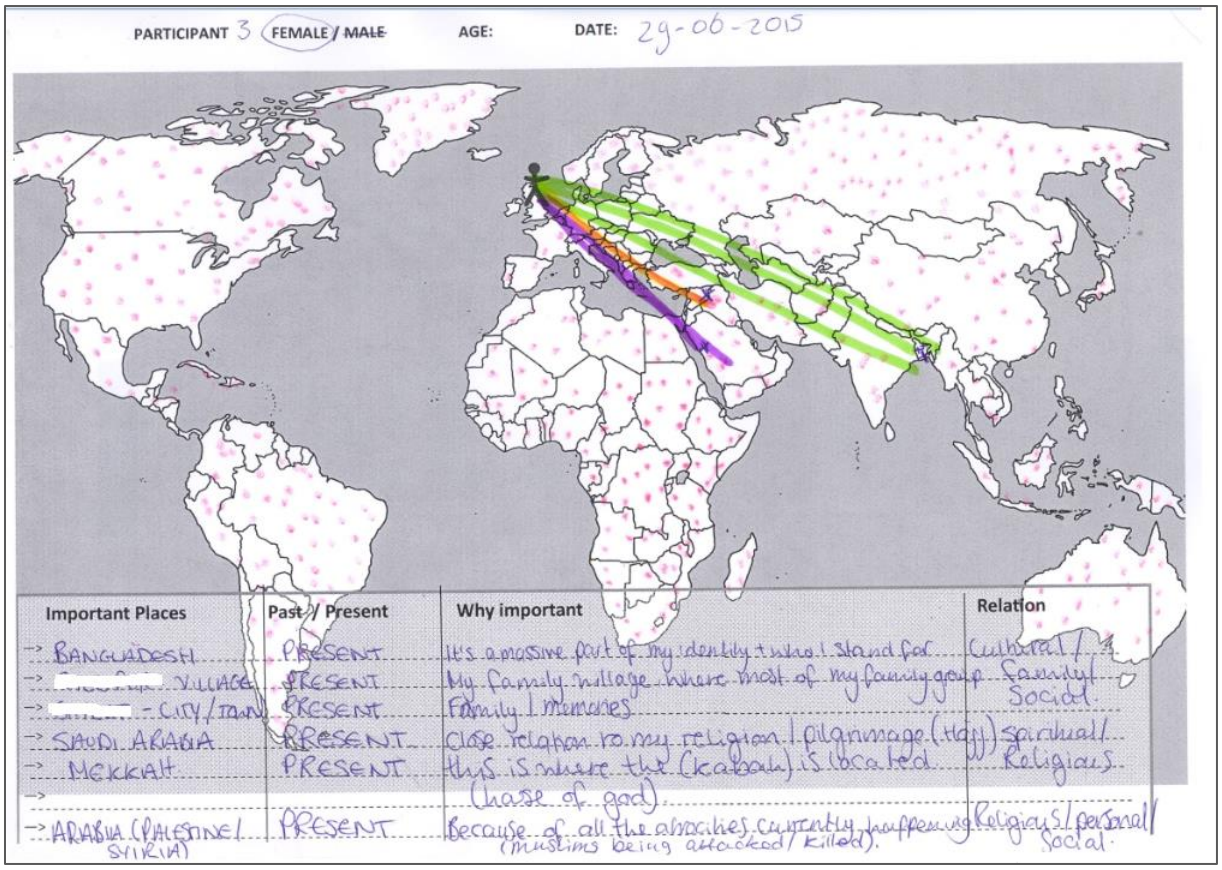


Figure 6 Geo-egocentric map of Tee (23)

In this section will show how the two types of religious ties (to holy sites and a to Muslims all over the world) are actually closely related to each other when approaching it from the perspective of identity negotiation in everyday places.

4.3.3.1 Holy sites and the Umma: Identifications with the global Muslim community

The places that can be placed in the religious category the findings also show a lot of consistency. All the participants that pinpointed religious sites (7 of the 8) as being important for who they are feel tied to Mecca and/or Medina and sometimes Saudi Arabia. When approaching the ties to holy sites in terms of religious ways of being and religious way of belonging as is presented in Table 5, shows that the participants are likely to relate in both ways to the holy sites.

Religious ways of being are assigned when the participants mention religious practices or duties with regard to these holy sites. This way of being religiously connected often was mainly present by the participants mentioning the importance of Mecca, Saudi-Arabia and Medina in terms of the pilgrimage that is important for all Muslims. In fact, Islam is a religion which is quite spatially orientated, the Ka'ba in Mecca provides the direction to which Muslim pray multiple times for example (Hopkins & Gale, 2009) which is mentioned by Shahana as important way of being related to his place. This spatiality of Islam explains the importance of Mecca (and Medina)

which are the scales that are considered important to the participants since they are considered holy sites that are important to every Muslim.

> **Hasina (20):** That's a big part of being a Muslim, that's one of the five pillars, to do Hajj which is the pilgrimage.
>
> **Kamil (22):** That is where the Muslims go to from everywhere in the world, they all visit Mecca and Medina and learn things form this certain place in the world. That is this special link, so every Muslim in the world likes these two cities quite a lot.

These quotes show that these are holy sites important in Islam. However, it does not point directly to feelings of belonging to those particular places. In Table 5 can see that being religious is more related to doing or practicing religion. So this is expressed gain n the everyday places in the UK places outside of the UK come into live in the UK.

Religious belonging refers to the strong spiritual or emotional connection with the Muslims that visit these holy sites or with the holy sites in sense belonging to that place as being a religious home (This resulted in the indicative code of 'belonging place'). It is the actually place that is important, and not so much the society in which is it imbedded. The quotes below show this belongingness to the holy sites in terms of belonging to that actual place and not the people living there.

> **Shahana (19):** The people of Saudi-Arabia are different to you and me. You know I am open, I am not saying: O no, they don't mean anything to me, but as a culture you cannot just suddenly identify yourself when you don't have any culture connections. So, definitely, it's with the place, you know the Kab'ah and its more to definitely the place.
>
> **Hasina (20)**: Because it's the place where you feel closest to God and as a religious person, that's a very big thing. So you spend your whole life devoting your time to this one entity and because Saudi-Arabia is the place that houses the house of Allah it is a very emotional thing. And if you're religious, that obviously get some emotions going. I think it's not Saudi-Arabia as a country it's just that one place to do Hajj. If you go on a religious journey it's a very spiritual thing, a very emotional thing.

Those quotes shows the belongingness to that actual place which seems to be independent from the country in which this place is embedded. Both state that it is not the actual country of Saudi-Arabia where they feel related to but only to that that houses the house of Allah. As is shown in Table 5, many participants refer to their belongingness to that actual place. So, it those religious sites are important for the participants. This finding is in line with the concept of translocality that argues that ties beyond borders are grounded (Brickell & Datta, 2011).

Table 5 Overview ties to religious places per participant

Religious ties to places beyond national borders

By participants		By researcher	
Part.	**Title ties**	Associated codes	Examples of the transcripts
Shahana	Capital of Islam	**Being religious**	*Go there one day, face every day while praying*
		Belonging religious	*This is where I belong to*
		Belonging to place	*No cultural attachment, but definitely with that place*
Tammy	Faith	**Belonging religious**	*Everyone same faith, same thing, no judgement*
		Belonging to place	*Just find peace in that place*
Tee	Spiritual/ Religious	**Being religious**	*Preforming the pilgrimage.*
		Belonging religious	*Really strong spiritual connected*
		Belonging place	*More spiritual with that place, while never been there.*
Hasina	Religious journey	**Being religious**	*Doing pilgrimage*
		Belonging to place	*In that one place feel closest to god, houses house of Allah.*
Arida	Spiritual attachmen t, spiritual 'home'	**Being religious**	*Going Hajj and doing pilgrimage*
		Belonging religious	*Spiritual home, being part community tot goes there.*
		Belonging to place	*God's house, amazed by place while never been.*
Nida	Religious	**Being religious**	*Want to travel to understand more.*
		Belonging religious	*Feel at home, roots as Muslims*
Kamil	Religion	**Being religious**	*Doing the pilgrimage and the Umrah.*
		Belonging religious	*Religious home*
		Belonging place	*Started religion certain place in the world.*

However, translocality seems in first instance not to apply for the other religious tie which relates some of the participants to Muslims over the world. Although, also this tie is negotiated in places in Newcastle upon Tyne, the other end of the tie seems to be de-territorialized. This tie is transcending national borders and is related to the Umma. Nilsson deHanas (2013) shows that the Islamic notion of the Umma can be important for Muslims. The Umma is a global identification in Islam with other co-religionists (Nilsson deHanas, 2013). Shahana explains the notion of belongingness to all Muslims over the world as the Umma (Nilsson deHanas, 2011).

> **Shahana (20):** We have this thing in Islam that is called the Umma. That is a very abstract notion. The Umma is anyone that is really a Muslim. It is just a concept about solidarity with Muslims around the world, but it is not something really that you can place on the map. It wouldn't be right to, for example, highlight Saudi-Arabia or Egypt, these are parts of the Umma because countries like China there are few Muslims and even in The Netherlands there will be some Muslims. So, you can't exclude them, but you can't highlight the whole of The Netherlands and say it's a Muslim country. So I think you know what I was talking about as well, my sort of religious bonding with people I suppose, it is a very abstract notion. […]. It is not something I can pinpoint that I say my relation starts here and it ends here. It is just a really broad concept. [….]. I suppose it is a form of nationalism, but religious nationalism. Like 'Oh we have the same goal, you are going there to Hajj

> you know or one day I want to and you pray the same way I do etcetera. Uhm like as I said, it mainly the actual significance of the place, rather than anything else really.

This quotation shows the difficulties to pinpoint this religious notion on the Map. However, what also becomes clear is that is unites Muslims in terms of identification. As she explains, it is a form of religious nationalism that consists of co-religionists that are living everywhere on the world. This way of in which some participants express their identification with all Muslims is also evident in the way they describe their identification with Muslims that go to Hajj and go to the holy sites in Saudi-Arabia. Buitelaar and Mols (2015) explain that the performance of the Hajj is – besides the experience of being in the place where Islam originated and – also raises the attachment with other Muslims in that already did the Hajj before. Nilsson deHanas (2013) explains that this global feeling of belonging is related to the experienced unity that young people have on Hajj and Umma. Buitelaar,(2015) found that 'many present-day pilgrims to mecca indeed report that the powerful sensation of moving as one body with fellow believers from all over the world creates a strong sense of unity within the Umma, or Muslims community' (Buitelaar, 2015; p.10). So both the de-territorialized ties beyond borders and the ties to religious sites seems to enact feelings of belongings to a wider Muslim community that come together in the experiences of the holy places during Hajj. Although Shahana does not relate this notion of the Umma and the holy sites explicitly, in her description of her tie to Mecca she uses the words 'Capital of Islam'. So, Mecca can be seen as being the capital of sort of this transcending religious nation that also enacts the identification with Muslims globally. This would also suggest that the de-territorialized notions of the Umma are locally grounded in Mecca. Overall, religious places are important considered important for their most many young second generation British Muslims that participated in this study. They are not religiously tied to their parents place of origin identify with a global community of Muslims (Umma) that seems to manifest itself in the holy places of Islam (Mecca) during the period of Hajj. This religious identification that reaches beyond the borders of the UK seems also important in the meaning making process in everyday places of Newcastle upon Tyne. That will be explained in the next section.

So, far this section presented the findings on the non-everyday places beyond the borders of the UK that the young second generation British Muslims consider important for them. I also gained a more in-depth understanding by elaborated on the way they are tied to these places and potential shows the ways how people identify with this places. The next section provides findings on the meaning making process around the intersectional parts of identity that are informed by the places beyond the borders of the UK (so both family and religious places) that the participants regarded as important for them.

4.4 Making meaning of intersectional parts of identity

This section elaborates on the participants' process of making meaning of the intersecting parts of their identity in everyday places. It focuses on those parts of identity that are informed by their ties to non-everyday places beyond the borders of the UK. In other words, it will address how the parts that relate to the family places and religious places – introduced in the previous section – influence the formation of a meaningful understanding about who they positioned in places in Newcastle upon Tyne, UK.

Meaning making of the intersecting parts that are tied to places beyond the UK should not be considered as struggle in the lives of most second generation British Muslims that participated in this study. Section 4.2 about the relational identity markers presented findings that indicate that many participants easily shift positions in relation to others in various contexts. In most interviews the participant did not mention difficulties on understanding their position in society. That part of identity that is related to family places is perceived by the some participants as an enrichment of their understanding of their identity. Kamil, Shahana and Tee explicitly mentioned the additional value of those ties. Shahana explains that her Bengali culture is in intersectional part of her identity that she experiences as positive.

> **Shahana (19):** And I suppose without my Bengali culture… I don't know, I feel like maybe - just in my case – I'll be a bit more boring or a bit more plain. I feel that it adds a sort of richness to my life.

However, these findings should be interpreted with caution because in some interviews participants seemed to have more difficulties to establish a meaningful understanding in earlier periods of their lives, while in other interviews this period was not discussed extensively. Tammy and Tee both experienced this in a different degree. The quote of Tammy shows how these intersecting parts could result in struggles around meaning making and her own understanding of who she is.

> **Tammy (17):** I suppose I don't really fit in, anywhere, to be honest. Sometimes I fit in everywhere, sort of parts of me, everywhere, but other times it's like… See, I was born in [ ] right, so I don't fit in there as everyone else. I am quite different. And I am Asian, but I'm not as proper Asian as the other girls who like dress up and all that. **Interviewer:** So, you feel different often? **Tammy:** Yeah, it's like I belong like ... I am Asian, I fit in with them... I have like different groups of friends, I have like my Asian friend I have my white friends and I have my other friends and I fit in with everyone, but like small parts of me.

This quote shows in an explicit way that Tammy struggles to make meaning of the different parts of her identity in a meaningful way. It shows that she shifts positions in one context ,with her white friends for example, one parts of her identity relates to them and another distance her

from them. It seems that Tammy relates to them with regard to some parts of her identity. However, stating that she does not really fit anywhere shows that she experiences difficulties in making meaning of a coherent self. This is in line with Schwartz et al. (2006) who state that, especially for migrants, it is can be difficult to establish a meaning around the intersecting parts of identity. Furthermore, they explain that this is typically in the period from childhood to adulthood. This can be related to Eriksons' (1968) fifth phase of the development of the ego in which participants are trying to explore who they are and where they belong to. The period between twelve and eighteen is often perceived as the period of in role confusion (Beczi, 2008). Although, this is an approximate age range, the fact that Tammy is the only participant under eighteen could have explained that this phase was more prominent during her interview. Also, Tee who was twenty-two during the interview, addresses that during her youth she also felt sometimes excluded in the everyday places because of that part of her identity that relates to family places beyond the UK.

> **Tee (22):** Just that I was getting older becoming more independent and finding who I was myself. I appreciate it, my cultural background more, cause at first like when I was around my English friends and at school like you want to be like all the rest and I was like 'Oh I am Asian, so I am not exactly like you'. I used to feel like that sometimes. But then when I was growing older, just accept me for who I am. This is me and I can't really change it.

Tee explains that growing older provided her with a more meaningful understanding of her own identity and enables her to make meaning of intersecting parts. This quote underlines Erikson's (1968) theory in which individuals establish a more meaningful understanding of who they are after the phase of identity confusion. These findings would seem to suggest that the period between childhood and adulthood is indeed important in meaning making processes of the intersecting parts that inform the identity (McLead, 2013).

The interviews in this research suggest that religion can play an important role in this meaning making process during young adulthood. The participants that indicated the importance of religious places assigned those as more important in the present and the family places were often perceived as an ongoing input in the identity but not more important now than in the past. This is also addressed in the explanation of Table 3 in section 4.3.1. In Tammy's case, identifying with her religion provides her with a meaningful understanding of who she is. In the first quote she explains her experiences she had in when visiting the holy site of Mecca and the second quote illustrates that she expresses her identity preferably by stressing their Muslim identity marker.

> **Tammy (17):** Yes but my parents want to do it and ... like I wasn't the best Muslim, I had no clue, I had faith but I just didn't care as much. And it came in the time I felt I was getting nowhere with myself. It was going around and around in a big circle. It felt like there was no end in the circle. When my parents were like 'Oh we are going to Saudi', I was like that could be a chance to like see what is so great of being Muslim and what is all this about. And I went there and it was so good. I felt like my sole has been cleaned, it just felt so good. And when I came back I just start doing things differently. Not like massive change but I am slowly getting there.
>
> **Tammy (17):** In my order I would say I am Muslim, and then British and then Asian. Just in that order.

In Tammy's case identifying as a Muslim seems to provide her a meaningful understanding on who she is. She describes the importance of Mecca as important 'because of my faith and for who I am' (see Table 4). Literature on the second generation also states that religion is an important identity marker (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007) that is sometimes enforced generation of a meaningful understanding of the self. Stock (2014) explains that religion can provide a positive understanding of the self. This is partly due to the notions of rightness and good life that are associated to religion (Stock, 2014).

Literature suggests that religion and culture often intersect in such a way that that it is difficult to separate those parts of identity (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). In this research that would mean that the Pakistani or Bangladeshi part of identity could not be explained without also addressing the Muslim part. These identity markers are often used in combination (See section 4.3.2) and should be seen as intersecting in terms of meaning making processes by the participants. Contrary to what literature suggests, this study did not find that religious ties to family places beyond the borders. Participants did not describe the ties to family related places in terms of religion and where not part of transnational religious networks that span to the country of origin (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). Although, the interview did not deliberately focus on the relation between culture and religion, some participants (Shahana and Nida) did explain the difference between religion and culture when expressing their feelings of belonging to the places beyond the UK.

> **Shahana (19):** Whereas here, and I think what we will remember is also that Islam is technically a newish religion in England, it is something that migrated. Because of that, we had to go back to its roots. So, we often think that the religion here is much more original, much closer than it was than for example in Bangladesh, in Bangladesh it is going through oral history so its superstition and a lot of external voices coming and dilute the religion. I am not saying that they are wrong but a lot of things get mixed up with superstition.
>
> **Shahana (19):** Definitely, Ironically I think in Bangladesh for example. If I would have lived there It wouldn't be that important because I've would have been contained within my own cultural, you know, my cultural so I have a bonding with the culture.

So, the fact that the Islam is not contained within the national culture of Britain seems to enforce

their religious identification because this in this context being Muslim is not the norm which makes this part of identity a more conscious one according to Shahana. In other words, the tie to religious place is expected to be stronger because Shahana lives in Newcastle upon Tyne. This is not in line with Haller and Landolt (2005) who states that religiosity can be seen as a significant predictor for maintaining ties with the home county for migrants. In this quote of Nida shows that religion and culture of origin are developed into inseparably parts of identity and this is a meaningful understanding of who she is. Formulating a meaningful understanding of the self was in Nida's case developed from a Pakistani Muslim in Britain (during her childhood and youth) to being a British Muslim who is Pakistani.

> **Nida:** So, I already got 16 or 17 when I first practiced Islam properly. Not because my mum told me to do it, like read the Koran because you have to read the Koran, I wanted to read it by myself at that age and that's when my identity started developing from being a Pakistani Muslim in Britain, to like a being a British Muslim who is Pakistani.

It seems that when Nida grows older, she makes a clearer distinction between the ties that reach to family places and to religious places that both inform her identity. It seems that when participants grow older, their religious part of identity seems to be disconnected from the family ties. The findings on the pattern of family and religious places also suggest that it is unlikely that participants feel religiously related to the places their family originates from; McAullife (2008) shows religion tend to influence second generation migrants in multiple ways depending on the individual. So, this section gives insight into possible ways religion can be important for the meaning making components of the identity formation in a specific context. However, religion could have an influence in many more ways that are not addressed in this the interviews.

5. Conclusion and Discussion

This research aimed to explore the ways in which places beyond the UK influence the identities of young second generation British Muslims. Identity is approached as relational and intersecting concept in which identity is seen as an ongoing meaning making process of the multiple parts of which identities consist (E.g.: Anthias, 2001; Schwartz et al, 2006; Hopkins, 2007; Zoch, 2010; Dowling & McKinnon, 2011). This research takes a place based approached to identity processes. Everyday places matter, because individuals make meaning of intersecting parts in a specific context (Hopkins et al., 2007). The identities explored in this study are positioned in the context of Newcastle upon Tyne in the UK. Furthermore, this study argued and showed that non-everyday places matter in identity formation in this everyday places. The parts of which identities consist can be informed by the ties individuals maintain to this non-everyday places (based on Martin, 2005; Jack; 2010; Trell, 2013).

Although this study is based on a small number of participants, their perspectives allowed exploring how identities of young second generation British Muslims are influenced by non-everyday places beyond the UK. The ways in which these non-everyday places influence identities that are found in this study are presented by answering the sub-questions.

What are the places beyond the borders of the UK that young second generation British Muslims identify with?

The young second generation British Muslims are likely to identify with places beyond the borders of the UK that could be classified in two categories. The first category consist of family places that relate to the parents place of origin. Those seem to be important on several scales; however, small scales - such as the city or the village - seem most frequently addressed as important. The second category consists of religious places. The religious places could be subdivided in holy sites that are important in Islam (Mecca and Medina) and are mainly addressed on the scale of this religious site. Furthermore, some participants expressed a religious tie to all Muslims over the world (Umma), this can be explained as a global identification with all Muslims. This seems to be a de-territorialized place that transcends the borders of nations.

How are young second generation British Muslims tied to places beyond the borders of the UK?

The young second generation Muslims maintain ties to that non-everyday family and religious places that they considered important for who they are. Identification with always implies a relation between the individual and that place (Martin, 2005; Jack; 2010; Trell, 2013).

Findings on the ties to family places suggest that those ties are mainly social and cultural ties. The importance of these places is developed in the childhood in which the identifications with places are established that seem to endure in the rest of the live. This research also found that the actual contact with family places goes through the parents and that a positive experience of visiting those places seems to enact the identification on a small scale such as the village where the parents are from. The village seems especially important in the everyday lives of some participants. The village of which the father originates is directly relation to the identity of some participants, especially in relation to the older generation migrants who moved themselves. Generally, the identification with this family places is seen as ongoing tie that is not expected to become stronger of weaker over the years, but will stay important for the identity in a stable way.

The young second generation Muslims are tied to holy sites in religious ways. The religious ties to the holy sites can be distinct in ties that refer to being a Muslim in terms of what this places means for Muslim in general (Hajj, praying faced to this places, very important place for Muslims) and ties that refer to a personal belongingness to that place or other Muslims that are attached to that place. Both ties to the holy sites and ties to all Muslims around the world (Umma) relate to belonging to the experience of the unity of the Muslim community since Mecca is the place where all Muslims come together in the house of God. This means that Mecca could be perceived as the place where this de-territorialized notion of the Umma is grounded.

How do ties to places beyond the UK influence the way the young second generation British Muslims position themselves in their everyday lives?

The ties to family and religious places influence the identity formation processes in everyday places. The relational and intersectional ways of identity are both important in this. This research found that the participants generally easily their position in relation to the different contexts they are in. This is related to the relational character of identity. The participants used different identity markers which that were related to the places beyond the border of the UK that were discussed. The intersectional part of identity becomes clear by focusing on the way the participants make meaning of the various parts of which their identities consist. Some of those parts are informed by places beyond national borders. The findings of this research suggest that the relation to religious places becomes more prominent in young adulthood and can contribute to a meaningful understanding of the intersecting parts. Furthermore, findings of this research imply that family and religious ties are quite separate parts of the identity formation. Participants seem to prefer to identify as British Muslim and not as Pakistani or

Bangladeshi Muslim. This also underlines the importance to research identities in a specific place.

So, despite its exploratory nature, this study offers insights on how identities of young second generation British Muslims are influenced by their ties to places beyond national borders of the UK. The findings underlined the importance to research identities if migrants and their descendants not only by focusing on the national contexts (e.g: Walinger, 2011), but also in relation to other places on different scales. It was useful to research identities in a translocal approach in which places and map-making elicit narratives of belonging (Anhias, 2001) that provide insight in the relation and intersectional character of identity.

Overall, this research extended the understanding of identities in relation to non-everyday places and also contributes to the way second generation formulate a meaningful understanding of the self in everyday places. Furthermore, it indicated that religion is important in terms of researching identity towards non-everyday places, which confirms the suggestions from recent scholars to concentrate on religious ties that cross borders in terms of identity formation (e.g.: Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2011). Furthermore, it would be interesting to study whether religious identity among the first generation is also informed by religious ties to the holy sites of Islam or that they maintain religious ties to their country of origin. In combination with this thesis this could provide more insights in the unique position of the second generation Muslim migrants in terms of their identity formation in everyday places.

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Appendix I Interview guide

Interview Guide	
Questions	*Prompts*
Introducing questions	
Can you tell me about the place your parents are from?	*Where do you think about?*
Can you tell me about the ways this place has been present in your childhood and youth?	*Family live, Stories of parents, food, contact, friends, family, ideas, values*
Can you tell me in which ways this place of origin comes back in your everyday life now?	*Family live, Stories of parents, food, contact, friends, family, ideas, values*
Is this place important for you? Why?	*No: Never been?* *Yes: Go to sub-questions*
Core questions	
Can you describe the places outside of the UK that are important for you NOW? In the PAST?	*For each place: Answer sub-questions.* *Make sure to understand the scale participant is referring to.*
Sub- questions per place	
Can you describe why is this place important for you?	*Let participant speak freely, and ask the questions below on the basis of what he or she already told or not.*
Can you describe this place?	*Scale*
Can you tell me where you think of when you think about that place?	*Specific situation, certain people, landscape?*
Can you tell me how many times you think about that place?	*How it is present in your life? Feeling?*
Would you like to visit that place? Expectations?	*Home? Being part of that people, included.* *Have visit it before?*
How would you describe your connection to people in that place?	*Connection, Frequency, contact.*
Can you tell me in what why you have the feeling you are connected with the people that live there?	*Cultural, religious, social, political attachment? A feeling of belonging? Being part of them?*
How could you describe your attachment to that place in a more emotional way?	*Homecoming? People.*
Do you think this place or your relation to this place is important for who you are of who you have become?	*Do you identify with that place? Who you was?*
GoogleMyMaps → Point the places on the map where we talked about so far → Give a title to all those places.	
Which places on the map where more important in the past than in the present, why?	
GoogleMyMaps → Can you choose a symbol for places more important in the past and another for Places that are more important now? → Can you explain in a few key terms why this is place is or was important. → Draw a line to every place (interviewer)	
What title would you give the relation between you in this place?	*Help the participants if necessary with promts based on previous information.* *Political, cultural, religious?*
GoogleMyMaps → Can you give them the title and the same color to the relations with other places that You feel the same relation with?	

Religion is something that is not bounded by borders, Can you tell me if you feel related to other Muslims not living in the UK?	*Maybe other Muslims around the world?*
Can you tell me if you can express this on the map? And how?	*Why can you not express it on a map?*
Are there any (other) places where you feel attached to in a religious way?	*Answer sub-questions.*
Are there any places that you feel attached to in a political, cultural or social way?	*Answer sub-questions.*
GoogleMyMaps →Add symbols/lines/colors/descriptions if any place is added	
Can you tell me which places you think represent most who you are? In the past?	*You feel most related to, connected with? Or informs you who you are? Identify with?*
And if you look at the map as a whole, does it represent in some ways who you are?	
Do you think that the fact that people are connected to places beyond the UK can be a binding factor? And in what kind of sense?	*Does this create a certain bonding between thse people you think? Same roots? Same religion? Same culture? Being offspring of parents who migrated?*
Closing questions	
Can you tell me if you expect to be related to the same places in the same in the future?	*Places are added or removed? Moving? Ties become stronger or weaker?*
Is there something you would like to add to the interview? Something want to stress?	*Questions? Comments?*
Thanks for participating	

Appendix II Recruitment message

Dear [*first name*],

It is maybe a bit unusual to approach you through Facebook because we don't know each other. My name is Laura Kapinga I am a master student from The Netherlands and visit the University of Newcastle for a few weeks to conduct a project in line with my thesis. I came across your Facebook-profile through the page of [*Islamic related Facebook community*]. I would like to ask you for a favour with regard to my research project. It is about the lives of many people that are related to places beyond national borders (of the UK) which may be important for individual well-being or identity formation. It challenges assumptions that societies should always be approached on a national scale because of the ties that many individuals in that society have with places/people beyond the UK . In this project I am interested to talk to young British Muslims (age 18-35) that are born in the UK and of who the parents (or one of the parents) migrated to the UK. I already spoke a few people but I would like to talk to some more to get a more nuance view. I would like to ask you as being connected (through Facebook at least) to *[Islamic related Facebook community]* if you know anybody who might be willing talk to me. I know that it is Ramadan at the moment, so it is really up to the people if they feel like it. I hope you have some suggestions and also in case of any other questions please don't hesitate to contact me. I look forward to your reply!

Best wishes,
Laura (laura.m.kapinga@gmail.com)

Appendix III Consent form

Thank you for participating in this research! This research aims to explore how the offspring of immigrants who moved to the UK are related to places outside of the UK and how this relation influences the formation of identity. More specifically, it focuses on British young Muslims that are born in the UK. In this interview I am interested in your experience. During our talk, we also will make use of a map to visualise the places that are important for you. The estimated time for is approx. 45 minutes.

Contact:

Laura Kapinga laura.m.kapinga@gmail.com 0031651800136
Visiting student at University of Newcastle, United Kingdom
Master student at the University of Groningen, The Netherlands

The interviews will only be used for this project or other academic output. All the information will be treated confidential and every participant will be anonymized. At any time, participants can decide to withdraw from the research.

- I voluntarily participate in this research **yes / no**
- I agree upon taping the interview **yes / no**
- I approve that this interview will be used for academic output **yes / no**
  I approve that the map can be showed in the academic output **yes / no**
- In this research fictitious names are used. You can do a suggestion: ……..

If you would like to receive an update about the project or information about the finding please write down your email. Email: ……..

Date …….. - …….. - ……

Name Participant	Name researcher Laura Kapinga
Signature	Signature

Appendix IV Transcript example

Transcript participant 5 Newcastle

Filename: Participant 5 NC
Fictitious name: Arida
Age: 23
Interviewer: Laura Kapinga
Location interview: University
Date: July 5th, 2015
Duration (Taped): 1.01 hrs
Profile: Female, Parents from Bangladesh, working.

P = Participant
I = Interviewer
(LI) = Laughing interviewer
(GP) = Laughing Participant
... = Short hesitation
(S) = Silence
(K) = Map-making
[_____] = confidential information
{ } = Not important

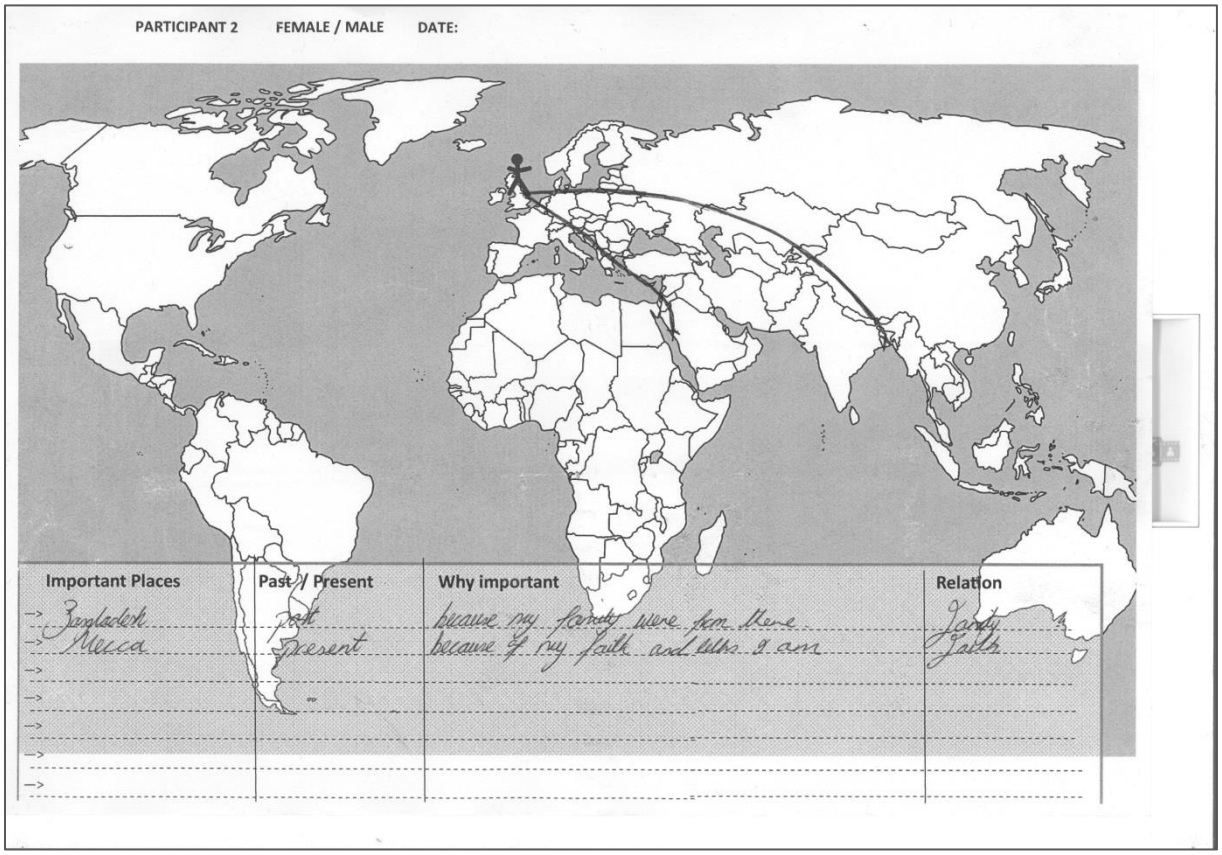
I: So you are born from Britain and your parents are from ..
P: They moved from Bangladesh. My dad moved here when he was maybe 15/16, but he was going back from here to Bangladesh, here to Bangladesh, because his dad and his brothers had moved here. They are all much older than him. Then he went back to Bangladesh when he was maybe 20 to get married and then my mum came over here when they get married. I think they came over in 1990 or 1991 maybe.
I: And can you tell me something about what you know about the place they are from?
P: Bangladesh is part of Asia it is near Indian and Pakistan, it used to be known as West-Pakistan up until 1970-something when they split and it became Bangladesh. The capital city is Dhaka, but we are from Sylhet, which is kind of like a town, like Newcastle, but it is not like the big capital city. My parents are originally from two villages, so they were born and brought up in a village. But they bought a house in the town Sylhet when they were older. But they are originally from the two villages. One is [___] where my dad is from, and my granddad is from there, they have a big house there. My dad is born there. When they were older they were able to afford a bigger place, they moved to Sylhet which is the town, so that's how they continued their live, but they have been there for a long time. And my mom is from [___], she moved from there to England. So that are big changes (PI).
I: How did the fact that they come from this villages or the city or from Bangladesh, how did it come back in your youth and childhood?
P: I think because they are from you know Bangladesh, obviously from a young age we are speaking Bengali. So speaking Bengali all the time, eating what they eat there so we are eating rice and curry all the time. Obviously when you are a child, like you see your mum dressed in a certain way and the other mums are not dressed in that certain way. But I don't feel that that like affected me like negatively, I know that I was different in terms of my mum and dad are from somewhere else, but I kind of took that with pride and because it was a bit of a journey from them, and they struggled that you know they moved continents and then managed still to maintain a family which is quite inspiring. So I think in terms of my childhood … probably the food, clothing, celebrations, language and what is a big part … not celebrating what other people celebrate, so we don't do Halloween, not doing

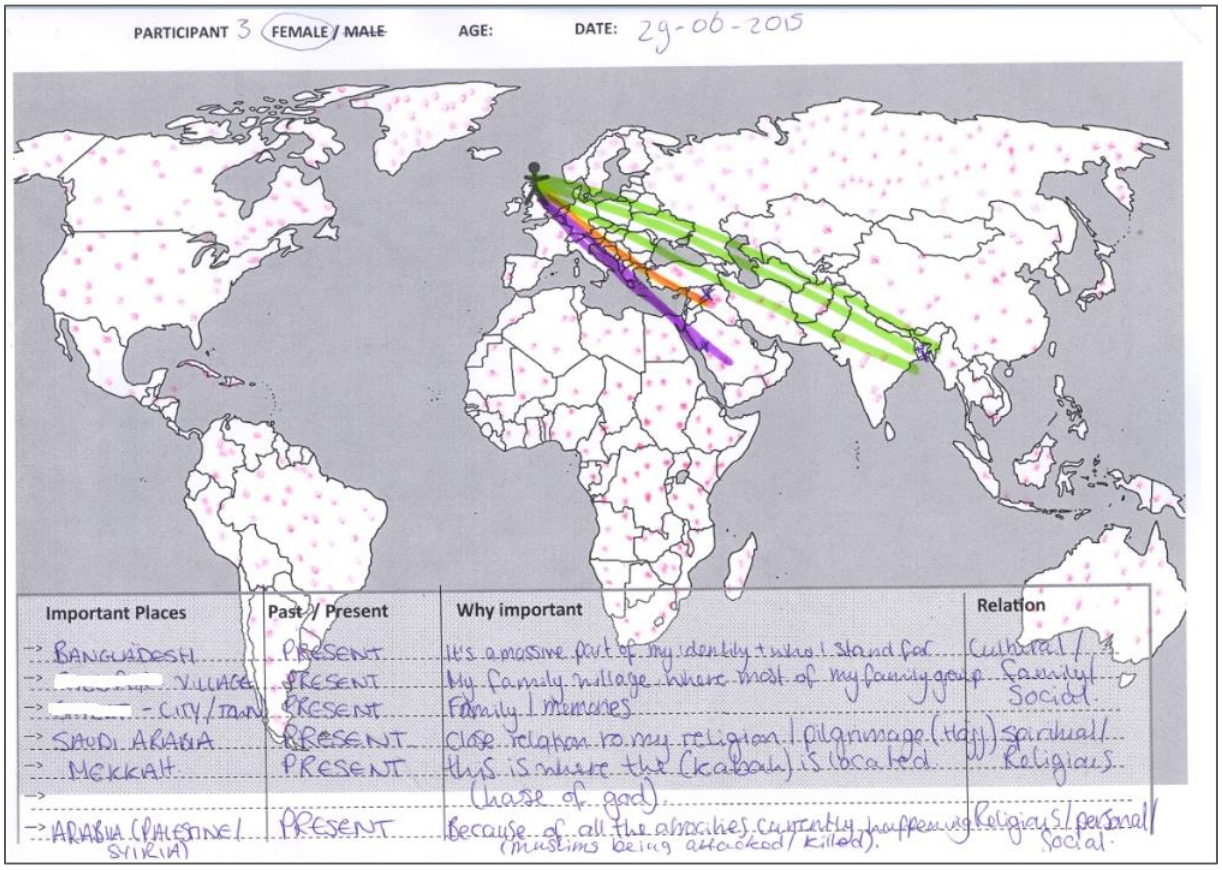
Appendix V Codebook

CODEbook			
Codes	Type	Definition	Theory
IDENTITY			
Identity Marker		IDM refer to certain type of social organization in which the boundaries of collective identities become clear. IDM can express the membership of a group based on for example culture, origin, language, colour, physiognomy, religion, parental ,gender, religion, national hybrid. Attribution of the IDM can be done by participant self or by others.	Anthias (2001) Hopkins (2007) Dywer (2000)
Identity Marker *[IDM]*	Deduct.	If it is not clear by who the IDM is attributed use this general code.	
Identity markers Self *[IDM.Self]*	Deduct.	IDM of the participant that are attributed by the participant self.	
Identity markers Others *[IDM.Others]*	Deduct.	IDM that are attributed by others as perceived by the participant.	
Positioning *[Pos]*	Deduct.	Context depended positioning of the own identity by the participant. Use this code only when this context dependency is addressed by the participant.	
TIES			
Transnational ways of being		Connectivity. The actual social relation and practices that individuals engage in rather than to the identities associated with their actions. So, individuals engage in social relation and practices that cross borders as a regular feature of everyday life, then they exhibit a transnational way of being.	Levitt, P. & Glick Schiller, N. (2004). Portes (2003)
Social ways of being *[BEsocial]*	Deduct.	Frequency of contact with family or friends for social dimension. Can be by phone, internet, social media etc.	Portes (2003) Levitt&Jaworsky (2007)
Cultural ways of being *[BEcultural]*	Deduct.	Frequently contact with cultural organisations or exchanging of culture with family of friends, like in goods (e.g: foods, clothing)	
Political ways of being *[BEpolitical]*	Deduct.	Political connection in which one is regularly involved.	
Economic ways of being *[BEeconomic]*	Deduct.	Exchange of money or other products for economic purposes on a regular basis.	
Religious ways of being *[BEreligious]*	Deduct.	Frequently contact with religious organisations or religiously related…	Levitt&Jaworsky (2007)
Transnational ways of belonging		Ways of belonging practices that signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group. These actions are not symbolic but concrete, visible actions that mark. Ways of belonging can refer to action and awareness of kind of identity that action signifies. We people explicitly recognize the cross borders relations, and highlight the transnational elements of who they are, they are also expressing a transnational way of belonging.	Levitt, P. & Glick Schiller, N. (2004).
Social ways of belonging *[LOsocial]*	Deduct.	Code when participants mentioned that socially belongs to that place/community (Maybe same social etiquettes)	Levitt&Jaworsky (2007)
Cultural ways of belonging *[LOcultural]*	Deduct.	Code when participant mentioned that cultural way belongs to that place/community	

Political ways of belonging *[LOpolitical]*	Deduct.	Code when participant mentioned that is in a political way belongs to that nation.(E.g: Political ideology)	
Economic ways of belonging *[LOeconomic]*	Deduct.	Code when participant mention feel economic belonging to the that country (entrepreneurship belongs to that country? Maybe duty to send remittances because feelings of belonging?)	
Religious ways of belonging *[LOreligious]*	Deduct.	Code when participant mentioned that belongs to that place/community in a religious way. Beloning to other MUSLIMS Also for example the Umma.	Levitt & Jaworsky 2007
Belonging place *[LOother]*	Inductive	When really talk about the places.	
TYPE OF PLACE			
Place scale		Transnational ties can be associated to different levels	
Supranational	Deduct.	When the participant refers to a place to which he is attached this territorial, like continent or world.	
National	Deduct.	When it comes to spatial levels, it is the national level which I have found to be most informative about my informants' understanding of their lives and selves, and which I have explored in detail in this thesis, unpacking the complexity of meanings ascribed to two different possible homelands. (P.368)	Stock, 2014 Brickel and Datta, 2011
Regional	Deduct.	When the participant refers to a place on a regional scale	
City/town	Deduct.	When the participant refers to a place on a city level	
Neighborhood/ Street/House	Deduct.	When participants refers to a place on a smaller scale than the city or village.	
Non-territorial	Deduct.	In some cases the imagined homeland can also be a non-territorial one such as a global Islamic umma.	McAuliffe 2008
Place type		In migration context, feelings of belonging can be directed towards physical places and remembered, imagined and or symbolic spaces	Stock, 2014
Physical	Deduct.	Code when participant describes the place in physical/ environmental aspects.	Stock, 2014
Sacred/religious	Deduct.	Code when the participant describes the place as a sacred place or a religious place. For example Mecca	Stock, 2014
Imagined	Deduct.	Code, when the participant describes the place in terms of an imagination. So never been there but know it for example from stories.	Stock, 2014
Remembered	Deduct.	Code, when participant describes a place in the way he remembers it and that it is clear that the description is related to the past.	Stock, 2014
RELIGION			
Muslim in UK	Induct.	Being Muslim in the UK in comparison to being Muslim in another country (for example country of origin	

Appendix VI Geo-Egocentric maps

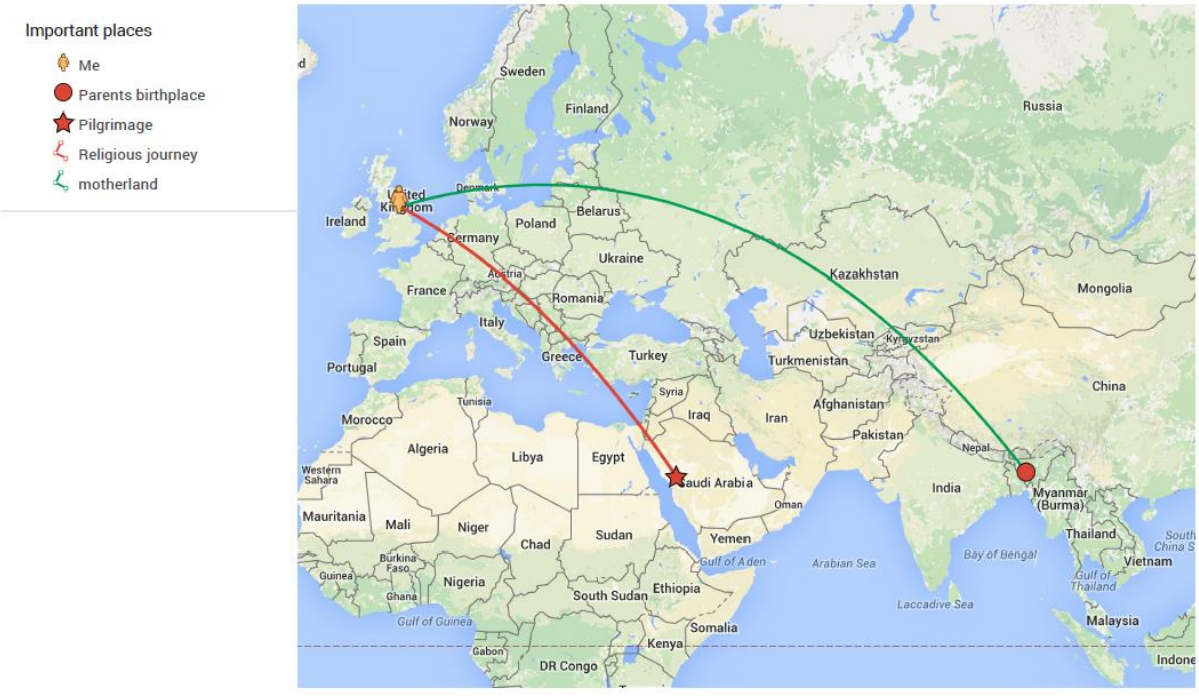




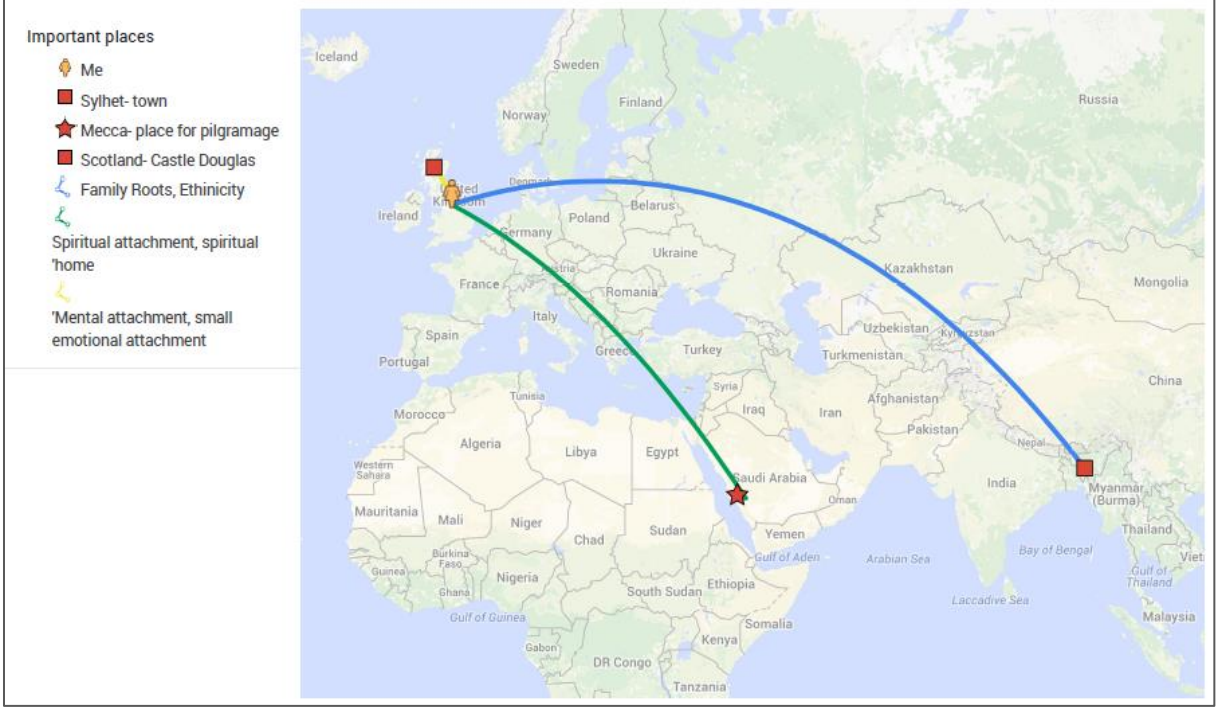
PARTICIPANT 3 FEMALE / ~~MALE~~ AGE: DATE: 29-06-2015

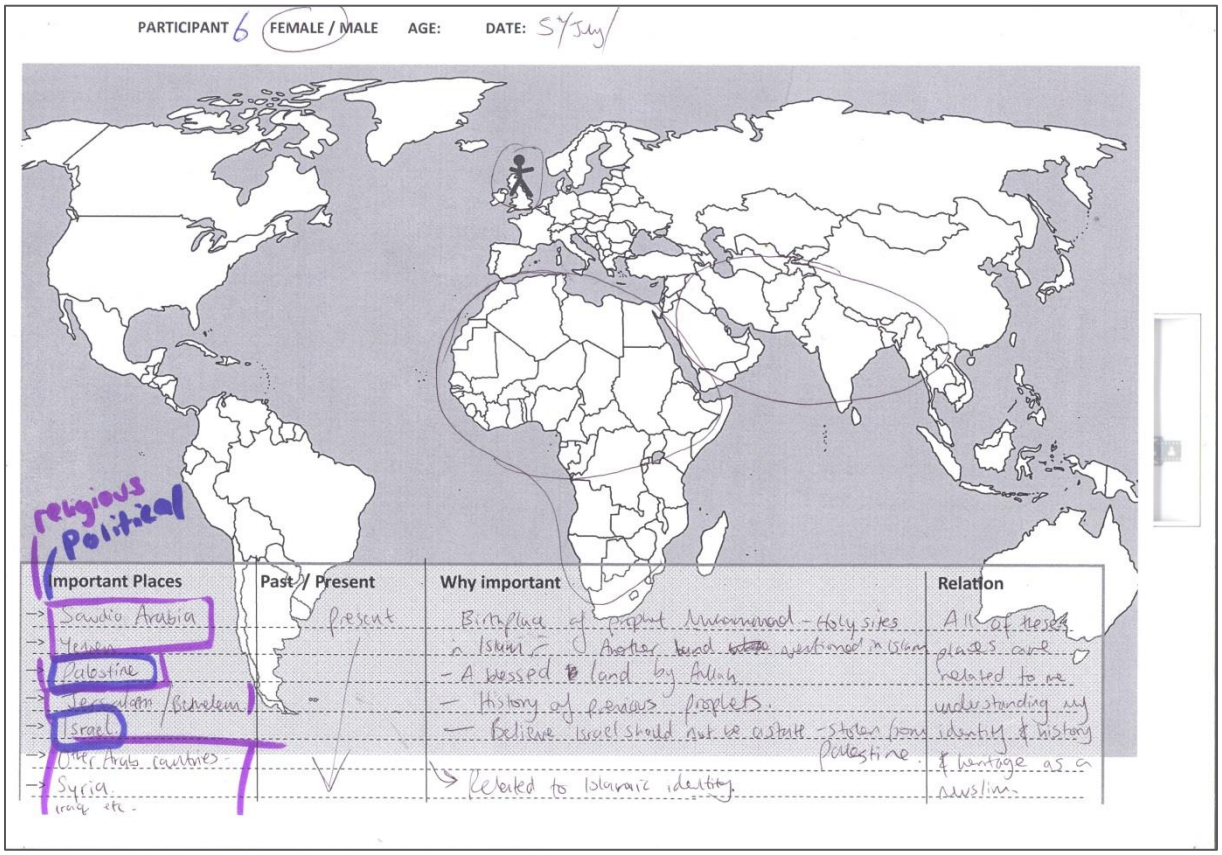
Important Places	Past / Present	Why important	Relation
BANGLADESH	PRESENT	It's a massive part of my identity + what I stand for	Cultural /
[redacted] VILLAGE	PRESENT	My family village where most of my family group	Family/ Social.
[redacted] - CITY / TOWN	PRESENT	Family / memories	
SAUDI ARABIA	PRESENT	Close relation to my religion / pilgrimage (Hajj)	Spiritual/
MEKKAH	PRESENT	Thus is where the (Kaabah) is located (house of god)	Religious.
ARABIA (PALESTINE/ SYRIA)	PRESENT	Because of all the atrocities currently happening (muslims being attacked / killed).	Religious/ personal/ Social.

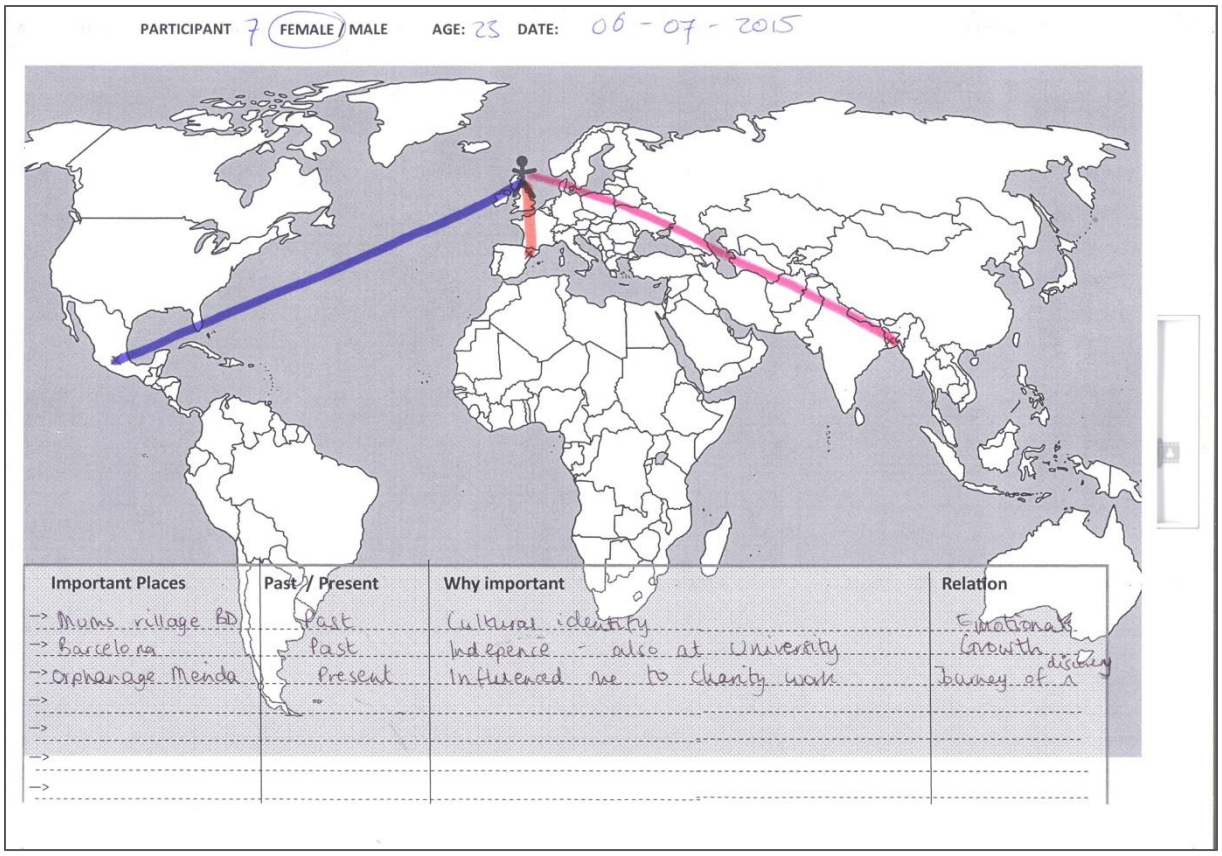
Participant 4: Hasina (Female - 20) Newcastle, UK



Participant 5: Arida (female, AGE) Newcastle, UK






PARTICIPANT 7 FEMALE / MALE AGE: 23 DATE: 06 - 07 - 2015
Important Places
Past / Present
Why important
Relation
→ Mums village BD
Past
Cultural identity
→ Barcelona
Past
Indepence - also at University
Emotional Growth
→ Orphanage Menda
Present
Influenced me to charity work
Journey of discovery


Participant 8 Kamil (Male - 22) Newcastle, UK
Important places
Me
Family
Family
Family
[name] family
family and religion
Father roots
Religous link
Religous link
Family
family
Family and religion
Family
Family
Religion
Religion
family stronger
Greenland
Iceland
Finland
Sweden
Norway
Russia
Canada
United States
Poland
Ukraine
Kazakhstan
Mongolia
China
Turkey
Iraq
Iran
Afghanistan
Pakistan
India
Thailand
Algeria
Libya
Egypt
Saudi Arabia
Mali
Niger
Chad
Sudan
Nigeria
Ethiopia
Mexico
Venezuela
Colombia
Peru
Brazil
Bolivia
Chile
Argentina
DR Congo
Kenya
Tanzania
Angola
Namibia
Botswana
Madagascar
South Africa
Indonesia
North Atlantic Ocean
South Atlantic Ocean
Indian Ocean
Southern

Appendix VII Overview of places and their importance

Related to family
Related to religion
Other

Participants	Desciption Place	When	Why Important	Description Tie	Remarks Idenity	Visited
P1 Shahana (F-19)	*Parents from here*	*Present*	*Family - Origination of culture*	*Cultural significance*	Sometimes unclear talking about city or region.	Yes and is going soon again.
	[Name village] Mum is from here		*Emotional attachment- good childhood memories- countryside is nicer than city- freedom*		More related to village mum while should be to village dad she said	
	Religious affiliation	*Future*	*Pray facing there- everyday importance- but not the most significant place for me*	*Capital of Islam (face to pray- pilgrimage to there)*	Is about religious ways of being, she also talks about other religious level, more related to belonging.	not yet
P2 Tammy (F-17)	*Bangladesh*	*Past*	*Because my family were form here*	*Family*	Negative influence, cause identity confusion	3 times (not nice)
	Mecca	*Present*	*Because of my faith and who I am*	*Faith*	This tie give sense of herself.	Yes
P3 Tee (F - 22)	*Bangladesh*	*Present*	*It's a massive part of my identity + who I stand for*	*Cultural/ Family/ Social*	Very important for her identity. Distinctions between places not so clear- not much interaciton hardcopy map	Ones in Bangladesh (Really nice)
	[Name village]– Village		*My family village, where most of my family grew up*			
	Sylhet – city/town		*Family/Memories*			
	Saudi Arabia	*Present*	*Close relation to my religion/ pilgrimage (Hajj)*	*Spiritual/ Religious*	Important where she stands for also religiously related to Muslims over the world (pink dots)	Not yet
	Mekkah		*This is where the Ka'ba is located (House of God)*			
	Arabia (Palestine/Syria)	*Present*	*Because of all the atrocities currently happening (Muslims being attached/killed)*	*Religious/Personal /Socal*	Makes her more consious about her identity. Learn more about religion in the charity meetings	Just before mapmaking

P4 Hasina (F -20)	*Parents birthplace*	*Past*	*It is important for who I am because it is the place my parents were born and because I was raised with Bangladeshi traditions*	*Motherland*	First starts talking about national scale but later becomes clear that it is about het village.	Every other year
	Pilgrimage	*Present*	*It is important to me because, as a Muslim, it is one of the places where I wish to go to complete my religious devotion. As a Muslim Hajj is a integral part of showing religiosity and to perform Hajj is showing a big part of devotion.*	*Religious Journey*	important for muslim identity	never bene there
P5 Arida (F - 23)	*Sylhet – Town*	*Past*	*Family, easy access to villages, emotional attachment with parents home*	*Family Roots, Ethnicity*	Village is very important put not on the map.	twice
	Mecca – Place for pilgrimage	*Present*	*Big religious importance/significance, spiritual attachment, important for Muslims, my spiritual home away from home*	*Spiritual attachment, Spiritual 'home'*	First talking about country. Attachment goes beyond like she cant desribe it.	not yet
P6 Nida (F - uknown)	*Saudi Arabia*	*Present*	*Birthplace of prophet Mohammed - holy sites in Islam*	*Religious (Political: Yeman and Israel) All of these places are related to my understanding of my identity/history/heritage as a Muslim.*	Places are important for her muslim identity, more than to pakistan. She talks about pakistan as something that influenced her in the past but does not stroke with her religious identity well.	not yet
	Yemen		*Another land mentioned in Islam*			
	Palestine		*A blessed land by Allah*			
	Jarusalem/Bethlehem		*History of previous prophets*			
	Israel		*Believe isreal should not be a state - stolen from palestine*			
	Other Arab counties, Syria, Iraq etc.		*Related to Islamic identity*			
P7 Jada (F - 23)	*Mums village Bangladesh*	*Past*	*Cultural identity*	*Emotional*		yes
	Barcelona	*Past*	*Independece - also at university*	*Growth*	Important for her development as an independent women	yes
	Orphanage Meinda	*Present*	*Influenced me through charity work*	*Journey of discovery*		yes

P8 Kamil (M -22)	*Family*	*Present*	*mothers uncle, visit, learning new cultures sightseeing*	*Family*	Really identity derives from him knowing this different places ant the cultures back there. He really identifies with that.	Yes
	Family	*Present*	*Fmaily sightseeing learning new cultures*			Yes
	Family	*Past*	*Contact in the past, food (bread), family, culture learning*			Yes
	[Name city] family	*Past*	*Sightseeing uncle, learning different cultures, contact long ago went there in the past*			Yes
	Religious Link	*Present*	*Religious origin, holy sites*	*Religion*		Yes
	Religious Link	*Present*	*Religious origin, holy sites*			Yes
	Father roots	*Present*	*father roots, contact been there many times, ongoing*	*Family stronger*	maybe he relates to this a second home.	
	Family and Religion	*Future*	*religious architecture, family*	*Religion & family*		not yet