‘What Does Being Welsh Mean to Me?’ Sub-National Identity in the Everyday Lives of Swansea Muslims

PhD

2016

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Summary

An important feature of understanding what the nation and sub-state nation means in an era of cultural and religious diversity is to analyse the manner in which people from different backgrounds are influencing conceptions of national and sub-national identity, and how they are positioning themselves within national and sub-national narratives. A question that must therefore be asked is not only how are ethnic, cultural and religious minorities making claims to national and sub-national identity, but who is it that can be included within the re-imagining of the nation and sub-state nation as populations become increasingly diverse? This thesis examines this phenomenon by exploring how, why, when and where Welsh Muslims in Swansea identify with Wales and Welsh identity, and how such claims of belonging are articulated within the everyday places and social spaces of Muslims' daily lives. By using a Mixed Methodological Approach which combines Ethnographic Observation, Focus Groups and Interviews, it investigates when and where Welsh identity becomes salient in Welsh Muslims' everyday lives, to reveal that being Welsh is important to how they frame their identities, and is articulated in numerous ways, at different times in different places. By doing so, it will show that when discussing Muslim identities, they should not be discussed in isolation from the other identities which make up an individual, as monolithic depictions of Muslim identities ignore the multiple relationships that Muslims have with other aspects of their identities. By exploring how Welsh Muslims' relationships with Wales and Welsh identity develop, it will also show that the ethnic-civic dichotomy used to describe the relevance of nations and national identity needs to be understood alongside more plural understandings of the nation, which are more flexible and can better deal with the demographic complexities of increasingly diverse societies.

Declarations

DECLARATION

This work has not been submitted in substance for any other degree or award at this or any other university or place of learning, nor is being submitted concurrently in candidature for any degree or other award.

Signed ………………………………………… (candidate)   Date ……………………….

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This thesis is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of PhD.

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STATEMENT 2

This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated.

Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references. The views expressed are my own.

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Acknowledgments

Diolch yn fawr iawn i Mam, Dad, Owain a Theo am y cymorth, cysur a'r gefnogaeth y mae dim ond teulu gallu cynnig. Diolch i'r Athro Diarmait Mac Giolla Chriost am ei arweiniad trwy gydol y PhD. Mae'r broses wedi bod yn un anodd ond diolch fy nghadw ar y trywydd cywir dros y blynyddoedd diwethaf. Diolch am hefyd am yr amser yn trafod pêl-droed, heb hynni baswn i wedi colli fy mhen oesoedd yn ôl. Diolch yn fawr iawn i Rocio Cifuentes, Shehla Khan a'r holl staff yn y Tîm Cymorth Ieuenctid Ethnig. Diolch am fy nghadael mewn i'r sefydliad a rhannu eich bywydau pob dydd gyda fi. Diolch yn fawr iawn i bawb yn Ysgol Y Gymraeg, gan cynnwys y staff a'r myfyrwyr ôl-raddedig eraill, ac yn bennaf i'r Athro Sioned Davies, Dr Jeremy Evas, Ceren Roberts ac Alicia Arthur am wneud y broses o fod yn fyfyriwr ôl-raddedig mor hawdd â phosib. I fy ffrindiau, diolch o'r galon am eich cyngor academaidd a personol. Diolch yn enwedig i Jenny Needs am rannu'r profiad o wneud PhD ar yr un pryd, a hefyd am eich help gyda'r traethawd ac edrych dros fy ngwaith. Fi wir wedi gwerthfawrogi eich cyfeillgarwch dros y blynyddoedd. Diolch Ceri Elen am eich agwedd bositif tuag at bopeth, mae wedi bod yn ysbyrydolaeth llwyr. Diolch i Chloe Lincoln am eich cymorth trwy gydol yr holl broses a hefyd am edrych dros fy ngwaith. Diolch i fy ffrindiau, ac yn enwedig Mustafa Hameed, Amaha Senu, Matt Francis, Argyro Kantara am eich cymorth. Diolch hefyd i Dr Dave Featherstone am eich cyfeillgarwch ers bod yn fy athro yn Brifysgol Lerpwl. Diolch Ysgoloriaeth Llywydd o Brifysgol Caerdydd a hefyd Cyngor Abertawe ac Ysgoloriaeth Thomas ac Elizabeth Williams am ariannu fy astudiaethau.

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Chapter One – Introduction

"Ond roedd un cysgod. Fi oedd yr unig wyneb du, bron yn y lle i gyd. Falle fod Caerdydd yn un o'r dinasoedd cyntaf ym Mhrydain i gael pobl o wahanol hil yn byw ynddi, ond doedd neb wedi dweud hynny wrth bel-droed." (Yassine, 2010)

"There was one shadow, I was the only black face in the entire place. Cardiff was one of the first cities in Britain to accommodate people from different races, but nobody told football that." (My Translation)

Introduction: A European Story

How nations are changing due to increasing ethnic, cultural and religious diversity is one of the most challenging issues facing 21st century Europe. Having to negotiate difference on the one hand (albeit with varying degrees of commitment), whilst on the other attempting to maintain societal norms, European nation-states are at an important point in history where they are continuously having to ask themselves what kind of societies they want to be. At the heart of these questions is one of the most topical and contentious issues regarding diversity, belonging, integration and identity to arise in the past 15 years: what is the place of Muslims and Islam within the landscape of Europe? (Heath 2015, Lépinard 2014). Since the 9/11 attacks, Muslims have not only become the subject of much academic debate, but the focus of government policies on integration, social cohesion and the target of media scrutiny and victimisation (Phillips et al. 2009, Gilliat-Ray 2010, Modood 2007,2011). This increasing narrative has often focused on the supposed 'threat' that Muslims cause to national security and identity, which is creating an atmosphere of fear and suspicion between Muslims and non-Muslims alike (Mustafa 2015, Saunders 2012). As a response to this growing tension, a backlash against diversity, particularly against Islam and Muslims, is being experienced across the continent (Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010).

Populist right-wing parties and social movements are now the fastest growing political bodies in Europe (Mudde 2007, Bustikova 2014, Gable & Jackson 2011). The Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ), Jobbick in Hungary, The Party for Freedom in the Netherlands (PVV) and the Swedish Democrats (SD) are but a few of many far-right parties with Parliamentary

representation and increasing social support. Many of these organisations recognise that their existence is a response to the perceived 'Islamification' of Europe, which in their eyes is displacing 'traditional' European values and causing a threat to national identity (Allen 2016, 2010). This increasing anti-Muslim rhetoric has been escalated by certain incidents across Europe which have contributed to the rising tensions surrounding the place of Islam in the continent: the murders of Dutch politician Pim Fortuyn and Film director Theo van Gogh in the Netherlands, the increasing numbers of Muslim refugees who have fled to Europe since the 2011 Syrian War, the Charlie Hebdo shootings and the 2015 November attacks in Paris which left over 130 dead, and the Belgian Bombings in March 2016. All of these incidents put Islam and its place in European society at the forefront of discussions on diversity. In the UK which is the focus of this thesis, events such as the 7/7 bombings in London, the killing of the British soldier Lee Rigby and the increasing number of young British Muslims leaving the UK to fight for the Islamic State (IS), have all intensified discussions regarding the identities of British Muslims, and suggest that there are difficult challenges to living within diversity (Antonsich & Matejskova 2015, Mustafa 2015).

What is common in the rhetoric after all of these incidents is the way Muslims have been treated as outside the national imagining, as the 'other' who does not belong. The increasing public debate in the UK and Europe has concentrated on negative aspects of the 'Islamic Problem' and focuses on the alleged incompatibility of this supposed 'troublesome minority' (Phillips et al. 2009). This rhetoric has often framed Muslims as a *national* threat and such negative interpretations have only fuelled hostility (Mustafa 2015). Much of the debate has involved misrepresentation where intense targeted treatment in the media has only served to sensationalise, stigmatise and alienate the population (Githens-Mazer & Lambert 2011, Oborne & Jones 2008). The formation of identities emerges not only from internal or group self-identification, but external identification done by others on the other (Jenkins 2011), and the treatment and extent to which others perceive Muslims is having a negative impact, not only on the way Muslims are perceived and treated in public, but upon how they self-identify (Gilliat-Ray 2010, Hopkins 2010, Phillips et al 2009, Mustafa 2015, Dunn 2009).

Although there is much hysteria surrounding the perception of the 'Muslim threat', there are real challenges to living in diversity where aspects of Islam come into direct conflict with non-Muslim society. This is manifesting itself in a variety of ways in Europe as countries regulate around issues regarding free speech, the right to religious freedom,

blasphemy, the role of religion in public spaces, social cohesion and the future of national identity (Hasan 2010, Gökarıksel & Secor 2015). One of the most heated topics within these debates has been the wearing of religious clothing in public places. Both the European Court of Human Rights and many national courts across European countries have seen litigation on Islamic and religious dress increase, with varied outcomes and responses (Coene & Longman 2008, Lépinard 2014). In some German Länder and Swiss cantons, headscarves for teachers have been banned. In France, headscarves have been banned in public schools since 2004, with subsequent legislation in 2010 banning the wearing of the full veil, the niqab and burqa, in public spaces (Lépinard 2014). This additional law has been replicated in Belgium, with similar debates being conducted in Italy, Denmark, the Netherlands and across Europe as a whole. Each of these incidents has challenged national interpretations of gender, rights and identity, and has been framed in the rhetoric of state feminism vs religious freedom (Siim & Skjeie 2008). Issues such as these have questioned the role of Muslims in non-Muslim societies and have put the spotlight on the relationship that Muslims have with the nation-state and national identity (Hasan 2010, Modood 2015). How such dynamics are managed will have a significant impact upon the future of integration and cohesion in Europe and the UK, and therefore now is as pertinent a time as any to examine the identities of Muslims and non-Muslims alike, and to understand their relationships with the nations and sub-state nations that they reside in.

The aim of this thesis is to therefore examine how the nation and sub-state nation acts as a site of attachment for identity which extends beyond the ethnic, religious or cultural majority, and is actively being claimed and mobilised by Muslims. More specifically, it will examine the role of sub-national identity in the lives of Muslims in Wales, and focuses on second-generation Muslims living in Swansea (Wales' second largest City). It explores what Welsh identity means to them, and asks, to what extent Welshness is used as a frame of identity in how Muslims develop an understanding of their sense of self. Sub-state nations are regions within nation-states with either a separate historic, ethnic, cultural or linguistic make-up which challenges state-wide uniformity, who have some degree of autonomy and self-determination either in the form of differing levels of self-governance or law making powers (Erk 2010, McCrone 1998, Catt & Murphy 2003). Traditionally, research on diversity and the identity of the second-generation has often been analysed through the lens of the centralised nation-state, neglecting the potential influence that sub-state nations can have.

Increasingly, however, more attention is being given to how the experience of living in sub-state nations for ethnic and religious minorities is embedded with an important alternative narrative to that of the primary nation-state (see Dwyer and Bressey 2008, Hopkins 2008, Jones 2010, Williams 2003, Zapata-Barrero 2009). Sub-state nations challenge the idea of a homogenous social and political culture and offer another site from which the second generation can derive attachment. Understanding this interaction is important for deciphering what complexities, barriers and opportunities this poses for concepts of future cohesion within particular multi-level state territories (Banting & Soroka 2012). Unlike Mustafa (2015), who argues that sub-state identities such as Scottishness or Welshness are perceived by Muslims as a 'White' only racial category and consequently not as important, this thesis will investigate *how*, *why, when* and *where* Welsh Muslims identify with Wales and Welshness, and how such claims to belonging are articulated within their everyday lives.

This thesis will therefore be structured around a set of interlocking themes, namely: national and sub-national identity, place, gender, communities and networks, religion, race and difference (Hopkins & Gale 2009). To discover what being Welsh means to Muslims in Wales, the following research questions will be asked:

- *When and where is Welsh Identity salient in Welsh Muslims' everyday lives?*

  The main aim of the thesis, this question asks 'how are Muslims making claims to national and sub-national identity?' and will examine whether Welshness and Welsh identity play a significant part in the way that Welsh Muslims structure their sense of identity. It will do so by examining the moments in the participants lives where Welshness matters, to discover how and when, but also *where* they feel Welsh, and what exactly this means. In other words, it will examine how Welsh Muslims negotiate their faith with their Welsh identity in their everyday lives, to discover the alternative perspectives to viewing Muslims in the UK as purely 'British'.

  It will also investigate whether having a strong sense of place is salient to how the participants structure their identities and attachment to Wales, and whether a sense of belonging to Wales affects how they construct ideas of home. By doing so, it will locate where exactly the sub-state nation fits in these ongoing re-constructions of identity, to ask does geography matter to how identities are formulated and performed? It will explore the places and social spaces where a sense of self is experienced in everyday

life, to discover whether Muslim identities are affected by changes in scale, and whether place is a fundamental tool which can help unpack the complexities of Muslim identities across the UK (Hopkins 2010).

- *To what extent can Muslim Identities be discussed in isolation from the other identities which make up an individual?*

This research questions asks to what extent Muslim identities can be treated in isolation from the other characteristics which make up an individual or collective identity. This thesis will examine whether the Muslim parts of the participants identities are mutually exclusive to other aspects of their identities such as gender, generation, location, national and sub-national identity, and asks whether or not they are easily separated from each other. By examining this, it will discover to what extent Muslims in the UK can be homogenised as Muslims *only* when understanding their identities, or whether this assumption too easily singles them out as being separate from the wider national narrative. In other words, it will be used to move beyond monolithic depictions of Muslim identity into territories of plurality (Gale & Hopkins 2009).

- *Is the ethnic-civic dichotomy used to describe the relevance of nations and national identity applicable in an increasingly diverse age?*

The final aim of the thesis will be to discover alternative ways to view the traditional civic-ethnic dichotomy which has dominated nationalism studies for decades (Brubaker 2004, Hearn 2006). By examining the ways that Welsh Muslims create attachments to Wales, it will discover whether these perspectives can help re-construct the narrative of national and sub-national identity, in an inclusive and plural way. By discovering how second-generation Muslims are interpreting their own national and sub-national identity, it will examine whether this is happening from the bottom up in a self-reflexive, creative way, and if so, whether this can provide evidence for diverging from an ethnic explanation of national identity which is based on descent, or a civic understanding of national identity which is based on political relations, to instead focus on the unique relationships that Muslims have with the nation and sub-state nation, which is influenced by their diverse ethnic and religious biographies. By doing so, it will also discover whether developing a more plural understanding of national Identity and sub-national identity can be used to understand how societies can become more cohesive and more tolerant.

The rest of this chapter will be divided into two sections. The first section will situate these research questions within the wider literature. It will begin by discussing the issues surrounding identity, place, national and sub-national geographies and Muslim geographies. It will then argue that, in an era of increasing diversity, there needs to be a plural analysis of national and sub-national identity, which takes into account the voices of ethnic and religious minorities. It will argue that in order to understand the future of national and sub-national identity there must be an understanding of the relationships that ethnic, cultural and religious minorities have with the nation and sub-state nation, and to understand what extent this plays a part in their identities and sense of overall belonging. In particular it will focus on how they interpret, mobilise and make claims over their sense of national and sub-national identity and what this tells us about the accessibility of both in general. It will then examine the previous research on the relationship between sub state-nations and migration, and finally it will situate the location of this study, Wales, and discuss its history of migration and the current diversity dynamics. The second section of this chapter will set out the structure of the remaining thesis and plot the premise of each chapter.

Identity, Place and the Geographies of National and Muslim Identities

"The imagery for the work is taken from my immediate surroundings - the house, the outside landscape, and the landscape seen through doors and windows. The outside and inside come together in places. The system used in painting parallels one we use naturally, in that when we examine any situation, we look around or turn our heads, or move our eyes, or more likely, do all three. The differing viewpoints we take in help us build some kind of picture. In making use of these differing viewpoints, plan views, side elevations, end elevations and perspectives are used; eye levels vary, scale varies and emphasis varies; there is also time and memory" (Ernest Zobole, Welsh-Italian Painter, in Thomas 2007)

The connections created by the international mobility of people continue to transform the world's communities, further entangling notions of self and other in an infinite dialectic (Castells & Davidson 2000). At the heart of these relationships is the multifaceted concept of identity (Mustafa 2015, Küçükcan 1999). As Brubaker (2004) argues, identity can at times be ambiguous and has come to mean many things. It can be understood as a term to describe the basis of social and political action, to describe a specifically collective

phenomenon or sameness of a group, to express a core aspect of a deep sense of selfhood and also to illustrate an 'evanescent' product of multiple and competing discourses (Brubaker 2002: 33-35). However, whilst Brubaker (2004) argues that, because it has been made to do a great deal of work the term identity has become a burden that should be forgotten, I want to echo Hall (1996) in arguing that rather than abandoning it, it should be reconceptualised in a displaced and decentred form. For this thesis, identity will therefore be understood as an ongoing process which involves the relational and strategic positioning of a sense of self-understanding between people, places and the social locations they are in, based on both the logic of difference and similarity (Bourdieu 1990, Escobar 2004, Gilliat-Ray 1998, Dwyer 2000). In other words, identity is a concept which forces us to ask questions about the environment, society and people we derive membership from, to understand the various social groups and characteristics which distinguish an individual from other members of the same or other groups (Küçükcan 1999: 48). Identity involves not only asking the question, 'who am I?' but 'who am I in relation to others?', and 'how is my sense of who I am influenced by others?' (Zhu Qian & Feng 2011).

In thinking about identity and the ways it is given meaning to through social relations, there also needs to be analysis of the processes that create particular identities and make them matter in different ways (Hopkins 2010). One such process is how people's sense of themselves becomes equated to, and influenced by, particular places and social spaces (Zhu Qian & Feng 2011). Locality is as imperative to identity as age, gender and race; consequently, this thesis will argue for the importance of *place* in understanding how identities are formed, conveyed, read and performed (Hopkins 2010, Hopkins, Kwan, & Aitchison 2007, Ryan 2012). In other words, when we discuss our identities, geography matters (Hopkins 2010, Kong 2009, Massey 2005).

The following section will therefore explore how understanding place is fundamental to analysing how and where Muslims negotiate their identities, and how they create a place for themselves within the wider national and sub-national narratives. It will begin by discussing the literature regarding the concept of place, before focussing on the geographies of national identity and the geographies of Muslim identities. Although both are often treated separately, this thesis will bring the two together to discuss the ways Muslims rework national discourse in their own lives. By analysing the interactions which occur within particular places, this section will argue that the *where* and *when* of identity is as important as *who* these interactions occur between (Jones & Fowler 2008: 17).

Understanding the geographical specificity of Muslim identities and the ways in which they are resisted, contested and manipulated in various ways across places sheds a valuable light on how these identities develop (Hopkins, Kwan, & Aitchison, 2007: 2). Although individuals never only belong to one spatial community and engage with overlapping sets of spatial relations, this research will focus on the ways in which Muslimness compliments and competes with other aspects of identity, sub-nationalist discourses in particular, to produce a plural identity which is re-worked through what Amin (2002) calls the 'micro publics' of life (Lewis 2009: 73). That is, how these interactions become part of the mundane and day-to day 'lifeworlds' in the places and social spaces where people live and work (Jones & Fowler 2008: 24, Billig 1995).

Placing the Nation

Place, as Harvey (1996) argues, is a difficult concept to define. Although it is not my intention to compare the numerous academic debates within the literature, as good accounts can be viewed elsewhere (see Cresswell 2004, Holloway & Hubbard 2001), I want to clarify what it will mean for this thesis. In its simplest form it is a location which is given meaning to by people (Agnew 1987). This meaning cannot be presupposed as it is produced and consumed through numerous power relations reliant on highly politicised and multi-layered relationships between and within people and the environments they live. It is both an object and a way of looking at ones location where attachment exists on many scales (Cresswell 2004). Because place is dependent on location it does not necessarily mean it is a concept that is geographically bounded. As Massey (1994) argues, conceptions of place and social space must consider the networks of social relations and interactions that operate at a variety of geographic scales, from the local to the global. Different places will mean different things to different people, and how those meanings are constructed depend upon economic, political and cultural ties which stretch from the doorstep to the wider world.

Whilst Massey stresses that because place is defined by the outside, *routes* are more important than *roots;* I want to view place as having more fixity than this. One of Massey's criticisms of previous definitions of place and social space is that it can rely too much on a long internalised history which can be exclusive and isolating. She emphasises that place must be viewed as the product of interrelations, the product of plurality and multiplicity and as an open entity always under construction (Massey 2005). This is important because it reminds us that identities are not static, they are constantly changing and being re-

produced via multi-scalar connections. However, although identities can change over time, it does not mean that identification with a rootedness to a particular bounded idea of place has to be negative, always in a state of flux, or that a sense of rootedness cannot have an equal common inclusive meaning for people with multiple multicultural identities. As Cresswell (2004: 75) concludes, the fact of demographic diversity does not necessarily *only* lead to what Massey (1994) calls 'a progressive sense of place' where place is seen as a 'process defined by the outside'. Rather, stability and fixity of place does not have to be a bad thing, and can aid in understanding how people from diverse backgrounds develop a sense of who they are and where they belong to within wider discussions of integration and cohesion.

National and sub-national identity relies on this sense of fixity and is the most territorial of all political ideologies based on a shared idea of place. Nation building and maintenance has always involved processes which have emphasised the importance of giving collective meaning to place and social space (Williams & Smith 1983, Agnew 2004). When it comes to taking a geographical approach to the field of nationalism studies, the important role that place plays in the production and consumption of national and sub-national identity has often been neglected (Jones & Fowler 2008). Geographers are beginning to rectify this by paying more attention to analysing how a sense of nationhood is re-produced in particular places in order to reveal the multifaceted and heterogeneous nature of nations and sub-state nations, and the variety of scales to which they are made meaningful to people in their everyday lives (Brubaker 2004, Billig 1995, Jones & Desforges 2003, Jones & Fowler 2008). This research emphasises that national and sub-national identity should not only be characterised by a wave that washes over a complete territory from a central location (Jones & Fowler 2008), rather, the national should also be regarded as being forged through the local (Agnew 2002). If place is a product of a pause and a chance of attachment which exists at many scales (Cresswell 2004), I wish to echo Evans (2007: 125) in arguing that the experiences and meanings attached to places and the social spaces within them, play a crucial role in people's understanding of national and sub-national identity. Thus places will be viewed as the;

"Features and events which members feel are relevant to their 'area'….. That a focus on the 'micro' is crucial in understanding national identity" (Evans 2007:125).

Taking a more geographical approach to understanding the nation and sub-state nation is important for exploring how and where it is experienced by ordinary people. This can

particularly shed light into how ethnic, religious and cultural minorities construct and re-construct attachments to the nation and sub-state nation from the bottom up. Due to the increasing ethnic and religious diversity of people living within European territories, questions regarding the accessibility, flexibility, and plurality of national and sub-national identity is a reality that policy makers, governments, academics and ordinary people must not only face, but must attempt to understand. Who is included within the 'we' is indicative of all forms of identities, and both national and sub-national identity face as much a challenge as any other identity when deciding how to adapt the parameters of its particularisms when confronted with changing demographics. In an increasingly interconnected world, understanding the fixity of place becomes more challenging, as different countries try to develop their concept of who '*we*' is. When discussing the importance of place to national and sub-national identity, it is imperative to understand *who* it is that does the re-constructing of a collective identity, *where* this happens and *what* this means for how nations and sub-state nations continue to be imagined by *all* of its members. This thesis will therefore argue that an attachment to a stable and fixed sense of place is a key factor in how Welsh Muslims create a sense of solidarity and connectedness to Welshness, allowing them to claim ownership over a Welsh identity which they have control over.

Geographies of Muslim Identities

An increasing interest in a spatial consideration of identity has also been reflected in the rise of research on the geographies of Muslim identities (Kong 2009). Geographers are increasingly highlighting how the interactions which occur within particular places and social spaces can provide an important contribution to the understanding of the identities of European Muslims (Alexander 2002). Leading this work has been the seminal research conducted by the geographers Claire Dwyer (1998, 2000, 2002), who has focused on the significance of place to constructing what it means to be a Muslim Woman, and Peter Hopkins (2001, 2004, 2007, 2010), whose work explores the youth geographies of Scottish Male Muslims. Both have highlighted how geography matters to the construction and contestation of Muslim identities, by providing insights into how different scales shape the everyday experiences of Muslims in a range of emotional, spiritual, inclusive and exclusionary ways (Aitchison, Hopkins & Kwan 2007). These works on Muslim Geographies have thus highlighted the need to explore how differing ranges in scale contribute to how

Muslim identities are experienced (Phillips 2009 et al., Hopkins & Gale 2009, Falah & Nagel 2005).

Particularly pertinent to this thesis is how Hopkin's research has deconstructed the geographical binaries which suggest that Islam and European nationhood are mutually exclusive. His body of work highlights how the national and sub-national context deserves particular attention in its contribution to the structuring of the everyday lives, opportunities and experiences of Muslims. This is not to say that other scales are not also important or that the national and sub-national scale takes precedence in the mapping of Muslim identities: all identities are influenced by global, national, regional and local development strategies (Aitchison, Hopkins & Kwan 2007). However, by focusing on nationhood, in particular sub-state national identity, Hopkins has emphasised that sub-national places are capable of not only being sites of challenge and oppression, but also of liberation and opportunity for Muslim identities (Phillips 2009, Hopkins 2009). By using a geographical lens, his research has furthered the dialogue which considers Muslim identities *within* the national and sub-national imagining, rather than outside of it.

Understanding how Muslims negotiate a sense of sub-national place will therefore be key to this thesis. Who is felt to belong and not to belong within the national and sub-national narrative contributes to the shaping of place and social space (Sibley 1995). Saint-Blancat & Cancellieri (2014) argue that the processes of understanding public space depend on both the accessibility and visibility of such places. In other words, social space is more public when it has lower entry thresholds and higher chance of visibility. This is meaningful because as societies become more diverse, the increasing visibility of different ethnicities, colours, cultures, sexualities and religions challenges the taken-for-granted uses of social spatial structures, as 'others' lay claims to public places (Kuppinger 2014, Saint-Blancat & Cancellieri 2014). These claims are often contested by society, therefore exploring how minority groups enter a public sphere is imperative for understanding how this affects their sense of belonging within a wider national or sub-national community, and how their participation in public place is perceived by the majority (Staeheli, Mitchell & Nagel 2009). The struggles of European Muslims to become visible in the public domain raises questions over the 'proper place' of religion within the public sphere, which often provokes debate over the relevance of religion (Islam in particular), within national and sub-national narratives (Oosterbaan 2014).

Increasing and varied research on the Geographies of Muslim identities is expanding this debate by focusing on the interactions that occur in everyday places and social spaces. An important contribution to this literature has been the focus on the multiple layers of visibility and invisibility that Muslims encounter on a daily basis (Ali & Hopkins 2012 Gökarıksel & Secor 2014). Many have highlighted the spatialised dress practises of veiling and how dressed bodies are given meaning through their location in specific times and places (Lewis 2009, Dunn 2009). Much of this research highlights how the veiled body travels across 'veiling regimes' and how women's mobility within the spatial processes of the street creates geographies of fear, oppression, racism and exclusion (Ryan 2012, McAuliffe 2007). Others have mapped how young south Asian women construct 'risk' within their own social discourses and how they develop strategies which enable them to enjoy their leisure time in safe places and social spaces (Green & Singleton 2007: 110). Similar research extends this narrative of how Muslim women occupy both a space of visibility and invisibility within multicultural discourse in Britain, to focus on how, on the one hand British Muslim women are highly visible because of Islamophobia and the way that they dress, whilst on the other they remain invisible with regards to discourses of domestic violence (see Mirza 2012). Others have investigated the places where British Muslims socialise the most to argue that the domestic home becomes an important hub for social events, due to feelings of discomfort in public places (Platt 2012). The domestic home also plays a pertinent role in the research conducted by Scourfield, Gilliat-Ray, Khann, & Otri (2013), who explore the family routines of Muslim Childhood to argue how it is typical for families to incorporate Islamic learning into normal family routines within the home. Jeldtoft's (2013) research is another spatial contribution to the literature on Muslim geographies which focuses on how Muslims establish emotional 'rooms of their own' for religious practice by constructing personal spaces within which they can find religious clarity. Whilst Sardar (2012) has criticised the institutional roles ascribed to Muslims in public places in the UK, and argues that Muslims are forced to occupy a purely ornamental and ceremonial role, only being recognised for holidays but not given routine prominence.

What many of these contributions emphasise is that inclusion in public places is not just engagement in public affairs, trust in government or self-efficacy, but also consists of durable ties or relationships forged by and among different actors within the spaces of everyday life (Cinalli, Manlio, & Ian O'Flynn 2013). This research on Muslim geographies is therefore making an important contribution to understanding how Muslim identities are constructed and re-constructed in largely secular non-Muslim majority countries. Analysing

such interactions will be integral to this thesis and in understanding how Welsh Muslims negotiate their faith with their attachment to the wider sub-national community. Focusing specifically on the geographies of sub-national identity, Muslim geographies and the ways that both are intertwined, this thesis will discuss the uses of place and social space in negotiating identities within the public sphere (Staeheli, Mitchell & Nagel 2009). As Fortier (1999, 2000) has highlighted, what happens in everyday shared places and social spaces has a profound effect on enacting identities and creating or destabilising a sense of attachment to place. Since 9/11, Muslims in the UK have been largely conceptualised in public and political place as Muslims only (rather than any other ethnic or national identities), which has meant that secular place-making has produced certain normative standards with regards to where religion, in particular Islam, 'ought to be and ought not to be' (Jeldtoft 2013: 25-29). This in turn has meant that Muslims' public profiles have been consistently scrutinised with regard to their role within British society. The following section will merge the literatures of national and Muslim geographies to argue for a new understanding of national and sub-national identity, which concentrates on how it is made relevant by ethnic, religious and cultural minorities and that where it is negotiated matters.

Developing a Plural National and Sub-National Identity

Although much of the multicultural literature has emphasised that the increased diversity in European societies in recent years has *transformed* the nation-building process rather than displaced it (Modood 1997, 2007, 2011, Kymlicka 2001b), scholars engaging with ethno-cultural and religious diversity have neglected the importance of the nation or sub-state nation within discussions of cohesion and integration, failing to sufficiently analyse the many ways which these transformations have developed. Whilst one possible reason for this lack of engagement with the nation and sub-state nation as an analytical tool could be because they have been wrongly associated *only* with oppressive elements of both state power and difference-eradicating nationalism (Antonsich & Matejskova 2015), how we conceptualise what national and sub-national identity means in an era of increased migration and global interconnectivity is essential to establishing future cohesive societies, and cannot be ignored.

Similar to how Küçükcan (1999) describes ethnicity, belonging to a national group enables members to define their distinct features by comparing themselves with others. Although it has been argued that national and sub-national identity must be given less importance in

order to make multicultural societies more cohesive (see Cantle 2012), this thesis argues that it is still a predominant force which provides structure to many people's lives, and to make such assumptions without understanding what national and sub-national identity means to ethnic, cultural and religious minorities themselves (particularly the second generation), not only ignores people's relationship with the places they grow up in, but ignores the agency people have in shaping how they understand themselves. How national and sub-national identity is re-imagined and by whom in an era of visible migration is integral to the future cohesiveness of societies, and must be central to any discussions on diversity (Modood 2007). As Calhoun (2007: 9) argues, nations matter whether their appeals mobilise citizens for '*ethnic cleansing, external war, internal loyalty, regrettable regimes …. for democratic projects, mutual care, redistribution of wealth … and for inspiration, protection, consolation and for political opportunities*.' Thus, understanding what role the nation and sub-state nation plays within people's personal and collective identities, including religious and ethnic minority identities, is imperative to understanding its future development and how it is utilised by all people within society.

The accessibility of national and sub-national identity has often been discussed in the literature through the ethnic-civic binary. Regardless of the numerous dichotomies within nationalism studies, it is the ethnic-civic debate which has remained one of the most powerful. Though some academics maintain that a clear dichotomy exists between ethnic and civic nationalisms (Ignatieff 1995, Meinecke 1970 [1907] in Koning 2011, Miller, 2000), others have argued that both are more intertwined (Brubaker 2004), and some ask whether we need a de-nationalised or de-ethnicised form of citizenship to replace the concepts altogether (Zapata-Barrero 2007, Kymlicka 2001b). Whilst the discussion has become too bound by those who essentialise ethnic as bad and civic as good, as highlighted by Brubaker (2004) and Koning (2011), the complication surrounding this dichotomy has done much to diversify opinion. In an increasingly diverse age, this thesis argues that this distinction needs to be developed to include the relationships of ethnic, religious and cultural minorities with national and sub-national identity, and offers an alternative suggestion to analyse such experiences, that of *plural* national or sub-national identity.

Before discussing what an analysis of a plural national or sub-national identity looks like, it must first be emphasised that it is difficult to abandon the ethnic-civic dichotomy completely. Koning (2011) convincingly argues that there is little reason to abandon the distinction as a heuristic tool to categorise nation-building policies rather than individual or

collective identities (Koning 2011). Koning's analysis of naturalisation policies in 26 Western immigrant-receiving democracies makes a strong argument that many of these processes have relied on ethnic identity for shaping this aspect of the nation. Similarly, Reeskens and Hooghe (2010) argue that in their analysis of 33 countries, the dichotomy is still present in defining nationality. It seems therefore that no nation or sub-state nation discards ethnicity: if a nation or sub-state nation becomes more inclusive to migrants, certain ethnic and cultural markers remain. As Kuzio (2002: 31) highlights, *'No civic state can possibly hope to be neutral when deciding which ethnic groups' language, culture, symbols and anniversaries to promote at the state level'*. Equally, although varieties of civic nations exist such as the United States of America and Australia, a purely civic nationalism is also a false distinction. If the nation was purely civic with only legal and constitutional binds, membership would, theoretically, be open to anyone thus 'melting away' the demographic and territorial particularity which defines nations. However, this is clearly not happening - a sense of national place still structures people's everyday lives and can offer stability in a fluid and anonymous world (Roshwald 2006, Skey 2011). Although the terms are still relevant, treating both as mutually exclusive causes a polarisation which isolates and does not reflect the dynamism of today's societies.

In an increasingly diverse age, this distinction becomes less viable to describe the national and sub-national identities of ethnic, religious and cultural minorities, the second generation in particular. How the story of the nation and sub-state nation is told and imagined is constantly evolving with the insertions of 'all members of its order' (Gilroy 2002: xii). Acknowledging the unifying potential of a re-negotiated and inclusive national and sub-national identity, which can accommodate all participants of its community (Meer & Modood 2009), is fundamental to further discussions on diversity. Accordingly, this thesis argues that, for the second generation, their relationship with the nation and sub-state nation cannot be categorised as ethnic because this distinction concentrates on a sense of belonging founded on descent, common history, bloodline and ancestry. Equally, it cannot be viewed as solely a civic identity because, as Özkirimli (2005) highlights, people do not think of themselves as belonging to a nation or sub-state nation purely because they sympathise with political values and aspirations alone.

To understand this relationship, Kymlicka (2001a) has attempted to add a new dimension to this dichotomy by claiming that membership of a nation or sub-state nation is not just a question of law or ethnic heritage, but also of culture. However, as culture is not a static

entity and is open to change, how we define a national or sub-national culture is mutable due to the contributions of its *entire* people, including those from ethnic, religious and other cultural minority backgrounds. This thesis will therefore develop the idea of a *plural national or sub-national identity* which asks us to be aware of a self-reflexive reconsideration and negotiation of national identity (Triandafyllidou 2011, 2013). It will argue that the activities of ethnic, cultural and religious minorities claiming national and sub-national places and contributing to the shaping of these narratives must be seen as a *transformative* relation, which involves the making and remaking of political identifications (Featherstone 2012). This includes a mixture of the legacy of the past and the political contract of the present inherent in the ethnic–civic dichotomy, but also adds a new *creative* element where, rather than merely accepting their place within the national or sub-national narrative which is handed down to them, minorities shape how it is continuously being reconstructed, which reflects the positioning of their own multicultural biographies within the wider society.

Key to developing this plural national and sub-national identity will be to understand the importance of place in contributing to the formulation of a sense of self-understanding. This thesis will argue that an attachment to a stable sense of sub-national place is a key factor in how Welsh Muslims define their Welshness, and is instrumental to how they claim ownership over a Welsh identity which they have control over. When discussing the importance of place to national and sub-national identity, it is imperative to understand *who* it is that does the re-constructing of a collective identity, *where* this happens and *what* this means for how nations and sub-state nations continue to be imagined by *all* of their members. When discussing the challenges of diversity to national and sub-national identity, it is not enough to only use the language of citizenship and civic nationalism because this fails to acknowledge the importance that an attachment to a national and sub-national place can play in the formulation of identities for the second generation.

To understand the significance of national and sub-national place and its influence on a sense of identity and belonging beyond the simplistic description of Samosas, Sari's and Steel drums (Alibahai-Brown 2000, Kymlicka 2010), there must be an understanding of national and sub-national membership which extends beyond only concentrating on common political rights. Therefore, a plural analysis of national and sub-national identity will argue that a feeling of inclusion should not only be understood as political state based relations (which is typical of the civic identity model), but must also consist of the

relationships forged by and among different actors within the places and social spaces of everyday life (Cinalli, Manlio & O'Flynn 2013). A plural national and sub-national identity must be seen as:

- A ***Self-reflexive*** reconsideration and negotiation of national and sub-national identity

- Focusing on the ***Creation*** of relationships from below which reflect how minorities develop their relationships which merge their dual identities

- A ***Transformative*** relation which involves the making and remaking of political identifications

- Focuses on the importance of interactions and relationships within certain ***Places*** and ***Social spaces*** and how these shape the formation of identities

A plural analysis of national and sub-national identity therefore poses the question; when the contributions of ethnic, cultural and religious minorities become ingrained in the rhythms of everyday life do they then become part of that national and sub-national culture? If a national and sub-national culture is a common, lived, everyday experience (Billig 1995), we must assume that there are elements within that identity towards which everyone can contribute. When these become embedded within patterns of everyday life, they are not only politically civic and are not essentially ethnic, but instead owe themselves to a much more complex and intertwined relationship. One consideration that will run throughout this thesis is that when practices from ethnic, cultural and religious minorities become ingrained within the everyday rhythms of nations and sub-state nations, do they then become ordinary enough to contribute to the wider national and sub-national identity? In other words, how long is long enough before being considered not only a part of the furniture, but a designer of its material? This thesis will address these issues throughout and encourages a re-thinking of how the nation and sub-state nation in its entirety (including its past, present and future), can re-imagine itself with increasingly diverse voices, and questions who can be behind the constructive process of nation and sub-state nation building.

The Role of the Sub-State Nation

As mentioned already, this thesis will offer an alternative analysis to typical discourses on the identity of British Muslims. Rather than focusing on issues surrounding citizenship and attachments to British identity, it will examine the role of the sub-state nation, in this case Wales and Welshness, in the formulation of the identities of the second generation. Analysing attachments to the sub-state nation raises interesting questions about belonging and identity, as they offer an alternative and contested narrative to the homogenous national state citizenship. Some of the territories where such negotiations occur include Catalonia and the Basque country in Spain, Québec in Canada and Wales and Scotland in the UK. All of these have undergone political changes in the past 20 years with regards to some form of territorial devolution, power-sharing, and/or official language status (Kymlicka 2011, May 2012). Whilst these territories continue to re-negotiate their relationships with the centralised state, an important question is how, with increasingly diverse populations, do ethnic, religious and cultural minorities interpret, incorporate, and translate this changing sub-national identity into their own identities, and how can this contribution add new dimensions to the meaning of that identity (Kymlicka 2011).

Traditionally, research regarding the relationships between ethnic and religious minorities and sub-state nations has tended to examine how they separately challenge a culturally homogenous state (Bauböck 2001, Kymlicka 2001a, Zapata-Barrero 2007), rather than analysing the interweaving processes that exist between them. By advocating that sub-state nations have *'resisted integration and fought to maintain or rebuild their own societal culture, while immigrants have accepted the expectation that they will integrate into the dominant societal culture'* (Kymlicka 2001b: 156), this suggests that both have often been analysed independently from each other, and that ethnic, religious and cultural minorities merely accept the narrative in the form it is handed down to them. By doing so, this ignores both the flexibility of the sub-state nation as a frame of identity re-production, and the role that minorities can play in shaping attachments to the sub-state nation. Rather than rendering the sub-state nation as static and homogenous, when considering debates about diversity, this thesis argues that its modernity and history of re-invention emphasises the potential flexibility it can have as a site of attachment for identity, which can extend beyond simple distinctions of ethnic and civic identity into new territories of plurality. Understanding who makes these claims is not an easy task. Instead of asking, as Kymlicka (2001a) does, whether sub-state nations are capable of including immigrants and ethnic,

cultural and religious minorities in their self-conception of being multicultural, this research will explore how Muslims mobilise and negotiate their attachment to Wales and Welshness, as a significant part of their self-understanding, thus exploring the notion of what it means to be a religious minority in a multinational state.

Kuzio (2002) argues that an inclusive national identity is only likely to take place after the core ethnic group is self-confident within its own bounded territory, thus enabling them to open the community to 'outsiders' from other groups. The situation of sub-state nations, however, is more complicated because they have not had a moment in history where they have had the power to control immigration. Sub-state nations on the whole have little say on naturalisation policies or on rules that determine the conditions under which one can become a member (Koning 2011). Like Québec, some sub-state nations have different ideas of citizenship promoted by both regional and national governments, whilst Wales, like the majority of sub-state nations, is subject to the singular promotion of citizenship from a centralised government (see Banting & Soroka 2012). As a result, it could be assumed that sub-national identity would be irrelevant to ethnic, religious and cultural minorities because the civic allegiance of identity would only be to the centralised state. However, this thesis will argue that identification with the sub-state nation is important, and an understanding of this identity outreaches the inadequacies offered by an ethnic-civic divide because such identities are rooted in a strong attachment to a sense of place, which extends beyond only political and legal motivations. Understanding the voice of the second generation of ethnic and religious minorities is therefore important for signalling what the sub-state identity means today, and how it is changing to produce a more multicultural conception of multi-nationalism (Kymlicka 2011).

A Plural Welsh Sub-National Identity? The Experience of Diversity in Wales

Comprised of four national territories, the UK is an interesting location to study such interactions. With Scotland having voted on independence in 2014 (with a narrow margin of 55% voting No and 45% voting Yes), issues of autonomy are at the forefront of discussions of contemporary British identity. Since the process of de-centralising powers to Wales and Scotland began in 1997, the meaning of British identity and the state of the British political and cultural community has been analysed thoroughly (Bradbury & Andrews 2010). It is not the intention of this thesis to relay the history of UK devolution as

good accounts can be sought elsewhere (Day 2002, Mitchell 2012), however, what must be noted is that this political process has illuminated the importance of sub-state national identity to negotiations of future cohesion, and also highlights that Wales, Scotland, England and Northern Ireland continue to be in a process of identity re-production and cultural and political self-assessment. This is important because it emphasises the potential role that the sub-state nation has and will have in future discussions regarding identity and diversity in the UK.

Wales offers an interesting case study due to its cultural history and long-standing relationship, (albeit relatively small and geographically concentrated), with international migration. Regarding definitions of modern Welsh identity, the relationship between Welsh and non-Welsh speakers has dominated narratives and offered alternative definitions of what it means to be Welsh. Today, some 19 per cent (562,000) of usual residents in Wales aged three and over reported that they could speak Welsh (ONS Statistical Bulletin 2012), and struggles between these two have sought to diversify and unify sub-national discourse, configuring numerous national stories within different localities (see Balsolm 1985, Day & Thompson 2004, Hodges 2009, Jones & Fowler 2008, Morris 2010). It is not the intention of this thesis to relay the history of Welsh language struggles and its impact on identity (instead see Phillips 1998, Roddick 2007, Williams 1982, 1985). It is important, however, to note that the relationships between language, nation and power have shaped the historical, political and cultural geography of Wales.

What the language struggles have shown is that Wales is a 'singular noun but a plural experience' (Smith 1999: 36), and recognising that multiple notions of Wales exist side by side is central to understanding how sub-state nationalism operates and why it is so 'complex', 'pervasive' and 'persuasive' (Mason 2007:50). Because academically and publicly debates over the language have taken prominence in many cultural and political discussions, other ethnic, cultural and religious minorities have until very recently been viewed as separate communities with no claim or active participation in Welsh identity. So much so that Williams (1999) has argued that language issues have neutralised the racialisation of politics in Wales. However, the impact of post-colonial and more recent immigration has meant that Wales, like everywhere else in the world, is undergoing important transformations to its population which has diversified the way it is experienced by the individuals and groups within its geographic boundaries (Williams, Evans, & O'Leary 2003). The numerous communities which make up Wales are continuously contributing to

how Welsh identity is expressed both institutionally and within the everyday experiences of people's lives. Understanding these contributions can shed light on what Welsh identity means today and how new sub-national narratives are being constructed.

By *new* this thesis is not suggesting that significant numbers of ethnic, cultural and religious minorities in Wales are only now emerging. One needs only to look at the extensive work carried out on the importance of multi-ethnic sea-farers to Cardiff Bay, the impact of English-speaking migrants on the Welsh language or the long-lasting contribution of Italian and Spanish migrants throughout the South Wales valleys to understand that Wales' relationship with migration has spanned centuries (see Featherstone 2012, Hughes 1991 Llwyd 2005, O'Neil 2001, Williams 2012). Industrialisation placed Wales at the epicentre of world development and shaped South Wales as a site of cultural and religious diversity. This meant that by 1911, Cardiff, Swansea, and Newport were included in the top six places in the whole of the UK for high proportions of foreign-born males (Evans 2003). Wales' relationship with international migration has, therefore, for a long time been relevant. Consequently, by *new* I mean those people who have experienced the recent shift in Welsh society, particularly with its increasing identification as a sub-state nation over recent decades as the process of devolution has generated a more visible Welsh political community. Therefore, because Wales offers this distinct demographic profile with specifically different migration patterns to England, combined with the fact that the Welsh language emphasises a unique ethnic dynamic, and because the introduction of self-governance has provided an opportunity for re-constructing senses of nationhood and Welsh identity, it makes for a purposeful case study (Williams 2003a).

To understand diversity in Wales today and how a plural understanding of sub-state national identity can be developed, traditional assumptions of what Welshness looks like must be challenged. Although the later discussion chapters will examine this in depth, to highlight the factors that a plural sub-nationalism must consider, I want to briefly discuss how the second and further generations are adding new elements to the sub-national biography (Modood 1997), which is questioning and remoulding the very conception of Welsh identity. When asked the question what symbols signify a person's national or sub-national identity, although some might find it difficult to articulate how it makes them *feel*, most people can give a list of certain signifiers and symbols. A typical list in Wales could range from the flag, the Welsh language, rugby, the landscape and specific moments in history such as the industrial mining period or even music and traditional songs. These are

important tangible markers of identity and every person will have different relationships with such symbols which will be discussed in chapter six, *Symbols of Identity*. A plural understanding of sub-national identity however asks us to not only consider these symbols, but also to explore how other claims over sub-national identity from diverse communities contribute to its re-imagining.

For example in Wales, the participation of diversity in public life is becoming more visible within the sub-national narrative. Participation of ethnic cultural and religious minorities in local and Welsh sporting teams, has for decades, been a reminder of ethnic diversity within the country (O'Leary 2006), which is challenging the imagery of who can represent the country on international stages. It is also manifesting itself in the literary world. Grahame Davies' publication *The Dragon and the Crescent* charts the contribution of mainly Muslims and Black people in Wales, and argues that they are increasingly finding their voice within the artistic spaces of Welsh identity (Davies 2011). Publications by authors of dual heritages such as Dannie Abse who discusses his Jewish and Welsh heritage in his poetry collection *A Poet in the Family* (1974), and Trezza Azzopardi who, in her novel *The Hiding Place,* explores the experiences of her Maltese family growing up in the Cardiff docklands (O'Leary 2006), are literary forms where the intertwining of Welshness and ethnic diversity is being expressed.

In music, the mixed race Welsh language songwriter Kizzy Crawford sings about her mixed heritages of Barbados and Wales, which is another symbol of the plurality that exists in re-constructions of Welshness. Politically, participation of specific Black and Minority Ethnic people and organisations in the Welsh referendum (2011) also highlights how minorities are claiming ownership over a sense of Welshness and contributing to its constant re-negotiation (Whittaker 2015). A plural understanding of sub-national identity must therefore consider how such contributions become embedded within the overall sub-national narrative, and must involve assessing how this symbolic participation is articulated by ethnic, religious and cultural minorities in negotiating their belonging to a sense of sub-national identity. This thesis will thus have these considerations at the centre of its analysis as it explores the specific role Welsh Muslims play in the ongoing reconstruction of the Welsh narrative.

Setting the Scene

I now want to briefly set out the remaining structure of the thesis. In the second chapter I will discuss the Methodology. This will begin by suggesting that an important site of study when researching identity is everyday life and will discuss the methodological difficulties of researching everyday identity. It will argue that a key part of understanding the everyday is to decide *what* and *who* is ordinary, and although at times this can be ambiguous and difficult, it will argue that understanding the everyday can reveal much relevant information which helps unpack how identity is lived out on a day to day basis. It will then analyse the methods used to collect the data, the reasons for choosing them and the difficulties that arose in the field. It will discuss the Mixed Methodological Approach that was adopted which combined *Ethnographic Observation*, *Focus Groups* and *Interviews,* and why triangulating these three was deemed the most appropriate approach for answering the aims of the research questions set out on pages 4-5. It will do so by describing the location of study, why it was chosen, and then expand on some of the challenges of studying Muslim identity in the UK and how these were met in this research. It will also situate my own positionality and how this affected the type of information collected, and will critically reflect on these methods to evaluate how appropriate they are for researching Muslim identities.

The third chapter *'Organising the data'*, will also be methodologically related and will discuss how I organised and coded my data so that it was ready to be analysed and discussed. It will examine how the themes of enquiry developed and were organised so they could then be used to shape the categories in the proceeding discussion chapters. It will do so by describing how the Qualitative Thematic Analysis approach developed from using a priori codes to in-vivo codes and how the flexibility of this type of coding system allowed new themes to be added over the course of the research project.

The following three chapters will then form the basis of my argument and the main body of the thesis. Each discussion chapter will begin with a short analysis of the literature regarding the themes of that chapter and will then discuss the data and analyse it. The fourth chapter called *'Places and Spaces of Exchange'* will examine those places and social spaces where the participants feel included and excluded within everyday life, and how this contributes to how they formulate their relationship with their own Welsh identity. By analysing certain places it will locate the different spatial scales that Muslim identities are constructed within, and how Welsh Muslims' individual senses of personhood, belonging

and sub-national identity develop. It will discuss three particular places which were highlighted by the participants as significant within their lives for formulating their identities, *the Street*, *the Workplace* and *'the Community'.* By analysing these places it will highlight how each social space presents moments in the participants lives where their relationship with Welsh identity is challenged or accentuated. It will also reveal how the relationships between different people in different places are important in understanding how a place is perceived. It will examine how the inter-cultural, inter-religious and inter-generational ties which are specific to a particular place can affect how the participants sense of attachment to Wales develops, and how Welsh identity is constructed in relation to other aspects of their identities, primarily their Muslimness.

The fifth chapter is called *'Mobilities of Home'* and analyses the concept of home in definitions of Welsh identity, and how it is affected by the mobilities of the participants. By arguing that mobility gives agency to the participants over their identity, it will examine how such interactions situate the participant's sense of Welsh identity in relation to their Muslim identity. It will discuss two types of mobility which were highlighted by the participants, and how these trajectories revealed the numerous aspects of their identities. The *International mobility* section of the chapter will address the mobilities of the participants across international borders either to visit the homeland of their parents and grandparents, or more general holidays (mainly to other Islamic countries). By discussing these mobilities, it will highlight how different places accentuate different parts of the participant's identities, and how what being Welsh means to them is accentuated in the process. The second section of this chapter will discuss the national and sub-national mobilities of the participants between the border of Wales and England (and to a lesser extent Scotland), and how these trajectories reveal the moments where Welsh identity is given meaning to, particularly in relation to English identity and British identity.

The sixth chapter called *'Symbols of Identity'* will discuss those symbols that the participants noted as relevant to their sense of Welsh identity. It will argue that the relationships that people have with their national and sub-national identities are often expressed through tangible symbols, and that understanding these relationships can help unpack the accessibility of the nation and sub-state nation to minority populations. This chapter will examine certain symbols which were suggested by the participants to be particularly 'Welsh' such as St David's Day, Rugby, The Welsh flag and the Welsh Language, to understand the numerous meanings of Welshness and the ways that meaning is given to

Welsh identity through such symbols. By analysing their relationships with them, it will not only argue what, but when and how these symbols become meaningful within the participant's own negotiations of their sense of belonging, and how these symbols are used by the participants as tools to navigate what Welsh identity means to them.

The final chapter will conclude the findings of this research and suggest departures of study that will help advance the discussion and debate regarding cohesion and cultural and religious diversity further. It will do so by summarising the findings of each chapter and discuss how the aims of the research which were set out in this chapter, were addressed. It will finish by offering suggestions for future research and how similar research to this particular project could be enhanced.

Chapter Two – Methodology

Introduction: Finding the Data

The following methodology chapter will establish why certain methods were chosen to collect the data needed to understand how Welsh Muslims negotiate their Welsh identity, and will also discuss particular methodological issues which arise when researching contemporary Muslim identity. Although a more comprehensive methodological framework for examining British Muslim identities is developing (see Gilliat-Ray 2011, Bolognani 2007a), there is still a gap in how researchers reflect on their methods to problematize the data-gathering process (Scourfield, Gilliat-Ray, Khann & Otri 2013, Dessing et al. 2013). This chapter will contribute to this growing literature by not only *describing* the methods chosen, but will situate my own positionality within the research, and *critically reflect* on these methods to evaluate how appropriate they are for researching aspects of Muslim identities.

This chapter will begin by emphasising the importance of understanding the places and social spaces within *everyday life* for analysing identity. It will then introduce the mixed methodological approach which was used to collect the data and describe each individual method. It will also reflect on how each of the methods complemented each other to provide a comprehensive approach to understanding how the participant's identities are negotiated within their everyday lives. By doing so it will introduce the location used to collect the data, why it was chosen and its influence on the type of data that was produced. This chapter will also reflect on the influence of positionality in relation to being a researcher, to decipher what is important about *my* ***own identity*** which impacted on both me ***and the participants*** when carrying out the research, particularly in such a challenging time to be conducting research with British Muslims (Bolognani 2007a).

Everyday Identity as a Point of Analysis: Where, When and Who?

"For something to become ordinary you have to become used to it, it must be part of your regular life, your habitual realm... One person's ordinary is another person's extraordinary.... Yet ordinary is a process where things pass from unusual to usual, from irregular to regular, and can move the other way" (Highmore 2011: 6)

In order to measure how Welsh Muslims negotiate their Welsh identity, there needs to be an understanding of how their identities are manifested within the experiences of their everyday lives. As Jenkins (2011: 17) highlights, an understanding of national identity without some everyday sense of the nation is 'unthinkable', because the relationships between people and their national identities are lived out in banal interactions, which occur within the familiar places and social spaces that people occupy (Billig 1995). This is similarly argued in recent research on everyday lived Islam in Europe, that in order to understand the taken for granted experiences of religion and identity, analysis must concentrate on the ordinary, micro scales of where such identities are expressed (Dessing, Jeldtoft, Nielsen, & Woodhead 2013). The everyday will thus be understood as the frequently familiar routines, patterns and rhythms that structure people's lives (Lefebvre 1991). A methodology for analysing the identities of Welsh Muslims must uncover ways to examine the lived experiences of diversity in specific places of encounter, in order to understand how social actors experience and negotiate difference on the ground, and how their social relations are shaped and re-shaped in the process (Wise and Velayutham 2009).

Capturing identity in the everyday, however, is often viewed as a methodological challenge for researchers. Jenkins (2011) argues that although studying the everyday is something that cannot be overlooked, because it is fleeting and involves role-play in which people wear different masks depending on who they are with, and where they are at certain moments, it is harder to measure a clear reflection of one's self (Highmore 2002, Jenkins 2011). People's understanding of their identities can be characterised by ambivalence, confusion and contradiction (Highmore 2011, Miller-Idriss & Rothenberg 2012), and examining how this is manifested in everyday life is challenging. An equally problematic matter in relation to analysing people's everyday identities is that once it is made aware to someone that you are studying them, it raises the question 'does it then cease to become everyday?' In other words, 'can the inevitable bias which is created when participants know they are being studied affect the spontaneity of everyday life, so that as soon as questions about identity are posed, the everyday element of the research is removed?' This chapter will address these questions by explaining the methods used to measure the ways second generation Welsh Muslims in Swansea negotiate their faith with their belonging to the wider Welsh non-muslim community.

What and Who is Ordinary?

When designing a methodology to discover how identity is negotiated within everyday life, a difficult question for researchers is deciding what exactly should be studied? This depends on what the researcher is looking for and has often been sought by analysing the 'ordinary' (Fox & Miller Idriss 2008, Verkuyten 2004, Highmore 2011, Miller-Idriss & Rothenberg 2012). Activities become commonplace and ordinary when repetition re-affirms a sense of familiarity and they become habitual. However, what people do consistently as individuals or as a collective that might seem ordinary to those participating, may seem bizarre and challenging to others. Therefore, the ordinary must be viewed as a process where things pass from *'unusual to usual, from irregular to regular and can move the other way'* (Highmore 2011: 6). When deciding what is ordinary, a difficult aspect to consider is what can and cannot be taken for granted, and which aspects of everyday life should researchers be interested in (Scott 2009). As Highmore (2002) asks, if tiredness, boredom, and distraction are considered all aspects of everyday life, how would they register in a measured account of daily identity? This is what Jenkins (2011) refers to as the *Paradoxes of Identification* inherent in trying to understand everyday group and individual identities. By this he means the difficulty of understanding which identifications and interests have more influence on behaviour than others. Everyday interaction involves numerous relationships and dialogues, and finding points of relevance within the multiple rhythms of daily life to collect data from is difficult (Jenkins 2011). Therefore, it must involve the researcher unpicking the inter-related spatial spheres of 'work, leisure, private life, transport and public life' (Lefebvre 1981: 3), to discover not only *how* Welsh identity is negotiated and manifested within everyday life by Welsh Muslims, but also *when* and *where* it matters. Such questions can only be answered empirically in 'local contexts' (Jenkins 2011: 11), which is why it is important to understand the places and social spaces where identity is expressed.

However, not only is it important to discover *when*, *where*, *why* and *how* negotiations of identity occur in everyday life, but also *who* negotiates them. Understanding the everyday intricacies of the nation and sub-state nation involves delineating who it is that actually speaks, when they speak, and what it is they are saying (Smith 2008). To understand how and where Welsh identity is made salient in the everyday lives of Welsh Muslims, this thesis will examine the voices of ordinary people to discover the ways in which they talk about Wales in ways that matter to them. In other words, it will examine how those people

who are not directly involved in the everyday running of a nation and sub-state nation experience it, what it means to them and how it affects their identities within their everyday lives. This will emphasise that those who are integral to the negotiation of national and sub-national identity should not be polarised between the 'elites' as producers and 'ordinary non-elites' as consumers (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008). In particular, a plural sub-national identity must examine those voices which are usually absent from sub-national narratives who come from religious, ethnic and cultural minorities. By doing this, a clearer understanding of how they create a sense of attachment to sub-national identity and the sub-state nation, which reflects their multicultural biographies from the bottom up, can be developed.

However, as Smith (2008) argues, when trying to understand how everyday nationhood is expressed by ordinary non-elites it should be emphasised that individuals are not completely autonomous figures isolated from the influence of the state. As Foucault (1982) argues, the forces of state power do not necessarily have to be expressed through clear-cut legal institutions, and can influence the numerous practices which structure everyday activity. Historically, interplay has existed between elites and non-elites where both have influenced how nation-building develops, and therefore the level of agency individuals have over their sense of national and sub-national belonging must be understood within the context of external influence (Smith 2008). Whilst the influence of state power on identity cannot be ignored, this thesis concentrates on how sub-state nationality is evoked in everyday life by ordinary people (Fox and Miller 2008). A researcher's challenge is therefore to find the 'extraordinary-in-the-ordinary', to understand the ambiguities and obscurities of identity in social life (Ybema, Yanow, Wels & Kamsteeg 2009: 2).

A Mixed Methodological Approach for Researching Muslim Identities

To understand how Muslims negotiate their faith with their Welsh identity within their everyday lives, a mixed methodological approach was developed that combined *Ethnographic Observation*, *Focus Groups* and *Interviews*. Because the everyday is such an elusive and complex site to study (Zenker 2013, Jenkins 2011), understanding it requires using a variety of methods which explore the numerous social situations that form part of how identity is mobilised in particular places. This is not to say that using a variety of methods necessarily provides a definitive account which is more reliable than choosing a

single method, as Spicer (2004) rightly points out. However, because of the multifaceted element of everyday identity, and because of issues surrounding access which will be discussed throughout this chapter, using more than one method can help open up questions which can contextualise a more comprehensive account of how Welsh Muslims mobilise their identity in everyday life (Peräkylä 2004a).

Although I will go into further detail throughout this chapter when I will discuss individually the intricacies of *Ethnographic Observation*, *Focus Groups* and *Interviews*, it is important to mention here that when trying to understand how an individual's sense of plural sub-national identity is negotiated, using one method, for example ethnographic observation, is not sufficient enough to explore the complexities of *how*, *where* and *why* such identities develop. Because ethnographies have relied primarily on observation, it is a highly subjective method and sensitive to the researcher's perceptions and attitudes (Gobo 2011) (in particular when using it to study Muslim identities where the biography of the researcher can affect the levels of access and data obtained, as will be discussed further on (Scourfield, Gilliat-Ray, Khann & Otri 2013)). This has meant that ethnographies now tend to use focus groups and interviews, whether formal/informal or individual/group interviews, as well as observation to complement the data gathered (Silverman 2010, Delamont 2004). As Zenker's (2013: 37) analysis of Irish speakers in Catholic West Belfast highlights, using observation alone can become limited because of the *'scale and complexity of urban life'.* This can be particularly difficult when studying the everyday identities of Muslims, where there are expectations in certain social spaces which researchers could find difficult to access. If I were to measure each aspect of people's everyday lives through observation alone, this would involve observing individuals in numerous social spaces in what could be an impractical, time consuming and highly intrusive exercise, which would also limit the amount of participants a researcher could work with.

The triangulation of focus groups and interviews therefore helped add a depth of understanding that observation alone would not be able to cover (Hopkins 2007). As Moeran (2009) argues, research should not be confined or decided on strict tools of enquiring data because once in the field of study, the complexity of observation is such that it is difficult for methods to be carried out consistently. Therefore, a mixed methodological approach which combined an element of everyday experience with more rigorous discussion was adopted.

Ethnographic Observation - Getting to Know the Locality and the Influence of Access

This section will examine the first of the three methods which was used to collect data, that is, ethnographic observation, and introduce the location of study to describe how it was used to gain access to the participants. It will also discuss my positionality as a researcher and the ways in which my identity shaped the knowledge claims made by myself and the participants. What is distinctive about ethnographies of study is not only how the researcher observes experiences within particular settings, but it is the way the researcher gains knowledge (Silverman 2010). By experiencing the lives of the participants, the researcher develops an understanding of the subject's thoughts and feelings and the minds of those they study, as they engage first-hand with the routine patterns and complexities of everyday life (Ybema, Yanow, Wels & Kamsteeg 2009, Delamont 2004, Bruyn 1966). As DeWalt & DeWalt (2002) argue, all humans are participants and observers within their everyday interactions, but few individuals actually engage in the systematic use of this information for scientific purposes. When they do however record what they have experienced, they can provide a valuable insight into understanding the topic under analysis, as the researcher gains a specific knowledge and perspective (Bruyn 1966). Ethnographic observation is an appropriate and useful method for understanding *everyday identity* because not only does it take place in the real-time localities, settings, and structures of the 'here and now', but it also reciprocates the spontaneity inherent in everyday life due to it being a process of inquiry that is 'open-ended', 'flexible and opportunistic', requiring 'constant redefinition of what is problematic' (Jorgensen 1989: 14). Thus, it enables a more lived perspective which cannot be gained so easily from using other methods, and allows the researcher to develop an insight as both an 'insider' and an 'outsider' (Hume & Mulock, 2004: xi-xxvii).

The following section will be a reflexive piece setting the scene and giving an insight into what the ethnographic observation period was like. This will mirror other methodological accounts which seek to paint a picture of the ethnographic experience, such as those by Richard Jenkins in *Being Danish: Paradoxes of identity in Everyday Life (2011),* and Olaf Zenker in *Irish/ness Is All Around Us: Language Revivalism and the Culture of Ethnic Identity in Northern Ireland,* in particular the first chapter *'A Walk of Life: Entering Catholic West Belfast'* (2013: 3-20). Here Zenker familiarises the reader with the places of research, and locates his own position to reflect on how his awareness of his role as researcher played an important part in how information is collected and understood. As he walks the reader

through the streets of West Belfast he describes the sense of place, the buildings, the people, but more importantly the individual perspective of the researcher. This is important for better understanding the ethnographical approach because it focuses a sense of place for the following chapters, and introduces the research environment in order to clarify the interplay between 'representations and practices' (Zenker 2013: 20). I will therefore take elements of Zenker's approach when describing my postionality as a researcher by mixing the traditional ethnography method, an account of events occurring within the investigation of a single case, with an enhanced ethnography, using the inclusion of emotional responses by author and subjects, when describing how the ethnographical observation process developed.

Making Contact

One of the most debated methodological issues in studies on Muslim identities is concerned with access and how researchers develop a reflexive understanding of the relationship between researcher and participants (Mcloughlin 2000 Scourfield, Gilliat-Ray, Khann & Otri 2013). Since the 9/11 and 7/7 attacks, the difficulties researchers might encounter in gaining access to, and establishing relationships of trust with British Muslim participants is increasingly being highlighted (Dessing 2013, Spalek 2005, Bolognani 2007a, Gilliat-Ray 2005). This is being attributed to a growing concern over how Islam is (mis)represented publicly, and therefore researchers are being urged when designing methodological strategies, to develop more reflexive approaches which not only consider the relationship of outsider and insider status, but problematize the data-gathering process altogether (Scourfield, Gilliat-Ray, Khann & Otri 2013).

To understand how the ethnographic observation period developed, I first want to situate the location of the research and explain why I chose it. My access strategy was built around previous relationships with an organisation in Swansea, Wales' second largest city, called the Ethnic Youth Support Team (EYST). The reason for choosing Swansea is that it is geographically important to gain a perspective from outside the capital Cardiff, where the majority of research on Welsh Muslims has been conducted (see Giliat Ray et al. 2013). Even though Swansea does not have the highest proportions of BAME (Black and Minority Ethnic) population with 5.9% (behind Cardiff 15.2%, and Newport at 10.1%), it has experienced the largest relative increase of the BAME population, rising from 4,800 (2001)

to 14,200 (2011) (Welsh Government (a), 2012). Around 5,415 (2%) of people claim their religion as Muslim, making it the most common religion in Swansea after Christianity (Swansea Profile 2015), and therefore gaining a perspective from such a rapidly changing locality, rather than only concentrating on already well-established communities in Cardiff and Newport, broadens the depth of understanding of diversity in Wales.

EYST was created in 2005 by a group of young Muslims who aimed to fill a gap in provision by providing a targeted, culturally sensitive and holistic support service for BAME people aged 11-25. Since then, EYST has grown to deliver a range of services from education, employment and health to personal and community safety, and has become a cultural hub for such services for any age groups within Swansea. The building where EYST is housed is split into two. It has a drop-in centre which is an accessible, flexible and multi-functional community space offering a range of facilities to BAME people. The drop-in is open from 3pm-7pm on Monday, Tuesday and Thursdays where it is used as a male only space for ages 11-25, with Wednesday night being a mixed sex space and Friday being reserved for young girls and women.

The other section of the building is made up of the offices. This is where the staff members are based when not doing sessional work in schools, colleges or other organisations, and during the day clients are free to visit the office with any queries they have. As well as being a youth centre and offering general support services, EYST also runs targeted projects such as the *Asylum Seeker & Refugee Support Project* which advises asylum seekers and refugees experiencing a range of different issues, *The Think Project* which aims to develop new ways of working with the most disengaged young people in Wales in order to respond to the challenges posed by the growing presence and legitimacy of the far-right in the UK and Europe, and the *Bridging Cultures and Strengthening Families Project,* which aims to work with young BAME people up to the age of 18 to help them overcome the cultural, linguistic, and generational gap which exists between them and their parents. The organisation was therefore chosen because it is a place which provides culturally sensitive support and guidance for Muslims of all ages, and could be used to gain access to participants by building up contacts in order to utilise them for the focus groups and interviews (Moeran 2009, Bolognani 2007)

Another reason for choosing this organisation was that although it has a strong Muslim influence and would give access to Muslim social networks (it was created by young Muslims, there is a strong presence of Muslim identity within the youth centre such as

praying openly, it is very close to Swansea Mosque, many of the staff are Muslim and the majority of its clients are Muslim), it is not a Muslim only organisation. It was felt that by moving away from 'natural settings' that might privilege religion *only* as an identity marker, such as the mosque or Muslim specific organisations, I could examine how other aspects of identity constitute themselves when they are expressed in alternative places of encounter (Dessing 2013). It was chosen therefore to emphasise that religion and religious identities should be studied in places other than those which are overtly religious such as churches, mosques and temples. This does not mean that identity construction in these sites are irrelevant, indeed they are highly relevant, however, religious identities are equally embodied through non-religious spaces with shifting social contexts, rules and expectations which challenge the reference points that Muslims use to structure their sense of belonging (Jensen & Khule 2013).

If I had decided to collect my data in a Muslim specific organisation with a strictly Islamic agenda, then the type of data and type of participants could possibly have been different. To highlight what I mean by this, it is useful to examine recent research in the British context undertaken by Asma Mustafa (2015). Although identity is multifaceted and there are many ways of being a Muslim and therefore categorising people is difficult, Mustafa has created an identity typology which is useful for helping to describe the different types of British Muslims that were prevalent in her research on Identity and Political Participation Among Young British Muslims. The four categories of Muslims she defines are 1) *Symbolic Ethno-Religious* - who downplay their Muslim identification to the level of inner belief with little outer appearance 2) *Multicultural Identity* – those who feel cosmopolitan because of their variety of networks and the diversity in their backgrounds who are less likely to pick one aspect of their identity 3) *Dual Identity* – largest number of participants - those who in the whole identified themselves as British Muslims but also with aspects of their ethnic background – no respondents suggested they felt ethnic and religious alone without feeling British and although they said that religion was their number one identity marker, they usually teamed it together with Britishness, and 4) *Primarily Muslim Identity* – small number of overall respondents – little attachment to their nation state – Muslim clearly comes first with Britishness or any other attachments holding little value (Mustafa 2015: 28-85).

The majority of the clients and participants in this research, like Mustafa's (2015) research, fell into category three of dual identity. I believe, however, that if I had used participants

from a less or more Islamically focused organisation, the participants would be more likely to come from either of the other categories, and would have had a different outcome on the results. As I will discuss in the next section when I describe how I chose participants for the focus groups, I wanted to maintain a degree of homogeneity because I felt that because identity is such a personal topic, I wanted to create an environment where the participants would speak freely amongst themselves and wouldn't feel too intimidated by having a diverse type of Muslim present. By not using an Islamic only organisation, this thesis provides an alternative to the path undertaken by other researchers who study religiously focused organisations. Therefore when studying Muslim identities, *where* a researcher decides to examine and to obtain their participants matters.

Another reason for choosing the organisation was one of practicality and engages with one of the main difficulties of researching Muslim identities, access and trust (Dessing 2013, Van de Waal 2009, Morgan 1997). Before I started my PhD I had worked with EYST for a period of 3 months as a volunteer in the office and youth centre and felt that because I had previous connections with the organisation, access would perhaps be easier. As Scourfield, Gilliat-Ray, Khann & Otri (2013) argue in their research on Muslim Childhood, when they were attempting to gain access to the homes of Muslim families, familiarity can at times be beneficial for providing a base from which to begin researching. As Bolognani (2007a) argues, the importance of good rapport between researcher and participants in the field helps build trust with contacts which can affect the reliability of accounts. I had already a relationship of trust with the organisation's director, manager and staff. This meant that my position when beginning my research was slightly different to a researcher who would have had no prior relationship with the organisation. Although staff members did change quite regularly, within the period of me leaving my voluntary work and beginning my PhD research (a gap of around a year), much had changed, because I knew the organisation's director and some of the staff, this meant I could build on relationships of trust already established.

In any ethnography, the ad-hoc nature of this type of research method relies on the spontaneous interpretation of the researcher. Observation's strengths and weaknesses lay in the fact that it is not only a data collection method, but is also an ongoing analytical tool (DeWallt & DeWallt 2002). Analysis is not something which occurs after the event. Instead it relies on the real-time judgment of the researcher which is constantly affected by their positionality, their prejudices, opinions, and interests that they bring, consciously or not,

when approaching the subject. The position of the observer will always be challenged by these presuppositions and interests inherent in his/hers perspective from which they enter (Bourideu 1990: 27), and this was something I was constantly aware of because of my previous relationships with EYST, which will be explored when I discuss the influence of positionality. However as I discovered, when trying to overcome issues of access related to studying Muslim identity, being trusted by an organisation can help develop a certain degree of access which otherwise might be difficult to obtain (Moeran 2009, Bolognani 2007, Scourfield, Gilliat-Ray, Khann & Otri 2013). This was therefore an important reason why EYST was chosen.

Getting Started

Once the research began, the ethnographical observation was undertaken within the office and drop-in centre and involved ‘hanging around’ trying to become a ‘thoughtful and reflexive’ observer (Jenkins 2011: 17). For two days a week, usually a Tuesday and Wednesday, for one year, I would visit the organisation, arriving around eleven o’clock in the morning and would spend the first few hours in and around the office until three in the afternoon, when the drop-in centre would open and I would go next door. The office at EYST is a flexible environment. Because each of the staff deal with numerous clients throughout Swansea, there is a lot of movement in and out of the office as staff and clients regularly visit numerous times each day. As a result, it is not a conventional nine till five setting where all members of staff will be present everyday. I therefore had to spend the first few months in what Zenker (2013: 38) calls an ‘exploratory phase’, getting to know the staff, their routines and the projects they were involved with before organising any interviews or focus groups. I did this by involving myself in the numerous dialogues and conversations between myself and the staff, between the staff themselves, and between the staff and their clients. Whether these related to identity or were just general conversations, I would use my time in the office to understand the experiences and biographies of the Muslim staff and their clients. Because the office deals specifically with clients with many issues relating to their religious and cultural identity, these conversations were frequent within the office space.

With some conversations I consciously refrained from saying anything and only observed, whilst some I initiated, and others I joined in mid-flow whenever an issue I deemed

relevant or interesting was mentioned. Within these exchanges I would ask questions to better understand certain things regarding Islam or would ask direct questions with regards to their work and their own identity. Questions were not asked to replicate an interview scenario as this would be constructed later on in the interviews themselves, rather, in these conversations I would try and establish and maintain 'free-flowing discussions' which I would then try to relate to the research questions set out on pages 4-5 (Swain 2006: 204). These were therefore informal conversations where I followed the lead of the participants but occasionally asked questions to focus the topic or clarify points. This was not done in order to direct the topics for discussion, but instead to follow up on points raised by either staff or their clients during the natural flow of conversation which related to my research questions (De Walt & De Walt 2002). The types of topics I would note as most interesting were those which referred back to the research questions set on pages 4-5, but were related around how and where the participants negotiated their Islam and Muslim identity in relation to other aspects of their identity in their everyday lives. When and how I decided to involve myself in conversations was based on whether I deemed it relevant for me to do so. How I defined whether something was relevant was informed by those identifications and interests outlined in the literature review where specific aspects of identity such as nationhood, religion or belonging were expressed.

However, because I was there for a year, the conversations varied through an array of everyday topics such as what food people liked, to what was on television the night before, to future aspirations and discussions about politics and beyond. This therefore meant I had to adopt certain techniques to try and ensure I was picking up relevant information through these daily conversations. The techniques I used varied from active listening (which involves listening but being actively aware of cues and thoughts related to Welshness, Islam, negotiating identity, that a non-researcher might not pick up on), sensitive silence or what Dewalt & Dewalt (2002) call, silence with an edge (I had to constantly ensure that I let the participants speak, and not dominate conversations), using the uh-huh prompt (the intent of the uh-huh prompt, which can vary from using the words 'really' or 'ok', is that I would allow the listener know I was following them, which would encourage them to tell me more about a specific aspect of their life which related to the research questions), using repetition feedback (this involved me repeating what the participant was saying at the end of an exchange to clarify what they meant), summary feedback (this is similar to repetition where I would summarise what the participants would say, so as to let them know that I was listening, in the hope it would invite them to clarify any misconceptions related to how

they negotiate their identities) and to ask naïve questions (I would constantly ask questions that were slightly naïve to help aid the researcher-researched power imbalance and to clarify certain points) (Dewalt & Dewalt 2002).

Although these prompts helped conversations flow, the listening and understanding technique was a reiterative process where I had to constantly ask myself, 'was I getting the best out of the questions asked?', which involved me being aware of the ambiguity of each conversation. As a result, I had to be very flexible in where the conversations would lead (Wolcott 2001). To prompt questions relating for example to what Welshness means to the participants was not always possible or appropriate to the specific conversation or scenario because of the spontaneity and hectic nature of everyday conversation, and therefore where to stop conversations was constantly something that was having to be negotiated and cannot be determined until in the field (Merriam 1998). However, because I was in a surrounding where identity issues were a part of the work of the organisation, these conversations were quite regular.

This process was instinctive and sometimes I would be in a relevant conversation without even realising it until afterwards. Such is the spontaneity of everyday life, that having to constantly concentrate on conversations can become a very tiring exercise. This is certainly a difficulty with ethnographic observation. Another difficulty is it relies on the perception of the researcher in each situation, to be aware and focused all the time. What I deem relevant, someone else doing the same research might disregard. Because of this, results will always be skewed depending on who the observer is. What is important is that I was situated within a setting of everyday life where I had access to understanding the lives of Welsh Muslims. The issue of postionality will be discussed in particular depth in the next section, however, for now it is important to note as Jenkins (201132) highlights, that the benefits of using ethnographic observation outweigh these particular weaknesses, and although it is an imperfect method, it is highly useful:

"I was influenced consciously or unconsciously, by my attitudes, interests and expectations, by my emerging social relationships and even perhaps by my likes and dislikes, whilst the first was inevitable, it was vital to struggle continually against the second and try to do the most 'objective' job possible, this meant attempting to perpetually reflect on what I was doing and seeing, in a continuous conversation with myself, looking all the time over my own shoulder, this was an exhausting job that, like any ethnographer, I only ever managed to do imperfectly, and part of the time"

Because ethnographic observation takes the experience of human life and makes the most out of the opportunities when presented at any given time, the applications of the tools used to record such data must reflect this spontaneity (Jorgensen 1989). The main method was to use 'jot notes' which Bernard (1995) describes as phrases or a couple of key sentences, that I deemed relevant when they occurred in conversation, on my mobile phone. This was a useful and discrete method which allowed the staff and clients to feel comfortable, and did not break the patterns of everyday life that I would have done had I had to use paper notes. I would wait until the conversations would finish and I had time to think about the exchange before writing some key points down. Using jot notes does mean the researcher is limited to the amount of information that they are able to record, and the lack of immediacy at which the information is collected means some information can become lost. However, it is impractical to write everything down as this would detract from the time needed to spend on actually researching (O'Reilly 2005).

As Jackson (1990) argues, it is a methodological process for all researchers to 'unlearn' any assumptions about observing and recording so that they can figure out what works best for them. I therefore had to write what I deemed relevant to me and my research questions when and how I could. The type of information I collected was therefore brief, but to ensure I had a clear and relevant account I tried using exact quotes as much as possible, I included relevant background material such as the larger context of what was happening at the time of the conversation and described the activities in the order that they occurred (Schensul, Schensul & LeCompte 1999). These included my own 'mullings' 'questions' and annotations in relation to what I had experienced (DeMunck & Sobo 1998). I would then look over my notes each night and compile a log entry (Bernard 1995) in Word, of a paragraph or so which would aid the process of recall by reliving the day's experiences. This would help me unpick possible things I might have missed and wanted to elaborate on for future discussions, or to raise in the interviews and focus groups.

This process of recall must occur relatively soon after leaving the field of study for the information to be as accurate as possible (Jorgensen 1989). Although I tried to keep this log consistently throughout the time I was there, it was difficult to keep doing it every single day I was at EYST. Sometimes in one day I did not deem something relevant or I deemed it a 'slow day', or sometimes I was too tired by then end of the day and therefore simply forgot to keep a log. This is a challenge of doing ethnography for a long period of time. Having a continuous conversation with myself could at times be very tiring and challenging

and therefore any researchers undertaking long periods of ethnographic observation must accept that although these ‘imperfections’ will occur, this does not mean that the data is less reliable (Jenkins 2011, O’Reilly 2005).

After spending the morning and early afternoon in the office, I would move next door to the drop-in centre which is a different social space to the office, with purpose built interactive areas such as a pool table, table football, computer games station and a boxing bag, and I would stay there until around 7 o’clock when the organisation would close. The time was spent at the drop-in mainly ‘hanging out’, chatting and helping the staff in any way I could. I wanted to get to know the biographies of the clients and to understand how they negotiated their faith with other aspects of their daily lives. To do this I chatted, played computer games and socialised. However, with 30-70 young adults visiting the drop-in centre every day at any time, it was a challenge to converse with half of them let alone each one. Although I tried to socialise with all the clients, I was more interested in understanding the biographies of the older males aged 17, 18, 19 and above because these were the ages of the participants I wanted to use for the focus groups. Within the drop-in centre I was able to interact freely and in a more comfortable environment than, say, in more formal spaces such as the school or perhaps the home. This is certainly a benefit with choosing a more social location to observe because not only was I more comfortable, but so were the clients. I did not feel rushed and felt I could get to know in-depth some of the biographies of the clients. At other times, however, because of the ease at which I was able to communicate in such a social space, it became difficult to separate leisure time with research time and to decide what was relevant, or even at times to remember that I was there as a researcher.

It was therefore imperative during this time to become more engaged than being just an observer, in particular for the purpose of reciprocal exposure, that is, the sharing of information about one’s self to build rapport (Bolognani 2007a). One way to do this was to immerse myself in the organisation and to help out in any way I could. Although in her research Bolognani (2007a) uses the term ‘research bargain issue’*,* where the intention is to ‘give something back’ to the organisation so the staff and clients can see the personality of the researcher, the process of me contributing was more organic and less planned. Before I began at the organisation, I knew I would want to volunteer at the youth centre and offer any services both in the office and the drop-in centre. As I became more comfortable at the organisation, I taught drums and guitar, and because of my fluency in

Welsh, helped some of the clients with their Welsh language homework. In the office I also helped out in any way I could with giving guidance on certain projects and undertaking consultancy work.

The process of becoming more active in the organisation changed my role from being a 'participant observer' to being an 'observing participant', which as Moeran (2009: 140) argues, is essential for ethnographies of everyday life because it brings a qualitative leap in understanding on the fieldworker's part. This he argues, helps the researcher learn with their body as well as their mind, leading to a far more nuanced analysis of the organisation and people being studied (Moeran 2009). This is also important for developing the appropriate levels of trust which allows the researcher in-depth access through a rite de passage, in particular when studying the everyday in such an environment as a drop-in centre where people require constant verbal interaction. In my case, however, I found this was a change that happened over time and was something which developed through a series of circumstances. As such, it could be argued that taking a pre-determined approach might not be replicable every time as it depends on how the organisation receives that individual and whether opportunities to become more active in the field arise. This is why enthusiasm is such an important part of the ethnographic experience as are previous links to an organisation. Similar to the office setting, relevant conversations or incidents were noted and recorded on my mobile phone and relied on my own interpretation of each situation and conversation, in order to decide what to record and when to record it.

The biggest challenge with spending time at the drop-in centre was that it was initially created specifically for Muslim men, and only towards the end of my research did an all women drop-in session start on Fridays. This meant that my observation period was bias towards men. At the time of researching, EYST offered services for women but the number of male clients visiting the drop-in centre far exceeded the number of women clients. Because of this, I was not able to compare the observational experiences I had between men and women. Instead, I had to source most of my data regarding the identities of Muslim women from the focus groups and interviews, and by speaking to the Muslim women staff. This relied on developing good relationships with the staff and holding formal and informal discussions to better understand the identities of Welsh Muslim women. This is certainly a limiting aspect to my research but also highlights the complexities that can arise in researching Muslim women's identities in social spaces. Even if a women's drop-in centre had existed years prior to my research, because of certain cultural and religious

sensitivities inherent with working with Muslim women for a male, constant access could have been a problem. However, as the drop-in centre for women developed, I was able to establish certain relationships through helping some of the young women with Welsh language lessons, and I also held some drum workshops to get to know some of the women and to understand more of the challenges the Muslim women staff and their clients faced regarding their identities. Much of my ethnographical data with regards to the women therefore came from informal discussions with the Muslim women staff and their clients mainly in the office, which meant that I had to rely on the interviews and the focus groups for more in-depth data.

The Importance of Positionality

This next section will explore how the levels of accessibility and the types of information received in the field may have been affected by the identity and personality of the researcher, which is an issue highlighted in the methodologies of most research on Muslim identities (see Shaw 1988, Dessing 2013, Gilliat-Ray 2005). I am a white, Welsh, non-Muslim male who grew up in Swansea, and this inevitably had its advantages and disadvantages. During my research I was both an insider and an outsider for different reasons. Although I use the terms insider and outsider to highlight different identity characteristics and traits which differed between myself and the participants (faith being the primary example), I do not do so to homogenise Muslims in one group or assume that there is only one way to be a Muslim. As will be discussed, I shared many common traits with the staff and the participants and could build rapport in many different ways, depending on our individual personalities. Thus, in many ways I could be deemed an insider. However, when considering faith and religion, I was certainly an outsider. With regards to certain theological knowledge, being non-Muslim, I knew little about certain practices and had limited overall Islamic knowledge. As I later discovered, however, one way that rapport was built was when participants would describe to me Islamic practicalities that I knew little about, which helped develop a reciprocal relationship of learning, which was able to redress some aspects of the researcher-researched power imbalance, and build stronger connections between myself and the participants. It also helped me understand more about how Islam is lived out in everyday life and how it is negotiated with other aspects of the participant's identities.

Some argue that when designing methodologies for studying Muslim identities, it is easier if the researcher is of the same ethnic background or shares the religion of the researched (Dessing 2013). Scourfield, Gilliat-Ray, Khan & Otri (2013) suggest an ideal research team for researching Muslim identity would be made of ethnically diverse people, but argue it can be particularly beneficial if it is made of Muslim women and men. I did not have the time, the resources or the contacts to be able to construct my own research team as this would be outside the scope of this PhD project. Therefore being a non-Muslim, there are certain aspects on an emotive level which I would never be able to understand such as being the victim of Islamophobia or racism, being committed to a certain faith which guides your everyday life or how it feels to have parents from a different cultural background and country to the country you are born and brought up in. Therefore, being white and non-Muslim certainly had a bearing on both the research and how I personally felt when I first started my data collection.

At the beginning, over the period of the first few weeks, apprehension and anxiety were common emotions I would feel due to an uncertainty of how I would be perceived or how the research would develop. These emotions are ones that all researchers at the beginning of their data collection period must go through, in particular dealing with the uncomfortable notion that ethnographies and observation can be perceived as quite an intrusive method if done incorrectly (Gobo 2011). I asked myself what purpose did I as a white non-religious University graduate have in researching Muslim identity? I am neither a Muslim nor a visible ethnic minority within the UK, and at the beginning of the research period I often struggled with this insecurity of how could I justify to others what I was doing, bearing in mind of who I was. This is an ethnographic dilemma that many researchers face but is not discussed extensively. How do researchers negotiate those feelings of nervousness during the first exchanges of fieldwork when telling people they find their lives relevant enough to dedicate four years of their own lives to study it?

From very early on, such anxieties made me very aware of who I was, who I wasn't, and of my own identity during the whole period of study. To overcome my own initial feelings of anxiety I would think to myself that as someone who defines themselves as Welsh and who has conducted previous research into understanding Welsh identity, I had a valid perspective. As I became more settled in the organisation and became more comfortable, I was able to build stronger relationships and therefore these feelings became weaker. However, to overcome access issues when coming from an 'outsider' perspective, and

when trying to build contacts to find people to interview and conduct focus groups with, I made sure to collaborate with the staff to help find appropriate participants. That way, I wasn't only relying on myself, but also the Muslim staff as a resource to access social networks of local Muslims which I otherwise would not be able to access.

As discussed in the previous section, choosing the correct location was imperative in developing access and trust and in ensuring that both I and the participants felt comfortable. However as I later discovered, when trying to understand identities which are often expressed through groupness, researchers can benefit from being outside of a perceived group. In particular when interviewing women, being far removed from any identification with what was expressed as 'the community' or the Muslim faith was beneficial. I was told on occasions how this allowed the participants to be more honest with me with regards to sharing certain aspects of their lives, than say had I been a male or Muslim woman with Bangladeshi or Pakistani heritage. This is not to say that a male Muslim with Bangladeshi heritage would be unable to discover and research effectively what I was doing. My distance, however, from the faith and the cultural community certainly helped some of the participants feel that they were able to share sensitive information which was easier to do because of who I was, and therefore suggests that you do not need to be a Muslim to study Muslim identity

Although I was an outsider regarding faith, in other ways I was an insider and this positively helped my relationship and communication with the participants. Being from Swansea and knowing the city was certainly an advantage. In particular when participants would describe their childhood experiences and located them in certain places within Swansea or the surrounding areas, I was able to share a common understanding. Although because of certain aspects of my identity, I being white and non-Muslim, the way I experience those same places could be different to how Muslims experience them, I could still relate to those places and share my own experiences. This developed an understanding and gave me a unique insight that perhaps someone not from the area wouldn't be able to understand. This was particularly pertinent when spending time at EYST where knowing the places where the clients and staff lived, worked, 'hung out' and mobilised between helped me better understand the experiences of their everyday lives.

Other symbolic identifications with place also attributed me an insider status. Being a Swansea City football supporter, for example, meant I had much in common with many of the clients and staff and I could also relate through other local interests. Unlike in Jenkins's

research (2011: 31) where he emphasises the implications of him not being a 'local' on his own perceptions of place and how this might affect how others perceive him (he is not from Skieve or Danish), I had a personal affiliation with the numerous scales of geographic importance under study. Therefore, I had a different positionality regarding the location and thus had a mental map of the geographic place and networks that define it and defined the lives of the participants. Equally, I am Welsh and identify with such identity, I am from Swansea and have lived there for the first 18 years of my life moving back and forth over proceeding years. As for the locality in which EYST is situated (St Helens Road, which is an inner city area), it is five minutes away from one of the local pubs I used to visit growing up, and is a route I used to pass through on my school bus as a teenager every day. I highlight this not because my results will be more meaningful than those given by someone who does not have these relationships. I merely highlight this positionality to emphasise how my own perceptions and familiarity no doubt affected my results. I was therefore an insider and an outsider in many ways during my research. What this highlights is that doing ethnography inevitably produces variegated results and is highly dependent on who the researcher is and where the research is conducted.

Focus Groups

As discussed previously when establishing why I have chosen a mixed methodological approach, it was deemed that ethnographic observation alone would not give enough information to understand certain expressions of identity in everyday life. Also, because the opportunity to observe Muslim women was not as extensive as those for observing Muslim men, a key data collection method used was focus groups. Focus groups use verbal group interaction around topics pre-determined by the researcher and are a useful tool because their reliance on interactive dialogue provokes a variation of debate, where the purpose is to engage participants to respond to other's opinions on the same issues within the group. This creates an exchange of information in a 'synergetic and unique manner', and produces an environment where a range of ideas can be developed to allow a more dynamic expression of experiences than those garnered from a one to one interview (Litosseliti 2003, Morgan 1997: 2). For this research, the focus groups usefulness lay in its ability to capture an understanding of shared and conflicting experiences of what Wales and Welsh identity means to the Muslim participants when expressed within a collective surrounding. Similar to Skey's (2011) research on national belonging in the everyday life of

white Britons, national identity was not something that was on the forefront of the participant's minds all the time, and therefore the use of focus groups created a space from which the participants worked through an understanding of their identities, by sharing their similar experiences to discover what being Welsh meant to them.

Therefore, the focus groups offered the opportunity to seek clarification to the elements observed, and to examine further expressions of everyday identity directly from the shared experiences of the Muslim participants. Focus groups also allowed me to examine the participants about their biographies and everyday lives not only in relation to their own experiences, but in relation to others. It would have been very difficult to observe someone in every space of their everyday lives, and therefore focus groups were used because they provided access to individual and collective life stories which rather than only providing the *what* of everyday interaction (as observation does), provided the *how* and *why* by delving into attitudes over decision making on such processes (Madriz 2000, Morgan 1997). Because focus groups also create multiple lines of communication which highlight the similarities and differences prevalent in the numerous participants' experiences (Madriz 2000, Morgan 1997), they act as a space of interaction which challenges the formation of identities through processes of exchange between peers. Of course, asking people to reflect on their experiences in a pre-determined group in the presence of a researcher isn't an average everyday activity, and this is why focus groups were used in triangulation with observation to understand more real-time intricacies of everyday interaction which then could be elaborated on.

The Composition of the Focus Groups

I conducted six focus groups overall with participants aged 17-25; three focus groups with men and three focus groups with women with five participants in each focus group, thirty participants altogether. Deciding the number of people to use in focus groups varies from project to project with some suggesting four to eight participants (Cronin 2001), whilst others suggest six to ten (Cameron 2005). There is no perfect number and therefore I selected five in each group because after liaising with the staff to see who they knew who might be available and willing to talk, this was the number that was agreed upon would be manageable. However, although there is no perfect number to focus groups compositions, as Hopkins (2007) highlights, the number of focus group participants is important only

alongside a range of other issues, such as age, background and the location of where the focus group is held. All of the participants had been raised in the UK and those chosen had all attended Welsh educational institutions and grew up in an era where devolution has been setting new foundations of how the landscape of Wales is developed socially, politically, culturally and institutionally. The age group of the participants was also important because they all grew up in a post 9/11 era where issues of multiculturalism, immigration and Muslim identity have been fiercely debated in the public eye and this was important to use participants who were conscious of this debate and its impact on their own identities. The ethnic heritage of the participants was majority Bangladeshi (twenty two participants) with twelve women and ten men. The other eight participants were from Pakistani heritage, five women and three men. The reason for this larger make up of Bangladeshis is that the majority of clients at EYST are from Bangladeshi heritage, as Bangladeshis make up 1,944 (0.8%) of the total Swansea population, and are only second to Chinese who remain the highest ethnic group with 2,052 people, 0.9% of Swansea's population (Swansea Profile 2015). This also reflects trends of growth in the Bangladeshi community which has doubled (+94%) over the period 2001-2011 (Swansea Profile 2015). The amount of Pakistanis in Swansea, however, is far less, so much so that any clear data of how many exactly is currently not available. In Swansea Council's data, the number of Pakistanis are instead included with other BAME people in the broader category of 'Other Asian', who count for around 1,739 (0.7%) of Swansea's whole population (Swansea Profile 2015).

As with any focus group, the composition of those attending is fundamental to not only the dynamics between the participants, but also for the type of information that is collected. It was important that those who attended the focus groups felt comfortable amongst each other to allow freedom of expression, in particular whilst discussing such a sensitive issue as identity. It was therefore decided that achieving relative homogeneity amongst the participants so there was a similar level of understanding of the certain topic was important. This decision was made not in order to find people who think in unison, because too many similar opinions won't stimulate enough varied debate, rather, it was to bring people who feel comfortable enough with each other to allow a productive and constructive discussion to the focus group which aids understanding (Conradson 2005, Litosseliti 2003).

Litosseliti (2003: 32) cites two primary homogenising factors which can be used to determine an equal and constructive composition of participants. These can be defined as 'Demographic Factors' such as age, gender, ethnicity, and educational background, and 'Knowledge of Familiarity' with the given topic being discussed. Although homogeneity is favoured for a more productive group dynamic, complete homogeneity is not possible (or desirable) because differentiation always exists between personalities, and having differences is always necessary to provoke enough varied debate. Therefore, for the focus groups the common homogenising characteristics were as follows:

- 3 Focus Groups with Men – *Common Homogenising Characteristics* = Age, Gender, Ethnicity, Religion, Similar friendship circles
- 3 Focus Groups with Women -- *Common Homogenising Characteristics* = Age, Gender, Ethnicity, Religion, Similar friendship circles

Using participants with familiar characteristics provided a space which replicated some of the interactional relationships within the frequently familiar aspects of their everyday lives. This allowed the relationships and layers of interchange with others which effects such identity formation to be played out in a more controlled environment, albeit on a smaller scale. Using EYST provided me with the participants who favoured the more 'natural' grouping (Litosseliti 2003), which meant using individuals who know each other and are more likely to have pre-determined hierarchies already established. Although this can be problematic because such pre-existing relations might stifle unpopular views from being expressed as dominant members of friendships might control the conversation, this familiarity can also act as a positive element. By using participants with already established friendship networks, this can create a more comfortable and realistic surrounding for the understanding of the everyday, because those relationships and connections which are prevalent in the participant's lives, will be prevalent in the focus group. The purpose of the focus groups was to give in-depth explanations to how the participants negotiate their identities and therefore this natural setting was preferred to create a more relaxed atmosphere. This was fundamental for giving a reflection of how the participants interact between those people who form the foundation of their daily lives. However, important is that the moderator of the focus group (me), acted as the one to challenge and probe opinions from within, so that the group did not feel too comfortable in the setting issues (Bryman 2016). This was to ensure that each member was forced to think differently, and to challenge the group perspective so that not one voice dominates.

Separating the men and women focus groups was a decision made in order to encourage the most open of dialogue for the groups and to minimise unworkable disagreements (Morgan 1997). This is not to say that the dialogue would necessarily be stifled having both women and men in the same group, because interaction between them does take place elsewhere in other spaces such as in school or at the work place. However, in much of their social spaces, in particular with regard to their faith, Muslim women and men are separated and I wanted the focus groups to reflect the experiences the participants share in much of their social lives. I was also concerned that both the men and women may act differently with a change in composition of focus group and therefore might not express themselves fully with regards to discussing issues regarding gender, faith and culture. This is also the reason why I favoured the type three of Mustafa's (2015) typology because I wanted the participants to feel comfortable enough for a meaningful discussion to occur. I decided that having a type four within the focus groups would be too disruptive for any coherent narrative to develop, and therefore because the majority of those who attended or were associated with EYST were type three, that they would form the basis of discussion.

What Was asked?

The questions used in the focus groups acted as a guide for channelling the group interactions along the desired lines during discussion (Morgan 1997). They were chosen in order to answer the research questions on page 4-5 and were used to provoke biographical answers to understand how the participants negotiate their faith with the other elements of their identities in their everyday lives. To begin with, I set out a list of questions that I wanted to be addressed during each session. These were chosen in order to ensure some level of comparability between focus group sessions in terms of gauging the participant's reactions to the themes of the research questions (Bryman 2016). I always started with the same exercise, which is discussed on page 50, however, when and how the other questions were brought up depended on the flow of the discussion. This meant that the questions weren't always phrased in exactly the same way, however, having a consistent list meant I could always refer back to the main themes of what I wanted to find out which was consistent across all six focus groups.

The questions were designed to be active without being too intrusive, and consisted of a mixture of open-ended and intermediate questions to uncover the values, beliefs, behaviour, relationships, places, encounters and stories which made up the participants daily lives (Bryman 2016). Some of the questions were direct and sought to understand

general ideas of Welsh identity and what Wales meant to the group as far as their own personal experiences and identity was concerned. This was to situate how the participants as a group and as individuals, symbolise their perceptions of their own Welshness, to understand the meaning given to Wales as a relevant or irrelevant site of attachment for their own lives. Other questions were more to do with other aspects of their identities such as gender, being Muslim, being Bengladeshi/Pakistani and being second-generation. Other questions sought to establish the important places and relationships of the participant's lives such as where they attended school, socialised, their relationships with friends and family. These questions were used to therefore encourage self-reflection and to encourage comparisons to be made so that the participants could assess their own experiences with that of their peers. Below is a set of principal questions which were used as a reference throughout all the focus groups:

- Can you list all the different identities that matter to you?

This was an introducing question (Kvale 1996), which was asked before the beginning of every focus group and was an exercise devised to help the participants settle in and to prepare for the type of questions that would be asked. At the beginning of each focus group and interview, the participants were asked to write on a piece of paper all the identities they associate with. The results of this exercise and how it developed are discussed in depth on pages 196-206, however, it's important to note here that this exercise reinforced to the participants what the theme of the discussion was. It was also a moment to focus the individuals' minds on their own opinions before being influenced by what others in the group had to say. After everyone finished, I asked the individuals to reveal what they had written. Like all participatory activities in focus groups, the benefit is in the discussion that follows (Krueger 1998b). I would then pick one of the identity labels that the participants had chosen and used this as a Segway into the main discussion. This then lead each focus group in different directions depending on what the participants had written. I collected the pieces of paper at the end of the focus group so as to give the participants the opportunity to continuously refer back to their answers during the discussion. I repeated this sequence every focus group in order to build a common foundation in which later discussion could be built (Krueger 1998b).

- So can you tell me, what does culture mean to you?

This next question was used because the word culture is broad and during the first few months of the exploratory phase of my research, whilst I was getting to know the surroundings and the people, it was quite commonly used during discussions surrounding identity. It was therefore used with the assumption that everyone in the focus groups would have at least some idea of what culture meant to them, albeit with differing interpretations. In all three of the discussion chapters *Places and Social Spaces of Exchange*, *Mobilities of Home* & *Symbols of Identity* I will discuss the differing ways that the word culture was used by the participants, however, when used by me it was used as a tool to encourage the participants to discuss their own identities and for them to interpret the word as they wanted to.

- What does being Welsh mean to you?

This question reflects the main aim of thesis, that is, to discover what Welsh identity means to Muslims living in Swansea, and to see whether it is salient within their everyday lives. How this was asked depended on which direction the conversation was headed and wasn't always phrased as it appears above. Sometimes it was introduced when the participants were discussing other topics or in relation to what they had written at the beginning in the identity exercise or whenever they mentioned specific topics related to home, belonging, nationhood or difference. Although the initial question as it appears above guided the main theme of enquiry, it was always expanded on to ask other questions on Welsh identity such as 'When and in what times do you feel Welsh?', 'Where exactly do you feel Welsh' 'Is a sense of Welshness more/less prominent in specific places/ at specific times?' 'What symbols do you associate with Welsh identity and why?', 'Is being Welsh important to you?', 'Does being Welsh conflict with any other part of your identities?' By doing so, I was using the broader question above as a funnel question to move the discussion from broader ideas to a more focused set of questions (Krueger 1998b).

- What does being Muslim mean to you?

This was another main theme of the thesis and was used to discover how the participant's Muslim identities were negotiated in relation to their other identities. Like all the questions, this broad theme was used as a funnel question (Krueger 1998b), as a way in, to ask more specific questions about the participants' Muslims identities. These ranged from more specific questions about the actual negotiation of identity such as 'Did you have any

difficulties growing up as a Muslim?', 'Does being a Muslim conflict with any part of your identity?' to questions relating to gender 'What challenges/opportunities exist being a Muslim woman/man?', to questions relating to inter-generational differences 'Does your Islam differ to your parents?', to more practical questions like 'Where do you pray?' 'Does being Muslim effect how you navigate through the streets?' and more abstract questions such as 'Is being a Muslim the same wherever you are in the world?' By asking these questions it gave the participants the opportunity to expand on what being a Muslim meant to them, and examined how their Islamic identities intersected with their other identities at different times in different places.

- Tell me more about you?

This funnel question was used to discover more about the biographies of the participants. When discussing how best to research the everyday lives of the participants, following someone around in every aspect of their daily lives can be a very impractical and intrusive exercise and therefore this question was used to discover more about the everyday elements of their identities. It was also used to ask more information on some of the issues which were raised during the observation period. These ranged from basic questions about friendship such as 'Who are your friends?' 'Have you hung around with the same people since school?' 'Where do you spend most of your social time?' to questions about food 'Is what you eat influenced by your mixed heritage?' to questions about language 'What languages can you speak' 'What language do you speak with your parents at home and with friends/family?' to questions about travel and mobility such as 'Where do you like going on holiday?' 'Have you ever visited your parent's place of birth?' to questions about their relationship with their family such as 'How does your identity differ to your parents?', and finally questions regarding the dynamics within the domestic sphere of the 'Tell me about your home?' These questions helped map the patterns of the participant's everyday lives and gave further insight into their biographies.

Although these questions acted as a guide, focus groups rely on an ongoing interaction which meant that they developed as I spent longer at the organisation and as I conducted more focus groups. To collect the focus group data I used a voice recorder accompanied by the use of hand written jot notes and annotations (Bernard 1995). Before the identity exercise in each focus group, I asked the participants to sign a declaration granting me permission to use the information in my research (see Appendix, Form 1). To protect the anonymity of the individuals I gave each participant a number and when I use any names

they will be pseudonyms and not real names. How I transcribed and coded the data from the focus groups will be discussed in depth in the next chapter, '*Organising the Data'*.

Interviews

To complement the observation and focus groups, I also used formal interviews with the Muslim staff. I decided to not use Focus Groups with the staff because during my time spent in the office, I would often have discussions with more than one member of staff and therefore was engaged in many informal group discussions. This meant I was able to gauge certain group opinions around the research questions every day. Also, although the observational period allowed me time to get to know the staff and involved a substantial amount of interviewing (Bryman 2016), this was always within the context of either the office space or the drop-in centre and was therefore semi-structured and often informal. I therefore decided to conduct a series of more structured interviews, however, wanted to maintain the character of a conversation as to maintain good relationships with the staff (Burgess 1984). The biggest concern prior to conducting the interviews was maintaining relationships with the staff after the event. I waited around three months before I conducted any interviews because I felt that crucial to obtaining trust was that the staff felt comfortable in my presence. Asking questions about certain aspects of identity can challenge relationships (positively or negatively), and key to the development of a productive and constructive relationship was how the relationships between researcher and participants is negotiated (Angrosino & Mays de Perez 2000). Angrosino & Mays De Perez (2000) argue that researchers and their collaborators over the course of interaction do not have pre-determined homogenous and rigid roles, rather, their behaviours and expectations towards each other are part of a continual dynamic process. Key to the success of my interviews was therefore nurturing these relationships before and after the interviews so that I wasn't perceived as being intrusive and instead could maintain further positive relationships for the rest of the observation period. Imperative when conducting these interviews was therefore ensuring I had developed a fairly strong relationship of trust with those being interviewed.

I therefore conducted five interviews with those Muslim staff that were either born in Wales, or had spent much of their childhood and up-bringing in Wales. Three of the interviews were conducted with men of Bangladeshi heritage, and two with women, one Bangladeshi and one Pakistani heritage, each lasting between 1-2 hours. Each interview was used to gain a deeper understanding of the identities of the individual members of

staff outside of the more prescribed professional environment. This provided a means for exploring the points of view of the research subjects with regard to their work and personal lives (Miller & Glassner 2004). Not only did it examine their own biographies, but it was also used to understand the role played by EYST in the lives of younger Muslims and to understand the challenges and opportunities of identity negotiation for Muslims that they experience within their own work every day.

What Was Asked?

The questions asked were split into two sections. In the first section, the same questions as those in the focus groups were asked to discover in-depth attitudinal and biographical information about the staff. This focused on numerous issues such as finding out more about their own lives, relationships and their own identity journeys. As with the focus groups, these questions only acted as a guide and often the conversation would diverge into many directions to reveal multiple relationships and stories which defined the participant's identities. The second theme of questioning focused more on the staff's role within the organisation and the organisation's position dealing with diversity, in particular meeting the needs of their clients. Like the biographical questions, these were chosen in order to reflect those research questions set out on pages 4-5 but also developed as the observation period developed. There was one primary question which was used as a funnel question (Krueger 1998b), which was then expanded into further questions about the staff's work:

- What does your work at EYST involve?

This question was elaborated on to further understand what the members of staff did in their various roles at EYST, and how their everyday work at an organisation dealing with diversity touched upon the aims and research questions of the thesis. The questions therefore varied from ones which dealt with the practicalities of the staff's jobs such as 'What do you do?', 'Do you enjoy your work?', 'What are the major challenges/opportunities?', 'What kind of cases do you see regularly', 'What is it like negotiating your faith in the workplace?' to ones which were introduced to encourage discussion on the identities of the clients that they work with such as 'What are the main challenges to the client's identities?', 'What role, if any, do you perceive EYST as having on the identity formation process of the clients?', 'What are the main issues with regards to

identity conflicts do you come across?' and 'How do gender and cultural differences manifest in wider society and what problems does this create?' By asking these questions I was able to generate useful data surrounding not only how diversity is experienced personally, but how it is managed by those people working in the third sector. This helped develop an understanding of not only general feelings of how Muslim identity is negotiated in Wales, but also case studies of the challenges and opportunities they face in everyday life.

Conclusion: Qualitative Research of an Islamic Nature

This chapter has discussed the mixed methodology approach which was developed to collect the data, and the challenges and opportunities which arise when researching Muslim identities in the UK. I have argued that when designing a methodology for understanding how Muslims negotiate their faith with their sub-national identity, understanding the everyday interactions which occur in particular places can be very useful. Rather than interpreting the national or sub-national in abstract terms which mean little to people, the practices of everyday life should be examined so as to understand how it is made and re-made in the mundane conversations and practices of ordinary people. Such research can reveal the everydayness of national and sub-national identity, and how through diversity people share national and sub-national territory (Antonsich 2009). Doing this can be very difficult, in particular with regards to identifying which registration points in everyday life can better help to understand how identity is expressed. What I therefore argue is that the places and social spaces where research is conducted are highly impactful on the type of information that is collected.

One of the biggest challenges in researching the lives of British Muslims is that once relevant places for data collection are identified, how one obtains not only access, but the level of trust which can produce meaningful results is very important. At a time where Muslims are under intense scrutiny from the media and the public, gaining access and trust for any researcher can be a difficult process. Researchers have a responsibility to the participants to represent them fairly, and therefore data collection methods must reflect the sensitivities of those being researched. One such way of respecting these sensitivities is to build relationships of trust, and I have discussed the benefits of having previous connections with the organisation at which I collected my data. Of course this is not easy,

however, there must be an awareness at the design stage that any research which examines British Muslim identity by trying to develop quick relationships to answer complex questions, might find it difficult to access the depth of information needed to develop comprehensive understandings.

This inevitably takes time and therefore building long-term relationships can be beneficial to the overall outcome of results. It can also be beneficial to treat the participants as collaborators. During my research, my relationships with the staff helped gain access to individuals for the focus groups and helped develop long-term understandings of how they, their family and friends negotiated their own identities. An approach where participants are viewed as collaborators from the beginning and are able to suggest points of interest to be researched can develop a more considered relationship between researchers and researched, which is also beneficial for developing trust. What must be remembered, however, is that all organisations will have a particular agenda and viewpoint which will shape how research develops, and therefore researchers must always be aware of the potential challenges that working with certain organisations might present, and that the type of data that is produced will be influenced by this. In some regards, my research benefitted from my previous relationship with EYST which helped develop a level of trust with staff and clients that otherwise might not have been possible. On the other hand, however, I had to ensure that I did not compromise the researcher-researched relationship by not becoming too close with the staff and clients. This, however, was difficult and was always done with an awareness that I only managed to do this 'imperfectly, and part of the time' (Jenkins 2011: 32).

This chapter has also examined the importance of the positionality of the researcher in analysing Muslim identity, and argues that researchers must acknowledge how their own biographies, attitudes and expectations influence, whether consciously or unconsciously, the results. This should always be considered when designing a methodology for exploring the identities of British Muslims. When trying to understand identities which are often expressed through groupness, being outside of that perceived group can create both opportunities and challenges. Being a white non-Muslim male had both limitations and benefits. For example, I have discussed on page 44 how coming from outside the Muslim 'community' meant that sometimes this was beneficial because it made it easier for some of the participants to communicate with me, as they felt free from certain cultural and religious restrictions.

However, this is highly dependent on the type of people being researched. For example, if the majority of the participants from my research were from Mustafa's (2015) type four of *Primarily Muslim Identity* (with Muslim identity being the prime identity with little attachment to their nation state or any other identities), there is a likelihood that as a male, I would not have been able to conduct interviews and focus groups with women by myself, which could have affected the outcome of results. However, because the majority were from type three of *Dual Identity* (where although respondents say that religion is their number one identity marker, they never feel ethnic or religious alone without feeling attachment to the nation), such issues did not arise. This chapter has therefore argued that important and relevant information can be gathered without being of a certain group and that in some aspects having a non-Muslim, white researcher can be beneficial. I have also highlighted in this chapter how I was considered an insider and have argued that the insider/outsider dynamic is dependent on scale, perspective and is something which is constantly in motion and is not static. Thus, when devising strategies for researching Muslim identities, it is important to identify the numerous possible relationships that a researcher might have with their participants, rather than assume that just because they are outside the main identification group (I.e. I am non-Muslim), that they cannot be considered an insider in other aspects of life which can be beneficial to how relationships develop (I.e. being from Swansea and Welsh meant I could relate and visualise many of the participants' everyday experiences).

I have also argued that a mixed methodological approach can allow for a comprehensive analysis of everyday identity. Because of the complexity of urban life, using ethnographic observation alone can become particularly difficult when studying the everyday identities of Muslims, where there are expectations in certain social spaces which researchers could find difficult to access. This chapter therefore argues that triangulating ethnographic observation with focus groups and interviews offered a different perspective to understanding how people utilise the familiarity of everyday experience, to anchor a sense of belonging when discussing who they are. In other words, the in-depth discussion of focus groups and interviews revealed how the participants, when discussing what a sense of identity means to them, use (whether consciously or not), the familiarity of everyday markers and the 'materiality of everyday life' as a concrete way of making sense of the relations between themselves and the social world they live in (Dessing 2013: 47). This is not to say that this is the only way of measuring everyday life, however, for this particular study, the need to create a multi-method agenda which merged observation with more in-

depth discussion was essential. The next chapter will discuss the appropriateness of these methods chosen for analysing Muslim identities by describing how the information once collected was transcribed and coded, so that themes could be developed ready for the discussion chapters.

Chapter Three - Organising the Data

Introduction: Finding Meaning in the Data

This chapter will discuss how I organised my data once it was collected, and which techniques were used to transcribe and then pick out concurrent themes so it could be categorised and coded ready for discussion. These themes then informed and shaped how the arguments in the discussion chapters developed. It will also explore how the themes discussed in the previous chapter were modified throughout the study in response to the actions of the participants, and will examine how such methods posed interesting questions with regards to their validity when investigating Muslim identities. The next two sections will discuss how I transcribed and categorised the data collected from the interviews, focus groups and from the research log into appropriate themes, and how I began coding the data.

Transcribing the Data

As outlined in the previous chapter, the data I had collected was a mixture of audio recordings from the focus groups and interviews and a diary log from the period of ethnographic observation. I have already discussed on page 39 how I used the diary 'jot notes' to create a log of the ethnographic experience into Word, therefore, I want to now discuss how I transcribed the recordings to make these into text that could be analysed and coded. There were six recordings from the focus groups and five recordings from the interviews, eleven to transcribe in all, each lasting around one to two hours. All the participants had agreed to being taped so there were no issues with refusals (Rafaeli et al. 1997), and therefore the biggest challenge was to transcribe the data in the most efficient way possible. I decided to transcribe each as soon as I could after the event. This was in order to avoid letting the amount of data build up, and also to aid the process of re-call by keeping the interviews fresh in my memory, so when I was making notes on what I had transcribed, they were as accurate as possible (Bryman 2016). No tape was left longer than a week to be transcribed and each tape took roughly 5 hours to work through. The reason it took up to a week was that transcribing interviews can be a time-consuming process and therefore it was never possible to transcribe the data the same day it was conducted due to convenience, fatigue of the researcher and practicality. I decided to transcribe the data myself because I was the one who would be analysing the data and therefore wanted to

become as familiar with the data as possible, and to remind myself of the tone of the conversations for later memory re-call during analysis (Arksey & Knight 1999).

The process of transcribing the interviews and focus groups involved me uploading the mp3 files onto a computer, listening to the audio files and then typing the whole conversation verbatim into a Word document. I wanted to transcribe only what was relevant to the research questions (Strauss 1987, Gerson & Horowitz 2002), but to ensure the whole conversation was included so as to understand as much of the context of what was said when later analysing the data. Although whilst typing up the transcripts at times it was important to note certain delays or openings, it was deemed more important to avoid including every, 'hesitation', 'false start' and 'throat clearing' (Arksey & Knight 1999:141). By giving too much attention to each minute noise, I could run the risk of losing sight of the research problem with which I began (Silverman 2011, Wilkinson 2011, Arkesy & Knight 1999). Some argue that when transcribing data there should be a focus on the certain aspects of the lived practice of the interview because an awareness and sensitivity to how interviewers and interviewees 'collaboratively produce talk' within a particular interactional space can give further perspective to the findings (Rapely 2001: 317). Although this is valid, in a mixed methodological approach, once such a technique which records every breath and hesitation becomes central, it can risk losing the focus of the themes. If this research were to only use focus groups alone or only interviews, including such detail could have been adopted. However, when transcribed in this project, they were done so with an objective to provide a window on the participant's underlying beliefs which *'complements'* the content of the ethnographic observation (Wilkinson 2011: 181). Analysing the data should not solely focus on the interactions rather than the content because the information given by the participants is also influenced by pre-determined ideas before the interviews and focus groups begin. Although answers are influenced by the group dynamic, they are not redundant or irrelevant to the experiences of the participants outside of the controlled environment. Meaning must therefore be extracted from what participants bring to the discussion and therefore the transcription process of the recordings did omit noises and particular cues which were deemed irrelevant to the overall themes and research questions identified on pages 4-5 (Bryman 2016).

Coding the Data

Key to extracting meaningful data from the transcripts of the focus groups, interviews and the log from the ethnographic observation was developing a succinct and complimentary

coding system for the data. Coding involves the organisation of research data into categories, then highlighting the linkages between these categories in order to group these under broader discussion themes (Barbour 2007). Although coding schemes can restrict the data to reflect only what the researcher is looking for, if used with enough flexibility, they can provide creative new insights and alternative perspectives to how the data is used and analysed (Seale 2004, Silverman 2011, Macnaghton & Myers 2004). This flexibility was essential in my research for developing new themes for discussion.

Coding the transcriptions began by using a *Qualitative Thematic Analysis* approach. A thematic approach was used for the transcripts for the interviews, focus group and the log entries and involved sorting data into units and labelling the phenomena in terms of concepts and themes, then making connections between the themes and sub-themes, in order to identify relationships and patterns which can help define theory (Barbour 2007, Gray 2004). The index of themes and sub-themes are used as re-occurring 'motifs' that are placed next to the parts of text which reflect the research aims (Bryman 2016). The beginning of the coding process involved reading through the transcripts and highlighting at the end of each interaction, if and when one of the initial themes identified in Table 1 on page 63 had emerged. Each overarching theme was given a colour and after each interaction, I inserted the coloured theme and sub-theme beneath the passage of text. When and how I inserted a theme below a line of text was decided after I had asked some of the questions developed by Lofland & Lofland (1995, from Bryman 2016:281) such as 'What is happening here?' 'What is this item about?' 'What are people saying?' 'What are they doing that relates to the themes' and 'What question about the themes and sub-themes does this item of data suggest?' The data was then presented as accounts of social practices through illustrative quotes from the interviews, focus groups or log entries (Silverman 2011).

Coding in such a way was an iterative process which consisted of movement back and forth through the data, which helped 'think through the entire process' (Krueger 1998a: 41). However, ending up with 'soundbite' quotations to illustrate themes can ignore the complexities of focus group and interview behaviour (Smithson 2000: 116). As Silverman (2011) guides us through Macnaghton & Myers' (2004) processes of analysing data, they highlight two methods *'Mapping the woods'* and *'Chopping the trees'* which illustrate how data can be organised. The former involves choosing quotations that make a relevant (and repeated) point briefly and in a striking way highlighting 'quotable themes', whereas the

latter involves understanding how meaning is constructed between participants and moderator during data collection. When analysing an interview or focus group, by taking what is said within the interview setting as a social fact, the intricate coordination and interactional work which structures how participants express what they say during interview can become lost (Rapely 2004). As Halkier argues, not enough analysis acknowledges the social interactions and specific consequences of these interactions on the data (Halkier 2010). Therefore, when analysing interviews and focus groups there must be an acknowledgment that they occur within spaces of finely coordinated interactions so that *'Whatever we do with 'interview talk', whether we analyse it through a 'realist' or 'constructionist' perspective, we must be aware of how the talk is locally produced by both the interviewee and interviewer'* (Rapely 2004: 309).

However, as highlighted on pages 59-60, this research opposes the notion that we must spend a significant amount of time analysing every pause and cough, or that using quotable chunks, as is typical of the thematic approach is necessarily a scattergun method, in particular if the process of obtaining and choosing quotes is backed by knowledge sought after a thorough literature review and a period of observation by the researcher (Silverman 2011: 213). Examples of how the data was presented can be found on page 75-79, but for now, I want to discuss how the coding themes and sub-themes were chosen and how they developed.

Developing the Themes and Sub-themes

To begin with, a priori categories were established from a combination of themes developed from the research questions on pages 4-5. Table 1 shows the initial themes and sub-themes which were introduced before the first readings of the transcripts.

Theme	**Sub-Theme**
National & Sub-National Identity	• **Welsh** • **Bangladeshi** • **British** • **Pakistani**
Everyday	• **School** • **Work**

	• **Streets** • **EYST** • **Social Interaction**
Place	• **Local** • **National** • **Sub-National** • **International**
Religion	• **Islam** • **Muslim**
Other Identities	• **Bengali Language** • **Welsh Language** • **Family** • **Culture**

Table 1**: Table showing the initial *a priori* Themes and Sub-Themes**

The following section explains why each theme and sub-theme was chosen.

Theme - National & Sub-National Identity

Sub-Themes -- *Welsh, Bangladeshi, Pakistani, British*

One of the principal themes of the literature review, this was used to highlight when, how and in what ways national and sub-national identity was discussed. The sub-themes were introduced to represent the specificity of exactly which types of national or sub-national identity were being expressed whether it be '*Bangladeshi*', '*British*', *'Welsh'* or *'Pakistani'*. These sub-themes also represent nouns of national or sub-national identity such as *'Welshness'* or *'Bangladeshiness'*. The *Welsh* and *British* sub-themes were introduced because what being *Welsh* and consequentially *British* means to second generation Muslims is the core theme guiding this research project. The sub-themes *Bangaldeshi* and *Pakistani* were used with the prior knowledge that the majority of Muslims in Swansea (and therefore my sample), are from Bangladeshi heritages, with some coming from the second largest group, Pakistani heritage. These sub-themes therefore represented the types of national and sub-national identity I assumed would be most frequently discussed.

Theme - Everyday

Sub-Themes -- *School, Work, Streets, EYST, Social Interaction*

This theme was introduced to explore the frequently familiar patterns of the participant's daily interactions. Identifying certain locations and situations which feature regularly in the participant's lives was deemed the most appropriate place to begin. The initial four sub-themes were identified as quite typical places for most of the participants to have spent much of their lives, and are common locations and social spaces where identities and relationships are often forged. *School* and *Work* were introduced as the participants interviewed all had a common experience of going to school in Wales or the UK, or were of working age and were in some form of employment. *EYST* was used as a sub-theme because it was the location of observation, my contact point for the research and where many of the male adults had socialised. Even for the women interviewed, they either had a link to EYST through having gone there themselves to use the services, meet friends or had brothers or friends who often frequented the youth centre and knew of its existence. The sub-theme *Streets* was introduced as another location to understand the more spontaneous everyday practices outside the more familiar institutional locations. The sub-theme *Social Interaction* although not a location was introduced to represent those social spaces and relationships of social activity in the everyday lives of the participants where a sense of identity and belonging are either re-confirmed or challenged.

Theme - Place

Sub-Themes -- *Local, National, Sub-National, International*

This theme was introduced to understand how important a sense of place is to ideas of belonging and identity. In particular because national, sub-national and local identities are often expressed through affiliations to a predictable, stable locale of continuity, it was used to understand *where* is important for identity formation (Skey 2011). To begin with, four different scales *Local, National, Sub-National* and *International* were used as sub-themes for coding. The *Local* was used to describe Swansea and the surrounding areas, *Sub-National* was used to describe Wales, *National* place was used to describe Britain, and the *International* sub-theme was introduced to describe a more global sense of place that not only reflected the participants experience of travelling, but also their familial links with countries which reflected the diversity of their biographies and cultural background.

Theme - Religion

Sub-Themes – *Islam, Muslim*

The theme *Religion* was anticipated as being an important category and although the theme incorporates religion as a whole, this was included with the knowledge that Islam would dominate discussions. The initial sub-themes therefore of *Islam* and *Muslim* were introduced as those which were anticipated as ones which the participants would mention as guiding much of the structures of their everyday lives.

Theme - Other Identities

Sub-Themes – *Bengali Language, Welsh Language, Family, Culture*

This final theme was introduced as a means of consolidating other themes of identity under one term. This was not to devalue any of the sub-themes. Rather, it was introduced because the purpose of coding is to identify frequent patterns, and it was felt that these sub-themes would not feature frequently enough to require their own individual heading, but were deemed relevant enough to be included for possible further exploration. The term *Other Identities* was not used to suggest that these sub-themes are far removed from any of the other categories, in fact, a feature of coding is that many themes and sub-themes can be placed within similar themes and sub-themes. As will become apparent, many of the sub-themes overlapped and in most exchanges, there was a difficulty deciding which category to place them. Rather than confining the decision of where to group recurring sub-themes by putting them under one particular theme only, when coding the texts, some of them were placed under more than one overarching theme. This not only helped reveal the differences and similarities that connected themes, but also helped reflect the malleability of identity itself. Many sub-themes and new themes can be added, merged or removed.

However, during analysis, a decision must be made when to cease adding new themes and sub-themes because not everything can or should be coded. Having too many themes does not allow for specificity and can cause the focus of what the researcher is trying to discover to be easily lost (Rubin & Rubin 2005, Barbour 2007). Depending on the specific project, the amount of codes must therefore reflect the themes of analysis. I therefore took the approach of analysing the items most important for understanding the research questions posed in the literature review, which is why there is overlap between themes. Thus, the challenge for researchers is to categorise data to best reflect the aims of the project. Both

Bengali and *Welsh Language* could have been included under *National & Sub-National Identity* or *Everyday* at this initial stage*,* however, to begin with it was felt they would offer another perspective to how identity is expressed. This can be equally said for the sub-theme *Family* which could have been placed within *Everyday* but was often talked about as an identity in and of itself with its own dynamics on formulating behaviour, so was therefore placed under the *Other Identity* theme. The final sub-theme *Culture* was introduced for whenever anyone would refer to it as a term in and of itself, or when participants were describing what culture meant to them.

Developing In-Vivo Codes

The previous section discussed why the initial themes were introduced for the first phase of coding. The next section will explore how these codes developed and how additional themes and sub-themes were added, altered and modified. Although the initial analysis began with pre-determined codes, this was only temporary until additional themes could be formulated by further re-reading of the transcripts, and reflecting on the observation period, interviews and focus groups. As the analysis continued, certain 'in-vivo' themes were developed. In-vivo themes are those which are introduced during analysis and are added as further understanding of the data develops. This allows for a more flexible coding scheme where themes introduced by the participants themselves are also included (Barbour 2007). This is intended to create fluidity, adaptability and to avoid structuring the data in a narrow and prescriptive way that would hinder the creativity of how what is said is organised, which is often a criticism of coding schemes in general (Seale 2004). As Gray (2004) argues, research should commence with a defined purpose, but also with the realisation that this purpose may become modified or even radically altered during the research and analysis process. Developing in-vivo codes can aid the depth of the research as it introduces new themes from participants and sheds light on themes previously unconsidered by the researcher.

However, there must be an awareness that in-vivo themes are subjective to the researcher's own ability to identify such topics and their own positionality with regards to what themes they deem relevant in relation to what they are trying to discover. Something that I see as important might not be identified by another researcher analysing the same data, and therefore an acknowledgment must be made that any coding system will always

reflect the desires of the researcher. Whilst re-reading the transcripts, the process of adding further codes used the following five points suggested by Rubin & Rubin (2005: 209) to help guide where to look for emerging concepts and themes. They were developed from analysing 1) the questions asked 2) in the concepts and themes interviewees frequently mentioned 3) in the concepts and themes indirectly revealed 4) in the concepts and themes that emerged from comparing interviews and 5) how initial concepts and themes suggested new concepts and themes. By using these five points, the in-vivo coding developed in three particular ways.

1) New Sub-Themes

To begin with, new sub-themes were introduced to the already existing themes discussed in the *a priori* section. Table 2 highlights those new sub-themes which were added.

Theme	Sub-Theme
National & Sub-National Identity	• **Asian** • **British-Asian** • **English**
Everyday	• **University** • **Filling in forms** • **Family** • **Bengali Language** • **Culture** • **Mosque** • **Prayer** • **Friends** • **Accent**
Place	• **Home**
Other Identities	• **Values** • **Tradition**

Table 2: Table showing new Sub-Themes added to the existing themes discussed in the *a priori* section

- National & Sub-National Identity: *Asian, British-Asian, English*

The sub-themes *Asian* and *British-Asian* were introduced to the national and sub-national identity theme because they were often discussed in similar terms as the previous sub-themes. Like many of the terms, *Asian* was used simultaneously meaning different things at different times, depending on the context of when it was spoken. Participants used the term as a symbol to classify others, themselves, and also completely rejected the term. The term *British-Asian* was also a sub-theme which was referred to as a contrasting and complementing national identity to British, Welsh, Bangladeshi and Pakistani. The inclusion of *English* was not considered *a priori* but was introduced because most of the participants had either family in England, travelled frequently to England or had lived in England. Therefore, the role of England and Englishness had an impact on the identities of the participants in regards to their own experiences with England, but also played a significant role in the process of othering in relation to how their Welshness was defined. For example, saying 'I am Welsh because I am not English' was something which was repeated on numerous occasions when individuals described their sense of Welsh identity, and therefore was seen as having a significant impact on how participants negotiated who they were in relation to a national and sub-national frame.

- Everyday: *University , Filling in Forms, Family, Bengali Language, Culture, Mosque, Friends, Accent, Prayer*

Within the everyday theme, the *a priori* sub-theme of *Social Interaction* was expanded to further describe events, relationships or places within everyday life which impacted on the participants' understanding of their own identities. These sub-themes were added because they were identified as re-occurring everyday situations, scenarios and locations which were discussed regularly. Many of these were established as further understanding of the data developed, and were not sub-themes initially identified prior to conducting the interviews or reading through the transcripts. Localities such as the *University* and *Mosque* appeared as routine places which defined participant's lives and had an important impact on how they negotiated their identity with a sense of place. How the participants communicated with each other and their families on a daily basis was also integral to understanding how aspects of identity and belonging were expressed in practice, and therefore speaking *Bengali* (*Bengali Language*) (which was something that many of the

participants did every day with their family) and *Accents* (which were mentioned as specifically important for re-enforcing relationships with location and place), were added to the sub-themes. An influential interaction such as *Praying* was also introduced to understand when and where people prayed and its effect on their relationship with the wider community. To understand the social networks of the participants, the sub-theme of *Friends* was introduced to highlight who the participants socialised with, when they socialised and where. A practical activity of *Filling in Forms* was also added. Whether making passport applications, at school, in work, or filling in census data, the process of filling in forms was mentioned as a significant activity within the interactions of daily life which impacted on their identities and was therefore included.

- Place: *Home*

The concept of *Home* was discussed by the participants numerous times and its meaning like most themes and sub-themes differed depending on the context, which will be analysed in the discussion chapters. It was added to the category *Place* as it was often discussed as a territorial and geographical concept which structured feelings of belonging. It represented not only the domestic sphere of the house and family, but also the macro sense of home related to attachments to locality, in particular local, national and sub-national place.

- Other Identities: *Values, Tradition,*

Like the use of the word *Culture, Value* and *Tradition* were introduced for whenever anyone would refer to it as a term in and of its self, and when participants were describing what *Values* and *Tradition* meant to them.

2) New Themes

The second way that in-vivo codes developed was through the introduction of new overarching themes. The following were developed because they were topics and themes that either the participants had introduced themselves, were added because of their re-occurrence or deserved more development than being left as a sub-theme only. The sub-themes that were developed for these themes were introduced the same way as the sub-themes of the initial *a priori* themes. Table 3 highlights the new themes and corresponding sub-themes that were added:

Theme	Sub-Theme
Community	• **Welsh** • **Asian** • **Muslim** • **Value** • **Tradition**
Mobility	• **Local** • **National** • **Sub-National** • **International** • **Home**
Racism & Islamophobia	• **Social Interaction** • **Othering** • **Belonging**
Emotions	• **Apathy** • **Sadness** • **Happiness** • **Values** • **Similarity** • **Difference** • **Pride** • **Belonging**
Other Identities	• **Values** • **Tradition**

Table 3: Table showing the new themes and sub-themes which developed over time

The following section discusses why the new themes and sub-themes were chosen.

Theme - Community

Sub-Themes -- *Welsh, Asian, Muslim, Value, Tradition*

As will be developed in the discussion section, the significance of the word *Community* was something which became very apparent in its role in people's lives and how they form their identities. Its introduction highlights two usages of the term. Firstly, in more specific descriptive terms when the participants used it to essentialise certain groups from each

other, for example the *Welsh (white)* community, or the *Muslim* community. Secondly, it was used to describe a more abstract use of the word which meant a consistent and stable presence which was bound up in parental generation and culture. This was often expressed with the statement *'only those from within the community could know about and understand'.* The 'community' in this regards was described both negatively, as a source of frustration which could be restrictive to certain freedoms and representative of a parental culture which they distanced themselves from, and positively, as an emotional and communal safety net providing consistent support and guidance. The use of the sub-themes *Values* and *Traditions* were used similarly as in the category *Other Identities,* as descriptive terms, but also because they were often discussed as things which defined the ideals of 'the community'.

Theme - Mobility

Sub-Themes -- *Local, National and Sub-National, International, Home,*

The importance of *Mobility* and the meanings it produced for identity as participants crossed over borders was a prominent issue of discussion in both the focus groups and interviews. This was not anticipated before-hand and added a valuable perspective to how the data was later analysed. As will be explored further on in the discussion chapters, three sub-themes of mobility were introduced. *Local* mobility was used to describe the process of travelling within the city and surrounding areas, *National and Sub-National* mobility represented movement within the UK in-between Wales and England (and to a lesser extent Scotland), and *International* mobility was used to describe mobility outside of the UK, in particular 'homeland trips' which involved travelling to the parent's home country to visit family. The process of mobility was loaded with meaning which not only confirmed where *Home* was and who the participants felt they were as individuals, but also who they felt they were not.

Theme – Racism & Islamophobia

Sub-Themes --*Social Interaction, Othering, Belonging*

Racism & Islamophobia were not identified as an initial theme which was anticipated would emphasise how national and sub-national identity was negotiated. It soon became apparent that both had a profound impact on processes of *Othering* and *Belonging*, and on the construction of how identity was formulated. However, there was a degree of uncertainty where to place the theme. Most of the experiences of racism or Isalmophobia

occurred quite casually in everyday exchanges, and could have been placed initially as a sub-theme of *Everyday*. However, such was the effect it had on how the participants negotiated their identities it became clear that it needed to have its own theme. The sub-theme of *Social Interactions* was included to highlight those exchanges and spaces where such acts of racism and Islamophobia happened, therefore linking it with the same sub-theme as the one under the theme *Everyday*. *Othering* was introduced as a sub-theme to describe moments where the participants were made to feel different and how this affected their sense of *Belonging* to the wider national community.

Theme - Emotions

Sub-Themes -- *Apathy, Sadness, Happiness, Values, Anger, Similarity, Difference, Pride, Belonging*

The issue of identity is an emotive subject and almost all of the other themes and sub-themes were often discussed in relation to a particular emotion. The theme of *Emotions* was therefore introduced in order to note when certain emotions were discussed in-depth by the participants, and how certain situations in their lives made them feel. Thus the sub-themes *Apathy, Sadness, Happiness, Anger* and *Pride* were all introduced as typical emotions that issues surrounding identity stirred. The use of *Difference*, *Similarity* and *Belonging* were introduced to give more depth to understand the process of othering and how such emotions effected how they negotiated their faith and national identity. Feelings of inclusion and exclusion had a profound emotional effect on the participant's sense of belonging, and therefore these three were introduced to describe the effect of this on their emotional identity.

Many of the sub-themes overlapped and were able to be placed in numerous over-arching themes. Another sub-theme which emerged in different contexts was the concept of *Home*. This was included in both the *Mobility* and the *Place* themes. Having a fixed *Home*, which was often described in national, sub-national or local terms, was very important for how participants formed a sense of *Place* and belonging. However, it became mostly apparent during periods of *Mobility*. It therefore was not only put in the theme which described its implications for its role in forming a sense of *Place,* but also in the theme describing when it most occurred. Rather than being a hindrance, the re-occurrence of sub-themes across different themes emphasised patterns, and highlighted which issues appeared most frequently or consistently across the diverse experiences of the

participant's lives. Adopting a flexible approach to the coding system therefore allowed this to develop and revealed many valuable connections between themes and sub-themes.

A typical passage of coding looked like the extract in Narrative 1. Here two women are discussing some of the interactions they might have with their parents and family members about comparing identities. The categories have all been included as well as their sub-categories.

(Narrative 1)

Researcher = How does your parents views differ to you?

1 = They do differ, they always say they are Bangladeshi, whereas I always say I'm Welsh…. the conversations come up in the house, I always say I'm from Wales, when they asked me where I'm from I say Wales, they say Bangladesh because that's their culture and that's where they are from, that's their homeland and Wales would be mine it's because I'm born here, they will always defend their home, but I'm from Wales not Bangladesh, that's their homeland I'll always defend myself like that, we will always have funny quarrels and jokes like that [Everyday: Family, Social Interaction] [National & Sub-National Identity: Welsh, Bangladeshi], [Place: Home][Other Identities: Family, Culture]

2 = I don't really have much conversations about it, because they love their homeland but they have been here for so long and they are used to the environment, but it doesn't take away from the fact that they still love Bangladesh [Place: Home] [Other Identities: Family] [National & Sub-National Identity: Bangladesh] [Emotions: Love]

3) Linking Action

The third and final way in-vivo codes were developed involved adding what I define as *Linking Action* which were able to be applied to all of the themes and sub-themes. The purpose of this was to highlight when some of the sub-themes from the same overarching themes interacted with each other in ways which revealed further insight into understanding the themes themselves. The four linking actions consisted of the words *Merging* (to denote when two or more of the sub-themes came together to emphasise the plurality of the overall theme), the word *Clash* (to denote when two or more sub-themes conflicted against each other resulting in a reaction), the word *Symbol* (used as a descriptive tool to indicate how the overarching theme was symbolised), and the term *Negotiation of Identity* (to denote when the participant actively discusses how they balance their different identities regarding specific situations that arise due to this hybridity). As

mentioned above, it was typical for the meanings of the sub-themes to become blurred and therefore these linking actions were added to explore the dynamics between individual themes. After reading through the transcripts, because they revealed specific patterns and appeared most frequently, they were deemed the most significant linking actions for this research.

The extract in Narrative 2 highlights how each linking actionwas used in the context of the discussion. This exchange was taken from a focus group involving Muslim women. This passage not only reveals how the linking action *Merging* was used to highlight when two aspects of national identities came together in relation to participant number two, but when participant three speaks, we see the *Merging* of two *Everyday* activities such as watching television with *National Identity.*

(Narrative 2)

Researcher = What about music?

2 = I listen to a lot of British Asian music, so it would be the merge of the two and the cross between the two, I wouldn't listen to Bengali stuff, because I just prefer the integration of the two as it best reflects my identity the best [National & Sub-National Identity: British-Asian, Bangladeshi, Merging] [Everyday: Social Interaction] [Other identities: Bengali Language]

1 = I don't listen to any of that, I listen to rap and hip hop [Everyday: Social Interactions, Merging]

3 = Yes you do you watch some star + dramas but also stuff like Eastenders [Everyday: Social Interaction, Merging] [National & Sub-National Identity: British-Asian, Bangladeshi, British, Merging]

In the next extract in Narrative 3, which was an interview with one of the male Muslim staff, the linking actions highlighted are *Clash* and *Negotiation of Identity.* The participant discusses how he negotiates certain aspects of his identity as a British Muslim, and how this clashes with the culture of his parent's generation and the wider non-Muslim society. *Clash* is included in the three different overarching themes, *Emotion, National & Sub-National identity* and *Other Identities,* highlighting the flexibility of such signifiers.

(Narrative 3)

Researcher = How well do they fit together, is it something that's taken you a long time to get to fit together or are they quite compatible?

Interviewee 1 = I think, being a Muslim and being a British person are totally compatible – apart from if you see drinking as a culture and a way of life, we are not allowed to drink and is not a part of our culture, it's not a part of me but at the same time, it's part of British culture, weekend and all that you know……which is fine but it's about respecting one and other, so religion teaches us to respect other peoples way of life, so in that way Yes, the Bengali culture there are some conflicts I guess…. not everyone goes out to get to knowledge about what their religion is about they go with just what they've been taught – it's how our forefathers did it- as for me being a 2nd generation in this country I see things differently, where I do go out to get that knowledge, to see why we do this, to see is this right and is that right- whatever fits in nice with me I take [Emotions: Clash, Values, Similarity, Difference] [Other Identities: Culture, Clash] [National & Sub-National Identity: British, Bengali, Merging, Clash, Negotiation of Identity] [Religion: Negotiation of Identity]

The final linking action used was *Symbol*. In an interview with the same participant in Narrative 3, he discusses certain symbols that he associates with a specific expression of Welshness, hence being included in the category *National & Sub-National* Identity. These are also often expressed in routine everyday interactions and therefore are included in the *Everyday* theme:

(Narrative 4)

Researcher = So what about your Welsh identity?

Interviewee 1 = That's a difficult one……….. Wales is home, you know in fact it has the same colours as Bangladesh it's like a green thing the dragon welsh , same thing, I was doing a workshop not so long ago and they asked us to identify ourselves so I drew the Bangladeshi flag and the Welsh flag and the dragon, and it came all together, very similar

[Place: Home] [Everyday: Interactions, Symbol] [National & Sub--National Identity: Welsh, Bangladesh, Symbols] Community: Symbol

Presenting the extracts

When displaying the extracts, they will be presented in the context in which they occurred. This way, those reading the manuscripts can view how the talk is co-constructed in the course of the research (Rapely 2001). A good example of using the qualitative thematic approach in this way is Michael Skey's (2011) book *National Belonging and Everyday Life:*

The significance of Nationhood in an Uncertain World. The core of his research findings came from twenty one group interviews and he presents his findings with chosen quotes which highlight the themes of everyday identity in each chapter. However, he always displays the interactional exchanges in context, making us aware of the consequences of their use. Thus, this technique helps raise questions and strands of discussion that the researcher would not have thought of independently without becoming too bogged down in the detail (Farnsworth & Boon 2010).The following example in Narrative 5 taken from one of the focus groups with Muslim women indicates how the dynamics of the interactions within such a controlled environment can be insightful in understanding how answers are conveyed and introduced. However as will be argued, although the dynamics can affect how ideas are introduced, what is said is backed strongly by pre-conceived opinions, independent of the context in which they are conveyed.

Before each interview and focus group, the participants were asked to write on a piece of paper all the identities they associate with, as was highlighted in the Methodology chaptrer. In the following exchange, before asking the participants to reveal individually what they had written, participant one took control of the conversation and immediately questioned her own and others identities. By doing so she set the opening of the discussion to follow a specific path. I have included the qualitative coding system below and the numbers refer to each person sitting clockwise in a circle from the researcher, so that person one would be sitting in-between me and two, two in-between one and three and so forth.

(Narrative 5)

1 = When it comes down to it it's difficult

1 says to 2 = See I wouldn't put that down (laughter)

5 = Don't try to change her answer

Researcher = Yeah don't try to change each other's views

1 = Well I don't really identify myself as Bangladeshi

2 = Can't think of anything else

[Collective yea] [National & Sub-National Identity: Bangladesh, Clash, Negotiation of Identity]

If we are to stress the importance of openings to conversations, this example highlights that how participant number one began, was influential in the initial discussion and had set out early to signal her feelings. She stated that she did not feel Bangladeshi at all. Her initial assertive contribution set the tone for the early exchanges. When asked, she then revealed what she had written down and stated quite decisively the following.

(Narrative 6)

Researcher = If we are done can we quickly go around everyone just to see what everyone has got and then we can discuss it

1 = I quickly came up with this, didn't have to think twice about it, British Muslim [National & Sub-National Identity: British] [Religion: Muslim]

When participant number two and three were asked to reveal what they had written in their responses, it appears that they were reluctant and hesitant to disagree with participant number one. Participant number two hadn't written Bangladesh or Bangladeshi and participant number three although wrote Bangladeshi, was very quick to renege on this decision. As Narrative 7 shows, both made a conscious effort to disassociate themselves from this part of their identity.

(Narrative 7)

2 = I got down British, Muslim, Welsh, but I also put down my family as defining my identity as well, I didn't put down Bangladeshi or anything like that because I've only been to Bangladesh like once and my family isn't really cultural, they are more religious orientated so my identity is more based on religion than culture [National & Sub-National Identity: Bangladeshi, British, Welsh, Negotiation of Identity] [Mobility: International] [Other Identities: Culture, Clash] [Religion:Muslim, Islam]

3 = I put Muslim first, and then British, Welsh, and then I put Bangladeshi, but I don't even know if I actually consider..... when someone asks me I don't really consider that, because we are born and brought up here [National & Sub-National Identity: Bangladeshi, Welsh, British, Clash, Negotiation of Identity] [Mobility: International] Other Identities: Culture,Clash] [Religion:Muslim, Islam]

This influence continued to participant four who referring to number two's answer stated:

(Narrative 8)

4 = I wrote Muslim, British and I wrote Bangladeshi, but I agree with the same as she said (Referring to participant number three) [National & Sub-National Identity: British, Bangladeshi] [Religion: Islam, Muslim]

The purpose of highlighting this exchange is not to argue that in this situation the only reason participants two, three and four decided to disassociate themselves from a Bangladeshi identity is because number one discounted it from the beginning. On the contrary, during this discussion and during my research as a whole, participants referred interchangeably as sometimes Bangladeshi and sometimes not. The multiple usage of this term was typical in all exchanges and changed depending on the context of the discussion. What this exchange does indicate is that the dynamic created by participant one at the beginning initiated an early reluctance for most of the group to associate with being Bangladeshi. A clear precedent for turn taking was set at the beginning. Including such an exchange which takes into consideration how the talk is co-constructed sheds further light on not only what was said but how it was said. However, although participants can change their opinions during discussion, after hearing others explain their logic over their points of view, participants do also bring pre-conceived opinions to the discussion group, which become more assertive as the focus group develops, and as the individuals feel more comfortable within the interview setting (Krueger 1998a). Participant five was equally a strong character in this exchange and as highlighted in Narrative 9, was as assertive as number one in what she had written down.

(Narrative 9)

5 = I've written a different list man

[all laugh]

Researcher = Good, the more the better

5 = British, Welsh, Muslim, Bengali, I identify myself with being from the valleys, and for being a woman [National Identity: British, Welsh, Bengali] [Place: Home, Local]

In further exchanges, participant five continued to challenge participant one which had a resultant effect on the group in many ways. As the focus groups and interviews developed,

however, the other participants became more comfortable in sharing their own ideas and challenging the more dominant personalities within the group. This however does not necessarily happen by itself and the moderator of the focus group (in this case me), has a key role in engaging everyone in order to make sure that all participants are able to have the opportunity to express themselves. The Researcher's Field Notes recorded during the observational period were also analysed the same way. They were coded using the same themes that were developed for the interviews and the focus groups. This is because similar perspectives were identified through all data sets and as has already been mentioned, the process of coding involved comparing, contrasting and simultaneously analysing the transcripts and looking for linkages.

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted how the process of transcribing, coding and organising my data developed over time in response to further interaction with the participants. This chapter has also explored how the data for the interviews, focus groups and diary entries were categorised and analysed so that meaning could be derived so they could then be prepared ready for discussion. By describing the way that the data was coded, it has emphasised how the main themes for the discussion chapters developed from the initial *a priori* ones set out in the literature review and research aims, to the in-vivo themes which changed to reflect my own experiences during observation and conducting the focus groups and interviews. This chapter has also emphasised that because of the mixed methodology approach adopted for analysing the everyday, flexibility is key to allow information to be linked and cross referenced so that a more comprehensive picture of data can be developed. This flexibility is reflected in the combination of ways the coding system changed. For the discussion chapters, the data collected from all the sources will be used, interchanging information collected from observation, interviews and focus groups. The next three chapters will therefore form the core of the thesis and will discuss the results of the data.

Chapter Four - Places and Spaces of Exchange

Introduction: Where Do I Feel Welsh (Or Not)?

The places and social spaces where Muslim identities are both celebrated and resisted play an important part in how Islam is publically experienced by Muslims and non-Muslims alike (Hopkins, Kwan, & Aitchison 2007). For second and third generation European Muslims, everyday life involves navigating through shared public spaces where complex negotiations between their own religious beliefs and the secular politics of those societies and countries they grow up in occur (Ehrkamp 2007). These interactions effect how Muslims structure their own identities, as they are confronted with numerous challenges and opportunities regarding how they display who they are, and who they want to be within the wider society (Ryan 2012). Muslims in the UK contribute to the re-production of place and social space by making Islam meaningful to their daily life through actions such as prayer, appearance, shopping habits, amongst other things. However, because different places in society are governed by different power relations, there are certain social expectations which control to what extent their Islamic identities can be displayed and expressed comfortably in specific places (Jeldtoft 2013). This can have a profound effect on how feelings of belonging to a national or sub-national community are constructed and re-constructed.

In order to understand how the meanings given to different social locations by Welsh Muslims shape their attachments to Wales, this chapter will examine some of the places in the everyday lives of the participants where they feel simultaneously included and excluded (Platt 2012). By not only examining what being Welsh means to the participants, but also the places where Welshness becomes relevant or irrelevant, a clearer understanding of the challenges, conflicts and opportunities of negotiating sub-national identity in diverse societies can be developed. Despite the de-territorialised element to all religious identities, such as some Muslims' claims over the significance of the Ummah; (see Special Edition on Transnational Islam in Nations and Nationalism 2011), the experience of identity is often negotiated around localised encounters within places such as the workplace, the street, 'the community', shops, youth centres etc. Analysing the interactions that occur within these places is therefore important for locating the different spatial scales that Muslim identities are constructed within, and how Welsh Muslims' individual senses of personhood and belonging develop (Hopkins 2007). This chapter will therefore discuss some of the everyday places which were highlighted by the participants as significant in defining their identities. In particular, it will examine where and when feeling Welsh or not

in these spaces was discussed, and will ask similar questions to those posed by Hopkins (2004) in his research on young Scottish Male Muslims, who sought to discover how they drew upon different markers of Scottishness to discover the ways they felt simultaneously included and excluded from Scottish life. By doing so, it will highlight the way religiosities manifest themselves in everyday life, and how this can affect accessibility to public space and impact on feelings of belonging to the wider sub-national community (Kuppinger 2014, Saint-Blancat & Cancellieri 2014).

Spaces & Places of Inclusion and Exclusion

This section will examine those places which the participants highlighted as relevant to the construction of their identities and will be divided into the following three categories: *The Street, The Workplace* and *'The Community'*. Many different places and social spaces could have been chosen and I will discuss at the beginning of each section in this chapter why these three specifically revealed relationships which help answer the research questions on pages 4-5. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, I wanted to concentrate less on religiously prescribed places and social spaces because religious identities should be studied in places other than those which are overtly religious, as they can offer a counterbalance to privileging religion as a principal identity marker (Jensen & Khule 2013). This can also help answer the research question of the thesis that asks whether Muslim identities can be discussed in isolation from other aspects of their identities, by uncovering expressions of identity that do not immediately fit within specific religious tradition, even if they 'bear the mark of it' (Dessing 2013). Developing a spatial consideration of the politics of everyday life within such places can therefore reveal the moments of presence/absence and alienation/disalienation, which are so important for understanding how Welsh identity is constructed by Muslims (Butler 2012, Lefebvre 2002). This can also aid in understanding in which ways the sub-state nation is being transformed in more plural ways which break away from the traditional civic-ethnic dichotomy. Thus, when describing the interactions which occur within these places, it is those moments where the participants feel their attachment to Welsh identity is made relevant or irrelevant which will be discussed.

The Street

The first place I want to consider is what I call the street, that is, those interactions which occur in public places such as the pavements, pathways and open urban spaces that the participants navigate through in their everyday lives. The street provides a perspective of the city where the interactions between diverse groups are refined within an area which produces particular meanings and relationships (Hall 2013, Lee & Ingold 2006). These relationships have an impact on the cultural landscape in a very visual way because the street is an open space accessible to the gaze of numerous people. The Muslim population in the UK is predominantly urban and overwhelmingly concentrated in just a few cities (Hopkins & Gale 2010). The City and County of Swansea is a medium sized city in the UK with around 250,000 inhabitants. With a Muslim population which accounts for around 4% of the city's whole population, the street becomes a highly intensified and visible space for the contestation of identity, and for understanding the mapping of Muslim geographies. As Muslims navigate the street, their mobility and visibility combine to emphasise the diversity which exists in the city (Knowles 2013). Open places not only act as an ephemeral location for intercultural contact where people can stop, chat, observe, argue and react, but they are also used as an extension for more continual, long term and consequential purposes, as multicultural place-sharing merges complex forms of identity within a locality (Hall 2013, Wise 2010, Kuppinger 2014, Knowles 2013). This is particularly important for understanding how intercultural 'rubbing along' occurs in the public spaces of the city and what the limitations, constraints and possibilities are with mixing across difference (Watson 2009). Therefore, the street was chosen because it is important to understand those transitional places between other places, and to understand how people create place in often forgotten social spaces, in-between more structured infrastructure. Analysing the street is therefore useful not only because it's a place for being, but also a place for being-in-motion (Prytherch & Daly 2015).

Important when discussing the different relations of power at play within the street, is to understand how the mobilities of the participants are limited due to their social standing, and how this effects how they self-identify. Useful here is Henri Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city. For Lefebvre, an individual's right to the city depends on how ones claim to the urban landscape is limited via segregation. Lefevbre argues that a lack of freedom to access social space affects the ability to participate in social life, and although his concept refers to segregation due to market-driven processes that accentuate social division and

spatial polarisation within cities (Butler 2012), the concept is useful when considering how Muslims access and use public space. Even in the most carefully designed and inclusive places, the marginalised can stay away and feel excluded (Amin 2002). This section will therefore explore how the participant's access to the city is challenged as they move through the streets, and how these interactions affect their identity and sense of belonging within a wider Welsh sub-national narrative.

Navigating Through Public Space

One thing that was common amongst all the participants was that the street was a place that had the potential to cause conflict and reinforce feelings of alienation. As Narrative 10 and 11 below highlight, navigating the streets for Muslims can involve being faced with direct challenges regarding their role within the urban fabric, in which their attachment to place is questioned.

(Narrative 10)

Interviewee 1 = But they wanna know, like random people on the street they say "where are you from?" and I will reply "from the Sandfields mush" then they will ask, but no "where are you really from", then I ask "what do you mean?" because I find it quite offensive, I think flip man I've been here forever, my kids are born here, my dad and granddad came here way back when in the 50's and then you still want to know "originally" ok well originally from here, I'm still from here, but I know what they mean so I answer it, Bangladesh mate

Researcher = Does that happen often?

Interviewee 1 = People want to know where you're from, it's the colour of my skin that makes them ask, I understand people are just curious, but others do it and I felt it was to undermine, you know what I mean, and those are the ones that get me annoyed, that try to undermine, because you're not really British or Welsh, a foreign land, you know? Some of them have probably never paid taxes in their life, you know?

(Interviewee 1, Male)

(Narrative 11)

1 = Because of stuff like with my brother, and my mother got abused the other day someone walking past and someone called her a Paki, just wearing normal clothes like a jacket

5 = Sometimes you do that today just to save yourself all that hassle, it's sometimes not worth it

4 = I was actually going to do that today, I was going to wear a longer dress, but because I was going to catch a bus through Neath I thought I better not and instead I decided to wear normal clothes, like jeans and a top so I just don't attract attention to myself, I just wear the hijab

3 = Yeah I feel a lot more safer just wearing this than wearing anything else, I don't think you can get a job if you're wearing a full niqab

5 = The possibility is that we are born here, it's that misconception that people actually don't know that we were born here, our identity gets confused, people don't realise we are British, we are Welsh, they are not educated they don't realise we are actually from here

1 = Yeah "go back to where you come from", well Singleton hospital actually

(Focus Group Women, Number 2)

In both extracts the frustration of having their sense of attachment to place questioned was expressed by the participants. All emphasised how the street was an ultra-visible space where they could be targeted for cultural, racial or religious questioning. In Narrative 10, Interviewee 1 begins by explaining how it has been quite typical in his life for 'random people in the street' to ask him where he is from. As he describes this particular incident he provides an insight into an exchange which is not only typical for the participants of this research, but typical for numerous ethnic and religious minorities. In response to the question where is he from, Interviewee 1 states how he often replies that he is from the local area of the Sandfields, situating himself very much within the local geography. When he is prompted to expand further and is asked the question, 'where are you really from?' he's put in a position where he is made to feel 'out of place'. Immediately, his sense of belonging is challenged as he is made to feel that he is not part of the local community. Although the lineage of his parents is of another place, Bangladesh, he states how for him and his children they have been 'here forever'. Interviewee 1 then mentions how out of frustration, in many of these exchanges he will eventually say he is from 'Bangladesh mate' in order to satisfy the person asking the question as to where he is 'originally' from. However, this clearly makes him feel uncomfortable.

In such an instance, the street becomes an open canvas where his sense of belonging to the local, national and sub-national area is brought into contestation. Interviewee 1 is asked the question because there is an assumption that he does not fit within the local, national or sub-national place. Immediately the street becomes a place where his agency over his identity is questioned. He feels that the reason why this happens is because of the colour of his skin. Although he acknowledges that some ask him out of curiosity, he feels annoyed by

those who do it to undermine him. Not only is this exchange important because it emphasises that when discussing identity, an attachment to local place is prevalent in how people map out who they are and who they want to be, but it also emphasises how such interactions are expressed using a national or sub-national frame when articulating feelings of *not* belonging. By stating that it makes him feel that 'you're not really British or Welsh, a foreign land, you know?' this exchange emphasises those instances where his sense of attachment to the wider national and sub-national community is questioned. Having to say that he is from 'Bangladesh', forces him to invoke a national identity which he feels less comfortable with. Such interactions provide moments where the nation and sub-state nation is made to matter within the everyday lives of the participants, and highlights how social actors use how they are perceived as 'different' to construct their own ideas of what the nation and sub-state nation means to them, and how attachment to both is intertwined within the fabric of everyday life on the street (Semi, Colombo, Camozzi, & Frisina 2009).

The discussion in Narrative 11 also emphasises how the street can become the setting for moments which bring into contestation feelings of identity and belonging to the national and sub-national community. The conversation begins with participant one echoing the sentiment expressed in Narrative 10 of how the street is a space where her identity and the identity of her family members is open to contestation. She mentions the abuse that both her mother and brother have experienced whilst navigating the streets, in particular being called a 'Paki'. Even though her mother was wearing what she describes as 'normal clothes' such as a jacket, because of her appearance as an ethnic minority, she still received this abuse. This emphasises how wearing clothes that might be deemed different from the majority makes the participants feel like they are not 'normal'. The reactions people give them because of the way that they dress make them question their place within the urban landscape and within the larger national and sub-national community. It also emphasises that due to the openness and spontaneity of the street, it is a place where everyday racism can be almost fleeting and because of this, such interactions are harder to control yet have a significant effect on how the participants construct their identity.

This initial mention of the challenges that clothing poses then shifts the discussion further to concentrate on how Muslim women's attire targets them for specific abuse, and how this affects their personal mobilities within urban public spaces. Participant five states how sometimes she wears 'normal' clothes just to save her the 'hassle' that wearing Islamic clothes might create. Participant four then elaborates on this experience by sharing how

her journey by bus that day to the focus group in Swansea City Centre was shaped by the problems she might experience. Rather than wearing a longer dress she decided to wear jeans, a top and the hijab. Thus, her decision to dress less visibly Islamic was informed by her not wanting to be perceived as not belonging to place. Such experiences affected her and all the other women's personal mobilities who I spoke to during my research, as participant fives states, she feels a lot safer not wearing longer dresses. This emphasises the geographies of anxiety that are prevalent in the everyday lives of Muslims, in particular women. On the street, their bodies become very powerful symbols for effecting how a sense of belonging to the wider national and sub-national community is lived out.

Participant five states how these experiences of mobility through the streets 'confuse' people's perceptions of her identity. Even though she was born and raised in the UK she expresses frustration that 'people don't realise we are British, we are Welsh'. Two frames of identity are invoked here to emphasise how these interactions question what the nation and sub-state nation means to the participants and their place within it. What is important is that the nation and sub-state nation are not arbitrary frames with little significance, but are powerful signifiers which matter to how the individuals articulate their identities, whether they feel inside or outside of it. The final comment from participant one re-affirms how such exchanges in the street which question a sense of belonging are often expressed through an understanding of place. Her response to the comment 'go back to where you come from' is to state that she is from 'Singleton Hospital', the main hospital centrally located in Swansea. This again emphasises how local places are inscribed in the personal maps of identity of the participants. How the individuals construct their own sense of national and sub-national identity from the bottom up through such everyday interactions reminds us of the plurality of their identity politics, but also that the way that Muslims experience public places such as the street has a significant effect on how they self-identify with the nation and sub-state nation, and feel part of the national, sub-national and local community.

Although many Muslims I spoke to during my research mentioned having experiences where they were subject to racist or religious abuse, in particular being called a Paki or a terrorist at some point in their life whether in the street or elsewhere, it was women who wore the hijab that tended to have their identities questioned more in public space, or received specifically Islamophobic abuse. This is not to say that the men's identities were not subject to scrutiny because of their Muslim identities, but certainly on the street and in

most public places, because of the way that they dress, women received more Islamophobic abuse, whereas the men tended to receive more confrontation due to the colour of their skin. However, this does reflect the specific sample of males in my research as none of them wore Islamic dress regularly. If my sample of males were more akin to Mustafa's (2015) type four of primarily Muslim identity, where Muslim identity comes first with other affiliations to wider society holding little value, then perhaps their experience of Islamophobia in the street would be as frequent as the women's.

The following two extracts emphasise how the participant's dress affects how they experience public place, and how this experience can create moments which impact on how they self-identify and attach belonging to the wider national and sub-national community. The extracts also highlight how the individual's rights to the city can depend on how they decide to display their identity through their bodies.

(Narrative 12)

3 = I think that's why a lot of British people think we don't integrate, it's because of that

1 = But they do it to us first don't they?

3 = Yeah

1 = They emphasise on that difference first

3 = They want us to integrate yea

1 = They emphasise on your difference you know like you dress different, like every time, I've been told I have a really strong Welsh accent, the minute I have the hijab on, oh my god you sound foreign, you sound like you're from the valleys, then you get on the bus , and you get where are you from?

(Focus Group Women, Number 1)

(Narrative 13)

Interviewee 2 = It's sad but now there are times when I feel sometimes I'm not at home, I'm made to feel, and it does hurt me and I think sometimes, if you knew I grew up here, it's as much home to me as it is you, but when people say stuff like go back to where you come from, or nasty comments people say it does hurt, because suddenly you do think, where do I belong? Because I know I don't belong in Pakistan that's not where I'm from, but I do think, oh, I feel displaced, because to me my roots are here, but suddenly I feel someone has chopped my roots away and I feel like I'm floating, like I don't have a heritage, that's how it makes me feel, but it doesn't happen too often

Researcher = Like in what situations?

Interviewee 2 = You know when someone says Paki on the street, I feel really it's that person telling me you're not from here so go, just because I'm a different skin colour, I can't be Welsh, and a lot of people will say, oh you wear that, you can't be Welsh because you wear that, or because you're a Muslim that's not Welsh, or you speak a different language, or that kind of thing, or even working through the Think Project (Challenging Racism and Extremist Project) you know with the classes, they will say you can't be one of us and those kind of things, and I feel sad when people still think you don't belong here because you look slightly different, or you might have a different faith perspective on things, what makes somebody more Welsh than me, Is it the Welsh language I don't know? … so I do feel sometimes I do feel cornered to sometimes choose an identity and I don't think I can

(Interviewee 2, Woman)

In Narrative 12, when discussing how non-Muslims perceive the extent to which Muslims integrate, participant one emphasises how the way she dresses is often used by others to target her as 'different' from wider society, and is thus perceived as a 'barrier to integration'. What she wears becomes a symbol of who she supposedly is and isn't, which plays a role in making her feel as though she cannot belong fully to the social fabric of Wales. To articulate this experience, she uses an example of an everyday identity signifier such as her accent, which to her is a particularly 'Welsh' one, to emphasise that as soon as she puts on the hijab, her sense of Welshness is taken away. She mentions that when she is travelling between places on a bus, once she wears the hijab, her accent becomes foreign to others even though to her she sounds very Welsh as though she is from 'the valleys', an area of Wales which is associated with having a strong and distinct Welsh accent. Here, her sense of Welshness is challenged as she is made to negotiate her identity between something of hers which she perceives as being Welsh, her accent, with something which is singled out by others as not being Welsh, her hijab and sub-sequentially her Muslim identity. Through the visual performance of her religious identity she is not only taking part in place, but is also making a place for Muslims not only to be seen, but to be socially recognised within the urban social space (Saint-Blancat & Cancellieri 2014). This, however, challenges the larger non-Muslim population as to where in Wales and Britain she fits, highlighting how the behaviour and meaning of national and sub-national identity is shaped by the context of the non-Muslim society, in interactions which occur in particular moments and particular places (Metcalf 1996). Participant one thus feels that her autonomy over her Welshness is challenged because she is made to feel different and 'out of place'.

Narrative 13 continues this sentiment as Interviewee 2 describes how the conflicts that she has experienced as a Muslim woman on the street creates moments in her everyday life which can affect her sense of belonging and attachment to place, and consequentially to feeling British or Welsh. These interactions often occur in quite banal spaces within everyday life but their effect on her is profound. Here, Interviewee 2 explains that when she is told to go 'back to where you came from' or hears other 'nasty' comments, she is forced to ask herself 'where do I belong'? Such comments 'hurt' her emotionally and make the importance of place very real as she has to confront what an attachment to place means to her. In these moments, she questions where her home is. This can invoke feelings of displacement as she describes it making her feel like she does not have any 'roots'. She knows she does not belong in Pakistan, yet in these instances she feels like she does not belong in Wales or the UK either. When she is then prompted to expand on the particular situations where she feels like this, she uses a sub-national frame to articulate how such moments make her feel that she does not belong to Wales. When she is called a 'Paki' on the street, when someone comments on the colour of her skin, or when she is singled out because of her dress which displays her Muslim identity, these become moments when she feels like she 'can't be Welsh'. This highlights the difficulties certain groups and individuals face when negotiating minority membership in dominant social arenas (Nagel 2002). No matter how strongly she feels an attachment to place, for her claims of being Welsh to be made legitimate, it must be seen as normal and unremarkable to non-Muslims. However, when she is in the street she can be singled out because of her Muslim identity. When she is faced with such comments, she feels like she cannot contribute to the creation of a common public space because she is made to feel that her identity is not consistent with the existent notions of what being part of the Welsh public looks like (Staeheli, Mitchell & Nagel 2009).

Thus, these moments force her to ask herself what 'makes someone more Welsh than me?', and emphasises the importance of not only understanding what the sub-state nation means to people, but when and where it matters and becomes significant. When she is forced to think about what makes her Welsh, she describes a symbol of Welshness, the Welsh language. She asks herself that because she does not speak it, does that mean she is less Welsh. I will speak in-depth further on in the *Symbols of Identity* chapter about the role of the Welsh Language, but it's interesting to note here how she uses it as a symbol to understand her own sense of belonging. Although she does not spend time deliberating it, her idea of what being a 'genuine' Welsh person might be, could consist of an ability to

speak Welsh. Although this makes her feel like an outsider, I would suggest that her vision of what Welshness is not too dissimilar to other non-Muslim non-Welsh speakers. Those who speak Welsh in Wales are around 19%, meaning the majority do not speak the language. Therefore, by her naming the language as a tool that she believes marks her as an outsider, this raises interesting questions regarding why she does so, even though her opinion would likely be the same as many other non-Welsh speakers. This will be elaborated on in further chapters, but could suggest either a lack of interaction between her and non-Welsh speaking non-Muslims, or a lack of general narrative about what Welshness means in the 21st Century in wider society.

At the end of Narrative 13, Interviewee 2 highlights how those situations where she is confronted in public spaces make her have to 'choose an identity', which she stresses she does not think she can do. This emphasises how although her Muslim identity is her prime identity, she cannot easily disassociate it from her other identities. Thus, how she formulates an idea of who she is to herself, involves a constant negotiation between all her attachments and identifications. Both Narrative 12 and 13 highlight the complex negotiations that Muslim women face in social spaces such as the street, and how such experiences which put identity at the forefront are expressed through multiple spatial frames including nationality and sub-nationality. Understanding the personal mobilities of Muslims as they move through the city emphasises the ways in which ethnicity and religion is constituted through the manipulation of urban space. The street thus provides a place to view the negotiations that drive intercultural relations and become central to understanding intercultural interchange (Amin & Thrift 2002). By moving through the city, such moments where the participants' identity is brought into contestation can accentuate the social division and spatial polarisation within the city. This infringes on the access individuals have to certain places and therefore their rights as members within the city, which can have profound effects on constructing a sense of belonging (Lefebvre 1996). Such moments where the participants are made to feel out of place on the street not only question Muslim's rights to the city, but also their rights to the nation and sub-state nation, as how their identity is questioned in local space is also articulated through questioning a sense of belonging to the wider national or sub-national imagining.

As Narratives 10-13 have all emphasised, the street can be a place of exclusion which challenges the participant's sense of self and belonging to the nation and sub state nation. This is not to say however that the street is only a place of exclusion. It was often described

as being a place of dual experience which also provided moments of inclusion. Throughout my research, numerous informal conversations would reveal the patterns of mobility of the participant's everyday lives as they would move throughout the city whether visiting the City Centre to go shopping, going to the cinema, walking to play football or to meet friends, and on most occasions, the participants would often move through these places unaffected by tension or conflict. At other times the street was therefore a consistent, familiar and safe location in the maps of the participants' identities. For Muslims and non-Muslims alike, journeys made to and from a destination on the street establish a 'hereness' which is socially inscribed by values and meanings layered onto the landscape (Crang 2013: 2011). These meanings can play an important role in how one develops an attachment to place. St Helens road for example where EYST is located was familiar to all the Muslim participants because of recognisable multi-registration points such as shops which sell Halal products, Swansea mosque and the Asian clothing shops which all can provide a sense of cultural and religious comfort (Knowles 2013). However, because this is also where a high percentage of Muslims and ethnic minorities are located, it was also expressed as being bound with generational and gendered complexities which affect some people's movement throughout the city. As will be discussed further on in this chapter when analysing the effect of 'the community' on the participant's identities, sometimes certain public places such as St Helens road are avoided in order to stay away from the cultural and religious constraints that being in such places might invoke. What must be emphasised therefore is that the street is a place where complex and often contradictory interactions of inclusion and exclusion are always present, which have multiple effects on how individuals structure their identities and sense of belonging.

One particular incident which occurred during my research emphasises how the street and open urban places can become the locations of a polarising effect on feelings of belonging. On one evening during the summer of 2013, the Swansea City football team after winning the League cup, paraded through the streets of Swansea on an open top bus to celebrate. The route of the parade passed EYST, moving through St Helens Road towards the City Hall. As the bus passed by, most of the clients plus many other Muslims and ethnic minorities filled the streets either to show their support for the team, to catch a glimpse of the parade or just happened to be in the street at the same time the bus passed by. The experience of that incident is worth reviewing because it emphasises the multiple interactions that can occur in the street which can impact on how identity is constructed. Narrative 14 and 15 detail my own, and one of the participant's experiences of the event.

(Narrative 14)

The Swans paraded through the town centre and the bus drove straight past EYST, many people came out onto the streets to watch the parade, many of the Muslim women came out onto the streets were waving their flags and had their cameras out. Their children were there too, celebrating the parade and clapping the bus as it drove past EYST and drove past the Mosque. Something then happened which I wasn't told about till afterwards. One or two of the women heard comments asking them "why are you here?" and were asked why they were supporting the team. To which one replied, "because they are my team". They felt that others didn't want them to be there.

All the lads came out of EYST and clapped the team as they went past. Some grabbed the drums and were banging them as the bus went past. Some followed the procession, whereas others were singing in celebration. As the bus drove slowly past, however, the players on the bus began to spray their champagne over the crowd which got some the women and men wet with alcohol. After the excitement of the parade passed, some of the men were clearly disgruntled after being sprayed with champagne, some didn't know whether they needed to wash it off, whilst others were not bothered and carried on back into EYST.

(Researcher's Field Notes)

(Narrative 15)

3 = Also in the football outside for the parade, outside EYST as we all support the team, and a woman walked past and said 'they don't even go to the games why the hell are they here', and we were like 'yes we do support the Swans, we do go to the games, how do you know that we don't'?

4 = We were there for the Chelsea match, so they assume, I'm saying they, but I mean the few ignorant people who just don't know

(Focus Group Women, Number 2)

This incident emphasises both the complexities and importance of understanding how Muslim identities are experienced in public place. On the one hand the street provided a platform for the participants to openly express their attachment to local place by allowing the individuals to imagine themselves as belonging within the local community. Through celebrating the parade and their attachment to Swansea, those on the street were involved in a process of common connection where they could participate in a wider sense of belonging and relate to others in Swansea across perceived boundaries. Many of the Muslim men in particular support the Swansea football team and for them it was an opportunity to express a sense of solidarity and support. Some clapped, some cheered and some even grabbed the drums from the youth centre to take outside and bang as the team passed by. This moment in the street provided an opportunity for inclusion and was a space

where an emotional affiliation with the wider community and to a sense of place was able to be expressed.

However, also in this moment, two incidents occurred which questioned this sense of connection and highlights how for Muslims, their negotiation of public places can be problematic, as their sense of belonging to the wider community can be questioned by others at any time. When some of the women were waiting for the parade to pass, participant three mentions that her position within the street was questioned as she was asked 'Why the hell are they here'? This incident emphasises not only how her right to be present in public places within the city was questioned, but also her ability to be able to associate with such a strong symbol of local identity as the Swansea City football team. The pavement thus became a place which exposed her as an 'outsider', as her sense of belonging to place was questioned. In this incident, the women were made to feel out of place even though as participant three mentions, they do go to watch some of the football matches.

The second incident involved some of the people being sprayed with alcohol by the football players from the open top bus as it passed by. In the immediate aftermath of this happening, the reaction to it was mixed. When discussing it with the staff afterwards, for some it did not bother them, whilst some thought it was offensive and some were unsure how to react. In this moment, the street again became an open place where their Muslim identity came into conflict with non-Muslim identities. Both the men and women were exposed in the street to challenges to their sense of belonging to the wider community, which accentuated their Muslim identities. The mixed reaction to having alcohol sprayed over them suggests the degrees of difference at which their faith controls their actions within non-religious spaces. Some of the staff and clients remarked that it was an insensitive thing to do and that they were wrong to do it, whereas others stated that it wasn't an issue because that was inevitably going to happen and the players weren't to know and were just celebrating. The ambiguity here of responses to this incident suggests the way individuals negotiate their faith in public places will differ between individuals and how they perceive their own faith. To some, certain incidents will be unremarkable, whereas for others it will remind them of the challenges they face as Muslims every day. What this incident does highlight is how the production of Muslim place involves their claims to the city being continuously contested by segments of the dominant non-Muslim society (Kuppinger 2014).

The street therefore can provide different resources for Muslims to construct their identities within local, national and sub-national place (Amin & Thrift 2002). By mapping the connections and relationships between religiosities and urban space, I have emphasised some everyday registrations of diversity in the city, and the importance of both mobility and visibility in defining how Muslim identities are experienced (Knowles 2013). In particular, I have emphasised how these experiences are articulated through the frame of national and sub-national identity, and how the street acts as an important social space for both experiences of inclusion and exclusion, which effects how the individuals construct their feelings of belonging across difference.

The Workplace

The workplace is a significant place for the exploration of identity construction as it is a key location where self-defined individuality and the roles and characteristics ascribed to us by others meet (Richards 2011, Watson 1996). The social relations that develop at work can significantly contribute towards the production and re-production of our self-awareness. Over time, as groups of people work together, they often develop a shared repertoire of behavioural norms on which members regularly draw when interacting with each other (Schnurr 2009). Within these ‘mini cultures’, people’s individual identities can play a significant role in how the work dynamic develops as members are classified into various roles which are ascribed particular meaning (Schnurr 2009: 12). How much colleagues know of each other’s personal lives varies depending on the workplace, the type of work, and how much individuals feel they wish to reveal. For ethnic and religious minorities, however, this is less easy to do as the workplace can become a place of a heightened sense of awareness of otherness. For some, being religious at the workplace is expressed through actions which differentiate them from other colleagues such as dressing differently or needing a place and time to pray (Hicks 2003, Fadil 2013). In most European labour markets, Muslims can be subject to a particular form of othering due to the highly visible expressions of their religious identities, where notions of what is deemed as ‘appropriate’ social behaviour are inextricably bound to their working lives (Bowlby & Lloyd-Evans 2009: 52).

Most research conducted on Muslims’ experience of the workplace examines the quantitative evidence of ethnic minorities’ employment disadvantage (Bowlby & Lloyd-

Evans 2009, Kabir 2010). In the UK, the 2011 census revealed that Muslims have the lowest levels of employment which is almost half that of the general population. Reasons for this can be attributed to Islamophobia and discrimination, low levels of English proficiency, and certain cultural and religious barriers such as the emphasis on women to stay at home to raise a family (see Kabir 2010, Giliat Ray 2010). All of these reasons have implications for how identity is constructed. However, there are far fewer studies exploring British Muslims' everyday interactions within the workplace and how these impact on their sense of belonging to the wider national and sub-national community. The Ouseley Report (2001), which was released after the Bradford riots, and much of the Intercultural Cities work carried out by Wood & Landry (2008) which explores ways of planning for diversity advantage in Europe, also state that the workplace could a be a prime location for re-building for understanding how diversity is negotiated everyday and for building cohesion and solidarity. This section will therefore shed light on how the participants' experiences at the workplace were discussed and understood, and to what extent they revealed how Welsh identity was salient in their lives.

Work, Identity and Self

For many of the participants, the workplace was a significant place where their sense of self and identity is questioned daily. The type of work the participants were employed in varied. Some worked in the private sector, some worked in the public sector in council or government jobs, some worked in the third sector and others worked in restaurants or family businesses. I will explain in-depth later on the gender composition of the jobs that the participants did, however, it is important to note here that the type of employment did vary. Within the workplace, interaction with non-Muslims is inevitable which confronts, challenges and questions the participants' senses of belonging each day, emphasising both similarities and differences across identity boundaries. As Narrative 16 highlights, the workplace is a place where the awareness of being a Muslim for both Muslims and non-Muslims was heightened.

(Narrative 16)

Researcher = Is it difficult to juggle all these identities?

Interviewee 3= I suppose it's like home life and work life, you step into the shoes and get on with it, it definitely changes depending who I'm with, when I'm with old mates from school we use certain words to communicate with each other because that's the way we know each other, but if I'm in a

meeting in work that's another personality I deal with, but that's a natural human way I suppose, everyone does that, it doesn't matter about your ethnicity, but for me religion, my faith plays a big part of my life and has big meaning in the way of my life, work, family, friends

(Interviewee 3, Male)

In the extract above, Interviewee 3 discusses how he routinely uses different aspects of his identity depending on the people he is with and the type of place he is in. According to him, it changes quite frequently and is a 'natural human' thing to do, suggesting that for him whether Muslim or non-Muslim, we all have to manage our different 'personalities'. The workplace is then mentioned as a significant place which effects how his sense of self is displayed. Due to the interaction with what he calls different 'personalities', he suggests that certain social relations develop which contribute to how individuals see themselves and see others. Not only does the workplace therefore become a place where identities are expressed, but also where they are made and re-made. Interviewee 3 categorises these experiences by differentiating between his public self – what he calls 'work life', and his private self – 'home life'.

Although he does not elaborate on how difficult this is, the fact that he states that 'you step into the shoes and get on with it' suggests that it is something that he does quite frequently. When he is with non-Muslim friends that he used to be in school with, he will display a different part of his identity than when at work, at home or with his family. This suggests that his religiosity shapes the social relations within the micro publics of his life, and how differing aspects of his identity are articulated and inflected under varying socio-spatial conditions (Hopkins & Gale 2009). The thing he states which plays the most important part in these relations is his faith and he describes how it has a big meaning in structuring all aspects of his life, his work, his family and his friends. However, although it has a big meaning, his awareness that he has to change how he displays his identity suggests that publically expressing his religion can sometimes be problematic, and therefore he has to constantly be aware of how being a Muslim is perceived in the public sphere.

Narrative 17 below echoes this sentiment of how the workplace is viewed by the participants as a significant place of interaction which plays an important role in how their Muslim identity is negotiated in everyday life.

(Narrative 17)

Researcher = Is it difficult to balance these different identities?

5 = I feel like I have to be different with different people, so like you guys I'd be different, with work I'd be a different identity again

1 = The thing is I can tell you are different as well (laughs)

Researcher = In what ways?

1= You're a bit more reserved, you're controlling yourself

5= I don't know, for example work settings you're quite aware of how you are, you're trying to be professional in the work settings, whether you're with friends, Bengali you can talk a bit, relaxed stuff about religion praying

1 = They understand you more

5 = Yeah you know what I mean, they kind of understand

3 = That aspect

5 = Yea that aspect, because I tend to moan about marriage a lot and they get it

(Collective laughter)

5 = Whereas my non-Muslim friends and white friends, if I was to say about marriage they would say, you're only 26 you have plenty of time, and I'm like no no I don't have time [laughter] you know what I mean? So like with them they go on about their boyfriends, moving in, babies, it's a different conversation and you know

3 = You can't relate so much

1 = But do you feel more relaxed with your Welsh friends because they won't judge you as much

(Collective Yeah)

(Focus Group Women, Number 3)

Participant five begins the discussion by underlining how the way that she displays certain aspects of her identity differentiates depending whether she's with her friends or with her work colleagues. Similar to Interviewee 3 in Narrative 16, she suggests that this negotiation is something that she, as a Muslim, has to do quite regularly. When participant one responds to her statement by saying that she can recognise that participant five acts differently with her work colleagues, the conversation develops to reveal how within a working environment, their Muslim identities as religious minorities are accented. When asked by the researcher in what ways she is different, participant one responds that she is more reserved with non-Muslims. In response, participant five emphasises how the work setting makes her feel 'quite aware of how you are', and thus emphasises how it is viewed

as an everyday setting where the differences between her and her non-Muslim colleagues become apparent.

She continues this trail of thought by comparing her work colleagues to her 'Bengali' friends, to contrast how she feels more comfortable with them when discussing certain things such as religion and praying, and can relate to them more with regards to issues such as marriage because as she says, 'I tend to moan about marriage a lot and they get it'. Whereas in conversations at work regarding marriage with her 'non-Muslim friends and white friends', the certain aspects of her life which are different are heightened. Participant five gives the example of the reactions her work colleagues give regarding her concerns about being 26 and not married and how in their eyes she has 'plenty of time'. Although she gives the impression this does not bother her too much, this exchange reveals how the workplace is a place where she experiences conversations where her sense of religious otherness is always accentuated. By stating that 'it's a different conversation', she expresses a similar sentiment to Interviewee 3 in Narrative 16 of having to negotiate different lives, in particular with regards to her faith and how it is a part of her everyday experience.

However, feeling more comfortable with Bengali and Muslim friends as opposed to work colleagues is always in a process of contestation and contradiction. Towards the end of the exchange in Narrative 17, although participant three states 'you can't relate as much' when referring to certain aspects of life with non-Muslims, participant one then comments that in some regards she feels 'more relaxed with your Welsh friends because they won't judge you as much' which is met with collective agreement. For those women who had non-Muslim friends inside and outside of work, the sense that they were not judged when it came to particular aspects of life was expressed as a certain relief from the pressures placed upon them from their Muslim and Bengali friends. This reflects the cultural constraints that the participants felt regarding the Janus faced Asian/Bengali/Muslim 'community', which on the one hand could provide support and understanding, but on the other contained judgement and alienation. This will be discussed in–depth further on in this chapter, but it is worth mentioning here because it emphasises how different places and the social relations which occur within them, pose different challenges to how a sense of belonging to the wider sub-national community develops. This also sheds light on how Muslims continue to face and overcome various obstacles to their engagement in the

labour market that both emanate from within and outside their own communities (Giliat-Ray 2010).

The statement made by participant one is also important because it gives an insight into how differentiation is expressed through using a sub-national frame. The white non-Muslim friends who are mentioned are specifically 'Welsh'. Not only does this confirm the banal place of Welshness in everyday life as being a significant and familiar way of describing people, but in this instance, Wales and Welsh identity is used as a reference to de-lineate how the participant feels in relation to her own sense of place. By stating that those she works with are her 'Welsh friends' as opposed to her 'Bengali-Muslim' friends, she differentiates between her groups of friends, using nationality to distinguish who her and her friends are, and who they are not. In this situation, Welshness becomes an identity of separation as she becomes the other, the non-Welsh. This is useful because it reveals a moment at work where the participants feel their sense of attachment to Welsh identity is challenged, which affects how they structure where and to which communities they belong to (Lefebvre 2002). However, as with many terms of identification, their use during this discussion and during my research as a whole varied. Participants referred interchangeably as sometimes Welsh and sometimes not. The multiple usage of this term was typical in all exchanges and changed depending on the context of the discussion. Therefore, what is important to highlight is that this was a moment when the participants used the term to denote when and how they felt excluded from the sub-national narrative.

How the workplace affects the way the participants constructed their identities and attachments to the national and sub-national community also depended on how accommodating or aware the workplace is of religious diversity. During my research at EYST, it was common for the staff to take short breaks to pray during office working hours, or to do so in the drop-in centre when on duty. As Narrative 18 from my field notes highlights, praying at EYST was an everyday occurrence.

(Narrative 18)

Staff pray openly in the drop in centre every day, whether it's next to the pool table or the boxing bag, often there is a space that people will pray in

(Researcher's Field Notes)

Every day, the staff would pray freely without hesitation and without restriction. This meant that those who worked for EYST had no or very little contestation to their open expressions of religious identity at the workplace. As is expected, working for a third sector organisation whose purpose is to provide culturally sensitive provision for BAME people meant that they were free to fulfil their perceived obligations as Muslims, without feeling uncomfortable or having their sense of belonging questioned. The staff would often mention how accommodating EYST was as an organisation in comparison to previous places they had worked. The majority of the staff is Muslim and often it was reflected on in informal conversations that not only did this make their lives easier, but that this was the acceptation rather than the rule. In Narrative 19, Interviewee 2 reflects on how lucky she feels to work at an organisation where she can freely express her faith.

(Narrative 19)

Interviewee 2 **=** *Even in the workplace I think ummmm where I work I guess, so ummm , if I was to work in a mainstream organisation with less Muslims I would perhaps struggle a bit more, here you don't feel any different, you can do everything to do with your faith, the boss is understanding when it comes to Ramadan when we are perhaps more pathetic than any other time of the year, I only say that because we are supposed to be fine in our day to day but we can't because we are so food riven, but she is so understanding, I wouldn't be able to behave the way I do here at another organisation as it would be less tolerant, I see that with my husband who works in a public sector job, I see how he is not able to have so many of his Islamic things accommodated, he keeps it very quiet, he's scared to ask for a prayer room, in Ramadan he's scared to ask for a day off , whereas here, I think if I were to work in a mainstream, like when I go for a day training and I need to ask for a room to pray, it doesn't come as confidently as it does here, people look around are feeling, everywhere else I have to think how people will feel, I feel I have to explain what I am doing, I have to say I'm going to be here for 5 minutes, because then they are like oh god, what's she going to do in there for 5 minutes, so I think work wise where I am it helps but if it wasn't I think it would have been different*

(Interviewee 2, Woman)

Here Interviewee 2 highlights how a workplace that is accommodating and understanding with regards to her religion makes her feel comfortable and at ease with how she can express her Islamic identity. She believes that this makes her everyday Islam more manageable. Her preconception is that if she were to work somewhere more 'mainstream' at an organisation which does not have diversity at its core, that she would struggle. She uses the example of Ramadan, a time she feels she is physically vulnerable due to long periods of fasting, to emphasise how she views EYST as a place of comfort in comparison to

her husband’s workplace which she associates with feelings of discomfort. She explains how in his workplace he has less ‘Islamic things’ accommodated for which effects his behaviour, so much so that he feels scared to ask for a room to pray in or for a day off during Ramadan. The workplace therefore becomes a contested place. The geographies of both Interviewee 2 and her husband’s everyday working lives are mapped differently as their opposing workplaces become associated with different meanings. The contrasting maps of their everyday Islam are affected by the different places they work, and because religious adherents often hold deeply rooted convictions that include obligations that have a fundamental effect on how they appear and act as employees (Hicks 2003), their sense of belonging is effected, or as Interviewee 2 puts it, at her work she ‘doesn’t feel any different’.

Thus, both her and her husband’s fears of being judged by non-Muslims effect how they display who they are every day. Such is the importance of place to where she works, when Interviewee 2 is outside the immediate space of EYST, for example at a training day, she states how she does not feel as confident to ask for those things that she does not need to ask for when at EYST. What would usually be seen as routine ritual performances which would establish feelings of calmness and contemplation such as praying or fasting, can become acts of grievance, anxiety and fear (Jeldtoft 2013). She explains how she is worried that people will judge her for having to pray, which makes her anxious because her agency over her identity is removed, reminding us how power relations and control over identity can be disrupted depending on the specific place someone is in. This reveals how the workplace is a place of constant identity negotiation and re-negotiation which effects how a sense of belonging develops.

For both Interviewee 2 and her husband, the workplace can create certain emotional anxiety which affects their sense of belonging as they have to devise complex strategies and counterstrategies so as to not be seen as too different to non-Muslims (DeHanas 2013b, Ryan 2012). Such interactions can create geographies of oppression and opportunity which creates opposing ‘maps of grievance’, i.e. those points of departure for disruptive or progressive politics (Featherstone 2008, Phillips 2009). Her own identity map of her everyday work life is fairly positive, whereas for her husband the workplace in some aspects is mapped negatively. This suggests that a freedom to express certain religious practices in the workplace made some of the participants feel like they could live their religious identities in public space more comfortably, whereas not doing so can inhibit

feelings of inclusion. This sentiment was echoed by one of the women participants in Narrative 20.

(Narrative 20)

2 = Where I am now they are a much smaller department and they are so much nicer, like for example when I was fasting, I'm usually fine with fasting and I can come into work, he was like you don't have to come in at 8 o 'clock, he was like you can come in at 930 if you want for three weeks and take some leave off for the last week if that's what you want, and he was quite accommodating in that sort of way, because I've never really had that in all my other work places so I guess it all depends, to me that's really rare to have

(Focus Group Women, Number 1)

In this extract, participant two uses the example of Ramadan and fasting to stress the inconsistencies she has experienced at different workplaces with regards to having aspects of her religion catered for, and how it has affected her everyday life. Similar to Interviewee 2 in Narrative 19, she stresses how different workplaces presented different circumstances and challenges to how she can openly express her Islamic identity. Whereas in her current organisation in the public sector she is allowed to start work later during periods of fasting, in her previous place of employment in the private sector, this was seen as 'rare'. This highlights that the type of workplace can be an important factor in how comfortable an individual feels in being able to express their identity. Her experience of the public sector, perhaps because it is a government organisation, was far more favourable than her experience working in the private sector. This however contrasts with Interviewee 2's husband's experiences in the public sector who wasn't as comfortable with asking for time off or for a place to pray. This highlights that the way people experience their identities differs across social space and in the types of work on a day to day basis.

Both Narrative 19 and 20 highlight an increasingly important issue with regards to living *in* diversity. For the non-Muslim staff, the meanings of the secular public sphere are challenged as they have to negotiate the differing needs of their employees (Göle 2002). The workplace therefore becomes more than simply a place of labour, and represents a society that deliberates over the status of religious practices and the role of religion in public places (Fadil 2013). In both extracts, there seems to be an inconsistency over whether religious practices such as praying and allowing time for fasting can and should be

accommodated for. From what has been expressed, the participants feel more comfortable and included within the realm of public places if certain practices are accommodated for. This would suggest that if and when these practices can be accommodated, they can contribute to the individuals feeling included within the narrative of the wider public. The participants stated that if they feel more comfortable practicing their religion in public places such as the workplace, these practices could become less of a taboo and more 'normalised' within the cultural and visible landscape of the work environment.

This, however, inevitably raises a key question, if faith is allowed a protected position in the public sphere, in particular the workplace, which practices and aspects of non-Muslim and non-religious people's lives can and should be catered for as well? In other words, why should one person's belief system be accommodated for at the workplace, whereas the other needs of work colleagues might not? This debate is on-going and clearly challenging. One solution would be to not allow any expressions of faith in public space or the workplace. My results suggest that if this were the case, Muslims will only feel isolated in public life. The workplace and the social relations which occur within it are therefore a place where knowing who we are and who want to be is continuously emphasised. How this is managed will depend on how organisations, policy makers and individuals debate and act upon these negotiations. During these discussions however it is imperative as Cantle (2015: 9) argues that in a liberal democratic society, if faith is allowed to have a public position in the public sphere then so must the 'contestation of faith' be protected in order to maintain a robust and measured dialogue.

Gender and the Workplace

The experiences of the participants differed not only because of the type of places they worked, but also due to their gender. One of the most crucial aspects of workplace culture is the ways in which gender is understood and enacted on a day to day basis (Broadbent 2003, Kondo 1990, Schnurr 2009). For the women participants, it was a place where they were often asked about their religion and this was seen as a place of a heightened awareness of otherness. Here, their religiosity and gender dominates over other aspects of their identity. The visibility of Islam was more prominent for them than for men and was intensified because of the way that they dress. Being asked questions regarding what being a Muslim meant was a regular occurrence for all of the participants as Narrative 21 and 22 highlight.

(Narrative 21)

Researcher = Do you think more stuff needs to be done to increase community cohesion between all backgrounds?

1 = Yeah definitely to get everyone together in the same place to educate people

3 = Say for example in work, there's two of us, then they have a pre-conceived idea of what you are like then you have a laugh and they are like, are you allowed to have a laugh? So you go out for a meal with them and you are allowed to go out, they say 'they are human after all, they do have hair' the new job I'm doing now the foster kid just stares at me, but we were talking and he asks a lot about my religion, he asked me have you got hair? He was saying he's seen a lot of my people in Cardiff, but he's seen Muslims, but he's never interacted with them, now that he does

1 = Yeah they have this conception from TV and the internet

3 = At first this girl must have been scared but now they know me and crossed that barrier it feels more comfortable, they have interacted with somebody, it's nice if they ask

(Focus Group Women, Number 2)

(Narrative 22)

2 = Yeah you sometimes get really mindful and knowledgeable people and you are like waw I didn't think you would know that much about religion and about my identity, but then you get nice people who are quite ignorant, like ummm one of my work colleagues was like what religion do you follow? and they were like is it Buddhism? It's Buddhism

(Collective Laughter)

2 = And I am like noo, and they go yes I'm sure you are Buddha aren't you, and I'm like no, and then I explain, and then they are like I'm so sorry and apologise but It's just like ignorance as well, but they are quite mindful, I think it's just because they haven't integrated with Muslims

5 = Even in my work setting as well, I've been working for 'third sector charity' for two and a half years, when I first came in it was like ok you don't drink, you wear the headscarf it was all new for them, but now they have accepted it and even when they do like nights out, they are quite mindful are there veg options, am I going to feel comfortable, to try and feel comfortable

(Focus Group Women, Number 3)

The first extract from narrative 21 highlights how the visibility of Muslim women who wear the hijab is accented through the questions they are faced with at the workplace. When

discussing the concept of community cohesion, participant three uses her experiences of the workplace to emphasise those situations when she is made to feel aware of her identity and is made to feel different. She reveals the certain preconceptions work colleagues or young people she looks after have about Muslims, such as asking her whether she is 'allowed to have a laugh', and whether she does actually have hair. These interactions present a challenge where she has to constantly negotiate and shape her professional and other social identities when communicating with work colleagues, which arise because of her Muslim identity (Schnurr 2009). Being 'stared at' or being asked whether she does have hair is a gendered spatial moment which can create alienation and heightened feelings of exclusion.

This reveals how Muslims in the workplace have to construct certain parts of their identity for use in the specific context, due to the complex, secular environment in which they find themselves in, where their identity is on occasions challenged (Timmons & Narayanasamy 2011). Such interactions within the workplace therefore increase the visibility of Muslims in the public sphere and contribute to the re-making of the working environment (Kuppinger 2014). Whether this re-making increases inclusion or exclusion depends as much on the reaction of non-Muslim work colleagues and institutions, as it does on how Muslims negotiate such spaces. When participant one replies in Narrative 21 with a comment regarding to how she believes that the TV and Media are to blame for such attitudes, participant three replies by reflecting on her own experiences. When she first started to work at an organisation in the third sector, she felt a distance between her and her work colleagues. This was because she perceived there was a lack of understanding and interaction because she states it was 'all new to them'.

However, as time passed and she was asked questions about what being a Muslim meant to her, she states that this made her feel increasingly more comfortable within the work environment. This is important for more general questions of cohesion and social interaction as it suggests the more she explained her identity to others, the more they understood it, highlighting how social contact can lead to positive consequences (Platt 2012). This would echo those who advocate the use of contact theory in understanding intercultural interactions, who argue that the more the contact which occurs between people of different identities, the less apparent fear of the other exists, which can consequentially trigger more cohesive group dynamics (Hewstone et al. 2006, Cantle 2015).

It is difficult to make any detailed suggestions in this PhD on the effect such contact had on the non-Muslim work colleagues, because the focus of this thesis was not to examine the identities of non-Muslims. From the reaction of the participants, however, they felt that some contact across diversity is better than none, because an understanding has been developed. The participants suggested that even if contact will cease to exist after work, a lasting impact would have been made. However, interesting questions remain such as 'how long do these relationships last?' 'Does that matter?' and 'how meaningful are these relationships?' As contact between the participants and their work colleagues or clients cease, 'can such moments be enough to delve into the complexities of living with diversity, or is just developing a sense of understanding enough?' 'Is fleeting contact enough as long as there is tolerance?' 'Does everyone need to feel a sense of belonging to the people and the place they grow up in, regardless of their colour, religion, sexuality, ability, or is reducing stereotypes and familiarity with at least what the 'other' stand for enough? Understanding difference does not necessarily breed acceptance and these questions are imperative in future discussions on cohesion, integration and the future of diversity in Europe. What this research does highlight however is that the more the participants could discuss their Muslim identity with work colleagues, the more comfortable they felt.

In narrative 22, it is again emphasised how Muslim women's appearances challenges how they are perceived by their work colleagues. Participant two mentions how on one occasion when being asked about her religion she was confused for being Buddhist. Although this is met with laughter by the rest of the participants in the focus group, she stresses how this is due to ignorance. She then suggests that this lack of knowledge is because her work colleagues haven't probably 'integrated' with Muslims. The use of the term integrated here raises interesting questions. Either she is suggesting that it is the duty of non-Muslims to integrate into Muslim culture, or that in fact she is perhaps referring more to the term interaction. Having being present at the focus group I suggest it is the latter, however, it does signify that the language of integration is so ingrained in the narratives of Muslim identities it is difficult to distance it from everyday dialogue. What is important, however, is how the feeling of exclusion at the workplace that she experienced emphasised her Muslim identity and marked her out as different to the rest of her work colleagues.

This sentiment is echoed by participant five. When she first moved to her current job, questions regarding how she looked, why she did not drink alcohol and why she wore a

headscarf were common. The issue of alcohol will be discussed further on in this section, but for participant five, her gender and identity as a Muslim woman were brought to the forefront of her everyday interactions. However, as discussed in Narrative 21, increasing familiarity meant that she was able to express herself more freely at the organisation, as she argues her work colleagues came to understand her better. Thus, the headscarf shaped her early experience of the workplace and through the routine performance of dressing a certain way she was questioned because of certain aspects of her femininity (Gilliat-Ray 2010). This emphasises how the workplace acts as a place where the tensions between different cultural and religious codes intervene to distinguish and define public and private spheres, and interior and exterior space. This also reveals how Muslim femininities are embodied, negotiated and performed through different places to produce different social relations and discursive practices of indifference, competition and engagement (Göle 2002, Gilliat-Ray 2010, Dywer 1999).

For the male participants however, when discussing their experiences of the workplace they rarely mentioned such confrontational interactions. This could be for many reasons. One could be that some of the men are performing what Hopkins (2004) calls a form of hegemonic masculinity by playing down the significance of their experiences of Islamophobia and feelings of isolation. Another could also be that many of the men interviewed either worked in the restaurant industry or in businesses owned by family members, meaning their work colleagues tended to be other Muslims. Although the male participants' Muslim identities were less visible than the women's, they did at times come into contestation, as the following extracts emphasise how negotiating the workplace also poses problems for the identities of Muslim males.

(Narrative 23)

Interviewee 1 = Although culture is worldwide, Bangladeshi's are the biggest minority amongst Swansea and sometimes you have young people with problems in education because they are helping out the family business, so they would be working long hours not getting paid and that has a huge impact on the young people and I think it's one of the things we try to work on, and now people are open to be getting jobs elsewhere and not sticking to the family business, so families also want them to be something they are not

(Interviewee 1, Male)

(Narrative 24)

Researcher = What does it mean to you to be a Muslim?

(silence)

Researcher = Is that an easy question or a difficult one?

3= It's a way of life isn't it, it teaches you how to live your life, and if you are a Muslim you follow that, pretty much, but I think in terms of that we have never really had much real difficulty with in terms of racial discrimination, in terms of Swansea anyway we haven't had any problems because of that

Researcher = Really?

4 = Well there is always still that one isn't there, awkward

1 = Well I have got a shop so obviously me experience is different like

4 = There's always that one idiot isn't there

1 = If you get a kick off in the shop obviously the first thing someone in Townhill is gonna be like is you fucking paki, you fucking this, you know now blah blah blah

(Focus Group Men, Number 3)

In Narrative 23, Interviewee 1 stresses that many of the men he works with have problems in education because they are helping out the family businesses where they work for long hours with little pay. He argues that because of this, as an organisation, one of the main challenges they face is helping to find alternative employment for their clients. This reveals how there is certain work expectations bound up with being a male from a Bengali/Pakistani Muslim background, and that the meaning of manhood is framed in relation to power relations set in particular localities (Gilliat-Ray 2010). Interviewee 1 also emphasises the inter-generational struggle that exists between the men and their families. Although he says that attitudes are changing as more young people get jobs elsewhere and go on to further education, by stressing families are wanting their sons to 'be something they are not', this highlights the pressures that can come from working in family businesses. This suggests that such inter-generational conflicts have a strong impact on the identity formation process of the males, and that the workplace not only produces challenges and pressures from non-Muslims and non-ethnic minorities, but also pressures from within. Thus, the workplace is a locality where the participants can be made to feel stuck in a 'third space' where they cannot quite relate to the wider pressures placed upon them from the non-Muslim secular society, whilst equally feeling under pressure from

inter-generational tensions (Bhabha 2004). This will be discussed in the final section of this chapter which discusses the role of the 'cultural community' in shaping the participants identities, but it is important here to highlight how the workplace acts as a place for potential tension.

Narrative 24 also reveals how issues of race and exclusion can be at the forefront of work relations. When asked what it means to be a Muslim, the first reaction of the group is silence, suggesting perhaps they have never had to answer this before as they take time to think about it. When asked whether this is a hard question to answer, participant three begins by stating how it is accepted as just a way of life. He then deals with the question by discussing how easy it is for him to be a Muslim growing up in Swansea, using place as a tool to locate his Islamic identity within the confines of where he grew up. At first he states that in Swansea, he hasn't had much 'difficulty' with his Muslim identity. Either he hasn't received much prejudice throughout his life, or it is possible that he did not want to admit to being a victim of racism or Islamophobia due to the fear of having his masculinity questioned. As in Hopkin's (2004) research with Scottish Muslim males, individual incidents of racism or Islamophobia tended to be discussed less in focus groups with the younger males, and more in the one on one interviews with the older staff due to the likelihood of the participants prescribing to dominant forms of masculinity during focus group discussions (Hopkins 2004).

However, after participant three first states that he hasn't had any problems and I follow this up by asking whether this is really the case, participant four and one state that in actuality prejudice is more prevalent in their daily lives than participant number three mentions. Participant one then gives an example of some of the abuse he will face such as being called a 'Paki' when working in his father's off licence shop, to stress how the workplace can become a space of racism and confrontation. Here however, it is the colour of his skin which is a target for racial abuse not his religion. This was common for the men who did not regularly wear Islamic clothing or beards. If the participants of this research were from Mustafa's (2015) type 4 classification of prime Muslim identity, with little affiliation to any other identity, then perhaps the level of Islamic abuse they might have experienced would have been a lot higher. They were more likely however to be the victims of racist abuse where their skin colour became a point of contention, whereas for the women who wear Islamic dress, they endure both racism due to the colour of their skin and Islamophobia. This suggests how the spaces of everyday work life present interactions

which are shaped with continual gendered challenges for Muslims which vary depending on how visually they express their Islamic identities.

Socialising with Work Colleagues and the Role of Alcohol

For both men and women some experiences were similarly shared. The role that alcohol played in relationships with work colleagues and friends was something that emphasised a sense of otherness which was at times difficult to negotiate. Religiously based actions in a diverse workplace can often create situations of potential tension and unrest, and unlike with the previous examples of an interaction such as praying, where negotiations could be made to accommodate certain religious differences, when it came to alcohol and how it plays a part in the socialisation with friends and work colleagues, it at times created a barrier to formulating a sense of belonging (Hicks 2003). Alcohol has been an important has been a central feature of the political, economic, social, cultural and physical development of urban landscapes throughout history (Jayne, Holloway, & Valentine 2006), and how the participants negotiated their relationship with alcohol accentuates how the workplace did become a place where the participants felt excluded from certain aspects of Welsh identity, because they did not drink. This posed a barrier to how feelings of belonging developed and how they interacted every day with work colleagues.

As Narrative 25 and 26 emphasise, the social aspects of work which revolved around drinking alcohol made the participants at times feel excluded.

(Narrative 25)

Researcher = What similarities and differences then?

1 = Well with the British and Welsh they're very into their clubbing (a voice says yea) and very into the Royal family, again what is this obsession with the Royal family

[in the background someone says I don't know anyone who loves the royal family}

2 = I can understand about the drinking culture, like in the workplace there is a slight drinking culture and because I personally identify myself as firstly Muslim, we don't drink so they socialise through drinking

1 = The minute you tell them you don't drink alcohol they are like what? You don't drink? Who are you?

2 = So you sort of have that segregation because they socialise and click through drinking whereas automatically because you don't drink you don't 100% integrate with them

1 = When you ask foreigners, when you go to Spain they know British people for their drinking, because they just go all out so when we say we don't drink alcohol we become outsiders all of a sudden so we are not 100% percent British, but with the Bangladeshi lot if you are not in the culture, then you are not in that either, so I would see myself in the middle

2 = I would say that's partly true, because even though I said British, I don't 100% identify myself with typically British white people, only because the majority of them I don't know but when I go into the workplace, I think it's just Swansea I don't know, but maybe the workplaces I go, maybe I'm sure it's not like that, I don't know but they are really into their drinking and I can't socialise as much

1 = Even though we do socialise yea we are reminded we are not like them

2 = We are reminded we don't have that similarity and that automatically sort of distances you because they are like why can't you come out, it's almost like peer pressure, I remember once, are we allowed to say workplaces names?

Researcher = Yeah that's fine

2 = But I was working for a government agency and I remember saying to them I don't drink then all my team basically said if you don't drink you're not one of us, and they laughed it off, but I know they were quite serious about it but it really put that pressure on me to drink, but automatically I sort of distanced myself because I don't want to go towards that direction, because I don't see myself as a drinking identity person you know, I don't' focus mainly on drinking, I focus it on other things

3 = I think that's why a lot of British people think we don't integrate, it's because of that

(Focus Group Women, Number 3)

(Narrative 26)

1 = When I think about Welsh people in general I think of drinking culture, and the people from Wales I have got along with they have travelled, the ones I have got on with they have basically not been born and raised here necessarily, and just come here now and again at parts of their life, because I think Welsh people can be narrow minded, but I don't know I guess that's just me stereotyping, I've been to big organisations, and not just one person but a lot had had that stereotype because they have sort of distanced me massively, but you know I have met some Welsh people, and I think it's quite rare to have that open mindedness

(Focus Group Women, Number 2)

From the beginning of the exchange in Narrative 25, participant one states how in her eyes the British and Welsh are 'into their clubbing'. Immediately this structures the following

debate in terms of a national and sub-national rhetoric, where they situate themselves as different to their 'British' and 'Welsh' colleagues because of their identification with drinking alcohol. Not only does this reveal when talking about alcohol the participants feel they do not belong to the national or sub-national community, but it also suggests how depending on the context, the words British and Welsh are used interchangeably to mean the same thing; I.e. 'those people of a certain cultural background who aren't us'. As the conversation develops, participant two agrees with this sentiment by stating how at work, she believes there is a 'culture of drinking' which people 'use to socialise', however, because she does not drink she cannot fully participate. Participant one then states the reaction of disbelief she is faced with when people find out she does not drink. Participant two agrees and remarks how this makes her feel 'segregated' and that she cannot fully feel integrated.

Participant one then states that British people are 'known for their drinking' and that because of her faith she does not drink, and is thus seen as an outsider and cannot feel 100 percent British. Although participant two does not quite agree with this statement, because she still associates with Britishness and does not drink alcohol, such exchanges do reveal moments when the participants are made to question how they fit into the national and sub-national narrative. In particular when participant two discusses the workplace, although she questions the fact that 'it's not all like that' thus identifying that she is stereotyping non-Muslims, the prominence of drinking associated with work colleagues results in feeling as though she cannot socialise as much. The participants expressed that being Welsh meant having to have to drink alcohol and that it was a very important part of Welsh culture. Even though this was recognised as a stereotype by the participants, the perception that to be Welsh you had to drink alcohol made this certain aspect of Welsh identity inaccessible for the participants. Such exchanges also mirror Hopkins' (2004: 266) research who found that Scottish Muslims stereotyped the majority and saw getting 'pissed' as a trademark of Scottishness, which also excluded them from feeling completely Scottish.

Narrative 26 extends this sentiment. When participant one discusses what defines Welsh people, she highlights 'drinking culture' as a particular marker which highlights how she feels different. This is something she sees as particularly Welsh, and something that she cannot belong to because of her religion. Her tone becomes accusatory when she states that Welsh people are 'narrow minded' which suggests a frustration of how her Muslim

identity has not been accepted by portions of the wider Welsh non-Muslim community. Like the participants in Narrative 25, she states that perhaps she is guilty of stereotyping all Welsh people, but still states how because of her Muslim identity, at the workplace she has felt particularly 'distanced'. These experiences of feeling disadvantaged due to not being able to fully participate in work and social life creates an 'Islamic penalty', where Muslim participants' identities were at odds with fellow workers expectations and behaviours. These therefore create socio-cultural barriers to further participation in public life (Bowlby & Lloyd-Evans 2009). Such interactions at the workplace therefore created moments where Welsh identity was something that as Muslims, the participants felt that they couldn't belong to. These interactions had a considerable impact on the identities of the Muslim participants and I have argued that the workplace is thus an important place where differences are not only brought into contestation, but where senses of belonging are questioned on a daily basis. Not only does this highlight how difference is negotiated, but also how feelings of belonging to Welsh identity develop and are negotiated differently within different social spaces of ordinary everyday life.

The 'Community'

The final place I want to consider is that of 'the community'. I want to view this as a more abstract sense of place but as a spatial category nonetheless because it influences the personal maps, mobilities and identities of the participants in important ways. 'The community' was a term used throughout the interviews, the focus groups and my time working at EYST, and was used to mean the 'Asian Bengali/Pakistani community' or the 'Muslim community'. Although the term was used interchangeably to mean either of the two, as will be discussed further on, it took on different meaning when it was being used to describe what was expressed as the 'cultural community' (I.e Asian/Bangaldeshi/Pakistani), as opposed to when it was used to refer to the 'Muslim community' which was viewed as purely 'religious'. This distinction is particularly important when discussing what was described by the participants as the negative aspects of inter-generational tensions. When something was considered negative, it was always deemed as a 'cultural community' issue and not a religious one, this point will be elaborated further on in this section.

The inter-generational politics bound up with the notion of 'the community' had a significant effect on how the participants mobilised their own identities and how they

constructed their own sense of belonging. The construction of identity for second and third generation British Muslims is happening on the backdrop of a transition where the loosening of the legacy of their family's country of origin has to be negotiated with their own everyday lives growing up in the UK (Kay 2007). This can cause possible tension (see Alexander 2000, Dwyer 1999), but also as I argue throughout this research, can create plural attachments to sub-national belonging. The presence of 'the community' was always present in the lives of the participants and manifested itself in numerous ways. It has a Janus faced element where on the one hand it is viewed with suspicion, resentment and fear, often modifying the behaviour of young British and Welsh Muslims in public space, whilst on the other hand, it can provide a sense of comfort, stability, understanding and act as a space of solace away from the wider public (Green & Singleton 2007, Dwyer 1999). Thus, for Muslims growing up in the UK, 'the community' is simultaneously a source of strength and oppression (Hopkins 2010). This next section will explore how the participants discussed what 'the community' means to them, how it shapes their everyday lives and how it affects their identities, their sense of belonging to the wider sub-national community and their attachment to a sense of place.

Whose Community?

Throughout the research there were two ways that 'the community' was discussed. The 'cultural community' was often defined as primarily 'Asian' or Bangladeshi/Pakistani, whereas the 'Muslim community' was defined as primarily religious. At times the use of these two overlapped and it was difficult for the participants to separate them. In other contexts, however, there was a stark difference which the participants made sure to emphasise. The ambiguity at times between the participants' definition of the two suggests the complexity that the hybridity of their identities can cause, and also confusion between what is understood as religious practices and what are deemed as cultural. Although the participants expressed how they felt about the 'cultural community' differently depending on the individual, the context, and which type of community they were referring to (Dwyer 1999), there were common characteristics which the participants highlighted as being typical when discussing what it stood for. That is, it revolved around familial, inter-generational ties that reflected views and values which were perceived to come from the cultures of their parents' countries of origin. The 'cultural community' also held a great degree of power over the structuring of the participants' own lives, being both positive and

negative. Although many accepted it as a part of who they were they were sceptical about how much they wished to continue to associate with it as adults. As Narratives 27-30 highlight, the 'cultural community' was a source of contradiction and contestation. In the extracts, the 'cultural community' is discussed as something which has a clear spatial element, that for its members, whether ascribing to it or not, reduces social distance. To be associated with the community means that there is a perception that everyone knows each other and thus personal geographies are shaped by how people navigate inside and outside of it.

(Narrative 27)

Researcher = So when you say "my" community what do you mean?

5 = Bengali community, Swansea community

3 = Yeah Swansea community, it's kind of close knit because the families all know each other and even though there's quite a lot of us, there is bit of a generation gap, our parents have been sort of born and raised in Bangladesh and have come here, so they know each other I can't really explain it

5 = Everybody knows everybody

(Collective Yeah)

5 = You know that old school mentality like back in the day everyone knows each other like Bob knows Fred, it's still like that in our community, like so and so's daughter

2 = That's why I think your parents, it's a bit like that they are like don't go out just in case so and so speaks, not every family is like that, but it's a bit of a gossip culture, community, because they might take something out of context

(Focus Group Women, Number 3)

(Narrative 28)

I was chatting today to Mohammed and he was angry the elders were arguing amongst themselves about politics back in Bangladesh. When I asked whether it was something he has any interest in he stated it was mainly a thing that only elders were interested in and he said "why bother getting involved in the politics of another country, it's got nothing to do with us".

(Researcher's Field Notes)

(Narrative 29)

Researcher = When you say people what do you mean?

1 = Local Asian community who have something to say about

4 = Yeah

1 = Talking and saying he did it for this reason, or he did it for that reason, just talking

3 = It's a bit like, oh I saw your son out with this girl and then it's a bit like … the next thing umm

4 = Yeah it's on the news like

3 = Yeah the next thing you know it's on the 6 o'clock news like

1 = Yeah you walk into the house the questions are being fired straight at you

3 = So I think as an Asian in that sense you're limited to your freedom

Researcher = Is that something you think will carry on in the future?

4 = No I won't cos

1 = I don't know, it's too early, your minds can change straight away

4 = I don't think I will

3 = It's more of a bad thing

(Focus Group Men, Number 1)

(Narrative 30)

Researcher = What about these parental differentiations then?

3 = Well it's different if you are a girl like, it's harder say like I'm 21 now and a girl in my position will get married off, they won't have much of a life, with me and my family, my sister is 26 and she isn't married yet, but in a different household she might get married off when she's 18

2 = It's a cultural thing

3 = It stays within culture its old school, you don't have a choice, its more old school

4 = Mind you its modernising things are different and are changing as we take on this British identity

Researcher = On that then, what is British Identity to you?

4 = It's about more freedom for us

5 = Way more freedom

4 = Choice for what you do, how you study, how you live your life

2 = British Identity is based on the law, control by the government, we have restrictions and boundaries we have to follow

(Focus Group Men, Number 2)

In Narrative 27, when asked what is meant by 'the community', participant five states that it is the Bengali community within Swansea. Participant three agrees and states how it is 'close knit' with families knowing each other, even though 'there's a lot of us'. Here participant three sums up this general feeling which was expressed by the majority of participants throughout my research, that to be a part of 'the community' meant that 'everybody knows everybody'. Although this might not exactly be the case, the perception that the 'cultural community' is always present is a powerful notion for understanding its capacity to shape the everyday lives and thoughts of the participants. The deictic terms (we/our/us) used to describe the 'cultural community' reveals how it exists within the everyday rhetoric of the participants and is thus constituted as concrete (Skey 2011: 107).

Not only is it given meaning through such collective language, but when participant five re-iterates this by stating it is an 'old-school' mentality, she suggests it is something she and her generation do not subscribe to. By doing so, the 'cultural community' becomes a clear cultural marker which is seen as something which separates her from her parents. Here, a national frame is invoked to suggest that the 'cultural community' is an entity which is in opposition to the wider British and Welsh community. Because their parents were 'born and raised in Bangladesh'*,* this is given as a reason as to why their parents and the 'cultural community' as a whole has this certain attitude. By doing so, the participants demarcate the 'cultural community' in a distant geography, separate from their own sense of place. Although it is real to the participants' lives and exists in the UK, in this moment, the social code that it stands for belongs elsewhere in Bangladesh (Dwyer 1999). This is important because it highlights the everyday markers which the participants use to re-iterate a sense of attachment to place, which helps them consolidate where and what they want to belong to (UK/Wales), and where and what they do not want to belong to (Bangladesh).

Participant two then considers how 'the community' further impacts on how the women map their identities when she mentions how their mobility through the streets is affected

by negative aspects such as the 'gossip culture'. When she states that you 'don't go out just in case so and so speaks', she re-affirms the power that the 'cultural community' has to modify their behaviour in public, by forcing them to avoid being gossiped about and avoid jeopardising them or their families reputation (Green, & Singleton 2007). Similar to Green & Singleton's (2007) research which explores the *'Safe and Risky Spaces in the Leisure Lives of Young South Asian Women'*, although the women participants in my research condemned the gossip culture, they failed to say to what extent they participate in it, or to elaborate who were the architects of it. What this exchange highlights is how the 'cultural community' not only exists in an abstract sense, but can alter the behaviour, mobilities and personal geographies of the participants. The 'cultural community' therefore affects the women by becoming a reference point that aids them in deciding to which national and sub-national place they want to belong to (Dwyer 1999).

Narrative 28 echoes this exchange and reveals how a sense of attachment to place is invoked when the participants discuss the effect inter-generational tensions have on them in their everyday lives. On this occasion in the drop-in centre, Mohammed expresses his frustration towards the older generations arguing about politics in Bangladesh. He highlights how his everyday life is saturated with negations over claiming different attachments to place. He uses the words 'us' in this country, to separate him from 'them' in another country whose politics he wants nothing to do with. This emphasises that the process of othering between generations involves varying levels of discomfort which is manifested in the various ways that place-sharing is expressed (Wise 2010). The first generation's strong links to their homelands can frustrate the second generation which effect how a sense of home and national and sub-national belonging is developed. In such instances, Mohammed invokes a national and sub-national rhetoric to express how a sense of place and attachment is used to distance his generation from his parent's generation, and the negative connotations of the 'cultural community'. He is clear that the politics that they argue over has nothing to do with him and how he situates his own sense of belonging.

This poses the question does the first generation's influence over the lives of the second generation frustrate and inhibit the second generation's integration and their own feelings of belonging to national and sub-national identity? Similar to the previous section which discussed the impact of working in family owned businesses, when it came to discussing the 'cultural community', the effect the parents had on the participants was influential. The

participants expressed that they were caught within a ‘third space’ between the pressure from their family, and the pressures from being an ethnic and religious minority within the UK. This often caused resentment towards their parent’s cultural heritage. As further generations are raised in the UK, whether such a strong ‘cultural community’ will remain and whether the consequent generations continue to implement these community structures is difficult to predict. As will be discussed further on, however, it seems as though the tension created by the ‘cultural community’ is being replaced by affiliations to a wider ‘Muslim community’. How this develops will no doubt affect future processes of contact, integration and cohesion in Wales and the UK.

In Narrative 29 and 30, it is again emphasised how the ‘cultural community’ is viewed as an entity which binds individuals in the spatial politics of inter-generational ties. In Narrative 29, in response to the researcher asking what participant one means when he says ‘they’, he refers to the ‘Asian community’ and re-affirms what was expressed in Narrative 27, that the ‘cultural community’ involves someone always having something to say. This is something that the participants feel infringes on their personal freedoms, as the experience is likened to there being constant surveillance of one’s actions when outside the domestic home and in public places. To emphasise this, participant three likens the experience to having his life being portrayed on the ‘6 o’clock news’. Here, certain ‘maps of grievance’ (Featherstone 2003: 405) are created as the cultural effect of his parent’s generation creates antagonisms which highlights the restricted power dynamics of place, when referring to the actions of the ‘cultural community’. When asked whether they would continue to prescribe to the ‘cultural community’, most of the participants were reluctant to want to further associate with it in the future.

In Narrative 30, this sentiment continues as participant one reflects on what the ‘cultural community’ stands for, and describes it is as ‘old school’*,* but states, ‘you don’t have a choice’ other than to be a part of it. Participant four, however, challenges this sentiment by saying that as his generation takes on a more British identity that this is changing. When asked what British identity then means to the participants, they then elaborate that it means more freedom over how they choose to live their lives. This exchange highlights not only how the cultural aspect of their parents’ identities is used as a marker of opposition to help them define themselves in relation to what they are not (Bangladeshi/Pakistani/Cultural), but also to define what they feel they are (British). By associating such things as the government, laws, and institutions with Britishness, they

emphasise a moment where institutional markers of power such as freedoms and laws are associated with the state national identity, I.e. Britishness. Thus, it highlights the dynamic when the official state identity matters, and when the sub-national identity of Wales does not. Whether they are conscious of these distinctions or not is difficult to tell, but it certainly highlights how the different scales of multi-level governance appear to matter within the lives of the participants at different times.

Throughout the research it was expressed by the participants that the control the 'cultural community' had over them was often gendered. This was echoed in Narrative 30 where to begin with, participant three states how it's much harder for 'a girl', with regards to aspects such as getting married, where there is a perceived notion that this can constrain how much women can 'have a life'. Although this can be viewed as a gendered misconception on behalf of the men, (because many of the women participants did have the agency, power and control over their identities to make decisions regardless of community pressure), it was clear that the cultural constraints that the 'cultural community' posed did map the participant's spatial identities differently depending on their gender.

As Narrative 31 highlights below, both men and women expressed that the 'cultural community' favoured men, in particular when it came to marriage, which was the site of most inter-generational conflict and tension (Mondal 2008). Narrative 31 also emphasises the difficulty of understanding how the participants negotiate their plural identities as it highlights the many contradictions and paradoxes which exist. When discussing the pressures of familial and 'cultural' expectations, the responses highlight how the women question and negotiate the traditions that they are expected to follow, and the gendered roles prescribed to them (Kay 2007). It also highlights how there exists a constant negotiation as to what can be deemed as 'cultural' practices and what can be deemed as 'religious'. In response to the question how do their experiences of the 'cultural community' differ to men, participant five responds by saying that she believes the expectations placed upon men from the 'cultural community' make them appear as if they are on a 'different planet'.

Participant three then states that she believes that men are allowed to be more 'Westernised' and therefore experience less of the pressures of the 'cultural community'. Here a distinction is made where to be Westernised means to be free from the cultural constraints of their parents' generations and community. As the exchange develops, it reveals the resentment that some of the women feel towards what they believe are the

contradictions within the gendered aspects of the 'cultural community', which produces what participant five calls a 'double standard'. For them, men are allowed to follow a 'Westernised' lifestyle without being pressurised by the 'cultural community'. However, for the women, they feel that the pressures placed upon them are far more intense as participant one argues, many aspects of their everyday lives can be controlled from being told what not to wear, to being told what to think. A contradiction exists here because the women participants are expressing resentment that the men are allowed to be more Westernised which means the men are perceived to be less cultural. However, at the same time, it is the cultural elements of 'the community' which frustrates the women participants the most. On the one hand they lament the men for being outside the boundaries of culture, but at the same time resent the culture for how they perceive it treats women unfairly.

(Narrative 31)

Researcher = How does your experiences differ to Men?

5 = Men are on a completely different planet

3 = In culture guys have more freedom so they are probably more Westernised so have less culture

5 = Not only that, recently I am looking to get married and all that and have spoken to a couple of guys and when I've got to speak to them, even though they have been born here, their outlook and values on life are absolutely shocking, like 20 30 years behind, not all of them but some people are

Researcher = British born?

5 = Even domestic abuse, you have to stick it out

2= Because they see it as a marital problem, as in everyone has their ups and down, and no you shouldn't deal with it if its violence, fair enough if its arguments

5 = It comes down to religion and culture, culturally its ok, but Islamically it's not acceptable like, I would say with Asian boys, girls tend to want go get married, want their own house family, freedom, whereas boys are like I want my family, you can stay here with my family, boys like the British way of life, Bangladeshi boys are quite content with living at home with mummy

1 = that's because it's easier for them, culture suits them it's easier, it works in their favour the culture

5 = But yet they want someone educated , for someone to cook for them and to clean for them and to stay in the house, whereas the mentality, if you want someone with a PhD you need to empower them to go do what they want to do within reason, some men are like no you are going to be in the kitchen love, in that aspect I am quite shocked, and from my job as well I'm quite shocked how British men are like at the work environment, but when they are at home , for example my brother , he is very westernised similar upbringing to me , they've had 4 kids he doesn't practice Islam , quite

relaxed, but when it comes to me he has double standard

1 = Yeah double standards I agree

5 = So for me its double standard and I don't understand how they can be like that , like if you're British born you should understand the values, but when you say it is it's like there's something wrong with you, that really baffles me

2 = It's because they are culturally like that, a lot of boys are cultural

1 = Again it works in their favour, whereas for us it doesn't work in their favour so we are against it

2 = Culture is making sure the boys are looked after

1 = They go clubbing, girlfriends, drink, have sex before marriage, with us it's like nooooo don't dress like that don't think like that

Researcher = Will that change with you?

1 = Yeah it's definitely change with our generation, we might be harder with the boys

3 = That's why we say we would rather not culture and maybe marry a convert

(Focus Group Women, Number 3)

As the discussion develops, the conversation focuses on the complexities surrounding marriage and the control the 'cultural community' has on the attitudes of British Male Muslims. Participant five begins the discussion by describing how her search for a husband has involved her meeting different potential suitors. She argues that many of the attitudes she has encountered regarding what is expected of women during a marriage are '20 to 30 years behind'. Although she acknowledges that it's not 'all of them', meaning she does not want to stereotype all men, she expresses that a mentality exists in which married women must serve the needs of the husband at the expense of some of their own freedoms. The reason given over why this occurs is attributed to culture, as participant two states, it's because 'a lot of boys are cultural'. Participant one then argues that for men to buy into that cultural community 'works in their favour', so therefore more want to subscribe to it. This highlights another paradox. In the public sphere the men are perceived by the women as being less cultural and more Westernised when it comes to their social lives, whereas when the discussion turns to the private sphere of the home and marriage, the participants argue that the men resort to unfavourable cultural practices, and become more 'cultural'.

Participant five then argues that to be British born 'you should understand the values' and therefore men should abandon those attitudes and values that her parent's culture and 'the community' represents. By invoking a national frame she demarcates how a clear

attachment to place is associated with certain expectations and meanings. In this instance, she argues that to be British means to associate with values where women's freedoms are important. To not subscribe to these values means to associate with the negative cultural aspects of their parent's generation placed elsewhere, in another country. Place therefore becomes an important marker for identity as they emphasise when exactly the nation is made relevant, and when it is used as a tool for deciding which communities the participants feel that they do and do not belong to. This exchange reveals those times when Britishness, and what are deemed the positive aspects associated with this identity, such as freedom of rights is invoked. In this context, her Britishness is used as a tool to clearly demarcate her sense of belonging in opposition to the 'cultural community' of her parents. Rather than be something they feel that they do not belong to, when discussing the negative aspects of the 'cultural community', Britishness is used as a tool to claim ownership over this part of the participants identities, and emphasises how nationhood is implicated in the choices the participants make depending on the context.

Another paradox however also exists. Whereas on the one hand to be Westernised was previously described as meaning to have no culture, when it comes to the freedoms that come with being British, the participants then state that it is an important part of their own identities. Thus, the participants do not recognise that the rights that they claim are important to them could be described as indicative of 'British culture'. The 'cultural community' and its effect on the participants is thus complex and has a Janus faced element when comparing its effect on women and men. On the one hand it is given as a reason by women, as to why men are perceived to have a lot more freedom to do what they want because more attention is placed upon the behaviour of women. On the other hand, is it given as a reason when discussing marriage how some men and prospective husbands want to maintain what are described as 'traditional roles'. As highlighted however in Narrative 29 and 30, to suggest that men do not experience the constraints of the 'cultural community' is inaccurate because men also expressed experiencing constraints with how they mobilise through public space due to the impact of the 'cultural community'. Although the extent of how these pressures are felt depends on the family, the individuals and the specific context, it was agreed by both men and women that the ways that the 'cultural community' impacted on women's life was far more intense.

Culture or Religion?

What these exchanges, as well as the many informal discussions throughout my research reveal, is that inter-generational tensions are often articulated as being a 'cultural' issue and not a 'religious' one. In Narrative 31, when discussing the role that women are supposed to play in the 'cultural community', participant five argues that the way that some men treated women was Islamically 'not acceptable'. Here she expresses a clear distinction between culture and religion, and how negative expectations placed upon her and her friends were culturally and not Islamically prescribed. This echoes an increasing strand of research which explores how second and third generation European Muslims are sceptical about the religious and cultural authority of parents and mosque leaders, which results in them instead turning directly to the Quran, the internet and peers to interpret Islam for themselves (Woodhead 2013).

This was evident throughout my research, where the legacy of the older generation's cultural traits conflicted with the participants own religious beliefs. One conversation I had with a Welsh born Muslim visitor to EYST in his 30's was that he wished they held English services at the Mosque because he felt as though he couldn't relate to the language he couldn't speak. Because Islam is becoming accessible far outside the spaces of the mosque, younger generations of Muslims in Britain are claiming ownership over how they construct their Islamic identity. This suggests that a negotiation exists in the identities of the participants where culture is seen as a social construct which can be replaced, whereas Islam and religion is seen as a given which is more constant and stable. This is not to say that the participants constructed their Muslim identities without reflection or without (re)negotiation, however, a clear distinction was made where negative experiences, such as the treatment of women, were deemed as an issue stemming from the 'cultural community' not the Muslim one. It was therefore expressed that the impact of the 'cultural community' on the lives of the individuals could push the participants towards an Islamic identity, in order to contradict the frustrations and constraints it places upon their everyday lives.

Therefore, although not easily separated, for many of the participants, they have begun to replace the 'cultural community' with an Islamic one. Because they have been socialised within both worlds, the world of their parents and the world of their own lives growing up in the UK, many were expressing a general antipathy towards the parents' generational cultural values (Mondal 2008). This also highlights how the participants are seeking other

sources to establish their identities, as part of a wider contestation with the first-generation elders and also with the larger non-Muslim population. This emphasises that Islam is becoming sought after as an alternative identity which can help the participants disassociate themselves from. This meant that the participants weren't critical of Islam, instead using the 'cultural community' to describe anything negative. Such instances thus reveal how culture and religion were demarcated at different times and different places as two distinctively separate entities.

The importance of the type of participants in my sample emphasises how my results were shaped. If my sample would have consisted more of type 1 or 2 of Mustafa's (2015) classification, where religion plays less of an important role in the lives of the participants, then the extent of contact with, or interest in the role of the 'cultural' or 'religious' community would probably have been less. Whereas if they were more akin to type 4 then perhaps they would be even more or less critical of the practices of the 'cultural community'. This PhD cannot answer this question, however, it does suggests that an important influence on how the way Muslim identities develop will depend on how much individuals feel like they belong to British and Welsh narratives. None of the participants in this research were able to disassociate their Muslim identities easily from their place based identities, and instead used their Welsh and British identities to navigate how they understood their parents' culture and their own Islam. The contestations described here between the 'cultural community' and the 'Muslim Community' will continue to be discussed throughout the coming chapters.

Conclusion: Where Does My Identity Matter?

The aim of this chapter was to highlight not only how the interactions that occur within certain places and social spaces can affect Muslims' processes of identity construction, but to show that place is as imperative as age, gender, nationality and race in understanding how identities are formed, conveyed, read and performed (Hopkins 2010, Hopkins, Kwan, & Aitchison 2007, Ryan 2012). By taking a spatial consideration to identity, I have been able to explore when and where Welsh Identity becomes salient in Welsh Muslims' everyday lives. To emphasise this, the first section of the chapter discussed two particular places, *the street* and *the workplace* that the participants had discussed in the focus groups, interviews and during my time observing. It explored how the levels of access to public place can

effect whether Muslims feel included or excluded within national and sub-national narratives, to discover whether this can help to understand when and where Welsh identity becomes salient within Welsh Muslims' everyday lives. The interactions that occurred within these places had a lasting impact on how the participant's negotiate their identities, and although in this chapter I have only discussed a few places, it is imperative for further research to understand as many places where such exchanges occur, in order to fully understand how Muslim identities develop in the UK. Whether on the pavement, in a shop, on the bus, at a community centre, at school or at work, all places can present moments where there is a heightened awareness of otherness, where the participant's Muslim identities can be emphasised as being 'different'. The outcome of these negotiations will vary, with different places presenting different challenges and opportunities for Muslims to understand how this aspect of their own identity fits, or not, within wider discourses of identity and belonging, in relation to their attachments to the Welsh sub-state nation.

Both in the street and the workplace, some of the challenges were abrupt, direct and questioned the participant's role within public place. The incidents I have discussed of everyday racism and Islamic related abuse forced some of the participants to question where exactly they belong within the British and Welsh landscape, and highlighted some of the places and moments where their claims to Welsh identity within their everyday lives can become a point of contention and contestation. Narratives 10, 11 and 13 highlighted ways in which public places can present challenges to the participants, where their agency over their Welsh and British identities is questioned, or as Interviewee 1 in Narrative 10 puts it, it makes him feel like *'you're not really British or Welsh, a foreign land, you know?'* Whether being asked in the street where they 'really' come from (Narrative 10), being told 'you can't be one of us' (Narrative 13) or being shouted at to 'go back to where you come from' (Narrative 12), these exchanges are used by the participants to navigate where they belong to, and highlight how the participants use their attachments to local, national and sub-national place, to help map out who they are, and who they want to be. The answer to one of these questions by participant 1 in Narrative 11 of 'Singleton Hospital', sums up how an attachment to place plays an important role in how the participants formulate attachments of belonging, emphasising that the where and when of identity is as important as who these interactions occur between. These incidents where the individuals are singled out for being 'out of place' highlight how the participants use how they are perceived as 'different' to construct their own ideas of what the nation and sub-state nation means to

them, and how differing geographic scales contribute to how Muslim identities are experienced (Phillips 2009, Hopkins & Gale 2009, Falah & Nagel 2005).

Both on the street and in the workplace, the extent of these daily negotiations of identity also varied depending on the gender and the type of Muslim experiencing them. This suggests it is difficult to discuss Muslim identity in isolation without discussing how gender effects how Muslims navigate public place. Each contrasting narrative has highlighted how Muslim men and women experience place differently, and that not only is their gender affected by their faith, but their faith and their attachments to Wales and Welsh identity is effected by how they negotiate their gender in public place. The participants expressed that Muslim women who wear the hijab are more likely to be the subject of Islamic abuse in the street than those who do not. The example from Narrative 11, where participant 4 discusses how she wore different clothes when travelling on the bus so as to avoid being targeted for abuse, suggests that having to manage how she is perceived in the street is something that she has to do on a daily basis. Such incidents can clearly make participants question where they do and do not belong, and shapes their everyday behaviours. Equally for men, how they decide to display their faith through dress will also affect how they mobilise through place. Those who choose not to wear Islamic clothing or beards are also less likely to receive abuse because of their religion. What this chapter has highlighted, however, is that the different places within everyday life which the participants mobilise between, can present interactions which are shaped by gendered challenges, and that an individual's access and rights to the city, nation and sub-state nation can depend on how visually they express their Islamic identities. As a result, in these incidents, Welshness and Britishness become salient in the everyday lives of the participants, but in a way that they feel excluded from the national narrative, where they feel as though they cannot belong.

The effect of these incidents on the participants varies. For some, they have a profound impact on how they construct their identity which can force them to question where it is they feel like they belong. Narrative 13 with interviewee 2 is an emotional response where the participant reflects on her place in the cultural landscape with a real sense of difficulty. For the majority of participants, however, although such experiences challenged their role in society and made them question their position within it, it did not force them to reject their attachments to Welshness as in many of the narratives, the participants still felt Welsh. What such instances like these emphasise, is how the participants develop a self-reflexive reconsideration and negotiation of what a sense of national and sub-national

place means to them. This therefore departs from the traditional civic-ethnic dichotomy that is used to describe the dynamics of national identity, and instead contributes to the development of a more plural attachment to national and sub-national identity, where Muslims are developing their relationships with the national and sub-national community which merge their dual identities, heritages and experiences, from the bottom up. It must be understood, however, that the more intense and common these negative interactions are, the more individuals will question their attachment to the nation and sub-state nation. This can force some individuals to seek alternative identities, which can result in pushing them towards adopting more extreme Islamic ideologies or a complete rejection of wider society (Khan 2015). Therefore, how incidents of Islamic abuse and racism are dealt with by authorities and organisations is imperative to how a sense of belonging to the nation and sub-state nation develops.

Exploring how the participants' identities are negotiated in the street and the workplace has also highlighted that Muslims' experiences of public places can also offer opportunities for individuals to feel like they can claim a sense of ownership over their identities, where they did not feel 'out of place'. Whether walking through the city, going shopping, going to the cinema, meeting friends, or taking family members to the beach, for the majority of participants, they could easily discuss moments where they moved through place without experiencing any prejudice. When such mobility does not create moments of exclusion, it provides a consistent location of familiarity in the maps of the participant's identities. These then become places which are ingrained in the personal geographies of the participants and become important in constructing their attachment to place and to their sense of who they are. This chapter therefore has highlighted that public places can provide moments for both challenge and opportunity, for inclusion and exclusion. The more that public places become accessible and free from tension, the increasing likelihood that individuals feel they have a right to claim the city and consequentially claim a sense of belonging to the nation and sub-state nation.

However, such moments which contributed towards the participants feeling included or excluded in public places such as the street, is often fleeting, spontaneous and more difficult to manage. In more permanent places of interaction between Muslims and non-Muslims, such as the workplace, there is a clearer picture of the practical challenges that face both when trying to negotiate diversity. In such places as the workplace, Muslim identity can at times be made to be seen as the only identity that matters to Muslims and

non-Muslims, which can obscure other affiliations to other communities that the participants have. In other words, at the workplace Muslims can be singled out for being Muslim and nothing else. Two issues which emphasises this are reflected in narratives 19 and 20 and relate to having a prayer room and being able to be accommodated for whilst fasting during Ramadan. Such incidents question Muslims' ability to feel comfortable within public places, depending on whether or not they are able to fully express their Muslim identity. The participants expressed that the more workplaces accommodated for Muslim needs, the more comfortable they felt, and the less they felt their religion singled them out.

However, such interactions also impact on how non-Muslim work colleagues develop relationships with Muslims as they have to manage and re-negotiate public space to accommodate, or not, for religious diversity. This is difficult because it raises further questions as to which belief systems can and cannot be accommodated for in everyday life at the workplace, and whether or not religion should have a privileged position in public places. The role of alcohol had a similar response in that it also affected relationships with colleagues at the workplace and revealed the multiple layers of visibility and invisibility that Muslims encounter on a daily basis in work (Ali & Hopkins 2012, Gökarıksel & Secor 2014). As highlighted in Narratives 25 and 26, when Muslim colleagues do not participate in what they deem as a specifically 'Welsh' activity such as drinking, this causes a socio-cultural barrier for further participation in public life, rendering them almost invisible (Bowlby & Lloyd-Evans 2009). This highlights how religion interacts with the secular sphere in public space, and how these interactions influence what the participants consider Welsh identity to be (Gökarıksel & Secor 2015). Such incidents thus highlight the moments where the participants have to negotiate their faith to carve a space for themselves within public place, and how this is perceived affects how they develop attachments to the national narrative and how much in these situations they can really feel Welsh. Thus, difference is encountered across 'varying levels of intimacy' as the participants navigate the various geographies of their everyday lives, where tensions can arise which question how much they can build attachments to the sub-state nation, and those people within it (Gökarıksel & Secor 2015: 28).

The final section of this chapter highlighted that the challenges to Muslim identities do not only come from non-Muslims, but also from within Muslim communities. When referring to the 'cultural community', the participants described a legacy inherited by the first

generation which is either ‘Bangladeshi’, ‘Pakistani’ or can be both, often coined under the term ‘Asian’. It was viewed both positively and negatively, providing both moments of strength and frustration for the participants. Narratives 27 to 31 emphasise how the presence of ‘the community’, and the inter-generational tensions it provokes, can impact on how the participants mobilise through place, which can alter how their identities develop. This relationship had a very spatial element to it which controlled how the participants mobilised through both domestic and public place. The fact that ‘everybody knows everybody’ meant that everybody also knew where everybody was, and that how the participant’s interpreted cultural, religious, gendered and national and sub-national place was influenced by this relationship. As participant three in narrative 29 puts it, as an ‘Asian’ within the confines of the cultural community, you’re always going to be ‘limited to your freedom’.

This relationship was not redundant from other aspects of the participant’s identities, in particular gender, which suggests that Muslim identities cannot be discussed in isolation from the other identities which make up an individual. In Narratives 27-31, it was agreed that it was more difficult to mobilise through public space as a woman because of the ‘cultural’ restraints that the community placed on them. In particular, when discussing relationships and issues around marriage or going out with friends, it was expressed that there was a gendered ‘moral order’ which effected how they mobilised through the city (Gökarıksel & Secor 2015: 22). This, however, was always attributed to a cultural, inter-generational cause, so much so that in narrative 31, participant two states that the reason that her experience of moving through public space is much more constrained is because men are also lot more ‘cultural’. In other words, she is equating the social standing of men in public place with a cultural difference which they as women do not possess. This therefore highlights the hybridity and ambiguous nature of how the Muslim aspects of the participant’s identities are constantly being balanced with other aspects, such as gender and cultural heritage. However, what must be stressed is that the men also experienced this cultural restraint and although it was acknowledged by both that men could mobilise through public space more easily, they were not free from these restraints on their own personal geographies.

In relation to this complex juggling of identities, the cultural community was also used as a marker for the participants to locate their sense of belonging to Britishness and Welshness. The participants would often use the cultural community as a tool to highlight how

different they felt from the parent's generation because they grew up in Wales and the UK. These differences were described as vast. As participant four in narrative 30 sums it up, being British gave them 'choice' for what the participants can 'co', how they 'study' and how they live their lives. Thus, the pressure the cultural community placed on the participants provided moments where they felt like they belonged in Britain and Wales, making Welshness and Britishness salient frames of identity in their everyday lives. This is a dynamic which is unique to second and third generation people and reveals that how a personal national identity is understood, can be a reflexive process where individuals negotiate their attachments to place with their parents' heritage. This neither lends itself to an ethnic or politically civic understanding of national identity, but reaches into new territories of plurality which emanate from the bottom up. Viewing national identity in this way allows for a more flexible understanding of the relationship of how the nation is negotiated in diversity, and is utilised in a variety of ways in a diverse age. This therefore suggests that understanding those places and social spaces where Britishness and Welshness becomes salient to Muslims, reveals how the ongoing re-construction of national and sub-national identities is developing and contributing to an alternative understanding of what national identity can mean in diverse European societies.

The discussion of the role of what the community meant in the lives of the participants also revealed another version of how the community was defined. When the participants compared the 'cultural community' with the 'Muslim community', this was made with a scale of morality where negative practices were more often than not deemed as a 'cultural' manifestation and not a religious one. This however did not acknowledge how religion and culture can be manifestations of the same thing. As further generations are born in Wales and Britain, the participants seemed to be expressing an increasing rejection of the social and cultural structures associated with the 'cultural community' of their parent's generation, and therefore replacing this with a more religiously focused 'Muslim community'. The example from Narrative 31 where participant 5 states how the treatment of women is a cultural legacy and is not 'Islamically' acceptable was a sentiment I often came across during my whole research period, as was a wider confrontation with the first-generation elders over their religious authority. This tension is actively being mobilised against as the participants give legitimacy to their religious identities in order to contradict what they saw as the cultural frustrations they experienced in their everyday lives. In these moments, being a Muslim came to the fore of their identities as negotiating this inter-generational relationship was a way that the participants constructed their own personal

access to social spaces, within which they could find religious clarity (Jeldtoft 2013). This complex tension was present throughout much of the research and will be highlighted in the next two discussion chapters. What this chapter has highlighted, however, is that this inter-generational dynamic has a spatial element to it which effects not only how the participants mobilise through place, but how they use their Muslims identities with their British and Welsh identities to carve out a more plural sense of belonging which reflects their diverse biographies.

Chapter Five - Mobilities of Home

Introduction: 'When I'm there I get a sense of who I'm not': Home, Mobility and National and Sub-National Belonging

In this chapter I will discuss how the participants construct and re-construct their attachments to national and sub-national place through their mobilities. In particular, I will consider how their mobility emphasises the role that a multi-scalar notion of home plays in the ongoing re-construction of their plural identities (Blunt & Dowling 2006, Brickell 2014). The concept of mobility focuses on how people and objects are connected to each other by their movement between places, and how this movement has political implications creating spatial stories which animate certain places (Cresswell & Merriman 2011, Kellerman 2006). The term mobility is preferred over *movement* because as Cresswell (2006) highlights, mobility without meaning is *only* movement (Cresswell & Merriman 2011:5). To further understand not only *what* Welsh identity means to second generation Muslims, but *when and where* exactly it matters, I will explore how mobility rather than being the antithesis of belonging, can be used as an essential tool in highlighting how perceptions of the nation, sub-state nation, home and place are influenced and understood (Fallov, Jørgensen & Knudsen 2013). By doing so, I will argue that mobility plays an important role in emphasising how a plural sub-national identity relies on a sense of attachment to place, which influences how the participants reflect on their own identities (Cresswell 2006).

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section will discuss the concept of home and its role in the ongoing re-construction of national and sub-national identity. It will do so by highlighting how the study of mobilities helps to emphasise that although home can be simultaneously sedentary and mobile, national and sub-national belonging relies on a sense of rootedness to place which is constantly negotiated but consistently important (Ralph & Staeheli 2011). The second section will explore what I define as the *International mobility* of the participants, in particular the experience of 'homeland trips' and holidays taken to parental homes. It will discuss how these trips shape the relationship that the participants have to the culture of their parents, but more importantly, how it contributes to the ongoing construction of their own sense of Welsh identity (Kibria 2002). Such visits highlight complex power geographies where negotiations of re-discovery, longing, belonging and conflict all merge to affect how the individuals understand their sense of self (Vathi & King 2011, Ralph & Staeheli 2011). I will consider how this mobility challenges, re-

affirms and places the importance of Welshness within their biographical narratives, particularly focusing on how these visits are described by comparing the experience with everyday life back in Wales (DeHanas 2013a). The final section will explore what I define as *National and Sub-national mobility.* By this I mean the mobility between nations and sub-state nations within the UK, in particular between Wales and England, and to a lesser extent Scotland. Such mobilities are usually treated in isolation when discussing the second generation, or are never even considered at all. Every participant in this research had some experience of mobility over the national or sub-national border between Wales and England, whether to visit family, to study at Universities or for general holidays. Exploring these mobilities is therefore important for understanding how meaning is given to the participants' sense of Welsh identity. By discussing these different geographic scales, I will argue that although a sense of attachment to place is inflected with multiple mobilities, having a home bound with a fixed location is a meaningful way that Welsh Muslims define their sub-national identity and also their Islam (Germann-Molz 2008).

Setting Up Home: 'I don't see myself going anywhere else, this is my home, where my comfort is'

The question 'What shall I call myself?' is one which is forever negotiated. It changes context depending on *who* people are with, but also *where* people are at a particular moment in time. Interlaced with such negotiations of belonging and identity is trying to understand how an attachment to a home develops, which involves questioning what does it mean to feel at home. For some it is self-evident, for others it is a constant struggle which reveals the dichotomous, paradoxical and multi-layered nature of the concept (Mallett 2004). For the purpose of this thesis, home will be both a lived and longed-for experience which includes the everyday interactions which happen within and beyond the four walls of a household, constituted through multiple relations and feelings, felt across numerous geographical places and social spaces (Ralph & Staeheli 2011, Taylor 2013, Blunt & Dowling 2006, Fox 2006a). Home is therefore as much to do with the relations shared between people as it is to do with the locations which anchor people in certain places (Blunt & Dowling 2006, Blunt & Varley 2004, Nowicka 2006).

Traditionally, the concept of home has been associated with a single-bounded territory or location (Heidegger 1971). In particular, when discussing the construction of national and

sub-national identity, having a fixed home or homeland has always been essential (Özkirimli 2005). A key character of nationhood is sharing a geography rooted in a particular place which people have an emotional attachment to (Billig 1995, Smith 1999, Agnew 1987, Connor 2001). Although this can be dangerous and is always contested, as many conflicts and wars have been fought and continue to be fought over claims of which territory belongs to which nation or sub-state nation, imagining a shared national or sub-national territory can also provide comfort, stability and a sense of anchorage essential to developing feelings of belonging. National and sub-national identity is therefore constructed from having a spatial origin which helps mark the boundaries that one can call home, where feelings of belonging rely very much on fixity. This therefore makes national and sub-national identity some of the most territorial of all political ideologies based on a shared idea of place (Agnew 2004, Ralph & Staeheli 2011, Smith 1999).

In an increasingly interconnected world however, understanding this fixity becomes more challenging. As societies become more multi-cultural, how national and sub-national identity is re-imagined will require understanding the plural backgrounds of diverse communities, and the attachments they have to numerous geographic places. Because of this, one of the key narratives that have emerged from the mobilities literature has been to challenge the notion of home as being bounded with a sedentary territory. In recent years, research has problematized this view to concentrate on the more porous possibilities of home. Much of this shift has stemmed from Doreen Massey's research on place. As Massey (1994) argues, analysis of place must consider the networks of social relations and interactions that operate at a variety of geographic scales, from the local to the global. These connections and interrelations construct a sense of home which is always open to change and extends beyond immediate place (Massey 1992). Influenced by this, some have concentrated on the dichotomous nature of home as both sedentary and mobile (Ralph & Staeheli 2011, Germann-Molz 2008), or as Ahmed et al. (2003: 1) argues, 'being grounded is not necessarily about being fixed; being mobile is not necessarily about being detached' (Ahmed et al. 2003: 1). When considering the mobilities of *first generation* migrants, Ralph & Staeheli (2011) use an useful analogy to describe their attachments to home as being 'accordion-like' in that it stretches to expand outwards to distant places, while also squeezing to embed them in their proximate and immediate locales, strengthening and deepening ties to multiple places (Ralph & Staeheli 2011: 518).

Although this is a useful analogy to consider for the first generation, I will argue that for the second generation there is more fixity than this, and that place must be viewed as a product of a pause and a chance of attachment which although exists at many scales, still requires a sense of rootedness (Cresswell 2004). Although the use of the phrase 'back home' by the second generation is the survival of an expression used by their parents and family members daily, it is often contested. This suggests that although their idea of home is inextricably bound with multiple places, for second generation Muslims, home is reliant on familiarity, stability and the continuity of daily life often expressed through national and sub-national terms rooted in local place (Bolognani 2014, Levitt 2009, Skey 2011).

I will therefore argue that mobility gives agency to the participants over how they shape their national and sub-national identity so that rather than accepting the narrative handed down to them, they play an active role in how their plural national and sub-national identity is continuously being reconstructed to reflect their own diverse biographies. However, how others define the conditions and boundaries of 'sameness' and 'difference' will greatly affect how people identify with somewhere as home (Valentine 2009). How much someone feels at home and imagines themselves within the wider national and sub-national community is affected by their everyday experiences of racism, Islamophobia, acceptance and denial which have been discussed in the *Places and Spaces of Exchange* chapter. Legitimacy from the wider community is important, and whether one is included or excluded involves a complicated intertwining between structure and agency (Castels & Davidson 2000).

In their study on the influences of feeling 'at home' among Muslim groups in Britain, Germany and Spain, Karlsen & Nazroo (2013: 703) argue that the main drivers for young Muslims who were unable to easily identify with the national identity of their country of birth, or found it difficult to call it 'home', was because they felt they had been socially excluded, rather than any lack of integration caused by 'insularity', 'religious affiliation' or 'religious practices' of these groups. This is a particularly important point to consider which will be explored further on when I discuss how mobility brings into question both negative and positive ideas of belonging. Therefore, this chapter will argue that the significance of home cannot be fully understood until people's mobilities between their homes and other places are explored. As Blunt & Dowling (2006: 23) emphasise, home is not a given but is made through processes of creation, and I will therefore argue that understanding such mobilities reveals the moments in time where Welshness matters to Welsh Muslims.

International Mobility: 'Homeland Trips' and Going Abroad

Although research investigating how second generation Muslims construct their transnational identities is still in its infancy, an understanding of this multifaceted subject is increasing (Eisikovits 2013). One such area which is gaining further attention focuses on how the second generations' affiliation with their own country of birth is impacted by their mobilities, whether frequent or infrequent, permanent or temporary, to the pre-migration and ancestral locations of their family (see Wolf 2002, Levitt & Waters 2002, Christou 2006, Wessendorf 2007, DeHanas 2013a, Bolognani 2014). Reasons for such visits are numerous, but what is important is that each visit has a powerful significance where notions of place, culture, religion, gender, and national and sub-national identity intertwine to impact both positively and negatively on how conceptions of home are negotiated (Mason 2004, King & Christou 2011). This thesis argues that research into the national and sub-national identities of second generation Muslims cannot be fully understood without investigating these mobilities. Therefore, the first scale I will discuss that mobility occurs between which has a pertinent effect on shaping feelings of belonging is that of *International mobility*. In particular, what are called 'homeland trips' and visits by the second and consequent generations to the birthplaces of their parents and grandparents, and holidays to other Muslim countries.

Where home lies can be greatly affected by International mobilities as second generation Muslims try to understand their sense of self in comparison to how their parents relate to these countries (Taylor 2013, Alba 2005). It is important to have this in mind when considering how place is given meaning to, and by whom. The concept of home for *first* generation parents and grandparents is often transitional and complex. This is not to say that every migrant rationalises their sense of home similarly. As Ralph and Staeheli (2011) highlight, each first generation migrant has a different story and access to different resources, and therefore lives between different social locations to negotiate their sense of place. They emphasise that '*a refugee's experience of home is likely to differ from that of an elite business traveller, the political exile's from the non-domiciled tax exile's, the asylum seekers from the tourist's and so on'*. However, although no story of migration is the same, a sense of fluidity characterises the transnational life of the first-generation, as they maintain strong and intensely purposeful links to their home through familial ties, transcontinental marriages, sending remittances and many other relationships (Bolognani 2014, Christou 2006, Reynolds 2011, Tsuda 2003, 2009). When asked to reflect on how

their migrant parents positioned their sense of home, typical responses given by the participants stated a strong sense of where they thought their parent's attachments lay.

(Narrative 32)

5 = That's what's been forced into you from a child, back home , back home when your parents talk about Bangladesh

3 = My parents are like 'let's go back home', because originally they are from there and they came here as young people and to them Bangladesh is home

(Focus Group Women, Number 3)

(Narrative 33)

Interviewee 4 = I'm from a Bangladeshi background, my parents they are from there…were born in Bangladesh, they were born there and then moved and settled in the UK, so even though I don't have a massive attachment to Bangladesh for them its home

(Interviewee 4, Male)

(Narrative 34)

Interviewee 2 = They are from Pakistani roots, even though they have been here longer than me, they've got property in Pakistan, they visit Pakistan regularly, they've got relatives there, so to them it's… their roots are there still, their brothers and sisters are there, their parents are there

(Interviewee 2, Woman)

In all three extracts, the participant's parents' relationship with home is very much rooted in a multi-layered geography, where their mobility across international borders has not diminished their connections with their countries of origin. For them, their parents have a very real attachment of belonging and meaning to those countries, and although it depends on the circumstances and the context at which their family left, the place that they no longer reside still defines much of their identities (Blunt & Dowling 2006). In Narrative 32, participant five begins the conversation by stating that from a young age, the term 'back home' is quite typically used to describe Bangladesh, the home of her parents. Throughout my research, the participants used this term interchangeably. Although the relationship that each participant had with their parents' homeland did vary between each individual,

the term 'back home' was used as a tool to describe their parents ideas of home, and wasn't used to refer to as the home of the participants themselves. This use of the term poses the question, however, how long will it be until Bangladesh is no longer considered at all as 'back home'? This point was often reflected on by many of the participants and highlights how their everyday lives are saturated with reminders which question where it is their roots and sense of belonging lies.

By using the word 'forced', participant five stresses the prevalence of the term in her own up-bringing, and how it acts as a constant reminder of the multiple places which define her family's idea of where home is. The word 'forced' also implies the strong impact that inter-generational ties have on the lives of the participants, and reflects what was highlighted in the *Places and Spaces of Exchange* chapter. That is, that the pressures that family connections to a culture which is perceived as being different to that of the participants, can often frustrate how they construct their sense of belonging growing up in the UK and Wales. Participant three then re-iterates this and mentions how when her parents say 'let's go back home', it emphasises how for them Bangladesh will always be home. In this exchange, both participants outline a clear demarcation of where their parents' home is, which is expressed in national terms.

Narratives 33 and 34 echo this sentiment. In Narrative 33, Interviewee 4 stresses that although he does not have a 'massive' attachment to Bangladesh, for his parents it will always be home. In Narrative 34, Interviewee 2 also highlights why her parents still describe Pakistan as home when she lists links such as property, relatives and the emotive attachment they have which is rooted in a 'different' place. Thus, these extracts emphasise the constant inter-generational push and pull on the participants identities, as their construction of home from an early age has multiple possible points from which to derive attachment from. However, despite the fact that the participants acknowledged that this history also belonged to them, their initial reaction when discussing their parents' sense of home would be to compare it with their own sense of place and how much it differed. Often this was expressed through either a sub-national frame of Welshness or a national frame of Britishness.

(Narrative 35)

Researcher = How does your parents views differ to you?

1 = When they ask me where I'm from I say Wales, they say Bangladesh because that's their

culture and that's where they are from, that's their homeland and Wales would be mine

(Focus Group Women, Number 1)

(Narrative 36)

2 = They are born in Bangladesh and see themselves as Bangladeshi, they were born there, they want to go back to their country once in a while, while we say this is our country we want to stay here, they are usually for a far more cultural lifestyle

(Focus Group Men, Number 1)

(Narrative 37)

Interviewee 1 = When I say back home it's like a way of saying my parents land, because that's where they were born, because when they first came to this country they always had a dream to go back and settle down, because my history is my granddad came to this country after the war they needed men to come work in the factories, so that's how my dad is here and that's why I'm here… my dad he always…. I'm sure he wanted to sort of work here and make some stability for himself finance wise and then go back and settle there, as obviously that's home to them, and now that's even changed for their generation, cause they know deep within that they are not going to go back because this is home and the reason for this is that my generation see this as home, I do not see Bangladesh as home….. I see myself as Welsh Bangladeshi like

(Interviewee 1, Male)

Understanding how the participants negotiate their parent's relationship with 'back home' highlights how an attachment to their own sense of place is formulated. In each of the extracts, the participants use their parents' homeland as a tool to compare it with their own sense of what home means to them in Wales and the UK. This gives them agency over how they negotiate their own national and sub-national attachments. In Narrative 35, this is expressed by opposite affiliations. For participant one, there is a clear demarcation between 'here' and 'there' which is described in sub-national terms. Thus for her, Wales is her homeland (here), and Bangladesh is theirs (there). When discussing the conversations she has with her family members, not only does she separate herself with regards to attachments to place, but she also associates her parent's homeland with a specific way of life which she does not identify with. When she states that 'that's their culture' and that Wales is her 'homeland', she is separating herself from that specific place and the cultural affiliations associated with it. The characteristics which define the 'cultural community' are

again present in this narrative, and although its effect on the participant is influential and binds her in the spatial politics of inter-generational ties, she stresses that it does not belong to her. She is thus re-creating her own personal geographies of home by establishing a sense of plural sub-national attachment, which reflects her biography which is different to that of her parents. This provides a moment when being Welsh matters to how she establishes a sense of where home is, and what it stands for.

This is also emphasised in Narrative 36. Here participant two uses the interplay between sameness and difference to define how his sense of home contrasts with his parents. The use of the collective 'we' want to stay 'here' in 'our country', to describe his and his friends' viewpoint, contrasts with how he describes his parents stance who according to him 'want to go back to their country'. This highlights a situation where having a clear sense of place matters to his definition of what home means to him. It also gives an insight into those moments where his parent's country of origin is used as a tool to give him agency over deciding who he is and who he's not. Again, *'cultural'* reasons are given to describe why his parent's generation associate with their Bangladeshiness, and is used as a tool that emphasises the separateness that defines his attachments to place, and how he negotiates what his own culture, identity and home means to him. To be cultural means to associate with a different *'lifestyle'* which is rooted in another place and therefore both participants in Narrative 35 and 36 distance themselves from this to reinstate where they come from and where home lies.

Narrative 37 however offers a slightly different insight into the complexity of the relationship between first and second generations' negotiations of home. It emphasises how for the first generation, rather than only having one home, they can have deepening ties to multiple places as the location migrated to, in this case Wales and the UK, can also be strongly felt as home. Interviewee 1 states that the first generation knows they won't return because his own generation is rooted in Wales and see nowhere else as home. This highlights the complex relationships between identity and belonging where migrant identity should not be presumed as always fixed to a singular home, because the second generation's sense of place and sense of belonging will be in their place of birth (Ralph & Staeheli 2011, Blunt & Varley 2004). For the second generation, comparing and contrasting their parents' attachment to place with their own sense of home helps define how they see themselves, and how they create a sense of attachment to Wales. Particularly important is at the end of this exchange, Interviewee 1 states 'I do not see Bangladesh as Home….I see

myself as Welsh - Bangladeshi like'. This statement reveals how he negotiates these two identities. Through using sub-national terms, Wales becomes an anchorage for stability, familiarity and belonging as 'a secure place to proceed from and return to', in comparison to the uneasy and more complicated relationship that his parents hold with a sense of home and belonging to Bangladesh (Skey 2011: 122).This process of comparing these place based identities is therefore exclusive to how second generations construct a plural sub-national identity which is transformative, reflexive and represents their own diverse biographies. However, Interviewee 1 does not abandon all affiliations with Bangladesh as he defines himself as 'Welsh – Bangladeshi'.

Making the Journey

The participants' relationship with their parent's homeland was also informed by their own experiences of visiting such places. Durations of these visits can vary from a quick visit, a long summer holiday, extended stays or even what has now been termed the 'return visit' where the second generation live in their parents' home of origin permanently (see King & Christou 2011, Vathi & King 2011, Binaisa 2011, Tsuda 2003, 2009, Christou 2006, Eisikovits 2013, Fehler 2011). Although the frequency of visits differs depending on each family, for the majority of the participants, trips lasted from two weeks to two months and motivations for visiting were similar.

(Narrative 38)

Interviewee 1 = It's like when I go there I'm on holiday…. My father….. he's always taken me back when I was growing up, I went back many a times, he wanted to teach us where he was born and grew up and what are the people like up there, so we went back many a time

(Interviewee 1, Male)

(Narrative 39)

Interviewee 4 = My wife's been there only once, I've been there about 3 or 4 times ….. I don't mind going there for a while because there are nice places in Bangladesh to visit you get to see some family

(Interviewee 4, Male)

(Narrative 40)

1 = Like you probably wouldn't go back to Bangladesh, I'm probably the same, I'm very doubtful if any thing will happen, like back to Pakistan

3 = Yeah exactly *don't have much interest to go back to Pakistan or Bangladesh, first of all its not much of a tourist place to go to and secondly there's nothing…. Without your parents you wouldn't be in touch with family*

(Focus Group Women, Number 3)

In each of the extracts, the reasons for visiting are primarily to do with family. This differs in importance and meaning to that of the significance of these trips to the first generation. Whereas for them the motivations behind these visits are perceived as important and imperative to their sense of belonging and attachment to Bangladesh or Pakistan, for the second generation, the experience of visiting parental homelands is described more as a trip where they view themselves less as direct stakeholders in the country, and more as tourists (Bolognani 2014, DeHanas 2013a). This lack of emotional investment given to the meaning of such visits contributes to their construction of home, place and a sense of othering. This is not to say that these trips are not purposeful or impactful on developing ties to Bangladesh or Pakistan. Indeed, these trips can develop strong spiritual and cultural attachments to the parental homeland. In both Narrative 38 and 39, the participants do reflect on how the trips can positively re-enforce strong bonds of family and familial networks (Reynolds 2011).

However, because they have become viewed as holidays, it suggests a certain sense of detachment from place. The experience of always being a tourist or a visitor challenges to what extent the second generation are willing and are able to claim the parental homeland as theirs, emphasising their otherness and difference as visitors (Mason 2004). By viewing these trips as merely holidays, it suggests a profound ethnic consciousness and realisation where home lies, and emphasises which imagined national and sub-national community the participants belongs to. All holidays come to an end, and because they know they will return home to the stability and familiarity of Wales, it plays an important role in how they construct an attachment to Wales and a detachment from Bangladesh or Pakistan.

Narrative 40 however takes this further and suggests that these trips are not at all like holidays as there is even less emotional investment or intention to visit their parent's homelands. Participant one states how after visiting, she probably wouldn't go back to Bangladesh thus expressing her uncertainty of her relationship with her parents homeland

and her ability to claim it as her home. Participant three then responds to this statement by arguing that because it's 'not much of a tourist place to go to and secondly there's nothing to do'*,* she has a lack of emotional investment to what it means to her. These trips are thus viewed with an unfamiliar detachment from place. This questions those such as Hall (1996) and Phinney et al. (2001) who assume that having multiple cultural lineages automatically means an ability to be able to negotiate each one, or that a national or sub-national framework is rejected for a more enlightened cosmopolitan one when people go on holiday (Skey 2011). By viewing these trips with less investment than a holiday, the attachment to the parental homeland reduces. This reinforces which places matter and which places can provide a more accessible and common-sense framework for establishing a sense of stability within their lives (Skey 2011).

As the second generation ages, their experiences with these countries change as they become more aware of whom they are, and where they feel they do and do not belong. When they were younger, the participants stressed that their experiences were less complicated and less influential on how their sense of belonging to Wales and the UK is formulated. As Vathi & King (2011) discuss in their research into the return visits of young second generation Albanians in Europe, feelings of happiness and contentment associated with play at an early age can have positive effects on how attachment and belonging are constructed towards the parental homeland. This was expressed in Narrative 41 where participant three describes his memories of earlier visits.

(Narrative 41)

3 = When I was small most of my family was there, and that's when I really enjoyed it, we played quite a lot and it felt a lot more comfortable, cause you have like your modern side, cause our parents, they usually build a new house back for their family to live in and then you go to the other side where they live in the villages, so there's two sides when you back to your country but it used to be quite a lot of fun

(Focus Group Men, Number 1)

Here participant three expresses how he feels that cultural differences were less of an issue when he was younger, and that the homeland trip was viewed more as an adventure and associated with play. This was expressed as something quite common by most participants who had fond memories of the excitement the trips conjured when they were children.

However, as they become older the experiences became a lot more complicated. As the participants spend longer periods away from these countries and more time in Wales, they become less willing to be detached from their home and more likely to be aware of the cultural and familial tensions that might emerge during the return visits (Vathi & King 2011).

(Narrative 42)

2 = For me I'm not sure the connection will still be there, when my grandmother dies I don't think I will still have it, I don't get on with my aunties and uncle, I don't want to be around all that, they will just milk it off your parents, your parents do so much for you and for them but they expect more

(Focus Group Men, Number 3)

(Narrative 43)

Interviewee 4 = Recently I went to Dubai and I could have equally gone to Bangladesh and see extended family members, but equally I want to go on a holiday where I can relax, it might be selfish but we don't come from a very rich background but my father does support people financially back in Bangladesh, and I would want to get away from that, obviously there are family disputes as well, every Asian family in the UK will have family disputes wherever they are from

(Interviewee 4, Male)

In both Narrative 42 and 43, a sense of frustration towards family ties affects how the individuals develop attachments to the homeland of their parents. In Narrative 42, participant two expresses doubt as to whether or not the connection with Bangladesh will 'still be there' after close family members die. Because of this, he feels that the parental homeland will become less significant in his life as attachments to Bangladesh will loosen. He then states that family connections contribute to having a negative effect on how attachments to parental homelands are constructed. For him, Bangladesh becomes associated with family disputes and issues regarding providing remittances for who he deems as ungrateful family members. This was also strongly expressed in Narrative 43, where Interviewee 4 no longer chooses to visit because he feels he cannot relax. On his most recent holiday he decided that rather than going to Bangladesh, he would visit Dubai so he could 'get away' from the cultural and familial complexities that would arise if he were to visit his parent's homeland. Bangladesh thus becomes a place which defines the

‘maps of grievance’ within his life as it represents a place that is better off avoided (Featherstone 2008, Phillips 2009).

Not only does this highlight how a sense of home is constructed through meanings attributed to different places, but how the International mobilities of the participants emphasise that the process of belonging is re-constructed by self-reflection over relations between people and the places that are meaningful to their personal biographies. In further informal conversations with Interviewee 4 about his holiday in Dubai, he commented on how from an Islamic perspective, it was a very convenient place to visit as everything was catered for. In particular he exclaimed that Halal food was readily available in every restaurant he visited. Although Bangladesh is also a Muslim country, such remarks regarding how decisions were made on where to go on holiday highlights the continuing tension between how the participants manage their relationships with the ‘cultural’ legacy of their parent’s generation, and how they construct their own sense of Muslim identity. By not going to Bangladesh and going to another Muslim country, he feels he can just be a Muslim and not have to worry about the cultural complications of Bangladeshiness. This again highlights another instance where the tension between culture and religion influences how relationships with place are constructed, and how the participants’ Islam is being re-constructed in opposition to the cultural constraints that their parents’ generation places on them.

Other than the pressure of familial ties, the participants stated that the reason why a detachment from parental homelands existed was due to negative personal experiences when visiting. This not only weakened feelings of attachment to the parent’s homeland, but also strengthened feelings of belonging to Wales and the UK. The more negative the feelings that develop about a place, the less likely it is that people can develop a sense of belonging to it. What was typical for almost all of the participants when visiting the parental homeland was that they felt they stood out when they were there, and felt uncomfortable about what they defined as the ‘cultural aspects’. In the same way that Kibria’s (2002: 296) research into the effect that second generation trips to China and South Korea have on the subjects’ Americanness, for the majority of the participants these trips heightened their sense of Welshness and Britishness. They also questioned their attachments to Bangladesh as notions of blood and belonging were challenged in profound ways. What was expressed overwhelmingly by the participants can be summed up in

Narratives 44 and 45. When describing whether or not they felt like they fitted in, the participants stated how much they felt like they stood out.

> ***(Narrative 44)***
>
> *2 = When we go to Pakistan for example we are different to them, to my cousins there*
>
> *1 = Somehow when we go there we are obvious*
>
> ***(Focus Group Women, Number 2**)*

> ***(Narrative 45)***
>
> ***Researcher = When you went over to Bangladesh, how were you perceived then?***
>
> *Interviewee 1 = I stuck out like a sore thumb, and they knew, when I would go into town and the poor women and men they would know and come to you specifically for money, and would know I was from somewhere else, my family would know because they are family, but other people would know just by looking at you*
>
> ***(Interviewee 1, Male)***

This sense of 'obviousness' expressed by participant one in Narrative 44 highlights the separateness and impermeability of the ancestral locations for the participants (Bolognani 2014: 114). When they are there, they are made to feel conscious of the ways in which they stand out. Narrative 45 echoes this sentiment when Interviewee 1 states how for him he felt like he stood out 'like a sore thumb'. However, feeling 'out of place' in Bangladesh is very different to how the participants expressed feeling 'out of place' in Swansea. In Narrative 10 in the *Places and Spaces of Exchange* chapter, Interviewee 1 stated how he is made to feel like he does not belong to the local place back in Wales when he experiences racism or Islamophobia. However, because he grew up there he often dismisses these incidents because he still perceives Wales and the UK as home. In Narrative 45 however, when in Bangladesh, he does not feel like he can ever claim this place as his own because this place is too unfamiliar. Interesting here is how the power relations in the street are different, but result in similar outcomes. When in Swansea, he is singled out because of the way he looks and is made to feel out of place and powerless, when in Bangladesh he is also singled out because of the way he looks in the street, but this is because there is an assumption that he is wealthy and is therefore powerful. In both examples however, his

agency over his own sense of belonging is questioned. However, how it effects his identity is different. Being Bangladeshi in Wales and being Bangladeshi in Bangladesh are two different experiences and contributes to his identity being caught in a ‘third space’ which is challenged in different ways depending on which place he is in. Such instances of International mobility therefore highlight how the parent’s homeland is used as a reference point by the second generation to compare how the participants situate their own identity, and establish their attachments of belonging to Wales and the UK and to where home is, and what it stands for.

When trying to understand the differences between themselves and their Bangladeshi or Pakistani homelands, the participants would compare it with their life in Wales, often using everyday markers to clarify how they structure their sense of what home means. The following exchange details how International mobility emphasises *when* being Welsh matters through such markers.

(Narrative 46)

Researcher = How do you feel when you go there?

4 = Culture got to me in the end

5 = I felt so white out there that I struggled, I was counting the days till I came home, and when I came home and I saw Port Talbot steel works I was like yes, I’m nearly home, but when I was out there I was classed as being white, because when I was speaking Bengali I had a Welsh accent coming through and they didn’t understand it, and the way I was dressed in their eyes they were like what are you wearing? and I remember wearing lip gloss on my lips, and they were like why you putting oil in your hair, and they didn’t understand who I was, I thought I was a Bangladeshi, but when I went out there I thought I stood out like a sore thumb, with my clothes, the way I looked, the way I spoke

3 = You don’t realise how different you are until you go there

2 = Yeah you don’t realise who you are until you’re there

(Focus Group Women, Number 2)

Narrative 46 reveals how the participants use their Welshness to understand the experiences of mobility to and from their parental homeland. The first statement from participant four, that the culture ‘got’ to her emphasises the tension between how she feels different as a Bangladeshi in Wales, as opposed to feeling Bangladeshi in Bangladesh.

Once again, ‘culture’ is invoked to distance herself from her parent’s homeland where negative and unfamiliar practices are deemed as a ‘cultural’ manifestation. The ‘culture’ associated with certain places accentuates her differences, and for her makes it difficult to consider Bangladesh as home. This feeling of otherness was reinforced when participant five states that when in Bangladesh, she feels particularly ‘white’. Here, rather than being a symbol of skin colour, whiteness is expressed as a cultural way of being. Although to her she looks the same as other Bangladeshis, she feels that culturally she is so different, she might as well be a different skin colour, and therefore not Bangladeshi. This reveals that who controls unequal power relationships has a profound effect on constructing attachments to place and belonging when making these trips (Adey 2006, Kellerman 2012, Hannam, Sheller & Urry 2006).

These particular differences were also accentuated by certain everyday traits, one particular being accent. Participant five states that when she was speaking Bengali in Bangladesh it made her realise she was doing it in a Welsh accent. Here she is re-confirming her sub-nationality and highlighting how such a situation gives her agency over her Welshness. It wasn’t a British accent but a Welsh accent, and it matters because this situation made her aware of whom she is, giving her ownership and agency through everyday symbols of identity which are possibly taken for granted back in Wales. This encapsulates her within a process where all of a sudden not only does her accent matter, but she notices that it’s a particularly Welsh accent. This is agreed by participant three who states ‘you don’t realise how different you are’, confirming how International mobility strengthens certain beliefs about one’s identity. On the other hand, in Bangladesh this disadvantages her by giving her outsider status in terms of developing support networks with Bangladeshis. Consequentially, these International mobilities not only highlight to the participants their marginality as Bangladeshis in Bangladesh, but also play an important role in how a sense of Welshness is constructed.

This attachment to place was also accented through other everyday objects such as clothes, lip gloss and hair products. Participant five states that her family in Bangladesh did not understand who she was because they could not relate to the practices and expectations that have been honed by her everyday life experiences back home in Wales (DeHanas 2013a). Here the body becomes a way that the individual feels different and therefore excluded from being able to imagine Bangladesh as home (Sluga 1998). Through relating her experiences with objects that at home she takes for granted, she emphasises

how home is a thick sub-national space where a sense of continuity and familiarity comes from routine features of daily life that to her are so normal, but to her Bangladeshi family are alien (Skey 2011). This further strengthens attachment to place as it helps her create connections to what she feels a part of, and what she does not feel a part of.

Narrative 46 also highlights how the process of returning home is as important in these mobilities for re-affirming a sense of place. When participant five describes her return home, she does it through mentioning local symbols such as the Port Talbot Steel works whilst driving back home on the M4 motorway to Swansea. Such visual markers ignite memories and attachments which help the participant confirm her own 'body map', that is, the deeply embodied routes carved out through paths well-trodden over years, punctuated by familiar landmarks (Wise 2010). This trajectory will always be carried by her as her life will always be coloured by such mobilities, and thus it becomes an important process in how she affirms her attachments to place, which in this instance is expressed through sub-national terms.

(Narrative 47)

Researcher = When you have been in the past to Bangladesh have you felt like you fitted in?

Interviewee 4 = Wales is completely different to Bangladesh, when we go automatically the locals, say your extended family, just outside that circle of family, everyone knows you're from the UK, you're from London, people have this perception in Bangladesh that everyone is from London and that everyone is minted and have a lot of money, so you have that label attached to you that you are from London and made of money, people treat you different, they don't treat you as they would a normal Bangladeshi people, but they might be after something from you, even your own extended family will be like this

(Interviewee 4, Male)

In Narrative 47, Interviewee 4 uses the reference point of the familiar, stable and continuous sub-national frame of Wales to compare it with the unpredictable and uncertain Bangladesh. Here, Interviewee 4 highlights how his experiences of being treated differently in Bangladesh have developed a sense of resentment and distance. This makes it difficult for him to claim a strong sense of Bangladeshiness when in Bangladesh. This feeling of not fitting in however gives him agency to decide who he is and who he's not by comparing these experiences to his everyday life back in Wales. Often this was expressed

by the participants through a sense of cultural superiority. Through their own processes of orientalism the participants strengthen a sense of a ‘progressive post-migration’ national and sub-national identity as Welsh and British Muslims, by contrasting it with the very different Bangladeshi or Pakistani identities that they associate with their parental homelands (Bolognani 2014). This is similar to how Skey (2011) describes the experiences of White British tourists when travelling abroad. Because they are faced with a situation where they have to control how otherness is negotiated through their encounters with different people, customs and products, it gives them agency over their identity, which often reinforces their sense of national and sub-national belonging.

Many of the participants compared their experiences of life in Bangladesh with life in Wales which weakened a sense of Bangladeshiness and strengthened a sense of Welshness and Britishness. Such exchanges allow the participants to re-confirm where home is, by comparing their life-styles with their Bangaldeshi or Pakistani counterparts (Bolognani 2014). Narrative 48 highlights how these trips are utilised by the participants to help affirm their own sense of self.

(Narrative 48)

2 = The only reason we have a connection with Bangladesh is that our parents are here and they are providing the money for Bangladesh, they have that link sending money back there so they can live like kings, we are struggling over here for them

Researcher = Is that something that you guys will do?

(Collective laughter)

2 = I’m Welsh mun, not Bangladeshi!

3 = My parents are always like we are going to build a house up in Bangladesh, but we are never going to go and visit it, everyone builds mansions

2 = Everyone has a mansion no one uses it, all Bengali families do it, what are you going to do with that?

4 = Here you have friends if they talk shit about it you don’t like it, our parents though they don’t seem to care the family always are positive

3 = Whereas our parents they are like, I am the oldest, it’s my duty, I have to look after them, god willing will protect us, if god can forgive why can’t I, I’m like mum chill out, forget them

2 = These are the kind of houses they build (shows the researcher and other participants a picture)

3 = But no one lives there

(Focus Group Men, Number 1)

At the beginning of the extract, participant two states that the *'only'* reason why these links to the ancestral homeland still exist is because of familial and financial reasons. When asked if they were willing to continue this financial link, the collective laughter suggests the absurdity of the question as the participants confirm that it is not their responsibility or desire. By doing so, they suggest that the parental homeland will not be able to hold the same leverage or power over their lives as it has done their parents, as they try to distance themselves from the pressures of these cultural links. This sense of unwillingness to be involved with family politics, which they see as irrelevant to them, manifests itself through an expression which uses a sub-national frame of attachment. Immediately after this laughter participant two states 'I'm Welsh not Bangladeshi mun!' By doing so he utilises the power of his sub-national attachment and decides that this is a situation where his Welshness gives him agency over his Bangladeshi identity to almost disown his Bangladeshiness. The participants collectively agree and begin to unpick particular class and cultural dimensions as they express resentment and disbelief over why their families are building large houses or 'mansions' whilst they are 'struggling' over in Wales. This exchange emphasises how when in Bangladesh, the gap between feeling Bangladeshi in Wales and feeling Bangladeshi in Bangladesh is stark, as their identities are perceived differently depending on where they are.

In the same focus group, the men continue to distance themselves from their Bangladeshi family and highlight how these International mobilities have an impact on how they re-affirm who they are, and who they are not.

(Narrative 49)

2= Thing is last time I was there for 4 weeks, I was like man I want to come back to Wales, you have to drink bottled water, I miss clean water, food you're never satisfied with it either

3= When we went in 2008 they were cleaning the rice by the pool and 1 of my brothers spat into the pool and they used that water with the rice, from that there was no way we were having rice,

2= Stuff like that we here are hygienic and they are so different

4= It's so hot you become ill, you get a bad stomach, you can't adapt to the weather or the food,

the mosquitoes

(Focus Group Men, Number 1)

Similar to the women in Narrative 46, the men use every day markers that they take for granted in Wales, such as drinking clean water, to reaffirm a sense of who they are, and to distance themselves from their family in Bangladesh. By expressing their distaste for the practices used to clean rice or the lack of clean water, the participants take advantage of the separateness of their two worlds to construct or reaffirm their power over their own identities, by claiming that they are different from the Bangladeshi or Pakistani 'other' (Bolognani 2014: 114). This gives them ownership over their identity where they disassociate themselves from what they describe as an 'unhygienic' form of living. Such exchanges emphasise how the process of constructing a sense of home for the participants relies on the experiences and relationships they have with their parental homelands, and how International mobility accents and shapes them. This process is unique to the second and third generation and therefore contributes to a self-reflexive construction of a plural sense of national and sub-national identity, from the bottom up.

This relationship also highlights how the negative aspects of the parents' sense of place is attributed to culture and is used as a tool for the participants to distance themselves from such attachments when they are back in the UK. Even when discussing positive experiences, the male participants revealed narratives which still emphasised an expression of superiority as they continued to associate Bangladesh with a culture which they felt was distant to them.

(Narrative 50)

3 = It's good you feel like a king

4 = Yeah it's relaxing, it's a lot more easy, and everything is a lot more cheap, people want to always be friends with you though because they know they can get money off you, they call us the Londoners, they think you're from London

3 = They smell you man, say you dress as a Bengali, they know you're not a Bangladeshi

2 = The beggars on the street man they know who you are and what you're all about

3 = I don't fit in over there

2 = I think I am more grateful for being Welsh and being born in Wales, because obviously I could have been born in Bangladesh and that, because there's not that much opportunities, so I'm grateful for my parents moving here, because thinking back obviously, if I was born in there I wouldn't have had much opportunity or much of a good lifestyle

(Focus Group Men, Number 2)

The beginning of this exchange highlights that for participant three and four their experiences can at times be quite positive. For participant three, he feels good when visiting Bangladesh and states that when he is there, he is treated like a 'king'. Participant four also recalls his positive experiences by describing how the visits can also be 'relaxing' and because it's a lot cheaper there; it can make the experience 'easier'. However, as the conversation develops, the participants reflect that being treated like a 'king' in Bangladesh can lead to uneasy class relations, and for several of the participants this instilled a sense of disdain for the impoverishment of Bangladesh (DeHanas 2013a: 463). Even though they are treated well, it is still difficult for them to disassociate Bangladesh from a feeling of exploitation and inferiority. These negative attachments frame how the participants separate themselves as the tourist, the traveller and the privileged, unlike the local who is 'impoverished' and 'backward' (Skey 2011). As they reflect on the lack of opportunities afforded to people in Bangladesh, participant two uses the comparison of lifestyles with Wales to situate his Welshness as a symbol of familiarity and stability, which gives structure and meaning to how he constructs a sense of belonging to place.

The Difference That Gender Makes

The exchange in Narrative 50 however also reveals how the experiences of International mobility for the men and women participants can differ depending on the gendered expectations they face. Up until now I have included extracts from the interviews and focus groups from both the women and men together, to highlight the numerous similarities in how relationships with the parental homeland influence their constructions of home. However, the experience of homeland trips was markedly different for women. Although they negotiated their identities using the same language to define the ancestral homeland as 'unfamiliar' and 'constraining' as the men do, the women's experiences of mobility within parental homelands influenced their personal geographies differently (Vathi & King 2011).

As Wolf (2002) highlights in her research on the visits of second generation Filipina women to the Philippines, although the experience of visiting can be positive, for women it can also become a source of stress and alienation which leads to internal struggles of identity. Typical in many cases of homeland trips where second generation Muslim women are raised in Europe, women are subject to much greater parental control with regards to their movement, gender and sexuality in comparison with their brothers (Wolf 2002, DeHanas 2013b). This was typical amongst the participants as they expressed how the 'homeland trips' consist of a lot of time spent with extended families since they lack the freedom to 'roam' that men have. As Narrative 51 and 52 highlight, this can have a profound effect on not only deciding who they are, but who they are not, which influences the process of constructing a sense of belonging to particular places.

(Narrative 51)

Researcher = When was the last time you visited Pakistan?

Interviewee 2 = Its been, I think about 6 or 7 years but the last visit made me really feel, I don't have anything in common here I don't know why I put myself through this and I come here and torture myself, it's the way peoples behaviours are, we are very different, they have a very different way, and you know, I wouldn't be able to survive in that country, I go there because I can survive there with my husband, he's got that kind of thinking, if we go out to town I can go out with him I find it so very male dominating society, and being from the West and the kinda person I am, I am very , I would call myself a Muslim feminist, I can't handle relying on a man to do anything for me, I feel like I should be able to go out and do things on my own, but I can't do that in Pakistan because it's not a society that will let me, so I feel like I'm in a position, like my hands are tied and I'm being forced captive, like if I wanna go out to a town for example, I have to wait for a man of the house to take us out, if I have to go to the shops I have to wait….. but I feel my independence is taken off me, here I can do any of those by my-self, anywhere in Europe, to a large extent even in Middle east you can't do that, you have to rely on a man, that's one part of the Middle east, but I feel we have grown up as independent Women…. that's why I don't feel I fit in to Pakistan life, and I wouldn't want my girls to feel the oppression and dislike that part of Pakistan, I just want them to think good things, and the only way you can think of good things is if you have less visits , the more visits you have the more you get to see the real true feelings of people and I don't want that , so we don't go there often

Interviewee 2 = I get a sense of who 'I'm not, I get a real sense of who I'm not, when I'm there I think a week maximum, then I start feeling I need to go home, I need to go home to Wales, every time the plane lands in Heathrow I feel I can breathe again, I really feel claustrophobic over there because I feel that it's a culture there that expects women to conform in a certain way, and I can just about do it while I'm there for a short space of time, but towards the end I start feeling I can't do this

(Interviewee 2, Woman)

(Narrative 52)

1 = The tiniest thing they notice a different, we dress in the same attire but the style you're wearing it or the print of the scarf how you wear it, in Saudi you have people there from all over the world, people from different tribes, different cultures

3 = That's somewhere where all the differences and diversity are highlighted , even Muslims look scary, like when people wear the niqab some people were wearing it head to toe

4 = I got freaked out seeing them, imagine it, it's like in harry potter, because me and her were walking into the mosque and feeling uncomfortable with people with the full dresses, even I was scared so imagine someone outside of the religion, they would themselves, security women were covered, they search your bags

(Focus Group Women, Number 2)

In Narrative 51, Interviewee 2's experience of Pakistan has a powerful effect on how she formulates her understanding of her own identity. It also suggests that how she constructs an idea of what home in Wales means to her depends on how her gender is questioned in both public and private space. She describes the experience akin to 'torture' and stresses how she 'wouldn't be able to survive' if she lived in Pakistan. This emphasises the alienation she feels and the pressures it puts on her. In particular, she emphasises that her freedom and independence as a woman is severely curtailed in Pakistan. When describing how her experiences affect her, she describes how the street becomes a place of potential conflict. What is deemed as an ordinary task back 'home' of walking in the street becomes a point of contention in Pakistan. She argues that because Pakistan is not a society that would 'let' her walk around without a man, as a woman, she feels powerless. By having to wait for a man to 'go to the shops', she expresses how her 'independence' has been 'taken off' her because of the way the male 'dominated society' makes her feel like she is 'captive'. She then compares this with being from 'the West' and states how she does not allow men to do 'anything' for her. By stating that when she's in Pakistan she gets a 'real' sense of who she's 'not', this emphasises how these experience shape her identity. Being able to use this comparison gives her agency over how she constructs her sense of attachment both to Pakistan but also to Wales. When she states that after a week or so in Pakistan she needs to 'go home to Wales', she emphasises how her sense of home is very much rooted in the familiar, stable, thick sense of national and sub-national place (Skey 2011).

Like Interviewee 1 in Narrative 45, Narrative 51 also highlights how understanding the International mobility of the participants can reveal the contradictions within their lives,

which encourage them to think about their attachments to particular places differently. Interviewee 2's experiences reveal the complex relationships which combine her femininity, her sense of belonging, and her cultural and religious expectations between Pakistan and the UK. In Wales, her mobility through the streets can be brought into question either because she is a Muslim or because she is an ethnic minority. Thus, she can be singled out and made to feel that her identity is not consistent with the existent notions of what being part of the Welsh public looks like. Whereas in Pakistan, she feels she is singled out primarily because of her gender. Although she can at different times feel out of place in both, she emphasises that the type of exclusion she experiences is far more intense and alienating in Pakistan. Although Pakistan is a predominantly Muslim country, she feels it does not allow her to be the woman she can be in the UK. She does not elaborate on whether she believes that the gendered control of her everyday life when visiting Pakistan is because of Pakistan's interpretation of Islam, or whether she believes it is a cultural issue, however, in order to express how she opposes the way her freedoms are limited in such a society, she describes herself as a 'Muslim Feminist'. This suggests that she views the Islam of Pakistan and what it stands for as conflicting with her own interpretations.

This reflects what was highlighted in the *Places and Spaces of Exchange* chapter, that the generational divide that exists between the participants and their parents is being manifested as part of a wider confrontation with the first-generation elders, as the second generation are sceptical about the religious authority of the parent's culture and Islam. This also reveals how being a Muslim varies with geographic place, and how her International mobility emphasises the differences in how religiosities are expressed in different countries. As ties to the 'cultural community' loosen and become less important, this suggests that the re-interpretation of Muslim communities in the UK for the second and third generation will involve those who reject certain Islamic interpretations that they deem to come from their parent's homeland. As has been expressed previously, how this sense of Muslim identity is re-interpreted is challenging and difficult to decipher. However, this research shows that for the women participants, having their gender and femininity questioned when making these trips made them challenge the Islam of these countries, and made them re-evaluate what it meant for them to be a Muslim growing up in Wales, the UK and 'the West'. In other words, it made them reshape themselves as 'Western' Muslims.

The importance of place to defining the participant's Islam was not only expressed through their International mobility to their parent's homelands, but also to other parts of the Islamic world. As Interviewee 2 highlights, she has visited the Middle East and felt the same. This contrasts to some of the male experiences, such as in Narrative 43 where Interviewee 4 did not mention noticing such gendered structures when discussing his Holiday to Dubai. This emphasises how the experience of being a Muslim changes between place and gender. This is highlighted in Narrative 52 where the participants discuss how trips to Saudi Arabia for Hadj made them feel different as Muslims. Participant one begins the conversation by stating how on these trips, Muslims from all over the world congregate. Participant three responds to this, stating that different Muslims from different countries in the world can look 'scary' to her. Participant four agrees and states how she felt 'uncomfortable' being surrounded by so many Muslims who were completely covered.

These responses emphasise the role that place plays in shaping how relationships with Islam develop, and how the religiosities of the participants reflect and are shaped by the everyday local, national and sub-national environments that they grow up in an consequentially call home. Although when they are abroad they can feel frustrated, when back at home, they can reflect on this and compare their experiences as something which re-affirms why they feel like they do not fit in. This gives them agency for further constructing their sense of belonging to Wales and the UK as they re-construct it as a place which is more inclusive to women, which colours the experience of the homeland trip differently to the men (DeHanas 2013). Thus, the international mobility of the participants reveals the unequal power relations involved when constructing a sense of belonging and attachment to place, which the participants use to compare the conceptions of home and faith that they have with their parents (Adey 2006, Kellerman 2012, Hannam, Sheller & Urry 2006).

However, although such international mobility confirms where home is and isn't for the participants, it can also highlight the complex relationships they face growing up as Muslims and ethnic minorities in Wales and the UK. The process of return does not only provide relief and comfort, but it can also make the participants question why and how they feel excluded from particular places when back in Wales. When reflecting on returning home after a trip abroad, although the feelings of exclusion are not as intense as in Bangladesh or Pakistan, such trips did highlight the everyday complexities that the participants can face on arrival back in the UK.

(Narrative 53)

1 = But then that being said when you return home…. this is our home but then you have the BNP reminding you that this isn't our home

(Collective Yeah)

1 = And when you see how many people support the BNP just a huge reminder that you don't belong, I remember my dad always says one day they are going to kick us out, and they will never accept us

2 = Yeah my dad always says that, and that's why my dad made us have a Bangladeshi passport and a British passport, just in-case my dad thought we were going to get kicked out

(Focus Group Women, Number 1)

Narrative 53 begins with participant one stating how when she returns home, the presence of the British National Party (BNP) and their anti-Muslim and anti-immigration rhetoric, makes her feel as though she does not belong. The group collectively agree as participant one continues to argue that according to her father they will never be 'accepted'. Participant two then takes this further by stating how her father made her get a Bangladeshi as well as a British passport just in case they were ever 'kicked out'. This exchange reveals the extent to which the participants can be made to feel 'out of place'. When visiting parental homelands or other Muslim countries, they have a clear sense that they do not belong there. Comparing this experience with what home means in Wales and the UK gives them agency and control over a large aspect of how they re-construct a self-reflexive sense of plural national and sub-national belonging, which is negotiated from the bottom up.

However, when the presence of everyday racism, Islamophobia and the BNP is prevalent in their everyday life, this constrains how far this can be expressed. This was typical for men and women as the legitimacy of belonging to Wales and Britishness will always be challenged by others (Valentine 2009). This is accented by their moblities (Ralph & Staeheli 2011), and what constitutes Welshness and a sense of belonging to the sub-national imagining is thus fluid and porous, changing as it moves across time and space (Levitt, Lucken & Barnett 2011). Thus, this reveals another internal tension of the 'third space', that when the participants are in their parental homelands, that they can sometimes feel more Welsh than they do when they are back in Wales. However, by in large this research suggests that for the overwhelming majority, home was clearly rooted in a sense of place in

Wales and the UK which conflicted in many ways with the parental homelands, both culturally and religiously.

National and Sub-National Mobility: Moving between Wales and England

Although increasingly research is focusing on the *International* mobility of the second generation, much of the literature fails to further expand on the significance of different geographic scales that mobility occurs between. In this section, I will discuss what I define as the *National and Sub-National* scale of mobility*,* that is, more immediate mobility between bordering and surrounding countries, in this case between Wales and England, and to a lesser extent Scotland.

In both the novel *Border Country* and the essay *Culture Is Ordinary* written by the Welsh New-Left thinker Raymond Williams, the journey of returning home to Wales from England plays a decisive role in discussions of identity and belonging. In *Border Country*, as the protagonist Matthew Price reflects on the significance of the journey he makes from Oxford back to where he grew up in Wales, his final words state: *'For the distance is measured, and that is what matters. By measuring the distance we come home'*. Here Williams urges the reader to think about what home means, and how processes of mobility and return make people question their attachments to place. Although the protagonist in the book lives in England, so his trajectory is different to the participants in my research who live in Wales and spend far shorter periods of time in England, it is still useful because it helps understand *how* and *when* Welshness becomes relevant to the biographies of the participants during processes of mobility. One of the main reasons for these mobilities was to visit family members in different parts of England, and the sentiment expressed by the participants in this research was similar to how Williams (1958) describes it in *Culture is Ordinary*, that is, it is a journey that in one form or another 'we have all made'. As Marcu (2014) emphasises, to better understand cross border mobility there needs to be an understanding of its effect on the people who practice it. In this section I therefore argue that mobility over the Welsh – English border plays a significant role in the construction of the participants' sense of self and affiliation with Welsh identity. When discussing what made them identify with feeling particularly Welsh, mobility across the Welsh–English border was a very immediate trajectory which confirmed a sense of belonging.

(Narrative 54)

Researcher = So why did you write Welsh?

2 = For me it's definitely the everyday lifestyle, and the people, you just know you're Welsh, when we go somewhere else to England, I happily say I am Welsh

1 = Yeah that's the only time you have to say it, when you go somewhere else, Wales is home

(Focus Group Women, Number 1)

Narrative 54 highlights the importance of mobility in creating situations in the participant's lives where they have to ask themselves not only who they are, but where they are, and where they are from. Both the women confirm that Wales is home and when participant two states that she 'just knows' she is Welsh, she reinforces this by stating that this sense of belonging is heightened when she is somewhere else other than Wales, particularly England. Participant one agrees and emphasises how Wales is home and that this is only realised when she visits somewhere that isn't Wales. Unlike International mobility, there is no border control between the four 'home' UK nations, which means moving between countries is not laden with the same state symbolism and formalities that come with entering a different country. Due to this, it could be assumed that mobility from and to sub-state nations would be less noticeable and less symbolic. Meaning however is given to sub-national borders through social production, and is constructed depending on the personal mobilities of the participants which reveal their different spatialities of home (Paasi 2009, Scuzzarello & Kinnvall 2013). In Narrative 54, the Welsh-English border is given legitimacy through the very act of moving in-between it, which helps define who can be included within a sub-national narrative and who cannot. For the participants, this is highly important because this cross border mobility reveals to them much about their identity and where they feel that they belong. As Marcu (2014) argues, understanding people's emotional reactions when confronted with cross-border mobility helps to understand how identities are configured.

An emotional attachment to this mobility was expressed by many of the participants as a typical marker that defined how they gave meaning to their Welshness. In Narrative 55, when asked about how his family came to Swansea, Interviewee 3 teases out these emotional attachments and the significance of crossing the border between Wales and England.

(Narrative 55)

Researcher= So was Swansea the first place your family arrived?

Interviewee 3 = My dad had been here for years before we arrived, my granddad was here as well and worked and worked and worked and sent money back to Bangladesh, helped all his family members, distant family members, to help them out, and then around 87,86, when he came here he worked in all sorts, the docks, the factories, in Yorkshire, Bradford, London Birmingham, all these cities, I'm not sure why he came to Swansea, but when we moved to Swansea I was really young but remember him saying this is now your home, and after travelling around the UK for some reason he chose Swansea and said this is your home, but now we love Wales, so we naturally love Swansea believe it or not, I have relatives all over the UK in Leicester and Bradford, and on the way back from visiting I can't wait to get back home to Wales, you know on the M4 and just as you pass Bridgend and in the distance you can see the peak of the Mumbles, honestly it's such a satisfying, it's a great feeling, it's amazing, just amazing

(Interviewee 3, Male)

The circumstances at which Interviewee 3's family came to Swansea reveal that his father had worked around the UK in many English cities before deciding to settle in Wales. It is by chance he was brought up in Wales, but his attachments to place which have developed since emphasises that how he negotiates his sense of Welshness is influenced by how he constructs what home means to him. When visiting his relatives in England, this mobility highlights moments when the sub-national border matters. Thus, when in England his Welshness acts as a 'third space' which he claims separates him from his extended UK based family and gives him a sense of ownership over how he constructs his sense of self. This mobility therefore becomes more than just a change of scenery and has an influential impact on how he maps his identity.

The return trip to Wales from England is used by Interviewee 3 to describe his satisfaction of wanting to get back to the familiarity of home, albeit, his description is not as intense as those emotions expressed during the process of return from International mobility, as explored in the previous section. The fact that he 'can't wait to get back' to Wales and Swansea emphasises how his sub-national identity is not something static which is defined from the top down, but is something which is actively given meaning to as he self-reflects on his mobility. Anthony Cohen (1994, in Bechhofer & McCrone 2009) calls this a 'personal nationalism' where Interviewee 3 is seen as a 'thinking self'. Thus, this highlights the process in which he 'does' his sub-national identity, in other words, how he thinks about himself, others, and who is included within the 'us' and 'them' as he mobilises across national and sub-national borders (Bechhofer & McCrone 2009). This self-reflexive moment

contributes to the creation of a plural sense of sub-national identity, where the participants merge the numerous aspects of their biographies to understand what Welshness means to them.

His mobility also reveals how his attachment to place is mapped through particular symbolic landmarks, which is similar to how the participants in Narrative 47 used familiar landmarks to describe their return from International mobility. The M4 motorway is again used as an important symbol to understand the return journey home. Rather than being a 'non-place' or an abstraction of space, it is viewed as having multiple symbolic relations which shape the spaces of mobility expressed in sub-national terms (Merriman 2004, Roberts 2010). Interviewee 3 uses another Welsh town, Bridgend, and the 'peak of the Mumbles' which is the headland which surrounds Swansea bay, to reveal the landmarks which make up his own personal geographies. The description of his return from England emphasises how place is ingrained within his personal maps of familiarity which are highlighted through such mobilities. These guide how the participants think about return and how they define what home means. Such mobility should not be taken for granted because it allows these emotions to be expressed, and gives power and agency to the participants over how they construct their attachments to Wales.

How these mobilites between Wales and England contributed to the participants' construction and re-construction of home was also articulated through the description of everyday objects. These helped the participants navigate how they expressed their sense of belonging to Wales when visiting family members in England. In both narrative 56 and 57, the reference to the taste of water becomes a point of discussion which gives agency to the participants over how they negotiate their Welshness.

(Narrative 56)

4 = Even between family we have that little banter as in your side of the family is English, outside of the family is Welsh we even have that , it makes you proud to feel Welsh

3 = Especially about Welsh Water and English water, whenever we go to England we always complain about their water

(Focus Group Women, Number 3)

(Narrative 57)

2 = Welsh water, our water tastes much better, we always have this argument with our families in England how ours just tastes better, there is certainly a sense of ownership about how we see it, it's our landscape, in particular in that, with accents as well we are noted as being Welsh when we go to places like England because of our accents

(Focus Group Women, Number 2)

In both extracts, the exchanges that the participants have when visiting their English family highlights how these mobilities emphasise the banal ways that national and sub-national identity is given meaning to, or as participant 4 in Narrative 56 puts it, 'it makes you proud to feel Welsh'. Water is used as an object to understand their sense of Welsh identity and to give meaning to the participant's Welshness. As Cusack (2003) argues, not only is what people eat important to their individual and collective identities, but also what they drink. Welsh water is used as an important symbol in constructing a sense of sub-national othering which reveals how through the acts of taste, the human body becomes implicit in the imagining of sub-national communities, and in the legitimation of national and sub-national boundaries (Sluga 1998). How the nation and sub-nation is talked about is bound in the consumption of food and drink which often articulates very visual notions of inclusion and exclusion, and conjures up images of nationality, sub-nationality and home which is expressed as a lived experience created and recreated through everyday practices (Blunt & Dowling 2006, Bell & Valentine 1997).

Not only is Welsh water perceived as being different, but it is also perceived as being 'better', which as participant two in Narrative 57 highlights, gives her 'ownership' over how her plural attachments to place is articulated. The mobility across the Welsh-English border thus emphasises to the participants that although their family in England share the same cultural ties to Bangladesh or Pakistan as they do, and the same religion, subtle differences can suggest that the place that they call home has sub-national implications which separates them from their English family. These differences highlight how the sub-national identity is made relevant through everyday taken for granted objects rooted in specific places.

Both these extracts also reveal that when spending time in England with their family, this can provide another 'third space' where their Welshness is not problematic to the extent it can be in Wales. Here their sense of Welshness is often uncontested by English family

members and instead is actually targeted for 'banter'. I will discuss further on how the role of inter-family 'banter' can re-affirm a sense of belonging to Wales and Welshness, but it is worth noting here how in these exchanges, being Welsh is unproblematic because it is uncontested. Perhaps in the streets of England the participants can still be targeted for racist or Islamophobic abuse, but when with family members, a 'third space' is created where their Welshness can be utilised as a significant and almost unproblematic identity. This further reinforces how these mobilities re-affirm a sense of belonging to Wales, but also the complex and contradictory relationship they have with how being Welsh in England and being Welsh in Wales can impact differently on how identity is negotiated.

Narrative 57 also reveals how other everyday markers of identity are flagged as being important to how the participants construct what being Welsh means to them. Similar to when participants were describing the impact of International mobility, accents are mentioned as playing an important part in identifying how Welshness is understood. Being noticed for having a Welsh accent is used as a relevant marker which separates the participants from their English family, and becomes a moment when their Welshness becomes relevant. This was elaborated further in the following two Narratives.

(Narrative 58)

Interviewee 2 = It *really comes to the forefront when I went to England I thought that's no not me, in very little things actually, first day in University was my accent, people were like wow that's a strange accent, I never in my life I thought I had a Welsh accent, but they were like you have such a strong accent oh, thank you, and the warmth in Wales, I feel people were nice and warm, I have not felt that anywhere else, when I went to Australia to visit my family, I really felt cornered as a Welsh person, they kept calling us pommies, I'm not a pommie I'm Welsh, when we went to America, I feel a lot of places in the world you have to explain where it is whose Welsh, they know about England, but that's something I know for definite that I am not and that is English, I can tell you that I'm not*

(Interviewee 2, Woman)

(Narrative 59)

Researcher = What about family in other parts of the UK, do you have family there?

2= Yeah especially in Birmingham and London, I have cousins from there

3 = Yeah there is Welsh English Banter, they can't understand our accents, but some of the girls

they love it, its pride they won't admit our accent is better than theirs

4 = The Welsh accent is awesome

3 = My mate he went off to America recently and they all love his accent

4 = When you go to Birmingham they know where you're from because how you sound

(Focus Group Men, Number 1)

In both extracts, the importance of the Welsh accent is used as a tool that gives the participants agency over who they are and helps them construct how their Welshness is expressed. Narrative 58 expresses a similar sentiment as Narrative 46 in the previous section on International mobility, when one of the participants described that she never realised she spoke with such a strong Welsh accent until she spoke Bengali in Bangladesh. In Narrative 58, Interviewee 2 states how she never realised that she had such a strong Welsh accent until she lived in England. When she states that 'my first day being in University was my accent…. I never in my life thought I had a Welsh accent, but they were like you have such a strong accent', she highlights how the unconscious, place specific, bodily dispositions such as accent are very important in developing how a sense of habitus is developed (Bourdieu 1977). National and sub-national accents can become very meaningful cues for categorisation, and for Interviewee 2, it becomes an integral part of how she identified with Wales (Rakic, Steffens & Mummendey 2010). Acknowledging an accent and its location creates an 'ideology of nativeness' which creates a dichotomy of 'us' and 'them' (Dragojevic, Giles & Watson 2013).

When she moved to live in England, her accent became a badge of 'authenticity' which forms a part of how she identified with being Welsh (Scully 2012). At the end of the exchange she also highlights those moments in her life where she is mistaken for being English when abroad and how this makes her feel. This time it is her International mobility which is invoked as she describes when she has visited Australia or America she has been called English. Her response to this however is to not associate with that identity as she states 'I know for definite that I am not, and that is English'. Thus, her relationship between Wales and England causes her to reflect on how Welshness is manifested in her daily life and gives her agency over her identity to decide which communities she belongs to, and which communities she does not. Her sub-national and International mobility is therefore

fundamental to how this relationship with England develops, and to how her plural sense of Welshness develops.

Narrative 59 also highlights how having a Welsh accent can become an everyday marker which people suggest singles them out as different. What would otherwise be seen as something unremarkable in the participants' everyday lives, because of the process of mobility over the Welsh-English border, it becomes a symbol which marks them out as the 'other' I.e. not English. The accent however becomes a source of pride for the participants as they utilise this as something beneficial which makes them stand out as different. When asked about family members in other parts of the UK, participant three first mentions the inter-family 'banter' which occurs because of their sub-nationality. One thing that marks them out as different in these exchanges is their accents, but this is not viewed negatively, as he stresses that he believes their Welsh accent is better than his family in Birmingham.

This again emphasises how visiting family in England can provide a 'third safe space' for Welsh identity to be expressed without having their position and attachment to Welshness questioned. Participant four's final comment summarises the simplicity of this when he mentions that when he visits Birmingham, people know where 'you're from' because that's 'how you sound'. Such moments as these highlight how Welshness is given meaning to, when exactly it is identified with and how mobility emphasises its significance. What is also highlighted in this final extract is the way that the participants' Welsh identity is negotiated through comparison with other family members in England. One particular way that this is highlighted is through inter-family interactions which are classed as 'banter'. What was described as inter-family 'banter' with family in England was by in large described as 'friendly'. This 'banter' typically involved national and sub-national stereotypes as the following two extracts highlights.

(Narrative 60)

Researcher = What situations does your Welshness come out more?

Interviewee 1 = When I go to visit my cousins in London and Birmingham, that's when they comment, "we know you're from Wales" you have a funny accent, then I say I haven't got a funny accent and I'm speaking English, then they are like we can tell by your accent where you're from, then wise cracks about sheeps and all that

(Interviewee 1, Male)

(Narrative 61)

3 = We have family in England and that and whenever we go over the border they call us sheep shaggers and that

4 = Yea all the time

1 = Even my cousins are from Scotland, and it's just jokes but we do have that banter, you will be like to them where's your kilt, ginger this, ginger that, haggis, gets more dirtier than that but we get all the Welsh stuff, it's all friendly fire on a mutual basis

(Focus Group Men, Number 3)

In Narrative 60, Interviewee 1 stresses how his English family members *'know'* he's from Wales because of his accent. Again these exchanges highlight the existence of a 'third space'. Although their Welshness is used as a tool for *'banter'* and *'wise cracks'* it is nevertheless expressed that they are Welsh without contestation. In both Narrative 60 and 61, what can often be deemed as a derogatory reference to sheep or being called as participant three puts it 'sheep shaggers', these exchanges are reflected upon by the participants jovially. National and sub-national identities often contain stereotypes where one's own group has positive attitudes, and other groups are attributed with negative attitudes (Korostelina 2003). These exchanges thus have symbolic value in the process of othering between the Welsh family and the English family as they produce moments where their Welshness is used as tool which reaffirms where home is. In Narrative 61, participant one also highlights how this sub-national 'banter' is extended to his family in Scotland. He lists symbols which he associates with Scottish identity such as the 'kilt', 'ginger hair', 'haggis', and uses these as sub-national stereotypes which help him ground where he is and where he isn't. Although these are brief exchanges in the lives of the participants, when they visit their family in England or Scotland, it is these small interactions which confirm where they have come from, and where they will return. This helps delineate who they are and who they are not, and highlights how national and sub-national identity relies on how people compare themselves sometimes implicitly, sometimes explicitly with others (Bechhofer & McCrone 2009).

The English Myth

One other particular narrative that developed from the participants' mobilities between Wales and England was how it accentuated a sub-national myth that Welsh people are accepting and friendly, whereas English people aren't. A (sub)national myth is a narrative

which shapes how people define themselves in national or sub-national terms which although might not be verifiable, still holds power over how one imagines themselves within a national or sub-national community (Smith 1999). In the UK, it has been highlighted when identifying with Scottishness, Scottish people acknowledge themselves as being friendlier and more hospitable than the English (see Bechhofer & McCrone 2009, Haesly 2005). Such national and sub-national assumptions are utilised by most nations and sub-nations when comparing their sense of identity with bordering countries, and are used in the process of othering which confirms a sense of self. In Wales, this feeling is explored further in *Border Country* where the protagonist Matthew Price compares his own journey back to Wales and argues that '*You don't speak to people in London… in fact you don't speak to people anywhere in England; there is plenty of time for that sort of thing on the appointed occasions – in an office, in a seminar, at a party'* (Williams 2006: 3). Throughout the novel, Williams makes this comparison in some form or another where Wales is portrayed as the familiar and personal, and England is the unfamiliar and distant. This was typical with many of the participants when they discussed their experiences of mobilising between Wales and England. Their mobilities between the two countries made them reflect on why they thought Welsh people were friendly, with Wales being described as a tranquil and peaceful place, whilst English people were described as unfriendly, less compassionate, and England a more hectic, busier but lonelier place.

(Narrative 62)

Interviewee 2 = I went to England to university…. it was the first time I realised you know what I was quite Welsh, because I didn't understand peoples accents , I felt different, I felt a real difference in people, and I thought you know, living in Wales, Welsh people are a lot more softer, more loving, more comforting, have more time for you, whether it was where I lived I don't know, and I went to a bigger city, Bristol, I felt people don't have time for you, people don't get to know you, maybe I was a student so it's a different field, in part of my life, but nevertheless, you know, for me whenever I crossed the Severn bridge I felt I was at home, this is home, and even after my degree there was no way I was gonna stay in England, I decided I am more Welsh than anything else, so I had to come back to Swansea, and I settled here, and after that I've had many opportunities to move out of Wales, but I would never, I don't feel I fit in in England, even though there are places in England where there are a lot of ethnic minorities, there is a lot of Muslims, but for me I go there as a tourist, that's not who I am, I feel I belong here, in fact there are parts of London for example, like I go with my children sometimes to Southhall, and we find it very uncomfortable, we do not belong there

(Interviewee 2, Woman)

Narrative 62 emphasises how Interviewee 2's mobility between Wales and England highlights when her Welshness is made relevant and helps clarify what being Welsh means to her. After her experience of going to University in England she emphasises how when she was there, she felt 'different'. The reason for this was because she felt she couldn't relate to the people in England because she believes Welsh people are 'softer', 'more loving' and more 'comforting'. Here she invokes a sub-national myth which reinforces her sense of belonging, which has become important for her in making the decision to eventually move back to live in Wales. The fact that she feels more accepted amongst Welsh people impacts on how she imagines herself, and constructs what Wales means to her. Her Welsh identity is not something static which she has no control over rather it is something that she has an active role in shaping and understanding. Mobilising between Wales and England gave her the opportunity to compare life in both countries in a self-reflexive reconsideration and negotiation of her own sub-national identity, where she re-creates her relationships with Wales from the bottom up. Such mobility confirms to her that she wasn't English and that she was 'more Welsh than anything else'.

This again highlights the 'third space' that England provides in how she formulates a sense of home and attachment to Wales. Here lies a complex contradiction in her and many of the participant's relationship with Wales and Welshness. Even though in Wales she has experienced racism and Islamophobia as was highlighted by her in Narrative 13 in the Places and Spaces of Exchange chapter, because she has grown up there and is familiar with it, she still maintains that Wales is far friendlier than England and therefore she couldn't imagine living anywhere else. Thus the personal geographies of her identity are embedded in the familiar, stable and consistent everyday locations of sub-national place.

Again the process of returning home to Wales from England is invoked which reinforced to Interviewee 2 why she calls it home. When describing her journeys home from University, she uses particular markers to express the effect those moments had on her. The description of the Severn Bridge is particularly important. For many in South Wales, this is a physical and tangible marker which separates Wales and England and defines the border. For Interviewee 2, crossing it becomes symbolic as she develops a spatialised understanding of home and place. This mobility questions her sense of home which is shaped by memories of past and future homes, displaying how her imaginative geographies of resistance and belonging are shaped through her departure and return to Wales from

England (Blunt & Dowling 2006). This confirmed to her why she wanted to settle back in Wales after University, and why she felt as though she belonged.

In the final part of Narrative 62, she uses her attachment to Wales to highlight that even when she visits places in England such as Southall where she states 'there is a lot of Muslims', she feels as though she does not belong. Here, she confirms how place can have a profound effect not only on attachments to sub-national imaginings, but also to religious ones, as she states how being a Muslim varies in different places. For her, being a Muslim in London would be very difficult for her as she feels she wouldn't be able to be 'who I am'. By arguing that she 'belongs here' in Wales, she stresses how place can have a profound effect in understanding how identities are formed, conveyed, read and performed. Although Islam is her prime identity, her Islam is shaped by the place and surroundings that she grew up in. By stating that she would find it difficult to be a Muslim elsewhere, she highlights the emotional pull of home and the sub-national implications which are bound with it. Thus, how she is a Muslim is not only dependent on her faith, but is dependent on other aspects of her identity, such as her attachment to place, which are always in a status of negotiation and compromise, and are particularly emphasised during times of mobility.

This use of the sub-national myth by the participants helped them create an affiliation to Welshness and Wales which belonged to them. This was often described through the collective forms of identifications between 'us' Welsh, as opposed to 'them' English.

(Narrative 63)

Researcher = Within that Identity, and British Identity, what about Wales and Welsh Identity? Both Born in Wales?

2 = Yes, It does come into the picture as Wales is a country, I like the way Wales is….. I do think the social norms in Wales do differ from the social norms in London and England. And I like that because for me that would come into it as part of my identity, because for me Welsh people are different, in a nice way, it's probably the way wales as a country is because it's not all city city is it?

Researcher = So in what ways they differ?

2 = Ok I will give you one little example, everyone in Wales is so friendly to each other, polite and have better manners, whereas if you go to London its very hectic and busy and dog eat dog, Wales is a lot more laid back and chilled out as opposed to London which is why I like it

(Focus Group Women, Number 1)

(Narrative 64)

Researcher = You've all put down Welsh identity, you don't have to tick it on a box, so what does it make you feel Welsh?

3 = I know when I go to England and when I'm in London I feel sick, everyone is so ignorant, and think that Welsh people are stupid and we are a lot nicer and more friendly

1 = We went to London on a trip with college and people are so rude and are nowhere near as friendly to us, we try smiling to other people and they are like, what are you smiling at, whereas people here smile back at you , it's just Welsh people smile at you are more outgoing, we are nice and friendly

2 = It's just more friendly obviously if this where I am then I am obviously Welsh

3 = Like even when I go to London I want to come back home after a few days

(Focus Group Women, Number 2)

In Narrative 63, what are described by participant two as 'social norms' in Wales such as being 'laid back' and 'chilled' are contrasted with what is described as the 'hectic' nature of life in England and London. Participant two states that Welsh people are different because of these traits, and it is therefore easier for her to feel like she can claim a sense of Welsh identity. The participants use the sub-national myth to situate themselves within the imagining of the Welsh community, and this provides a moment where home is defined in tangible terms. As participant 1 puts it, she can relate to Welshness and not Englishness because according to her, what Wales stands for 'comes into' and reflects those 'parts' of her identity best. Narrative 64 echoes this sentiment. When asked what is it that makes the participants feel Welsh, participant three responds by saying how she can get angry on visits to London, because she has had negative experiences where her Welshness is perceived by others as something that makes her seem 'stupid'. This negative experience reinforces her attachment to Wales and causes her to re-instate her belonging to the Welsh collective identity by saying 'we are a lot nicer and more friendly'. Participant one responds to this by discussing her own personal experience whilst visiting London and argues that there is a lack of 'friendly' people (the English) in contrast to her experiences of home where people 'smile back at you'.

By discussing their personal mobilities between Wales and England, they re-create feelings of disconnect and animosity which highlight how the construction of identity often relies on the existence of an 'other', as there is always a perceived sense of difference to attach to an out-group to help solidify a sense of belonging to the in-group (Kuzio 2001). Thus,

Welshness is given legitimacy to by the participants by demarcating themselves from another group, the English. This is also emphasised in Narrative 65, where Interviewee 1 reveals how at EYST he has worked with clients who are refugees and asylum seekers and relates his own experiences with how they found it difficult to adapt to life in London.

(Narrative 65)

Researcher = Is it easier for someone with a different background to claim a Welsh identity rather than English?

Interviewee 1 = I guess in a way because everything seems to be a bit easier so in a way, people can claim to be Welsh or identify with it quick because there are opportunities here, for example with refugee's and asylum seekers, being in London they found it very difficult, but in Wales I think they found it easier to be here …. They have no culture in England and London, it's just a rat race, don't talk to no one, here its better………..so was easier for me to feel Welsh

Researcher = Is that something good?

Interviewee 1 = They know about Wales, they know it's a very beautiful place, as soon as they come down the M4 you don't see those ugly buildings, we see a lot of green and it's a lot different, also welsh people are friendly, I don't know what that's about? but they think because it's so small, I've had people move from Manchester, Birmingham move here, they hate it for the first 6 months then many end up staying

(Interviewee 1, Male)

Here Interviewee one invokes the sub-national myth and reveals that mobilities between England and Wales are often described through an urban–rural narrative, where England is associated with being full of cities and overrun, whereas Wales is described as rural, tranquil and 'easier'. This rural-urban dichotomy could be due to the fact that the majority of the UK's ethnic minority populations are situated in the bigger urban cities, and therefore the participants' experiences of visiting families in England would tend to be in vastly populated inner-city areas. This dichotomy reveals that how national and sub-national myths and stereotypes are understood depends on who and where they are being interpreted by. Although to some, one of the classic symbols of Englishness that many English people identify with is the countryside (Skey 2011), to the participants in this study, their home in Wales is the calming countryside whereas England is the hectic, the unfriendly, the built-up.

This highlights the complex nature of Britishness and reveals how scale is very important when trying to understand how nationality and sub-nationality is perceived amongst the four 'home nations'. The cross border mobilities between Wales and England reveal how the sub-national myth endows popular perceptions of togetherness, which becomes an important moment when the participants construct what Welshness means to them. Wales is the 'beautiful' 'green' country, and is compared with the 'ugly' urbanity of busy England. Here interviewee 1 is has agency over his sub-national identity by constructing England as the national other and associating it with negative symbols which he is glad he is not attached to. Thus his sense of home and place are thus built around these symbols and myths which were used by the participants to cement what Wales mean and why it was important to them.

Conclusion: From Home to There and Back Again

In this chapter I have discussed the importance of the mobility of the participants in providing moments where their Welsh, Muslim and other identities are negotiated, and the role that 'home' plays in them. This has helped answer the research questions by exploring how such mobilities reveal not only the moments where Welsh identity becomes salient in Welsh Muslims' lives, but also the ways that the Muslim parts of the participants' identities interact with the other parts of their identities. These mobilities reveal the self-reflexive processes that the participants face when trying to understand the inter-generational, inter-familial, inter-cultural and inter-religious ties that are prevalent in their lives. Although the participants all identify as Muslims, by exploring the various power geometries that influence their complex registers of home, this chapter has highlighted that none identify *only* as Muslims, as their mobilities revealed the plural spatial relationships which define who they are and where they feel they belong to. I have also argued that understanding the participants' mobilities can reveal how they create a plural sub-national identity which is transformative, and defined by their own biographical experiences from the bottom up. Thus, this chapter has emphasised not only *what* being Welsh means to the participants, but *where* Welshness is made meaningful and the processes which contribute to this understanding. However, such negotiations are not without their tensions as these relationships are often paradoxical and reveal the competing hegemonic complexities that are present in British Muslim identities in the 21st

century. Therefore, the challenge for researchers is to unpick *who*, *when* and *where* these identities are expressed so as to better identify how they will develop in the future.

To understand this, the chapter explored two different scales of mobility. The first scale of mobility, International mobility, discussed the influence that the 'homeland trip' and holidays to other Muslim countries had on how the participants negotiated their sense of belonging both in Wales and abroad. Although the frequency of these trips varied between individuals, the process of mobilising to and from their parental homelands highlighted the many aspects of the participants' identities. More often than not, these mobilities created an inter-generational tension where the participants disassociate themselves from the parental culture, by using their Welshness and Britishness as a tool to highlight their differences. This emphasises the ongoing struggle that the participants face as they attempt to lose what they define as the cultural negativity of their parents' generation, whilst also finding a space to be Muslims and to belong to Wales and the UK. These ongoing tensions contribute to an increasing negotiation towards what the participants would describe as a 'less culturally' prescribed identity, and more towards a Muslim identity which is rooted with attachments to the places where they grew up. Thus to understand British Muslim identity, there must be an exploration into which places matter to individuals to understand how they negotiate their Muslim identity in relation to their national and sub-national identities, and how they construct what home means to them in this process.

Although these 'homeland trips' could be enjoyable and informative or as participant 3 in Narrative 41 states, they could be 'a lot of fun', all the participants stressed that the negative experiences they had whilst visiting reaffirmed to them where home was, and what it meant. This narrative was often discussed using a dialogue of superiority and inferiority, where the parental homeland was described as constraining, whereas home in Wales and the UK was always described as better, comfortable and was often longed for in comparison. Thus, a sense of disdain for the impoverishment of Bangladesh or Pakistan revealed the uneasy relationships the participants had with their parents' homelands, which informed how they constructed their identities. This not only weakened feelings of attachment to the parents' homeland and culture, but also strengthened feelings of belonging to Wales and the UK. Often the ways that the participants distanced themselves from the parental homeland was articulated through comparing it with the familiar power geometries of everyday life back in Wales thus making it salient in their lives (Hannam,

Sheller & Urry 2006). Markers such as a Welsh accent, lip gloss, the M4 Motorway and drinking clean 'Welsh' water were used by the participants to give them agency over how they construct their sense of belonging to place, and their sense of belonging to Wales, and empowered them to construct who they are, and most importantly who they are not.

These experiences again differed between men and women highlighting the many ongoing dynamics which effect identity that religion and gender pose. In particular, the women participants described how having to fit in to the gendered expectations of their parental homeland, challenged their conception of what being a Muslim woman means. Being unable to mobilise around public space as freely as their brothers could, or indeed as they could back in the UK and Wales, contributed to how they distanced themselves from these places. Women are often subjected to much greater control than men on these trips, and this was used by the participants as another tool to reaffirm why situating a sense of home in Wales and the UK mattered to them. Such relationships not only make the participants question the culture of their parental homelands, but also question those countries' interpretations of Islam, and how it is shaped differently. This point was also made evident with trips to other Islamic countries where the participants discussed how they were confronted with the different ways Muslim bodies are expressed. The example from Narrative 52 of participant 4 stating that she felt 'freaked out' after seeing fully covered women from different Islamic cultures emphasises this point. This made some realise that how they lived out their Islam involved an ongoing relationship with the places they grew up in. This realisation puts place at the heart of the participant's Islam, as the experience of their religious identity is negotiated around multiple localised encounters. Thus, only by understanding how other aspects of an individual's identity (including place), interact with their faith can we reveal the many dynamics of Muslim identity. This therefore suggests that when analysing Muslim identity in isolation, the other crucial aspects which contribute to identity formation can be ignored.

Understanding the International mobility of the participants can also uncover the multiple ways that they feel included and excluded, and feel simultaneously *in* and *out* of place both at home and abroad. A complex dynamic exists where the same parts of the participants' identities can mean different things depending on where they are. For example, interviewee 1 in Narrative 45 highlights how being Bangladeshi in Wales and being Bangladeshi in Bangladesh is experienced differently. Although in Wales the participants might feel that they are Bangladeshi and are reminded so by their family and by racism

experienced in the street, once they are in Bangladesh, the parental homeland is used as a reference point for them to see how 'un-Bangladeshi' they are, as the participants use their attachment to Wales and the UK to highlight their differences. This relationship is the same whether the participants were comparing feeling Welsh in Wales and feeling Welsh in Bangladesh, or comparing feeling Muslim in Wales, and feeling Muslim in Muslim countries. This highlights how whether they are in Wales or the parental homeland, their agency over their sense of belonging can be questioned with a change in scale at any time. Place therefore plays an integral role in how identity is expressed and challenged, as does the level of intensity of the moments of inclusion and exclusion within the participants lives. Thus, how a sense of belonging is constructed relies on how the participants are perceived by others, however, who 'the other' consists of is constantly being negotiated through processes of mobility between places. These relationships with the sub-state nation are unique to the second and third generation and reveal the transformative, creative and self-reflexive re-understanding that the participants have with their own sub-national and national identities. It therefore offers an alternative plural perspective to the civic-ethnic dichotomy by highlighting the many ways that national identity is made meaningful to Muslims.

As further generations grow up in the UK and if ties to ancestral homes weaken, there is an increasing possibility that these mobilities which help the individuals to construct where they do and do not belong will disappear. An important question for diversity studies therefore should be, 'will it become *more* or *less* difficult for the participants to forge a sense of attachment and home to Wales and the UK if these opportunities to question where home is disappear?' As highlighted in the *Places and Spaces of Exchange* chapter, I have suggested that these inter-generational ties can at certain times inhibit integration, as the participants are caught in a 'third space' which complicates where they feel like they belong. I have also suggested, however, that these ties to the 'cultural' homeland and the 'cultural community' are being distanced from by the second generation How a more independent religious 'Muslim' sense of community develops to replace this is yet to be seen, however, this research suggests that the cultural relations associated with the parents' generation is often used as a reference point for the participants to locate their own sense of home and belonging to Wales and the UK, thus making Welsh and British identity salient within their lives. If this connection does diminish, it is therefore constructive to explore other geographic scales of mobility, to better understand how these trajectories to and from home can also influence identity formation.

The other scale of mobility I have therefore discussed in this chapter is what I call National and Sub-National mobility between Wales and England and to a lesser extent Scotland. These mobilities are more frequent than International mobilites, with reasons for visiting varying from seeing family, leisure or going to England to study at University. Exploring these mobilities highlighted not only where and when being Welsh matters to the participants, but also revealed how they negotiated their relationship with England, and used it as a tool to compare themselves as being *'different'*. Again, the process of return played an important part in how these relationships were understood by the participants. Using landmarks such as the Severn Bridge (see Narrative 62), the participants situated how they can become symbolic during return and in shaping how their personal geographies are mapped. Other more everyday markers like their Welsh accents and the taste of Welsh water were also used as tools to re-affirm where and what Wales means to the participants, and highlights how in order to measure how Welsh Muslims negotiate their Welsh identity, there needs to be an understanding of how their identities are made salient through banal interactions, which occur within the familiar places and social spaces of ordinary life (Billig 1995).

Although none of the participants ever described any dissent towards England, their mobilities also reinforced a sub-national myth where the participants used their Welshness to compare not only how they were different to English people, but also how being Welsh fitted their own lifestyles *'better'* (Narrative 57). When comparing both England and Wales, they used their Welshness as a symbol of familiarity and stability which structured how they negotiate a sense of place and home. This also revealed itself through an urban-rural dichotomy where Wales was described as the rural, tranquil and beautiful, whereas England was described as the urban, unfriendly and ugly. By highlighting how these myths are emphasised by their mobilities between Wales and England, the participants re-create feelings of disconnect which highlight how the construction of identity often relies on the existence of an 'other', as there is always a perceived sense of difference to attach to an out-group, to help solidify a sense of belonging to an in-group. Although these myths are shared by most collective identities, this chapter has argued that the significance of this particular myth suggests that when trying to understand contemporary British Muslim identity, it is not enough to only concentrate on what Britishness means to individuals, and that instead there must be a development of how sub-national identity influences the participants conceptions of home, belonging and place.

These mobilities also revealed the presence of another ‘third space’ where the participants’ Welshness was uncontested and unproblematic. When discussing the role that inter-family *‘banter’* played in their relationships with their English family, these moments provided a space where they were singled out not because the colour of their skin or their religion, but because of their Welshness. Like International mobility, this revealed the multiple ways that the participants can feel simultaneously *in* and *out* of place as they experience competing hegemonic discourses, depending on where they are. Although they are outside of Wales, in these moments, they can feel particularly Welsh, even more so than when they are in Wales. This therefore highlights how different aspects of people’s identities are perceived is highly dependent on how dominant hegemonic structures transform and interpret them, which changes with mobility between differing geographic scales. Any understanding of Muslim identity must therefore understand the complex spatial elements to identity, and in this chapter have highlighted that rather than only understanding what being a Muslim means to British citizens, there must be an understanding of what does being a Muslim mean to them in their area, and in relation to their other identities which are always in competition and tension with numerous forms of otherness.

Chapter Six – Symbols of Identity

Introduction: 'I think being Welsh is different' Symbols of Unity and Symbols of Division

This chapter will explore the way that sub-national symbols are identified, perceived, challenged and related to by the participants. The way that meaning is tagged to the social relationships between people and places is often expressed through symbolisation (Firth 1973). National and sub-national symbols in particular are created to provide what Elgenius (2011a: 13) calls 'short cuts' to better understanding the groups they represent. Although historically they have been determined by a powerful few (Smith 1991), once they are in the public domain they are open to interpretation and become subjective entities. As such, they provide scope for interpretive manoeuvre by those who use them (Cohen 1985). Due to their foundation in modernity, national and sub-national symbols, including flags, anthems, national days and many others which will be mentioned below, are fairly recent inventions. This however does not mean that the political weight they harbour is irrelevant. Such inventions are emotive tools which can mobilise national and sub-national peoples in important and diverse ways.

The participants of this research grew up in social spaces where the symbolism of their parents' homeland and their own country of birth (UK, Wales), intertwines with the symbolism of Islam. They are thus surrounded by multiple symbols with multiple meanings. In this chapter I want to echo Kolstø (2006) in arguing that how such symbols are perceived depends on who they are being associated with and how they are used politically and socially within people's everyday lives. As populations become more ethnically and religiously diverse, it is important to understand how the symbolism of the nation and sub-state nation is consumed, appropriated, changed, embraced, ignored or even rejected by ethnic and religious minorities. By doing so, it will highlight the potential that these symbols have as devices for inclusion and exclusion. This will extend the narrative that national and sub-national symbols are both unifying and divisive tools, and that those who interpret them are not detached receivers but active agents who are propelled by certain interests and attachments (Woodhead 2013).

The chapter will be divided into five sections. The first section will discuss the role of symbolism in national and sub-national building, emphasising how the power of such symbols depends on how and who they are being perceived, expressed and re-interpreted by. The second section will discuss how increasing ethnic and religious minority

participation in Welsh public life is highlighting new symbolic ways that the sub-state nation can be interpreted through a plural lens. The third section will reflect on some of my ethnographical observations regarding the sub-national symbolism encountered in the street EYST is located in, and my own perception of its diverse implications. The fourth section will discuss the symbolic implications of identification and how the process of having to tell others 'who you are', can raise interesting questions about the process of identity formation. This will be done by briefly discussing an exercise undertaken before each interview and focus group where the participants had to write down each identity they related to. The final section will discuss the responses of the participants from the focus groups, interviews and observation. Concentrating on those symbols that they identified as being particularly Welsh, it will explore where, when and how they evaluate their own relationships to them. By doing so, it will examine how these relationships can open up plural articulations of what sub-national identity means, and will discuss the responses and shifts that are produced to sub-national life with increasing levels of 'difference' (Skey 2011, Hearn 2006). This will develop the idea of a plural sub-national identity where rather than accepting the narrative handed down to them, the participants have a part in shaping and re-interpreting how sub-national identity, through its symbolism, is continuously being expressed and re-interpreted.

Symbols of Nations and Sub-State Nations: 'All the stuff… Welsh doesn't go against me and my other cultures and if you like it you participate with it'

The symbolism of national and sub-national identity is both overt and discrete and often built into the landscape of society. Whether in the form of ceremonies, heroes, icons, capital cities, statues (Elgenius 2011a), in the words of national anthems, in the images in a flag (Kelen & Pavković 2012, Jenkins & Eriksen 2007, Podeh 2011), in the symbols displayed on currencies (Penrose & Cumming 2011, Unwin & Hewitt 2001, Gilbert & Helleiner 1999) or in the tastes of cuisine (Bell & Valentine 1997, Chen 2011, Ehrkamp 2005), these are a few of many symbolic tools which have throughout history been used in the national and sub-national building process to invoke feelings of attachment to a national or sub-national homeland. Such symbols are thus markers of identity that give meaning to people and the places in which they reside. As Skey (2011) highlights, when thinking about the characteristics of a nation, not only is a geographic location on a map identified, but also the symbolic features which help understand the meaning of such places. These symbols

can have dual effects and multiple meanings depending on who they are being associated with and how they are being exploited politically. On the one hand they can be linchpins for connecting people, whilst on the other; they can be tools for creating social divisions which exclude people from the national or sub-national conversation (Elgenius 2011b, Fox & Miller-Idriss 2008, Kolstø 2006).

Flags for example are a tool which emphasise how national and sub-national symbols can have multiple meanings. Although flags have existed in some form for thousands of years (Crampton 1992), the symbolisation of the *national* flag has been an integral visual tool in contributing to the ideology that the world is divided up of different nations and sub-state nations. As Durkheim (1976) argues, although it is a piece of cloth that has little physical value in itself, once it is in the hands of a soldier, wrapped around the shoulders of a football fan or waved during a national day, it is filled with reality and meanings (Eriksen & Jenkins 2007, Elgenius 2011a). Some of these meanings are more unifying or divisive than others, and the symbolism they represent are displayed in both overt and discreet ways. Like many symbols of national and sub-national identity, flags have become so ingrained within everyday life that they often go unnoticed. As Billig (1995) emphasises, this does not mean that they are powerless. Rather, when they become so familiar within the cultural landscape that they are hardly thought about, this is when they are most powerful because they have solidified themselves within the everyday narrative as something stable and consistent.

At their most unifying, flags are tools which can display a strong sense of community which are cheap and easily accessible. Anyone can buy a flag and hang it in their window and imagine themselves as belonging to the wider national or sub-national community (Anderson 2006). On the other hand, if a national or sub-national symbol is perceived as discriminatory or favouring one ethnic group over others, it can be difficult to adopt and relate to. Although as Kolstø (2006) reminds us national and sub-national symbols alone are not responsible for creating divisions in society, they are not politically redundant objects either. When Bosnia and Herzegovina gained its independence from Yugoslavia in 1992, amongst the numerous contentious discussions between political parties over how the state would look, or whether it should even exist, was the six year debate over which flag was to be chosen to represent the ethnically and religiously diverse population. Such was the disagreement that in 1998 the United Nations High Representative had to intervene to decide the eventual flag which would represent the country (Kolstø 2006). In

2016, New Zealand held a referendum to decide whether they will change their national flag which currently includes the British Union Jack, to adopt the silver fern which has for decades been used for international engagements. Externally flags can also be used as tools to show discontent against other nations and can constitute powerful counter-instruments in the hands of people protesting against authorities (Elgenius 2011a). The burning of the American flag in particular in the Middle East has become a powerful symbol post the Iraq war for expressing anger towards American foreign policy. Not only are they burning a physical object but also the reality of what that flag stands for and the people and place it represents.

These examples highlight that national and sub-national symbols are interpreted differently by different people and it is not only their particular nature as objects, but the circumstances and the relationships which they account for which is important when trying to understand their significance. As Fox & Miller-Idriss (2008) highlight, people are not just consumers of national meanings, they are contingent producers. This thesis argues that in increasingly multi-cultural societies there needs to be further understanding of how national and sub-national symbols are being re-interpreted in a more pluralistic imagining. The second generation will grow up in households saturated with everyday symbols of the pre-migration locations. They are always linked via people, ideas, and practices which constantly remind them, with varying intensities, of the connection to the parent's homeland (Levitt & Waters 2002, Levitt 2009, Karlsen & Nazroo 2013). Thus, they have to negotiate the symbolism of the parents' homeland, along with the symbolism of their religion and the symbols, memories, myths and traditions that form the distinctive heritage of the nation of birth (Smith 1991). Cultures are always susceptible to change, and how these symbols are used, expressed, perceived and transformed as populations become more diverse can give an insight into not only *how* ethnic and religious minorities participate in national and sub-national public life, but *when* exactly they participate.

The Changing Symbols of Welsh Identity

Throughout the world, increasing diversity is having a symbolic impact on national identity in ways that are contributing to the formation of a more plural sense of national belonging. In Norway, the national dress worn by women on constitution day, the *bunad,* has been adapted by some of the minority population to reflect the countries they have descended

from. By adding colours and patterns from countries such as Vietnam, Morocco and India, (some have even included the addition of a detachable hijab), they are re-interpreting this Norwegian national symbol (Elgenius 2011b). In Italy, Salih (2001), Ralph & Staeheli (2011) and Wessendorf (2007) have all highlighted how Moroccan migrant women and the consequent generations mix Italian recipes with Moroccan ingredients to emphasise how the meanings of national homes are stretched across geographic places, effecting how a national symbol like Italian food is being re-interpreted. These examples highlight that the way diversity is negotiated has practical connotations for national symbols, and this thesis argues it is important to explore how ethnic and religious minorities *use* and think about these symbols to imagine themselves within the national and sub-national narrative.

I want to elaborate on this point to highlight examples in Welsh public life where Welsh symbols are being re-interpreted in a more plural way. For the past 4 years I have been attending the St. David's day annual parade, Wales's national day in the capital City Cardiff. St David's day follows the pattern of countries like Ireland, Hungary and Spain where the annual Saint days are rooted with pre-modern religious origins combined with national calendars, unlike the national days of France, Norway or Poland which celebrate the birth of a nation, constitutions or independence (Elgenius 2011a). As Elgenius (2011a) argues, to fully understand the significance of national days there must be an examination of the ceremonial choreography, the character, and to ask who is it that participates in such events? I will therefore briefly discuss this in the context of the St David's Day parade to highlight how certain Welsh symbols can be re-interpreted. Amongst the typical rallying symbols to promote Welsh pride such as the waving of the Welsh flags, the singing of the anthem and the wearing of specific costumes, another more multicultural dynamic has become a regular feature.

Image 1: Nepalese Community of Wales participating in St David's Parade along St Mary's Street, Cardiff

Image 2: **Filipino Community in Cardiff on the procession along St Mary's street, Cardiff**

In both images one and two, groups such as the Filipino and Nepalese Ghurkha communities participate in the parade, and have done so every year. They are wearing traditional dresses from the countries of origin but also wearing the flower of Wales the Daffodil, and holding Welsh flags and other traditional symbols of Welsh identity. The symbolic implications of these images are powerful. As the parade snakes through the streets of Cardiff, it is a reminder not only of the overt symbolisation of Welshness, but also of the diverse people who live within its imagined territory. This raises many interesting questions, such as how is this perceived by the wider population? Are these acts merely tokenistic gestures? And will the participant's children continue this tradition when they are adults? Or as they grow up in Wales, will they feel less of a need to represent this part of their identity in such a way? Although this participation can be viewed as purely a tokenistic gesture, it is a step towards seeing a more inclusive space for diversity, and for understanding how ethnic, cultural and religious minorities participate publicly within the sub-national narrative. This visual contribution to the cultural landscape emphasises how diverse populations not only consume the nation and sub-state nation, but can embody national and sub-national pride making it salient within their lives (Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008). Thus, those taking part are using the symbolism of Welshness to highlight the relevance of place to their sense of belonging. I want to now consider two other images from the St David's Day parade which highlight how the participation of ethnic minorities within Welsh public life can manifest itself in ways which offer alternative ways of understanding sub-national symbolisation.

Image 3: Muslim Woman participating in the parade, Cardiff

Image 4: Two Muslim Women holding Welsh flags and Daffodils in their lapels whilst walking along St Mary's Street with the parade, Cardiff

In images three and four, Muslim women who are wearing the hijab walk along with the parade. Because of their visibility, the participation of Muslim women is something which is a noticeable addition of diversity. Unlike the previous images, these are not organised or official groups. Rather they are individuals, friends, families who like anyone on the day, can join in and walk any part of the parade's route. In image four, two young Muslim women, both are wearing the hijab, both wearing daffodils in their lapels and both carrying Welsh flags walk along with the parade. Here, both the parade and the flag act as tools of membership and emphasise how such simple devices can provide feelings of inclusion and unity (Elgenius 2011a). The women are taking part in what Fox & Miller-Idriss (2008: 545) call the *'performing of the nation',* where their participation provides a visual realisation of their symbolic attachments to Wales and their Welsh identity. The two young women walk along the street waving flags, laughing, joking, and through this collective performance of sub-national symbolism are affirming and re-affirming their sub-national attachment. Although such heightened experiences of sub-national community are infrequent, for those who engage in them, the feeling of inclusivity can be durable (Fox & Miller-Idriss 2008: 545). For in these instances, the young Muslim women are redefining the imagery associated with the symbol of the Welsh dragon, and they are doing it in quite an everyday way. Such is the normality of the situation that the two women seem to be sharing a happy

moment, looking at their mobile phones in a very banal and unassuming way whilst participating in the wider celebration of Welshness (Billig 1995). This emphasises the agency the young Muslim women have in creating their own understanding of Welsh identity, what it means to them, and how attachments to a sub-national sense of belonging can be expressed from the bottom up.

Through the St David's day parade, the streets become a place where the young Muslim women are able to contribute to a very visual expression of Welsh identity. Different places in society are governed by different power relations where there are certain social expectations as to which emotions can legitimately be displayed and expressed in specific situations (Jeldtoft 2013). The nation and sub-state nation can come to matter for different people at different times and these images highlight a moment when the sub-state nation matters to these young Muslim women. Rather than conflict with their Muslim identities, it compliments them. This raises interesting questions about the neutrality of certain symbols and the role Welshness plays in the wider British narrative. In this situation, the Welsh flag is a tool for inclusivity and one cannot help but ask the question, would these images be replicated throughout the rest of the UK's four nations on their national and sub-national days?

Others have argued how in Scotland and Wales, Muslims appear to feel more at ease associating with these identities than Muslims in England do having to identify with Englishness (Ahmad & Sardar 2012, Sales 2012, Kabir 2010). Although such symbolic flag waving might be typical on St Andrews day in Scotland, whether such visual displays of national and sub-national belonging would be expressed on England's St George's day is an interesting question. This reminds us how the inclusivity of symbols changes with perspective throughout the UK, and such changes in scale must not be overlooked when understanding the overall identities of Muslims in Britain. Indeed, national days do 'honour founding myths and official narratives' (Elgenius 2011a: 95), but as these images show, they can be given new meanings and re-interpreted as tools of inclusivity for diverse populations. The participation of these young Muslim women highlights how sub-national narratives can be used flexibly to articulate feelings of attachment to sub-national identity, in innovative and creative ways (Ahmad & Sardar 2012), and in contributing to a more plural understanding of what sub-national identity can mean.

I want to consider one final image in order to highlight how diversity is becoming symbolic within the sub-national narrative of Wales and to consider what a more plural sense of Welshness can look like.

‘This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons. To see image contact the Football Association Wales’

Image 5: Young Muslim Girls from a local Cardiff Primary School sing the Welsh National Anthem alongside the Welsh football team, Cardiff

In Image five the Welsh football team are singing the anthem, which is sung in the Welsh language, and in front stand two Muslim girls from a local primary school who sing the anthem with them. One cannot ignore that this image has certain political connotations. Note the say *No To Racism* campaign logo on the t-shirts the girls are wearing. This campaign is devised by the governing bodies of European football (UEFA) to discourage racism in football and wider society. The intention is clear from the t-shirts that their inclusion serves multiple purposes including that of promoting equality. However, the symbolic imagery is important and powerful in many ways. Not only does it emphasise the cultural and religious diversity within Wales, but for the girls and the other children singing, they are actively participating in the sub-national narrative in a very tangible way. This emphasises how the sub-state nation can be embodied through symbolically diverse ways which challenges the Welsh public to re-define who they include within the sub-national narrative. How the wider community accepts these images or the political implication that that Welsh identity can be multifaceted reminds us however of the power of external

identification in defining what national and sub-national communities can look like (Jenkins 2011). The purpose of highlighting these images is to consider the symbolic significance of this participation, and to ask if such images become more commonplace in the future, how they could become tools for discovering what a more plural sense of Welsh identity will look like. Through discussing these images, this section has sought to emphasise the importance of understanding how a self-reflexive reconsideration and negotiation of sub-national identity, which focuses on the creation of relationships with the sub-state nation and its symbols from the bottom up, can develop more inclusive and diverse narratives of belonging.

How to Read the Symbols of the Street

Before discussing the relationships the participants of this research had with certain Welsh symbols, I want to examine how diverse place-sharing in Swansea merges different forms of identity which can be articulated in symbolic ways in the street. If a sense of place develops from the journeys made to and from a destination that establish a 'hereness' which is socially inscribed by values and meanings layered onto the landscape (Crang 2013: 2011), this section will explore some observations from my diary notes regarding the symbolic implications of diversity within the street where EYST is located. My journey to EYST would begin and end pretty much the same for the whole period of observation. I would leave my family home in the Uplands, a suburb located one mile to the West of Swansea city centre where I would be staying every Tuesday and Wednesday for the duration of research, and walk roughly twenty minutes to the direction of EYST which is located immediately west of the city centre. This journey would involve walking from a majority mono-ethnic white suburb, to the ward with the most ethnically diverse population in Swansea. As I would regularly make this journey to EYST, over time I would ask myself, what in the surrounding visual environment is unique to this place? What transformations were occurring which merged the numerous cultural and religious identities, and what makes this place unique to Swansea and to Wales? In other words, I begun to try to address the question posed by Appadurai (1996) as one of the main challenges for ethnography, that is, to identify the symbolic nature of locality as a lived experience in a globalised world.

EYST is located on St Helens Road in the most ethnically diverse ward in Swansea. If the street provides a perspective of the city where shared practices between diverse groups are refined within an area (Hall 2013), then St Helens Road is one of the primary places in Swansea where people from multi-ethnic and religious backgrounds converge. Although people attach meanings to the places where they live in flexible and varying ways, as Caldeira (1999) argues, cities are also material places with relative stability and rigidity that shape people's lives, and determine the types of encounters possible in public space. Growing up in Swansea I would always associate St Helens Road with a stable ethnically diverse population. One simple explanation for this is that visually this diverse urban landscape is recognisable through what Knowles (2013: 652) calls 'multi-registration points'. Through identifying certain bodies, in clothing, in certain performances, in forms of commerce, in personal and public artefacts, and through other vernacular symbols, signs and ethnically diverse markers, moving through this area each day highlighted the detail which delineates an ethnically diverse area (Lee & Ingold 2006, Krase 2012, Knowles 2013).

As I habitually walked this street it became clear how it was dotted with numerous sites of banal multi-ethnic and religious encounter, embedded with a cultural interchange unique to this part of the city. Understanding such visual traces is important in exploring how citizens navigate within urban spaces (Amin & Thrift 2002). The reasons for mentioning this in this chapter is that during this journey, I began to look for ways that Wales, Welshness or Welsh identity was being negotiated or symbolically expressed within this multicultural street in Swansea. This was difficult because there is no certain way of observing articulations of the nation and sub-state nation in the landscape because it could be argued it is everywhere (Billig 1995). Two questions which cannot be answered until you are in 'the field', is 'what exactly am I looking for?' and 'how do I know whether what I am looking for is useful?' Equally, what I perceive when walking down a street and looking for articulations of the sub-state nation is completely subjective as it means different things to different people, as was highlighted in the methodology chapter.

However, as this journey became routine I would observe in what ways the local place was etched on the cultural landscape, or whether anything which framed a specific banal Welshness was visible in any of these places. Rather than looking for and making overarching assumptions about cities and sub-state nations and their experience of intercultural exchange, I tried to understand the locality and the specificity so as to better interpret the everyday sociality of a place (Watson 2009). Although the literature review

helped structure what I would be looking for, in the beginning when walking to and from EYST, I would fall into the habit of only noting the clearly visible ethnically diverse markers in the landscape. Although I tried to avoid using a narrative which depicts archetypal images of everyday multiculturalism which is either 'ghastly' or 'beautiful' (Saha 2013: 819), it is difficult to reflect on my own experience without slightly fetishizing some ethnic and religious signifiers such as clothes, food, kinship and ritual as being different to the majority (Hutynk 2000).

However, this is not necessarily a bad thing because it reflects my body-in-space experience as a white Welsh man embodying inter-ethnic and inter-cultural living on a daily basis (Wise 2010). A second glimpse of the street however would begin to reveal a different perspective where the intertwining of local and sub-national symbolic narratives became more visible. As Ybema et al. (2009: 1) argues, *"clarity about everyday commonplaces often comes only with hindsight, the very ordinariness of normality often prevents us from seeing it"*. As I began to assess the symbolism in the street, I would remind myself that my perception of what I was looking for was heightened by my own sense of knowledge in the field, and I would question if I hadn't had the academic background, would I even acknowledge such things? I immediately think I wouldn't have. But regardless of the certain knowledge I had beforehand of such symbolism, I reminded myself that certain signifiers are not redundant even if they are not given much thought. As citizens navigate pathways through the city, they only take in a fraction of the visibilities of everyday urban engagement and can only interpret it with the tools available to them (Knowles 2013). They still however have value because the very fact that they have become so ordinary shows their power to become ingrained in our everyday lives (Billig 1995). As Skey (2011) reminds us, the realm of the everyday needs to be studied for more than just self-evident behaviours, as we also need to understand the certain processes and practices which are taken for granted which still regulate a strong service of power in society (Skey 2011). Over time, the subtle ways that a sense of place and sub-nationality was symbolised in the visual environment became increasingly evident.

No longer did I only look for what I deemed as 'ethnic markers', but I began to highlight some symbolic encounters which merged the local and sub-national with the global in pluralistic ways. Image 6 below highlights the shop front of a Chinese café with the words *'All Day Welsh Breakfast'* etched across the window. As I routinely passed this sign I would ask myself what this signifies and why is it that this stands out so much for me. The use of

the word 'Welsh' in the Chinese Café would appear as a pertinent flag in the everyday routine of social life (Billig 1995). The intention of why the owners decided to do it could be numerous. It could have been used as a means of trying to assimilate to the wider community out of fear or isolation, as a genuine expression of identity or as merely a descriptive tool as to what it is they are selling. Although the reasons why are important, it is not imperative for understanding its relevance and its symbolic role within the urban landscape. It sits there as a reminder of a sense of Welsh place, as a mundane signifier which would not be prevalent elsewhere other than here (Edensor 2002). This symbolism plays a role in the everyday urban landscape which opens up plural articulations of how the sub-state nation is being claimed and represented in a visual form. Although this Café is embedded with a narrative of being a global establishment, its use of the word 'Welsh' in the window is a participation in the symbolism of the sub-national narrative, reminding passers-by of the significance of the locality.

Whether or not Image 6 goes unnoticed does not render it redundant as it highlights how representations of the sub-state nation in the everyday landscape can become such a pervasive feature of modern life that most people scarcely notice them (Kymlicka 2007, Billig 1995). Fundamental to further discussions on diversity is how ordinary people change the meaning of spaces and places by changing their appearance (Hearn 2006, Krase 2012, Skey 2011).

Image 6: Chinese Café on Bryn Y Mor Road, Swansea

As I repeated my journey along St Helens Road towards EYST, I often looked for other subtle nods in the visual landscape for place specific articulations which re-affirm a sense of Welshness. Although many of these establishments and the migrants who set them up could have settled anywhere in the world, when they do settle in a specific place, it would be wrong to assume that they necessarily decline the national or sub-national narrative. The posters on many of the shop fronts re-affirmed a sense of sub-national place. Image 7 highlights how the sub-state nation is embedded within the visual fabric of the street. The image of Pakistani politician Imran Khan above the words, *'Wales, Let's Build a Better Pakistan Together'* is an appeal to the diaspora for involvement in the politics of another place. However, it has a specific sub-national frame. It is possible that the Wales part of the poster is replaced by England and Scotland when adorning the shop windows of those countries. But as a pedestrian walking down this particular street at this particular time I do not know that, and as a result it is not imperative to know because what is important is its symbolic role within the urban landscape. All I know is that it is addressed to the people of Wales, not the United Kingdom or Great Britain, and has a particular message for a particular locality. It is an international message bound within a sub-national frame.

Image 7: Poster of Pakistani Political candidate Imran Khan, St Helens Road, Swansea

This banal metaphorical flagging along the street was also represented by actual flags. In one particular food shop a collage of pictures of different Bollywood stars adorned the counter alongside a Swansea City football flag with the Welsh flag draped over it. This symbolism associated with football was replicated along the street in particular the barber shops. Sports in general and particularly Football are cultural institutions which are intertwined with the economic and political processes that shape places and societies worldwide, so much so that they are deeply implicated in the social construction of national, sub-national and local identities (Shobe 2008). Such representations bring the local, national, sub-national and international together and situate place at its centre. These flags in shop windows are distinctive and meaningful physical features and material textures of place which makes walking in urban environments such an absorbing cultural activity (Lorimer 2013).

Flags have an abundance of meanings. They can be a symbol of power which can act to strengthen solidarity amongst members, can distinguish people from other groups or intimidate people not from the group. Equally they are an inexpensive form of self-identity which can be produced easily to express loyalty and can be used by many people at the same time (Podeh 2011, Smith 1975). The barber shop at the end of St Helens Road exemplifies such flagging in the visual landscape. The inside is adorned with Swansea City flags and stickers, whilst next to one of the barber mirrors, two A4 sized flags sit on top of each other, one the Iranian flag, the other the Welsh dragon, both a reminder of the dual sense of place that these migrants now have. Image 8 below highlights the window of this barbers shop which was adorned with a homemade Swansea City Football Club emblem.

Image 8: Barber Shop window with the Swansea City Football Club emblem, St Helen's Road, Swansea

Such images give an insight into my every day journey to EYST to highlight the socially inscribed values and meanings layered onto the landscape (Crang 2013, Lee & Ingold 2006). As important as the destination was the act of getting there as it highlighted distinctive and meaningful physical features and material textures of the place where it was situated (Edensor 2011, Lorimer 2013). By discussing how I perceived the range of multicultural practices in the surrounding locality of where I conducted my research, I have explored how multicultural place-sharing merges forms of local and sub-national identity within a locality (Hall 2013, Wise 2010). I have also mapped the connections and relationships between ethnicities and urban space, in order to better understand the everyday registration of diversity in the city, and the importance of both mobility and visibility in contributing to how plural sub-national narratives are created through their expression through particular symbols (Knowles 2013).

'When I come across the form I struggle with the ethnicity slightly' The Symbolic Role of Self-Identification

Before I discuss the specific symbols which were flagged by the participants as being particularly Welsh, and their relationships with them, I want to briefly discuss a process of

identity formulation that the participants noted as being important in their lives. Self-identification is a symbolic process. What we call ourselves or want to be called by others matters. Understanding this allows us to examine how people construct their everyday lives around such labels. To investigate which identities the participants associated with, before the beginning of each focus group and interview, I conducted an exercise where the individuals were asked to list on a piece of paper those identities that mattered to them. Although this exercise was useful because it set the context for what would be discussed, it was difficult to prevent a consensus from developing as the individuals conversed with each other about what they would write. Even though at the beginning of each focus group I stressed that the exercise should be conducted individually, as I have highlighted in the third chapter *Organising the Data,* this was difficult to maintain due to the participants feeling they needed to seek validation from their peers with regards to what to write. This wasn't necessarily negative because after all identity is affected by the role of peers, but it certainly influenced the power dynamics of the exchanges and what the individuals felt comfortable discussing. The intention of this exercise was not only to focus the participants' minds on what was going to be discussed for the duration of the interview, but to give them the freedom to note those identities that mattered to them with as little influence from pre-determined categories as possible.

Others have used similar exercises to observe how people use symbolic labels when self-defining. DeHanas (2013b) used a technique where she asked young Muslim adults in the East End of London to rank in order of preference, pre-determined identity labels decided by her, that the participants might identify with. She found however that the categories she produced limited the kinds of identifications that young people were able to make (DeHanas 2013b). Because of this, I did not want to limit the answers with my own assumptions by having pre-determined categories, so instead I let the participants write what they wanted. I also refrained from asking people to rank these identities on levels of importance because *how* and in *what* ways these identities manifest themselves was of more interest. Similar to DeHanas's study (2013b) the Muslim identity was the most prominent. As Table 4 below highlights, every single participant wrote Muslim as an identity that they felt they associated with. As was also clear in the focus groups, interviews, and as discussed in the previous chapters, being a Muslim was the identity that dictated much of the lives of the participants and this is clearly shown by the 100% self-identification. The next two categories that follow are the British 21 (70%) and Welsh 20 (67%) identities. Both are high percentages and suggest that national and sub-national

identities play an important role in how the participants label themselves and frame their own identities, and how identity is influenced by the surroundings in which people live (Kabir 2010). These top three identity categories echo what was mentioned in the methodology chapter, that the participants in my research fall into Mustafa's (2015) category three of dual identity. That is, participants who in the whole identified themselves as British/Welsh Muslims but also with aspects of their ethnic background where although religion was their number one identity marker, they usually teamed it together with Britishness and Welshness. The next section of results with similar percentages were either those identities related to how they viewed themselves 'ethnically', Bangladeshi 13 (43.3%) 8 Asian (26.7), 7 Pakistani (23.3%) Brown 7 (23.3%), or how both their own identities and that of their parents were mixed such as the category British Asian 9 (30%). This coincides with what has been discussed in both the *Places and Spaces of Exchange* chapter and the *Mobilities of Homes* chapte*r*, that inter-generational tensions are contributing to the increasing of a 'less culturally' prescribed identity, and more towards a Muslim identity which is rooted with attachments to the places where they grew up. Other categories which were used less but were also mentioned, accounted for 20% or less and included Woman 6 (20%), Family 6 (20%), English 4 (13.3%), Bengali 4 (13.3%), Community 3 (10%). As Table 4 below highlights, there was an array of categories that the participants used to self-identify.

Number	Muslim	British	Welsh	Bangla-deshi	British-Asian	Asian	Pakistani	Brown	Woman	Family	Bengali	English	Com-munity	(Local Place)	Half-cast	Punjabi
1	✓	✓			✓		✓									
2	✓		✓			✓										
3	✓	✓													✓	
4	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓								
5	✓	✓	✓	✓								✓				
6	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓		✓			✓		
7	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓				✓				✓
8	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓								
9	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓			✓					
10	✓		✓							✓						
11	✓		✓			✓					✓					
12	✓		✓	✓												
13	✓	✓	✓	✓												
14	✓	✓			✓				✓			✓		✓		
15	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓	✓	✓						
16	✓	✓			✓		✓									
17	✓		✓	✓		✓		✓			✓				✓	
18	✓		✓													
19	✓		✓	✓												
20	✓		✓				✓									
21	✓	✓	✓				✓			✓						
22	✓	✓	✓				✓			✓			✓			
23	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓			✓							
24	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓											
25	✓				✓				✓			✓				
26	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓	✓			✓			
27	✓	✓		✓	✓											
28	✓	✓	✓	✓						✓			✓			
29	✓	✓			✓											
30	✓	✓			✓		✓									
Total (%)	100%	70%	66.7%	43.3%	30%	26.7%	23.3%	23.3%	20%	20%	13.3%	13.3%	10%	6.7%	6.7%	3.3%

Table 4: Responses of pre-focus group self-identification task

This exercise not only highlighted which labels the participants used to negotiate their identities, but it also allowed the participants to reflect on other situations in their everyday lives where they are asked to list their identity in such a symbolic way. It was often mentioned that the filling in of official forms and documents was an everyday situation where similar processes of self-identification was negotiated. Filling in forms is a common activity which places the individual in a situation where they have to claim membership to certain groups (Jimanez 2004). Through the process of filling in forms people are involved in an institutional act of declaring oneself (Majstorovic & Turjacanin 2013). This becomes a moment in everyday life where people have to give meaning to their identities. As Narrative 66, 67 and 68 highlight, the process of filling in forms makes the participants have to negotiate the many identities that they affiliate with and makes them very aware of their minority status.

(Narrative 66)

Researcher = You all said British-Asian, could you expand on that?

3 = That's the box we have to tick filling out forms, passports, we wouldn't be able to put anything else

4 = That's the category we are put into, I don't mind it

5= =It's fine, because it represents the two different worlds we are from

3 = Yeah if it said just Asian I would be offended, but I know I'm British, I wasn't born back home this is home

(Focus Group Men, Number 2)

(Narrative 67)

Researcher = What about the term British-Asian?

[Collective no]

2 = British Asian no, British Muslim yeah

1 = Thing is the forms all say British Asian so you just tick it don't you in that box

(Focus Group Women, Number 2)

(Narrative 68)

1 = Rather than pinpoint it on where you're from we look at it from the whole picture, it's the whole thing, we see it as the whole story, so you're not just putting yourself into one pool, the whole of Britain, I reckon it's because every time you write on an official form you say it British, if you write it on a form you say British, because you don't write Welsh on a form, it's not written

2 = I think it's that more than anything else, because you don't tick it on a form

1 = Yea you never write if you're Welsh, Scottish or English, you write British

(Focus Group Women, Number 1)

In Narrative 66, the participants were asked to expand on some of the terms they had written, in this case British-Asian. From the beginning, both participants three and four reflect on the power dynamics involved when filling in official forms and how the imposed categories pit the right to self-identify against the states need to monitor ethnic and racial categories (Bailey & Telles 2006). Participant three begins by stating 'We wouldn't be able to put anything else' to which participant four replies 'that's the category we are put into'. This exchange highlights how this process places the individual in a situation where the political implications of the analytical categories effect how they view their own identities. Although participants four and five state they 'don't mind', and that actually the term British-Asian allows for representation of 'both worlds', this interaction highlights how such a situation makes them reflect and negotiate the plural identities they feel they share. This suggests that the social representations that these forms display both 'reflect' and 'affect' the structural divisions of societies (Simon & Piche 2012: 1360).

This is also highlighted in Narrative 67. When asked whether the participants felt strongly about the term British-Asian they collectively state that they did not, even though some had written it in the exercise at the beginning. Participant two continues by stating 'British-Asian no, British Muslim yeah', and affirms that that she would prefer to merge her religious identity with her Britishness and leave out the 'Asian' part. Again this interaction suggests the increasing trend reflected in the previous chapters where the participants disassociate themselves from the more cultural aspects of their parent's generation, and instead affiliate more with their Islamic and place based identities. Participant one confirms this and replies by stating that because all the forms say British-Asian 'you just tick it don't you in that box'. Here, both participants state an acceptance, as with the group in Narrative

66, that these forms often construct a reality through selectively naming collective identities, and denying or ignoring others (Kukutai & Didham 2012). The participants then have to decide where they fit into this reality even if the options are counter to how they feel they should be represented. Thus through the symbolic act of filling in forms the participants have to decide which communities they belong and are reminded of the complex and often competing aspects of their identities. In some cases this can become a self-fulfilling prophecy where the participants claim a certain identity because that's what the form displays. The majority of participants in this research however reflected on these forms and the process of filling them in as something symbolic but also problematic.

Narrative 68 reveals another tension that becomes symbolic through the process of filling in forms. As the participants discuss the significance of the term Britishness, participant one mentions what she describes as the different 'pools' of identity that she belongs to. She explains why she chose British by saying that 'every time you write it on an official form you say British'. She then continues to state that the reason she does not write Welsh on forms is because it is never an option or as she puts it, 'it's not written'. Participant two confirms this and states she believes Welsh identity is not chosen because it's not ticked on a form. Participant one then agrees and invokes the other nations of the UK by stating that they are never ticked because Britishness is always the main option and that 'you never write if you're Welsh, Scottish or English, you write British'. This highlights an interesting dynamic between Britishness and the sub-national identity of Wales and when they matter and for what reasons. When trying to express their feelings on Welsh identity, because it is not written on a form, it is expressed as being less official and therefore becomes less formal. This emphasises how nationhood and sub-nationhood is implicated in the choices people make depending on the context. This does not make Welshness less relevant, but when ticking boxes on official forms, a national or sub-national choice is made which makes the British identity materially and politically salient, and the Welsh identity less so. For in this moment, the participants choose out of a plethora of options who they can be 'ethno-nationally' (Fox & Miller-Idriss 2008: 542).

As the three extracts highlight, the process of filling in forms does more than just reflect social reality, it can play a symbolic role in constructing it (Kertzer & Arel 2002). It has been discussed by others how processes of filling in forms such as the census can be difficult for minorities seeking recognition (Morning & Sabbagh 2005), and unlike this exercise where the participants were given the freedom to write anything they wished, the filling in of

identity boxes can at times be confusing for the participants, where they have to choose categories they do not always feel comfortable with. The practice of inscribing cultural categories on identification documents can affect an individual's own sense of identity and question an individual's sense of belonging (Kertzer & Arel 2002). As Narrative 69 and 70 highlight, this process makes the participants aware they are claiming membership to an underrepresented and historically disadvantaged group which can become a symbolic event in identity formation (Jimanez 2004: 84).

(Narrative 69)

I was chatting today to Abdul in the youth centre and he then said that he was filling in forms today and he said to me "today I had to write my ethnicity as Bangladeshi Asian… what about my kids? what will they have to write? how long will it be until they would get accepted as just British?" as we continued to chat I asked what does he think his children's relationships with Bangladesh would be like, and hypothetically he answered "I will probably not take them to Bangladesh… so what do they put? they won't have any affiliations to Bangladesh, all they will know is being Welsh or British, I feel that way, but it matters as well what other people perceive me, it is not enough for me to state it, other people need to believe this as well

(Researcher's Field Notes)

(Narrative 70)

1 = The way I think right though is, even though I put down British Muslim when I think of other British people I know I'm not similar to them, you know their fascination with the royal family, I don't have any of that, I'm like what the hell? Why are you obsessed with that, and all the celebrations tend to have, eisteddfod and all that, I don't have any of that either, but you know the people from Bangladesh, and my parents and all the culture they have, I don't really have that either, so I see myself in the middle, bang in the middle, I'm either , but yet I put this down because I have been drilled in forms, and up-bringing more than I am Bangladesh, when I come across the form I struggle with the ethnicity slightly, because my Bengali is not that good, my parents they are different to me, but in terms of the culture I don't really follow hardly any of that, and because I haven't been brought up in the community where most of Bangladeshi people live in, I am more surrounded by British and Welsh but when I hang around them I know different from them, but when I hang around with the Bangladeshi lot I know I'm different from them too , so I know it's kind of confusing but I'm somewhere in the middle

(Focus Group Women, Number 2)

In Narrative 69, I reflect on a conversation that took place with an individual at EYST who states how the choices which are placed upon him when filling in forms raise a confusing

dichotomy. Here he tells me how on that day we talked, he was 'filling in forms' and had to write that his ethnicity was 'Bangladeshi Asian'. However, this immediately made him reflect on how he associates with this identity and how the process of filling in forms provides a moment where this becomes important. He then mentioned whether he will ever be able to just write British and nothing else and what the situation will be like for his children and further generations. However, he asks not only how long an affiliation with Bangladesh will remain important to him and his family, but also to the wider British and Welsh community with regards to accepting him as one of the their own. This highlights the symbolic role that filling in these forms can play, but also the ongoing tensions and negotiations that participants go through when trying to merge different aspects of their identities.

In Narrative 70, participant one's impassioned statement reflects this confusion particularly well. She feels that she is 'somewhere in the middle'. Although when it comes to filling in forms she writes 'British Muslim', she states that on the one hand she does not identify with what she sees as typically British or Welsh symbols such as the Royal family or the Eisteddfod, but on the other hand she feels like she does not have her parents culture as she states 'I don't really have that either, so I see myself in the middle, bang in the middle'. When it comes to the act of filling in forms, she states how she struggles with the term ethnicity because she does not feel comfortable sharing her parent's ethnicity as it does not reflect her sense of belonging. In particular she echoes the sentiment in Narrative 69 that identity is as much inscribed on her by the wider society as it is something that comes from her. This emphasises how the classificatory systems in data collection tools are socially constructed and most often the result of competing claims to identity, ethnicity and nationality (Simon & Piche 2012).

Although by pigeon holing people into official governmental categories these form gives legitimacy to these classifications, there is also autonomy involved when deciding what to write. In Narrative 71 below, the men discuss how the filling in of forms questioned some of the participant's perceptions of what it means to be Welsh.

(Narrative 71)

5 = I had to fill in forms in my school and they have so many categories, British, Chinese, I put half cast British on forms

1 = I don't mind being called a straight Bangladeshi

2 = Not as straight Bangladeshi though because we are not?

1 = But we have been brought up by our families , and you have to have something left over , after they go away from this world , like to remember them and to remember where you're from

3 = When I fill in the forms in the future now I am going to put down Welsh from now on, I just got this thing about just being called Bangladeshi, so yea I'm just gonna put down Welsh, plus I was born in Wales, I have been living here for 21 years of my life, no one can say I'm not Welsh, I was born here whose to tell me I'm not! I'll put down Welsh

2 = I still think we should have some connection with our roots, where our families from, say if you're Welsh and you got moved to Ireland would your children then forget the Welsh, would you want to know……………. I think the main connection with over there is family, my brother got married the other day and the first thing that came up was everyone saying you have to take your new wife and take her to see your family back home……… and that's the connection, when someone passes away you got back to Bangladesh, you have that link because you have that link back there

(Focus group Men, Number 2)

The beginning of Narrative 71 again emphasises the complexity such forms place upon the self-identification process that the participants face. When participant five states 'they have so many categories', he highlights that those moments put the individuals in a situation where they must explicitly choose who they want to be. As the conversation develops between participant one and two, their exchange highlights how when filling in forms, they have to decide which part of their culture, nationalities and sub-nationalities they want to associate with and which parts they want to leave behind. However, how they self-identify is much more complicated than the 'leave it or take it' options that the boxes offer. When participant one states he does not mind being called straight Bangladeshi and is then challenged by participant two who disagrees 'because we are not', participant one responds by stating it's his responsibility to include it as a category in order to maintain a link to his parents heritage. Participant three takes this further and reflects on his resentment for that part of his identity when he says 'I just got this thing about just being called Bangladeshi'.

Because he feels like his parent's culture does not represent him and he has an attachment to Wales and regards himself as Welsh, even if anyone says 'he isn't Welsh', he stresses in the future he will 'put Welsh down' on any forms. Whether or not he will do so isn't something which is able to be discovered in this research; however what can be

emphasised is that the process of self-identification puts the individuals in a situation where they can express their attachment to place or detachment from the communities they are born and brought up in, in a very symbolic way. It also highlights how ethnic and religious minorities cannot be placed entirely in one category as respondents assert their connection to multiple ethnic and geographical narratives (Jimanez 2004).

In this section I have highlighted the symbolic implications of self-identification and have discussed a certain moment, filling in forms, when the relationship between the nation, sub-state nation, ethnicity and religion force the individuals to contemplate who they are and where they belong to. Such focused incidents which occur in everyday life highlight how the participants negotiate their plural identities in complex and sometimes contradictory ways. The next section will expand on this to discuss the more tangible role of sub-national identification and how the participants' relationships with specifically Welsh symbols affect the process of self-identification.

Understanding the Meaning and Significance of Welsh Symbols: 'But I see being Welsh as my home, and what does it mean to me? I'm not 100% certain, it's the way of life'

This final section will explore the responses which were mentioned most frequently by the participants when asked what it was that defined their Welshness. By discussing the main symbols which were identified as Welsh, this helps us understand how certain aspects of sub-national identity are quantified. As Skey (2011) highlights, there usually exists a core set of stable markers underpinning a nations identity, and although these are susceptible to change, examining how these are identified, perceived, related to and challenged by the participants can help us understand the shared forms of knowledge that people rely on when making sense of issues in tandem with national and sub-national others. In increasingly multicultural societies, this poses the question, how flexible and accessible are these symbols? This section will therefore seek to answer this by understanding which symbols the participants identified as Welsh and how they viewed their own relationships to them.

Symbols such as Welsh cakes, Daffodils, St David's day, Rugby and the Welsh language were mentioned frequently as things which were particularly Welsh. The symbols listed in Narrative 72 below were typical of the responses of the participants.

(Narrative 72)

Researcher = What else defines your Welshness?

5 = I just think of Welsh cakes, daffs, learning Welsh in school, the flags, however there is something there, it's home, the everyday symbolic stuff like the beaches, joes ice cream, this is where we live this is your roots this is home, Welsh landscape as well is ours, when my cousins come from Manchester and they come to visit they say that come see it, this is ours, you can only get this in Wales

(Focus Group Women, Number 3)

Narrative 72 highlights how the attachment the participants have to certain sub-national symbols can shape how they imagine themselves as belonging to the wider sub-national community. In Narrative 72, participant five lists those things which she perceives as representing Welshness. By mentioning that these are 'symbolic stuff,' she acknowledges their importance in representing a certain narrative about place. The language however she uses stresses a sense of ownership over these symbols. When she mentions that 'this is your roots this is home', she personalises these symbols to express her relationship with the sub-state nation and how this shapes how she self-identifies. When relatives from England visit and they see the Welsh landscape, participant five reflects on how it makes her feel that 'this is ours, you can only get this in Wales'. This highlights how sub-national symbols such as the Welsh landscape contribute to a process of subjective boundary-creation and how it re-affirms sub-national ties by creating a sense of attachment.

As Anthony Smith has highlighted, landscapes play a key role in how the nation or sub-state nation is imagined (Smith 2013). This turn to nature and the natural environment to confirm a collective identification is used by participant five to give authenticity to her sense of belonging, in what Kauffman & Zimmer (1998) call the 'naturalisation to the nation'. As a result, an attachment to Welshness is constructed which not only imagines abstract ideas of what home stands for, but what is physical and tangible in her everyday life. It also highlights how such ownership over these symbols creates a sense of othering regarding who is included within the sub-state nation (her), and who is not (her English relative) (Elgenius 2011a). She thus personalises the landscape as a sub-national symbol and it is used by her as a tool for assessing her own identity and how she interprets others.

The participants identified particularly the Welsh flag as something unique which helped clarify their own relationship with Wales and Welshness. It has already been discussed earlier in the chapter how the use of flags in the St David's Day parade in Cardiff can be viewed as a symbol for negotiating power relations between cultural and religious diversity and sub-nationality (Elgenius 2011a). Narrative 73 highlights how in certain occasions in daily life, symbols such as the flag can become important 'modalities' for understanding the production of sub-national sensibilities, and how they can be used by the participants to reflect the diversity of their backgrounds (Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008: 553).

(Narrative 73)

Researcher = So what about your Welsh identity?

Interviewee 1 = That's a difficult one………… Wales is home, you know in fact it has the same colours as Bangladesh it's like a green thing the dragon Welsh, same thing, I was doing a workshop not so long ago and they asked us to identify ourselves so I drew the Bangladeshi flag and the Welsh flag and the dragon, and it came all together, very similar

(Interviewee 1, Male)

When trying to articulate what it means for him to be Welsh, Interviewee 1 uses an example from his job to highlight how such symbols can manifest themselves in everyday life. In a workshop he was undergoing at a training day, he was asked to identify himself. To best represent the merging of his plural identities he uses the flags of Wales and Bangladesh as tools to identify to himself and others his sense of belonging. Here a sub-national symbol, the flag, becomes a way for him to articulate what it means to claim ownership over his Welshness. Because of the attachment he has to both flags and because the 'colours are the same' they both represent a plural sense of his identity. Here the flags have a dual nature, functioning simultaneously as models 'of reality' (I.e. the flags that represent individual separate nations or sub-state nations), and models 'for reality' (the potential they have in coming together to represent his plural identity as Welsh-Bangladeshi) (Geertz 1973, Hearn 2006). By giving his own meaning to them, Interviewee 1 highlights how such symbols are not redundant objects but are able to be shaped by those interpreting them (Cohen 1985, Skey 2011).

Interviewee 1 was faced with a choice in which he had to display how his own biography intersects with the narrative of others in the workshop. As a result, he constructed a self-

reflexive response and reconsideration of his sub-national identity (Triandafyllidou 2011 2013). In this instance, the sub-state nation influences spaces of everyday life and emphasises how such practices can shape how people formulate their own identities. By deciding to draw the two flags together, Interviewee 1 emphasises how the sub-state nation does not simply mimic elite discourse, but often resonates with the rhythms of everyday concerns and predicaments, which is given symbolic meaning in the ritual performances of everyday life (Fox & Miller Idriss 2008, Ehrkamp 2007). As has been highlighted throughout the thesis, national and sub-national identity does not resonate evenly or resoundingly all the time as the participants often have conflicting relationships with it depending on where they are and who they are with, but in this situation, for Interviewee 1, it mattered in a pertinent and symbolic way (Fox & Miller Idriss 2008).

Although the participants could name and list many 'typical' symbols of Welshness, as Interviewee 1 states in Narrative 73, when the participants were asked to quantify what was it that made them *feel* Welsh, this was often more difficult. How relationships with certain symbols develop and are perceived depends on who they are being associated with, what way they are experienced, and when it is they are experienced (Kolstø 2006: 696). St David's Day was a symbol which was highlighted by the participants as particularly Welsh, but the relationship they had with it emphasised the competing and ongoing tension that the participants had with their plural identities. Schools throughout Wales will celebrate the day and hold small festivals and activities so that the participants grow up with some relationship and understanding of the celebration. However, as they became older it was expressed as something that although most had participated in at school, they had not continued into their adult life. As the following three extracts highlight, each participant had different relationships with the day and what it represented.

(Narrative 74)

Researcher = What situations does Welshness and Wales come up, how can you express it?

1 = In school, when you have to celebrate it for St David's day etc, nowadays you don't have to celebrate it unless you're in school, because you don't have to usually expose yourself as Welsh, there's no day you have to act Welsh, it's just normal, you never have to defend yourself as Welsh you just say British

Researcher = In that regards, is the British identity only used in defence? is the Welsh identity already there? What is it saying British?

1 =You never have to write it on official forms so it's just there

2 = With Welsh if you say you're Welsh you assume you should be speaking Welsh and celebrating St David's day, culturally being more involved

(Focus Group Women, Number 1)

(Narrative 75)

Researcher = Would you celebrate St David's day it in the future?

1 = Out of school not really, I am Welsh but I wouldn't celebrate it, I wouldn't know what I'm celebrating and why I'm celebrating it, I don't think our parents understand it, I don't see why I would have to celebrate it, religion wise or with anyone else, it's not part of my religion and I'm not used to it, but I don't mind being Welsh

2 = If someone did insult the Welsh background I would get offended, if I had to optionally have to get involved I probably wouldn't

3 = Is it bad to have the perception that English people are snobby? That people I've come across that they are snobby some of them are really rude, not you?

4 = I do try to include myself Welsh, I don't mind learning Welsh

(Focus Group Women, Number 3)

(Narrative 76)

Researcher = What do you mean then by welsh culture, what is welsh culture to you?

4 = As in like St David's wouldn't probably celebrate as day as other people do

3 = We do in school though

4 = Yea, but that's not out of choice, but like in primary school you wear costumes etc so you know you're taking part in that but as you go older you don't really give as much importance to it

Researcher = Why is that?

5 = You don't really get a chance to do it

(collective Yeah)

4 = Say my mam is born in Bangladesh, so we were born here so it's kinda different, my mum she didn't know about St David's when she came here and that's probably why

1 = Say for example we are not supposed to celebrate Christmas which we don't, but when it comes around, my dad will do a dinner

5 = But Christmas is more a religious thing rather to do with Welsh culture

(Focus Group Women, Number 2)

For many of the participants, St David's Day isn't something seen as fundamental to their own Welsh identity. Although they recognise it as something which does not necessarily conflict with any other part of their religion, it is described as something which is more institutional and associated with school. Many of the younger adults had not carried the celebration on into their adult lives. As participant four states in Narrative 76 when discussing why they celebrate St David's day in school, she responds 'but that's not out of choice, but like in primary school you wear costumes etc so you know you're taking part in that but as you go older you don't really give as much importance to it'. This sentiment was typical amongst most of the participants and suggests that because it was a celebration that was associated with school, it was something structural that they felt was placed upon them without much choice, and therefore it was less likely for them to develop more organic ways of celebrating it. Although attachments towards St David's Day did vary, it wasn't seen as a significant date in the participant's calendar.

In both Narrative 75 and 76 the reasons as to why this was the case was reflected upon with reference to the background of their parents. In Narrative 76, participant four states that because her mother was born in Bangladesh 'she didn't know about St David's when she came here and that's probably why'. Equally, in Narrative 75 the comment from participant one that 'I don't think our parents understand it' re-affirms the sentiment that because their parents are migrants, this is why they believe they did not place an importance on celebrating it. Here, the cultural background of their parents is used to interpret how they assess certain relationships with place and belonging to Wales, as they use the migrant status of their parents to situate their lack of attachment to this sub-national symbol. An inter-generational tension is used as a reason why the participants believe there could be a barrier to them feeling more integrated within Welsh society. Although this is given as a reason as to why they believe that they do not celebrate St David's Day, I would suggest that this isn't too dissimilar to other non-Muslims who do not celebrate the holiday. St David's Day is not as publically celebrated as Ireland's St Patrick Day or Norway's Constitution day and the participants responses might well be something which a number of non-Muslim Welsh people might also relate to, which suggests a lack of general narrative about what Welshness means in the 21st Century in larger society. What is different however is because of this absence, the participants fill this knowledge gap by assuming they cannot relate it to it because they come from minority backgrounds. This therefore becomes a moment where the participants use their minority status as a symbol that marks them as unable to claim a sub-national identity.

This also suggests however a possible missed opportunity from schools and civic institutions to forge a more inclusive symbol of solidarity, which can have the potential to generate cohesion and be inclusive to all members of Welsh society. As was highlighted earlier in this chapter when describing the possibilities of the Cardiff parade, the overt symbolism of St David's Day can act as a tool which can potentially include Muslims and ethnic minorities within a more plural sub-national narrative of Welshness. In Cardiff, the parade can be viewed as a space of inclusion which contributes to the visual diversity of Welsh identity. Such events can open the possibilities of seeing how Welshness can be claimed publically by Welsh ethnic minorities. It also suggests the potential for public displays of sub-nationality to be inclusive and unifying regardless of diversity, and to contribute to the creation of a plural re-interpretation of sub-national identity. For the participants in Swansea however, such a parade does not exist and some of the responses suggest the lack of importance it is given in defining their Welshness. Rather than being a public event where anyone can participate, St David's Day becomes relegated to the position of the school and is not something which exists outside of this structural formal space.

This does not mean that everyone in Cardiff whether Muslim or non-Muslim attends the parade or celebrates St David's day, however, this does highlight how different locations within one nation or sub-nation are mobilised and are ascribed meaning to differently by numerous actors (Carter, Donald & Squires 1993, Jones & Fowler 2008, Cresswell 2004). National and sub-national identity should be understood as being forged through local practices (Agnew 2002, Jones & Fowler 2008). The opportunity that some get to express a sense of Welshness through the St David's parade in Cardiff matters, and one cannot help wonder if Swansea had a similar parade, would such displays of diversity be more likely to be publically expressed? How sub-national identity is re-produced locally in particular places therefore reveals the multifaceted and heterogeneous nature of nations and sub-state nations, and the varying degrees of public displays of ethnic minorities on St David's day can highlight how Welshness is ascribed meaning to differently in different places (Brubaker 2004, Billig 1995, Jones 2003, Jones & Fowler 2008).

However, although many of the participants did not regard St David's Day as fundamental in their lives, this was not expressed as reducing their sense of Welshness. Whilst the participants would often mention how they did not celebrate it other than when at school, they would then counter these statements with comments which would re-affirm an

attachment to Welshness. In Narrative 75, when discussing whether she would celebrate St David's Day in the future, participant one states 'Out of school not really, I am Welsh but I wouldn't celebrate it, I wouldn't know what I'm celebrating and why I'm celebrating it'. Although she has limited knowledge of why or what celebrating St David's day involves, she re-affirms that regardless of this fact, she is still Welsh. Equally, in the final exchange between three of the participants, they highlight how not celebrating St David's day does not conflict with their sense of Welshness. In this exchange, participant two states if she had the option she probably wouldn't get involved but 'If someone did insult the Welsh background I would get offended'. Participant three then echoes this sentiment to re-affirm her sense of attachment to Wales by using the sub-national myth of the English 'other' who she describes as 'snobby', in order to separate her from 'them' to place herself within the Welsh collective identity. Participant four concludes this exchange by stating how she does try to include herself as Welsh within her identity. In this discussion, even though the sub-national symbol of St David's Day is not used directly to claim a sense of Welshness, it is indirectly used as a tool by the participants to navigate their way towards describing what Wales means to them. This is echoed in Narrative 74 when participant one states that there is no need to celebrate it unless in school 'Because you don't have to usually expose yourself as Welsh, there's no day you have to act Welsh, it's just normal'. The fact that it is 'normal' to be Welsh and that there is no 'need' to celebrate it suggests how for her it has become an identity that is commonplace (Billig 1995).

What these examples highlight is the dual nature of certain symbols to provide moments of inclusion and exclusion, but also how these relationships help the participants negotiate a sense of self which opens up numerous attachments to place. Although amongst the younger participants attachment to St David's Days was limited, the older staff who had young children reflected on it slightly differently. In Narrative 77, as a parent, Interviewee 1 expresses that helping his children to get involved on St David's Day at school was important.

(Narrative 77)

Interviewee 1 = But I see Welsh as my home, and what does it mean to me I'm not 100% certain it's the way of life, it's like when St David's comes and I'm out there shopping for my kids getting daffodils and is a way of identifying with Welsh culture, everyone does thing together, sense of community, you got to get out to the shops on St David's Day before all the red stuff is sold out, every year I end up buying a new rugby top or flag because I can't find the other one, but I don't

know

(Interviewee 1, Male)

In Narrative 77, Interviewee 1 emphasises how routine the participation in St David's Day has become for him as a parent. Each year he buys the certain Welsh symbols associated with the day such as the daffodil or 'something red' and thus becomes involved in a process which re-affirms a sense of sub-national place. He reflects on this with importance because he sees participating in such events creates a 'sense of community'. By doing so he is able to include himself in the wider imagining of the sub-state nation and through the buying of such symbols for his children to wear, a sense of attachment to Wales is able to be expressed. The symbolism of Welshness is thus negotiated through relationships with the sub-national day. However, it is again through school that St David's Day is celebrated and not at home or through other public events. This suggests that the celebration is reduced to formal spaces and that there are fewer opportunities for him to participate in more public displays of the celebration. His relationship with the day however does suggest the potential such collective holidays can have in forging a sense of inclusiveness and attachment to the sub-state nation, and how moments such as these could become imperative for increasing cohesion and creating connections across religious and cultural barriers.

Sport was another symbol which was seen as specifically Welsh and was something which was reflected upon as having an effect on how some of the participants negotiated what Welshness meant to them. Fox & Miller-Idris (2008) have argued how national solidarities are becoming less generated on the stage of national commemorations but rather on the pitch of international sporting competitions. With the inclusion of players and crowds from diverse backgrounds both playing for and supporting Wales, in many ways, the stage of international sport has come to embody the modern nation and sub-state nation (Giulianotti 1999). However, like all symbols of national and sub-national identity they can be a force of unity and division. Some have highlighted how football has been linked with hooliganism and a sinister type of nationalism which is inclusive for the majority but exclusive for the minority (see Abell et al. 2007, Back et al. 1999, Condor 1996, 2000). Exploring the relationships that the participants had with this particular symbol can further highlight those moments of inclusion and exclusion within the Welsh narrative.

Most of the participants mentioned that sport, in particular rugby, was a symbol which represented a particular narrative of being Welsh. As Narrative 78 and 79 highlight, those who took an interest in sport reflected on it as a tool which provided an opportunity to identify as Welsh.

> ***(Narrative 78)***
>
> *5 = Sport is also something which makes you feel a lot more Welsh, the other day for example when we beat the English at rugby that definitely is something you can relate to and makes you feel very proud to be Welsh and come from Wales*
>
> *(Collective yes)*
>
> ***(Focus Group Women, Number 2)***

> ***(Narrative 79)***
>
> *2 = Well when the rugby is on you're Welsh, when its Ramadan you're Muslim, when you watch Bollywood you're Asian isn't it*
>
> *(All laugh)*
>
> ***(Focus Group Men, Number 3)***

As Bechofer and McCrone (2013) argue, the relationships people have with national symbols reveal much about how they negotiate their many identities. In Narrative 78, sport is used as a symbolic platform to experience and express differential sub-national belonging (Bechhofer & McCrone 2013, Fox 2006b). In this instance, Wales beating the English allows the participant to define who she is, and importantly who she is not. By supporting Wales, the participant imagines herself as part of the sub-national community and not part of the 'other' English community. Such moments provide an insight into how sub-national symbols are experienced and claimed as an important part of the participant's process of self-identification. These affiliations not only provide a sense of inclusion, but also manifest themselves in heightened emotions as participants five states, watching the Welsh rugby team win made her feel 'proud to be Welsh'.

Narrative 79 echoes this sentiment that rugby in particular is not only identified as something particularly Welsh, but something which participant two can claim ownership

over. The opportunity to watch the Welsh team play rugby provides a moment where he can be Welsh. When he watches rugby he's Welsh, when he partakes in Ramadan he's Muslim, and when he watches Bollywood he's Asian. This research has argued that the participants can be all of these identities at once as many aspects of their sense of self merge to produce who they are. As Narrative 79 highlights, the constant re-negotiation of identities that the participants face in their everyday lives is represented by different symbols. In this instance, neither identity is problematic and stresses how the participants' Welshness develops from the plural connections and identifications that he has to different parts of his identity. Equally, for both the participants in Narrative 78 and 79, their attachments to Welshness through sport are able to be experienced outside of more formal spaces. Unlike the relationship with St David's Day, watching the Welsh rugby team was redundant from more structural formats of Welsh identity such as the school, and therefore the individuals have more choice in how and when they participate. Choosing the moments when their Welshness is expressed becomes more organic and contributes to how a more reflexive sub-national identity develops. This was reflected upon numerous times whether talking about football or rugby.

However, what must be remembered is that the places that these moments are experienced in can highlight other tensions of living in diversity for Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Pubs and bars are the locations where many sports fans will watch sporting events and be united in a common experience of sub-national support. For many Muslims, the pub can become a social space of exclusion because of the sale and consumption of alcohol which can make some feel uncomfortable of attending, as was discussed in the *Places and Spaces of Exchange* chapter. Of course this depends on the individual and their own interpretation of their own Islam, but what this does highlight however is how relationships with the same sub-national symbol can be experienced differently, depending on an individual's biography and the places where they experience such symbols. Places and social spaces therefore come to matter for different reasons. The more non-Muslims see Muslims participating in common acts of celebrating Welshness, and the more contact between them in these common celebrations that exists, the more the likelihood of a chance for increasing opportunities for contact and cohesion (Hewstone, Paolini & Cairns et al. 2006, Cantle 2015). However, because of the differing attitudes to alcohol, there must also be an acceptation that in some places there might never be the opportunities for common attachment because of certain tensions. This means that some moments of sub-national commonality are harder to bridge the barriers of diversity than others.

Of course not all the participants wish to celebrate their affiliation to Wales in such ways for the simple reason that they are not interested in sport (Bairner 2009). However, even for those who did not like rugby, they still identified it as a typically Welsh symbol. In doing so, they also used it as a tool which allowed them to evaluate in what other ways they felt included and excluded from the Welsh narrative. This emphasises how the power of symbolism not only lies in whether people can associate with a symbol directly, but also how it can indirectly make them question their sense of self-identification in relation to the ideas that the symbol represents.

(Narrative 80)

Researcher = Is it easier for someone with a different background to claim a Welsh identity rather than English?

Interviewee 1 = In terms of Welshness, all the stuff Welsh doesn't go against me and my other cultures and if you like it you participate with it, like the Welsh rugby culture, there's a rugby following, if that tickles my fancy I can join it, so that would be a part of my identity, but I don't like rugby because it's boring, football and snooker is more my cup of tea….. I can't talk for other cultures like the English, I've not lived in it, I've grown up here and it's accepting of me, this here Wales is what makes me, I can't even explain ….. like if you asked me, I'm a Welsh Muslim, I'm a Welsh Bangladeshi , but then to define it, I don't know man, I think it's the people and I don't know, the people around you make a different and the environment you grow up in

(Interviewee 1, Male)

Here Interviewee 1 acknowledges the significance that rugby plays within other people's sub-national narrative of Welshness, but does not associate with it directly. However, he does not dwell on this as something that he feels necessarily excludes him from feeling Welsh. Instead, he does not give it much importance. He then continues the discussion to mention different reference points to understand what does being Welsh mean to him. He states how he's unsure about what being English means, but for him growing up in Wales and having a clear sense of what place stands for, plays an important part in his own construction of his Welshness or as he puts it, 'this here Wales is what makes me'. This exchange highlights how relationships with sub-national symbols can not only unify and divide, but can be used as a tool which helps individuals question what it is that does make them feel attached to a sub-national community. Thus, these symbols can continuously transform the reality of difference into the appearance of similarity with such efficacy, that

people can still invest in the community which in turn gives reality and meaning to the communities' boundary (Cohen 1985: 21).

A final symbol I want to discuss which was identified as being particularly Welsh was the Welsh language. Because of the compulsory learning of the language in Wales at all schools, all the participants had a familiarity with it and could speak some words. Like St David's Day, the Welsh language played a dual relationship in the discussions. Firstly, it was something that again was associated with the structural space of school and therefore was seen as something that was learnt not out of choice. This therefore made the participants sometimes question its relevance. Secondly, most of the participants would recognise it as a specifically Welsh symbol but one which was largely irrelevant to their lives. They would also however acknowledge that even though they did not speak it, they still felt that this did not make them feel less 'Welsh'. It was therefore a sub-national symbol which was utilised to assess an individual's sense of belonging and attachment to Wales, but did not define it. The responses in Narrative 81 and 82 were fairly typical from all the discussions.

(Narrative 81)

Researcher = Within that Identity, and British Identity, what about Wales and Welsh Identity?

2 = Yes, It does come into the picture as Wales is a country, I like the way Wales is, I don't necessarily speak Welsh, I'm not a fluent Welsh speaker, I did it in GCSE'S I can understand bits and bobs but I'm not a fluent Welsh speaker, but saying that It's not just about the language, it's hard to explain

(Focus Group Women, Number 2)

(Narrative 82)

Researcher = What about the Welsh language?

Interviewee 1 = Well the language does reaffirm you are in Wales, it's a shame most people can't read it or write it, it is a shame, it is something that is lost and it's a shame, if I had the opportunity I would go and learn it, but my brain is not as sharp as it used to be, my kids know a lot more Welsh, they get taught and they ask what you have in your packed lunch and the kids answer in Welsh, I went in to school and he was 5 at the time and it's the first time I heard him, when he came out I said what did you say?

(Interviewee 1, Male)

In both extracts the participants recognise that due to their time learning Welsh at school it is acknowledged as a symbol which is unique to the Welsh landscape. In each extract when asked what it is that defines being Welsh, the Welsh language is a symbol used to help the participants navigate what being Welsh means to them. Although it is not viewed as something which is specific to their own everyday lives, it is still recognised as something which is unique to Wales and their upbringing, which reflects how an understanding of sub-national place is influenced by the surroundings in which people live (Kabir 2010). In Narrative 81, participant two reflects on this point when she states 'we go to school here, Welsh lessons, you are of the culture, it's in to us now so that whole culture surrounds you, is a part of you'. Growing up in Wales she argues offers a distinct set of cultural and historic attachments which contrast to growing up in any of the other nations in the UK. Through the institutional setting of school she, like all children in Wales who attend non-Welsh speaking schools, absorbs the multiple symbols and meanings of what it means to be Welsh. This is also expressed in Narrative 82 when Interviewee 1 stresses how it is a symbol which 'reaffirms you are in Wales'. He mentions how the language features within his children's everyday lives and emphasises the multifaceted nature of Welsh identity. He also emphasises that although Welsh language culture is an important aspect to definitions of Welsh identity, claiming a Welsh identity does not have to involve fluency of the language.

This also highlights how the Welsh language is used politically and socially within people's everyday lives. The relationship with the language is varied and although it was recognised as a symbol of where the participants called home, it was not something that played a major part in their lives. Despite their lack of affiliation with it, they stressed that this did not make them feel less Welsh. This is emphasised again in narrative 81 where participant two states 'I'm not a fluent Welsh speaker, but saying that It's not just about the language, it's hard to explain'. Rather than be a symbol which divided her and made her feel less Welsh, it was reflected that because of its limited use, it was not too important to her own sense of Welshness that she did not speak it. None of the participants in the focus groups, interviews, or of the people who attended the youth centre could speak Welsh fluently and many believed as Interviewee 1 states in Narrative 82 'it is something that is lost'. Outside of the school setting, most thought it was almost a non-existent language as the exchanges in Narrative 83 and 84 emphasise.

(Narrative 83)

1= You don't even speak Welsh nobody speaks Welsh

2 = Yeah nobody speaks Welsh, Welsh and Welsh culture is all about the drinking culture and because I'm a Muslim I can't associate with that

5 = See I class myself Welsh and I'm actually quite proud of being welsh, I've tried to speak Welsh, I did full course welsh in school, I tried to keep that up in school and if I could speak fluent welsh I would keep that up and I think even if I had kids, I would encourage them to go to a Welsh school and to have that ability to be able to speak Welsh, I'd say more than anything, out of all the nationalities, I would actually feel more comfortable I think with Welsh people, Welsh people are the nicest ones you can meet, I don't know whether that's because I'm from the valleys rather than from in the town

1 = I agree they are more friendly, it's more diverse round here than other countries, they are trying to respect other cultures, they make more of an effort

(Focus Group Women, Number 3)

(Narrative 84)

Researcher = What does being Welsh mean to you though?

Interviewee 4 = Because I have been brought up in the city in Swansea, we haven't really been taught much about being Welsh, in schools we will have maybe Welsh lessons twice a week, but there isn't that much importance in the Welsh lessons, I think the outskirts you go people will have a stronger Welsh identity I feel anyway, like in the schools around us locally the don't really put much importance to the Welsh language

(Interviewee 4, Male)

Although Welsh is not a majority language in Wales, 19 per cent (562,000) of usual residents have reported that they could speak Welsh (ONS Statistical Bulletin 2012), and around 11.4 percent (26,332) Welsh speakers in Swansea (Stats Wales 2011). With the visible presence of Welsh on road signs, street signs and by law in public services, Schools and many other public spaces, the statement by participant one in Narrative 83 that 'nobody speaks Welsh' raises an interesting question as to why this is perceived to be the case. Both extracts highlight the general opinion that although the language is a notable Welsh symbol, because they were no longer in school and did not have to learn it; it did not exist outside and therefore was not something that was prominent in their own lives. Interviewee 4 re-affirms this in Narrative 84 as he believes 'there isn't that much importance' given to Welsh lessons and therefore links this to a lack of knowledge about

how to be Welsh. He then states that those in the ‘outskirts’ speak more Welsh and therefore have a ‘stronger’ Welsh identity. Although he does not specify where the outskirts is, he is suggesting that the further way from the city someone is, the more the Welsh language will become prominent. This becomes a moment where he feels his ability to claim certain attachments to Welshness are limited because he cannot speak the Welsh language which is associated with a particular place, outside of the city. The city therefore becomes a place which is perceived as non-Welsh speaking, whereas more rural areas are viewed as more Welsh speaking and therefore more ‘Welsh’.

I would argue that this relationship is similar to that of non-Welsh speaking non-Muslims who would equally identify Swansea as a largely non-Welsh speaking place. Like St David’s Day, the relationship the participants had with the Welsh language contributed towards moments of inclusion and exclusion within the participants own evaluation of what their Welshness means to them. However, unlike St David’s Day where the participants used their minority status as a reason to explain why they believed they couldn’t identify with it, the Welsh language is expressed as irrelevant because of the absence of it in their everyday lives. In Narrative 83, participant one and two re-iterate this point. The language is used as a tool to navigate the participant’s own position within the Welsh community. Because participant two believes nobody speaks Welsh, she uses this as a gateway to discuss what she dislikes about Welsh society. Here she disassociates herself from the wider Welsh community and from positioning herself as part of the collective ‘we’. She cites the alienation that she has experienced because of her faith, has distanced her from other ‘people from Wales’. Although these exchanges have been discussed in depth in previous chapters regarding those places and spaces of exchange where the participants feel included and excluded, what is important to emphasise here is how sub-national symbols such as the language can be utilised by the participants to understand both the inclusion and exclusion that the participants feel with regards to their own belonging to the wider sub-national community, because of their Muslim identity.

The exchange in Narrative 83 however finishes with participant five who counters participant two’s response, and stresses how in fact she feels quite proud of her Welshness and uses the language to re-affirm her sense of attachment to place. She uses the language as a tool to argue why she thinks out of all the nationalities and sub-nationalities in the UK, she feels more comfortable with Welsh people. She uses this discussion to then suggest that if she had children in the future she would want them to speak Welsh. Whether or not

she will is not something this research will be able to discover, however, this highlights the way sub-national symbols not only have an importance by themselves as objects, but can be utilised as levers to unify, divide, include and exclude individuals within the sub-national narrative. The Welsh language thus became a way of assessing in what ways the participants felt attached or detached to what Welshness is, and what it means for them to claim a sense of Welsh identity.

The Welsh language was also utilised as a symbol by some of the participants to compare and contrast with other elements of their plural identities. The comparison between the use of Welsh and the use of Bengali highlights an example where the participants used their plural identities to negotiate their sense of belonging to sub-national place, which was reflexive of their own diverse multi-scalar biographies. As Narrative 85 and 86 highlight, relationships with sub-national symbols can provide moments of deep reflexivity.

(Narrative 85)

I was speaking to Interviewee 3 today in the youth centre and he just came back from going around schools as part of the outreach project, he went to a Welsh language primary school and heard a lot of Welsh and saw a different side to Wales as he saw how the kids spoke Welsh and interacted in the language to the teachers, he said it made him want to speak it and he said the body language they were using whilst speaking the language reminded him of Bengali and how his children's proficiency is not the greatest, he said as a Welsh person it would have been nice for him to learn it and send his kids there, even though he hasn't

(Researcher's Field Notes)

(Narrative 86)

Interviewee 1 = My family would know because they are family, but other people in Bangladesh would know just by looking at you, and that's not without me saying a word, and if I spoke to them they would really know, because although I speak the language I don't speak it as fluent, or use the same words that locality, my Bangladeshi language is quite bad, it's embarrassing, my parents try to teach me in Sunday school, writing and reading, because I haven't practised it for so long, and my speaking skills, I can't remember or haven't learnt it , so I would be speaking to my mam in Bengali and English to make the sentence up and she would understand…. It's like the Welsh language I can see it coming over here with it declining, my kids speak less Bangladeshi than me

(Interviewee 1, Male)

In both extracts the comparison between Bengali and the Welsh language is used by the participants to situate their own plural identities and to understand what certain symbols of Welshness means to them. In Narrative 85 during a discussion at EYST with Interviewee 3, he affectionately describes how his experience at a Welsh language primary school that day highlighted to him the use of Welsh language in a new light. This reflects what was discussed previously that outside of the school, the Welsh language plays a very limited role in the participants' public lives. He then compares the proficiency of the Welsh speaking children with his own children's ability to speak Bengali, to make sense of how he navigates his own identity. For him, it was a reminder of the multiple places which form his identities, but also how links to the cultural homeland of his parents were diminishing as further generations settle in Wales and the UK.

Interviewee 1 in Narrative 86 also uses the Welsh language similarly to describe his own relationship with the Bengali Language. When discussing how he feels when visiting Bangladesh, he states that because he is not able to speak Bengali fluently, he cannot feel that he 100% belongs. Here, Interviewee 1 mentions how his inability to speak Bengali limits his ability to integrate and he reflects on this with embarrassment and regret. Although he says he can speak a mixture of the two, he feels this effects his ability to self-identify with that part of his identity fully. Home invokes a sense of place, belonging or alienation that is intimately tied to a sense of self (Blunt & Varley 2004). Here language is seen as an important tool to fitting in. However in Wales, he does not see the Welsh language as a prerequisite to being able to fit in, and feels as though he belongs to Wales regardless of his ability to speak Welsh. He then compares the lack of Bengali spoken and its decline amongst his family, with the lack of Welsh language he experiences in everyday life. This highlights that Wales and the numerous symbols of Welshness play important roles within developing familiarity over senses of place and identity. Although he does not speak Welsh, he uses the language as a reference point for comparison to understand the numerous relationships that make up his identity. If for example he was living in England, these opportunities wouldn't occur for him to make such comparisons and therefore this highlights how it is too simple a distinction for all Muslims in Britain to be nationalised solely as 'British', as complex tangible ties exist to sub-state nations which are articulated in very symbolic ways (Kabir 2010). The Welsh language therefore becomes more than just an articulation of a symbol as it helps the participants express themselves as Welsh, British, Muslim, Bangladeshi, Pakistani, amongst other identity labels. The relationship and acknowledgement of these symbols therefore suggests a 'territorial oneness' amongst the

participants who at different times are either happy or unhappy to claim themselves as Welsh. Such relationships with such symbols are therefore fundamental to understanding how the participant's identities are manifested.

Conclusion: Symbolising Boundaries

In this chapter I have explored the symbolic role of Welsh identity in the lives of the participants, in order to discover how the relationships with particular symbols can open up discussions on when and where Welsh Identity can become salient in Welsh Muslims' everyday lives. This has highlighted the ways that sub-national symbols have the potential to both unify and divide, contributing to how the participants develop attachments to Wales and what Welsh identity means to them. By doing so it has revealed the plural and creative ways that nations and national identity become applicable in an increasingly diverse age, and sheds light on why Muslim identities cannot be discussed in isolation from the other identities which make up an individual.

With increasing diversity, how citizens' cultures and religiosities intertwine with national and sub-national symbols can either conflict or add new meaning to those narratives (Bechhofer & McCrone 2013, Elgenius 2011a). Although many symbols are pre-determined, once they are in the public domain, how they are related to can vary depending on the individual, the community, the gender, sexuality, religion, nationality, sub-nationality and the place that they are interpreted. Once they are given meaning to, they become useful tools for measuring how people develop attachments to sub-national places. Although the relevance of these symbols might only be thought about when they occur at a certain time of the year, for example when Wales plays rugby or on St David's Day, when they do happen, they begin a process of conscious and sub-conscious reflection, where the participants have to consider, 'What do these symbols mean to me?' and 'What does it mean to be of this place?'.

To answer these questions, the chapter began by considering contemporary images in Wales to discuss how diversity is being manifested within particular sub-national contexts through symbolic ways. In particular, these images concentrated on the participation of ethnic and religious minorities in Cardiff's St David's Day parade, and how this increasing participation is an example of how a more plural sub-national identity can develop from the bottom up. Images 1-5 discussed how diversity is an ever-increasing presence in such public

displays of common Welsh identity, and that seeing the presence of Muslim women holding Welsh flags or singing the Welsh national anthem, provides opportunities to re-think how Welshness is given meaning to by different members of the public in new symbolic and transformative ways. Such involvement challenges the meaning of Welsh identity in a very visual way as it poses the question, 'Who is it that can speak for Wales?' and 'Who is it that can participate in Welsh public place?' These are the types of questions that we must ask when we re-consider what national and sub-national identity means in an increasingly diverse age. By viewing the creative and transformative ways that ethnic minorities are already making claims to Welsh identity, these images can open up more plural understandings of what national identity can be, which moves away from the narrow ethnic-civic dichotomy used to describe the relevance of nations and national identity. These images also suggest that Muslims' identities cannot be understood in isolation from the attachments they have to the places where they grow up, for in these moments, they are making specific claims to being 'Welsh Muslims'. In other words, these images suggest that Welshness matters.

The chapter then scaled down to concentrate on other ways that Welsh identity, through diversity, was being expressed in more plural ways in St Helens Road in Swansea, the location where EYST is situated. In this section, I described the journey I would repeat twice a week for a year on my way to research, making note of particular observations and symbols that I deemed interesting. This gave further detail to the location where I conducted my research, and also explored how the banal symbolism of sub-national identity is being expressed through ways which merges the identities of the multi-cultural and multi-religious populations which make up the surrounding area. The poster of Imran Khan on page 194 with the words 'Wales: Let's Build a better Pakistan Together', the image of the Chinese Café on page 193 with the words 'All Day Welsh Breakfast' written across the window, and the Iranian and Welsh flag hanging next to each other in the Barber's Shop, are all examples of how ethnic and religious minorities are developing a reflexive association with the sub-state nation and its symbols, which is being expressed in plural, tangible and creative ways. This suggests that it is misleading to assume that national and Welsh identity is irrelevant to minority populations, as it is manifested and articulated in everyday life. These gestures do not necessarily mean that every ethnic and religious minority will always feel part of the sub-national belonging all the time. Throughout this thesis, I have argued that every day has the potential to provide both moments of inclusion and exclusion, where individuals can feel either part of the in-group or the out-group

simultaneously. What these images do highlight, however, is that the sub-state nation is a scale that is relevant to understanding diversity within the UK. Analysing the scale of Britain and Britishness alone ignores the other scale specific dynamics important in the lives of ethnic and religious minorities. Thus, mapping these displays in urban space helps to better understand the everyday symbolic registration of diversity in the city, and how and where Welsh identity is made salient in everyday life. These images also highlight the creative and self-reflexive ways that sub-national identity is being claimed from the bottom up, which sheds light on the more flexible and inclusive ways that national identity should be interpreted, which contrasts with the rigidity of the civic-ethnic dichotomy. Analysing the relevance of these images also helps contextualise more general ways that diversity and Welsh identity are being expressed, before moving on to the specificities of the responses of the participants in this research.

Next in this chapter I considered how the participants self-identify, and the symbolic implications of such identifications. When undergoing the task of having to write which identities are important to them, all the participants identified 100 percent (30) as Muslims, which indicates how their faith was the most prominent identity in their lives (See Table 4). Although this has been clear throughout this thesis, what is also clear is that the Muslim part of their identity is not autonomous as it is always negotiated by the participants with their other identities such as gender, heritage, generation, place and national and sub-national attachment. The second most used identifications were the place based national and sub-national identities of British and Welsh, and this chapter has indicated the numerous ways that this relationship remained integral in how the participants self-identify.

This section also highlighted that the participants often have to face numerous decisions within their life as the question, 'Who are you?' can become complicated and is not always easy to articulate. In particular, the sentiment from Narrative 69 where one of the participants after filling in forms about his ethnicity asked me in the drop in centre how long would it be until he could be accepted as 'Just British', highlights that filling in forms can become particularly influential moments where identity has to be declared. This is a process that everyone has to go through, however, this chapter has highlighted how for the participants, it makes them very aware of their minority status and makes them question what their place in Wales and the UK as Muslims and ethnic minorities stands for. In these moments, having to decide what being Welsh, British, Muslim, Bangladeshi, Pakistani a

man or woman means, becomes very salient. This therefore highlights a particularly reflexive relationship that the participants had with the nation, where they have to develop a more plural and flexible understanding of how they articulate their own sub-national and national identity.

The final section of this chapter explored the relationships that the participants had with particular Welsh symbols to understand how, when and where they mattered. Rather than pre-determining what symbols the participants should identify with, I asked them to discuss what symbols defined their own sense of Welsh identity. Many of the symbols were typical ones which non-Muslims would also identify such as daffodils, Welsh cakes, rugby, St David's Day and the Welsh language. This highlights how certain symbols can become ingrained in national and sub-national consciousness whether someone relates to them or not. A plural sense of sub-national identity, however, encourages us to concentrate on how the participants negotiate their relationship to these symbols using their ethnic and religious minority biographies to understand what it means to them. The comparison of the Welsh language with the Bengali language that the participants used in Narratives 85 and 86, or the reasons given by the participants in Narratives 76 and 75 as to why they did not celebrate St David's Day due to the status of their migrant parents, are both examples where the participant's own biographies merge their plural identities to create an alternative understanding of these sub-national symbols.

This sheds light on the transformative and self-reflexive ways that sub-national identity is thought about, which extends beyond the confines of a civic or ethnic understanding of sub-national and national identity. It also highlights the constant re-negotiation of identity which the participants go through which suggests that Muslim identities should not be discussed in isolation from place based identities such as Welshness and Britishness. Within these moments, Welsh identity becomes a salient frame of reference that the participants use to understand how this affects their sense of belonging within a wider national or sub-national community, and how their participation in public place is perceived in relation the majority (Staeheli, Mitchell & Nagel 2009). Assessing the relationships that the second and consequent generations have with these Welsh symbols therefore can provide moments where the participants reflected on how included or excluded, they as members of already disadvantaged groups can feel towards the sub-state nation.

Sub-national symbols can therefore act as reference points for the participants to further understand the deeper relationships that they have with sub-national identity. Not only is

the relationship with a specific symbol important, but also important is how that symbol can open up further discussion about other more general feelings of identity. Sub-national symbols mean different things to different people, and although the participants can at times claim an unbounded, de-territorialised Muslim identity, when it comes to sub-nationality, the participants negotiated and constructed their identities through certain symbols which highlighted their relationship with Wales and emphasised the plural negotiations of their identities (Ryan 2012).

Chapter Seven – Conclusion: 'What Does Being Welsh Mean to Me?' Sub-National Identity in the Everyday Lives of Swansea Muslims

Caught Between Many Places, Pick Me Up and Take Me Home

As patterns of international migration have intensified and have become more diverse in recent decades, so has the understanding of how these mobilities affect both the societies that migrants leave from, and the societies that they travel to (Vertovec 2007). This thesis has contributed to understanding the long term effects of such mobilities by examining how second generation Muslims negotiate their identities in relation to both the cultural and religious heritage of their parents, and the cultural and religious surroundings of the nations and sub-state nations they grow up in. The growing proportion of Muslim citizens in the UK will form a significant part of how future national and sub-national narratives develop (Heath 2015, Hopkins 2010, Phillips et al. 2009), and this thesis has examined how Welsh Muslims in Swansea construct their identities in relation to the wider sub-national community of Wales. Negotiating a religious identity in a largely secular society is difficult and poses many challenges for Muslims and non-Muslims alike (Cantle 2015, Modood 2015). In particular in the public sphere, tension is always a possibility, and the interactions that occur across difference will affect processes of identity construction and re-construction (Wood & Landry 2008). At the heart of these negotiations will be the question, 'Where does one belong to?', and this research has examined where and when Welsh Muslims feel they do and do not belong to Wales and the larger Welsh community.

Such a case study as this thesis can only make a *specific* contribution to the ongoing analysis of Muslim identity, as Muslims in Britain are ethnically diverse and heterogeneous in language, skin colour, gender, culture and in their differing interpretations of the Quran (Kabir 2010). Although it wasn't the intention of the thesis to convey what life is like for every different kind of Muslim, it has given an insight into the complex negotiations of identity which could be recognisable to many Welsh, British and European second and third generation Muslims. By highlighting the places of inclusion and exclusion within the participant's lives, it has explored *how*, *when* and *where* such negotiations of identity occur. This final chapter will bring together the common themes developed from this thesis by firstly summarising each chapter, then it will give further clarification of how the main aims of the project were addressed by discussing what are some of the answers to my research questions set out on pages 4-5, and then finally it will make suggestions for future research.

Introduction

In the first chapter I emphasised that in an increasingly diverse Europe, there needs to be a further understanding of the relationship between Muslims and the nation state. How they re-imagine the nation and re-construct their identities in relation to the wider national community is imperative to understanding how societies will progress in the future. I took this as a starting point to situate the primary aim of the thesis, which was to discover what being Welsh means to second and third generation Muslims, living in Swansea. In other words, I argued that identity is an important and legitimate tool from which to analyse the relationships people have to the places they live. In particular, I argued that a spatial understanding of identity matters, and discussed how a spatial understanding of both national and Muslim geographies is becoming increasingly more common. By taking a spatial perspective, I argued that different and new perspectives on the identities of Muslims in Wales could be understood, and that this thesis would be a contribution to this growing literature (Massey 2005, Hopkins 2010, Kong 2009).

I then argued that the ethnic-civic typology used to explain national identity wasn't adequate to understand increasingly diverse societies. I therefore suggested that a more *plural* consideration of national identity must be introduced, which considers how a self-reflexive, creative, and transformative understanding of the nation, which analyses how it is made meaningful to ethnic and religious minorities from the bottom up, must be developed. I then used this notion of plurality to explore when, where and in what ways Welsh Muslims made Welsh identity relevant to their lives. The final section of this chapter then discussed how sub-state nations offer a unique perspective to the national dynamic as they offer another frame of attachment for identity. It therefore argued that understanding Muslims as purely British and nothing else ignored an important layer of analysis which needs to be unpacked.

Methodology

The second chapter explored which methods I decided would be the most appropriate to discover when and where Welsh identity becomes salient in the lives of Welsh Muslims. I began by arguing that to understand how and where identities are negotiated there must be an understanding of how they are lived out in everyday life. However, because everyday life is such a complex site to study, it requires a triangulation of methods to achieve a comprehensive insight into how identity is negotiated. To do this, I adopted three methods

Ethnographic Observation, *Focus Groups* and *Interviews,* using each section to discuss the merits of each one and why using them together provided a unique insight into Muslim identity. To ensure that the methods caught data that would help answer the research questions, I had to choose an adequate location from which to research. I therefore introduced the location, EYST, and explained why during a sensitive time for studying Muslim identities, it was appropriate for this research project. I discussed how achieving access can be difficult and that developing bonds of trust is imperative for the researcher – researched balance and described the different ways I developed this trust. These involved building on relationships already established, taking my time to research so as to get to know the staff and clients as best as I could (one year), and also making sure I became more than just a participant observer by actively helping out at the organisation in any way I could.

Not only was the location chosen important to the type of data collected, but so was how my own personality affected the way I interacted with the participants, and consequentially how they interacted with me. I therefore used this chapter to also discuss how my positionality presented both challenges and opportunities which affected the type of data collected. This emphasised how the insider/outsider dynamic is not static and when devising strategies for researching Muslim identities, it is important to identify the numerous possible relationships that a researcher might have with their participants, rather than assume that just because they are outside the main identification group, that they cannot be considered an insider in other aspects of life which can be beneficial to how relationships develop. In other words, this chapter highlighted that you do not have to be a Muslim to research Muslim identity.

Organising the Data

This second methodology chapter explored how after the data was collected, it was transcribed and coded so that it could be used ready for the discussion chapters. It analysed the conventions that were used for transcription, and examined how the audio files and log entries were transferred in verbatim into word documents ready for coding. I then discussed the ways in which the data was thematically coded, and described how and why each theme and sub-theme was chosen in order to categorise the data in ways that answered the research questions. The chapter highlighted the importance of having a flexible coding system which develops as the researcher becomes more familiar with the data and the surroundings at which they research. This was reflected in the in-vivo codes

which created new themes, sub-themes and linking actions which signalled when more than one of the themes and sub-themes interacted with each other. By developing a flexible system of coding, new insights were able to be given to the data. This chapter then gave examples of how the data would be presented throughout the thesis and how quotes would appear throughout the discussion chapters.

Places and Spaces of Exchange

The first of the three discussion chapters, this chapter took three places which were commonly discussed by the participants, to understand how the moments of inclusion and exclusion within them revealed when and where Welsh identity became salient in their everyday lives. It discussed how within these places (the street, the workplace, the community), there were both challenges and opportunities to how the participants build attachments to Wales, Welsh identity and the wider non-Muslim community. Within these places, the plurality of the participants' identities was highlighted as they have to negotiate what place means to them in relation to the different aspects which make up their sense of self. By studying these particular places, it revealed the multiple layers of visibility and invisibility that Muslims encounter on a daily basis in their lives, and how a spatial understanding of Muslim life emphasises the tensions within their identities (Ali & Hopkins 2012, Gökarıksel & Secor 2014). From the tensions between Muslims and non-Muslims, between men and women, and between the different generations, this chapter explored that *where* these negotiations occurred mattered to how the participants develop a sense of place and attachment to Wales, and that place is a fundamental interpretive tool for understanding how Muslims consume and construct their own Welsh identity.

Mobilities of Home

This chapter explored what home meant to the participants and how the process of mobility from Wales and back again gave them agency over how they negotiate their identities. The chapter was split in two. The first half explored the process of International mobility, particularly trips to the parents' homeland and to a lesser extent holidays to Islamic countries. By analysing these trips, I revealed how these mobilities played a significant part in the participants' development of a sense of place. By describing how these trips made them feel, the participants not only described where they felt home and a sense of belonging was, but also where it wasn't. Within these descriptions, home was described as the stable, the consistent, the longed for, whereas being away from home was

complex, difficult and at times uncomfortable. These trips to the parents' homeland revealed the ongoing inter-generational tensions which exist within their lives, as well as the ways their identities are experienced differently depending on where they were. It also revealed important moments where the participants construct attachments to Wales and described it quite clearly as their home. The second part of this chapter explored what I call the National and Sub-national mobility of the participants, concentrating on those mobilities between Wales and England and to a lesser extent Scotland. This was used to understand how these trajectories revealed how the participant's relationships with England shaped their attachments to Wales, Welshness and Welsh identity. Through describing how these mobilities affect their personal geographies, it helped map the many ways that Welsh identity becomes relevant within their lives, and how the participants negotiate agency over how their sense of belonging to Wales is constructed.

Symbols of Identity

The final discussion chapter explored the many ways that the participant's identities are symbolised. It began by discussing a few examples in contemporary society in Wales where ethnic, cultural, religious and racial minorities are making claims to Welsh identity from the bottom up. It argued that such claims are symbolic as they challenge a monocultural definition of Welshness, and force society to think of Welsh identity in a more inclusive, creative and transformative way. I then scaled this down to explore how signs of Welshness and diversity are expressed in the street in St Helens Road, the location where EYST is based. By describing my experience of walking through the location of my research, I familiarised the reader with the diversity of the area, but also described the numerous creative and symbolic ways that Welsh identity can be identified in the visual landscape. This helped develop an understanding of the everyday registration of diversity in the city, and the importance of both mobility and visibility in contributing to how plural narratives about Welsh identity are created through their expression through particular symbols (Knowles 2013).

The next section of the chapter showed how the participants self-identify and related to the exercise taken before each interview and focus group where the participants had to list the identities they associate with. It explored how the process of self-identification plays a symbolic role in how the participants make sense of who they are, and how they create attachments to Welsh and British identity. The final section explored which symbols the participants related to as specifically Welsh and what was their own relationships with

them. This sought to explore the different ways that Wales and Welsh identity is thought about, and how the participants use their diverse ethnic, cultural and religious biographies to make sense of such symbols.

The Re-Making of the Nation in the Age of Diversity

After summarising each of the chapters, I now want to refer back to the aims and research questions set out at the beginning on pages 4-5, to explore how the three discussion chapters have answered these questions.

When and where is Welsh identity salient in Welsh Muslims' everyday lives?

This question sought to discover the significance of Wales and Welsh identity to Welsh Muslims, what it means, and where and when it matters. The first point to note is that being Welsh was important to the participants and was a significant frame of identity which helped them formulate ideas of what home meant to them. This was revealed at different times, in different places, in both profound and banal ways. Whether experiencing racism or Islamophobia because they look 'out of place' (Narratives 10 &11), realising that they speak Bengali with a Welsh accent (Narrative 46), taking part or not in St David's Day (Images 1-4, Narratives 74,75,76,77), claiming ownership over the Welsh flag (Narratives 72,73), discussing the feelings of belonging invoked when moving from Wales to England or abroad and back again (Narratives 54,55,56,57), or discussing their role in the creation of the Welsh and English 'myth' (Narratives 62,63,64). These opportunities to not only participate *in*, but also contribute *to* the re-negotiation of Welsh identity, highlight the moments where the participants expressed ownership over their own sense of Welshness, as they negotiated their relationship with the sub-state nation in ways that mattered to them.

This, however, is not without its tension. There are moments in the participants' everyday lives where they can feel both included within the Welsh narrative, such as when supporting the Welsh rugby team (Narrative 78), and excluded from that narrative, for example when being told to 'go back' from where they came from because of the colour of their skin or their religious identity (Narrative 11). A crucial point to note is that how the participants formulate what being Welsh means to them is reliant on how they navigate these moments within their everyday lives, and how these contributions either strengthen or inhibit feelings of belonging to Wales. If they are strengthened, they can increase feelings of solidarity and common connection to a wider Welsh community, if they are

weakened, they can contribute to the participants feeling isolated, alienated and less like they can claim a re-negotiated Welsh identity.

By taking a spatial consideration of Muslim identity, the thesis has also highlighted that when Welsh identity matters is influenced heavily by place (Hopkins 2010, Phillips et al 2009). When the participants were asked to think about what a sense of place meant to them, they emphasised the interesting paradoxes within their lives as they negotiated their plural identities within particular places. Whether on the street, at the workplace, at home, with friends, at school, in the mosque, or at the youth centre, each place made the participants reflect on how the plural aspects of their identities were negotiated differently depending on where they were. What being Welsh meant became more prevalent in some places than others, as did being British, Muslim, Bengali, Pakistani, a woman or a man. The school for example was a place where the Welsh Language became more prevalent of an issue within the lives of the participants (Narratives 81,82,83), whereas having somewhere to pray became a more prevalent issue at the workplace rather than in the street or the domestic sphere (Narrative 19). Thus, the ways that religious identity merges with public sub-national space to produce boundaries of inclusion and exclusion within the lives of the participants, emphasises how their Muslim identities can provide different imaginations of what a Welsh community can look like (Nagel & Staheli 2009). In other words, exploring the ways in which different parts of Muslims' identities are expressed under varying 'socio-spatial conditions', helps contribute towards moving beyond the homogenisation of Muslim identity, as relationships with other parts of the participants identities, such as Welshness become more apparent (Gale & Hopkins 2009: 3).

This spatial element was specifically highlighted through the process of mobility. Whether walking through the streets of Swansea (Narratives 14 & 15), visiting family in parental homelands (Narratives 32,33,34), on trips to Saudi Arabia for Hadj (Narrative 52), on Holidays in Dubai (Narrative 43), or visiting family in England (Narrative 54 & 58), each change in scale made the participants assess their identities differently and made them clarify what home meant to them. This process was complex and highlighted the many tensions that exist in the participant's lives. One particularly important tension was how the same part of a participant's identity can be experienced differently depending on which nation or sub-state nation they are in. What being Welsh meant in Wales was different to what being Welsh meant in Bangladesh (Narratives 46 & 47) or England (Narrative 59). Equally, when having to think about how their Muslim identity was experienced in Wales, it

was expressed differently to how they experienced their Muslim identity in London (Narrative 62), Saudi Arabia (Narrative 52), or Pakistan (Narrative 51). Each place made the participants assess their own identities differently and highlighted that how the participants develop a sense of belonging to Wales, relies as much on the process of mobility between Wales and other places, as it does on the relationships between the people that make up those places. In other words, by using these mobilities as an interpretive lens, we are able to understand how the participants reflect on what being Welsh meant to them, and where it came to matter.

Each change in scale thus highlighted the spatial dimensions at play in the participants' lives, and how their identities can at times be caught between temporary 'third spaces' of reflection (Bhabha 2004). When some of the women participants discussed the rights and freedoms they have in the UK in comparison to when visiting countries which were described as 'Islamic' (Narratives 51 & 52), they often mentioned a tension which highlighted to them that the freedoms they had in the UK were an important aspect of how they interpreted their faith. This was also reflected on by the men when highlighting disdain for the impoverishment of the parents' homeland (Narrative 48 & 49), which revealed the uneasy relationships the participants had with these places. This not only weakened feelings of attachment to these places, but also strengthened feelings of belonging to Wales and the UK. Through this process of international mobility, Wales came to represent the familiar and stable and was a consistent presence in the lives of the participants. Exploring these mobilities therefore revealed when and where these different geographies of identity intersected.

Not only were these third spaces of reflection evident due to the international mobility of the participants, but also due to their mobility between England and Wales. When in England, inter-family banter provided moments in the participants' lives where their Welshness was unproblematic, and uncontested (Narratives 56, 57, 60, 61). Whereas back in Wales, being a victim of racism or Islamophobia can make the individuals feel like they do not belong and are made to feel 'out of place'. This 'third space' was therefore used as a tool by the participants to view their plural identities from another perspective, which helped reaffirm a sense of where home was and where it wasn't.

By exploring when and where Welsh identity is salient in the everyday lives of Welsh Muslims, I have emphasized that the moments that Welsh identity matters are highly reliant on place. Therefore, how Welsh Muslims develop autonomy over how they shape

their own relationship with Wales is an ongoing process that is continuously affected by how their religious identities are interpreted by themselves and by others in public space (Gale & Hopkins 2009).

Can Muslim Identities be discussed in isolation from the other identities which make up an individual?

This research question was used to examine how Muslims negotiate their religiosity with the other aspects of their identities to move beyond monolithic depictions of Muslim identity (Gale & Hopkins 2009). Although for the participants of this research being a Muslim is their prime identity (see Table 4), this thesis has argued that it is not mutually exclusive to other aspects of their identities, nor is it easily separated from them. For example, when Interviewee 1 in Narrative 73 was asked at a workshop to identify himself and drew the Bangladesh and Welsh flag next to each other because they were 'similar', this moment highlights not only how symbols such as the flag can become important modalities for understanding the re-production of sub-national attachment, but how these moments are used by the participants to negotiate the diversity of their backgrounds in creative ways (Fox & Miller-Idriss 2008). The re-negotiation of identities that the participants face in their everyday lives emphasises that how the participants' relationships with Wales develop, are not independent from the plural connections and identifications that they have to different parts of their identity. This balancing act of the participant's plural identities was reflected upon by participant 2 in Narrative 79:

'Well when the rugby is on you're Welsh, when its Ramadan you're Muslim, when you watch Bollywood you're Asian isn't it '

Here the participant intersects the many different ways he defines himself in an unproblematic way. When discussing the re-negotiation of identities that he faces in his everyday life, he stresses how different aspects of his identity can be expressed at different times in different places. He can be Welsh, Muslim and Asian, as the many aspects of his sense of self merge to produce the ongoing construction of who he is. Of course, this thesis has highlighted that these negotiations aren't always articulated so easily. There are many moments where certain aspects of identity become problematic to negotiate and difficult to associate with. When the participants' attachment to place is questioned through racism, Islamophobia or more subtle forms of exclusion, this can isolate the participants and force them to feel like they do not belong to the wider national or sub-national community. Whether it involves being targeted for abuse for wearing Islamic clothing,

asking to have somewhere to pray in the workplace, asking for time off work during Ramadan or not going to the pub to socialise with work colleagues and friends, there are certain places and interactions within everyday life where Muslims and non-Muslims face difficulties bridging barriers across difference.

These negotiations of identity, however, were not only present between Muslims and non-Muslims. It was also particularly emphasised when the participants discussed how they were often caught in a 'third space' between having to negotiate their parents' culture, alongside growing up in a largely secular society. This can cause tension and raise specific questions about their identity, and one particular outcome has been to distance themselves from the cultural identity of their parents and to move towards a stronger affirmation of their Islamic and place based identities. This was evident in this research when discussing the role of the 'cultural community', and how the legacy of the older generations conflicted with the participants' own religious and cultural beliefs. The inter-generational discord between the participants and their parents can manifest itself in an abandonment of what are deemed as negative cultural traits, with a movement towards asserting a stronger Islamic, British and Welsh identity, which is very much rooted with a strong sense of place. These tensions provide moments where the participants have to navigate more than one aspect of their identity, which cannot be easily separated from each other. This therefore suggests that Muslim Identities cannot be discussed in isolation from the other identities which make up an individual.

How the participants negotiated their gender also highlighted how their faith intersected with the many aspects of their identities. The women in this research often questioned the patriarchal pressures of the 'cultural community', and challenged these views for reducing their personal freedoms. The participants discussed being pressured to not work or to not go to University by family members or the wider community, and used both their faith and the rights they have as British citizens to counter such views. As Narrative 51 and 52 highlight, the way gender intersected with faith revealed interesting relationships with their place based identities. When visiting the parent's homeland, although these places might be predominantly Muslim countries, the experience of being a Muslim Woman was expressed as being different from what it is like in Wales. Having their gender, femininity and personal mobility limited when making these trips, made them challenge the Islam of these countries, and made them re-evaluate what it meant for them to be a Muslim growing up in Wales. In other words, it made them reshape themselves as UK and Welsh

Muslims, and made them stress the importance of a sense of place to the way that their Islam was enacted and re-negotiated.

Such examples highlight how the second generation are re-defining their Islamic identity in opposition to what has been passed down to them from their family, as future generations become less interested in what are described as cultural ties. Although many of the participants were proud of their heritage, there was a clear desire to not continue many of the connections to the parental homeland. What this emphasises is that the exercise of ranking identity to discover which is more 'important' can ignore the complex connections made between each aspect of an individuals' identity, as the participants of this research highlighted that they are constructing their attachment to Wales in plural ways which merges their diverse ethnic and religious biographies.

This therefore shows that contrary to political rhetoric on the far right, there is no contradiction between feeling both Muslim and Welsh or Muslim and British. It is inaccurate to therefore argue that Muslim identity is *completely* incompatible with national or sub-national identity, because the participants of this research used both Welshness and Britishness to negotiate their identity at different times in different ways throughout their everyday lives. Although there will always be antagonisms between and within collective identities as to who can be included within 'us' and 'them' (Mouffe 2013), this thesis has argued that there are many uncontentious moments where the participants expressed their feelings of belonging to Wales and to the UK, which was consistent within their everyday lives. This thesis therefore has highlighted the heterogeneity of Muslim identity by emphasising the importance of the influence that the numerous aspects that make up a person's identity can have in how they interpret and live out their faith on an everyday basis.

Is the ethnic-civic dichotomy used to describe the relevance of nations and national identity applicable in an increasingly diverse age?

Unlike those who argue that nationalism and national identity is only a divisive force in the pursuit of more cohesive societies (Amelina & Faist 2012, Agnew 1994, Cantle 2015), this thesis has argued that the nation and sub-state nation must be brought back into migration studies as it remains central in the shaping of contemporary relations across diversity (Antonsich & Matejskova 2015). To discount the importance of nationality and sub-state nationality without understanding what it means to ethnic, cultural and religious

minorities, particularly the second generation, ignores the importance of place within their lives and the agency they have in shaping how they understand themselves. When doing so, however, the ethnic and civic tools which have been used to describe the type of national attachment need to be expanded (Brubaker 2004). This research has shown that when discussing the relationship of ethno-cultural, religious and racial minorities with the nation and sub-state nation, a more plural and inclusive understanding must be adopted. On pages 13 to 19, for example, I outlined certain characteristics that should be considered when understanding what a more plural and inclusive interpretation of national and sub-national identity should look like, and how the nation is being re-imagined because of diversity. I now want to refer back to these points to see how I was able to answer them in the thesis:

- A ***Self-reflexive*** reconsideration and negotiation of national and sub-national identity

Different to the civic and ethnic typology of nationalism studies, a plural sense of national identity asks us to understand the ways that individuals think of their own position inside the national imagining, and how they relate it to their own diverse biographies (Triandafyllidou 2011, 2013). Throughout the research, the participants would often reflect on how their biographies intersected with their own position within the nation and sub-state nation. In other words, they were aware of their positions as ethnic and religious minorities within public space, and how this might influence how they think about their own relationship with Wales. Whether this was expressed by a participant who vented frustration after hearing elders argue over the politics of Bangladesh in Swansea, and him professing 'it's got nothing to do with us' (Narrative 28). Or whether relating to the negotiation that Interviewee 2 mentions in narrative 13, where although she feels that she does not belong in Pakistan and that her 'roots are here' in Wales, because she at times is told by people that she cannot be Welsh because she is Muslim, she has to question what exactly her Welsh identity means to her.

Such moments in the participant's everyday lives reveal the nuances where their relationship with the nation and sub-state nation is thought about in self-reflexive and re-negotiated ways. The agency that the participants have over their identity is therefore enacted upon as they have to negotiate what a sense of attachment to Wales means to them. By exploring these moments, we can reveal that what Welsh identity means changes depending on how individuals interpret it in relation to their own biographies, as

individuals experience their group identity with differing levels of intensity and circumstances (Modood 2007). By doing so, this can open up a more inclusive and personal understanding of the nation and national identity, which encourages a re-thinking of how the nation can re-imagine itself, as Muslims become important to the constructive process of what Welsh identity means to different people as they offer an alternative and diverse Welsh narrative.

- Focusing on the ***Creation*** of relationships from below which reflect how minorities develop their relationships which merge their dual identities

A plural understanding of national identity must also focus on the tangible and creative ways that the nation and sub-state nation is given meaning to. By exploring how Welsh identity is re-produced in symbolic ways by Muslims, an understanding of the differing levels of agency that the participants have in constructing their relationship with the sub-state nation can be revealed. This thesis has explored the many creative ways that Welshness is being claimed and related to in everyday life. From the references to Welsh water tasting 'better' than English Water (Narratives 56 & 57), to the participants contributing to the creation of the Welsh myth by stating that being Welsh means being 'friendlier' 'softer' and more 'comforting' than the English (Narratives 62,63,64), to the ways that the return home from visiting the parents' homeland or visiting family in England is symbolised through everyday markers such as the M4 motorway, the Severn Bridge or the Mumbles head (Narratives 46 & 55). All of these symbols contribute to how a specifically Welsh idea of home is constructed by the participants, in ways which reflect the merging of their diverse biographies. Understanding these creative ways that Welsh identity is being claimed outstretches distinctions of civic or ethnic nationalisms, and encourages a re-thinking of national identity where Muslims are not seen as the other, but instead can be included in a plural 'us' (Modood 2009: 207). By doing so, those voices which are usually absent from sub-national narratives who come from religious, ethnic and cultural minorities can be understood as not just consumers of national meanings, but 'contingent producers' who are creating a sense of attachment to sub-national identity and the sub-state nation, which reflects their multicultural biographies from the bottom up (Fox & Miller-Idriss 2008: 546).

- A ***Transformative*** relation which involves the making and remaking of political identifications

Rather than accepting the national narratives handed down to them, this point suggests that a plural understanding of national identity must explore how sub-national and national narratives are transformed by those from diverse backgrounds in politically significant ways. This I argue is creating a sense of belonging which is actively being negotiated from the bottom up, which challenges the wider community as to what Welsh identity can mean. Image 5 of the young veiled girls singing the Welsh Anthem at a Welsh football match is very powerful and symbolic. Not only is it challenging the current sub-national narrative by asking who can represent Wales and Welsh identity, but it is doing so in a place which has in the past been associated with far-right versions of nationalism (Abell et al 2007, Back et al 1999, Condor 1996, 2000). These contributions to the re-negotiation of Welsh identity in the public sphere challenge the civic and ethnic dichotomy, as they encourage a more inclusive understanding of how different members of the sub-national community experience their Welsh identity, in ways which bring diversity to the forefront of the Welsh narrative.

These politically transformative relations within Wales are also revealing themselves in ways outside of what has been covered in this thesis. Since finishing my research, EYST, in response to a planned White Pride demonstration in Swansesa, launched a 'We too are Welsh' campaign that argued that people do not have to be white to be Welsh. EYST took the campaign to the streets, and backed by a social media campaign on Twitter and Facebook, emphasised that people from all religions and skin colours are also proud to be Welsh (Evening Post 2014). This is also highlighted in other ways such as the support of Muslims for the political National party Plaid Cymru, who have a working group called 'Muslims for Plaid' (Plaid Cymru Website), and the increasing involvement of BAME people and organisations in the political landscape of a devolved Wales (Whittaker 2015). Such campaigns and movements are contributions which continue to transform the political identifications associated with Welsh identity, and contributed to how Welsh identity is being claimed and re-made in public space.

A challenge, however, is to understand how much others can accept that Welsh identity can be multifaceted, and how these transformative relations are interpreted by non-

Muslims and non-ethnic minorities. How this is managed will undoubtedly affect issues of integration, cohesion and sentiments towards whom the wider community feel should and should not be accepted as belonging to the nation or sub-state nation. These discussions are complex. As different countries ask themselves what kind of society do they want to live in, they have to negotiate what they are willing to change about themselves to accommodate for difference. This research cannot answer that ongoing tension, but what it has argued is that Muslims born in Wales are articulating their belonging to Welsh identity in symbolic ways. To increase tolerance, these images and relationships need to become normalised within society, so that the conditions for bridging boundaries will become more apparent. Using the sub-national identity in every opportunity in this way will be crucial. As important, however, is that opportunities for this participation to occur can be developed organically so that they are less staged, less tokenistic, and less forced.

- Focuses on the importance of interactions and relationships within certain ***Places*** and ***Social spaces*** and how these shape the formation of identities

The final way a plural understanding of national identity can help develop a better understanding of the relationship of the nation and sub-state within diversity, is to consider the importance of interactions of identity within certain Places and Social Spaces. Throughout, this thesis has highlighted the importance of place in affecting how identity is constructed and re-constructed. In particular, a plural understanding of national and sub-national identity emphasises that the places where identity is experienced matters. As highlighted when answering the first research question, 'When and where is Welsh identity salient in Welsh Muslims' everyday lives?', using place as an interpretive lens broadens how the identities of Muslims can be understood. By doing so, this can reveal interesting relationships that Muslims have with the sub-state nation. Unlike Massey (2005) who is suspicious of attachments to claims over boundaries, a spatial consideration of the relationships Muslims have with Wales reveals that having a stable sense of place is important to how the participants developed a sense of who they are and where they belong to, within wider discussions of sub-national and national identity.

By taking a spatial understanding of sub-national and national identity, this thesis has also revealed the multi-level politics at play when discussing the identity of British Muslims. For ethnic and religious minorities living in sub-state nations, their lives are embedded with an important alternative narrative to that of the primary nation-state. Future discussions on

the identities of British Muslims must therefore acknowledge these potential differences when trying to understand the profiles of British Muslims, and how scale matters when exploring *where*, *when* and *what* being a Welsh, Scottish and English Muslim means. Understanding this relationship therefore reveals the many ways that Muslims negotiate their religious identities within public space (Nagel & Staheli 2009), which broadens the multifaceted and heterogeneous relationship between nations and sub-state nations, and the variety of scales to which they are made meaningful to by diverse people in their everyday lives (Brubaker 2004, Billig 1995, Jones & Desforges 2003, Jones & Fowler 2008). A spatial consideration of both the nation and sub-state nation in further research on living *in* diversity can therefore help bring more attention to realising its potential flexibility in re-moulding more inclusive Welsh narratives (Antonsich & Matejskova 2015).

By considering these four above points, a more comprehensive understanding of the nation can be developed. By moving beyond the distinctions of ethnic and civic realms into new territories of plurality, and by seeking the many ways that national and sub-national identity is being claimed in creative, self-reflexive and transformative ways, current ideas of what the nation is and what it can be, will be challenged. Government, private and third sector organisations, the media, academia and wider society must consider the more plural possibilities of national and sub-national identity, to understand the numerous ways ethnic and religious minorities are not only consuming the nation and sub-state nation, but are re-constructing what it means to them from the bottom up.

Future Research?

This PhD has demonstrated that the scale of the sub-national (in this case Wales and Welshness), is an important feature of how Welsh Muslims construct their identity. I want to finally reflect on some other avenues of research related to this thesis which could extend the scope of these findings. By concentrating on these four points below, I believe I could further the research I have already started in my PhD, and develop a better understanding of the different scales of multi-level attachment which matter within the lives of Muslims in the UK.

- ***Extend the Geographical Comparison within Wales***: This thesis has been a case study focused in Swansea, and although numerous other places both in Wales, the UK and all over the world have been mentioned, increasing the number of geographical places studied would further enhance the understanding of what

Welsh identity means to Muslims throughout Wales. To do this, numerous locations could be included. For a more densely populated and diverse urban sample of Muslims, the Capital City Cardiff or Newport could be compared with Swansea. Not only do they have bigger proportions of BAME populations, but they also have more diverse ethnic make ups. Another interesting dynamic could also be to compare this research with a more rural perspective. In particular, by choosing locations either in West Wales or North West Wales, the increased presence of the Welsh language could likely be a prominent factor affecting the everyday lives of Muslims living in those places, which could affect the ways they negotiate their relationships with Welsh identity.

- ***Explore different places and social spaces of interaction***: This thesis has stressed that a robust study of diversity must understand interactions between Muslims and non-Muslims in the places and social spaces of everyday life. I specifically concentrated on three particular places 1) The Street 2) The Workplace and 3) The Community. A future project could build on these places to understand how negotiating a religious identity creates both moments of challenge and opportunity to how Muslims develop an attachment to Wales and Welsh identity, in as many places and social spaces of their everyday lives as possible. Other places that could be considered could include 1) The School 2) Libraries 3) Museums 4) Spaces of socialisation 5) The Internet 6) The home 7) The Mosque amongst many others.

- ***Explore different 'types' of Muslim Identity***: Although this thesis has acknowledged that using typologies can run the risk of essentialising Muslim identities, my PhD did use participants who are akin to what Asma Mustafa (2015) calls type three of *Dual Identity,* that is*,* those who in the whole identified themselves as British and Welsh Muslims who although said that Islam was their number one identity marker, usually teamed it together with Britishness/Welshness. It would be useful to explore what Welsh identity means to what Mustafa calls type four *Primarily Muslim Identity,* who do not consider themselves to have any, or very little association with the nation. This could highlight how different types of Islamic attachment can affect how Muslims develop a sense of place and belonging to the nation and sub-state nation.

- ***Comparison with other sub-state nations:*** A final avenue of research could explore how Muslims in other sub-state nations negotiate their religious identities with their sub-state nationality. Other sub-state nations could include Catalonia, The Basque Country, Scotland, Quebec, Flanders and Wallonia. This research could compare the experience Muslims have, to discover what similarities and differences occur between negotiating a sub-state national identity with the primary nation state and how this effects their identity formation. This could also explore how differing levels of governance respond to Muslims and the ways that they include or exclude Muslims from the sub-national narrative.

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Appendix

Form 1)

I …………………………………………………………………………………………………… have been made aware of the purpose of this discussion group and give my consent for Geraint Whittaker to use what is discussed in his research. I am also aware he will protect the anonymity of what is discussed.

Signed……

Date………..