Attachments to places and their influence on identity

A study of Lebanese descendants in Denmark and how they make sense of their identity

Marit Moberg 50220
Sara Hillbom Guizani 49303
Minna Løbner Kjærgaard 49966
Supervisor: Julia Christensen

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This bachelor’s thesis pertains to the topic of how identity is influenced by attachments to places. The aim of this study was to analyze how the identity of Lebanese descendants in Denmark is influenced by their attachments to Denmark and Lebanon. The primary data in this study was gathered through nine narrative interviews with eleven Lebanese descendants in Denmark. Lebanese descendants in this study are defined as, children of two Lebanese immigrants, who have grown up in Denmark. A narrative and thematic analysis strategy was applied to develop themes on the basis of the data gathered through the interviews. The concepts of: identity, diaspora, home, hybridity, transnationalism, place and sense of place were used to shed light on the developed themes and the data gathered. It was concluded that the Lebanese descendants attachments to Denmark and Lebanon had an influence on, how their Lebanese identity manifested itself in their everyday life, their feelings of home and belonging in Denmark and Lebanon, their feelings of exclusion in Danish society and how they negotiated their identity between the Danish and Lebanese culture.
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Introduction

Globalization is a term that covers a range of different networks and international relations (Koefoed & Simonsen, 2010: 9). It is in the globalized world we meet people with a different culture and background and as a result of this, it is interesting to look at the transnational mobility and how it affects our everyday life (ibid.). Identity is integral for our understanding of ourselves and our place in the world (O’Leary, 2007). The effects of globalization and capitalism, which have increased mobility, the influx of global news and the consumption of material goods, contribute to our construction of identity (ibid.; Jenkins, 2008). Globalization has increased the awareness of identity as a phenomenon (ibid.). It is argued, that globalization, has led both to a heightened awareness and interest in maintaining for example, national identities, as well as the disintegration of traditional fixed identities, leading to confusion and ambivalence or the phenomena of ‘hybrid’ identities (ibid.; O’Leary, 2007).

Identity can be defined as a person’s “sense of self” (O’Leary, 2007). Having a certain identity can either categorize an individual as different, or like ‘others’ (Jenkins, 2008). In this way, identities help order and shape the social and political spheres of life (O’Leary, 2007). Thereby also, the sense of self shapes our experiences and behavior (ibid.). This project springs from a fundamental interest in how geography shapes identity, and with what consequences. Traditionally identities have been seen as fixed, something one is born with that is “stable in time and space” (Warf, 2007). Similarly in geography, identities were seen as easily mapped onto space and rooted in one’s place of origin (Ehrkamp, 2010). Today however, we have moved past this understanding of identity to an understanding, where identity is a process, rather than an object and where the individual, his/her experiences and others shape identity. Geography and identity are linked in that people identify with different places, which can lead to for example, regional or national identities (ibid.). National identity is sometimes seen our “primary” identity and this “identity provides us with a land in which we are home, a history which is ours and a privileged access to a vast heritage of culture and creativity.” (Poole, 1999: 67-69) What is interesting then is what the experience of identity is like for those whose national origins differ from the nation they have grown up in.

Currently, people “to a much higher extent than before move from their place of origin and settle in different places around the world” and globalization has led to an influx of immigrants to Europe which has challenged traditional perceptions of national identity
(Larsen & Jensen, 2014: 32; Schmidt, 2011: 259-260). Also in Denmark there has been a growing presence of immigrants and their descendants in Denmark since the 1970s (Schmidt, 2011: 258). The national policies and debates in Denmark concerning immigrants has changed over the last 30 years where the themes of ‘Danishness’ and ‘un-Danishness’ have come into play (Schmidt, 2011: 259-261). Underlying this discourse is that those with certain historical attachments to Denmark are “‘Danes by nature’ and can be differentiated from those who are ‘Danes on the basis of jurisdiction’” (Rytter, 2007 in Schmidt, 2011: 261). This is evident in the Danish research concerning “integration and ‘integration problems’, segregation and ‘ghettoization’ and hybrid identities” (Koefoed, & Simonsen, 2010: 9).

The Danish society has become “more multicultural and multiethnic, and where many live a transnational life” (Larsen & Jensen, 2014: 32). In bringing the question of how places shape identities to a Danish context, this project has decided to focus on people with mixed cultural backgrounds, more specifically descendants of Lebanese immigrants in Denmark. We aim to investigate how Lebanese descendants are influenced by their attachment to both Denmark and Lebanon. In light of the increased migration to Denmark, it is relevant to investigate what constitutes Lebanese descendants’ feeling of belonging and how exclusion has an influence on their feeling of being Danish. Similarly it becomes interesting to pose the question of how Lebanese descendants in Denmark negotiate their identity on the basis of their attachments to Denmark and Lebanon and furthermore how this manifests itself in their everyday lives. This leads us to the following overall research question:

**How are Lebanese descendants’ identity influenced by their attachment to both Lebanon and Denmark?**

The working questions used to narrow down our focus are:

How does Lebanese descendants’ Lebanese identity manifest itself in their everyday life in Denmark?
To what extent do Lebanese descendants feel they belong in Lebanon and/or Denmark?
How does exclusion influence Lebanese descendants’ feeling of being Danish?
How do the Lebanese descendants negotiate their identity in relation to Lebanese and Danish culture?
These working questions have helped us develop the themes for our analysis and discussion and thereby conclude on the research question.
Lebanese migration

This project focuses on Lebanese descendants in Denmark. Lebanese descendants in this study are defined as, children of two Lebanese immigrants, who have grown up in Denmark. In order to delimit our research and answer our research question in depth, we have chosen Lebanese descendants, rather than descendants of immigrants in general. In this section we present data of Lebanese migration and explain the reasoning for our choice of case.

In choosing to investigate Lebanese descendants, we must account for their specific migration history. The Lebanese diaspora is estimated to 14 million worldwide (Shadbolt & Macguire, 2012), this is substantially more than the country’s population of 5.9 million (Central Intelligence Agency, 2014). Throughout modern history Lebanon has experienced flows of emigration and in some periods more intense emigration (Tabar, 2010: 2-3; MPC Team, 2013: 1). The reasons for these flows have been a combination of communal politics, Christian-Muslim regional conflicts and unbalanced economic development (ibid.; Tabar, 2010: 2) Moreover, Lebanon is geographically located in a region exposed to national and international conflicts (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014a). There are two main circumstances for the Lebanese emigration. First, the emigration was driven by economic factors in different periods from 1870 until 2009, where skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled laborers left due to limited income or limited job opportunities (Tabar, 2010: 6). The second circumstance is conflict and strife where many people fled on humanitarian grounds, especially between 1975- 1990 (Ibid.: 5-6). During the Lebanese Civil War between 1975-1989 around 40 percent of the population emigrated from Lebanon to Western countries including European countries (Tabar, 2009b: 7 in Tabar, 2010: 5). Before the outbreak of the Lebanese civil war in 1975 the majority of emigrants were Christians from rural areas, but with the outbreak of the civil war more Muslims and urban dwellers were also forced to emigrate (Tabar, 2010: 7). The Lebanese population consists of approximately 60 percent Muslims and 40 percent Christians (Central Intelligence Agency, 2014).

When choosing the Lebanese case we considered how large the group in Denmark was and also where they lived. This was to be able to access interviewees in Copenhagen where the research group lives, as the access to interviewees has been important to the project because it builds on narrative interviews. We found that according to Statistics Denmark (2013: 16) the group of Lebanese descendants is the second biggest group of descendants in Denmark from
non-Western countries and that most Lebanese were residing in Copenhagen and East Jutland. Statistics also suggest that most Lebanese immigrants in Denmark are Muslim (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2014b). However, Statistics Denmark does not record Palestine as a country of origin and many Palestinians have migrated through Lebanon and thus been recorded as Lebanese. Statistics Denmark (2013: 24) states: “Immigrants with Lebanon as their country of origin are primarily Palestinians”. Therefore, there exist no official numbers on Lebanese descendants in Denmark that we could fully rely on. Thus, although the size of the group and geographical location have been considered, they were not fundamental for our choice of the Lebanese case.

Since most of the immigrants from Lebanon came to Denmark in the 1980s and 1990s, many of their descendants are in the age group we were interesting in investigating, between 20-30 years old. The graph below indicates that immigration from Lebanon to Denmark peaked in the early 1980s with a second peak in the early 1990s. Immigration in the 1980s and 1990s creates a possibility that there can be descendants between 20-30 years old:

Figure 1: Percentage amount of immigrants to Denmark from Lebanon divided on years.
(Lindhard & Frølander, 2004: 12, edited)
This correlates to the data on the age of Lebanese descendants that is reflected in the graph below, which indicates the amount of Lebanese descendants in age-intervals of five years in 4th quarter of 2014:

![Figure 2: Age of Lebanese descendants in Denmark in 4th quarter of 2014. (Source: Statistics Denmark, 2014)](image)

Although both graphs include Palestinians, these numbers also correlate with the times there has been conflict in Lebanon, which has caused many to flee and thus are more reliable than the information on the size of the group and where they live. Currently, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2014b) of Denmark discourages Danes to travel to certain parts of Lebanon and states that the terror-threat is generally high. Nevertheless, this represents a worsened security situation since 2013, due to recent events in Syria (ibid.). In the around 30 years since Lebanese immigration to Denmark started, the Lebanese security has been fluctuating (Tabar, 2010). Nonetheless, Lebanon is still a relatively more safe country to travel to than for example Iraq and Somalia, which is also where some of the larger groups of immigrants in Denmark originate from (Statistics Denmark, 2014). To these countries the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2014c: 2014d) discourages all travel. The possibility to travel back to the home country was something the group viewed as relevant because we believed that this would intensify the relationship to the home country and thus have a larger impact on the descendants.
Literature review

Before collecting our primary data we conducted a literature review. This was to narrow down the literature existing on our topic and identify the gap in knowledge this project aims to fill.

Danish research

This project has been able to draw some inspiration from Koefoed & Simonsen (2010) whose study centers on the experiences of Pakistani immigrants as being ‘strangers’ in Denmark. They conclude that the exclusion by other Danes resulted in the immigrants not being able to identify fully with being Danish and that they could more easily identify with the city of Copenhagen, rather than with Denmark on the national scale (Ibid.: 229-230). Furthermore, they conclude that the Pakistani immigrants experience dualness and that this sometimes results in a sense of fragmentation, but can also be used as a method of crossing borders and unifying (Ibid.: 231).

Other Danish studies we have been able to draw on, engage with the experience of dual identities and dual culture of Danish citizens of non-Danish descent (Larsen & Jensen, 2014; Ramsland, 2007). These studies deal with the experience of negotiating identity in relation to one’s own sense of self and the categorization by others, here the ‘ethnically’ Danish (Larsen & Jensen, 2014; Ramsland, 2007). Larsen & Jensen (2014: 45) concluded on their study of young ethnic minorities in Denmark that these individuals are balancing between two cultures and that a special form of reflexivity is born out of that fact that the individuals border two cultures. This is relevant to our study as we are investigating how Lebanese descendants are influenced by the two cultures they have been born into and how their lives are shaped by this. Ramsland (2007: 40-41) concludes that women of ethnic minorities in Denmark experience that being fully integrated and being Danish are the same thing. Furthermore, that it is demanded of ethnic minorities in Denmark to be similar identity-wise if they wish to obtain equal rights in Danish society. Ramsland’s (2007) study sheds light on how being of not being of Danish descent affects individuals’ sense of identity as our study intends to. The data for both these studies was gathered through a series of qualitative interviews as we have also conducted in our project. In comparison to these two studies, our study contributes to this literature by focusing on the Danish-Lebanese experience of the identity-making process.
The Danish research on the topic of the descendants of immigrants revolves around immigration, integration and identity. There exists Danish literature with the topic of integration as its focus, which is relevant for our research. This is because the policies that shape how immigrants are integrated and feel integrated into Danish society has influenced Lebanese descendants and their families and thus has an impact on their sense of identity and belonging. Other Danish research, deals more with public opinion and debate in regards to immigration to Denmark, than on the experiences of the immigrants themselves, as our research project does. In addition, there are studies that investigate to what extent immigrants ‘fit in’ the structure of the Danish welfare state (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2011; Olwig, 2008). Thereby, it is apparent that there is a gap in the knowledge of how a dual sense of place influences the experience of descendants of immigrants in Denmark in general and this is the gap we believe our project can help fill. Furthermore, the experience of Lebanese descendants has yet to be accounted for in the Danish literature.

Identity and hybrid identities

A great deal of literature exists on identity however, less is concerned with its geographical element. Thereby, our study is also relevant in contributing to a geographical perspective on the study of identity. Studies on identity with a geographical element include studies on transnationalism, hybrid identities and diaspora. Castree (2009: 165) argues that human geographical research has been able to show how local identities incorporate global features. He highlights how the geographical studies on transnational communities have shown that in order to investigate ‘local’ identities we must understand how people “internalize a whole array of non-local influences” (ibid.). According to Rios & Adiv (2010: 10) literature on transnationalism serves to ”challenge the attachment of a population’s relation to a single nationality that does not allow for the in-between-ness that many migrants experience”. Our study contributes to this research by illuminating how attachment to a physically distant place - Lebanon, manifests itself in the identity of Lebanese descendants in Denmark and also to what extent Danish-Lebanese experience this ‘in-between-ness’.

The literature on hybridity is broad and covers topics such as globalization versus the local, post colonialism and migrant identities (Leavy, 2008: 167). Leavy (2008: 168) suggests that scholarship on hybridity and hybrid identities is conducted on a small scale where the researcher is interested in connecting the particular with the universal. In Leavy’s (2008: 167)
chapter on empirical examinations of hybrid identities, she highlights the categories of borderland hybrid identities, double consciousness and diasporized hybrid identities. Leavy (2008: 173) emphasizes a study conducted by Hesse-Biber and Barko that examines how African-American women at predominantly white colleges occupy space within two cultural groups. According to Leavy (2008: 173) “Hesse-Biber and Barko engaged in a multi-method qualitative interview study in order to explore the multiple racial identity negotiations this population engages in, and the various hybrid identity typologies that emerge as a result”. As an example of a study of diasporized identity Leavy (2008: 175) highlights research conducted by Richards on “identity negotiations of West Indian immigrants to Brooklyn”. This literature revolves around how identity is negotiated between two cultures and how one occupies space in tow cultures. Our study empirically examines diasporized hybrid identities and thus contributes to this literature by investigating how Lebanese descendants in Denmark negotiate their identity between Danish and Lebanese culture.

**Transnationalism and diaspora**

The literature on transnationalism is also relevant to our research project, as we are investigating some of the effects of the process of migration on individuals. The transnational literature attempts to uncover what cross-border activities immigrants participate in (Walding, 2013: 770). Inherently, our research question pertains to that of crossing borders and how relations are maintained across these borders. Only recently however, has the literature begun to deal with the cross-border activities of the children of migrants, as our study does (Lee, 2011: 295). According to Lee (2011: 295) transnationalism “can be experienced in significantly different ways by migrants and their children” and thus it is important to distinguish between the first and second generation of migrants. Levitt (2009: 1225-1239) states that scholars have assumed that the transnational approach to the study of migration does not pertain to the children of migrants, but argues that the second generation does maintain and participate in transnational ties and practices however, this varies greatly depending on the group. Our study on the ways in which Danish-Lebanese are influenced by their attachments to places thereby contributes to close the gap in knowledge there is on second generation of migrants.

Lee (2011) theorizes that there are several forms of transnationalism that can describe the second-generation migrant experience more specifically. In her study on Tongan descendants
in Australia Lee (2011) found that Tongan descendants engaged in forms of transnationalism that were less focused on bodily mobility. Lee (2011: 310) emphasizes that in order to study transnationalism in its entirety “the whole array of transnational ties, including phone calls, gift exchange, and, increasingly, ‘cyber-transnationalism’” must be taken into account.

Similarly, Gowricharn (2009) found in his study on children of Hindustani migrants that the transnationalism practiced was dependent on the specific situation of the migrant group. Gowricharn (2009: 1634) concludes that the case of Hindustani migrants cannot be generalized because diaspora Indians do not wish to return home. Additionally, he concludes that the strong Indian ‘source’ culture also makes the case of the Hindustani migrants different (Gowricharn, 2009: 1634). Overall there is a decrease in transnationalist practices from first to second generation Hindustanis, however transnationalism for the second generation is changing, as more influences than simply the host and home country must be taken into account and this makes it more complex (ibid.). Our research project is an addition to this literature, as we examine the children of Lebanese migrants to Denmark and how their Lebanese background manifests itself in their everyday life.

Similarly, our research makes particular links to the concept of diaspora. Studies on diaspora took off in the 1980s and have been increasing ever since, due to a broadening of the definition of diaspora (Brubaker, 2005: 1). The Jewish case has for a long time been the most referred to example of diaspora, because it signified “collective trauma, a banishment, where one dreamed of a home but lived in exile” (Cohen, 2002: ix). However, currently studies exist on all kinds of diaspora (Brubaker, 2005: 1). Not only the “‘classic’ diasporas” such as the Jewish or Greek and Armenian, that are considered to have “a conceptual ‘homeland’”, but also diasporas that simply monitor close ties with the homeland (ibid.). There has been conducted research on virtually all kinds of ethnic, social and cultural groups that live outside their perceived historic homeland (Ibid.: 2-5). Several books have been devoted to the topic of diaspora and also academic journals have appeared with diaspora as their focus (Rios & Adiv, 2010: 4-5). In geography, major themes that have been studied within diaspora include “space, home, territory and identity” (Ibid.: 5). Additionally, transnationalism and migration are themes very closely linked to diaspora in the academic geographical literature (ibid.)

In many texts, the Lebanese diaspora is defined as a ‘trade’ or ‘trading’ diaspora (Brubaker, 2005: 2). This refers to the large emigration in the 17th and 19th century (Cohen, 2002: 94). However, it is not in this period of time Lebanese immigrated to Denmark and thus this
literature does not help shed light on our specific research question. Research on Lebanese diaspora in the more recent past, in various countries and globally does exist (Tabar, 2010; Cohen, 2002; Humphrey, 2004). However, it seems that academic research on diasporas in Denmark of any kind, including the Lebanese, is limited. More research is available from the neighboring country Sweden. It has been possible for us to find studies on the Kurdish, Iraqi and Iranian diaspora in Sweden, many of which include the aspect of identity, which our study also has as its focus (Bak & Brömssen, 2010; Lindgren, 2010; Asadulah, 2010). This could be because Sweden is a larger country with a larger immigrant population. Furthermore, it could reflect a different cultural attitude in regards to immigrants than in Denmark.

Bak & Brömssen (2010: 125) found in their study of children with migrant backgrounds in Sweden that the children “articulate expressions of a diasporic consciousness, some more than others, and they are active participants in diasporic activities, most of all in maintaining transnational social fields and networks”. Lindgren (2010: 189-190) concluded that the diasporic background of youth from a disadvantaged Swedish city area had a profound impact on their identity-formation as the “complex diaspora experience aggregates profound feelings of hope, gratitude and guilt as well as an unusual course of meaning and motivation, which becomes part of the evolving identity.” Asadulah (2010: 203) conducted a demographic study on the Iranian diaspora in Sweden and concluded that: “Iranian immigrants have a better economic and scientific status than other groups in host society, mainly because of its young, educated, elite, and modern composition.” Although with both different results and focuses these Swedish studies highlight various aspects of the outcomes of attachment to places. In this way, our study fits in with this literature, as we explore the effects of attachment to Denmark and Lebanon on Lebanese descendants’ everyday lives, sense of identity and belonging. While a vast amount of research exists on the concept of diaspora and on the Lebanese diaspora, it does not cover our specific focus of research. It has not been possible to find any studies that pertain to the Lebanese diaspora in Denmark and thus our research project helps fill in the gap in knowledge on this subject.

Summary

We have reviewed Danish literature on migrants and identity and found some studies that have investigated the experience of dual identities in a Danish context. However, most of the literature on the subject of migrants in Denmark does not focus on the experience of the
migrants themselves but rather on the public debate and how migrants fit into the Danish model of a welfare state. Furthermore, we have reviewed research on the geographical aspect of identity, which covers topics such as transnationalism, hybridity and diaspora. We have reviewed literature on hybridity that has had similar research aims as our project such as how individuals can occupy space between two social groups and how second-generation immigrants negotiate their identity in transnational space. Literature on transnationalism was also reviewed and it revealed a lack of literature on transnationalism and children of migrants. Similarly, the review of literature on diaspora revealed a gap in the knowledge of diasporas and Lebanese immigrants in general in Denmark. The findings of our literature review show how our research topic is relevant and can help fill the gap in the knowledge on how attachments to Denmark and Lebanon influence Lebanese descendants’ identity.
Methods

In this chapter we discuss our sampling method, the narrative approach, our interviews, our role as interviewers, ethical considerations and analysis strategy. Qualitative methods were chosen as our data collection method because we were interested in uncovering the narratives of our participants, which would not have been possible with quantitative methods. Bryman (2012: 380) states that qualitative methods stress the “understanding of the social world through an examination of that world by its participants” and thus suites our research aim as we were interested in investigating the subjective experiences of our participants.

Process of sampling

To reach our sample group among the Danish-Lebanese descendants living in Denmark we decided to use the snowballing method. Conducting a probability sampling would have been difficult because there is no obvious place we could reach the whole population of Danish-Lebanese in Denmark. Therefore we found that the snowballing method would be our best choice for finding interviewees, considering the time and resources available. We started out by contacting a few people that we knew were Lebanese descendants living in Copenhagen, which could “propose other participants relevant to the research” (Bryman, 2012: 424). Some of these participants have suggested other participants. We have also used social media, such as Facebook to find participants. We have contacted people in our own network and groups were it would be likely to reach out to relevant participants.

Reflections on sample

We aimed to interview around 10 people, five men and five women. We ended up conducting nine interviews with 11 participants. Six participants were women and five were men. All participants had two Lebanese parents and were either born in Denmark or came to Denmark when they were very young. The migration history of the parents were mixed, some fled to Denmark during the civil war in the 1980s and some migrated for mostly economic reasons. Furthermore, all participants were from Muslim families except one, who had a Muslim father and Christian mother. The participants ranged from the ages 19-28. Most of the participants lived in or around Copenhagen and one lived in Roskilde.
Generalization

A problem with snowballing method might be “that it is very unlikely that the sample will be representative for the population” (Bryman, 2012: 203). However, this counts more for a quantitative research method and not as much for a qualitative research as we are engaged in (ibid.). We chose to interview five men and six women so that our sample could be representative of Lebanese descendants. Similarly, we chose to interview Danish-Lebanese who had two Lebanese parents and who had grown up in Denmark. This was so that we could more easily generalize in our analysis. Limiting our sample to Danish-Lebanese with two Lebanese parents makes our research more valid and these parameters allow for more thoughtful generalization.

Almost all of our interviewees had a secondary education and almost half were either studying at university or had a university degree. This can also have influenced our findings if this is not representative of the general Danish-Lebanese population. As mentioned earlier, it was not possible to find statistics on Lebanese immigrants in Denmark and thus we cannot determine exactly to what extent our sample is representative of the general population. However, as Bryman (2012: 406) states “the people who are interviewed in qualitative research are not meant to be representative of a population”. Rather what is important in terms of being able to generalize is what theoretical inferences that are made on the basis of the data gathered (ibid.). Williams (2000: 215 in Bryman, 2012) also argues that generalizations can be made in qualitative research although they are more limited and “tentative” than those in quantitative research.

Narrative approach

A narrative approach was chosen to illuminate Lebanese descendants’ sense of identity and attachment to Denmark and Lebanon. The narrative approach focuses on how people make sense of the world around them (Bryman, 2012: 582). This suited our research aim, as we were interested in how Lebanese descendants make sense of their identity in relation to both Denmark and Lebanon. Our aim was to elicit Lebanese descendants’ stories about events in their everyday life that could reveal their connection and relation with Lebanon and Denmark and its influence on their identity.
Narrative interviews

As opposed to ‘traditional’ interviews, narrative interviews are constructed to give weight to the subjective experiences and life stories of the interviewees (Flick, 2009: 177) and therefore this type of interviewing was particularly suited for our research aim, as the experience of identity is subjective. Conducting narrative interviews allowed for a clear focus on the stories the Lebanese descendants employ to account for their identity and was therefore the preferred method.

The respondents were encouraged to talk about their everyday life in Denmark and how their Lebanese identity manifested itself in their everyday life. Similarly, they were encouraged to reflect on how they navigate between the Danish and the Lebanese culture and where they felt they belong. The interviews were conducted using few open questions to guide the interviewees. This would let the construction of their identity to be up to them. The narrative approach focuses on few open questions however, in some cases we stated many follow-up questions about what the respondents themselves highlighted as being important to their identity. Thus one could characterize these interviews as unstructured rather than strictly narrative, although the focus on narratives was maintained.

A document with an explanation of the research project and aims along with the main questions were sent to the respondents. This can be found in Appendix A. We did this because our interview questions required a certain level of reflexivity. We believed that the respondents would answer our questions in more depth if they had had the chance to reflect on the questions and topic of our research beforehand. Also, we believed it might minimize the bias that could occur during the interview, due to the interviewees interaction with us as researchers. This would increase the validity of our data as the respondents would then be more inclined to answer as they had intended before meeting us and thus be less influenced by us as interviewers.

Reflections on narrative interviews

There are several things to consider when conducting narrative interview. According to Bryman (2008: 559) “[t]here is a concern with how the interviewees perspective changes in relation to different contexts”. For example, in terms of context, the responses might have been different if the interview had taken place in Lebanon and not Denmark. Interviewing the
respondents in the Danish language in Denmark can have had the effect of prompting the respondents to feel a larger connection to Denmark and this is something that has been considered.

Additionally, some people are better at narrating than others (Flick, 2009: 183). It may be that some of our interviewees were not as communicative or able to give a narrative representation of their lives as others (ibid.), this means that the analysis may be biased in terms of focusing on those responses that were more articulate. For example, our interviews ranged from being 24 minutes to as much as 1 hour and 14 minutes. This reflects that some interviewees simply spoke more than others however we found out that this did not necessarily influence the content and/or quality of what they said.

Also, “what is presented in a narrative is constructed in a specific form during the process of narrating, and memories of earlier events may be influenced by the situation in which they are told” (Flick, 2009: 184). Many of our interviewees reflected on experiences ‘before’ and ‘now’, in for example middle school, high school and the present. However, the recounting of earlier experiences can have been influenced by their feelings about their experiences now. Similarly, there are many external factors that could have influenced the answers from our respondents on the specific day and in the specific situation we interviewed, which we cannot account for in our analysis.

**Pilot interview**

Before the interviews we used for our analysis and discussion, we chose to conduct a pilot interview to test our interview questions, improve the construction of our interviews and the data gathered (Bryman, 2012: 262). It is always desirable to conduct a pilot interview if possible as it allows the researchers to ensure that the questions “operate well” and that the interview as a method of gathering the intended data as a whole functions and this is why we chose to do so (Ibid.: 263).

Before starting the pilot interview, we small-talked with the interviewee for a long time and then we told the interviewee when we started the recorder. We experienced that this caused the conversation to become more set and less relaxed, which possibly influenced what the interviewee told us. From this we learned that it would improve our following interviews, if
we started recording from earlier and made the recording as discreet as possible. We did this by starting the recording and informing about it as soon as we greeted our interviewees.

At the pilot interview we were taking notes. This disturbed the flow of the interview as we as interviewers were not having enough personal contact with the interviewee and the interviewee was distracted because she was looking at our notes. Our pilot interviewee told us after the interview, that she was thinking about what to answer and what not to answer in relation to when and what we wrote down in our notes. Therefore, we chose not to take notes at the following interviews, but rather take notes when we discussed the interview and our findings right with each other after the interview.

Furthermore, our interviewee expressed to us that it at times was uncomfortable being interviewed. Therefore, we decided to include drinks and snacks at our following interviews, which would make small breaks during the interview more natural. Additionally, we decided on the basis of the pilot interview, that we should emphasize in the beginning of each interview that there were no right or wrong answers and that we were interested in their experience first of all.

**Interview questions**

We considered our interview questions carefully. First we created a set of interview questions and then we consulted with our supervisor who gave us advice on what to change and what to add to the questions. Then we used them in the pilot interview and modified them again after reflecting on how they worked in the pilot interview. We split up the questions into different themes that we chose to focus on during the interview, and we also took notes and discussed our finding on the basis of these themes after the interviews. See Appendix B. This helped us to structure the process and make the analysis more comprehensible. We used the interview questions only as a guide during the interviews, we tried to mostly focus on the interviewee and asked follow up questions to what they highlighted as important for them. The guide, however, helped us to know if we had covered all the themes and we could lean on this if we had no more follow up questions to ask, which helped create a good flow in the interview.
Group interview

A group interview is an interview method with several participants (Bryman, 2012: 502), and we used this method in one interview with three sisters. We chose to interview the three sisters together, rather than individually because they knew each other well and this allowed them to encourage or question each other for their opinions, which “can be more interesting than the sometimes predictable question followed-by-answer approach of normal interviews” (Ibid.: 503). Furthermore, we believed that the interviewees would be more comfortable if they were interviewed together and this is important, as the subject matter was somewhat personal. The other participants can argue with, challenge each other or point out inconsistencies that an interviewer probably would not, and one might thereby gain “more realistic accounts of what people think, because they are forced to think about and possibly revise their views” (ibid.). This was something we experienced in our group interview and we believe it led us to be able to collect richer data. The sisters were able to question each other in ways that we as interviewers were not, as well as bring up collective memories that they could reflect on together. They were also able to give a more detailed description of their upbringing and family. When participants are more in control of the interview it might make them go more in depth with important issues, compared to in an individual interview, which we also experienced in our interview (ibid.).

Role of the interviewer

We as interviewers also had an impact on the interviewee’s perspectives as we were “fully implicated in the construction of the interviewee’s story” (Bryman, 2008: 559). This is because the “informant subjectively interprets and categorizes the researcher” and this has an influence on the interview (Carling, Erdal & Ezzati, 2014: 41). In studies on migrants it can be relevant if the interviewer is an ‘insider’ of the migrant group or an ‘outsider’ representing the majority population (Ibid.: 36). Our group of researchers can be placed in the category of the ‘outsider’ however not completely. Marit Moberg can be placed in a “third position” (Ibid.: 42) as she is Norwegian, and thus neither Danish nor Lebanese nor a second generation immigrant. Sara Guizani is an ‘outsider’ as her mother is Danish however an ‘insider’ as her father is Tunisian and thus has a partial immigrant background and some insider-characteristics. Minna Kjærsgaard can be characterized as an ‘outsider’ as she is Danish with Danish parents and thus a member of the dominant population. We were also ‘insiders’ in that we were of similar age to our interviewees and studying as many of our interviewees also
were. This influenced our interviews in a few ways. Some of our interviewees clearly perceived the research group as a representative of Danes and for example tried to ward off prejudices they presumed Danes to have. In our pilot interview we experienced that our interviewee apologized every time she said something she believed was negative about Denmark. Others picked up on our individual backgrounds either because of our names, accents or appearance and asked us about it at the beginning or end of the interview. In these situations for example, Marit Moberg could connect with the interviewees about things that are different in Denmark compared to Norway, while Sara Guizani could connect with them on knowing the Arabic language and also having an Arabic family. Generally we found these interactions to be positive and helped us to gather richer data.

The unstructured nature of the narrative interview meant that we as interviewers had to focus less on asking direct questions and more on urging the respondents along in their story. For this we had to actively listen and signal “interest without intervention” as Flick (2009: 183) describes it. Flick (2009: 178) emphasizes the importance of not interrupting or obstructing the narration for the quality of the data. He suggests that the interviewer signals interest by saying ‘hm’ and supporting and encouraging the interviewee to “continue their narratives until the end” (Ibid.: 79). This was something we took into consideration in the interviews. We tried to show interest and listen actively to the story of the interviewee without interrupting.

At most interviews all three researchers were present and we found that it worked very well, and improved the interviews compared to if there had been only one. When one of us could not think of a question, one of the others would be waiting with a follow-up question and then the interview could flow more naturally. Furthermore, it was a way of triangulating our methods, as all three researchers observed the interview and took part in the interview. We were extra aware of being open and friendly with the interviewees because the subject matter is personal, as we believe that if the interviewees felt comfortable in our company they would be willing to share more. During the interviews most of the interviewees seemed to be comfortable and we felt like the interviewees were able to open up and share their personal stories.
**Ethical considerations**

We founded our considerations on the basic principles of informed consent, avoiding harming the participants, “not invading their privacy and not deceiving them about the research’s aims” (Flick, 2009: 37). We asked if we were allowed to record the interviews and all of our participants complied. To all of the participants we explained what the recordings would be used for and made it clear when we started the recorder. Furthermore, we made a point of explaining the aims of our project to the participants so that they were aware in what context we would be using their statements.

We gave all the participants the opportunity to be anonymous, by changing their name in the project and three of our interviewees chose to do this. We also informed them that they could contact us, if they would like to have something they said omitted from the project report and if they had anything to add to what they had told us in the interview. Additionally we explained that we would publish the finished project report in RUC’s project library, which is accessible from the Internet. Furthermore, we have sent them the finished project report, as a method of insuring the reliability of our research.

**Translation of quotes**

In this study we have used both Danish and English literature, and have therefore translated quotes from Danish to English. Furthermore, all of our interviews were carried out in Danish, and therefore all the quotes from the respondents have also been translated. We have intended to quote the respondents as correctly as possible, but since we are not are professional translators, the reader should bear in mind that minor errors may be present. Nevertheless, we are confident that the intended meaning of the quotes has been maintained. It may have been possible to conduct the interviews in English, however since both interviewers and interviewees use Danish as a primary language, we decided that conducting the interviews in Danish was the best option. Since the questions asked were of a personal character we thought it would allow for a more fruitful and fluid conversation. We consider it very important that the interviewees could express themselves in the most comfortable way possible.
Analysis strategy

In our analysis we have used elements of the narrative analysis approach, as we have encouraged our participants to give us examples during the interviews and thereby tell us stories. Furthermore, we have focused on how our interviewees made “sense of what happened” rather than “what actually happened”, which constitutes a narrative approach to analysis (Bryman, 2012: 582). We have done this by focusing on how our interviewees construct their identities on the basis of their experiences.

Generally, the analysis strategy we have employed can be characterized as “thematic analysis” which is the categorization of data into themes and subthemes (Bryman, 2012: 579). In developing our themes and categorizing our data we have followed the procedure of looking for what Ryan & Bernard (2003: 89-94) call: repetitions, metaphors and analogies, similarities and differences and theory-related material. Repetitions “is one of the easiest ways to find themes” and are statements that occur several times (Ibid.: 89). Metaphors and analogies have to do with how participants communicate their thoughts through metaphors and analogies (Ibid.: 90). Similarities and differences involve comparing statements between participants or comparing statements within the same interview and finding similarities and differences (Ibid.: 91). Theory-related material is when one looks at the data through the lens of theory (Ibid.: 94), such as we have done when examining the data in light of the concepts of identity, diaspora, home, hybrid identity, transnationalism, place and sense of place.

When categorizing our data we have been aware of all of the above methods of identifying our themes. Developing our themes was an iterative process and took place during our interviews, while listening to the interviews again on tape and as we wrote out the analysis and discussion chapter. This is explained further in the analysis and discussion chapter.

Summary

In this chapter we have presented our methodological considerations on the gathering of the primary data that forms the base of our research project, as well as reflections on the ways in which this may have influenced our findings. We have used the snowballing method to gather our sample of 11 participants and have conducted nine narrative interviews. The pilot interview was instrumental in modifying and improving our research questions and our behavior during the interviews. The role of us as interviewers was taken into consideration
and discussed in relation to how it may have influenced our findings. Additionally, our ethical considerations were discussed and what precautions we took to inform the participants was presented. Furthermore, our thematic analysis strategy and the procedure followed to develop the themes in this study was reviewed.
Conceptual Framework

In this chapter we discuss the concepts used in our research one by one and also explain how they are related to each other, and why they are relevant to our research. We begin with describing the concepts of identity, diaspora, home, hybrid identity and transnationalism. We end the chapter by discussing the concept of place and sense of place by linking them to the other concepts.

Identity

Identity is a spatial and social phenomenon, as it connects different social and spatial realms, and each individual experiences these spatial processes differently, thus creating different identities (Horton & Kraftl, 2014: 160). Furthermore, Poole (1999: 6) argues that the concept of identity is inescapable when engaging with social and cultural studies. Identity can be understood in many ways (ibid.; Horton & Kraftl, 2014: 160). A social category is one of the most basic forms of identity, where each individual is put in a category based on e.g. gender, ethnicity or religion (ibid.). According to Horton & Kraftl (2014: 162) the various meanings associated with feeling, being or belonging to a particular ethnic group are not expressed in social categories. Therefore, this project uses a more complex definition of identity.

National identity

According to Poole (1999: 67) our idea of identity tends to rest on the notion that our primary identity is that of national identity. Our national identity is embodied in us and therefore it is difficult to understand who we are without considering our national identity (Ibid.: 69). Poole (1999: 69) emphasizes that by making sense of our identity, “we form a conception of ourselves as belonging to a particular nation (ibid.). Our idea of a nation is “constituted through its language and culture [and] the practices, customs and rituals of everyday life (...) of which people make sense of their lives.” (Herder in Poole, 1999: 68) Thus, to what extent we can identify with our national identity therefore depends on the extent we feel we belong in the particular nation, and its culture and language. Similarly, Horton & Kraftl (2014, 190) argue that identity is implicated in, and happens through, everyday spaces, lives and events.

This is relevant to our research as it takes its point of departure in identity at a national scale, regarding the Lebanese descendants’ feeling of belonging in Denmark and/or Lebanon and to
what extent they identify with the culture in these two nations. Thus, to what extent they feel Danish and/or Lebanese. According to Horton & Kraftl (2014) cultural geographers use a threefold approach to the concept of identity; social construction of identity, relational identity and the performativity of identity. All of these approaches are relevant to our research as our sense of national identity depends on the ideas about how we construct our identity.

**The social construction of identity**

According to Horton & Kraftl (2014: 164) identity is created and re-created, it is a process that is constantly worked on, negotiated and contested. Similarly, Jenkins (2008: 17) emphasizes that identity is a process of 'being’ or 'becoming’. Poole (1999: 45) argues that: “all identities are constituted in and through particular forms of social life.” One way that identity is socially constructed, is through the language we use to describe identities (Horton & Kraftl, 2014: 164). With our language we create narratives, both individually and collectively, and these narratives take part in constructing our identities (ibid.). Horton & Kraftl (2014: 190) suggest that norms, representations and discourses are encountered in everyday life to the extent that it becomes common sense. Thus, language can be used to label or generalize particular groups, and their identity is therefore constructed through the discourse that is used about them (Horton & Kraftl, 2014: 164). Poole (1999: 32) argues that the concept of nation is socially constructed as it depends on our interpretation of it, as “a nation only exists in and through the consciousness of its members.” Furthermore, interaction with different places is important for how people perceive their own identity, including their national identity (ibid.; Horton & Kraftl, 2014: 168.)

**Relational identities**

Identity “involve[s] knowing who we are, knowing who others are, them knowing who we are, us knowing who they think we are.” (Jenkins, 2008: 5) Similarly, Horton & Kraftl (2014: 164) argue that identity is relational and that individuals achieve their identity in connection with others. Therefore, identity not only refers to ourselves, but also to other people and our relations to others. For Jenkins (2008: 18) our relations with others are important for our identity, as it “denotes the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their relations to other individuals or collectivities”. Poole (1999:45) also emphasizes that our identity is built on the identification with the social life we exist in. Identification “is the systematic establishment and signification, between individuals, between collectives, and
between individuals and collectives, of similarity and difference”, and therefore deals with the similarities and differences of the self in relation to others (Jenkins, 2008: 18). This process of identification can lead to a feeling of ‘difference’ or exclusion, this can happen when the dominant group marginalizes other groups because they are different (Horton & Kraftl, 2014: 169; Anderson, 2010: 55-56). From a geographical viewpoint this is known as feeling ‘in place’ or ‘out of place’ (Ibid.: 56- 58; Horton & Kraftl, 2014: 170). The feeling of being ‘out of place’ tends to rely on “what seem natural but are usually socially constructed, relational, complex, dynamic and performed expressions of identity.” (Ibid.: 176) The idea of a national identity is also relational, as it rests on the notion of ‘imagined communities’ and “involves a conception of the community to which the members of the nation belong.” (Poole, 1999: 69). Anderson (2006: in Anderson 2010: 120) refers to nations as ‘imagined communities’, imagined “because it is impossible to know, meet and talk to the citizens at a national scale”. However, through common relations and practices with other people in our nation we create a feeling of belonging to the imagined community (Ibid.: 121).

The performativity of identity

Another important aspect of our identity construction in relation to others and the social norms is the way we present ourselves, e.g. how we dress, our manners and our habits (Horton & Kraftl, 2014: 173). Jenkins (2008: 5) emphasizes that identity “is not something that one can have, or not; it is something that one does.” Goffman (1956) suggests that people act differently in different places to create different impressions on others. Furthermore, Goffman (1956: 152-153) emphasizes that how we perform ourselves depends on the audience and that every individual or group has different ways of presenting themselves in different settings, that are carefully planned ahead. Performativity of self is important for marginalized groups, as they are often deemed as different due to their “particular interests and practices, through what they are, what they do, and where they do it” (Gelder, 2005: 1 in Horton and Kraftl, 2014: 174).

The concept of identity is fundamental to our research and the notion that identity and the nation are socially constructed form the theoretical basis of our study. As this research project operates on a national scale, the definition of national identity is central to answering our overall research question. Furthermore, how identity is socially constructed is relevant to our research as it can help us understand how the Lebanese descendants’ identity is constructed.
through everyday practices and narratives. The idea of relational identity will help us understand, how the Lebanese descendants perceive their identity in relations to others and to what extent they identify with being Danish, while performativity of identity can help us to understand how the Lebanese descendants perform their Danish and/or Lebanese identity.
Diaspora and home

As mentioned, a significant development of the concept of diaspora has taken place within the literature the last 50 years (Brubaker, 2005: 1). Brubaker (2005: 6) argues that the concept may in fact have been semantically and conceptually stretched to an extent that it is no longer useful for academic analysis. Tölölyan (2011: 4) acknowledges this “crowding of diaspora’s semantic domain” but points out that it is “additive” and also “transformative”. Furthermore he points out that no concept has its meaning without being related to others and that the changing meanings of terms like transnationalism, globalization and migrancy as well as belonging and citizenship, have contributed to the transformation of the concept of diaspora (ibid.). Similarly, Brah (1996: 197) suggests that the general nature of the concept of diaspora is “both its strength and its weakness”. Brah (1996: 196) highlights that the concept of diaspora is not useful if we use it just as a description of migrations. Rather, we must use it to specify “a matrix of economic, political and cultural inter-relationships which construct the commonality between the various components of a dispersed group.” (ibid.)

In order to be able to use the concept of diaspora to shed light on our research question, we must therefore set boundaries for the concept. There is a general consensus in the literature that the concept of diaspora is defined by three core themes: dispersion, home/homeland and borders/boundaries (Brah, 1996; Tölölyan, 2011; Brubaker, 2005). Brubaker (2005: 5) argues that dispersion is the most widely accepted criterion for the definition of diaspora but highlights that it is not necessarily universally accepted. Some scholars use the term division rather than dispersion (ibid.). According to Tölölyan (2011: 5) diaspora is a form of dispersion but in today’s literature, it seems that diaspora has come to encompass the term dispersion and not the other way around. Dispersion occurs through migration which may be “gradual, routine migration [or] be brought about by crisis” (Van Hear, 2010: 34). However, by some definitions of diaspora the dispersion must be involuntary or somehow traumatic (Tölölyan, 2011: 5; Brubaker 2005: 5). Diaspora implies a dispersion of people across borders however, in some cases diaspora is also used about a dispersion of people within national borders (ibid.).

The concept of home and homeland orientation

Brah (1996: 181) argues that diaspora is not merely dispersion, but ‘dispersion from’, which implies the “notion of a centre” from which the dispersion occurs. This center is ‘home’ and
thereby there cannot be talk of diaspora without also the mentioning of a home, or homeland (ibid.). Home refers to ‘the place of origin’ for the migrants (Ibid.:180). The homeland is described as “a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination” (Ibid.:192). According to Stock (2010: 27) home can also relate to places, spaces, feelings, practices or your state of being, and it relates to the feeling of being home.

The notion of home may be particularly complex for descendants of immigrants, which is relevant to our area of focus (Stock, 2010: 25). Later generations of migrants have more fragmented memories of the homeland than first-generation migrants who can recall their memories of the homeland directly (ibid.). Migrant descendants may have feelings between longing for the homeland and wanting to belong in the hostland (ibid.). For descendants of immigrants the hostland represents their ‘new home’ and the question of feeling at home in the ‘new home’ includes the desires and possibilities of feeling and making oneself at home (ibid.). In our study, the ‘new home’ is Denmark. The notion of home is layered and “is not necessarily bound to physical places but may also allude to symbolic places of belonging” (ibid.). Memories of home are also influenced by the positions those who are recalling occupy currently both in society and time (Ibid.: 26). According to Stock (2010: 26) descendants of immigrants may have problems with identifying with either the homeland or ‘new home’ and thus may feel that they have no true place of belonging. Because descendants have not experienced the migration and have no memories of it, they reconstruct their own diasporic narrative through their lives that includes the inherited memories of the homeland (Ibid.: 27). For diasporic peoples, home is a “highly contextual and ambivalent notion referring to multiple places and spaces in past, present and future in various ways” (ibid.).

Earlier the ‘homeland orientation’ criterion was the most emphasized and discussed in the literature however, this has later received some critique (Brubaker, 2005: 6). Clifford (1994 in Brubaker: 5-6) emphasizes the recreation of culture in a new location as being as important as the idea of originating from a certain place or the desire to return home. Also Brah (1996: 193) suggests that not all diasporic communities have a desire to return home, some type of identification with the homeland is enough. For this project, the looser definition of ‘orientation towards homeland’ better suites the Lebanese case. Orientation towards the homeland in this project is defined as caring for and maintaining connections and affiliations with the homeland.
Border-maintenance

Border-maintenance is what allows us to speak of diaspora as a specific community (Brubaker, 2005: 6). Border-maintenance happens when either the diasporic group self-segregates or as a result of social exclusion (ibid.). Borders in this sense are metaphorical “dividing lines that are simultaneously social, cultural and psychic” (Brah, 1996: 198). These dividing lines allow diasporic communities to maintain close social relations and solidarity (Brubaker, 2005: 6). Brubaker (2005: 7) also points out that boundary-maintenance must endure several generations for there to be talk about a diaspora, similarly to how Tölölyan (2011: 8) suggests that the concept of diaspora is applicable only when the associations to the homeland last to the third generation. Maintaining “important allegiances and practical connections to a homeland” contributes to setting the boundaries around diasporic communities (Clifford, 1994: 307). Clifford (1994: 307) argues that diasporas are distinct because they exercise resistance towards assimilation policies in nations. Nevertheless, Clifford (1994: 307) notes that although diasporic communities develop practices of resistance towards the host country and community, they also develop practices of accommodation. Brubaker (2005: 6) also mentions that although the literature emphasizes border-maintenance, there is also an emphasis on the fluidity and hybridity of diasporic identities and this can seem paradoxical. The emphasis on hybridity is seen mainly in the transnational literature (ibid.).

The concept of diaspora is used to shed light on how our participants’ Lebanese identity manifests itself in their everyday lives and to what extent they feel they belong to either Lebanon and/or Denmark. Diaspora is used to describe the Lebanese case and investigate to what extent the Lebanese descendants have a homeland-orientation and practice border-maintenance. The concept of identity and diaspora both help to reveal in which ways identity is constructed in relation to others and to the homeland and ‘new home’s. Identity is related to diaspora in that diasporic peoples uphold a group identity in their ‘new home’s that is tied to the homeland. The concept of home helps us understand the Lebanese descendants feelings towards Denmark and Lebanon and how this is related to the feeling of belonging.
Hybridity

Hybridity has to do with mixing and combining culture and cultural exchanges (Hutnyk, 2010: 60). Hybridization is defined as: “the ways in which forms become separated from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices” (Rowe & Schelling, 1991: 231 in Pieterse, 2012). The concept of hybridity is often used to discuss race, language or national culture (Yazdiha, 2010: 31). The term is apparent in diaspora literature because it encompasses some of the practices adopted by diasporic peoples to navigate in their ‘new home’ while still maintaining boundaries (Hutnyk, 2010: 59-62). Hybrid identities come in different forms and can form in borderlands, across borders as well as within borders (Smith, 2008). They can encompass nationalities, races or for example genders (ibid.). According to Pieterse (2012) hybridization has always existed however, the consequences of globalization have lead to acceleration in this mixing.

Hybrid identities

In regards to identity, hybridity relates to how “elements of cultures are incorporated to create a new hybrid culture” (Smith, 2008: 4). Thereby hybridity is also about “creativity and cultural imagination” (Lo, 2002 in Smith 2008: 5). Smith (2008: 5) argues that in an increasingly globalized world where borders are blurred hybridity is an asset because it allows individuals to “negotiate across barriers - language, cultural, spiritual, ritual and physical”. Cultural hybridization must be distinguished from different phases in assimilation, in that cultural hybridity is the creation of new identity forms rather than a step on the way to full assimilation (Oyserman, Sakamoto & Lauffer 19988: 1606 in Weiner & Richards, 2008: 110). A hybrid identity implies incorporating cultural values and practices in a new context and allows individuals to ”express these cultural values even when the original context no longer exists” (Oyserman, Sakamoto & Lauffer 1988: 1606 cited in Weiner & Richards, 2008: 110).

Hybrid identities may form differently depending on cultural and economic influences and surrounding institutions and must always be studied and examined in context. Similarly, diasporized hybrid identities must be investigated in relation the particular migration history and take into account the diasporic community. For example, we have taken into account the specific migration history of our participants, as well as to what extent there exists a diasporic Lebanese community in Denmark. The concept of hybridity is particularly useful in explaining the experience of immigrant or diasporized individuals, as it accounts for the
The concept of hybridity has received some critique for its broadness as well as its linguistic origins in biology (Hutnyk, 2010: 59-61). According to Hutnyk (2010: 61): “In the world of plants, hybrid combinations are productively made by grafting one plant or fruit to another”. However, thinking of humans in this way warrants concerns as to what extent identities or cultures can be thought of to be made up of two halves and harkens back to the “notion of human ‘races’ (...) that upon mixing, produce hybrids.” (ibid.). ‘Mixing’ suggests a notion of purity of the ‘pre-mixed’ entities (ibid.). Some scholars are particularly critical about the use of the concept as it implies that there exists purity of cultures. However, some ask: Who even wants purity? (Gilroy 1994: 54-55 in Hutnyk, 2010: 61) Others such as, Yazdiha (2010: 35) suggest that “theories of hybridity, in clarifying the shifting and indefinite nature of culture, can serve as a tool that complicate the nationalist exclusionary practice of determining who does and does not have claim to a nation.” Yazdiha (2010: 35) points out that the power in the concept of hybridity is that it questions the idea of cultural purity and reveals that in fact all cultures are hybrid. Similarly, Pieterse (2012) argues that hybridity as a concept is useful in terms of questioning boundaries that are “considered essential or insurmountable”.

In the context of our own research, this could mean viewing Lebanese and Danish culture and practices as “anterior “uncontaminated” purities” (Gilroy 2000: 250 in Hutnyk, 2010: 62) that produce a hybrid individual, like our interviewees. Taking this stance would be harmful to our findings, as it would ignore the complexity of the process of negotiating one’s identity between two cultures. Therefore, we have been extra thoughtful in employing this concept in regards to the forms of hybridity described by our interviewees. The concept of hybrid identity is used in this project to examine the ways Danish-Lebanese negotiate their identity between two cultures and places. Although hybrid identities can emerge in any context it is relevant to the concept of diaspora, as these two cultures and places are often the homeland and ‘new home’ for individuals in diaspora.
**Transnationalism**

According to Castree, Kitchin & Rogers (2013) transnationalism is the “sustained and meaningful flows, networks, and relations connecting individuals and social groups across the borders of nation states”. It captures all sorts of social formations such as religious, ethnic and national groups and communities, and also social phenomenon such as networking and social movements (ibid.). This is expressed through for example remittances, telephone-communication or participation in organizations across borders (Ehrkamp, 2010). Each emotional and symbolic tie made to the imagined homeland, without any tangible connection, can constitute transnationalism (Lee, 2008: 11).

Similarly to hybridity, the concept of transnationalism challenges the idea of fixed boundaries, particularly of the nation-state (Levitt, 2010: 39). Immigrants “pivot back and forth” between the home and host country and this commitment varies across time (Ibid.: 41). Levitt (2010: 41) states that the transnational approach is needed to understand the immigrant experience and that there are many different ways in engaging in transnational practices. The transnational approach is used by geographers to examine “how identities are constructed in relation to both home and host places, as migrants negotiate the context of both” (Ehrkamp, 2010). This is how we use this concept in our study. Transnationalism is often referred to as recent flow of migration (Bauböck & Faist, 2010: 22). This project focuses on ‘second-generation transnationalism’, which is shaped by the engagement with the society in the ‘new home’ and the parents’ transnational mobility (Lee, 2008: 11).

Transnationalism has taken place for a long time however, in recent years it has been more discussed due to globalization. Transnationalism is closely linked to globalization however, globalization refers to cross-border processes worldwide whereas transnationalism focuses on particular states or regions (Bauböck & Faist, 2010: 14). Moreover, the concept of transnationalism often overlaps with the concept of diaspora as they both relate to cross-border processes between a particular limited social and geographical space. However, transnationalism throngs a broader social formation than diaspora (Bauböck & Faist, 2010: 15+21). Both concepts deal with ties to the homeland and how a person or group incorporates living away from ‘home’ into the ‘new home’ in a new place (Ibid.: 20). Transnationalism is often used to refer to the durable ties across countries, whereas diaspora is often used to denote national or religious groups living outside an (imagined) homeland (Ibid.: 9).
The concept of transnationalism can help us to shed light on how the interviewees maintain their practical and emotional attachment to Lebanon transnationally and also how they create their identity in transnational space. Transnationalism is used in our project to identify and define the border-crossing practices of our interviewees and how these are a result of their identity or influence their identity.
**Place and sense of place**

Place is a concept that is fundamental to this project. There are three generally accepted ideas about place (Agnew in Castree, 2009: 155). Firstly, place as location means a specific point on the earth’s surface (ibid.). Secondly, place as locale, understood as a setting and scale for people’s daily actions and interactions. The final notion of place is ‘sense of place’ which defines the subjective feeling people have about places, including the role of place in their individual and group identity (Castree, 2009: 155). Moreover, how individuals and groups within and between places both interpret and develop attachments to the places where they live out their lives (Ibid.: 158). These attachments are developed through emotional, experiential and affective traces (Anderson, 2010, p. 39). The notion of a sense of place denotes that *where we are* is fundamentally connected to *who we are* (Ibid.: 41).

Our sense of place is important to our identity, as “identity of self and identity of place are closely connected.” (Anderson, 2010: 130) The rituals that create our culture together with the geographical scale they are practiced in help us construct our identity (ibid.). Different practices or material things can produce particular senses of places, and in connection with other traces “problematising and placing in tension who we think we are” (ibid.). Thus our senses of places and how we act in places have importance for our identity. Our sense of place and feeling of belonging are closely linked and the combinations of traces in a place let us know whether or not we belong in a specific place (Ibid.: 41).

The concepts of identity, diaspora, home, hybridity and transnationalism all fit under the overarching umbrella of the concept of place. As one of the key concepts in geography ‘place’ has informed our theoretical perspective from the beginning and the idea of attachments to place forms the basis of our overall research question. As Crang (in Anderson, 2010: 41) stresses “identity is defined by place”. Diaspora is tied to place as it has to do with the migration of people from one place to another. Furthermore, diaspora has to do with the ideas sustained about a place that has been left for a new place. Similarly, home can be a physical or imaginary place and can take on different forms in the context of diaspora. Also, transnationalism has to do with crossing borders and moving between places.

To the understanding of who we are and where we fit into the culture, places are central as it is “where cultures, communities and people root themselves and give themselves definition” (Anderson, 2010: 37-38). Some places can feel like “home” whereas the feeling of being “out
of place” or “displaced” can also occur in some places (Ibid.: 37). Place is the counterpoint of space and can be both material and imaginary (Ibid.: 38). Cultural groups often take and make places according to their cultural values, which ends up defining the area and its use in a certain way, but also defining the cultural group itself (ibid.). Furthermore, Sack (in Anderson, 2010: 38) emphasizes that place can be looked at from different scales and in our study we investigate place primarily on a national scale. Our national sense of place is different than the local sense of place, as it is at the local place we live our daily life, while the people outside this daily life, we will never meet and learn to know (Anderson, 2010: 120). This can be linked to ‘imagined communities’, as mentioned earlier, because we imagine our sense of place at the national scale (Anderson 2006, in Anderson, 2010: 120-121). In our study sense of place is used to illuminate the subjective feelings our interviewees hold for Denmark and Lebanon. Furthermore, this concept is used to examine the influence of attachments to Denmark and Lebanon on how our interviewees define their identities.
Analysis and discussion

In this chapter we use our concepts to discuss and analyze our findings from the interviews. First we explain how our themes were developed and then we discuss and analyze the overall themes of identity in everyday life, home and belonging, exclusion and negotiating identity between two cultures.

Developing themes

Before our interviews we constructed a table with the themes ’Personal background’, ‘Lebanese identity’, ‘Danish identity’, ‘Belonging’ and ‘Hybrid identity’ to help us answer our working questions (Appendix B). We used this table when taking notes after each interview. The themes of ‘Belonging’ and ‘Hybrid identity’ were introduced after what we observed in our pilot interview and after more thoroughly reviewing the literature.

The initial focus of our study was the concept of identity. While interviewing we realized that we were getting answers broader than simply on identity and this led us to change some of our working questions. We found that the categories of ‘Lebanese identity’ and ‘Danish identity’ were not useful as it was better to analyze these together. We also removed the working question about how Lebanese descendants identify with either Denmark or Lebanon. We did not think it was useful to discuss this in isolation but rather in regards to hybrid identity and belonging which is the theme of two of our other working questions. In answering those questions we found that we also discussed how our interviewees identify with Denmark and Lebanon. The first few interviews helped us create new working questions and specify our interview questions, while the last few helped us develop on the working questions. When listening to the interviews afterwards the first few interviews helped narrow down the working questions that then became our themes, and the last few helped develop on these themes. As we listened to the interviews again we categorized our notes by these themes. The transcribed quotes in the analysis are based on these notes.

We brought transnationalism in as a concept, when we began to analyze the quotes and while the concept of hybridity began to be more relevant in the analysis. Additionally, when analyzing the feeling of belonging, we brought back the concept of home that we had touched on in the very beginning of our research process, as it became more relevant again in this
context. The final themes we developed were: identity in everyday life, home and belonging, exclusion and negotiating identity between two cultures. The concepts we found would best help us develop on the themes were: identity, diaspora, home, hybrid identity and transnationalism. We will analyze and discuss the themes one by one using our concepts and empirical data below.
Identity in everyday life

Transnational practices

Levitt (2010: 41-42) argues that “[i]f individuals engage in social relations and practices that cross borders as a regular feature of everyday life then they exhibit a transnational way of being.” All of our respondents exhibited a transnational way of being, by keeping in contact with people in Lebanon either through their visits, social media or over the phone, as can be seen in the below quote:

“I have a One Mobile phone, the old classic, that I set up and where I have a pre-paid phone card and then once a month I go through the whole list and call everyone, I mean my grandmother (...) my aunt and so on. And then there is Viber, which is very relevant right now and then there is Whatsapp, which they use a lot down there so I use that too. So every time our little son Adam does something stupid I take a picture and send it down there” (Jamil)

Jamil’s experience is similar to that of most the interviewees who engaged in transnational practices by speaking with their families on the phone or communicating with them through Facebook, Whatsapp, Viber or other social media. All of the participants visited Lebanon but there was a big difference in how long there had been since the last visit and when they would visit again in the future. This spanned from visiting twice a year to every three-four years. Furthermore, the lengths of the visits were from one week to two months. One could argue that the stays in Lebanon and the contact with Lebanon have developed the sense of place of Lebanon for our interviewees. Clifford (1994: 304) argues that modern technologies, such as those described by our participants, allow border relations in everyday life with the ‘old country’ that was not possible before and thus we cannot maintain fixed ideas of how transnational identities are formed, as there is a wide range of possibilities available today to behave transnationally, which the statements of our interviewees demonstrate.

However, it is notable that although our interviewees stayed in contact with their families and friends in Lebanon they did not have many, if any Lebanese friends in Denmark, and thus it may be difficult to discuss if there exists a distinct diaspora community of Lebanese in
Denmark. From our observations we could not identify a community that was “held together by a distinctive, active solidarity, as well as by relatively dense social relationships” as Brubaker (2005: 6) defines as a criterion for the concept of diaspora. Thus, boundaries are maintained, but they are not maintained on a community-basis and thereby the concept of diaspora can only be used to some extent to describe the Lebanese in Denmark.

**Lebanese food**
Another aspect of Lebanese identity that manifested itself in our participants’ everyday lives was Lebanese food. Due to their Muslim upbringing and faith, many of the participants did not eat pork. Some participants stated that they do not eat Lebanese food often, while others had it daily. However, many of our interviewees felt connected to Lebanon through its food, even when cooking and eating in Denmark. This exemplifies how identity of our participants and the identity of Lebanon as a place are closely connected, as suggested by Anderson (2010: 41). The food brings out their subjective feelings for Lebanon, which is conceptualized as sense of place. For example, Fatima states:

“We were in Lebanon and then we found out that they grilled chicken with pesto and put it on some bread… Some bread and salad and mayonnaise. So now we also do that at home and every time we do it we say ‘Oh we miss Lebanon!’”

Similarly Carina stated:

“I don’t really like to cook and I never eat at home but if I can then I eat… Well, now I know where I can get a good falafel in the city and where you can get good Lebanese food and where you can get a good shawarma. Now I’m vegetarian so I am very limited in terms of Lebanese food (...) but my way of thinking food… When I make rice for example I put cinnamon in it because that’s what my mother always did. The best food I can get is Lebanese food. So in that sense I will never be happy with cooked potatoes, I am happy with fried potatoes and rice.”
According to Crang (2010: 141-142) “tastes and smells and textures provoke memories and feelings of connection to, indeed presence in, variously located senses of home” for diasporized people. This is evident for Fatima and her sisters when the Lebanese dish cooked in Denmark evokes a sense of place of Lebanon. Similarly, Carina’s Lebanese identity manifests itself in the everyday practice of cooking, for example rice, as it is embodied in her mindset and the way she approaches food.

**Language**

Several of our interviewees highlighted the Arabic language as important to them and as something they value. Many use it daily, as a minimum when communicating with their parents or with friends and family in Lebanon. Several of our interviewees also link that of being able to speak Arabic to that of being Lebanese:

“We speak a lot of Arabic and home and its also Arabic TV and discussions in Arabic. So its been very Lebanese at home (...) I also feel Lebanese because I can speak the language... ” (Mohammed)

“I think that as soon as you know a language... I think language is an identity-marker. Because I can speak Danish then I am Danish and because I can speak Arabic I am also Arab.” (Carina)

Language is interrelated with other cultural aspects of life and language is an important aspect of group identity (Edwards, 1994: 125-127). Furthermore, Beswick (2010: 134) argues that “the language of the diaspora is regularly more than just a pragmatic tool of interpersonal communication (...) languages frequently embrace extralinguistic characteristics and play important sociolinguistic, sociocultural and even sociopolitical roles in the conceptualization of diaspora group interfaces.” This is reflected in how Mohammed and Carina highlight how speaking Arabic and being Lebanese are inherently connected. They emphasize that they are Lebanese because they speak Arabic. Speaking Arabic on an everyday basis then serves to reinforce our participants’ Lebanese identity. Poole (1999: 68) argues that shared language “defines a special relationship” with others in a group, in this case the group is Arabs/Lebanese, which is evident in how Mohammed and Carina identify themselves as Arab/Lebanese, due to their competence in the Arabic language.
Religion
Some of our participants identified Islam as important to who they are. Louai and Mariam are some of the participants who mentioned this.

“What I have used [Islam] for is to make myself a better person. And take those parts of my religion that mean that I am “forced to do better” (...) I can easily use that in my everyday life because in the end you are responsible for your actions.” (Louai)

Furthermore, Louai pointed out to us that in terms of getting married it was important to him that his wife believed in God. When asked about what nationality Mariam could imagine marrying she answered:

“I do not exclude any nationalities. Everyone is welcome, he just has to be Muslim (...) That’s also something we have been raised with. Because we are Muslim and Islam says I can only marry a Muslim.”

To some of our participants religion was not important to them. However, as mentioned above, many of our interviewees did not eat pork and some of the participants also fasted during Ramadan and all celebrated religious holidays like Eid. In this way, although not identifying as religious, many of the participants upheld Lebanese traditions tied to Islam.

Maintaining boundaries
According to Brubaker (2005: 7) that “migrants themselves maintain boundaries is only to be expected; the interesting question, and the question relevant to the existence of a diaspora, is to what extent and in what forms boundaries are maintained by second, third and subsequent generations.” Our Danish-Lebanese participants demonstrate how certain elements of Lebanese culture have manifested itself in their identity and have endured to the second generation. Lebanese food, the practicing of Islam and the use of the Arabic language are other ways in which our participants displayed how they “resist erasure through the normalizing processes of forgetting, assimilating, and distancing” (Clifford, 1994: 310). Maintaining connections to the home country is also a way in which diasporic peoples engage in boundary-maintenance and resist full assimilation into the ‘new home’ (Ibid.: 304). Thus
we can see that through their transnational practices of maintaining contact and visiting Lebanon more or less regularly, the Lebanese-descendants contribute to setting a boundary between them and the Danes of Danish descent.

**Everyday life**

It is through our daily lived experiences that our sense of identity and attachments to places are developed (Anderson, 2010). As mentioned by Horton & Kraftl (2014: 190) everyday life is important for the construction of identity. The transitional practices of visiting Lebanon and keeping in contact with Lebanon have helped develop the participants’ sense of place of Lebanon and thus influence their identity. Furthermore their everyday practices tied to food, religion and language maintain their sense of place of Lebanon and thereby their Lebanese identity in Denmark.

**Sub-conclusion**

For our interviewees their Lebanese identity manifested itself in several ways in their everyday lives. Our participants engage in transnationalist practices by communicating with family and friends in Lebanon through the phone and social media. Furthermore, many of our interviewees ate Lebanese food on an everyday basis and some had a sense of place of being in Lebanon when cooking Lebanese food. Also, many of the interviewees did not eat pork. Religion was emphasized by some interviewees as being important and as something they used in their everyday lives. For some of our participants the Arabic language is closely connected to that of being Lebanese and thus by using it in their everyday lives their Lebanese identity is expressed. Furthermore, we found that the Lebanese descendants maintained boundaries but that these were individual rather than collective boundaries and that they did not constitute a Lebanese diasporic community. Everyday life and identity is linked and therefore these everyday practices have an influence on the Lebanese descendants’ identity.
Home and belonging

Denmark as a home

When reflecting on their relationship to Denmark, most of our interviewees, express that they see their future in Denmark. As Mariam and Fatima state:

Mariam: “We could easily have moved away from Denmark, if we didn’t care about Denmark. I could pack my stuff, and go if I didn’t care about Denmark. There is nothing that could stop me. And start a new life another place, but we care about Denmark (...) It might be that I want to go to Lebanon, to live there and start a family, but I’m also thinking it would be a shame, for the kids, because I had a really good upbringing here. I also want my kids to have this. So, somehow, we care about Denmark.”

Fatima: “No, I can with confidence say I care about Denmark. And I think the future for me, is here in Denmark...”

Mariam and Fatima here say that the reason why they want to stay in Denmark is because they care about Denmark. It is clear that Mariam and Fatima have positive feelings for Denmark and have therefore created a sense of Denmark as a place, as they have developed “meaningful attachments to those specific areas where they live out their lives” (Castree, 2009: 158). Their sense of Denmark as a place can be interpreted as a feeling of belonging (Anderson, 2010: 121). Mohammed also expresses:

“Yes, it is in Denmark I grew up, and I have a hard time seeing myself living in Lebanon the rest of my life. I really want to visit many times, but it is in Denmark I live. And this is where I belong, at least that’s how I feel. So yes, it’s probably in Denmark I belong. (...) Probably more than Lebanon. I think it’s because of my upbringing, school, and my friends, like many Danish friends. I think it’s nice, and I like being here.”

Mohammed, argues that ‘he likes being in Denmark’, and it is the place he wants to spend his future, because this is where he grew up. He relates this subjective feeling for Denmark and the lived experience in Denmark to the feeling of belonging.
For these three interviewees their everyday life in Denmark and their sense of Denmark as a place is why they have the feeling of belonging in Denmark (Anderson, 2010: 41). The lived experience in everyday life and the feeling of belonging are important aspects for the feeling of home (Stock, 2010: 25-27). One could suggest that Mohammed and the two sisters feel at home in Denmark. Jamil also emphasizes the feeling of belonging in Denmark and links this to Denmark as his home. When asked if he considered Denmark as home:

“...Yes, 100 percent. Well, I feel like I belong in Denmark, but I have something from Lebanon. My home is Denmark, I can’t say I belong in Lebanon when I feel like a tourist [in Lebanon](...) You can put me on Bornholm, and I’ll feel at home, even though I have only been there a few times or any other place in Denmark, and I will still feel at home. That’s the difference. I wouldn’t feel this in Lebanon. Even in our apartment in Lebanon, I don’t feel at home at all.”

(Jamil)

Jamil considers Denmark his home, as this is the place where he feels at home and where he belongs, which is also a feeling many of the interviewees share. Jamil’s statement shows that he has been able to make himself feel at home in Denmark, and had a “successful homemaking in his ‘new home’” (Stock, 2010: 25). However, it must be taken into account that making a home is a different experience for second generation immigrants compared to first generation immigrants, as they grew up in Denmark and it has been their ‘home’ from the very beginning. Furthermore, Jamil feels he belongs in “any other place” in Denmark which is an example of how he has a sense of place at a national scale and a feeling of belonging in Denmark (Anderson, 2010: 120-121). This demonstrates how Denmark is an ‘imagined community’ for Jamil, as he can feel at home and identify with places he has never been and with people he has never met in Denmark and this also reflects his Danish national identity (Poole, 1999: 69).

All of our interviewees consider Denmark as a place they belong and their home, some more than others. However, one participant, Carina, expressed a more ambivalent feeling for Denmark as her ‘new home’. Carina states that her passport is Danish and her life is in Denmark, so her home is in Denmark. However, she also explains how the Danish culture is different than the Arabic, and how she currently does not feel at home in the Danish society, thus she has a more difficult time with the feeling of Denmark as a home. It seems like Carina
does not feel at home in her ‘new home’, and that she has a stronger feeling of belonging among Arabs. On the other hand when she is expressing herself about the feeling of belonging in Lebanon, she explains how she does not feel completely at home there either. This “longing for and belonging to multiple spaces in various ways” is normal and can be explained as a feeling of in-betweenness of belonging nowhere (Stock, 2010: 25). Furthermore, it reveals how Carina has an “undecided and ambivalent positioning in the transnational space” between Denmark and Lebanon (Koefoed & Simonsen, 2010: 218).

Lebanon as a home or homeland
All of the participants have been or are traveling regularly to Lebanon, and all have some kind of attachment to Lebanon as a place. However, the feeling of belonging in Lebanon is very different among the participants. Jamil most of the time feels like a tourist in Lebanon and some of the participants expressed a similar feeling. Hussein is one such participant:

“When I am there I don’t feel completely at home, because I am used to living here, and how everything works here. But I don’t feel completely at home (...) But the people living there see me more like a European. So, no probably not. (...) It’s not a place I want to live my whole life or in a longer period. I think its nice, it is where my background is. But it is not a place I want to live.”

When asked to reflect on situations he does not feel at home in Lebanon, he answers:

“There are many situations. The way people are. It doesn’t work like here. For example there is military everywhere. When you see that, you think, this will not happen in Denmark for example. But also the way people act, it can be a little... when I am thinking, okay. Then you feel, this would never happen in Denmark for example. (...) There is not always electricity and the conditions, there are a lot of poor people a lot of places. Then I am thinking, that I am lucky that I live in Denmark. And have been there all my life. And that I don’t experience the situations they have there. But also when I am talking with people that live there, their values are different from my values. Then I feel, I can see that I don’t have the same values as them.” (Hussein)
Military in the streets, lack of electricity, the poor living conditions and the values of people are all examples of how the life in Lebanon is different from the life in Denmark. For Hussein these everyday differences result in a lack of home-feeling in Lebanon. The feeling of home is therefore linked to Danish values and everyday life and lived experience in Denmark. Several of the interviewees mention, like Hussein, how the Lebanese everyday life is different from the Danish, and how this makes them feel they belong more in Denmark than in Lebanon.

Hussein mentions that he is seen as a European and not a Lebanese when he is in Lebanon. The feeling of being a stranger in Lebanon that both Jamil and Hussein have expressed is normal when “being ascribed a home one has never lived in” (Stock, 2010: 26-27). Both Jamil and Hussein consider Denmark as a home, while Lebanon is a place they want to travel. This is in contrast with the classic understanding in diaspora that home represents a place with a desire to return (Brah, 1996: 180). Thus, for Jamil and Hussein, Lebanon is more a “destination of ‘regular home-trips’” (Stock, 2010: 24) than a home.

In contrast to Jamil and Hussein, some of the interviewees consider Lebanon as a homeland, even without having the feeling of being at home. In a diasporic setting Stock (2010: 27) argues this can be explained by the feeling of belonging to multiple homes, which can be both physical places and/or symbolic spaces. One of our interviewees, Mohammed, considers Lebanon as the homeland of his parents and therefore also his homeland. This is even though he feels he belongs more to Denmark than to Lebanon and thinks it is hard to imagine living in Lebanon the rest of his life. Moreover, Louai refers to Lebanon as his homeland, but as a second home after Denmark. From this we can understand there are different ways of recognizing Lebanon as a homeland, according to Gorashi (2003: 189 in Stock, 2010: 25) there is a difference between ‘the feeling of being home’ and homeland, as exemplified by Louai and Mohammed. Additionally, it is important for Louai and Mohammed, to keep a symbolic tie to Lebanon as their homeland. This may as Stock (2010: 25) argues: “allude to symbolic spaces of belonging” which was also evident in more of the interviews.

Two homelands
Like Jamil and Hussein some of the interviewees felt like strangers in Lebanon, while at the same time some of them referred to Lebanon as their homeland. Abbas is one such participant, and this is what he told us about Lebanon as a homeland:
“I have two homelands. Like, you can also have two mothers to love, and this is how I feel about Denmark and Lebanon. Because Denmark has given me all the things Lebanon never could give me. (...) I think the reason why I am so attached to Lebanon, is that, in 2006 there was the war in the summer (...) I was in the south of Lebanon. And I was there in 17 days alone, without my mother, father or siblings, with my aunt. And we were in the bomb-shelter in those days. And I experienced the worst of Lebanon. And even then, I felt that if I die now, I die in my homeland. (...) All these experiences, I think, have helped me and marked me, in the fact that I am still attached to Lebanon, despite the fact that I had an experience that could have scared me from Lebanon, but it had the opposite effect.”

Even though Abbas also tells us in the interview that he sometimes feels like a stranger in Lebanon, he still sees Lebanon as a homeland. However, Stock (2010: 26) highlights that this feeling of estrangement can go hand in hand with positive identification of Lebanon as a home. Abbas emphasizes how he has two homelands, which demonstrates how he has a “transnational identity with attachment to two nation-states.” (Koefoed & Simonsen, 2010: 215). Clifford (1994) suggests that people can have a sense of belonging in several places, which all can be thought of as home, similarly to what Abbas has stated. Abbas refers to Lebanon as his homeland, despite the fact that he does not live there and never has. Similarly, Stock (2010: 27) argues the concept of ‘homeland’ is complex for descendants of migrants, as they have to construct their narratives and feeling of belonging from their experiences without living in the place. Here we can see that Abbas has incorporated the story of the bombing in 2006 into his narrative about Lebanon as his homeland. Furthermore, Abbas explains how “It’s a dream to live in Lebanon for me”, which is a normal feeling for diasporic people. According to Stock (2010: 25) migrant descendants’ relationship to the ‘originary homeland’ can be maintained through symbolic ties and myths and dreams of returning to the homeland. For Abbas dream of living in Lebanon is one way he upholds his relationship with Lebanon as a homeland.

A few of the interviewees had a more ambivalent relationship to Lebanon as a homeland. Laila emphasizes how her feelings for Lebanon and Denmark are a huge mix and there are two halves always competing with each other. Stock (2010: 27) describes this as moments
where “various home spaces may compete, collide or complement each other”. Laila has strong attachments to Lebanon, but feels more at home in Denmark, which according to Koefoed & Simonsen (2010: 215) can be understood as “double transnational attachment”. This shows how having a relationship to both Lebanon and Denmark can lead to a feeling of ambivalence and indeterminacy, while it reflects a transnational identity with attachment to two homelands (ibid.).

**Sub-conclusion**

To what extent the respondents feel they belong to Denmark and/or Lebanon varies. Most interviewees want to live in Denmark in the future and have a positive sense of Denmark as a place, which can be interpreted as a feeling of belonging. All the interviewees consider Denmark as their home, except one who has a more ambivalent feeling of Denmark as a ‘new home’. All interviewees have some kind of attachment to Lebanon, but the feeling of belonging in Lebanon varies. Some feel like tourists or a lack identification with Lebanon due to the different lives and values compared to in Denmark. For some interviewees Lebanon is rather a destination of regular home-trips than a home. Some mentioned that they had two homelands, while some consider Lebanon as homeland without feeling at home and in that way they keep a symbolic tie to Lebanon as their homeland. Moreover, a few interviewees expressed an ambivalent relationship to both Denmark and Lebanon as a homeland.
Exclusion and the feeling of being different

As we found out in the last section, all the interviewees feel that they belong in Denmark except one, who had a more ambivalent feeling of belonging in Denmark. However, most of our interviewees also mentioned situations where they to some degree felt different, not accepted or negatively generalized in the Danish society, due to their Lebanese background. They experienced this in various ways in their everyday life.

The feeling of being different

Some of the participants expressed a feeling of being different in the Danish society at times. Zainab describes her experience in high school:

“Even though, I did everything the others also did. I also go to parties like all the others. There are a lot of people of non-Danish descent who do not do this. I attended everything but I was not a part of them [my classmates]. (...) At that time I did not feel as Danish as today. I felt Danish but also a lot as a Lebanese and this was due to the fact that I was not accepted and I spoke Lebanese a lot with my friends and listened a lot to Lebanese music.” (Zainab)

Here Zainab mentions how she feels different from their classmates that mostly were of Danish descent. In a diasporic context border-maintenance can sometimes emerge when the diaspora group is excluded by the dominant group in the ‘new home’ (Brubaker, 2005: 6), similarly to what Zainab describes in her high school. Zainab also mentions how everyday practices such as listening to Lebanese music and speaking Lebanese had an influence on her identity, as it made her feel more Lebanese. This is an example of how national identity is socially constructed through everyday actions, as suggested by Poole (1999: 68). Her national identity as a Lebanese emerges, as a result of having different culture and language than the people she interacts with in her everyday life (ibid.). For Zainab the feeling of exclusion and the everyday practices of speaking Lebanese and listening to Lebanese music led to feeling less Danish, and more Lebanese compared to what she feels today.
Furthermore, it exemplifies how identity is created relationally and is negotiated between internal self-definition and external definition, as the feeling of difference led Zainab to feel excluded and thus less Danish (Jenkins, 2008: 40). Horton & Kraftl (2014) recognize this as a feeling of being ‘out of place’. Many of our interviewees had this experience however, one interviewee, Laila pointed out to us that she does not feel ‘out of place’ in the Danish society, as she expressed it: “I don’t feel out, I feel I’m in.” Apart from Laila most of our interviewees told us that they all had experience with situations where they had a feeling of being different and ‘out of place’.

**Negative generalization**

One of the ways the Lebanese descendants emphasize a feeling of being marginalized in the Danish society is through being negatively generalized. Hussein explains:

“I locked myself out and had to wait for [my girlfriend] Anne to come home, I think 15 minutes no more, and then someone had called the police and said that someone was walking around. Then [the police] came and they asked the questions they should. I got really annoyed and furious that it could happen. So I told Anne that something like that would never have happened to a Danish person. Just because I was walking around waiting they thought I would do something” (Hussein)

Similarly, Abbas told us:

"As any other...I don’t like the word immigrant (...) or as any other foreigner, I have also experienced some ignorant Danes here at home. (...) Once when I was about to lock my bike (...) an elderly woman came over and said to me ‘You don’t have to lock it, it’s always people like you who steal’. Implicitly meaning: it’s us black people who steal. (...) I felt like answering her ‘it’s someone like me you should be happy about’.

These experiences both Hussein and Abbas had, were situations where they felt negatively generalized. They had a feeling of being labeled as criminals as a result of their Lebanese background while they could not identify with this label. Abbas states “as any other foreigner” when describing the situation where he is labeled a criminal. This is despite the fact that during the interview Abbas expressed that he was Danish and thereby not a foreigner. This exemplifies how the negative generalization by the Danes of Danish descent has an effect on Abbas’ sense of identity. Hussein and Abbas are here being marginalized by someone from the dominant group as a result of their different ethnic background and appearance (Horton & Kraftl, 2014). This led to a feeling of being excluded by the Danish society, which most of our interviewees also mention.

Another way our interviewees felt negatively generalized was through the media. For example, Mariam mentioned:

“We hear a lot in the media; immigrants and immigrants, Middle East and this and that. All the time we are pushed aside like we are not a part of this. Even though, I am born and raised here like all the other Danish people. So I am like, why am I not a part of this too (...) I am pushed away and like kept outside.”

Identity can be socially constructed through narratives (Horton & Kraftl: 2014: 164), such as the narratives displayed in the Danish media about immigrants and people from the Middle East as Mariam explains. Furthermore, the dominant group may use discourse to generalize or label other groups (ibid.). This is what Mariam describes when she states that the discourse in the media leads her to feel “kept outside” of the Danish society despite her not viewing herself as different. The collective narrative in the media puts Mariam in a different social category than the mainstream society, which might create marginalization for the individual or a group (Horton & Kraftl, 2014). Thereby, the discourse can lead to a feeling of being marginalized and excluded from the dominant group in the Danish society, and many of our participants have expressed that this leads them to feel less Danish and strengthens their sense of Lebanese identity.
Conditional acceptance

Some of our interviewees recounted experiences where they were accepted by Danes of Danish descent, however there was an underlying ambivalence in this acceptance as it is conditional upon upholding the generalization and stigmatization of the rest of the group. For example, Mohammed states:

“I think generalization of immigrants happens a lot. If someone makes some trouble you suddenly have to be accountable for this. I have heard people say ’you are nice and you are not like the others’. It’s a little weird, what do they mean by others? Why do I always have to be accountable for others, generalized and things like that?”

Jamil is a voluntary coach at a school in Nørrebro where 98 percent of the children are of non-Danish descent. When discussing this with a colleague who did not know Jamil was of Lebanese descent, he also experienced conditional acceptance:

“She said ’I don’t understand why you don’t just take a plane and then send [all the children] home’. ‘Well that is overdoing it I think, many of them are born here.’ ‘But they are just (...) they are in the way and a huge expense for the state’ and bla bla bla... ‘Well I don’t feel I have been a huge expense for the state’ (...) Then she says ’but where are you from’. Then I say, ‘well my parents are from Lebanon’. ‘Oh, well its not the Lebanese I mean, its everyone else...’”

Both Mohammed and Jamil are accepted on the condition that they ‘are not like the others’. This is stigmatization with an exception where the “personal acceptance takes place at the expense of” the rest of the group, either Lebanese or immigrants in general (Koefoed & Simonsen, 2010: 167). What Mohammed and Jamil describe is how this acceptance juxtaposes the “individual you know, to the rest of the ethnic minority group” (ibid.).

Strategies to handle social exclusion

One of the ways the Lebanese descendants try to handle this generalization is by changing their performance of self in different situations (Goffman, 1956). A few interviewees mention
how they put in a little more effort to be accepted in the Danish society. For example, Jamil chooses not to believe that he is treated differently because of his background when he is applying for jobs. However, he hands in job applications personally to make sure he is not being generalized as a stereotype immigrant.

“I have handed in most of my job applications personally so people can meet me and they don’t think I’m someone with big baggy pants and a cap. Not because all foreigners do that but unfortunately the media has developed an image of Lebanese and whatever, that it’s people who show up with black hair, gold chains and in BMWs and park in the handicap spot.” (Jamil)

Similarly, Louai states:

“You have always been aware of, at least for me personally, doing a little bit extra to make a good impression, because it can be a little hard with prejudices and so on. So that has helped to develop me and create me in that way to take it a little step further or behave a little more in an exemplary manner.”

Louai here states that he changes his behavior to make a good impression to overcome the generalization. To avoid being marginalized both Jamil and Louai experience through their everyday life that they must do “a little bit extra” and “behave in a more exemplary manner” compared to people with Danish descent to be accepted as part of the Danish society. These are strategies that are “aimed at counteracting stereotype conceptions of ethnic minorities among Danes of Danish descent” as Larsen & Jensen (2014: 39) describe in their study. These are both examples on how both the performativity of self constructs our identity (Goffman, 1956) as both Hussein and Louai feel they have to change their behavior when encountering the Danes of Danish descent.

Sub-conclusion
In general the interviewees feel they belong in Denmark and are Danish. However, since identity is created in a process of negotiation between internal and external definitions, the
moments when they did not feel accepted lead them to feel less Danish. Several of our interviewees experience negative generalization either through personal experiences or through the media, in which they are labeled by the dominant group, here being Danes of Danish descent, as something negative and something they do not themselves identify with. This leads to a feeling of frustration and exclusion. Furthermore, some of our participants have described experiences where they are accepted on the condition that the group is still negatively stereotyped. To handle this exclusion several of our interviewees describe strategies they have adapted to help overcome negative generalization and be accepted fully in the Danish society.
Negotiating identity between two cultures

The best from both cultures
A recurring statement in our interviews was that of ‘taking the best from both cultures’. For example, Zainab states:

"I can clearly remember that my mother, when we were on our way home (...) she told me: ‘Zainab, you have to remember that we take the good things from the Arab culture and the good things from the Danish culture. We don’t want the bad things from the Arab culture and we don’t want the bad things from the Danish culture.’"

The above is a good example of the statements made by almost all of our interviewees. Koefoed & Simonsen (2010: 153) made similar conclusions in their study on Danish-Pakistanis and termed this phenomenon “reflexive doubleness” where it is seen as a “resource and skill to be able to switch between and understand both ‘cultures’” (ibid.) Most of our participants express this ‘reflexive doubleness’ in that they have reflected on what they view as the positive and negative sides of both cultures and how they can use this on an everyday basis. Abbas states:

"I feel that I take the best from both cultures with me. I mean I take Lebanese food and the Danish values. I do exactly as I please in that sense..."

As an example of what he has taken from Lebanese culture he says:

“I have always loved the Lebanese culture and the way of living. I mean you say that they live to live. That they love to enjoy life. Lebanese people, they are strange people in the way that they have experienced many horrible things and despite this they have been able to live on and persevere. And now I’ve become older and I have always admired my parents for the way they are and how they have always fought hard for things and have inspired me and my siblings that if you really want something then it is also obtainable.” (Abbas)
Abbas connects being Lebanese to that of seeing the best in life and to perseverance in adversity. Abbas suggests that this particular aspect of Lebanese culture has roots in Lebanon’s violent history and his parents’ migration. It thereby reflects Abbas’ diasporic consciousness. According to Wiener and Richards (2008:113) the “social, political and economic” reasons for leaving the homeland are critical to the diasporic identity. In the case of Abbas it is noticeable that his parents have had to flee Lebanon and this is expressed in his appreciation of their perseverance despite difficult circumstances. Furthermore, in separating this element of Lebanese culture, from its existing form and incorporating it anew into his own life in a Danish context Abbas constructs a hybrid identity.

**Mixing elements of two cultures**
Carina also had an experience of incorporating elements of Lebanese culture into a Danish context. She stated:

"I have too much respect for older men than I should (...) If I don't feel properly treated by maybe another man I may stay quiet, to show respect, instead of speaking my mind. That's a handicap I have. An Arab handicap is what I call it. To suppress myself in some situations where I should speak up." (Carina)

Carina has transferred the view that women should respect elder men more than they respect women, which Carina connects with being Muslim/Arab, to the Danish context. Carina calls this a “handicap” because in this situation the cultural values she has adopted from her Lebanese background, such as respecting men and elders, conflicts with her views on women and equality, which she connects with being Danish. She says:

"One thing I absolutely miss in Beirut is the women’s role among men (...) If I hadn’t grown up in Denmark then I had probably not had another understanding of women (...) I wouldn’t have seen that I as a women have the right to speak when I want to.” (Carina)

This conflict Carina is in with herself when in a situation such as described above reflects how hybridity appears at “the edge’ or contact point of diaspora, describing cultural mixture where the diasporized meets the host” (Hutnyk, 2010: 59). For diasporic people the identity
can be created and contested in the cultural space where the home culture meets the ‘new home’ (Leavy, 2008: 167) as in this example where these two aspects of Danish and Lebanese culture clash.

Mariam, Sarah and Fatima demonstrated another way hybridity is evident. With each other, the language they speak can change from Danish to Arabic or the other way around in the same sentence. When asked if they spoke Arabic or Danish with each other they answered:

Mariam: “It is actually mixed.”

Sarah: “We can also speak Danish and then suddenly say an Arabic word and then continue in Danish”

Mariam: “And its actually a shame and several times we have tried to say to each other: when you speak Danish then keep it in Danish.”

Fatima: [To Mariam] “You have that problem.

Mariam: “Yes I have that problem because I can suddenly be speaking Danish and then suddenly say no ‘hralas’ ‘now we have to stop’ or ‘bas’ ‘basu’…”

This is an example of hybridity as Mariam, Sarah and Fatima mix aspects of two cultures, here being language. Beswick (2010: 137) identifies this as ”code-switching” which is one way in which language is formed or changed in diasporic settings. Code-switching is when “speakers choose to switch between the languages of their repertoire within a particular speech event for identity-reinforcing reasons or for other reasons such as topic of conversation, interlocutor status, stylistic nuance and so on” (Beswick, 2010: 137). Beswick (2010: 138) argues that this way of communicating is a way for the speakers to express their multiple identities, as we can see is the case particularly for Mariam.

Navigating between Danish and Lebanese culture

What characterizes hybrid identities is that they negotiate across borders and navigate in multiple spaces (Smith, 2008). Several of our interviewees highlighted their ability to navigate between Danish and Lebanese culture as something valuable to them, and
demonstrated in what ways this was relevant in their everyday lives. As an example of this Sarah, Mariam and Fatima stated:

Sarah: “I can also remember my first time. [My sisters] ran out to the bathroom because I had yelled that I had had my period. And then [they] called my dad!”

Mariam: “Yes, why did we call?”

Fatima: “But that is very cultural.”

Sarah: “Because its very big in our culture to know that you are ‘normal’.”

Mariam: “I think we are good at celebrating the small things.”

Fatima: “I think I will summarize. We are really good at navigating around in the Arab and Danish culture and we also know when something is only Arab and only Danish. In these kinds of situations we have always known that this, we can’t just take this to our Danish friends, they won’t understand. On the other hand, internally when we have met some Arab friends then we have shared the story because it has been natural. I think that’s a gift. I feel privileged to be so intellectual on that level to actually be able to know when it is one thing or the other. “

Here Sarah, Mariam and Fatima are all able to reflect on the cultural significance of a woman’s period in both the Danish and Lebanese context. They are aware that their reaction of calling their father would not have suited a Danish context and they also do not share the news of Sarah’s period with their Danish friends, because they know that they would not understand. This is an example of performativity of identity where the three sisters modify their behavior to create a certain impression on either their Danish or Arab friends. As Goffman (1956: 152-153) notes, how we perform ourselves depends on the audience and the different settings, and our actions are planned ahead in this regard, like how the three sisters have carefully considered to whom and how they will share the news of Sarah’s period. Furthermore, Fatima summarizes that the sisters are able to navigate between several cultural
spaces and she sees this as a resource as many of our participants also have expressed. Also here ‘reflexive doubleness’ is evident as being able to navigate between two cultures is seen as a skill.

**Seeing things from two perspectives**

Several of the interviewees also pointed out that being able to see the same thing from two perspectives as an asset in their lives. An example is Mohammed:

“For example when there is a specific topic I can see it from both sides. And I would say that is a really good thing and I am really happy I can do that. Because also if you are only from one culture then you can also end up being very ethnocentric and think ‘that’s how we see it in Denmark’ and ‘that’s how we see it in Lebanon’ and I don’t really like that, I like that I can see it from several perspectives (...) For example the Muhammad crisis. The view on religion and what freedom of speech is different in Denmark than in other countries.”

Mohammed is representative of how the Danish-Lebanese can navigate between several cultures as a result of being able to have multiple perspectives on the same thing. Thereby their Lebanese background has resulted in reflexivity. One can argue that in being forced to relate to more than one culture and ethnicity and balance between several cultural contexts, the Lebanese descendants have developed “special form of reflexivity [which] arises in the borderland” (Larsen & Jensen, 2014: 45).

**Defining themselves**

This reflexivity and hybridity is evident in the diverse ways our participants define themselves. Between our participants there is a spectrum of the extent to which they identify as Lebanese and Danish. One participant states “I live in Denmark and speak Arabic” (Zainab), another describes herself as “fifty-fifty” (Laila) and another as a Dane with Lebanese parents (Jamil). As Jamil, some made a distinction between where their parents were from and where they themselves were from. They did this by for example presenting themselves as Danish with Lebanese parents or differentiating between their parents’
homeland and their homeland. It was also evident in how some participants presented themselves on social media platforms:

“And then for example on Facebook. Where do you write that you are from? Do you write that you are from Herning or do you write that you are from Beirut? I’ve written that I am from Beirut. But I live in Copenhagen. And that is not my homeland. My homeland is Denmark in reality. But then still I have a feeling that... Not that I owe it to write that my parents are from Lebanon...But still I feel that I should. Because it is in my veins.” (Abbas)

This way of defining where he is from on social media platforms is an example of how hybridity can result in creativity and how the Lebanese descendants have different methods of communicating the complexity of their identity. Furthermore, this exemplifies performativity of identity as choosing to label oneself Lebanese on social media in this way, is a deliberate choice and is performed “before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers” (Goffman, 1956: 13).

Common for most was also a feeling that they were both Danish and Lebanese and that it was possible to be both simultaneously. Zainab states in relation to this:

“I could never say I am Lebanese and not Danish and I could never today say I am Danish and not Lebanese.”

When asked if it was possible to be Danish and Lebanese at the same time, Louai answered:

Louai: “Yes of course. I mean it’s also if you see your nationality as a piece of paper or do you see it...?”

Interviewer: “But how do you see it?

Louai: “As a feeling, but in the end its just a piece of paper. Borders are something we have created. There is nothing extraordinary about that. You don’t have to be born in a specific way you just need to have a piece of paper that says you are.”
Interviewer: “But so you feel both Danish and Lebanese?”

Louai: “Definitely.”

In identifying both as Danish and Lebanese both Zainab and Louai demonstrate a transnational attachment that spans two national spaces which has been evident in the statements of all of our interviewees. Louai also demonstrates that the hybrid identity challenges the notion of a fixed identity grounded in one place. Louai challenges this fixed notion by highlighting that borders and thereby the nation are in fact socially constructed (Poole, 1999: 32). Similarly he highlights that identity is socially constructed as it must be ‘felt’ and that one is not born with a fixed identity. When discussing the topic if one can be both Lebanese and Danish at the same time, all the participants expressed that it was possible and they felt they were both.

Laila and Carina also experience hybridity:

“I am born in Lebanon, my mother she is Lebanese and my father is also born in Lebanon but I grew up in Denmark and I am also a Danish citizen. So you can’t... If that was you right? Would you be able to answer that you were only one thing? I can’t. I cannot feel that I am one thing. That is why I tell them when they ask me (...) I am a mix and I can’t get around that (...) You are very split. You are almost two people.”

“The funny thing is when I am travelling and I am in a greyzone, I am not in the Danish territory and I am not in the Arabic territory (...) so I am in a grey zone. So what am I then? In that situation I need to consider when I am travelling if I am really Arab or Danish because my passport says I am Danish but I feel Arab. That is very difficult. What am I then? What do I present myself as?” (Carina)

Both Laila and Carina exemplify how hybridity, apart from being a creative process can also be “conflict-filled” and can lead to an “indeterminacy that can be hard to cope with” (Koefoed & Simonsen, 2010: 149-152). In Laila’s case hybridity has led to a feeling of fragmentation. Rather than been able to unify the Danish and Lebanese identity, she is split and feels sometimes that she is almost two separate individuals, each with their own national identity.
Carina mentioned a similar experience when she is outside of the places her identity is tied to. In this third space that she describes as a ‘greyzone’, there is no dominant culture for her of which she can either identify with or contrast herself against. In this space there are no cultural traces (Anderson, 2010: 46) as in Denmark or Arabic countries that can tell Carina which parts of her identity belong and which do not. Therefore, when travelling this space become a “no-man’s land” (ibid.) for Carina and this results in a feeling of ambivalence and leads her to question what she is.

**Sub-conclusion**

All of our interviewees have expressed that they to some extent mix cultural elements from both Lebanese and Danish culture and incorporate them into their identity. What particular element of Danish or Lebanese culture they chose to identify with varies. The result of this can be conceptualized as a hybrid identity. Our participants also expressed that they felt they were better able to navigate between cultures in general as a result of their mixed background. This can also result in a conflicting set of values in particular situations, which characterizes a hybrid identity. Moreover, the participants recalled the ways in which they were able to see things from more than one perspective and emphasized this as a positive aspect of their Danish-Lebanese background. The extent to which the participants identify with either Denmark or Lebanon varies but it was common for most to feel Danish and Lebanese simultaneously. Some participants also expressed ambivalence where they question whether they are Lebanese or Danish. Furthermore, the variety of ways in which they chose to define themselves exemplifies the creativity that can arise when the home culture meets the host culture in a diaspora context.
Conclusion

Our participants’ attachments to Denmark and Lebanon had an influence on their identity in several ways. Our participants’ attachment to Lebanon manifested itself through their transnational practices of keeping in contact with and visiting Lebanon, eating and cooking Lebanese food, practicing Islam and using Arabic in their everyday lives in Denmark. Thereby their attachments to Lebanon helped them maintain their Lebanese identity on an everyday basis. The Lebanese descendants’ attachment to Lebanon and Denmark influenced their feelings of home and belonging in both places. All participants saw Denmark as their home, and most had a feeling of being at home in Denmark. Moreover, they felt that they belong in Denmark. However, in some situations they felt excluded or different due to negative generalization and conditional acceptance, which influenced their identity, as it led them to feel more Lebanese. The Lebanese descendants’ made sense of their identity in relation to their feelings of home and belonging to Denmark and/or Lebanon and this process was very individual and varied for each participant. The participants felt different degrees of attachment to Lebanon but this did not necessarily result in a feeling of belonging. Some saw Lebanon as a destination of regular trips but not as a home. Some considered both Denmark and Lebanon as homelands while others had ambivalent feelings about this. The Lebanese descendants expressed hybridity and some degree of a hybrid identity as a result of their attachment to Lebanon and Denmark. Their hybrid identity was evident in their ability to navigate between two cultures and see things from two perspectives. All participants expressed that they felt both Lebanese and Danish and viewed it as a resource. However, for a few this experience was somewhat conflict-filled. Additionally, our participants’ relationship to Lebanon and Denmark manifested itself in their different ways of defining themselves. Thereby their attachments to Lebanon and Denmark influenced their everyday life through certain practices, their feeling of home and belonging, their feeling of acceptance in Danish society and how they negotiate and construct their identity.
Reference list


