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XXV Ciclo

Indian Migration in European Cities: Comparative experiences how Gujarati immigrants are reshaping Leicester and Milan

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DECLARATION

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any tertiary institution, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signed Mayer Ágnes Zsófia

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PERSONAL INTEREST IN THE TOPIC

“The beginning is the most important part of the work.”
Plato

Three main factors motivated me to be involved in this subject. First is my personal interest in the astonishingly controversial India. A country which is monumental in scope, and its dynamic economic development produces new world-peaks, while there is a remarkable poverty in the background. A country which possesses a unique culture, which least changed for thousands of years. The effects of an unbalanced and territorially unequalled economic growth and hope for better life incite so many people to leave their home behind and find possibilities in another place, initiating the second largest mass of national migration in the world. And during this search the change of civilisation, which stayed almost in place within the borders of Hindustan, finally accelerates and confronts the culture of outside world.

I began to get engaged with India during a competition at the Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary. Then remaining incited by the results, I wrote my international economic Master-thesis at the same university regarding India's transition from a colonial closed economy to a democratised market economy. Then I continued my studies about India in the Pantheon-Sorbonne, Paris, too, where I followed a second Master, in economy of developing countries. That time, my Master-thesis focused on India's regional development between 1980 and 2004; and that was the occasion when I began to understand deeper the background of each Indian state. Also that was the turning-point when I started to be interested not only in India, as a numbers and statistics characterised country, but in India, as a home for people, and in Indian people who populate it and form it. How this land shaped Indian identicalness, and how Indians are able to change strange environments according their own identity? This was my initial interest point for a research and to write my dissertation about it.

The second factor, which prompted me, was India's role in the British colonisation. This thesis analyses how Indian immigrants actualise their identity attached to the homeland in new surroundings, and the effects of these different environments on Indian settlers' everyday life. However the choice of examined environments is not

unwitting. The research focuses on Indian migrants' settlements in England and Italy, means in the first environment with which Indian people were already familiar, although not directly, but through colonisation, and in another environment which is contrarily totally unknown. We may think or hope that the traces of colonisation are disappearing or at least are fading. But India and Britain's more than two century long connection created a strong channel between them, through which the flow of products, ideas, people, culture and language is never ceasing, only their direction is modifying. So due to the international comparison between the Indian settlements in England and Italy, we can follow the long-term consequences of colonisation on people's movement in the world, their opportunities, and their homely feeling in another surroundings, in parallel to a settlement free from colonial relationship. The approach from colonial relations is a possible way to understand how people re-identify themselves with a new, or a rather not so new place.

Finally the third factor was more than an attraction towards the contradiction and exoticness. It was a personal curiosity, an empathetic understanding towards people who changed place and so who are obligated to struggle for an own space in a new environment. I had a remarkable common point with my research participants: both of us were strangers in these countries. Being Hungarian, me too, I was a foreigner, which fact facilitated to recognise and translate informants' interior efforts, and their clashes between homely and unknown, old and new, tradition and transformation. Moreover my origin assured neutrality too, not being either Indian or British or Italian, not representing any point of view of those countries, and research participants evaluated many times this indifferent position.

When I began the present research, I was already a little familiar with the Hindu religious traditions and the Gujarati culture. Writing a Master-thesis about Indian regions in Paris, I got the chance to have friends from a small Gujarati student community, and I could share some important moments of their public and private life. Their friendship gave a personal inspiration, a faithful help and a constant benchmark during this research. All of these interests, factors, and assistance contributed to the cooperation with research participants, and guided towards a mutual comprehensibility of humanity and its places.

SUMMARY

In the context of globalisation, not only human movement became more facile between places, but the meaning of people's locality turned unstable and uncertain. During last four decades, the number of studies on the link between people and place has increased, in order to understand the multiplying and reciprocal interactions between people and place, and to recognize the challenges that the change of place issues to people, and the challenges that migrants' arrival issues to the receiving place, especially to urban environment.

The purpose of this research is to contribute to the discussion about the role of place played in identity, and that how migration influences the place-identity. It investigates the elicitation of attachment to home place, the disruption of place-identity continuity caused by migration, and the reconstruction of homely environment in order to maintain place-identity continuity after the settlement. According to these phases, the research units seek to answer the questions: how home place induces an attachment in people, how the change between places influences the place-identity continuity, and how relocated people manifest and maintain their attachment towards the home place. The study explores the answers in the case of Gujarati immigrants arrived in Leicester and Milan. The cross-urban comparison makes possible to examine the effects of postcolonial relations and migrant community development; size and concentration on the recreation and preservation of place-identity.

Empirical inquiry is based on ethnographic field work: in-depth interviews and non-participant observations. The research analyses overall 62 interviews with Hindu Gujarati immigrants and descendants in Leicester and Milan; 36 and 26 interviews respectively, furthermore completed with further 6 interviews gained from research archives. Observation covers the urban public places, focusing on the material environment, social life, and religious ceremonies.

The study uses the identity-theory as a theoretical framework to transfer the principles of identity to the concept of place and model the complex entity of people-place relationship. It organises the place, person, and process aspects of people-place relationship into a simple four-party model, applying it to the empirical exploration of research themes.

Empirical findings calls attention to the outstanding role of home place amongst the places that people come into contact with during their lifetime. First, the research provides clues that due to which particular place features the home place evokes strong positive emotions in Gujarati immigrants. Secondly, examining the emotional effects of migration and resettlement, it reinforces the trace of earlier investigations, proving that migration causes a mental confusion as it is accompanied by change of place. Advancing further, it shows that there is relation between the sense of disruption and certain abilities of immigrants and certain qualities of sending and receiving places. Thirdly, analysing how Gujarati immigrants and descendants maintain and express their attachment to place in Leicester and Milan, the research manifests that immigrants intend to keep up their belonging whenever it is possible, instead an assimilation into the new urban environment. It demonstrated that Gujarati immigrants use the same type of practices to reconstruct the homely environment in the two cities, but they have different outcomes, depending on immigrants' special skills, labour profile, and the particular environmental factors of settlement place. Cross-urban results also indicate that postcolonial relations between the migrant sending and receiving countries, providing a receptive environment in the destination place and internationally extended social network, guide migratory pattern and favourably influence the immigrant community development, thus they may indirectly facilitate the transformation of urban place.

Empirical findings provide evidences that home place, through the emotional bonding felt towards the environment, became part of people's identity developing place-identity, and the need to regain the sense of home place disturbed by the migration prompts immigrants to recreate the home place in the urban settlement. By its results, the research contributes and provides new empirical findings to the growing body of literature on place-identity and urban ethnic landscape from many sides. However, the conscious adherence to the homely traditions, the maintenance of social group belonging, and the prominent use of religious practice hint that besides the environmental factors, migrants' culture also plays a significant role in place-identity continuity. This calls attention to the need for further empirical examinations of the effects of cultural belonging on place-identity, and the need to construct a more culture-sensible place-identity framework.

ITALIAN TRANSLATION OF THE SUMMARY

Nel contesto globalizzato, gli spostamenti delle persone sono diventati più facili e il significato di località è diventato instabile e incerto. Nel corso degli ultimi quattro decenni il numero degli studi sul rapporto tra uomo e ambiente è aumentato. Tali studi hanno le finalità di comprendere le interazioni reciproche e multifunzionali tra persone e ambiente, e di riconoscere le sfide del cambiamento che l'ambiente produce sulle persone da un lato, e dall'altro del cambiamento prodotto dall'arrivo dei migranti, in particolare sull'ambiente urbano.

L'obiettivo di questa ricerca è quello di contribuire alla discussione sul ruolo del luogo nell'identità, e su come la migrazione influenza l'identità di luogo dei migranti. Indaga l'attaccamento all'ambiente di casa, l'interruzione della continuità dell'identità di luogo causata dalla migrazione, e la ricostruzione di ambiente familiare al fine di mantenere la continuità di identità dopo l'insediamento. Secondo queste tre fasi, i capitoli della presente ricerca cercano di rispondere alle seguenti domande : in che modo l'ambiente di casa induce un attaccamento nelle persone, come il cambiamento tra luoghi influenza la continuità dell'identità di luogo, e infine come la gente trasferita manifesta e mantiene il suo attaccamento verso l'ambiente di casa.

È analizzato il caso degli indù gujarati migranti arrivati a Leicester e a Milano. Il confronto cross-urbano permette di esaminare: gli effetti dei rapporti post-coloniali e lo sviluppo delle comunità migranti; le dimensioni e la concentrazione sulla ricostruzione e sul mantenimento dell'identità di luogo.

La ricerca empirica si basa su un lavoro di campo etnografico con interviste in profondità e osservazioni non partecipanti. Nello specifico, sono analizzate 62 interviste realizzate con indù gujarati immigrati e discendenti a Leicester e a Milano, 36 e 26 interviste rispettivamente, completate con 6 interviste raccolte da diversi archivi di ricerca. L'osservazione riguarda i luoghi pubblici urbani, con particolare attenzione all'ambiente materiale, alla vita sociale, e ai riti e cerimonie religiosi.

Lo studio utilizza la teoria dell'identità come un quadro teorico per trasferire i principi dell'identità al concetto del luogo e forma la complessa entità del rapporto persona-ambiente. Organizza luogo, persona e processo del rapporto persona-ambiente in un modello a quattro componenti, applicando all'esplorazione empirica dei temi di ricerca.

I risultati empirici richiamano l'attenzione sul ruolo eccezionale dell'ambiente di casa tra i luoghi con cui le persone entrano in contatto durante la loro vita. In primo luogo la

ricerca rivela quali sono le funzioni particolari dell'ambiente con cui l'ambiente di casa suscita emozioni forti e positive negli immigrati gujarati. In secondo luogo, esaminando gli effetti emotivi della migrazione e del reinsediamento, l'investigazione rafforza i risultati di ricerche pregresse, dimostrando che l'immigrazione provoca una frattura mentale causata da un cambiamento di luogo. Ancora, la ricerca mostra una relazione tra da un lato la frattura sentimentale e dall'altro l'abilità dei migranti e qualità dei luoghi di invio e di ricezione. In terzo luogo, analizzando come gli immigrati gujarati e i loro discendenti conservano ed esprimono il loro attaccamento all'ambiente di casa a Leicester e a Milano, la ricerca mette in evidenza che gli immigrati tendono a mantenere la loro appartenenza quanto più possibile, e non ad assimilarsi nel nuovo ambiente urbano. Gli immigrati gujarati usano lo stesso tipo di pratiche per ricostruire l'ambiente familiare nelle due città, con risultati diversi a seconda delle competenze speciali, del loro profilo di lavoro e dei fattori ambientali particolari del luogo di insediamento. I risultati cross-urbani indicano inoltre che le relazioni postcoloniali tra il Paese di invio e il Paese ricevente dei migranti, fornendo un ambiente ricettivo nel luogo di destinazione ed una rete sociale estesa nell'ambito internazionale, guidano il percorso migratorio e influenzano favorevolmente lo sviluppo della comunità di immigrati. In tal modo le relazioni postcoloniali possono indirettamente facilitare la trasformazione del luogo urbano.

I risultati empirici provenienti dalla ricerca mettono in evidenza che l'ambiente di casa fa parte dell'identità tramite il legame emotivo costruito con l'ambiente, sviluppando l'identità di luogo, e dimostrano che il bisogno di ritrovare il senso dell'ambiente di casa disturbata dalla migrazione spinge gli immigrati a ricreare l'ambiente di casa nel luogo urbano di insediamento. La ricerca contribuisce e fornisce nuove scoperte empiriche alla letteratura sull'identità di luogo e sul paesaggio urbano, etnico. Tuttavia, l'adesione cosciente alle tradizioni familiari, il mantenimento dell'appartenenza al gruppo sociale e l'uso prominente delle pratiche religiose suggeriscono che oltre ai fattori ambientali, la cultura dei migranti svolge un ruolo significativo nella continuità dell'identità di luogo. Lo studio richiama l'attenzione sulla necessità di ulteriori esami empirici sugli effetti dell'appartenenza culturale sull'identità di luogo e sulla necessità di costruire un quadro dell'identità di luogo più articolato, includente la cultura.

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Chapter 1

Introduction and Research Questions

“Les vrais paradis sont les paradis qu’on a perdus.”
Marcel Proust

1.1. Introduction

1.1.1. Why place is interesting in people’s life?

‘The true paradises are paradises we have lost’, wrote Marcel Proust in 1918 in his novel *In Search of Lost Time*. Such a brief statement, yet full of telling. It speaks about origin, as we originate from the Paradise, and in this sense the Paradise is our very first home to where we wish to return. It tells about physical place, as the Paradise is a geographical area, a place to experience. It tells about nostalgia and idealisation, and about time, as longing for past. It expresses the notion of loss and attachment, as we can only lose something that we have possessed before. It uses the word paradise in its plural form, so we can associate it with anything with which we are bonded; and with many different things, as the Paradise itself has different meanings for every human. Or simply understanding it word by word the statement gives an idea that we evaluate really something once possessed and we cannot get it back; a place where we cannot go back any more.

Places touch us, and we desire for a place even more if we are aware that we cannot see it again. Also it touches us more if this place is the place of our origin. Especially, when both of these two cases stand together: when we have left behind our homeland. We can reach it only through our personal memories; a subjective and maybe ideal way, or we can try to re-find and rebuild it in the physical world by solid materials, social bonds, everyday routines and rites. This thesis is about place and our relation to it, leaving and re-finding worthwhile and meaningful places for us.

In my work, I would like to walk around one of the bases of everyday life, which international immigrants have lost after their relocation: the home place. Why is so important the loss of a place? Because people have feelings and emotions attached to places. Places are never neutral; they hold different senses and values for different people. In one hand the sense of place presents a physical and sensorial reception of a place, and in the other hand it signifies a symbolic bond, through the fact that place

provides frame for habitual everyday activities or special events and holds meeting point for social relations (Leach, 2002; Short and Kim, 1999). These actions bring results such that people feel a kind of possession of places where they interact, as a symbol of their social integration. Physical environments provide availability to people to express and affirm their identity; consequently these environments play a basic role in people's life. And no other place is more determinative, no other place creates stronger bonds than the home place; the place of origin.

But the process of migration breaks the home place's perceptual experience. During last four decades, the number of studies on the link between people and place has increased, as in the context of globalisation not only the human movement became more facile between places, but the meaning of people's locality turned unstable and uncertain. The novelty of studies is not in the rediscovery of migration and geographical movement, but in their approach towards human's relation to physical environment, their increasing understanding towards the multiplying and reciprocal interactions between people and place, and the recognition of challenges that place issues to people and that migration issues to the place of settlement, especially to urban environment. Places do not tie people any more, but also people do not attach to places any longer? When people resettle, only their body relocate, or they also bring with themselves and establish some characteristics of their original environment, as a part of their identity? What are migrants' experiences about place, the change of places, and all of the relations, conditions, and practices that place includes? How they can maintain their belonging to a place after changing it? How they could replace the home place; how they create their own place after the resettlement? These questions touched 213,9 million international migrants in the world in 2010 (estimated by the United Nations, 2009), and the number of international migrants is continuously growing, due to the globalization and to the worldwide increasing income inequality.

1.1.2. Why place is interesting in sociology?

Place, and time (another concept often related to place) are rather geographical and historical conceptions than sociological ones. How place may matter for social life?

Place brings people together, and not only frames, but also influences and reflects social actions, so we can interpret interaction, proximity, community making

through place (Fischer, 1977; Young, 1990). Place spatialises and stabilises social structures (Durkheim and Mauss, 1963), and makes steady social categories and differences (Bourdieu, 1990). Place holds power and reflects the relation between the holders and subjects of power (Foucault, 1979). Place evokes and embodies values and memories (Halbwachs, 1980), and makes tangible otherwise intangible constructions, as identity and cultural norms (Whitaker, 1996). Place shapes behaviour, it may hide behind the front certain behaviours and deviant practices (Goffman, 1959), but also it may represent normative and moral acts, like crime (Felson, 1994), resistance (de Certeau, 1984), and social control (White, 1990). At the same time, the change between places; the mobility is basically social issue, and mobility responds to the features and characteristics of place too (Easthope, 2009). Place seemingly touches every aspects of sociology, and thus sociology becomes more place-sensitive.

This research purposes to contribute to the understanding that how migration affects people's place-identity and makes active their attachment to the home place. The discourse about place-identity goes back to the 1970s and embraces academic disciplines of social sciences, as geography, psychology, sociology, anthropology, cultural and ethnic studies, moreover of applied sciences, as architecture and design, amongst others. The present research also moves in an interdisciplinary field, examining attaching factors of home place, discovering emotional effects of separation from home place, mapping geography of movements and settlements, studying activities concerning built environment, social relations and religious rites. However, it stays within the frame of social sciences, and focusing on people's everyday life in the cities, elaborating material and social changes of urban areas, emphasizing social processes, and using an urban ethnographic field work, the research by its main material intends to make a contribution to the urban sociology first of all.

At the same time by its interdisciplinary investigation of place-identity, the research is well fitted into the newest sociological approach to place and further reinforces the social studies' tendency to cross boundaries. The increased awareness towards place in sociology indicates that the role of place is not limited any more to a site of empirical investigation, or set of collected results, neither a single explanatory factor in the explication of sociological phenomena, but it is becoming a different point of view to look at and interpret the social world (Gieryn, 2000). Place, as a position

from which human processes are examined, opens a way to link major substantive areas of sociology to other arenas of inquiry and combine sociology with knowledge arrived from different fields.

1.2. Research object, questions, aims, and research strategy

1.2.1. Research object

The thesis examines empirically the relationship between people and place. It would like to understand how people's attachment to their home place is impacted by the migration.

The research considers the home place as an essential factor of identity construction, which connects identity from many sides tightly to the place, forming a place-identity. When migration breaks the relation with home place, it affects the identity interrupting its attachment. Brown and Perkins described three phases of the disruption of place attachment (1992). The first is pre-disruption phase in which place attachment is evoked and functions. The second phase is the disruption phase, when the attachment is interrupted. The third phase is the recovery phase when people recreate the lost attachment to place.

The thesis explores these three phases in the case of Indian immigrants arrived in European cities. Its main goal is to understand how Indian people's identity was connected to the home place, how they experienced the disruption of attachment during the migration, and how they succeeded to cope with the loss of attachment and to reconstruct their place-identity. In order to understand how environmental factors of settlement place influence the preservation of attachment after a disruption, the thesis compares Indian people's experience in two cities with different backgrounds, Leicester, UK, and Milan, Italy. To facilitate the examination of the role of home place, because India provides a highly varied area, the thesis concentrates on Indian immigrants who have the origin in Gujarat state.

1.2.2. Main reasons to examine Gujarati immigrants' experiences in Leicester and Milan

Amongst the major regions that receive international migrants, Europe hosted the largest number of immigrants: 69,8 million people in 2010 (estimated by the UN,

2009). The proportion of international migrants according to the world population was 3.1 per cent in 2010 (United Nations, 2009). In the cities the proportion of immigrants is even higher, and this fact draws the attention to the role of urban space in migration.

Most of the European population centralizes in cities, which makes these entities the principal arenas of social concentration (Pile, 1999), and at the same time underscores their position in the globalisation as primary destinations. Mostly immigrants also are concentrated in cities. European urban areas – besides the American ones – are main location goals for immigrants (United Nations, 2008). Cities offer a stable place of settlement to immigrants, which can be experienced, and at the same time cities are fluid places, which conform to its residents. Built environment of the city determines immigrants' possibility to continue the everyday life they were used to at their hometown. At the same time, immigrants are also able to reshape many aspects of city space; they not only 'take (a) place', but 'make (a) place' (Ernste, 2002, p. 15). They can reshape the city physically, redesigning it, creating new environment. They can reshape the city socially, rewarding and producing social relations, modifying the everyday urban life, and broadening the inhabitants' habits with their own practice and rites.

Asia is the largest source of legal immigrants all over the world, and within Asia India gives the second largest group of immigrants: in 2009 the world's migrant stock contained 5,436,000 India-born migrants and refugees (United Nations, 2009). Indian immigrants' distribution in European cities is uneven; depending primarily on the receiving country, so transformations caused by them are diverse according to the given environment.

As India resembles more to a continent, where the regions function like complete states, having their own ethnicity, culture, religion, and language (Sathyamurthy, 1996), in order to facilitate the examination of role of home place, I selected one single state, Gujarat. Gujarat is one of the Indian states, which sends the highest number of migrants to the foreign countries (Mospí, 2009), which fact facilitated the empirical field work, and assisted the wider adaptation of results considering the case of Indian migrants. To narrow further the subject of investigation, I selected Hindu Gujarati research participants, as Hinduism is the major religious practice in Gujarat (Government of India, 2001).

To understand deeper the effects of migration on place-identity, the research confronts the pattern, circumstances, opportunities and difficulties of immigrants' settlement and everyday life in two cities with different backgrounds. Leicester represents those cities, which draw immigrants from only a narrow range of countries. It shares the past of India's colonisation and it attracts most of all Indian immigrants. Milan did not have any special connection with India in the past, and the presence of Indian residents is not dominant in the city compared to other immigrants, thus they are not in any particular situation with respect to others. Because of the historical relationship between India and the United Kingdom, Gujaratis are more familiar with British culture even within India, and their migration has a long past in the UK, especially in Leicester, while they are relatively newcomers in Milan. Colonial historical link or its absence creates different conditions for Gujaratis in the two cities. Finally, while Gujaratis have settled in Leicester from generations, in Milan Gujarati settlement is only in an emerging, initial phase. The examination of Gujarati immigrants' experiences in the two cities provides an occasion to compare the steps of immigrant community development, and examine how the level of development affects immigrants' place-identity.

1.2.3. Research questions

The thesis approaches to environment not as a neutral phenomenon, but which arouses feelings in people living within. It presumes that identity requires belonging to place, and concentrates on that component of identity which ties to place by a sense of belonging, an emotional bond, developing a 'sense of place' (Relph, 1974; Tuan, 1980; Stedman, 2003; Kyle and Chick, 2007), a 'place attachment' (Giuliani, 1991; Altman and Low, 1992; Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001), a place identity (Proshansky, 1978; Proshansky and Fabian, and Kaminoff, 1983; Lalli, 1992; Twigger-Ross et al., 2003). The research supposes that place and identity are in interdependent relationship; place influences identity, while the construction of identity manifests in the construction of environment too; place-making reflects to, and represents identity. Therefore, the transformation of a new place along the lines of the old one is a visible sign, a communication about the requirement of identity 'continuity across time and situation' (Breakwell, 1986, p. 24).

Analysing Gujarati immigrants' experiences, there are three substantive questions I seek to address in the thesis. The set of three main questions:

- 1. How home place induces an attachment in people?**
- 2. How the change between places influences the identity continuity?**
- 3. How relocated people manifest and maintain their attachment towards the home place?**

The first question relates to the pre-disruption phase and it investigates about the role of place played in identity. It aims to understand how home place evokes and preserves an attachment and belonging in Hindu Gujarati research participants. The second question refers to the disruption phase and concerns to the emotional effects of change between places. It aims to understand how the event of migration affects Hindu Gujarati immigrants' feelings, emotional well-being, and stability while arriving in Leicester and Milan. The third question relates to the recovery phase, that how people recreate their interrupted attachment. It aims to discover the manifestation and materialisation of place-identity revealed by Gujarati research participants after their relocation in Leicester and Milan.

The main questions have sub-questions too, which fine-tune the direction of the investigation. Table 1 summarises the main and the sub-questions, introducing that which chapter answers them.

1.2.4. Research aims

The primary purpose of the research is to contribute to the development of people-environment studies. It aims to reveal the contribution of place to identity in an overall study that overarches places and time. It searches to understand how place attaches people, how its loss influences people's emotions, and after a movement how migrants act to feel a place again, even after generations passing in diaspora, meanwhile they become part of another place. The case of international migrants is especially adequate to understand these processes, because immigrants bring an identity shaped by their home place, the place of origin, therefore they hold an extremely strong attachment, while they settle in a new, strange, and very different environment.

Table 1: Research questions and the related chapters

RESEARCH QUESTIONS	CHAPTER
1. How home place induces an attachment in people?	Chapter 5.
1.1. To which features of home place Gujarati people are attached?	
1.2. How temporal dimension of home place experience influences the attachment?	
2. How the change between places influences the identity continuity?	Chapter 6.
2.1. Which factors and how do they influence Gujarati migrants' choice to settle in Leicester and Milan?	
2.2. How the process of migration and relocation influence Gujarati migrants' emotional stability?	
2.3. Which factors and how do they affect the nature and degree of feelings of disruption?	
3. How relocated people manifest and maintain their attachment towards the home place?	At physical level: Chapter 7. At social level: Chapter 8.
3.1. What Gujarati immigrants' spatial practices tell about their place-identity?	
3.2. How place-shaping activities differ according to Gujarati immigrants' social groups or categories?	
3.3. How environmental factors of settlement place influence the transformation of place?	

Another aim of this thesis is to see how different characteristic cities influence immigrants' possibilities to shape their environment. Leicester and Milan provide distinctive backgrounds for Indian immigrants, such as from physical, political, social, and cultural sides, especially as their population has different ethnic plurality concerning the composition of immigrants' origin. The cross-urban comparison highlights the effects of environment on identity continuity.

This fact connects to the next aim, which focuses on the effects of cities on immigration from the perspective of postcolonisation. The research also intends to discover in which ways the colonial past influences the settlement of Indian immigrants. Putting face to face a British case with an Italian one, the research also demonstrates the

colonial effects on the migration pattern, ethnic concentration, minority position, and the preservation of identity.

The analysis of Gujarati immigration offers an excellent occasion to explore further the social space; this is the next goal of this study. Social bonds are more significant within the Gujarati immigrant ethnic group than between local Europeans. First, because they help to tap into information about the unknown environment and to maintain the belongingness in the foreign surroundings (Frederking, 2007; Kalnins and Chung, 2006, 2001; Aldrich et al., 1984), secondly, because their special language, culture and tradition make it more necessary, and thirdly because the Indian culture is rather sociocentric than the European culture (Hofstede, 1984; Bhugra and Becker, 2005). This thesis will emphasize several facets of perception and use of social network, concerning familial ties, community groups, caste, intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic relations.

A next aim is to analyse how sacred places and public religious ceremonies affect the ways in which Hindu Gujarati immigrants make a homely environment. Sacred space can appear through material space, establishing Hindu temples and other religious activity centres, creating a supportive material culture, and it can permeate social space, serving as an important get together point for the community. Sacred places and public rites offer a special occasion for Hindu Gujarati immigrants to transform the urban places and reinforce their identity.

The final aim is related to the theoretical framework used in the research. As place-identity theories and studies were originated from Western culture (Côté and Levine, 2002; Burkitt, 2011), many empirical researches' target area remained limited to the Western culture, considering attachment to place in Western societies and examining Westerners' sense of place (Teddy, Nikora, and Guerin, 2008). Examining Gujarati people's bond to home place, the research aims to provide a chance to evaluate the conformity of place-identity concept built in Western context with an Eastern experience.

1.2.5. Research strategy

The research explores migrants' attachment to their home place after a movement and settlement away from home by an empirical investigation about Hindu Gujarati migrants in Leicester and Milan. It wishes to continue the Chicago School

Tradition, not only in object, studying how an ethnic community tries to preserve its unique life in a concrete, well-defined urban space, but also in the way of investigation, making first-hand field work. The research is based on an ethnographic field work, and to conduct the investigation it used mixed data collection technique: in-depth interviews and non-participant observations. During a 15-month field study, of which I passed 9 months in Leicester and 6 months in Milan, I interacted with Hindu Gujarati immigrants and descendants and observed their public life and urban environment. I conducted 62 interviews: 36 interviews in Leicester, and 26 in Milan, which I completed with further 6 interviews gained from research archives. Observation covered the urban public places, focusing on the material environment, social life, and religious ceremonies. I analysed the interviews and observations by thematic analysis, concentrated on recognizable themes and patterns that could be found in the textual data and visual particularities.

1.3. Structure of chapters

The thesis contains nine chapters. Chapter 2 offers the state of the art, centring on migration and urban studies, and emphasizing the originality of the research. Chapter 3 includes the theoretical basis of the research, giving a theoretical frame about identity and place, and presenting theoretical shortcomings. It proposes an alternative theory, links research questions to the theory, and derives the research hypotheses. Chapter 4 gives a detailed methodological base.

From that point, the thesis elaborates the results of empirical field work. Chapter 5 concerns to the pre-disruption phase of place-identity development and examines Gujarati research participants' attachment to their home place. Chapter 6 relates to the disruption-phase and presents the emotional impacts of the migration and the arrival into a strange environment. Finally Chapter 7 and 8 study the recovery phase of place-attachment, and investigate Gujarati people's place-shaping activities in Leicester and Milan. While Chapter 7 demonstrates the activities changing the material environment, Chapter 8 compares immigrants' everyday social life. Lastly Chapter 9 comprehensively summarizes the answers received to the research questions, discusses the role of place in identity and the reliability of hypotheses. Suggestions for future works and limitation of this research work are discussed in the end of the thesis.

Chapter 2

From One Place to Another: State of the Art

“Give me a place to stand, and I will move the world.”
Archimedes

2.1. Migration from India

2.1.1. Economic and social background of emigration in India

This section gives a background of India, the UK, and Italy, as migrant sending and receiving countries. Firstly, I sketch briefly the general economic-social conditions of India by some essential data, focusing on the initiative factors of emigration. Then, I depict the main directions of Indian migratory trends, catching the typicality of migratory flow over time, and the principal reasons behind it. Lastly, I introduce the background of UK and Italy as important European destinations.

In the last two decades India experienced a dramatically increasing net emigration. The net emigration grew more than 220 times bigger since 1990 by 2010 (see table 2), and with the reached value India took the lead amongst the net emigrant countries, heading Bangladesh, Pakistan, and China (United Nations, 2012).

Table 2: Net migration in India between 1960-2010.

Year	Value
1960	-4 248,0
1970	-296 332,0
1980	868 100,0
1990	-13 569,0
2000	-512 789,0
2010	-2 999 998,0

Source: United Nations (2012)

(Net migration is the total number of immigrants less the annual number of emigrants, including both citizens and noncitizens. A negative value means more people leaving than entering it.)

One of the strongest pushing factors for Indians to choose migration came from the combination of demographic and economic attributes of the country. India has the

second largest population in the world, accompanied by a very high density. While its national territory occupies 2.4 per cent of the world surface area, it sustained 17.5 per cent of world population in 2010 (Government of India, 2011). High density of population affects people's environment, it surcharges the natural resources, and challenges infrastructure and governing methods to assure an overall administration and organisation, influencing the quality of life from many sides. The density of India's population has grown to 382 persons per square kilometre in 2011 from 325 persons per square kilometre in 2001 (Government of India, 2012).

The basic food production is trying to keep up with the rapid population growth, and since 1950, the proportion of undernourished population is decreasing continuously (Government of India, 2012). However, the proportion remained even moderately high, being 19 per cent in 2007 (estimated by UN, 2011). Basic food production is more difficult, as local agriculture is determined by the country's special climate; primarily by the monsoon. Irregularities of rainfall sometimes caused nation-wide famine (Collier and Webb, 2002).

At the same time, the gross domestic product dramatically raised in the last two decades (Government of India, 2012). The effect of Indian immigrants becomes more significant in hosting countries, not only by the measure of immigrants, but also by the growing weight of India in the global economy. India – being one of the 'Big Four', the BRIC countries, displaying newly advanced economic development – attracts the global economic power away from the developed, majorly Western, countries. Nevertheless, the number of Indian migrants indicates the problems of accelerated progress. The benefits of economic growth are not distributed equally in the country, because of the insufficient development of infrastructure, and barriers of corruption. While the poverty gap (the shortfall of total population from the poverty line) diminished by time, the proportion of people whose income is less than one dollar a day was even 41.6 per cent in 2005 (World Bank, 2011). Also in that year 27.5 per cent of total population lived below the national poverty line, which proportion was a little higher amongst rural population, and little less amongst urban population (Government of India, 2012).

Health and age are crucial aspects to considerate the possibility of an international movement and reception in a foreign country. A healthier worker is more productive, and chargeability; the ability for adaptation depend on the age too. Social

factors also favoured the emigration. Life expectancy increased in an impressive manner in India; while in 1950 it was only 37.9 years, for the period 2005-2010 it increased to 64.2 years (UN, 2010). Age structure also changed; while in 1950 very high number of child and a few elder characterized the Indian society, by 2010 the number of working age individuals increased, forming a stable basis. The population aged 15-59 grown from 212,418 thousand in 1950 to 757,354 thousand in 2010, giving the 62 per cent of the population (UN, 2010). It means that the number of people in age adequate to a potential migration is highly increased in the society.

Another important condition that influences the chances of migration, and then the migrant's status, is education. In 2011 India's literacy rate amongst urban population was 84.98 per cent, while in rural population was 68.91 per cent (Government of India, 2012). People's economic and social difficulties are indicated again by the fact that while in 2006 94.6 per cent of children started the first grade in primary education, in the same year only 68.5 per cent of enrolled pupils reached the last grade of primary schooling (UN, 2011). Less illiteracy and less education may negatively affect the migrants' chances in a foreign country.

Finally, I show some data to enlighten the gender gap. However male-female gap in literacy rate is decreasing, in 2011 there was an almost 10 percentage points difference between male and female literacy rate in urban, and almost 20 percentage points difference in rural population, to the detriment of women (Government of India, 2012). The ratio of girls to boys in education is diminishing with the level of learning: while in 2007 the proportion of girls reached the 97 per cent of boys in primary level enrolment, it was 88 per cent in secondary level, and girls enrolled only in 70 per cent of boys in tertial level (UN, 2011). These facts are related to female labour force participation: in the last two decades women's share of labour force in India only vacillated, without any significant changes, and the 15 year and older women's share in labour force was only 28.1 per cent in 2005 (ILO-KILM Database 5ed., 2007). Women's less education and homemaker role make difficult the independent migration. The above mentioned demographic, economic, social, and cultural factors all participate in shaping India's current migratory trend.

2.1.2. Historical overview of Indian international migratory trends

India's migratory pattern changed a lot in the last century; the sharpest fracture was happened due to the independence from British rule in 1947.

During the colonial period Indian people offered an alternative cheap labour force for the colonies, and a migration pattern is formed by indentured workers to the plantations of British, French, and Dutch colonies, mainly to close lands of South-East Asia, Mauritius, Guyana, the Caribbean, Fiji, South and East Africa. The other source of migrants arrived from traders, teachers, artisans, and clerks, who formed independently their way to the European colonies (Report of the High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora, 2001). The expansion of plantation economy during the colonial period led to the transportation of at least 12 million people, mostly from India and China, as coolie labour (Potts, 1990). Contrary to the Chinese migrants' individual and often exploitive employment Indian migrants were assisted by an organised, collective system. Their transportation was coordinated by the 'kangani' system; labours were recruited by a 'kangani'; a headmen, and they were bonded by contracts (World Economic and Social Survey, 2004). By the second half of 1800s the resistance against coloured immigrants resulted the exclusion of these migrants from the Greater Atlantic economies (Huttenback, 1976), therefore Indian migrants were diverted more towards Africa and South-East Asia. Many Indian indentured labours arrived to work on the Kenya-Uganda railway. East-Africa was especially important milestone for Gujarati migration. During the colonial rule a large number of Gujarati merchants settled in East Africa and became shop owners, therefore a huge Gujarati community developed under British Protectorate in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania. Further Gujarati flow arrived to Guyana to work on the plantations, and from the 1900s Gujarati craftsmen and a small group of Gujarati merchants settled in Fiji (Naujoks, 2009).

The independence of many colonial areas in Africa, Asia Pacific, and Latin-America was accompanied by an aggressive nationalism and ethnic cleansing. A significant number of Indian settlers were forced to leave their local home, and they went through a second migration, towards the colonial centres. Therefore Indians from East Africa travelled to the UK, from Madagascar, Mauritius, and Indochina they moved to France, Indians from Dutch Guiana finally settled in Netherlands, and from

Mozambique and Angola in Portugal. Earlier familial and business ties were built across the colonial land, and many Indian immigrants gain education in the metropolitan centres, which made these second settlements easier (Report of the High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora, 2001). Then the partition of India, which accompanied its independence in 1947, made move 8-9 million people between India and Pakistan (Thomas, 1959).

From India two types of migratory flow has departed since the country's independence. One is formed by highly skilled professionals whose destinations are the developed countries of the West, primarily the USA, UK, Canada, furthermore Australia. The first years of India's independence felt together with the economic reconstruction of West Europe after the Second World War which called for a labour and professional inflow. Consequently in the 1960s-1970s many West European countries loosened the immigration restrictions. They imposed a new limitation only after a mass Indian and Asian inflow, while professionals, as IT-experts, engineers, nurses, business managers, scientists, and teachers could continue further the immigration in limited number. The other flow is constituted by lowly skilled workers, who choose mainly the oil exporting countries of Middle East, especially after the raising of oil price in 1973-74 and 1979, working there with temporary contracts (Robinson, 1996; Report of the High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora, 2001). As table 3 shows, in 2001 a large proportion of male migrants moved for work purpose and then as a part of a household, while high majority of female migrants moved for marriage reason and then also as a part of a household. Women constitute almost the entire number of migrants moving from India because of marriage. The number of Gujarati immigrants and minorities is estimated to take above one third of the present-day global Indian diaspora, however exact figures are not available (Parekh, 2007).

India regulates the labour outflow by the Emigration Act of 1983. Four ministries concern with the emigration of Indian workers: departments and offices within the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Home Affairs, and the Ministry of External Affairs, while a full State Ministry, the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs focuses specially on approximately 25 million Indian-born residents, throughout 110 countries worldwide (Report of the High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora, 2001). A few years ago the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs has introduced a nation-wide

skill up-gradation training programme to impair the chances of potential emigrant workers. The goal was to train approximately 200,000 emigrant workers during 2007-2012, producing a mass of highly skilled workers who can load up the labour supply coming out in the western countries. (Ancien, Boyle, and Kitchin, 2009).

Table 3: Reasons for migration in India in 2001.

(In case of migrants by last residence with duration of residence 0-9 years)

Reason for migration	Number of migrants			Percentage to total migrants		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Total migrants	98,301,342	32,896,986	65,404,356	100.0	100.0	100.0
Reason for migration:						
Work/Employment	14,446,224	12,373,333	2,072,891	14.7	37.6	3.2
Business	1,136,372	950,245	186,127	1.2	2.9	0.3
Education	2,915,189	2,038,675	876,514	3.0	6.2	1.3
Marriage	43,100,911	679,852	42,421,059	43.8	2.1	64.9
Moved after birth	6,577,380	3,428,673	3,148,707	6.7	10.4	4.8
Moved with households	20,608,105	8,262,143	12,345,962	21.0	25.1	18.9
Other	9,517,161	5,164,065	4,353,096	9.7	15.7	6.7

Source: Government of India (2001)

Nevertheless its growing efforts to the emigration regulation, India's data sources about emigration are insufficient. According to the Report of the High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora, to possess a complete information system about emigration the country misses population register. Moreover certain types of data about labour emigration are limited or not available, as India exercises less control upon exit from the country than entry to it (Kumar, 2003).

Europe is relatively newly exposed destination area, discovered by Indian migrants in the second half of 20th century, and does not have a so attractive effect on Indian migrants, as the United States or Canada. While the USA attracts especially Indian IT-experts, West European countries are interested in both high-tech experts, and low skilled immigrants in agriculture, construction, and manufacturing sector (Report of the High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora, 2001). Regarding Europe, number of persons of Indian origin (PIOs) and non-resident Indians (NRIs) is outstanding in some states. Their proportion according to the total population of host country is the highest

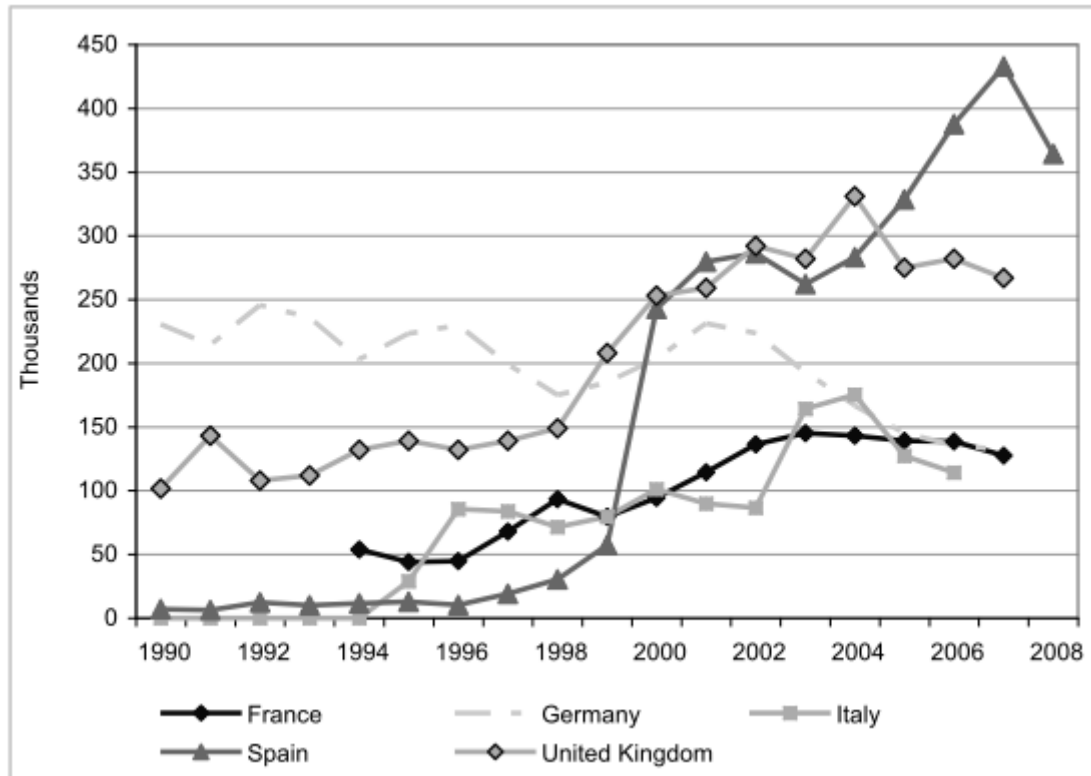
in the UK (2.109 per cent in 2001), then Netherlands (1.35 per cent in 2001), and Portugal (0.7 per cent in 2001), while in Italy their number is not significant at all (0.063 per cent in 2001, Report of the High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora, 2001). In the UK, which is the most popular hosting country, it was estimated that nowadays the number of local Gujarati residents exceeds the 700.000 (Mawani and Mukadam, 2007), which means approximately the half of the number of local Indian residents.

2.1.3. The UK and Italy as destination countries

Against their historical and cultural differences, the UK and Italy have an important common point regarding the migration: both of them are amongst the most popular immigrant host countries. The economic power of these countries, also and most of all political openness or loss of control on borders, assure a wide ranged attraction to immigrants. In global point of view, for the period 2000-2010 Italy was the third within the net immigration countries, after the USA and Spain, and for the future the UK too is envisioned to be one of the heads of this group. Within Europe Italy and the UK are amongst the top five major destinations of migrants, following Germany, Spain, and France. In both countries the inflow of immigrants from less developed countries was high and increased further between 1980 and 2000, but as figure 1 illustrates, immigrants' number came to a stop or began to fall in the mid of 2000s (World Migratory Report, 2010).

Even the population size of two countries meets approximately; in 2010 the UK had 62.3 million residents (ONS, 2012), while in Italy 60.6 million persons lived (Caritas/Migrantes, 2011). The immigration's size is also high; in 2010 the UK hosted 6.45 million immigrants, 10.4 per cent of its population (Labour Force Survey, 2010), while in Italy 4.57 million immigrants lived, taking 7.6 per cent of the population (Caritas/Migrantes, 2011). The UK and Italy received not only a large migration inflow, but immigrants arrived from wide-ranging countries, establishing culturally different diasporas and creating a multi-ethnic society. Both host countries are characterised by an ethnic commixture, containing varied ethnic groups of White, Asian, and Black people.

Figure 1: Migration inflow during 1990-2008
in European countries with high levels of immigration from less developed regions.



Note: For France, Germany, Italy and Spain, the data refer to foreigners. For the United Kingdom the data include both, British and foreign citizens. For Germany and the United Kingdom, the data refer to 1990-2007. For France, the data refer to 1994- 2007, for Italy to 1995-2006, for Spain to 1990-2008. Source: United Nations (2009.)

However the UK and Italy provide a similar environment for immigrants in that sense that both receive large amount, ethnically diverse immigrants, main origins of ethnic population are highly different. In the UK migrants from Asia compose the largest minority group, heading by Indian origin people (ONS, 2010), while in Italy migrants from Central-East Europe form the largest minority group, within which Albanian minority leads (Istat, 2007). In table 4 we could see that immigrants assured by onetime colonies are amongst the top five non-European immigrant nationalities which enter to the former colonial centres. The UK as a previous European colonial power, indeed gained its major proportion of foreign residents from the onetime colonial areas. Significant immigration from nations outside of colonial ties appeared

only from the early 1990s (Eurofond, 2010), which led to a super-diversity in the country (Vertovec, 2006). While Italian colonial history was very marginal and it did not influence the main migration inflows.

Table 4: The most important nationalities of non-European migrants who migrated to former European colonial powers during the period 1985-1999ⁱ

	Former colonial power						
	Belgium	France	Italy	Netherl.	Portugal	Spain	UK
1	Morocco	Morocco ⁱⁱⁱ	Morocco	Turkey	Brazil	Morocco ⁱⁱⁱ	USA
2	Turkey	Algeria	Tunisia	Morocco	Cape Verde	Colombia	Australia
3	USA	Turkey	Brazil	Surinam	Angola	Peru	New Zealand
4	Zaire ⁱⁱ	Tunisia	USA	USA	Guinea Bis.	Argentina	India
5	Japan	USA	Philippines ^{iv}	Somalia	USA	Ecuador	Japan

Note:

i Former colonies are indicated with boldface.

ii Democratic Republic of the Congo since May 1997.

iii The largest part of Morocco became French in 1912. Spain obtained two zones of contemporary Morocco.

iv Only data for the period 1995-1997.

Source: Eurostat (2002.)

India's relation is very different with the UK and Italy regarding this point. The difference is that India was historically the part, even the pillar of British Empire. This relation determined the Indian migratory flow. Earlier the indentured labour force was transported to colonial plantation, then labour was required by the former colonial centre to support the recovery after the Second World War, and later it arrived to fill the gap of labour demand, especially in the case of certain areas, as medication or trading (II Rapporto su Immigrati e Previdenza negli archive Inps, 2007). Therefore the largest first generation immigrant group arrived to the UK from India.

Table 5 presents that even more than a half century after the completion of decolonisation the former colonised nations are amongst the 15 most common nationalities of immigrants in the UK, being headed by India. British-born Indians make up the second largest group after Black Caribbeans in the total British-born ethnic minority (Eurofound, 2009).

Table 5: Estimated over-seas born population resident in the UK (in thousands), by country of birth (15 most common country of birth), 2010-2011.

	Country	Estimate
1	India	694
2	Poland	587
3	Pakistan	442
4	Republic of Ireland	407
5	Germany	295
6	South Africa	234
7	Bangladesh	232
8	United States of America	188
9	Nigeria	174
10	Jamaica	150
11	France	130
12	Kenya	130
13	Italy	130
14	China	130
15	Sri Lanka	129

Source: ONS (2012)

The former Italian Empire annexed Eritrea, Somalia, Libya, later conquered Ethiopia, and between the two world wars, it established colonies in Albania too. But Italy's colonial history did not affect India, and their relation is relatively new. Looking back to the table 4 it can be seen that major immigrant groups in Italy do not contain any of its previous colonial nationalities. The first flow of immigrants arrived in the second half of the 1970s, from Africa (principally Senegal, Eritrea and Somalia), the Middle East, Asia (mainly Philippines) and South America. In the 1980s, three new directions opened from North-Africa, China, and Peru. In the 1990s, Eastern Europe also joined to the migrant-sending areas. The current dominance of Albanian diaspora is rooted in the interlinked history and geographical proximity, and not resulted by the previous Italian colonist efforts. Indian immigration grew principally after 1987, when Italian government gave firstly amnesty to illegal immigrants. This 'sanatoria' was followed by four other 'sanatorie' in 1990, 1996, 2000, and 2002, although without a

real result in reducing the number of illegal immigrants (Pinkerton, McLaughlan, and Salt, 2004). Table 6 shows foreign residents in Italy, further establishing that immigration in Italy was determined not by former colonial relations, as in the case of the UK. In Italy the immigration was motivated rather by geographical proximity and economic opportunities, foremost in the agriculture, the manufacturing sector, or in special services, as home care for Philippines, Peruvians, and Ecuadorians (Caritas/Migrantes, 2007).

Table 6: Foreign residents in Italy (in thousands),
by country of birth (15 most common country of birth), 2007.

	Country	Foreign residents
1	Albania	376
2	Morocco	343
3	Romania	342
4	China	145
5	Ukraine	120
6	Philippines	101
7	Tunisia	89
8	Macedonia	74
9	Poland	72
10	India	70
11	Ecuador	69
12	Peru	67
13	Egypt	66
14	Serbia and Montenegro	64
15	Senegal	60

Source: Istat (2007)

Indian immigrants basically formed an imperial and labour diaspora in the UK (see diaspora types in Cohen, 1997). However, since the pre-colonial times they also moved worldwide as a trade diaspora; Gujarati diaspora in East-Africa a very good example to this. The twice-migrants Gujaratis exiled from Uganda to the UK show the characteristics of the victim diaspora too. They arrived to the UK also as cultural diaspora, along by the established familial and cultural ties. While in Italy in the beginning Indians composed a labour diaspora, later slightly showing the signs of a

cultural diaspora, moving through the chain of personal relations. Indian diaspora therefore illustrates not only the different motivations for migration, but also the various characteristics within one population's, even one group's movement. Not mention the case of partition between India and Pakistan, when not people moved over the borders, but borders moved over people, resulted in a new type; an 'accidental' Indian diaspora (see Brubaker, 2000).

Different immigration policies of the countries also influenced the number of potential Indian settlers, imposing constraints or offering special local opportunities. Here I will examine four components of the immigration policy in the UK and Italy: the access to the labour market, the access to rights and benefits, the housing conditions, and the access to nationality.

While in the 1950s mainly single men arrived from India to the UK in order to find work, in the 1960s they began to bring their family too into the country, increasing suddenly the number of immigrants. Consequently, after finishing the reconstructions of Second World War, from the 1960s the UK imposed restrictions to limit immigrants' access to the local labour market, and prevent them to enter because of family reunion. As later the labour market had to face insufficient and not adequately skilled workers from the supply's side, from the late 1990s the country allowed again more space to labour immigrants. Since the 2000s the country tried to maximise the economic benefit of inflowing labour migrants by a 'managed migration' policy (Eurofond, 2010). It offers fiscal incentives for highly skilled immigrants: those migrants, who are seconded to the UK and declare their intention to remain in the UK on a temporary basis, can require tax relief on their housing costs and travelling costs. Non-ordinary residents can also demand tax relief for days worked outside the UK (UK Home Treasury, 2003). However, since the mid-1990s the general benefits for immigrants were increasingly restricted (which regularisation, similarly to that of the 1960s, turned further migrants' direction to other destination countries, such Italy).

Because migrant workers have limited rights and access to local welfare system and social housing, they become dependent from the private rented sector. In the UK most of immigrants initially move into temporary accommodations, which are often characterised by poor living, security and safety conditions, the lack of privacy, still immigrants must pass sometimes more months there. Then they tend to occupy the

empty spaces in the existing housing stock, often those areas which are rejected by others, or from which other households try to stay away. This tendency leads to the concentration of new-arrivals in certain city areas and neighbourhoods. For the choice, immigrants usually require the help of local relatives, friends, or community services. Because house building has not kept step with housing demand, poor and overcrowded housing conditions are common difficulties of immigrant settlers (Spencer et al., 2007). Some immigrants find the problem of insecurity, dangerousness, and risk of fire even settling in a long-term residence. Also many immigrants live in overcrowded housing or in properties in poor state of repair. Over time, by receiving new resources and rights, they are able to manage better the choice of settlement. However, many immigrants create a bond quickly towards the place of settlement, and then they stay in the first place (Robinson et al., 2007).

Those immigrants who arrive from outside of European Economic Area countries, and who are not asylum seekers, can obtain ‘indefinite leave to remain’, also called ‘settled status’. In this case, they have no restriction on their rights to stay in the UK, and they can access all the benefits and tax credits, as UK nationals. People with a ‘limited leave to remain’ cannot appeal to public funds, and they are excluded from benefits (Diaz, 2008). However Indians have had facilitated options to work and live in the UK. During the colonization Indians were British subjects under the UK law, but between 1949 and 1950 by the independence they received a modified status and became British subjects without citizenship, which allowed them to possess British passport. From 1950 Indian citizens received the status of Commonwealth citizen because of India’s membership in the Commonwealth, but this status did not avail any more the British passport. Therefore many Indians did not ask the recognition of their new status to be able to keep their British passport. Elder interviewees of this research arrived to the UK by their British passport. However, Nationality Act from 1948 gave opportunity also to Commonwealth citizens to move to the ‘mother country’, and only in 1962 the Commonwealth and Immigration Act limited again their right to settle in Britain. Because of fear of immigration the restrictions were increased, and according to the Immigration Act 1971, only British citizens, and certain British subjects with right of residence got the right to live and work in the UK. People having one of the other forms of nationality could live and work in the UK, if their immigration status permitted

it. Since 1983, by the National British Nationality Act 1981, every citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies became a British Citizen, British Dependent Territories Citizen or British Overseas Citizen. Those people, who remained British subjects, could register as British citizen without any UK residence, and those people who immigrated earlier to the UK could get also British citizenship. Only in 2010 95,884 Asians received the right to live and work in the UK, more than the total number of other geographical origins in all (Home Office, UK, 2011). Due to these facilities many of research participants in Leicester, however being Gujarati according their ethnic origin, were British citizen at the same time.

As Italy changed from a country of emigration to one of immigration, its citizenship policy went down of European trends. The current problem is the management of illegal entries, and another difficulty is the unequal distribution of migrants: 62.5 per cent of legal foreigners are living in Northern Italy, 25 per cent in the centre of the country, and 12.5 per cent in Southern Italy (Caritas, 2008). The roots of this problem goes back to the 1970s, when immigration began, as the country faced the process basically openly, without any essential controlling rule on the entry. Later the Law 943/1986 was the first attempt to regulate the inflowing migration, which wished to ensure to the legal non-European Community migrants equal rights as Italian workers, but it affected only little the immigration process. For the better legislation and regularisation of immigrants' right, the Law 39/1990; so-called 'Martelli Law' re-established the rules on conditions of entry, stay, and expulsion. The stricter control discouraged new types of immigration, and made difficult the arrangement of circumstances of those immigrants, who had no entry or stay permission, and regular immigrants' access to social services (Bonifazi et al., 2009).

The first wide-ranging, comprehensive step to manage the immigration happened in 1998, by the Law 48/1998; in other name 'Turco-Napolitano Law'. The law aimed to ensure more certain legal status to immigrants, opened permitted, regular channels for inflow, and it focused foremost on the integration of immigrants. It firstly assured that immigrant workers who lost their job, did not lose their residence permits, but received one year to find new employment. It also provided a sponsor system that any public entity, including non-governmental organisations could sponsor immigrants to enter into the country for searching job, and it supported the family reunification that

extended family members could automatically receive work permit. Moreover, it extended the rights of foreigners in the country, as the right to equal treatment in the workplace, the access to the public health care system, and the right to attend public school (Calavita, 2005). Then the next law on immigration; the Law 189/2002, referred to as 'Bossi-Fini Law', viewed the question of immigration as a problem of public order, and tightened the restrictions regarding the entry and residence rules. After that, the policy moved towards the further entry restriction, controlling more the borders, and limited the access to local welfare system (Ismu, 2009). Similar to the UK, in Italy too main types of residence permit are allowed for the reason of work, study, or investment, or family reunification. Because of the mass illegal immigration, the eligibility criteria to acquire citizenship is far more restrictive than most of Western and Southern European countries. To acquire a citizenship, a migrant from outside of the EU may qualify for naturalization after 10 years lived legally in the country. Other facilitated way passes only by marriage with an Italian citizen (Eurofond, 2010). As Italy was a migrant-sending country during length of time, the policy concentrated to keep the ties with the emigrated people, and linked the citizenship to the blood lineage. Now the children of foreigners born in Italy can apply for citizenship only at the age of 18, and if they do not complete their application within a year, they may lose all their rights. However, there is a tendency to ease nationality obstacles for immigrants (Aloïse, 2012).

Concerning the housing, a double tendency is observable in Italy. While more and more long-settled immigrants require stabilising their settlement and decide to purchase their own house, at the same time the number of immigrants who face with housing insecurity is also growing. The largest proportion of immigrants lives in rented apartment (50.8 per cent of immigrants in 2002) or stays with relatives and friends as a guest (24.7 per cent in 2002), while the current trend amongst Italian families is to purchase their own home. Regarding the territorial composition, North-East Italy can boast a lower degree of housing insecurity. In South Italy even amongst the long settled immigrants there are people in significant number, who did not succeed to regularize their housing condition: 4.8 per cent of immigrants staying in Italy for over ten years inhabit in abandoned houses there (Censis, 2005).

These given historical, political, economic, and social circumstances result that Indian immigrants face highly different living conditions in the UK and Italy, which affect the number of their settlement and the quality of their residence. The number of Indians and British Indians in the UK was 1,319,000 in 2010 (ONS, 2012). This proportion takes 2.2 per cent of the population, and as we saw, the number of India-born residents is leading amongst the UK's ethnic groups (ONS, 2012). Beside historical and therefore cultural relations, this concentration can offer extra benefits for Indian immigration and diaspora, on one hand to facilitate the process of migration and settlement, on the other hand to validate their own interest. Indian community had one of the lowest poverty rates amongst different ethnic group in the UK in 2004-2005, just after the White British and other White people (Palmer and Kenway, 2007). Opposing to this Italy less attracts Indians because of less favourable economic and linguistic circumstances. 120,000 Indians lived there in 2011, composing 2.6 per cent of the current foreign residents, and only 0.2 per cent of the population; proportionately 10 times less comparing to the UK (Istat, 2011). The number of Indians does not stand out from other immigrants; they are hiding amongst them, and this circumstance arm in arm with the strict immigration policy and the limited access to local rights determine these people's chances and prospects in Italy.

2.2. Thinking about the place of rootage and the place of resettlement

2.2.1. The importance of home place in the age of homelessness

The research examines the attachment to places not in general, but it focuses on the attachment to a special single place; the home place, distinguishing its role from the others. Therefore the thesis has an important presupposition: that home place has a particular emotional significance for people. In this section, I collect those theoretical and philosophical arguments that indicate the primary value of home place, the place of origin amongst all places, which people meet during their life, and then I introduce how the suggested importance of home place is questioned by the challenges of globalisation.

Amongst every place experienced during our life, the home place makes most of the impressions and creates the most attachments to us. Usually people have strong and positive emotional ties with the place that they call home; the homeland, hometown,

local living surroundings assure them predictability, attention, protection, and care. People feel a deep, convinced attachment to their home place even if their housing conditions, physical setting, and neighbourhood environment were disadvantaged and misfortunate (Schorr, 1970). The place of home appears in various geographical scales from the biggest to the smallest; it can refer to the homeland, hometown, neighbourhood, and family house, depending on the context (see also in section 3.5.5. the term ‘nesting’ by Twigger-Ross et al., 2003). This thesis evaluates under the term of ‘home place’ all these places of belonging, entirely every geographical scale up to the national boarder, with the notion that scales of home are not necessarily coincides with geographical boundaries. The feeling ‘at home’ has multiple locates, and a complex spatial structure (see Cuba and Hummon, 1993).

Contrary to other places which people meet during their life, homeplace has three main special features. It is primary experienced, therefore it serves as model to produce further relations to other places; it accommodates our needs and is conformed to us; and it works as an anchor regarding our origin.

One function of home place is that it can be experienced. Home place is ‘the center of experimental space’ (Feldman, 1990, p. 184); an emphasized place, where our feelings, senses, and cognisance are determined by the tangibility of environment. It is a living place, physically touchable, contrary to the visited or imagined places. Moreover, home place is the first place where a human life starts; people experience home place foremost all other places, and often they experience it during the longest period too. We learn how we can relate to a place, across the home place at first time; therefore, home place serves as a model for the rest of life regarding our concern for our surrounding environment.

Another significant attribute of home place is that it conforms to its residents. Place is flexible, and it can be shape by its users. The home is a ‘symbol of self’ (Cooper, 1974); it represents its inhabitants themselves, adapting to their demands, reflecting their characteristics. Consequently, home place provides personal comfort, both in physical and in mental sense. Sometimes its adaptation passes very directly, as owners plan their family house, or a community shapes their neighbourhood to meet the requirements of its use. At other times home place adapts indirectly, as a city quarter gives evidence of the residents’ social status.

Thirdly home place means belongingness and rootedness; this is the place, where we take root and begin to grow, therefore home environment represents a solid, certain establishment. Bowlby, Gregory, and McKie underline that the ‘crucial element of the everyday understanding of home is the notion of... a place of origin, a place of belonging, a place to which to return’ (1997, p. 344). Home place provides stability, especially geographical sense, because belonging supposes a geographically found physical place; our homeland is described by geographic boundaries, and we can place our family house in a map. But home place provides stability in social sense too, as it supplies a secure membership, a unity of which people can be a part for the rest of their life. Finally, home place works as an anchor in a symbolic sense too; the expression of ‘having root’ verbalises an intimate and confidential kinship between people and native place. As Malkki describes, ‘people are often thought of, and think of themselves, as being rooted in place and as deriving their identity from that rootedness. The roots in question here are not just any kind of roots; very often they are specifically arborescent in form’ (2008, p. 278). She explains that ‘metaphors of kinship (motherland, ...) and of home (homeland, ...) are also territorializing in this same sense... Motherland and fatherland, aside from their other historical connotations, suggest that each nation is a grand genealogical tree, rooted in the soil that nourishes it. By implication, it is impossible to be a part of more than one tree. Such a tree evokes both temporal continuity of essence and territorial rootedness’ (2008, p. 278). Furthermore, the endurance of connection to a place may reinforce the meaning linked to a place and the local residents’ attachment to that place. As Hay indicated, historical tie to a place and local ancestral relations contribute to attain a more ‘rooted sense of place’ (Hay, 1998). This thought calls attention again to the home place, as a determinant environment amongst places.

Because of its priority, adaptability, and stability home place awakes and intensifies our sense of place. The place through its sense plays an important role in people’s lives, as a factor that determines and maintains the local identity (Bolton, 1992). ‘Our important places may become crucial to our self-definition and place-person merger may occur’, supports Stedman too (2002, p. 564). Relph characterized the experiences of a place with dialectical opposites, like insideness and outsideness. The notion of insideness refers to the feeling of being inside, comfortable, and safe in

the frame of a place; the more profoundly a person feels inside a place, his identity will be more strongly identified with that place (see also Hay, 1998). The people's strongest sense of place-experience is called by Relph as an existential insiderness, this is the feeling of being at home, in own community. The opposite extreme is the existential outsidership, felt by newcomers, or by people, who return to their birthplace after a long time, which express well the intensity of sense of loss after leaving the home place behind (Relph, 1976). Home place has primarily and emphasized importance among places; it assures special and sustained experiences and feelings what other places cannot provide or not in the same profoundness and intensity. Therefore people develop special connection with it through its physical, social, and metaphysical, symbolic aspects. Identity works as a kind of intercessor, who acts as a link between people and place. Doreen Massey linked people's requirement for a place of origin to their hope to stabilize their identity. She argues that 'the search after the 'real' meanings of places, the unearthing of heritages and so forth, is interpreted as being, in part, a response to desire for fixity and for security of identity in the middle of all movement and change'. But the sense of a place, the sense 'of rootedness, can provide [...] stability and a source of unproblematical identity' (Massey, 2008, p. 260).

In the era of transnationalism and globalisation, more and more people have a displacement practice and move routinely. Migrants cross not only urban quarters or country parts in the hope of better economic opportunities, but international borders and global distances, deterritorialising the meaning of 'homeland'. The 'generalised condition of homelessness', as for example Edward Said summarises this process (1979, p. 18), is present in the contemporary life all over. Homelessness could occur on not only physical level, but social and mental level too. Analysing the modernisation and its related problems, Berger, Berger, and Kellner also arrive to the conception of homelessness. They argue that modernisation processes, primarily technological advance, bureaucracy, and the 'pluralization of social life-worlds' confront individuals with contrapuntal viewpoints, and make them anxious and frustrated. Individuals, to reduce the cognitive dissonance, try to adapt distinguished beliefs for public and private life. This attempt results into less and less personal touch in the individuals' everyday life, until the 'anonymous social relations' outperform in isolation and alienation, in feeling of loss of belonging and identity, and in a sensation of psychological

homelessness. As Berger, Berger, and Kellner summarise: ‘the secularizing effect of pluralization has gone hand in hand with other secularizing forces in modern society. The final consequence of all this can be put very simply (though the simplicity is deceptive): *modern man has suffered from a deepening condition of ‘homelessness’* (1973, p. 77). They also compare the psychological sensation of ‘homelessness’ in the modern society with the experience of migrants who traverse physical distances. ‘The pluralistic structures of modern society have made the life of more and more individuals migratory, ever-changing, mobile. ... the individual migrates through a succession of widely divergent social worlds. Not only are an increasing number of individuals in a modern society uprooted from their original social milieu, but, in addition, no succeeding milieu succeeds in becoming truly ‘home’ either’ (1973, p. 165). At the same time they emphasize that, as the physical movement, also the migration through social worlds is related to a motion of mind; ‘this eternal mobility has correlates on the level of consciousness. A world in which everything is in constant motion is a world in which certainties of any kind are hard to come by. Social mobility has its correlate in cognitive and normative mobility’ (1973, p. 165). Later Berger and Kellner reinforce their claim about this kind of negative consequences of the post-industrial, post-traditional life, as ‘these costs plunge the individual into a condition of anomie – that is, a condition of rootlessness, disorientation, of no longer feeling at home in the world’ (1981, p. 145).

These theoretical and philosophical concerns indicate those complex pragmatic and mental problems, which the present-day migrants have to face up. For nowadays migration became a worldwide phenomenon, and as migration increases, the surpassing of spatial barriers leads to the destruction of space; the boundaries are blurring, the binding force and fixity of places become questionable. Places no more keep people ‘in place’. Marx already recognised the base of this phenomenon in the economic process; how the capital surpassing every barrier, and increasing the speed of production and the consumption, results into ‘the annihilation of space by time’ (Marx, 1973, p. 539). This phenomenon became more intensive in the era of international movements, globalisation, and concoction, and turned to a ‘time-space compression’. As Doreen Massey expressed, the ‘time-space compression refers to movement and communication across space, to the geographical stretching-out of social relations and to our experience

of all this' (2008, p. 258). Our relation to space and its meaning for us became uncertain, the 'time-space compression' made us insecure and vulnerable. Many theorists indicate that the actual global economic, social and cultural circumstances weaken the possibilities of motionless (see Appadurai, 1996), and the significance of bonds and belongings (see Portes, 2001). Nevertheless, while the growing mobility, interplay and interdependence within the globalised world works against the attachment to the home place, at the same time this bonding is able to counterbalance the instability resulted by the globalisation. Doreen Massey called attention that all the global fluidity and uncertainty reinforce the need of belonging to a place, because 'in the middle of all this flux, people desperately need a bit of peace and quiet – and that a strong sense of place, of locality, can form one kind of refuge from the hubbub' (Massey, 2008, p. 260).

Home place - where we are inside, where we are rooted, what we experienced at first - is a special place amongst the places, but its importance has never questioned so much than in the era of globalisation, when fluctuation stands against stability, shifting against rooting, and cosmopolitanism against bonding. Does the particularity of home place still exist; does the locality, the origin still mean anything? How we can perceive its significance? These questions invoke a quest to understand people's attachment to the home place in these changed circumstances.

2.2.2. Globalisation, migration, and the transformation of cities

Migration inheres in globalization; it spreads globalization by widely dispersing peoples, and therefore culture and knowledge with them and in cities meet again these elements blown apart. In cities we can 'recover the material conditions, production sites, and place-boundedness that are also part of globalization' (Sassen, 2001, p. 349), as they contribute in an active manner to the globalisation. At the same time cities themselves are products of the globalisation of labour force flow and social networks (Benton-Short et al., 2005), being shaping by both global centrifugal and centripetal forces (Sassen, 1991). Searching for the most typical characteristic of urbanity, Lefèbvre found that the essence of urbanity was not based on population density, geographical dimension, production role, or architectural particularities of the city but on its centrality. This centrality united all of the above-mentioned aspects; the elements of urbanity fulfil a city because of their spatial concentration. City is a physical place

which gathers and disperses the goods, information, and people at same time (Lefèbvre, 1991). World system carries in itself a system of 'world cities' (Friedmann, 1986, 1993), where economic, political, cultural, and social reproductive relations connect urban places into a network (Smith and Timberlake, 1995).

There isn't a correlation between the global importance of a city and the number of settled immigrants. There are cities, such as London and New York, which function as global economic centres and which are established immigrants gateways. Other cities with global importance attract relatively few immigrants, such as Tokyo. But even a European country accepts less number of immigrants compared with others, it possesses at least one urban centre which became the major immigrant city in the country, like Milan in Italy. Due to the acceleration of immigration, European cities are turning more international and cosmopolitan. Cities; the new locations of globalisation are not only growing by immigration, but experience drastic socio-cultural changes because of the largeness and diverseness of people inflow. Immigrants influence the political, economic, social, and cultural power of cities. (Benton-Short et al., 2005).

There is a strong relationship between social relations, urban places, immigration and successfulness of a city. Social relations are mostly space-specifics, built through many local place-making activities (Glaeser and Redlick, 2009). If peoples expect to stay in an area, they invest more to making social relations, creating more social capital. Higher level of social capital then makes the area more attractive, and draws in more people (Glaeser and Redlick, 2009). Therefore social relations can contribute to a city's openness and growth by immigration. People are significantly happier in the urban areas which attract new people, than in declining cities (Glaeser and Redlick, 2009). In parallel the city planning is also capable to increase the attractiveness of a city, and with this to increase the level of social relations.

While the interaction between globalisation, migration, and urban places keep the city in a fluid state, which reacts constantly to the impacts arrived; urban sociology tends to focus on the changes caused within the city, treating city as a given geographical frame of a human activity. Cities are meeting places, and due to the globalisation not only people meet, but different origins, belongings, cultures, and societies (Short and Kim, 1999; de Certeau, 1984). Not only migrant people's mobility, but also the visibility of their settlement is intensified in the city space; immigrants,

refugees, tourists shift the urban landscape, turning it to a 'global ethnoscape' (Appadurai, 1990). The expression of origin receives elementary ground in public places. For migrants the urban environment where they settled becomes the site of identity manifestation, where they can express their belonging by shaping and transforming the place.

Built environment of urban landscape can be transformed primarily by three kinds of activities: the city planning, which controls the settlement, the architecture, which arranges the individual buildings, and finally the urban design, which functions at an intermediate scale between them, dresses the city (Carmona, 2003).

City as place may accept immigrants inside, becoming their new home, but it may produce social distinction and exclusion too (Delaney, 2002; Sundstrum, 2003). Immigrants influence significantly the spatial growth of the city, and by their pattern of housing they modify its socio-economic structure and determine its suburban selectivity (Schnore, 1964; Goldstein and Mayer, 1965). Earlier planning imaginations characterized the city as a place of fragmentation and disorder, therefore urban planners and architectures e.g. Le Corbusier, strove to 'produce the transparent and readable city, [...] creating new forms of collective association and transforming individual and social life' (Bridge and Watson, 2002, p. 335-336). Even now high number of immigrants lives in separated, disadvantaged and deprived urban areas in European cities, which are particularly touched on the negative consequences of urban segregation and social exclusion (Leal, 2004; Bolt and van Kempen, 2010; Arbaci and Malheiros, 2010). Furthermore, a stigma develops about living in these areas, which reinforce the risk of exclusion. As Clayton argued, the 'geographies of belonging play a critical role in reproducing raced and classed distinctions and notions of belonging' (2009, p. 491). Nevertheless, traces remained after that city planning and welfare state neglected for a long time the support of permanent underclass to outbreak from the urban and social isolation (Hall, 1996). City expansion often requires urban development that could have positive effects for diminishing spatial segregation and reinforcing community cohesion among different urban groups, and immigrant inflow may have a significant role to awake and provoke the city planners.

Urban design covers the most diverse and broad actions of place-making for people; it 'may seek to protect neighbourhood streets, revitalise a public square, ... set

regulations for conservation or development, build a participatory process, write an interpretative guide or plan a city celebration' (Lynch, 1981, p. 291). Due to its more accessible and wider range of actions, especially design provides opportunity to immigrants to manifest their belonging. Nevertheless, activities and events occurred in the city space also contribute to the place-shaping (Buchanan, 1988), immigrants' social activities are closely intertwined with their material place making activities, shaping the city by their social practices, everyday routines (de Certeau, 1984), rites and ceremonies (Lubin, 2001). In the contemporary society the development process of public area moves from the concept of a unitary city and unified public area towards the realisation of a series of distinguished but overlapping public areas, according to different social-economic, ethnic, religious, or gender groups (Sandercock, 1997).

Not only immigrants affect the urban environment of their settlement, but also urban built environment influences immigrants' life. With its housing structure, design image, and other urban conditions, city determines immigrants' behaviour, everyday life, and therefore their possibilities to recreate and manifest their identity. Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff suggested that places affect human activities (1983), and later Lawrence and Low also reinforced this idea, arguing that 'the relationships between society and culture and the built environment [...] are interactive, in that people both create, and find their behavior influenced by, the built environment' (1990, p. 454). In addition they remark that buildings, 'especially dwellings, serve human needs as well as being the focal point of personal and social identities in the cultures [...] Further, the meaning of the built environment as revealed through its metaphorical connections and ritual practices constitutes an important but still incompletely explored dimension' (Lawrence and Low, 1990, p. 492). Proshansky agreed that physical environment affects human comportment. He proposed that '[i]t is reasonable to plan and construct a large variety of physical settings to meet the specifications of any number of human functions, activities, and relationships meant that the effects of the physical environment are predictable and controllable. An appropriately designed physical setting could be expected to evoke a range of expected behaviours, not of physical parameters but of those complex social and psychological determinants that are rooted in all human activities' (1978, p. 170-171). According to him, physical environment influences the

social activities and relations, so these activities can be stimulated by the design of place.

Urban environment does not mean only a physical frame to make real and actualise home memories, but it may create new attachments. While immigrants are able to recreate their home place in their immediate surroundings at least partly, the larger city area may aid but also blockade the evocation of home memory. Physical appearance of the city, with physical planning, architecture, and design, plays a key role in immigrants' emotional security and adoption to the city, and at the same time in their integration into the local society. The everyday urban environment and the geography of differences present not only a physical and sensorial reception of city; they also signify symbolic bond (Leach, 2002; Donald, 1999). Contrary to the society, which is an abstract phenomenon, the city has a material existence; it is concrete, visible and tangible. Urban areas do not serve only as physical framework for the individual's everyday activities; they also hold meeting points for social interactions and for cultural exchange within a group, and between groups (Short and Kim, 1999; de Certeau, 1984). These social interactions reinforce that urban citizens feel a kind of possession of urban spaces where their social relations take place, and of the whole city, as symbol of their social integration. Moreover, the feeling of belonging to a city stimulates the feeling of belonging to a society too (Bell, 1999). After migration, the attachment felt toward the place left behind can be overwritten by the same dynamics toward the new place of settlement. The importance of the individual and community's ethnic effects on the city landscape is arising with the unified force of globalisation.

2.2.3. The Chicago School Tradition and its adoption by the research

Urban sociology goes back to 1892, when Albion W. Small founded the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago. The classic Chicago School emerged between 1915 and 1935 (Abbott, 1999), but it lived its heyday during the period 1920-1932 (Faris, 1967). Chicago sociologists established the basis of research into urban environment, combining 'firsthand inquiry with general ideas' (Bulmer, 1984, p. 2), where first-hand inquiry meant empirical exploration, while general ideas referred to the process of setting observations within a theoretical framework (Musolf, 2003). Chicago sociologist had a special object: 'to understand the relations among

specific actors in circumscribed times and places’, in order ‘to explain the changing behaviour of the various ethnic groups living in the metropolis ... of the processes of immigration and assimilation, of the structure of the family, and long-term social trends whose indubitably most salient aspects were immigration and urbanization’ (Tomasi, 1998, p. 2-3). The Chicago School involved the notion of urban territory into the analysis of a human group’s activities, examining ethnic groups in the city.

The direction and content of Chicago sociology was mainly influenced by Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess’ textbook, *Introduction to the Science of Society* (1921), in which they encouraged the researchers to make first-hand observations. Due to Small’s previous works (1905, 1910), sociologists’ attention turned to the city as a site of inquiry, but Park’s early influence was also determinant (Park, 1915), both by its object and as it approached towards city from an ecological point of view. In their textbook, with Burgess they argued that city life is guided by similar forces as mentioned in the Darwinian evolution and selection, amongst them primarily by the competition. People living in same area face the same ecological pressure, so they have similar social characteristics. Various ecological conditions form ecological niches in the city, where these groups compete and fight for the limited urban resources, dividing the urban space into segments. Park considered the city as architectonic and municipal frame of the ‘natural areas’, in which ethnic communities live next to each other as a ‘mosaic of segregated people’, where every ethnic group is trying to ‘preserve its peculiar cultural forms and to maintain its individual and unique conception of life’ (Park, 1952, pp. 99-100). Zorbaugh followed the idea that immigrants living in ‘natural areas [...] in turn, give to the area a peculiar character. The natural areas of the city tend to become distinct cultural areas as well – “black belt” or a Harlem, a Little Italy, a Chinatown’ (1926, p. 223). ‘Natural areas’ are inhabited territories by communities, which can be distinguished from each other, as each creates its own type and environment, ‘conflicting social heritages’ and ‘cultural lag’ (Thrasher, 1927, p. 4). Parks’ theory of human ecology, the contact of cultures, and marginality offered an explication to immigrants’ ghettoization, and their spatial and social segregation in the city, and the cultural contrast between groups with different belonging. Around and following Park and Burgess’ analysis of the city (Park et al., 1925), in the next four decades a set of urban study came out to describe one or another view of the human

activities in the city, focusing on the ‘natural areas’ or social structures and processes. They analysed Little Germany (Park, 1922), Chinatown (Wu, 1926), the Jewish ghetto (Wirth, 1928), the Harlem (Frazier, 1937a, 1937b), the Gold Coast and the slum (Zorbaugh, 1929), amongst other ethnic enclaves, and social phenomenon as the hobo (Anderson, 1923), the family (Frazier, 1932), the gangs (Thrasher, 1927), the revolution (Edwards, 1927), the suicide (Cavan, 1928), and strikes (Hiller, 1928). Nevertheless, until the 1960’s most of the sociologists approached to the ethnic relations from the side of absorption, concentrating on the process of acculturation among various origin people.

The Chicago School of sociology got rejuvenated after the Second World War and lived a second prosperous period, especially between 1945 and 1960, due to the works of old followers and joined new ones, such as Herbert Blumer (1939, 1958), Erving Goffman (1959, 1974), Howard S. Becker (1961), Anselm L. Strauss (1959), Tamotsu Shibutani (Shibutani and Kwan, 1964), Joseph Gusfield (Gusfield and Michalowicz, 1984), and from the youngest generation Lewis M. Killian (1952). The department became again the centre to investigate racial and ethnic tensions, conflicts, intergroup relations in urban environment and segregation in communities by qualitative methods. The focus on ethnicities’ adoption of the surrounding culture and assimilation disrupted when researchers discovered that original traditions and ethno-racial identity persist through long generations, against the intentions of a unidirectional assimilation. Lee has demonstrated that the old institutions of Chinatown were preserved, while the prejudices related to Chinese diminished (Lee, 1960). Woods presented that settlers in America did not neglect their traditions through 10 generations (Woods, 1956, 1972). Investigations of ethnic and racial processes continued and discovered life in Bronzeville (Drake and Clayton, 1962), Polonia (Lopata, 1967; Thomas and Znaniecki, 1958), Little Italy (Nelli, 1970), and Chinatown (Lee, 1978; Siu, 1987).

This research intends to continue the tradition of Chicago School in the sense that it makes empirical, qualitative ethnographic investigation about how an ethnic community tries to preserve its unique life in a concrete, well-defined urban space. Chicago School sociologists argued that social phenomena are set in the context of time and space; they cannot be viewed out of their temporal and spatial context. Researchers

used various degrees of temporal and spatial ‘contextuality’ that Abbott systematically summarised (1997).

Table 7: Contextual degrees used in the Chicago School.

Degrees of Contextuality: Space

		None	Some	Much
Degrees of Contextuality: Time	None			Natural Area (Park)
	Some			Area “Career” (Wirth)
	Much	Natural History (Edwards)	Career (Thrasher)	Interactional Field (Zorbaugh)

Source: Abbott (1997)

Regarding the temporal context, Edwards argued that events have a ‘natural history’, e.g. behind the occurrence of revolutions there is an internal logic (1927). Thrasher saw that influence of physical environment and life history, ‘career’ shape together the development of gangs (1927), and Zorbaugh approached towards interactional field of the Near North Side community as a strongly spatial and temporal process (1929). Concerning the spatial context, the ‘natural area’ corresponds to the ‘natural history’; but although natural area in Park’s approach was socially determined structure, the analysis did not expand on its temporal context, and defined its elements only in the terms of their location (1925). Wirth put more emphasis on the effects of temporal environment and generations’ temporal pattern on Jewish life in the ghetto (1928), which Abbott described as an ‘area-career’. At least, I already mentioned the example of Zorbaugh, who involved into his analysis the largest and smallest scales of temporal and spatial processes (Abbott, 1997).

This research intends to consider both the temporal and spatial context of Hindu Gujarati community life in Leicester and Milan. It involves the temporal dimension by examining processes both long-term and short-term, e.g. how temporal dimension of association with the home place influence the bond felt towards it, how the attachment

is preserved through generations resettling in a foreign environment, and how community members become locally successful in a foreign environment and move within the area by time. On the other hand, it regards spatial dimension on various scales by studying e.g. the relation of their ethnic area to the whole city, and Gujaratis' trajectories within their ethnic area and their spatial traces on buildings.

2.2.4. Studies about Gujarati identity evolvement in European cities

From 1960s new ethnic origin groups arrived from Asia to Europe, enlarging the possibility of the Asian communities' examination, and resulting into the first studies of Indian immigrant communities settled in Europe (see Glass, 1960; Peach, 1968). Empirical researches on newcomers focused on the ethnically mixed areas, on the problems of assimilation, and on the factors, which limit social interactions in highly diverse neighbourhood (see Stadler, 1979; Massey and Denton, 1985). Later empirical studies turned to understand the reproduction of identity, and they examined Indians in Europe as an ethnic minority (Robinson, 1996), the identity of South-Indian diaspora (Bhat and Bhaskar, 2007) the transformation of neighbourhood by Indian immigrants (Seliga, 1998), the social relations between Hindu immigrants with different geographical origins (Lynnebakke, 2007), the clashes within Hindu communities alongside regionally based ethnic identities (Vertovec, 2000), the Hindu presence in education and foundation of Hindu schools (Dryden, 2010), the preservation of Hindu rites of passage (Ray, 2010), the transformation of religious landscape (Peach and Gale, 2003), and the differences in temple use across the Hindu diaspora (Vertovec, 2000).

Investigations called attention that Indian diaspora is extremely heterogeneous, not only according to their religion, but especially their regional origin amongst other categories. Consequently, researches about Hindu Indian immigrants in Europe were divided according to the regional origin of the studied group, and a branch of Gujarati studies was established, examining different identity issues emerged from Gujarati Hindu immigrants' settlement in Europe.

Rutten and Patel's sociological-anthropological work concentrated on the social environment of Hindu migrants in their place of origin in Gujarat and in the place of settlement in London (2007). They presented that migration experience and local integration might affect migrants' identity so intensively that the feeling of home

becomes uncertain and they do not feel at home neither in their place of origin nor in the place of settlement. Mukadam examined second-generation Gujarati Hindus' identity formation in London that how they label their individual ethnic self-identity and what kind of cultural adaptation strategies they apply to face multi-ethnicity, Europeanisation, and globalisation (2007). She argued that ethnic identifiers are 'tattooed' on the person from birth, they are linked to terms, which make difficult the identity formation and preservation, and can lead to identity crisis. Kim examined the temple construction in the Western world, built according to the religious belief spread amongst Gujarati Hindus, and how these temples promote identity, signify belongingness and group membership, transform devotional ideas into tangible forms, and endorse the preservation of identity across generations (2007). Patel analysed the South-Asian theatres in the UK, comparing Gujarati-language based and English-language based theatres to understand which support better Gujarati Hindus' second and third generations to uphold their cultural traditions (2007). She suggested that younger generation reacts more positively to their culture if theatres address issues relevant to them and the plays are portrayed in ways appreciated by the majority group. Mattausch examined economic prosperity of Gujarati Hindus settled in Britain from historical perspective, and he found that contrary to other works, which attributed the success to the joint family and community relations, it is a very recent phenomena and partly a product of accidental circumstances and chance (2007a). In a later study, continuing the analysis of British Gujaratis, he viewed the Gujarati Hindu community extended over countries as an internationalised expression of caste belonging, where caste is based on the prioritisation of family and can be considered as an elongation of the joint family system (2007b). Recently he studied how India's imperial and colonial past, the historically experienced oppression, resistance, and empowerment influenced British Gujarati Hindus that with whom they identify themselves and with whom they are compared (2012).

2.3. Shortcomings of other studies and empirical originality of the present research

Cities became focal points of globalisation and migration concurrently; studies also examine what kind of role the city plays in globalisation and migration, and how

these phenomena affect the urban development, landscape, and society. Increasing number of publication observe how ethnic groups and immigrants' express their origin by material attributes and social activities, and how place-making and community-constructing activities relate to each other. Nevertheless, the empirical works concentrate on the discovery and description of ethnic particularities, without seeking the motivation and the demand behind. Studies often lack a theory, restricting the explanation of observed phenomenon to a thick description. Migration studies usually focus on a single migration pattern of a population, and in the case of a comparison, they rather relate more immigrant community in one destination area than comparing more patterns and settlements of migrants from the same population and culture. Moreover, by the observation of ethnic presence further questions are raised, as which need nourishes the efforts to create an own place, and why certain immigrant groups absorb an environment, and maintain their dissimilarity in another.

This research overpasses simple descriptive studies, using a theoretical model by which it asks and replies concrete questions, interprets empirical findings, and tests the applicability and heuristic value of the model at the same time. By providing comparative data, certain factors can be explained with more certainty, and further explanatory forces can be discovered, which otherwise would not be confirmable.

Much of the researches on immigrants, also amongst the first wave of Chicago-studies, are directed toward the observation of inter-ethnic contacts and process of absorption (Fong and Wilkes, 1999, Amin, 2002; Hudson et al., 2007). This research moves away from measuring the assimilation and acculturation, instead, it emphasizes the maintenance of belonging in foreign surroundings and its effects on urban landscape. Against the postmodern experience of deterritorialisation, uprootedness, urban assimilation and the cities' cultural commixture, this research shows the ways how identity re-territorializes and reinforces its roots, by shaping and overcoming the city.

The contemporary forms of identity emerged in Western culture, also place-identity studies moved out from Western culture (Côté and Levine, 2002; Burkitt, 2011), and their object is limited to the Western culture in many cases, considering 'attachment to place in western societies and 'cultures', usually involving neighbourhoods or regions within western cities, and westerners' sense of identity

within such regions' (Teddy, Nikora, and Guerin, 2008, p. 1). This research installs place-identity research in other cultural context and offers a complementary discourse from a culturally and geographically different view.

Regarding the empirical investigations about Indian presence in Europe, although many of them examine the ethnic identity, the place-identity as an explanative force behind the preservation of identity was very scarcely used until now. Place-related empirical works about particularly Gujarati people's experiences are hardly carried out at all in the existing literature. Moreover, geographical range of existing literature about Indian identity within Europe is extremely tight; the majority of the researches focus on the UK; especially studies about Gujarati identity are limited almost in every case to British Gujaratis. Making a comparison with an Italian case, this research provides not only fresh data and new knowledge from a geographically less discovered field, but also a new point of view to examine British Gujaratis' case, and a competent and new analysis.

Examining the case of Indian Gujaratis the thesis exposes a culture not discovered before from this point of view, produces new outcomes and data, thus develops a new product from several points of view, and completes at once our understanding of the universality and particularities of place-identity.

Chapter 3

Theoretical Structure

“To be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognized need of the human soul.”
Simone Weil

3.1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the theoretical background of the research. The thesis explains the attachment to the home place and the consequences of this attachment through the framework of identity theory. A strong interconnection is supposed to be between place and identity, through the perceptions about a concrete place and its emotional significance for an individual, which resulted into the conception of place-identity. Amongst places, the home place is especially intensively involved in the identity formation, as the place of origin.

The following sections explore the train of thought that led me to involve place into the identity concept and examine its effects by the model of place-identity theory. After arguing in favour of identity theory as a framework to understand people-place relationship, I will go over the existing explanations of self and/or identity, dealing with the vast identity literature from different points of view. Then I will elaborate how sense of place becomes a part of the sense who we are; how place is connected to the totality of identity. I will detail the place-identity theory worked out by Proshansky and his colleagues (1983), which was the first attempt to come up with a complete concept around people-environment relationship, however later thinkers revealed its many shortcomings. Seeking after an alternative place-identity explanation derived from identity-theory, I will introduce the main backgrounds, frames, and effects of identity theories, and I will show the potential ways to insert place into each identity-approach. Then I will propose a simple optional perspective, using the person-process-place framework and explaining person-place interaction by factors involved from social identity theory, identity process theory, and symbolic interactionism. Lastly, I will connect the research questions to the proposed place-identity theory, and I will present the research hypotheses.

3.2. Choosing identity theory as a framework

Why I chose to conduct the research according to the framework of identity theory? Firstly, the study of identity is a critical foundation of modern sociological thinking (Cerulo, 1997), and it is one of the most usually raised topic of social sciences (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000, Côté, 2006). Identity theory is calling an increasing attention especially in the last decade, explosively doubling its literature and the number of researches about identity formation from the 2000s (Côté and Levine, 2002). Côté and Levine found the principal reason for this growing interest in the cultural changes, which challenges, but at the same time makes more difficult the identity formation and maintenance, primary for people living in or touching by the Western culture. The significance of identity is demonstrated also by the spreading of its theories in various domains of everyday life; as family, work, gender, language, religion, ethnicism, migration, and politics, mentioning only a few examples. This contemporary interest in identity reinforces that identity theory is being applying in its proper time in this inquiry, and by its application the research may contribute to the progress of identity literature and the deeper understanding of its construction.

My second reason for preferring identity theory is that identity is a very broad, and consequently a very flexible frame, which can be apply effectively to answer various problems from different approaches. This is also the reason for the fragmentation of its literature. Identity works as a balance between self and other, guiding the way of life (Kroger, 2007), it can be a basis of social group membership (Brown, 2000; Tajfel and Turner, 1986), national origin (Schildkraut, 2007), or attachment to a belief system (MacDonald, 2000), and it explains why people conduct themselves negatively towards opposite ethnic, national, cultural groups (Moshman, 2007; Schwartz, Dunkel, and Waterman, 2009). Just because its diversity, certain authors have doubt about the usefulness of identity concept, as it does not assure a clear definition, so a firm research basis (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000; Rattansi and Phoenix, 2005). We identify ourselves and others through clothing, embodiment, language, internal meaning systems, belief systems, memberships, everyday practices, decisions, and so life paths, and amongst many other external and internal characteristics, this research will reinforce that we think about ourselves through place too. Despite its

variable sense and attachment, for human existence it is indispensable to understand the meaning that who are the others, and possess the sense that who we are (Jenkins, 2008).

This argument guides to my last, but probably most important issue to choose identity as a frame. Namely that my research questions can be traced back to the simple question ‘who am I, and how I present myself to others’. When I ask concerning in this research ‘how home place induces an attachment in people’, I am asking how people’s sense of a place contributes to their sense of who they are. My second question about ‘how the event of relocation influences people’s feelings’ is interpretable as how the change of place causes disturbance in the continuity of their identity. Finally the last question: ‘how relocated people express their attachment towards the home place’ is about how immigrants express their belonging to their place of origin and preserve their identity in the place of resettlement. The external place’s influence on the interior identity and its manifestation; the interior identity’s influence on the external place, these are key turning points of the interest of this research.

3.3. Conceptualizing identity

3.3.1. Identity versus self?

Before getting start to elaborate identity, firstly I consider important to clarify how identity and self relate to each other. For example social identity theory considers social identity, as a knowledge of belonging to a group, an identification with its qualities, values, and emotions carried by a membership (Tajfel, 1972). The basis of our social identity is the self-concept, which determine in what aspects we are similar to other people, and in what aspects we are different from them. Moreover social comparison theory states that belonging to a group depends on the self-esteem, and we join, stay, so identify ourselves with a group if it is able to create and preserve our positive self-esteem (Tajfel, 1981). These examples show that different constructions of self, as we saw in the cases of self-concept and self-esteem, are placed within the frame of identity, and sometimes function as its substitutional construct. Could we really distinguish the self from identity? And all the self-related constructs constitute identity in the same extent? The complication is even deeper because some self-constructs, which originally indicated only a person’s possessive relation, also began to be treated as a part of identity literature (Vignoles, Schwartz, and Luyckx, 2011; Soenens and

Vansteenkiste, 2011). For example the self-determination theory (Deci and Ryan, 1985), which concerned how individuals determine their 'own' activities, but which was later taken over by the identity development theory, assimilating the identity to the self (Deci and Ryan, 2002, 2003).

Authors' suggestions are widely distinguish concerning the relation between self and identity. Some of them give evidence of an unnecessary distinction, and the artificiality of separation (see Breakwell, 1987; Roeser, Peck, and Nasir, 2006). Others state that the term of identity encloses 'any' phenomenon associated with the self (see Brubaker and Cooper, 2000; Gergen, 1991). Again, others argue that the use of self is less advanced, as the term is too general and imprecise; instead of applying the expression 'self' it is better to use the word 'individual' or 'person', or to clarify its term determining its subject, as in the case of self-concept or self-esteem (see Leary and Tangney, 2003). Leary also offers a rather grammatical strongpoint to decide which self-constructs could be related to the term of identity. Those expressions in which 'self' works as a reflexive pronoun, as we saw in the original case of self-determination, can be much less linked to identity. While others in which the prefix 'self' refers to a form of self-representation, are stronger associated with the identity (Leary, 2004). For my part, I do not intend to separate the meaning of 'self' and 'identity'; I will use them as synonym terms. I also acknowledge that self related constructs, as self-esteem or self-efficacy inherent within the frame of identity, applying Leary's rule to decide whether the prefix 'self' refers to an identity related construct.

3.3.2. Classifying identity

What is identity? Due to the contemporary interest, literature about understanding identity is extremely vast; however we can divide it according to some key viewpoints. Identity can be defined in personal, relational, and collective level, that a person has one, unitary identity or multiple identities, and that identity is viewed as a rather stable phenomenon or as a fluid representation (Vignoles, Schwartz, and Luyckx, 2011).

Firstly, identity can be defined in personal, relational, and collective level (Burke and Stets, 2009; Sedikides and Brewer, 2001; Vignoles, Schwartz, and Luyckx, 2011). This division can concern to the content of identity, but also to the processes by

which identity is created and preserved. Personal or individual identity focuses on the elements of identity at individual level, as values and goals (Waterman, 1999), religious and spiritual beliefs (MacDonald, 2000), moral ideas and decision-making (Hardy and Carlo, 2005), self-enhancement (Sedikides and Gregg, 2008), future self (Markus and Nurius, 1986), and life story (McAdams, 2006). Relational identity approach starts out the perspective that identity is formed in interpersonal space or within the frame of a larger organization, so it concerns to the role developed in face-to-face with other people (Chen, Boucher, and Tapias, 2006; Grotevant, Dunbar, Kohler, and Esau, 2000). This idea also contains the condition that identity needs to be recognized by and negotiated with the surrounding society through interactions (Swann, 2005). Collective identity is based on the individual's identification with a group or a social category, on the meaning with which the individual fill these entities, and also the sense and behaviour which are consequences of a belonging (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). This collectivity can be a family (Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, and Shin, 2006), a working unit (Cornilissen, Haslam, and Balmer, 2007), a religious (Cohen, Hall, Koenig, and Meador, 2005) or an ethnic group (De Fina, 2007), a nation (Schildkraut, 2007), a culture (Triandis et al., 1988a, 1988b), a gender (Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004), or any type of group or social category membership. This research focuses on research participants as prototypical members of a minority group; therefore it emphasizes the collective aspect of identity.

Another possible differentiation amongst identity explanations approaches from the number of identities, which an individual can possess. It distinguishes the theories concerning if a person has one, unitary identity or multiple identities (Vignoles, Schwartz, and Luyckx, 2011). An example for the previous is Erikson's model of psychosocial growth (1950), who argues later also in favour of an integrated identity, in which the multiple identifications were incorporated by the processes of formation and assimilation (Erikson, 1968). Some post-modern authors find the reason of multiple identity formation in the challenges, dilemmas and complication of contemporary life, which requires an adaptation to the rapidly varying circumstances, including changing place and time context (Gergen, 1991). We could make further differences in the schools of multiple identity, whether these plural identities exist separately within a single person who is turning from one identity to another (Savin-Williams, 2005), or a

person's identity is a combination of multiple identities forms (Gagné, Tewksbury, and McGaughey, 1997). My thesis concentrates on the place related dimension of identity; the so-called place-identity. But contrary to e.g. Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff, who viewed place-identity as a sub-identity (1983), I rather approach towards place as a ubiquitous element, being present in every dimension of identity. Fitting in this view, many identity parts permeate the self, creating a single, unitary identity, however all parts have place-related significance.

A next difference within the field, whether theories consider identity as a rather stable phenomenon or as a fluid representation that changes in different contexts (Vignoles, Schwartz, and Luyckx, 2011). These different ideas attract different schools. The stability of identity is accepted mainly by developmental psychologists, who argue that identity change is a long-term process, and it becomes relevant primary in a specific period of lifetime, notably during the adolescent and the coming to adulthood (Erikson, 1968, Arnett, 2000, Umana-Taylor, Bhanot, and Shin, 2006). After when its formation is finished, the identity remains majorly stable and fix. However increasing number of studies confirm that identity formation can be activated in later periods too, when developmental or social changes happen in a person's life, as a married person divorces, or a parent's child growing up leaves the family home (Kroger and Haslett, 1988; Carter and McGoldrick, 2004). From another point of view, the short-term variation of identity is represented mainly by social-psychologists and discursive psychologists, who concentrate on the actually salient aspect of identity in the current intergroup context (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, and Wetherell, 1987; Turner and Onorato, 1999). Nevertheless people are not passive participants of the social changes, they do not face the contextual changes powerlessly. They choose between different contexts, selecting which is able to reinforce their own self-perception, which serves to reach a stabile state (Swann, 2005). Likewise the stability of identity also can be a favourable outcome of continuous changes, choices and refuses in order to preserve the identity, to defend the positivity of self-perception against threats (Tesser, 2000, Gregg, Sedikides, and Gebauer, 2011). A basic assumption of my research is that immigrants meet the new environment with an identity already shaped and stabilized by their place of origin. But migrants' movement to another country is accompanied by many challenges, which require flexibility and adaptability. In a new place obviously a tension is produced

between the requirements of new surroundings and the ‘old’ identity which was formed by, and adapted to another place. This tension may activate the people’s place-making capacities, condensing in the environment, or it may reactivate the identity formation, affecting the self.

Identity studies vary also according to the natural or constructed origin of identity (Vignoles, Schwartz, and Luyckx, 2011). Identity can be discovered; in the eudaimonistic identity theory our identity, our ‘true self’ has already existed, and our goal during the identity formation is to gradually expose it (Waterman, 1986). We must discover our true nature, personal potentials, our purposes in living, and find the chances to act according to them. If we live faithfully to our ‘true self’, we could gain the positive ‘feelings of personal expressiveness’ (Waterman, 1990, 1993, 2011). Contrary to this theory, in the constructivist studies identity is built from the beginning; from the zero level, closing out an already existing self. But this identity construction can be controlled by the individual himself, as a personal construction (Berzonsky, 1990, 1993, 2011; Kelly, 1955), or by the local or broader historical, social, and cultural contexts, as a social construction (Kitzinger and Wilkinson, 1995; Somers and Gibson, 1994; Pasupathi, 2001). However there is possibility to an interaction between the personal and social identity constructions, because personal processes can be restrained by specific social processes what the individual must take attention (Vignoles, Schwartz, and Luyckx, 2011). The constructivist and discovery perspectives on identity also can be integrated, because self-construction can be considered as a track of self-discovery. In this case, during a person’s steps to develop her sense of self she is discovering simultaneously herself, her goals, and potentials to reach them (Schwartz, 2002). The thesis views identity primarily as a social construction: a product of historical, social, cultural context. Examining identity at group level, in this case as an ethnic and religious minority group, the effects of social construction may be more visible, and it subserves to understand also how context of new place influences and shapes further an already formed identity.

3.4. A dimension to explore: place

3.4.1. Differentiation between space and place, and the concept of genius loci

Before elaborating the adjustment of place concept into that of identity, it is necessary to clarify the difference between space and place, although similarly to the term of identity there does not exist a complete, consentaneous definition to them.

According to Bechtel and Churchman space covers an ‘abstract geometrical extension indifferent with respect to any human activities’. ‘[I]f human activity, experience, or behaviour is necessary to characterize space, an appropriate attribute is called for, as in personal space, [...] perceptual space, existential space’ (Bechtel and Churchman, 2002, p. 108). So in this sense place is a concretised space which connects to human sense. Contrary to the space, place ‘has in itself a strongly experiential connotation’ (Bechtel and Churchman, 2002, p. 108). Relph declares that place has the unique quality that concentrates human experiences and actions in spatial way (1976). Tuan reinforces the personal particularity of place, claiming that what ‘begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value’ (1977, p. 6). If we speak about the particularities of place, we must mention the genius loci, which originally referred to the sacredness of place, precisely to the local god whom spirit protected and pervaded the area (Loukaki, 1997). Nowadays, genius loci as a spirit refers to the unique atmosphere, character, and feeling of a place. There is a debate whether genius loci is generated simply as the material qualities of place, e.g. topography, geology, weather, landscape, natural and human constructions, and the human activities of place, e.g. conscious and unconscious routines, events, understandings, build on each other and people experienced it (Seamon, 2011). Later researches suggest that genius loci is socially constructed; the sense about the uniqueness of place is projected by people, ‘referring to the associations that an individual or collective subject has acquired in relation to a specific place: the god, in other words, is no longer located in the [place], but in the head’ (Rigby, 2003, p. 110).

According to these interpretations, the thesis will apply the previous approaches: contrary to the abstractness and intangibility of space, places are concretely experienceable, distinguishable, and remarkable. The knowledge gained about a place results in the capacity that we can remember to the place. Through the experience, actions, perceptions gained in a place the place becomes cognisable and it receives its

own meaning and value. The extension of a place's material qualities by human activities can produce a unique ambiance of the place, a *genius loci*, which includes also the associations linked to the place.

I close with the general conclusion that place is a complex and multifaceted term. It is associated with the concept of space, and attracts terms as location, belonging, production, community, interaction, emotion, memory, imagination, behaviour, otherness, inclusion-exclusion, strategy, power, and self-concept, which terms are in mutual action too. Therefore it is not surprising that very different disciplines, as geography, architecture, philosophy, sociology, psychology, politics, history, and inter-disciplinary fields also find inspiration in place, and chose it as an object for exploration again and again.

3.4.2. Roots, fulfilment, and shortcomings of place-identity theory

The idea that people have particular feelings towards their environment and this bond influences their identity has drawn up from the 1970s in different fields. In human geography Relph recognised that by its own identity a place can 'be differentiated from others' (Relph, 1976, p. 45), while people's feeling about being inside a place develops their 'identity with place'. Tuan also gave evidence to the 'sense of place'; an 'affective or emotional bond between an individual and a particular place' (Tuan, 1977, p. 7). Stokols and Shumaker defined the concept of 'place dependence' as a person's perceived strength of association with a place, and emphasized the endurance and frequency as criteria of dependence (1981). Later human experience of place has been studied by Buttimer (1993), Soja (1989), and as 'place attachment' by Altman and Low (1992). The ideas of sense of place and place attachment became initial points to understand the belonging to a place as a process of self-categorization, and the concept of place began to spread across different scientific areas. Academics of environmental psychology, as Proshansky (1978), Russell and Ward (1982), and Brown (1987) thought that the environment's physical attributes contribute to the self-identity's fulfilment. The appreciation of people's bond to places also appeared amongst sociologists who focused on the social construction of place attachment and the symbolic meaning of space (Milligan, 1998; Gieryn, 2000; Stedman, 2002); anthropologists who observed the built environment's effects on human behaviour (Lawrence and Low, 1990), and it

subverted the development of architectural phenomenology (Norberg-Schultz, 1980; Seamon, 2000), discovering ‘the way people exist in relation to their world’ (Seamon, 2000, p. 159).

Relph, who was amongst the first minds opening the boundaries of geographical terms and searching the relationship between place and people, wished to understand deeper why people try to maintain some existing place and create new ones (Relph, 1981, 1993). He found that the key concept is the human significance of place. The central idea was the relation between place and individual’s identity, like ‘identity born with place’, and ‘identity of place’. Relph identified three components of the identity of place: one is the place’s material context; the physical environment, the second is given by the activities, which are played at the place, and the third is the meaning that an individual creates about the place through personal experiences. Amongst the ways in which places can be experienced Relph described an authentic sense as a direct and unfeigned way, contrary to the unauthentic sense which is influenced by fashion, intellectual trends, and social conventions. Individuals and communities have the capacity to create a place either consciously or without awareness. But with the loss of speciality and diversity of the places, people can lose their sensibility to the place too, getting in a state of ‘placelessness’ (Relph, 1976). Almost in the same time Tuan created the opposite term of ‘placelessness’: the phenomenon of ‘topophilia’ which is triggered by a deeply touching, personal love towards a physical environment (1977). The loss of ‘topophilia’, the danger of ‘placelessness’ is even more probable during the age of globalisation.

Relph’s and Tuan’s thoughts were set up and elaborated in urban context by Harold M. Proshansky (1978). He was looking for a way to analyse the person-physical setting problems. By examining the self-definition derived from place Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff filled a long-standing vacuum in identity studies (Proshansky et al., 1983). However before them James, Mead, and Goffman have already called attention in different points to the role of social and material environment assigned in the concept of identity, Proshansky and his colleagues firstly attempted to work out a complete concept around people-environment relationship, derived from the self-theory. When we talked about place-identity, this term mostly refers to the place-identity

concept worked out by them (Proshansky, 1978; Proshansky and Fabian, and Kaminoff, 1983; Proshansky and Fabian, 1987).

Focusing on the self-identity Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff found that it is determined on one hand by the experience and behaviour of individual, and on the other hand by the social and cultural background of individual. He suggested that there are physical dimensions that contribute to the self-identity's fulfilment, and at the same time these physical components become parts of the self-identity. Therefore place attachment contributes to build a place-identity, and place-identity reinforces the self-identity, as its part. With his colleagues he created the term of place-identity to describe the 'physical world socialization of the self' (Proshansky et al., 1983. p. 57), and they integrated place-identity into the self, as a distinctive 'sub-structure of self-identity' (Proshansky et al., 1983. p. 59). They identified the components of place-identity as 'those dimensions of self that define an individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values' (Proshansky, 1978, p. 150).

In this interpretation, they are the places that signify physical context for the identity's social and cultural dimensions, so the influence of environment takes place at the social and cultural side of the self-identity. Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff confessed that place-identity is comparable to social identity; place-identity broadly manifests the individual's socialisation in the physical world. They suggested a wide and comprehensive definition by determining place-identity as 'pot-pourri of memories, conceptions, interpretations, ideas and related feelings about specific physical settings as well as types of settings' (1983, p. 59-60). They gave five functions of place-identity: recognition, meaning, expressive-requirement, mediating change, and anxiety and defence function. Putting the focus on the psychological construct of identity, they completed the concept of place-identity with the important explanation that place makes available to people to express and affirm their identity (Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff, 1983). Their term and theory widely dispersed in the people-place studies, and has dominated the environmental psychology literature (Twigger-Ross et al., 2003).

As Proshansky and his colleagues included many aspects of place in their interpretation of place-identity, other approaches to place too went beyond its physical implication, and tried to catch its symbolic sense. Korpela proposed that place-identity

is a product of active (but perhaps not conscious) environmental self-regulation, based on an emotional attachment, which can reach symbolic dimensions using place-based meanings (1989). Later other researchers too underlined that symbolic meaning of place contributes to form and strengthen place-identity. Place is not indifferent to people, it has a meaning, and so it offers a medium of symbols through which people's identity can be expressed (Czikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Schroeder, 1991; Greider and Garkovich, 1994; Milligan, 1998). 'Rather than a collection of universally defined physical attributes, places are symbolic contexts imbued with meaning. These meanings emerge and evolve through ongoing interaction with others and the environment', argued Kyle and Chick (2007). Therefore, places have a subjective symbolic aspect; they can be viewed also as symbolic surroundings too, which have different meanings and attributes to different people.

To refer to the emotional tie felt towards a place mainly two terms spread in the literature: the place-identity (Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff, 1983; Giuliani and Feldman, 1993; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996) and the place attachment (Giuliani, 1991; Altman and Low, 1992; Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001). While certain authors use these terms synonymously, arguing that both concepts cover the same phenomenon (see Brown and Werner, 1985), or integrate the term 'attachment' under the identity (see Stedman, 2002), others separate these terms, thinking them to be different concepts who nevertheless overlap each other in certain measure (see Hernandez, Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace, and Hess, 2007). Also others view them as two different levels of the affection; the place attachment is a preliminary step to progress towards the place-identity; place-identity is developing through place attachment (see Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996).

In the thesis I will not separate the phenomenon of place attachment from that of the place-identity, as attachment refers to an affixation likewise the identity. Both place attachment and place-identity 'refer collectively to the idea that people invest places with meaning and significance and act in ways that reflect their bonding and linkage with places' (Werner, Altman, and Oxley, 1985, p.5). Nevertheless, as in identity literature we do not use the synonym of self-attachment instead of self-identity, I resist using place attachment and place-identity as synonym terms. Identity in every level and dimension contains an emotional attachment; an attachment to a conduct, a person, an idea, an object, a place, but at the same time it involves a long-term commitment too.

According to Giuliani, it is difficult to find the point from when place attachment turns to be a part of identity (2003). I view the difference between the two phenomena in their endurance of time, and I consider place-identity as it is based on the attachment towards place, but it is formed and strengthened over time. As in the research I examine the lifetime affixation towards the home place in order to prove its effects on identity, I will apply the term of place-identity to describe the phenomenon, however with quite different content and setting from its original interpretation by Proshansky and his colleagues.

While there is accordance concerning the contribution of place to the identity, opinions differ on the structure, how place connects to identity. The main difference is whether the attaching to place incorporates as ‘a substructure of the self-identity of the person’, as Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff proposed (1983, p. 59), or ‘all aspects of identity will, to a greater or lesser extent, have place-related implications’, as Twigger-Ross and Uzzell suggested (1996, p. 208). I will argue for the latter claim; presenting that place plays a basic role in various dimensions as ethnic, religious, gender aspects of identity, assuring literally ‘a place’, a physical world, where these senses, belongings, and memberships can be realized, reinforcing further the attachment to the place. As Eyles underlined; place ‘is not only an arena for everyday life [... it] provides meaning to that life. To be attached to a place is seen as a fundamental human need and [...] as the foundation of our selves and our identities’ (1989, p. 109).

The place-identity theory worked out by Proshansky and his colleagues was the earliest theory that attempted to integrate entirely place into the concept of identity, and by this it supplied the demand of an ‘ecological conception’ of self (see Craik and McKechnie, 1977). By construction of term place-identity they grounded the role of place in environmental psychological identity-researches, making the place-identity theory to be an inevitable, dominant part of every research about human attachment to place (Twigger-Ross et al., 2003). However later many criticisms touched their theory (see Dixon, 2000). Deficiencies of both theoretical and empirical sides drove me to seek for another theoretical guide, which is more adequate for my research. Instead of place-identity theory I intend to use a merged theoretical frame of other approaches. In the following I will provide the reasons by elaborating the shortcomings of place-identity theory, that why I think this theory insufficient for this research.

Criticisms around place-identity theory were various, and generally argued that the theory is not enough developed for a use both as a theoretical framework and empirical testing (Bonaiuto et al., 1996; Speller et al., 2002). Concerning the theoretical deficiency, a discontent appeared because of the too broad definition of place-identity (Korpela, 1989), and because it neglects the social dimension of identity (Lalli, 1992). Korpela proposed to narrow the regard of place-identity, focusing on people's effort to shape their environment, as through environmental practices they create a coherent sense of self, and make visible their self to others. According to him belonging is the prominent attribute of place-identity, as in the process of self-definition too (see also Cuba and Hummon, 1993). Korpela argued that 'place-belongingness is not only one aspect of place-identity, but a necessary basis for it. Around this core the social, cultural and biological definitions and cognitions of place which become part of the person's place-identity are built' (Korpela, 1989, p. 246). The other theoretical problem was the unfitness of place-identity theory to the general model of self (Twigger-Ross et al., 2003). By neglecting its integration into the self-identity, the model loses the linkage with any identity theory. The theory also missed to cover how place-identity is developing, and what is the relation between the functions of place-identity and other identity categories. It did not clarify whether the five recognized functions (recognition, meaning, expressive-requirement, mediating change, and anxiety/defence) work only in the case of place-identity or in other identity theories too (Hauge, 2007). Twigger-Ross and her colleagues expressed disappointment, because place-identity theory does not explicate how the five functions serve the integration of the individual's self-identity, how is the nature of this integration, and which processes emerge from it. They found that concerning the functions 'there is one key principle that seems to dominate with respect to integration of self-identity, and this is continuity. The five functions discussed all focus on the importance of maintaining continuity of place in order to maintain continuity of self' (Twigger-Ross et al., 2003, p. 215). Sarbin has already debated in his comments on Proshansky and his colleagues's work that place-identity is set as a cognitive entity, and the attributes and functions of which might be reliably measured, are limited (Sarbin, 1983). Dixon argued that the central problem of place-identity was that it was viewed 'as a specific kind of phenomenon: individualistic, mentalistic, uncontested and apolitical' (Dixon, 2000, p. 31).

The empirical testing of place-identity theory did not spread, and the scarcity of empirical works also expresses its theoretical insufficiency. Because instruments for measuring the concept were not defined, the adequate guide was missing for an empirical testing (Lalli, 1992). Indeed, deep and comprehensive empirical works have not yet been reported about the test of place-identity, nor about the construction and modification of the concept; the empirical works did not support the further theoretical development (Twigger-Ross et al., 2003). However place-identity theory is frequently used in studies, it is applied as a starting point and a general formulation, and not as a theoretical framework (see e.g. Feldman, 1990, 1996; Lalli, 1992). The term of place-identity was also used to analyse the role of place in identity, without applying Proshansky's theory (see Hull et al., 1994), and the term became a general description of a subjective sense of identification with a place (Twigger-Ross et al., 2003.).

Summarising by Lalli's words, 'the following problems are seen to characterize the psychological research on 'place identity': heterogeneity of terms and their spatial extension, differing theoretical foundations and fragmented formulations, lack of adequate measuring instruments, and a scarcity of empirical work' (Lally, 1992, p. 285). While the dominance of place-identity term in environmental psychologist studies shows the call for a concept which identifies the contribution of place to identity, the empirical neglect of place-identity theory refers to that to understand the phenomena there is not sufficient a theory, which limits exclusively to the part of place played in identity (Hauge, 2007). On the other side, the identity theories are broadly elaborated and fed back intensively by empirical tests too, but they gave little or no attention to the role of place. This duality being present in researches concerning identity and place drove me to, instead of use the formulated place-identity theory, rather involve place into the frame of identity-theories.

Nevertheless there are significant points what I share with Proshansky and his colleagues. The first is that I use their important term 'place-identity' to refer the place-related component of the self, however not according to its original interpretation. I also accept that place attachment is a condition of place-identity. The other is that contrary to Rowles, who argued that past places are used in present construction of self (1983), I acknowledge Proshansky's conception about the 'environmental past' (1983). Proshansky regarded that 'place-identity in essence evolves from and represents the

environmental past of each individual', and past place determine the current identity. Giuliani suggested that place attachment is a specific affection to a single place, and it begins in childhood (2003). Sharing Proshansky's relating though, I recognize rather a more static socialization process within the environmental past, than a continuous active role of individual in identity construction.

3.5. Highlighting identity schools and their links to place

3.5.1. The reason of review

Within identity field studies we can make difference not only according to the view of certain characteristics of self construct, as I did in the previous sections, but also according to the roots of identity theories, and the schools' current theoretical emphases on them. As we could see before, certain schools attach to certain perspectives how identity is viewed.

The following sections review the main traditional identity-theories, elaborating their position to the self and presenting their links to the place, in order to understand the theoretical origins of place-related identity-concepts too. In the latest forty years, the idea that identity has place-related dimension by belonging to a geographical territory was spread and acknowledged wisely, resulting in the terms of place attachment and place-identity. While these concepts approach towards place as a component of self, not only their interpretation is various, but their structure and composition too, therefore the quality of their theoretical fittingness to the general model of identity, and the relation between the functions of place-identity and other identity categories and processes are highly varying.

In the following I will shortly evaluate the very main identity schools, reviewing the theoretical basis of personal identity, group and social identity, symbolic interactionism, and discursive approaches to identity, mentioning the critical acknowledgement of theories and their further effects. The diachronic reconstruction of identity studies makes possible to see the variety of lens through the core components of self was examined over time, to understand how and why certain elements were built into the frame of identity, and to gain a complex view about the multifaceted concept of self. Many of these models provide opportunity for embodying a place-related approach into the frame of identity, and therefore they will contribute to this research analysis.

The review of identity theories is key-important to understand why and in what ways the place is possible to be involved into the frame of identity.

3.5.2. Personal identity

Researches on personal identity, especially developmental psychological researches appeared following James, who worked out the concept of identity amongst the firsts in social sciences (see James, 1890, 1892). Besides reinforcing the thought that people are social creatures, he showed the duplicity of self, decomposing the full self for the conjoining pair of 'I'; the inner, subjective being, and the 'Me'; the empirical, objective element of self. The unifying 'I' and 'Me' assure the self's coexistent particularity as the 'known' and the 'knower'.

Yet at this early exploration of identity's nature, James made a pioneer contribution by discovering also the material side of identity. He stated that 'between what a man calls me and what he simply calls mine the line is difficult to draw' (1890, pp. 279), and he considered that our material possession is the extension of our identity; the projection of self. As he concluded, 'a man's self is the sum total of what he CAN call his' (1890, pp. 280), consequently he expanded identity to the material world; to people's surrounding environment. James distinguished four constituents of self: the material self, the social self, the spiritual self, and the pure ego. The material self includes not only our possessions, like our home, but also our body, our clothing, as an element of our outlook, our family members, as a part of ourselves. The social self refers to the recognition, which a person receives from others. '[A] man has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize him and carry an image of him in their mind' (James, 1890, p. 294). He recognized that people possess multiple selves according to their different places filled in the society. An individual can be shown in different positions towards different groups; each of these positions has its own meaning and outlook, and each of them incorporates within the individual's identity. The individual's multiple selves are perceived as different identities. Therefore he argued that as people's identity is constituted by different selves, it can be considered that people possess multiple identities. However, while a person's certain identity characteristics can become salient for other people, the same may remain insignificant to the individual, so self-image is a subjective phenomenon. Finally, the spiritual self

pertains to the self-reflections and philosophical traits, and to those phenomena that are felt. James did not limited spiritual self exclusively on religious believes, but he included ‘every impulse towards psychic progress, whether intellectual, moral, or spiritual in the narrow sense of the term’ (1890, p. 309). Therefore, the seeking of spiritual self in James’view refers to the intellectual, moral, and religious aspirations.

James introduced the process of self-esteem, as a motivating and forming force which drives people’s behaviour, and he worked out a formula to show how self-esteem is linked to people’s pretentions and successes. Self-esteem in James’ interpretation depends on the ratio of accomplishment to aspiration; the proportion of our achievement to our pretension. If we achieve more, but our pretension is also high, our self-esteem will stay in slow level, while if the accomplishment is modest, but our aspiration is much more humble, our self-esteem will be high. In this approach people’s goals signify a standard of measurement to evaluate their acts (James, 1890; Burke and Stets, 2009).

Amongst the approaches to personal identity James’s theory standouts considering the role of place played in identity, as James was not only amongst the firsts who mapped the identity, but he involved the material environment from the beginning into his analysis. Within physical places, James emphasized people’s bond to the place of home. He described the place of home as a part of ourselves; [i]ts scenes are part of our life; its aspects awaken the tenderest feelings of affection; and we do not easily forgive the stranger who, in visiting it, finds fault with its arrangements or treats it with contempt’ (1890, p. 292). He named people’s need for a home as a ‘blind impulse ... to find for ourselves a home of our own which we may live in and ‘improve’ (1890, p. 292-293). But our material self contains our body, our family relations, and our clothes too with the similar blind impulse to identify ourselves with them, protect them, deck them, and collect properties. ‘[T]he collections [of properties] thus made became, with different degrees of intimacy, parts of our empirical selves’ (James, 1890, p. 293). Following James later many researchers supported that material possession play important role in the self, as its part and/or identity extension, like Prelinger (1959), Gordon (1968), Dixon and Street (1975), Belk (1988), Van der Bogaard and Wiegman (1991), Ikeuchi, Fujihara, and Dohi (2000), and Dittmar (2011).

James attributed the same weight to the material self than to the social self, and to the spiritual self; all these parts of self are predestinated to keep up the positive self-

esteem. He argued that every aspect of self; the material, social, and spiritual ones attempt to achieve a personal prestige, raise the confidence, pride, and self-satisfaction. That is why people cherish to their family, decorate themselves and their homes, and improve their surroundings. The guiding principle of self-esteem is an important connective element between the personal identity theory, the social identity theory, and the identity process theory, and it was often applied to understand what leads people to attach and shape a place and how place-identity functions, by Korpela (1989), Lalli (1992), and Uzzell (1995) among others.

The concept of personal identity was elaborated further by Erik Erikson, who created the model of psychological growth (see Erikson, 1950, 1956, 1963). In his ego psychoanalytic theory, he distinguished eight phases of ego growth, which were related to one-one psychosocial crisis during the individual's lifetime. In ideal case, during these phases a person and her social context develop parallel, and create a constructive relation between them. Social institutions serve as pre-conditions that evoke the personal development, forming a unity with mutual regulation between the individual and the society (Rapaport, 1958). During the process of ego identity development Erikson emphasized the age of adolescent, in which the person is devoted to 'some new synthesis of past and future: a synthesis which must include but transcend the past, even as identity does' (Erikson, 1963, p. 97). At crisis stages the creative relation between individual and society produces a positive solution. Identity formation is a developmental process during these crisis of lifetime, and the 'final identity, then, as fixed at the end of adolescence is superordinated to any single identification with individuals of the past: it includes all significant identifications, but it also alters them in order to make a unique and reasonably coherent whole of them' (Erikson, 1956, pp. 67–68).

Beside other theories of ego identity development (see Freud, 1946; Rapaport, 1958), the eudaimonistic perspective of self-discovery (see Waterman, 1986), furthermore researches on ethnic (see Phinney, 1989, 1993; Marcia, 1980, 1994), and women's identity (see Schenkel and Marcia, 1972) are strongly interconnected with Erikson's thoughts. A 'neo-Eriksonian tradition' also emerged (Schwartz, 2001), extended the ego psychoanalytic theory, based on James E. Marcia's thoughts. His identity status theory also focuses on adolescent development, claiming that an

adolescent identity is formed by two processes: the crisis when the person's choices are re-examined, and the commitment which ends the crisis accepting a role. According to the adolescent's relation to the crisis and commitment, there are the choices and commitments made, concerning personal and social attributes, which determine a person's sense of identity (Marcia, 1966, 1993).

Although Erikson did not call attention directly to the physical environment, Fried recognized that Erikson's ego psychoanalytic theory contains spatial elements, arguing according to the theory that location affects identity. Based on Erikson's discussion, Fried created the concept of 'spatial identity' to understand the negative emotions caused by the relocation and to describe the residential attachment (1963, 1982). However, outside of Fried, Erikson's ego psychoanalytic theory was no more used to base an approach towards place-identity. But we can note here indirect influences, as Erikson interpreted the development of identity relying on the individual's social context. This includes the understanding of the environment too, in which the individual's social relations take place. While Erikson emphasized the age of adolescent as an intensive period in identity formation, some researchers also argued that a certain lifetime, notably the childhood plays an outstanding role in identity formation, through the attachment to place. Chawla examined the place attachment in age of childhood, searching for how different places at different stages can facilitate identity development, and found that childhood is an outstanding period in the process of place attachment (1992, 1993). Marcus confirmed that place attachment in childhood stabilises memories (1992). Therefore, empirical results also suggest that location in early age of identity development evokes and activates place-identity too.

3.5.3. Group and social identity

Till now we reviewed the individual identity, but as the individual always persists in the context of society, individual and society are related to each other as two sides of the same coin (see Cooley, 1902). Advancing from the individual towards the society, researches on group identity and social identity first conquered in social-psychological studies. They studied the intergroup relations, and they were searching for the role of group membership in the process of social identification. Henri Tajfel and John

Turner's social identity theory laid the groundwork for these quests (see Tajfel and Turner, 1981, 1986).

The social identity theory bases on the idea that people identify themselves with qualities, values, and emotions of the group in which they are members. This identification demonstrates what makes people similar to others and different to them at the same time. Individuals become unified into a group, and the share membership can produce group behaviour (Turner et al., 1987). Social identity theory was based on two ideas. One was the categorization process; that identity is formed relating to social group or category, e.g. gender, nationality, or ethnicity. The other was a social-motivational base; the idea of social comparison; that people make social comparison between the group to which they belong and other groups, and a positive result of comparison motivates them to preserve the sense of 'positive group distinctiveness', for maintaining their self-esteem. So people's social identity depends on the positive characteristic of the group compared to others; according to the social identity theory too, self-esteem guides people to leave certain groups and join to others. Tajfel did not argue that social identity is more dominant or important than other components of identity, however he thought that it could be more salient and it can be determining in intergroup contexts; therefore social identity helps to understand categories as patriotism, ethnicism, and xenophobia. The theory built not only on the maintenance of self-esteem and self-enhancement, but also on a search for a distinctive identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1981, 1986).

Later Tajfel and Turner broadened the idea of social identity into the self-categorization theory, elucidating the contrast between the group and individual identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987). Self-categorization theory focused more on the self, not only in intergroup, but also in intragroup context, depending on which level; personal, group, or even on the level of whole humanity is taking place the self-definition. While in the social identity theory the social identity was viewed as a part of the self-concept, according to the self-categorization theory individual and group identities were considered as different levels of self-categorization. However, self-definition remained relative and comparative in this theory too (Spears, 2011).

Later the social identity theory was extended outside of social-psychological studies, influencing political science (Huntington, 2004; Schildkraut, 2007; Huddy and

Khatib, 2007), organizational behaviour and work motivation (Haslam, van Knippenberg, Platow, and Ellemers; 2003), and language and communication studies (Harwood and Giles, 2005).

However social identity theory viewed environment, as it is neutral, Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, and Breakwell found that this theory could be easily develop further to integrate place into identity (Twigger-Ross et al., 2003). To reach positive ingroup distinctiveness Tajfel distinguished three strategies: the individual mobility, the social creativity, and the social competition (Tajfel, 1981). Twigger-Ross and her colleagues argued that when place is treated as a social category, these strategies are well translatable. In this case place is viewed as a membership of a group or social entity, because place can be often linked to a local group living there, embodying their symbols, their social status, and other traces of their lifestyle. They argued that because place represents and incarnates a group, social identity have place related connections and closely adjust to the place attachment. They suggested that '[w]ith respect to places it can be said that people move to specific places in order to increase or maintain a positive social identity, suggesting that social identities have place related implications which can be mobilized to enhance or diminish social identity' (Twigger-Ross et al., 2003, p. 206). For example speaking about city people or village people, place is interpreted as a social category, and people move between places similarly to a movement between groups, guiding by the preservation of positive self-esteem. A person can bond to a place 'because it facilitates "distinctiveness" from other places, or affirms the specialness of one's group' (Scannell and Gifford, 2010, p. 5).

Social identity theory allows a multi-level place-identity; a person can possess multiple social identities referring to various geographical levels at the same time. According to the level of social group, people focus on different level of place too, always driving by the intention to maintain their positive self-esteem. Bonaiuto, Breakwell, and Cano demonstrated that the stronger of the local urban identity of residents, the less polluted they perceived their own city to be, while the strong national identity resulted less perception about environmental pollution on country level (1996). They concluded that 'the struggle for a positive social identity, which offers positive self-esteem through self-enhancement, can therefore also be achieved through, what we might call, positive 'in-place' distinctiveness' (Bonaiuto et al., 1996, p. 172). These

results confirm not only Twigger-Ross's suggestion that place-related implications could influence the level of social identity, but also that the identification with a group influences the perception of their place too. In this case place is not only a representative import of social-identity, but also an exterior, independent factor.

Although theoretical arguments and empirical tests also proved that social identity theory can be transferable to place, I would like to call attention to the limits of its application. Firstly, place-related implications are applicable especially in those cases when social identity became salient and people act according their group membership. Secondly, social identity theory based on one guiding principle: the self-esteem, and explains the relation towards place exclusively on this single motivation.

3.5.4. Traditional symbolic interactionism

The examination of self in social context leads to the symbolic interactionist frame of identity, of which groundwork was provided majorly by the earlier discussed James (1890), moreover Charles Horton Cooley (1902), and George Herbert Mead (1934).

Earlier I have already referred to Cooley's approach to the mutual relationship between identity and society. He created the concept of 'looking glass self' that concerns to the way in which a person gains his sense of self (see Cooley, 1902, 1909). Our looking glass self is neither our actual self, nor others' perception of us, but it is our own perception about how others may think of us. Cooley supposed that human mind is social, and we view our own identity reflecting to the other people's imagined perceptions about it. The looking glass self is a mental image, and its formation takes three steps. First, we imagine how we can look for other people. Then we imagine basing on our perception, how other people can judge our personality and appearance. This process tends to understand the others' positive or negative judgment, and our understanding towards the others' feedback can be correct or incorrect. Finally, we build our self-concept. If we felt the others' evaluation to be positive, our self-concept rises in a higher position, but if we felt a negative evaluation, it brings our self-concept down. Because a person forms his self in the context of his interaction with others, self is never fix; it is flexible and is continuously developing according to the social context, which results the interdependent existence of self and society. As Cooley stated: [s]elf

and society go together, as phases of a common whole. I am aware of the social groups in which I live as immediately and authentically as I am aware of myself" (1909, p. 8-9). In this approach self exists only in the context of interpersonal interactions, so in the society (Cooley, 1902, 1909). A phenomenon recently observed by psychologists, called the Michelangelo phenomenon also supported Cooley's idea. It concerned to the close partnerships and marital relationships in which the individuals can build mutually each other's 'ideal self', reflecting to the affirmation of other person. While they mutually conform themselves to each other's ideas, they create a harmonious and satisfactory common life (see Drigotas, Rusbult, Wieselquist, and Whitton, 1999; Rusbult, Finkel, and Kumashiro, 2009).

Explaining the self, Cooley reflected exclusively on the social environment and neglected the material dimension of a place. Although the mechanism of looking glass was not adopted by any approach towards people-place relationship, place-identity researchers argue that beside the material level of place its social level also contributes to place attachment (see Riger and Lavrakas, 1981; Mesch and Manor, 1998; Scannell and Gifford, 2010). As Altman and Low wrote, 'places are, therefore, repositories and contexts within which interpersonal, community, and cultural relationships occur, and it is to those social relationships, not just the place qua place, to which people are attached' (1992, p. 7).

Mead went further than James and Cooley. Criticizing Cooley as for him there are imaginations that give the ground of the society, and not the symbolic interactions (Schubert, 2006), he filled the gap left by James about identity-development, and completed Cooley's thoughts with the idea of 'role-taking' (see also Blumer, 1969). According to the role-taking process, the individual accepts and applies the role of another person or a group to be able to understand the world from their perspectives, and to find out their intentions and reasons for acting. But role-taking is just the first step in identity development. Then people begin to create their own roles in the frame of role-making process, expecting other persons' reactions. Finally, on the level of role-playing they begin to play their refined roles (Mead, 1934).

In his thoughts Mead, following Dewey's view, crossed the idea of evolution - that for development humanity had to adapt to its environment-, and its pragmatic implication, as when an activity is obstructed, the mind selects between other options,

and takes away the obstruction to continue the activity (see Dewey, 1930). Mead put this synthesis on the reflexivity of self and society, where people plan their action or apply an attitude adapting to their anticipation about others' reply to it.

He developed further James' distinction between 'I' and 'Me', alongside his division of the subjective and objective part of self. Mead argued that 'I' is a spontaneous impulse, a reaction to the expectations of surrounding society, which is unique for each person; this is the active part of self. While 'Me' is an internalized attitude, people's believe and evaluation about themselves, and their consciousness towards other people; this is the reflexive part of self. According to Mead, these two parts unify during the development of self. First the 'I' is forming, then 'Me' joins to it through the three-step process of role-taking, role-making and role-playing. The first, preparatory stage passes in age until three, when children do not understand the message of interactions, and they simply copy the others' behaviour. In the second, play stage children in age between three and five learn to understand symbols, e.g. the language, and they get used to see themselves in relation to other persons. Children become able to take roles of particular persons, but they do not feel this act to be necessary. In the final, game stage, children in their early school age think not just to their own position but also to the positions of others. Considering the role of others, children begin to conform themselves to the demands and expectation of larger society (Mead, 1934). Nevertheless, people not only take the role of particular persons, but they also adopt the 'generalised other', which is an aggregate of attitudes applied by a group. So 'Me' is produced during the interaction with the society, by the continuous use and reply to the symbols. According to Mead both the self and society comes out from the social interaction, '[s]elves can only exist in definite relation to other selves. No hard-and-fast line can be drawn between our own selves and the selves of others' (1934, p. 196). One part of self is a social product, while the other part shapes the society by its reactions. Consequently society is always in fluid state, constantly recreated, as the self too (Mead, 1934).

Both Cooley and Mead examined the process of socialization, the production of 'social order' and 'social change'. During the socialization the individuals must fix the meanings of surrounding world. To facilitate their socialization into it and assure the social order, people create generally accepted norms, such 'human nature values'

according to Cooley, and 'logical universe of discourse' by Mead (Schubert, 2006). A critical evaluation of Mead's thoughts from feminist perspective pointed out that social self worked out by Mead can be less relevant to women, because there is a fundamental clash in women's consciousness between meaning systems received from the culture and gained through their own lived experience, especially concerning women's role played in the family and job market (see Kasper, 1986). Another found deficiency of Mead's thoughts was that while he modelled the social life and social actors, he neglected emotional impacts (Serpe and Stryker, 2011), and later symbolic interactionists 'have primarily adopted Mead's pragmatic view that social actors adjust their behavior to make things work in situations' (Turner and Stets, 2006, p. 29).

Based on Mead's thoughts Herbert Blumer framed the term symbolic interactionism, as an approach that refers to human interaction and interpretation of each other's actions. It supposes that the response is based on the meaning; that human interaction is mediated by use of symbols, and mediation works as an interpretation between a stimulus and its response (Blumer, 1962).

Contrary to James, Mead did not involve the material environment directly into his theory of interaction. Although he found the environment not to be neutral, he counted its existence only through the meanings what people attribute to it and the interactions what people play with it. As people surround themselves with those objects and they chose that environment, of which meaning is acceptable for them, objects contacted with, possessed by an individual or group contribute to their identity. He noted that '[a]ny thing – any object or set of objects, whether animate or inanimate, human or animal, or merely physical – toward which he acts, or to which he responds, socially, is an element in what for him is the generalized other; by taking the attitudes of which toward himself he become conscious of himself as an object or individual, and thus becomes a self or personality' (1934, p. 154). Accepting this argument, Mead implicitly involves place into identity, and his note contributes to understand people's place making activities. However, he thought that contrarily to human others being around a person, material environment cannot able to reply to the person's acts. Consequently, its contribution is limited according in the measure of its reaction, and how people are capable of 'carrying on conversations with it' (1934, p. 154). Therefore, while he implicitly accepted that physical environment and objects became part of

people's self, because their insufficient ability to react with people he neglected their role played in identity-development (Twigger-Ross et al., 2003).

Critically evaluated Mead's approach towards the place, here too I must call attention the interlacement of material environment with social environment, which in this case enables place to react with people. Social interaction does not happen in the vacuum, it takes place somewhere (Gieryn, 2000), and by interaction people in direct and indirect manner too shape their material environment. If we think about how people design their environment, surround themselves with objects which have emotional importance for them, we have to recognize that physical environment and physical objects transfer people's acts, values, feelings, and believe, by representing the actors they react with people in a way, and serve as an intermediary in people's interactions.

Inspiring by the symbolic interactionist approach, later many researchers approached to place as a symbolic context that gains its meaning through interactions (see Czikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Greider and Garkovich, 1994; Milligan, 1998). According to Saegert and Winkel's sociocultural paradigm (1990), not only individuals create the meanings of a place, but cultural and social groups too, to which people belong. The meanings associated with a place can be reflected to the individual identity, and can be constructed socially too by collective identity, within the latter especially by cultural identity: with what kind of culture people identify themselves and through which cultural lens they consider the place. As Greider and Garkovich mention, the meanings of place 'reflect our self-definitions that are grounded in culture' (1994, p. 1). They called attention that '[m]eanings are not inherent in the nature of things. Instead, the symbols and meanings that comprise landscapes reflect what people in cultural groups define to be proper and improper relationships among themselves and between themselves and the environment' (1994, p. 2). They argued that place making and symbol usage of a group tell about identity, because the meanings that people attribute to an environment depend on how people define themselves as an individual and as a member of a group. People convey these meanings through symbols and language what individuals and groups link to certain environment. Therefore, collective identity reshapes the meanings of what different cultures attribute to certain environments, and by place making and place creation the individual or group also recreates and reinforces its own identity (Kyle and Johnson, 2008; Kyle and Chick,

2007). This thought links here Milligan's view that place attachment is socially constructed (Milligan, 1998).

3.5.5. Identity process theory

James's and Mead's thoughts were evolved further in identity process theory structured by Breakwell (Breakwell, 1986, 1992, 1994, 1996, 2010). Glynis Marie Breakwell questioned the 'black box' notion of social identity, what the social identity theory contained, and this interest led her to work out the identity process theory. The identity process theory defines identity as 'a dynamic social product of the interaction of the capacities for memory, consciousness and organized construal with the physical and societal structures and influence processes which constitute the social context' (Breakwell, 2010, p. 6.3).

Similarly to Mead's identity concept, according to Breakwell too identity can be seen both as the process of self and as the structure of self, because identity 'resides in psychological processes but is manifested through thought, action and affect' (Breakwell, 2010, p. 6.3). While this model does not make any difference between the personal and social identity, it approaches to the identity on two levels: allowing its content dimension and its value dimension. The content dimension concerns to the characteristics and attributes which define identity and make it unique, and it covers together the values, attitudes related to personal identity, and the roles, social category labels, group memberships associated to social identity. The value or affective dimension of identity unifies the positive or negative values/affections of each elements of content dimension. The organization of content dimension is hierarchical, but not fix. The value of each element is open for a modification reflecting to the changes in social value system or in individual's position relating to such social value system. The structure of identity is also regulated by the dynamic processes of assimilation/accommodation and evaluation, which are generally applied psychological processes. The assimilation allows the absorption of new elements into the identity structure, while the accommodation concerns to the process of adjustment, reorganizing the existing structure in order to create place for the adapted new elements. Assimilation/accommodation is conceived as a memory system, and it compromises with biases in retention and recall. The process of evaluation concerns to the allocation

of meaning and value/affect to the already existing and new identity contents. The two processes of assimilation/ accommodation and evaluation collaborate in shaping the content and value of identity; the changes in evaluation connotes the modification of practice of accommodation/assimilation, and contrariwise.

The process is supposed to be guided by identity principles that are historically and culturally specific, and they also varied over time and across situation within a culture. These principles influence what is a desirable end state for the identity, and they explain why some adjustments are made, while others are refused (Breakwell, 2010). In her earlier work Breakwell distinguished three guidance principles concerning the Western post-industrial culture, which motivate identity formation. These are the distinctiveness, the continuity, and the self-esteem. Their function is evident: the 'processes work to produce uniqueness or distinctiveness for a person, continuity across time and situation and a feeling of personal worth or social value' (Breakwell, 1986, p. 24). Later she added a fourth principle: the self-efficacy, which covers a person's perception about her ability to be able to accomplish her goals.

As the salience of principles alters over time and across situation, it changes developmentally across the lifespan too. While the identity process theory argues that identity is formed within a particular social context, it does not suggest that identity is totally shaped by its social context (see also Duveen, 2001). According to Breakwell, changes in structure or process of social context induce changes in identity too. The extent of shifting in identity varies according to the personal relevance of contextual changes, the quickness of involvement in them, the degree of required adjustment of identity, and how negative the changes of social context are viewed to be. She also made attention to the case of a threat to identity, which happens if the processes of assimilation/accommodation are unable to act in accordance with the principles of distinctiveness, continuity, self-esteem, and self-efficacy. She thought that because threat is repellent, in case of a threat the individual will try to re-establish the principled operation of identity processes. The act in order to diminish or remove the threat can be considered as a coping strategy, which can be set within the self, between individuals, within a group, or between groups too. The coping strategy depends on the interaction between the character of threat, the salient factors of social context, the main identity structure, and the individual's cognitive and emotional capacities (Breakwell, 2010).

In the frame of identity process theory Breakwell, pursuing James and Mead, has already taken account the place as an important identity element. She suggested that place contributes to identity because it has symbols, which have meaning and significance to people who belong to it (Breakwell, 1983, 1986). According to her, place gains its meanings from memories. One source comes from the personal memory. Place keeps personal memories; the memory of interactions in the place links the place to the activities, and fill it with personal significance. It means also that the same place has different significance to different persons, and even for the same person too according to the events passed there. The other source of meaning is the social memory. As every place is embedded in the socio-historical matrix of intergroup relations, people share stories and history linked to place. Therefore places reflect and also represent memories in various levels and ways. A place can recall the past in personal level, while certain places can reflect the local residents' social status, also while battlefields and monuments can represent national meaning. The meaning of place is in a continuous change, so their contribution to the identity (Breakwell, 1994; Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, and Breakwell, 2003).

The processes, by which self-concept is preserved according to the identity process theory, are also applicable to places; therefore through the self-esteem, distinctiveness, continuity, and self-efficacy the place actively affects identity. These processes offer a much wider standpoint to examine the relationship between self and environment comparing to the social identity theory, although the two theories partly overlap each other. The individual will resist in the same manner, if he confronts a threat against the contribution of place to identity, as in case of face a menace to identity. If some circumstances threat or prevent the contribution of place to identity and so the operation of identity, the individual will resist and apply coping strategy. In this case it is possible that the individual has to reconstruct his place-identity (Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, and Breakwell, 2003). A potential threat appears when e.g. the individual has to face a new and different place. Adaption to new place may challenge identity, as identity meets new conditions, expectations, and different values compared to the habitual old place (see Speller et al., 2001). Nevertheless, new and different place can affect identity in other ways too. Attenuation refers to the phenomenon, when being far from a familiar place the support usually gained from this place towards identity

structure weakens. Accentuation may be a parallel phenomenon, when the salience provided by familiar place diminishes in identity by emphasizing of new place. Lastly, dislocation is happened when identity does not find a connection with the new place, and the new place related values are not activated in the identity. Breakwell highlighted that places are nested: a person's room is in her house, her house is in her street, and her street is in her neighbourhood, in her city, in her country (1996). The nesting does not necessarily coincide with geographical outlines; it may be a product of social and personal meaning, as Mead argued earlier. The consequence of nesting is that a person's interest can be different and conflicted within the same place. Nesting can multiple the threats to identity, but also the strategies to defend it (Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, and Breakwell, 2003).

Applying the suggestions of identity process theory in group level, Lyons argued that groups go back to certain social memories to shape their identity, and the processes of assimilation/accommodation and evaluation probably serve the preservation of social memories (1996). Later she examined her statements empirically too by the investigation the relation of Irish historical places and national identities, and found some empirical support for the theory (see Devine and Lyons, 1997). Twigger-Ross and Breakwell tested the possible relevance of social identity coping strategies striking against a group threat in the case of a threatened neighbourhood, and they found that identification with place works similarly to social identity (see Twigger-Ross and Breakwell, 1994). This study also reinforced that 'difference between social identity and identification with place is only a difference of emphasis, one foregrounding the group and the other foregrounding the place' (Twigger-Ross et al, 2003, p. 227). To examine the guiding processes of identity suggested by identity process theory, Epstein, then Korpela studied how adolescents' favourite places are used to maintain a positive self-esteem (see Epstein, 1983; Korpela, 1989). Speller, Lyons, and Twigger-Ross have already involved all four processes: self-esteem, distinctiveness, continuity, and self-efficacy into their analysis. By comparing the experiences of residents before and after relocation, they intended to know amongst other objects whether the processes outstand differently over time. They found that self-esteem and distinctiveness at personal level will take the place of the same processes persisting at collective level before. Concerning the continuity, the results did not prove an application of place-congruent

continuity after the relocation; residents followed other ways to reconstruct their collective continuity. In certain cases the salience of individual self-esteem and distinctiveness compensated the lack of continuity, while for other residents the salient continuity remained without defence and caused suffering. Lastly, the relocation made salient to self-efficacy too for some residents who complained about alienation, being unable to create an emotional attachment with the new place (Speller et al., 1999).

3.5.6. Structural symbolic interactionism and discursive approaches

Besides traditional symbolic interaction another interactionist approach has developed to settle identity; the structural symbolic interaction, which gained its principal source from Erving Goffman's self-presentation theory (1959).

Goffman examined the interaction rituals and the meanings of 'face-to-face' interactions, seeking to bridge social situations and structures. His inquiries relied on Emile Durkheim's conception of interaction and spontaneity (see Durkheim, 1893), Simmel's searches about the social life's experiential dimension (see Simmel, 1950), and Mead's already detailed idea about the reflexive self. Goffman's arguments were based on the intentionality of social acts, and that people have ability to understand the meaning of other persons' gestures and symbols, also to manipulate others' perception of themselves. He depicted the social life with the metaphor of drama, in which people present themselves as actors on a stage, playing social roles during the everyday interactions. Ritual in Goffman's interpretation means playing oneself (1967, p. 32). Interaction between people works as a 'performance', which is influenced by the audience and the environment too. The aim of the actor's performance is to supply 'impressions' to others, in order to attain his personal goals (Goffman, 1959). Nevertheless, the enactment does not mean that the actor's self is easily readable. The structural symbolic interaction focused on the actors' meanings. To be able to interpret the actors' definition and to provide stability for a justification of applying structural concepts, this interactionism contrarily to the traditional stream supposed a relatively stable social structure, patterned and organized, which limits the actors' meanings. Therefore, Goffman concentrated on the dynamic process through which identity is created, rather than on a static identity. According to him social structure reproduces itself through the passage of self (Goffman, 1974, Burawoy, 1979). According to

Goffman, people construct a personal front to communicate further information about the played role towards audience. This front can imply anything that maintain and reinforces the role, like pose, dressing, decoration, suitable supplements, and authentic environment.

Also I must mention here Goffman's social stigma theory, which focuses on people not conformed to the standards of society (Goffman, 1963). Stigma is a process by which the reaction of others disturbs and can destroy normal identity. Real or imagined attributes of a race, nation, ethnicity, religion, believe, gender can cause 'tribal' stigma in a society, if they are considered to be deviated from the local dominating norms (Goffman, 1963). Stigma also influences the social comparison between groups, so the disfavoured group often tries to redefine their negative stigma, adjusting the deviation to positive specialty or modify the group identity by hiding their differences (Spears, 2011). Goffman suggested that people have 'moral career', which refers to the development and progression of behaviour through the played social roles, along the socialization path. The 'moral career' requires on one hand the image of self and the sensed identity, and on the other hand the social location, official position, life style, and being part of a 'publicly accessible institutional complex' (Goffman, 1961, p. 127). Stigmatized person may learn the normal view during the process of moral career, or he can use various techniques to hide her stigma. A method for this is the 'covering' by which a person prevents the display of her attribute judged not normal, controlling the information about it (Goffman, 1963). Goffman's analysis was criticized mainly because he neglected the matter of hierarchy between people, and the understanding of power relationships (see Gouldner, 1971, 1974; Rogers, 1981).

Interactionism became an important root of identity theory, inspiring later three principal emphases (Burke and Stets, 2009). The interactional emphasis, founded by the work of George J. McCall and Jerry Laird Simmons (1978), is searching for how identity can be preserved in face-to-face interaction. The structural emphasis on identity, representing by Sheldon Stryker (1980), and Richard T. Serpe (1987), studies how the social structure affects identity, reflecting to James' idea that self reflects the different positions in the society and the reactions of different groups. The perceptual emphasis concentrates on the internal dynamics of self; one of its interpreters is Peter J. Burke (1980, 2006).

Discursive perspectives on identity were developed from Wittgenstein's philosophy of language (1922), and were reinforced by other academics of postmodern philosophy, post-structuralist social theory, and ethnomethodology, as Michel Foucault (1972), Jean-Francois Lyotard (1984), Zygmunt Bauman (1997, 2001), Harvey Sacks (1972), Harold Garfinkel (1967), Margaret Wetherell and Jonathan Potter (1987). The discursive construction of identity focuses on three dilemmas. Firstly, whether the world constructs the 'me' part of self, or the 'I' part of self constructs the world. Secondly, differentiating ourselves from others how we balance between the sense of being unique, and being same to and integrated within others. Thirdly, how we can think ourselves as same livings in permanent changes and how we can think ourselves to be changed while being the same. These doubts are empirical questions for the discursive identity perspective.

Environmental sociology often neglects Goffman's work (Brewster and Mayerfeld Bell, 2009), although to characterize the problems of environment Goffman's theoretical insights also offer a useful point of view. He examined the movement between social spaces to understand the recreation of self in different environments, but environment not only impresses people's behaviour, but also offers a space to express their inclinations. When Goffman compared social behaviour to a theatrical act, he implicitly incorporated environment into his model, as a stage; a background of social performance. Therefore not only other people, but also environment influences social performance, and the actor can impress the others through the environment too. The transformed environment can help to make more comprehensible and readable the meanings of act, supporting its goal. Moreover, people can use not only the physical place to act in an authentic environment, but they can convey their values through clothes, personal objects, and other material signs, and so the construction of a personal front contains efforts to create an authentic material environment, providing impressions to others, and so rediscovering and demonstrating identity towards the public. The 'publicness' of life elaborated by Goffman is a particular property of the public places (Joseph, 1984). Admitting the effects of environment on human behaviour, following James and Mead, Goffman too involved the exterior social and material environment to the expression of interior identity. Brewster and Mayerfeld Bell used the Goffmanian approach to analyse the everyday

experience and appreciation of nature, as parks, and natural places of outdoor activities, and also the use of naturalness in everyday conduct (2009).

3.5.7. Concluding common aspects of identity approaches

We could see how many differences and variety exist within the discipline of identity studies both in theoretical questions and domains of application, which prevents the creation of a unified identity approach (Côté, 2006). However, contrary to the mentioned considerable variety I can conclude some common aspects of the identity concept, and attempt to outline its main characteristics in a summary. So a person's identity is composed of personal characteristics, commitments and view about herself, moreover of her roles and positions in relation to others; furthermore of her membership in groups, her status in the group, and the group's status to which she belongs, finally her identification with material objects, and here we must add the sense of place too where she belongs (Vignoles, Schwartz, and Luyckx, 2011). Also we cannot forget that identity is not influenced only by our sense of ourselves, our positions, our choices, and our belongings, but it is also a way of thinking determined by the contemporary cultural context and historical moment, which can be independent of the personal perspective (Rattansi and Phoenix, 2005). I must note here that people are often unaware of the processes that are actually shaping their identity, both from personal and social side. While some activities of identity construction can be considered as individual choices decided by rationality, other processes which create e.g. gender or national categories, are often believe to be natural (Anderson, 1983), however they are too operated by human mind (Vignoles, Schwartz, and Luyckx, 2011).

Contrary to the immensity of identity literature and the critics of some academics, e.g. Gergen (1991) or Brubaker and Cooper (2000), identity is not a 'catch-all' category which covers anything associated with the self. It is a term under systematic exposition and organic extension, distinguishing and integrating more and more of its components, like the place.

3.5.8. Concluding the heritage of place-identity in identity theories

The different theoretical and metatheoretical traditions of identity streams contributed on various ways to deal with place: calling attention to the physical,

material environment as a coequal factor, inventing mechanisms and processes compatible to both self-, and place-identity, or just mentioning functions, which can equally attribute to dimensions of identity and place attachment. This review gave an explication why roots of place-identity and place attachment are so various, how these discussions result in so different models to establish the structure of people-place relationship, and why does not exist a consensual explanation to the connection of place and identity concepts.

Accepting that place-identity is part of identity, it is necessary that all principles, which concern to the complex self and/or other identity components, may be applicable to place too. However, the adaptation of identity theories towards place remained fragmented and sometimes even casual; and with the exception of social identity theory and identity process theory, any other theory's adaptation spread in one-to-one to model the place-identity and place attachment. Even in the case of these two theories, the adaption was limited to the processes that motivate the attachment to the place, neglecting the examination of both place-aspect and person-aspect in the relationship.

What can be the reason that amongst many identity theories mainly James, Mead, Tajfel and Turner, and Breakwell's approaches were found to adaptable from a general identity-approach to a specific, place-related application? Firstly, these ideas have common theoretical roots and certain similar perspectives march through their logical order and their arrangement of identity elements, which link them to each other. Secondly, all these ideas involve the environment to situate and view identity, basing the place in form of material or social environment or both of them. Thirdly, these theories offer a comprehensive and structured model to capture the interconnection and dynamics between people and its environment, and to identify the processes due which their mutual effects transfer. These positive features prompted me to base on social identity theory and identity process theory viewing the person-place relationship.

3.6. A proposed approach towards place-identity

3.6.1. Linking place and identity, and the PPP framework

While the thesis focuses on place-related components of identity, it has to consider also how place-identity relates to the complete self-concept. Regarding the incorporation of place-identity within others components of identity, Twigger-Ross and

her colleagues suggested that to understand the role of place in identity we do not need a single place-specific theory, instead of this they proposed to approach to place as an element of identity that conforms to the principles valid for all other components (Twigger-Ross et al., 1996). While Proshansky established the place-identity within the structure of self as a category parallel with other sub-identities, but at the same time separated from them, I locate place-identity as a horizontal aspect of the self, which pervade other identity categories, being present in religious identity, cultural identity, gender identity, and so on. This approach on one hand allows the examination of place in different dimensions by various categories, for example to study place-related implications of religious identity or cultural identity, and on the other hand, it shows that place-identity has spiritual or cultural elements.

This thesis applies a theoretical structure, which relies on many suggestions. The theoretical framework of research accepts the following propositions:

- Material environment; physical places and objects are not neutral for people.
- Places are distinct, and distinguishable by people.
- Place has meaning, and holds symbols.
- Place where people belong to is a part of the self-concept.
- Place participates in identity-development.
- Place is present in and influences every aspects of self.
- Place-identity shares the dynamism of identity; it may be continuously reconstructed.
- All principles, which concern to other identity-components, can be applicable to place too:
 - Identity is principally a social construct, as place-identity too.
 - People belong to places, as they belong to social groups.
 - People attempt to preserve their identity, so their place-identity too.
 - People attempt to cope with situational demands, so to manage their environment.

In the thesis, I propose a new and simple approach to frame place-identity. To form a model, I adopt the three-dimensional framework of place attachment model

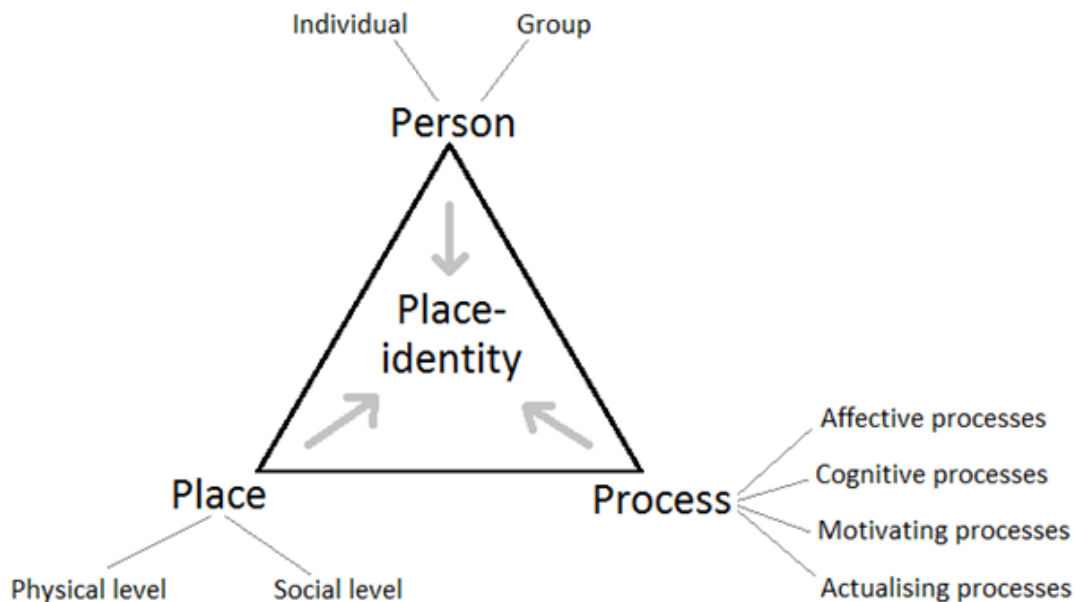
suggested by Scannell and Gifford (2010). The person-process-place framework (hereinafter PPP framework) is a multidimensional construct that unifies the corner points of people-environment relationship, focusing on the three dimension of connectedness: the actor who is attached, the place is the object of attachment, and the process manifests the attachment.

However I fill the PPP framework with a different approach, considering mainly its process dimension. Models of place attachment and place-identity are primarily determined by their point of view whether they approach to their object as a psychological or social phenomenon. Scannell and Gifford proposed that 'place attachment is a multidimensional concept with person, psychological process, and place dimensions' (Scannell and Gifford, 2010, p. 2) Regarding the operation between people and place they concentrated on the psychological processes: 'how are affect, cognition, and behaviour manifested in the attachment' (Scannell and Gifford, 2010, p. 2). Approaches of earlier models are various. Proshansky and his colleagues focused on the cognitive-emotional connection between people and place (1983), Altman and Low also concentrated on the psychological dimension of people-place relationship (1992), while Fullilove limited the effects of place on identity exclusively on psychological processes (1996). In contrast, Hunter subtracted the place attachment from the effects of society and social ties (1978), Shumaker and Taylor neglected the behavioural and cognitive elements of the attachment in their model (1983), and Woldoff too focused mainly on the sociological processes (2002). My aim was to deduct an approach from identity-theories. The proposed model shifts to the direction to consider place-identity as mainly a sociological phenomenon. Firstly, besides the physical level of place, it incorporates the social level of place. Secondly, it considers place-identity both on personal and group level, examining also the meanings of the place used amongst members. Thirdly, to understand the motives behind place attachment and so place-identity formation and maintenance, it applies the processes of social identity theory and identity progress theory.

Figure 2 presents the proposed model of place-identity. I think that the study of person-place-process elements is necessary to understand how people consider places, why they attach to places, why they attempt to preserve this attachment, and how they accomplish their relevant attempts. In the following sections I introduce its place,

person, and process aspect in more detail, and how I will apply the model in the concrete case of this research.

Figure 2: The proposed PPP framework of place-identity



3.6.2. Place, person, and process aspects of place-identity

The model considers that place has physical level. It possesses material features by which it becomes tangible and perceptible, and distinguishable. It has geographical location, differentiating here and there, and places can be nested. Material forms of places include the natural landscapes, as well people-built environment.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to involve a social level too in the frame of place. There is no human existence without a place, ‘to be is to be in place’ (Casey, 1993, p. 16), so every human existence, activity, and relationship takes place somewhere. Social relations connect people, but these networks, memberships, communities have geographical foundations and locations. Merrifield determines social space as ‘the space of human action and sensory phenomena’ (2000, p. 171), and physical places are ‘centers of human action and interactions’ (Bechtel and Churchman, 2002, p. 108). Therefore place is not only a physical frame, but it is filled by social activities.

Consequently, the object of place-identity cannot be limited only to the material surroundings, but it calls for covering the social level of place too.

How social level became important regarding the place-identity? Yet Relph emphasized that ‘place is an origin, it is where one knows others and is known to others, it is one’s own’ (1985, p. 26). We know a place through not only its physical qualities and attributes, but also through its residents and the relations, what they built. We can know and understand a place by its people; beside the material features of place, its social dimension also can touch and attach us as well, and so the attachment felt towards local people contributes to the attachment felt towards a place. Riger and Lavrakas separated attachment to its physical and social sides: while rootedness referred to the attachment evoked by physical environment and the length of stay, ‘bondedness’ concerned to the attachment felt due to the social, community ties (1981). Altman and Low thought that ‘social relations that a place signifies may be equally or more important to the attachment process than the place qua place’ (1992, p. 7). Lalli emphasized that attachment to a material environment become significant for the most part because it symbolises social relationship (1992). Furthermore the material level of a place, its construction, design, and use makes possible the prevalence of such social processes, as power, discrimination, or inequality (Habraken, 1998).

In addition, I must note here that place is not built only by physically way, but it is constructed also by perception, interpretation, imagination, memory of an individual or shared by members of a group (Soja, 1989, 1996). While the material aspect of place is relatively long-lasting, the meaning, symbol, and value of place is flexible, depending on individuals, groups, and cultures (Gieryn, 2000). The interlacement of geographical setting and social context inclined me to examine both the material and social aspects of place in the research.

The relation to the physical and social environment can occur both on individual and group level, however the two levels can overlap each other. The individual level of place-identity covers a person’s individual connections to the place: its personal experiences and milestones of his personal development, which relate to a place and which give significance, meaning, and memorability of that place (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). At group level, the place-identity may contain those meanings, memories, symbolic values and ties of a place, which are shared amongst group

members (Low, 1992). The group-framed place-identity can be examined on different bases, as ethnic, gender, religious, cultural categories, but groups can be formed by geographical reasons too, like a neighbourhood or an urban population. The individual level and the group level of place-identity are not always separable; a membership through the shared meaning can influence the personal experiences of a place and the extent of attachment to it, while individual bonding to a place can be a basis of a group membership and attachment to a place on group level too. In this sense, a person can evaluate the sacredness of a place as a member of a religious group, but the place can gain its spiritual importance and become sacred also through a personal experience (Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2004).

The process aspect of place-identity concerns to processes through which people are emotionally affected by a place, processes which disclose the knowledge collected about a place, processes due to which people attach to a place, and processes through which people express their attachment to a place.

The first type of processes discovers the emotional nature of attachment. Place-identity requires an emotional bond to a specific place, so attachment to place or separation from that place results in affective processes, performing feelings. The second type of processes refers to the cognitive components of place-identity. They reveal how people know about a place, they discover the knowledge, meanings, memories, and beliefs of place that people collect and construct about the place and that they incorporate into their self-definitions. The third type of processes concerns to the motives and needs that places may satisfy in order to create an attachment. These processes guides and motivate the formation and preservation of attachment to a place, which has emotional significance, and I refer them as motivating processes. Lastly, the forth type of processes make real and concrete the identity in the physical world; they refer to functional, practical, behavioural actions. These are the processes, by which people express and manifest their attachment to a place, and I name them actualising processes.

Affective processes concern to the emotional qualities of place-identity. Emotional effects were considered as a basic and primary evidence of the attachment from the early studies of place-identity field, and since then the belonging to a place is often described by affective, positive emotional terms (Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976; Cuba

and Hummon, 1993; Fullilove, 1996; Giuliani, 2003). At the same time, researchers discovered that while belonging to a place generates and can be depicted by positive feelings, negative feelings inversely confirm the place attachment, as they are produced by the change of place or displacement (Fried, 1963; Fullilove, 1996; Milligan, 2003) or may result in the act of people's turning away from that place (Manzo, 2005).

Cognitive processes of place-identity refer to processes as memory, place perception, place association, place meaning, symbolic value of place, place-related knowledge and beliefs, which make places important on individual or group level. People construct an attachment towards place through these processes and may incorporate cognitions about place into their self-definitions (Proshansky et al., 1983; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996; Manzo, 2005, Scannell and Gifford, 2010). Cognitive information may be based on physical and social features of place, and they can form together a schema, a set of cognitions about the type of place to which the individual attaches (Bartlett, 1932; Markus, 1977). A schema involves in close interdependence the physical objects, social relationships and space, synthesises them into a single functioning unit; a mental organisation that serves as a model for behaviour (Lee, 1962). Many physical, social environment, e.g. parliaments, courts, churches, are such 'behavioural settings', where the activities pass according to established practice and routine and may be described as 'events', so for users the event schema becomes inseparable from the physical set (Bonnes, Lee, and Bonaiuto, 2003, p. 35). A schema can represent the characteristics of the favourite place (Stokols and Shumaker, 1981), or describe the common features of a place type to which the individual bonds (Feldman, 1990).

Motivating processes incite and guide people's behaviour and acts to create and maintain attachment to a place. To identify the motivating processes I adopted ideas from the social identity theory and the identity process theory. Main reason of my choice was that both identity theories were used to explain theoretically the reasons and motivations behind the attachment to a place, and they were tested empirically too. Principles of identity process theory concerning the relationship between self and environment were tested by such researchers as Duncan (1973), Winkel (1981), Hummon (1986), Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996), Devine-Wright and Lyons, (1997), Speller, Lyons, and Twigger-Ross (1999, 2001), Scott and Kearns (2000), Bernardo and

Palma (2005), and Lien (2009). Principles of social identity theory were empirically examined among others by Epstein (1983), Korpela (1989), Feldman (1990), Lalli (1992), Bonaiuto, Breakwell, and Cano (1996), Dixon and Durrheim (2000), and Gustalfson (2001). Researches did not always rely on all processes of the mentioned theories, and in some cases they interpreted the used process differently. However, supporting the place-related application of social identity theory and identity process theory these empirical studies indicated the fittingness of these processes for an extension to the place-identity concept.

Which are these motivating processes? The first is the self-esteem. Social identity theory emphasizes self-esteem as the only incentive for action concerning the identity (Abrams, 1992; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996). The idea also goes back to James's approach to self, and it is common principle of both social identity theory and identity process theory. Self-esteem concerns to that people attempt to preserve a positive conception of their self or the group with which they identify themselves. Applying to place, self-esteem does not mean that people evaluate positively an environment in any case, but that the environment contributes to their positive self-esteem. As being in a place people feel good about themselves; through living in a place they feel a positive sense by association, they are incited to be in that place in order to maintain their positive self-esteem.

Further motivating processes are taken up from the identity process theory. Distinctiveness can be a social distinctiveness based on different lifestyle, and a material uniqueness based on the physical difference of places, which express the distinctive features of a group living there. In Hummon's study, distinctiveness means that a person has a special relationship with her home environment and therefore she became different within people related to another environment (1986). People attach to a place and shape a place in order to present themselves as distinct from others, to represent their lifestyle, or to express their identification with the special quality or characteristics attributed to the residents of that place. Distinctiveness can be linked to the concept of labelling, when places work as social categories, and bonding to certain places associates with social identifications, which can reinforce the local group identity, but also can stigmatize the group. While stigma concerns to a person or social

group in Goffman's interpretation, label can distinguish and designate physical places, its residents and their activities, not necessarily in disgraceful manner.

Continuity is the next motivating process, which refers to people's attempt to keep continuity over time and situation between the past and present identity (Breakwell, 1986). Two place-related continuities are discussed in the literature: one way is the 'place-referent continuity' (see Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Korpela, 1989; Lalli, 1992), and the other is the 'place-congruent continuity' (Duncan, 1973; Graumann, 1983; Feldman, 1990). The supporters of place-referent continuity argue that place offers reference to past selves and actions; '[t]he place itself or the objects in the place can remind one of one's past and offers a concrete background against which one is able to compare oneself at different times' (Korpela, 1989, p. 251). So remaining in contact with specific places which have emotional meaning, assures the sense of identity continuity. The way of place-congruent continuity is based on the idea that people prefer to live in a place which is congruent with their settlement identification and expresses their values; they chose the place which evaluates what 'people esteem highly and which they feel to be personified or objectified in their objects of identification' (Graumann, 1983, p. 314). To make congruent a place, and therefore maintain the sense of identity people modify the physical place by the 'characteristics of places which are generic and transferable from one place to another' (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996, p. 208).

Self-efficacy is the last motivating process. Self-efficacy is defined as 'an individual's belief in their capabilities to meet situational demands', and it is used 'as a measure of personal agency' (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996, p. 208). In the case of place, it is the person's belief concerning her power to affect the place, which from the place's side depends on the manageability of the place. Place-identity became complete when people feel that they are able to manage the tasks and challenges of an environment, and they can rule the place in order to validate their identity, making it to their own place. The manageability and facilities of an environment contribute to maintain the sense of self-efficacy.

Lastly, actualising processes concern to the behavioural level and cover people's actions intended to keep their sense of positive self-esteem, distinctiveness, continuity, and self-efficacy. Concerning the actualising processes, since the emergence of Chicago

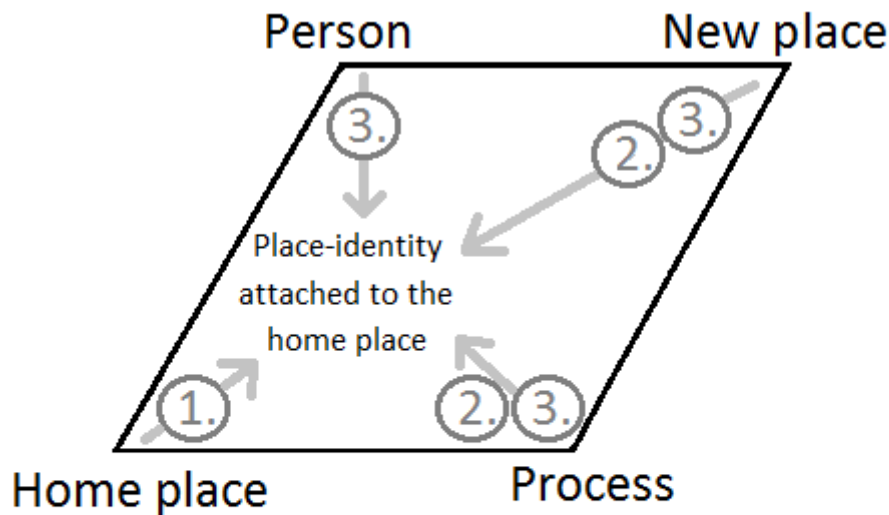
sociology empirical researches analyse with growing interest and intensity people's actions and behaviour to manifest their identity through shaping their environment. These acts are not merely practical actions, but also symbolical ones, as through place people communicate information about them, and built an image according to how they intend to appear towards others. Their acts are aimed to create an authentic place, providing impressions about them to others, at the same time demonstrating, rediscovering, and reinforcing their identity.

3.7. Linking theory and research questions, and the research hypotheses

People-environment studies confirm that place affects identity and amongst places the home place; the place of roots creates an extremely strong attachment. The thesis discovers person, place, and process aspects of place-identity attached to the home place, but it examines them in a different situation as many empirical researches do. Because the research analyses migrants and minorities' experiences about place, beside the place of roots another place too enters into the framework: the place of relocation. Consequently, the originally tri-party PPP framework expands by another place aspect; beside the home place appears the place of resettlement. Figure 3 depicts the broaden PPP framework. Obviously, although people can exist only in one place, migrants are influenced by both the home place and the place of relocation at the same time. Also, the same processes work in the case of the new place as well of the old one. This four-party model, extended to the case of moving people, incorporates also the time-dimension, as the experiences of old place relates to a previous period, and that of new place concerns to a next one, so it expresses more intensively the dynamics of change between places.

We know relatively much about the people-process side of place-identity: people's motivations to attach to a place, psychological processes that contribute to person-place bonding, and the measure of place attachment. At the same time, we know relatively little about the effects of place-aspect in this entity. Empirical literature is weak about place-person side: that what features of a place evoke attachment; and about place-process side: that by which processes the attachment is preserved and activated in a new place. By my research questions and their empirical results I wish to fill this gap.

Figure 3: The four-party PPP framework, extended to moving people



1. How home place induces an attachment in people?
2. How the change between places influences the identity continuity?
3. How relocated people manifest and maintain their attachment towards the home place?

Figure 3 depicts the proposed research theory, extended to moving people, and shows that research questions concern which sides of the framework. The first question is how home place induces an attachment in people. The question relates to the place-aspect in the PPP framework, inquiring about the role of place in place-identity. It investigates the features of home place to which Gujarati people are attached and the influence of time on the attachment. Second question is how the change between places influences the identity continuity. This question discovers primarily the affective processes in the person-place-process model, concerning the place of relocation. It looks into the effects of movement on Gujaratis' identity attached to the home place, and the possible factors that may influence the nature and degree of people's feelings of disruption. Third question is how relocated people manifest and maintain their attachment towards the home place. This question enlightens the actualising processes from the process side of framework, with regard to the possible reconstruction of home place in the place of relocation. Inquiry about this topic arouses sub-questions. It studies what Gujarati immigrants' spatial practices tell about their place-identity, how place-

shaping activities differ according to Gujarati immigrants' social groups or categories, and how socio-physical features of settlement place influence the transformation of place.

According to the research topic, the research has two hypotheses.

The first hypothesis suggests that:

- Reshaping the settlement place, Hindu Gujarati immigrants and minorities imitate the characteristics of home place in order to maintain their identity attached to it.

The second hypothesis proposes that:

- Environmental factors of settlement place affect Hindu Gujarati immigrants and minorities' capacity to recreate their home environment and therefore to maintain their identity attached to it.

The first hypothesis concerns to the influence of left home place on identity, and its reconstruction in the actual urban environment. The first hypothesis predicts that experience of home place and its memory serve as a model during the transformation of settlement places. The research will approach to migrants and descendants on group level, and examining the transformation of place it will make attention to its material and social level.

To test the first hypothesis the thesis aims to present on what ways Gujarati people gained their experience of home place, how they remember to their home place, what features they are attached, which factors influence their pattern of relocation, how they redesign physically the public spaces, how they reproduce the familiar social relations, build a community, and continue the practice of their religious rites.

The second hypothesis refers to the influence of place to people's place shaping activities. It concerns how city space; urban regularisation, built environment, and social life affect immigrants' homely feeling, and influence their possibility to continue their everyday life they were used to in their home place. The second hypothesis predicts that given urban environment may affect significantly the recreation of home

place, and the effects of local place to people's capacities challenge the preservation of place-identity attached to home place.

To test the second hypothesis the study will discover how Gujarati immigrants appreciate the local city spaces, it will pursue how the different cultural, colonial backgrounds of Leicester and Milan influenced the choice for settlement, it will recover how local planning, transportation system, and accessibility to employment determine geographically the Gujarati ethnic concentration, and what urban conditions affect their everyday life, influencing the place-shaping activities.

3.8. Theoretical originality of the present research

An important 'value added' of the thesis to the development of discipline is its fresh theoretical interpretation. It provides critical appraisal of previous works, questioning their validity and remarking the limitation of material.

At the same time, the thesis passes the existing piece of works about people-place relationships, as it regenerates the theoretical approach of place-identity, re-establishing and broadening it at the same time. It produces new ideas, and going back to the basics it reconstructs the approach towards place. Besides challenging to conformity, it tries to balance between the already established and tested insights, and the innovation.

Instead of an analysis of a general place, it focuses on the home place. Due to this it reaches back to the source and basic level of place-identity (see Chawla, 1993; Giuliani, 2003, Twigger-Ross et al., 2003), and makes more specific and significant the work about it.

Thinking back in Scannell and Gifford's tripartite model of place attachment (2010), which identified the three components of place attachment, as person, place, and process, we have to see that the person component 'has attracted disproportionately more attention than the Place and Process components' during the research development of people-environment studies (Lewicka, 2010). This indicates the dangers of considering the relationship between people and place one-sided, and treating the place entirely as a product. To avoid this, my thesis establishes people and place in an interdependent context, where processes mediate between them. The research tries to be

watchful of all components in this interdependence, and therefore to contribute a more balanced scientific development of the field.

Studying place-identity in a comparative manner is not a widely applied research practice. However especially in case of place-identity, a spatial comparison points out what is happening if we change a condition of the examined system. By its comparative research, the thesis discovers something more than without it; that how the quality of new place influences migrants' self-expression, and therefore the manifestation of their place-identity.

Summing up, the thesis rethinks and reacts to the existing theoretical perspectives and creatively offers fresh insights and a new approach. This research produces an original work on the topic of place-identity, and embeds it firmly in the already existing theoretical perspectives and empirical studies of this particular field.

Chapter 4

Research Methodology

“The country places and trees won’t teach me anything,
but the people in the city will.”
Socrates to Phaedrus

4.1. Ethnographic tradition of Chicago School

This research wishes to continue the Chicago-tradition not only partly in its object, but also in its approach. While the school developed both the qualitative and quantitative traditions, it brought them together in its engagement towards the empirical research, evaluating the making of investigation at first place. From the beginning of 1920s Park strongly proposed to his students to make first-hand observations (Hammersley, 1990), but Chicago sociologists favoured also the social survey methods (Faris, 1967), and mixed quantitative and qualitative analyses (Johnson, 1922). Field research based on many types of sources, but initially they rather used ‘documents that were already published or that were available from agencies’ (Hammersley, 1990, p. 81), and only rarely prepared interviews directly with research participants. Shortly the method of participant observation was picked up, which facilitated the role-taking process, and field studies resulted in monographs as *The Hobo* (Anderson, 1923), *The Gang* (Thrasher, 1927), *The Ghetto* (Wirth, 1928), and *The Taxi-Dance Hall* (Cressey, 1932). They explored empirically the city as a social form, discovered the everyday interactions and conditions of city life, establishing the core of Chicago ethnographies. Core ethnographies usually involved multiple methods, e.g. observation, spot maps, life history, official and personal documents, diaries, statistical data, interviews, and case analyses, in many case in so hybrid way that it was hardly decidable whether the work was a qualitative or quantitative analysis (Platt, 1996). Participant observation emerged further in the 1940-1950s by the second-generation of Chicago sociologists (Musolf, 2003). Park emphasized that researchers must study to see through other people’s eyes in order to understand their lives and be acquainted with different aspects of city life (1950). At that time, researchers also habituated to use interviews, for example the case study of *Street Corner Society* was already relying heavily on interviews besides the participant observation (Whyte, 1943).

This research wishes to follow the Chicago tradition by examining the experience of an ethnic group about the resettlement in a city by their own point of view and making first-hand ethnographic fieldwork. Principally Chapter 7 of the management of disruption in place-identity at physical level and Chapter 8 of the management of disruption in place-identity at social level are based on ethnographic observations. These two chapters provide descriptive accounts of Gujarati people's place-shaping activities concerning the physical and social environment; the use of design and material culture, the processes of community formation, organisation, and social relations, and the transformation that they built into the urban spaces of Leicester and Milan.

4.2. Selecting cases: Hindu Gujaratis in Leicester and Milan

The choice of one single population within India came from theoretical and practical reasons. India, as a country, and also as a community is highly fragmented by culture, language, religion, and within the Hindus by caste too. Because I wished to do the research on comparative basis, I had to find a common point of comparability; in this case a common place, as I intended to understand people's attachment to a place, and the effects of this attachment after an international movement. Therefore I decided to focus only on one single state of India: on Gujarat. Gujarat is one of the economically more advanced regions. It is an urbanized region; the number of cities is continuously increasing, while the number of villages remains unchanged (Government of India, 2011). In India there are 27 cities with one million plus inhabitants; in Gujarat we can find three of them: Ahmedabad, Surat, and Vadodara (Government of India, 2001; data of 2011 census from some regions, amongst them certain data from Gujarat are under processing). Gujarat has the 6th biggest urban proportion amongst the states, and due to the urbanization, its literacy rate is higher than the country average. Concerning its density, in the ranking of Indian states in 2011 Gujarat was the 15th from the 28 states, with its density 308 persons per square kilometre, which shows an average value. It keeps the same ranking position since a decade; however data of 2011 presents a density increased by 119 per cent comparing 2001. As a consequence of density, in 2001 in Gujarat by average 5.23 person lived in the same household. After the dramatic growing of density and due to the favourable educational conditions it is not surprising that

Gujarat is amongst the most emigrants sending states. In 2001 on the basis of net migration during the last decade, Gujarat with 0.68 million net migrants was the third on the list of Indian states, the number of out-migrants from 1991 to 2001 increased with 47.7 per cent (Government of India, 2001).

Religion determines culture and social relations too, and particularly, examining the sacred places and spiritual rites it was important to concentrate on people who share the same belief. India is a religiously diverse country; besides Hinduism followers of Islam, Christianity, Sikhism, Buddhism, Jainism, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism are also present. 80.5 per cent of inhabitants are Hindus, and Gujarat too by majority a Hindu state (Government of India, 2001), so my research focuses on Hindu Gujaratis.

Thus the choice leaned towards Gujarat due to more reasons. Because of its advanced urbanization most migrants arrive from cities, therefore migrants comparing the old and new places compare mostly urban environments. Also because it is a particularly migrant-sending and highly urbanized state, a big quantity, both skilled and unskilled labour force flows out. The Gujarati immigrants are largely characterized by their business skills, entrepreneurship and financial success, which are supported by family relations and common regional backgrounds (Frederking, 2007; Kalnins and Chung, 2006, 2001). These network connections form social capital, which can be changed to financial capital (Douglas Massey, 1999). Not at least Gujaratis are characterized by the capacity of adaptation and of transmitting the traditions in new context (Frederking, 2007; Patel et al., 1996).

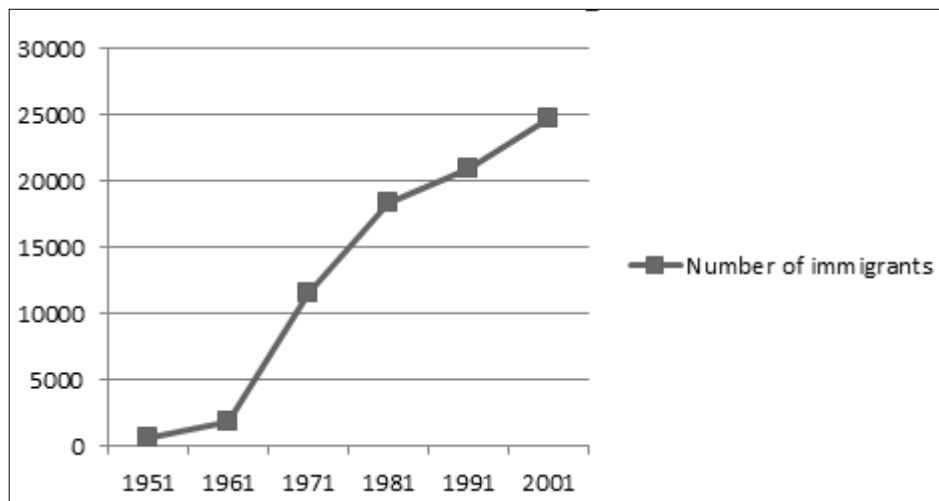
The thesis examines what kind of effects Hindu Gujarati immigrants leave on urban environment in Leicester and Milan, and how these foreign environments influence Indian immigrants' self-expression relating to their home place. The reason of involving two receiving places into the examination was to test immigrants' practices in two different environments, therefore being able to assess the immigrants' requirements, and their possibilities to fill these demands. Besides that Leicester and Milan are cities of dissimilar countries, they have their own particularities, especially regarding their ethnic diversity, and their common past with the Indian community.

The city of Leicester was selected for the inquiry because of its significant Indian population, and within it a dominant Hindu Gujarati presence. Leicester is a middle-sized English city; it is the unitary authority of East Midlands. In 2010 the

population was numbered to be 306,600 (Office for National Statistics, 2011). At the census of 2001 the proportion of ethnic minority background was 36 per cent (Leicester City Council, 2001), and due to this the city earned a special reputation as ‘one of the most ethnically diverse cities in the European Union’ (Martin and Singh, 2002, p. 2).

The first stream of Indian immigrants arrived to Leicester in the 1960s, primarily from Ahmedabad, a textile city of Gujarat. They came to seek prosperity and benefit from the local labour shortage, especially in industry, shoes and boot manufactories. Many Gujaratis arrived with individual business prospects. In the 1970s a second flow of South Asians arrived from Uganda, mostly entrepreneurs, who were forcefully removed during Idi Amin’s dictatorship. Between 1965 and 1995 certain parts of Leicester became inhabited by majority Indian residents (Law and Haq, 2007, p. 14). Figure 4 presents how number of India-born migrants increased since 1951 until 2001. The figure is misleading; Indians born in East-Africa augmented further the values of Indian immigration.

Figure 4: Migration from India to Leicester, 1951-2001.



Source: Office for National Statistics, and Bonney (2003)

In 2001 the proportion of Indians amongst the immigrants reached an extremely high level; 65.2 per cent of the immigrants were Indian nationals in Leicester. Indian population contained 72,033 residents; made up 25.7 per cent of total city population; practically every fourth person is Indian (Leicester City Council, 2001). Table 8

presents by experimental statistics how number of Indian residents changed in Leicester after 2001.

The high proportion of Asian inhabitants made Leicester to ‘the centre of Asian cultural life in Britain’ (Martin and Singh, 2002, p. 14). Since 2008, the city has the first Asian woman Lord Mayor in the country, who arrived in Leicester from India in the 1970s, and supports further the multiculturalism and the involvement of ethnic minorities into civic life.

Table 8. Estimated number of Indian resident population in Leicester, 2001-2009.

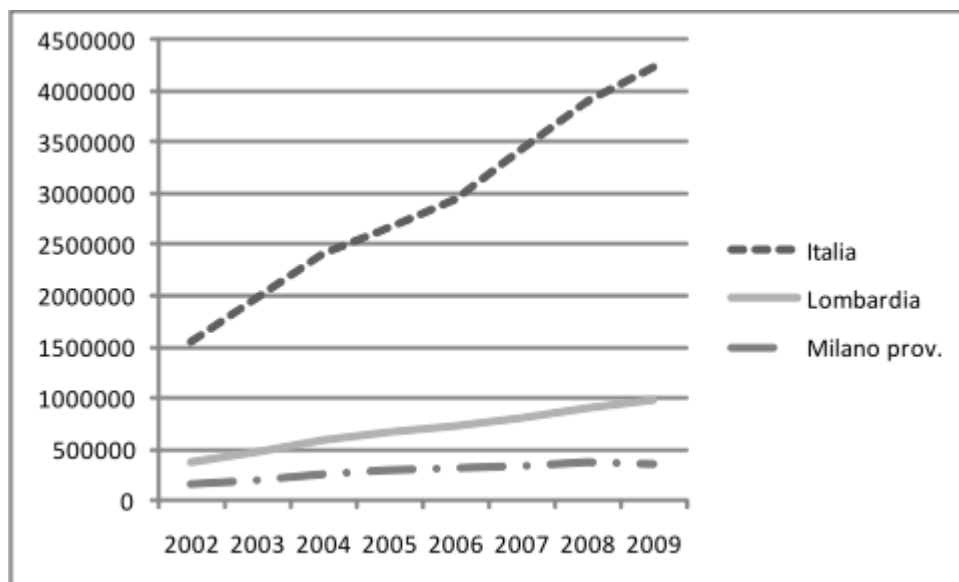
Year	Number of persons
2001	72,600
2002	69,800
2003	67,100
2004	65,100
2005	63,300
2006	61,700
2007	60,100
2008	58,500
2009	56,900

Source: Office for National Statistics (2011)

The first Asian temple built in the late 1960s (Moore, 2008). In 2008 15 per cent of Leicester’s inhabitants were Hindus (Leicester City Council, 2008). During the research I became aware that not only more than ten Hindu temples, but other establishments of an organized Gujarati community life, as the Gujarati Hindu Association which offers social, cultural, religious and art activities, the Gujarati Comedy Group which serves theatrical amusements, the Gujarati Parents’ Association which provides Gujarati language classes for children, a care home especially for Gujarati elders, moreover a local Gujarati journal and radio program too. Still, the proportion of Indian residents is diminishing in Leicester, however their number in England remains stable (Office for National Statistics, 2011).

In 2001 Leicester was the tenth most populous settlement in the UK. But Milan is a settlement ten times more populous, being the capital of Lombardy region, and the second largest Italian city with 3,083,955 inhabitants (Istat, 2009). Lombardy attracts the largest number of immigrants amongst Italian regions because of its economic development that offers an opportunity to find a job even for a foreigner. Almost the third of total Italian immigration arrives here, and 35.9 per cent of them find their place in the province of Milan (Istat, 2010). Milan as an outstanding immigrant-receiving city seemed to be well adequate for the research. Figure 5 indicates the proportion of immigrants in Italy, Lombardy, and province of Milan.

Figure 5: Number of immigrants in Italy, Lombardy, and Milan, 2002-2009.



Source: CNEL in base of data of Istat (2011)

In 2010 in the commune of Milan 16.4 per cent of Milanese were foreign people, meaning that one of six persons was foreigner. This value augmented more if we take consideration the minors too, who compose 19.9 per cent of total foreign residents. The dominance of young immigrants is demonstrated by the fact that 86.9 per cent of immigrants are 50 or fewer years old (Caritas, 2011). The much bigger proportion of total migration arrives from Asia, 35.6 per cent (Caritas, 2010).

Milan is such a hyper diverse city, where no particular country of origin represents 25 per cent or more in the immigrant stock (Istat, 2011). The ten biggest ethnic groups are made by Romanians, Egyptians, Filipinos, Peruvians, Ecuadorians,

Albanians, Moroccans, Chinese, Sri Lankans, and Ukrainians (Istat, 2011). While Asians take the larger proportion of immigrants, they gave only the 3.4 per cent of total provincial population (Istat, 2009). In Lombardy, Indians live in the Cremonese commune, where they ‘often take care of cattle’ (Parati, 2005). In Milan only 0.4 per cent of the immigrants were coming from India in 2008 (Istat, 2008).

(The number of Indians is so infinitesimal, especially comparing to the total population, that Milanese immigration literature does not mention them in detail. To be able to introduce Indian and especially Gujarati people’s historical relation with the city, in the following I rely on the information gained by the Consul General of India in Milan.)

From the around 70,000 Italian Indians 12-13,000 persons live presently in Milan. Their first flow was attracted by the so-called Italian economic miracle of the 1950s, when Indian immigrants found successfully job in big factories and companies. At that time high-skilled, professional migrants too arrived, who had already lived elsewhere in Europe. Then a second flow came in the 1980s-1990s, principally from the state of Punjab. A similarly massive in-flow from other parts of India did not touch Milan more; therefore these Punjabis compose the 70 per cent of the actual Indian residents. They also came with the hope of work possibilities, and as Punjab is an agricultural region, they occupied agricultural jobs in Milan. Who arrived once here, did not continue to migrate, and stayed in Milan. But Italy has never meant a real destination for Indian migrants because of the language difficulties, and the number of Indian population stagnates since the 1990s. However most of Gujaratis in Italy settled in Milan, their number is minimal: the Consul estimated their number to 16-17 families, and later the president of Gujarati Samaj¹ reinforced that nearly 15 Gujarati family lives in Milan or near to Milan. Further Gujarati immigration is withheld by the lack of business opportunities. Even Gujaratis living here do not lead their own business, but work for others.

Summing up, comparing two settings stand to face each other: the middle-sized Leicester, characterized by a dominant Indian diaspora, and a significant Hindu Gujarati community, and the big city of Milan where Gujaratis form a very mince slice of local

¹ Samaj means a group of people with common belief system or religion; a society, in Hindi or Gujarati language. They use the word for congregations.

society. In the thesis I argue among other things how these circumstances influence Gujarati immigrants' place-shaping opportunities.

4.3. Collection techniques

4.3.1. The reasons for selecting research methods

The thesis intends to explore perceptions and relationships profoundly, rather than to offer a representative description. Consequently, to answer the research questions and to verify the hypothetical claims I used qualitative research methods (see Flick, 2007; Marshall and Rossman, 2006; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). The research was based on an empirical ethnographic field work, continuing the tradition of Chicago School.

To collect wide and deep information, and to get a familiar closeness to the subject field (Lofland, 1976), I apply mixed data collection techniques which contained in-depth interviews and non-participant observation. The observation geographically was limited to Leicester and Milan. While interviews discovered how Gujarati people compared their experiences of environment and daily life in Gujarat and the places of resettlement, the observation revealed the basic particularities of receiving environments and how immigrants transported the particularities of their home place to the new surroundings.

The use of in-depth, semi-structured interview is widespread and common in the ethnographic studies, employing exclusively or equilibrated by other techniques (see Kvale, 2007a, 2007b; Rubin and Rubin, 2006). Works on identity and place basically apply two different methods to evaluate identification with place.

One method is the use of questionnaire with a measurement of various environmental scales, as e.g. Twigger-Ross and Breakwell (1994), Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996), Bonaiuto, Breakwell, and Cano (1996) made. I see the main problem that the scope is very subjective: while research participants can determine easily the lowest level of scale (being not attached or touched emotionally by a place at all), the highest level of attachment can be varied according to the emotional capacities and senses of participants, therefore the intermediate range of scale too (little, enough, very strong) can slip according to each other. While an individual feels a level of attachment to be average for him, the same intensity can be evaluated as a significant attachment by another individual on the same scale. My other objection against the use of scales that

by determining the possible replies they are not suitable to discover new, hidden aspects of place-self relationship; the results of questionnaire are limited by the researcher's preconceptions. Maybe that is the reason why the application of qualitative interviewing is also very popular research technique in place-identity field either as an exclusive method, either as an additional measurement besides the scale or observation.

Brown and Perkins strongly recommend that researchers of place attachment use open-ended exploratory interviews to understand how place attachment functions (1992). They argued that because the place attachment 'operates in the background of awareness' (1992, p. 283), it is very difficult to measure its presence, and research participants too not always able to evaluate the significance of their attachment itself, as an independent phenomenon. But interviews are able to 'draw out the meaning and experience of attachment' and 'enable individuals to process and articulate their losses' in the case of a disruption in place-identity (p. 283). Similarly, Rowles for his research about the perception of home (1983), Cuba and Hummon (1993), Speller, Lyons, and Twigger-Ross (1996, 1999), Mazumdar, Mazumdar, Docuayan, and McLaughlin to measure emotional sense of place (2000), and to examine the home making in Hindu diaspora Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2009) applied only interviews or the combination of interviews and observation, while Twigger-Ross and Uzzell completed their measurement of scale with interviews (1996). A last reason of my decision for making interviews against to apply a scale is that the research's aim is not to assess the measure of people's attachment to their home place, but to gain detailed information from many sides about how attachment influences their daily life and through this, the place of settlement after a migration.

I completed the in-depth interviews with observation, a method for which Chicago-sociologists had high predilection. Observation is a typically visual, sensory research method when researcher experiences the world through his or her sense (see Angrosino and Mays de Perez, 2000; Le Compte and Schensul, 1999a, 1999b; Adler and Adler, 1994). The aim of observation in this research was to get closer to the environment which influences the immigrants' public presence, everyday activities, and self-expression. By observation, I followed the fundamental steps of observation advised by Silverman: the processes of watching and listening, then testing hypotheses, and finally making broader links (Silverman, 1993). Denzin proposed that observation

should remark the participants, their activities, routines, rites, and other temporal elements (1989).

4.3.2. The applied technique for sample collection and interviewing

For the in-depth interviews of this research the sample was composed by Gujarati origin people who claimed to be Gujarati. I must underline that Gujarati origin does not cover necessarily a geographic origin, but signifies primarily an ethnic origin. Research participants were born in Gujarat state, or lived in Gujarat, or they confessed to belong to Gujarat because of their family's origin, but in this case too, they kept contact with their place of origin. Interviewees arrived to Leicester or to Milan for a long-term period (minimum for one year), and they were residents of the observed environment. Research participants were contacted through local organizations, selected by snowball sample, privileging key-informants. The aim was to recruit a sample of various participants who diverge in terms of gender, age, profession, familial status, length of residence, and the level of participation in Indian, Gujarati community activities.

Concerning the chosen sample size I accepted Denzin's recommendation, as 'observations must permit generalizations to the population; [...] sample must permit empirical reflections for the theory' (1989, p. 85). The research is based on overall 62 interviews made by me with Hindu Gujarati immigrants in Leicester and Milan; 36 and 26 interviews respectively. Moreover I completed these 62 interviews with further 6 existing interviews of Belgrave Memories collection (2007) and Ethnic Elders Collection (1999) from Leicester's archive, which referred to life-stories of Gujarati immigrants' focusing on their movement, settlement, and changes of local daily life. While in Milan the available number of interview participants limited the sample size, in Leicester I found after 36 interviews that the researched categories were saturated, repeatedly receiving the same information about them (about theoretical saturation see Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Bertaux, 1981).

Interview questions were semi-structured, and the answers were open-ended. The interview covered principally three main topics. Firstly, the individual memory of home environment, about daily life and its material surroundings in Gujarat, and the visits to India after migration. Secondly, the circumstances and feelings of movement and arrival, the settlement and housing in the new place, and the perception of new

environment, especially of the public spaces. Thirdly, the everyday life and its circumstances in the settlement place: the built and physical environment, spatial practices, social relations and community life, social division, gender experiences, sacred places, Hindu rites and ceremonies, urban conditions of everyday life in the settlement place, and the contact avec home place, its sense from abroad. Finally, I asked interviewees about their future plans.

4.3.3. The applied technique for observation

Following Adler and Adler's advice about observation, at the beginning I observed the local environment without focus to gain a basic knowledge, therefore when I became more familiar with the environment, I could distinguish the phenomena, in which I intended to focalise (Adler and Adler, 1994). In this study observations were made in key-important public spaces: in residential areas, in concretely defined public micro-sites, like town squares, high streets, parks, food markets, in the area of ethnic restaurants, specialty stores, such ethnic jewelleries and cloth shops, moreover community centres, places of sport events, and in public sacred places such Hindu temples and other religious activity centres in Leicester and Milan. The observations had four types of objects. The first was the physical environment, the physical settings. It contains the geographical set of building in the city, the building design, the examination of decorations, artefacts and other objects, the philosophy or approach of the design or construction, the regulation and facility of place use. The second object was the local Indian and Gujarati people, who use these spaces. I observed how many persons and when use the spaces, they are which type of persons, and what are their place activities. The third object was the study of social relations, interactions and networks. I intended to know how the members of immigrant group relate to others, which type of members interact, how they interact, what is the cause and the result of the interaction. Finally the fourth goal was the observation of rituals, ceremonies, and religious events. The goal was to observe not only the ceremony, but also the preparations for it, formal events and non-formal also. By the observations, I gained essential data about Gujarati individuals and groups' settlement and interactions within the observation sites, capturing the characteristics of the represented activities; even they were not necessarily completed or typical.

To emphasize the characteristics of activities and the transformation of place I used photographic method (see Rose, 2005; Knowles and Sweetman, 2004; Becker, 2004). Therefore, when it was possible, I fixed momentary results of observation by photographs, moreover I also asked interview participants to show me photographs taken by them about Gujarat and their life there, then in Leicester or Milan. Images not only illustrated the reliability of the research, and served as an argument; they also made known the information beyond words.

4.4. Being in the field

4.4.1. The research sample

The research basically investigates my own 62 interviews. With one exception all of research participants were born in a Gujarati family and confessed themselves to be Gujarati. Interviewees were aged between 15 and 81. 71 per cent of participants were born and lived in Gujarat, while others moved to live there, and those who never lived in Gujarat visited regularly the place of their family's origin there. A part of interviewees were born in the big Gujarati cities as Ahmedabad, Surat, Jamnagar, Veraval, Nadiad, and Navsari; outside of Gujarat mostly in Mumbai; but the sample also contains secondary immigrants who were born in Africa, and second generation migrants who were born in Leicester. Most immigrants who were born in India moved from India directly to Leicester and Milan. Interviews were made with 39 men and 23 women.

However the research's aim to collide the experiences of people who arrived from the same environment to another, because of the dissimilar migrant history, timing of arrivals, migration politics and economic characteristics of the receiving country the Leicester-sample and Milanese sample show certain differences. In Leicester the sample's age moves between 81 and 15 years, with an average age 47. Most of them live in Leicester from decades, some participants settled here even half a century before, but there are also migrants in the sample who arrived a few years ago. They came mostly from highly populous cities of Gujarat, and between them there are skilled, professional people, business men, low skilled factory workers, and unskilled homemakers. In the sample we could find also secondary migrants who were born in Kenya and Uganda. The other hand, Milanese sample contains much younger

immigrants, between 19 and 48 years old. The first members of local Gujarati community came to Milan in the 1990s; around six Gujaratis settled at that time, and with their family members, they established the core of local community. They arrived rather from small cities and villages, principally with low qualifications. To increase the number of research participants, besides the already established Gujarati community members I made interviews with recently arrived Gujarati students too who came to Milan primarily for long-term study, mostly with the hope to find job and settle here after.

Because of the small sample of local Gujarati community, I also contacted Gujarati students who settled temporarily in Milan, which provided me more information about the research topic. I reached these people through different organizations in various higher educational institutions, like the Politecnico di Milano, Domus Academy, or Istituto Europeo di Design. These temporarily settled youths enriched further the stably settled Gujaratis' migratory experiences, and at the same time as due to their studies and works they possessed a special aesthetic point of view, they contributed significantly to understand the role of material environment in identity.

The only except from Gujarati origin participants was a Milanese student who was born in Maharashtra state, but before moving Milan he lived in Gujarat and made close relations with local people, then keeping contact with Milanese Gujaratis too. I used his experiences to get a more complex view about Gujarati life and opinion from a rather outsider's point of view. The collected data contain interviews overall with seven community leaders and a Hindu priest. Attachment 1 and 2 summarize the basic information of research participants in Leicester and Milan. Pseudonyms show the serial number of interview/interviewee's sex and age at the time of the interview.

I completed the sample of Leicester with interviews from two archives. Besides my own interviews the analysis relied on further four interviews of Ethnic Elders Collection (EEC) from 1999. These interviews were made in Gujarati language with Gujarati persons moved to Leicester, but fully translated English transcripts were also available. The interviews followed the life of interviewees from before their movement to the UK, the reasons and circumstances of settlement, and the establishment of their integration and daily life in Leicester. Attachment 3 summarizes the data of interviewees of Ethnic Elders Collection.

Moreover I added to the sample two other interviews from the collection of *Belgrave Memories: Tales of Belgrave, 1945 to 2005*, collected in 2006-2007. The collection focused on how settled residents experienced the transformation of Belgrave, the South-Asian city part of Leicester. Interviewees talked about their settlement in Leicester, and within it in Belgrave, and their impressions about how local housing conditions, neighbourhood, temples, festivals, and Asian services changed by time. Attachment 4 summarizes the data of interviewees selected of *Belgrave Memories*. Pseudonyms here indicate the source of interviews/interviewee's sex and age at the time of the interview.

4.4.2. Access to the field and difficulties of being in the field

The main difficulty of the research was the closeness of community, and that the interior information about community was relatively guarded, which complicated the access to the field. The participants were contacted through different organizations and gatekeepers. In Leicester, first I tried to find research participants through local community and neighbourhood services and centres. Nevertheless, because these centres gather people not only from different parts of India, but also from various nations, they were not suitable to reach Hindu Gujaratis. Similar difficulties came up with the establishments who organize South Asian festivals, celebrations, and entertainments in the city. Therefore most of participants were contacted through Hindu temples, and the few rest on individual ways. Although the contact arranged through temples narrowed the representativeness of the sample, but it assured the participants about the reliability of my interest, helped to overcome the initially possible suspicion, and so it contributed to get trustworthy and true-to-life answers. My frequent visits in the temples and participations in the ceremonies also reinforced the mutual reliance.

In Milan, I had to face a much more intensive suspicion felt towards my research intention, as the local community was much smaller, consequently more vulnerable and guarded. I have already arranged from Leicester a gatekeeper for the Hindu Gujarati community established in Milan, who waited my arrival in the city. Arriving in the city I had to realise that in fact he avoids continuously getting me in touch with the community, arguing that there is not any meeting place for Hindu Gujarati people. Finally, through the Consul General of India in Milan I came to know another

gatekeeper and due to him I gained interviews from the community. Nevertheless, in the Milanese community I experienced sequential latent refusals which I did not meet before in Leicester. Even in three occasions, the rejection of interview was not happened directly. These persons agreed to give an interview, not appearing then on the meeting place. Following to fix new meetings, same thing happened again and again, however they continued to confirm their interest in the interview which finally never realised. I completed the Milanese sample with interviews made with Gujarati students recently arrived into the city, contacted by individual ways.

Gatekeepers, who were mostly community leaders in Leicester and Milan, contributed basically to my admission and reception in the local community, providing an invaluable support to gain trustful results. They played an essential role not only in the interview process, but in the observation too, as I could participate in community events to their invitation. Therefore the establishment and preservation of good relationship with community leaders had key importance in the research. According to my research experience, Hindu Gujarati people joined a community through the local temples in Leicester, and religious meeting places in Milan. People could be member in more community at the same time, but community attaches to a religious organisation. As people passed significant time in a sacred place and/or a community, spiritual and social leaders are especially honoured and influential members of the group. Even when I contacted directly a Gujarati person and not through a community leader, asking about an interview possibility I received an answer in several cases that she or he can give an interview but must ask from the community leader, and if the leader agrees, she or he will do it. Persons contacted through the gatekeepers often asked me to call again the community leader before the interview and reinforce his confirmation that they can give an interview.

Gatekeepers also opened the doors of temples in front of me. While the temples were apparently open and freely visited in selected time, I experienced in the reality that trying entering from the street as a foreign visitor I was stopped already at the entrance. In another case the temple door was kept close in the opening time too, and I attempt to ask enter in vain coming back again and again; the doorman opened the door only to the familiar Indian visitors. But later I could come around these temples too, know their

activities, and made regular visits due to the gatekeepers, broadening my contacts and the objects of observation.

Besides the interviews I made many informal conversations during my temple visits to enrich my knowledge. During the observation too I tried be informed casually from the owners and employees of Indian shops, restaurants, yoga-centres in the examined cities, and the local neighbourhood library in Leicester. I approached them leisurely, and they welcomed my interest in a friendly manner, as natural curiosity of a foreigner.

Observation was highly utile not only to gain responses to the research questions, but also to improve and complete the interview guide with new emerging questions, and test the reliability of information gained by interviews. Besides the observation of public urban places visited by Indians South-Asian, Hindu public celebrations in Leicester, and Indian public celebrations in Milan gave an important research area. In Leicester I participated on the public celebrations of Diwali and Holi, while in Milan in Rathayatra, and Durga Pooja. In Leicester I regularly visited and participated in aarti² of more temples, and in Milan too I had the possibility to attend an aarti of the local community. These visits also facilitated to get in touch with community members, like my presence aroused people's curiosity to contact me and after a time my habituated presence established a mutual trust. Closed community celebrations offered another emphasized information source; in Leicester I was invited to be witness to mahaprasad³, Ladies Sabha⁴, Bhagatji Maharaj Jayanti⁵, while in Milan the Navratri, a big festival celebrated by participation in a famous Gujarati dance.

4.4.3. My personal position in the field as a researcher

Age, sex, ethnic origin, and other personal characteristics of interviewer may affect the way of contacts, the circumstances of interview, and the respondents' attitudes. The fact that I am a young, white, educated woman probably influenced the

² common pray rituals

³ common dinner and get together for Gujarati community

⁴ religious get together for Hindu Gujarati women

⁵ celebration of a community-Guru's anniversary

research participants, however being the single interviewer it was difficult to catch its direct effects, and no researcher can unify all type of characters. I experienced that my age was particularly beneficial to contact the younger generation, why I felt sometimes a kind of 'teacher's will' in the responses of elder people. I faced with several stereotypes concerning white people, generally during the informal conversations which preceded the interview, and it was maybe hand-lying for the respondents talking with me to compare Indian society to Western society, and Hindu celebrations to Christian celebrations, but these phenomena may be similarly caused by the Western, Christian environment which surrounded them in the place of settlement. Nevertheless my 'outsideness' regarding not only Indian, but British and Italian society supported the open declaration of opinions towards me, which risked critical elements, moreover it created a lucky position in which I could ask 'naïve' questions, and request more interpretation for deeper understanding. Many interviewees talked about the esteem of highly educated people by the Indian society. Indeed, my university status however obviously was necessary to the research, had a very positive effect on the gatekeepers, gained me a degree of respect, and facilitated the trust towards me. Concerning my sex I had mixed experiences. Interviewing female respondents I enjoyed a benefice as we could talk like 'women among women'. But talking with a few female participants I felt a constraint which came out mainly from some traditional homemakers who lived long ago in interior of house environment because of language difficulties, and who faced these boundaries during the interview. Interviewing male participants many times I got impression that they communicate towards me as to another man, and in certain cases I was treated with special respect, e.g. when I was invited to do interview in a temple room which is reserved exclusively for men, for the surprise of the present community members. Oppositely, during the observations I had to accept and adapt to the religious-social rules of the community, taking place amongst female community members, and participating in common events in the hall reserved to women. Evidently a male researcher should have to stay in the hall reserved to men.

4.5. Conducting interviews

As interviews were semi-structured, I did not use a fix series of questions. I used an interview guide to direct the conversation, which I planned in order to answer the

research questions. At the same time, I tried to use the guide flexibly adopting the actual information flow and following the new leads to collect more information. This openness led to many ‘on the spot’ questions, from which several were added later to the interview guide.

I decided to approach to the topic in chronological order, and make a conversation first about the home environment, then the circumstances of movement, and then the place of settlement. I experienced that this approach facilitated the interviewees’ opening up; giving a transparent logical outline to review the changes of their feelings and activities; and their home memories and especially the childhood memories in India, which they recalled at the beginning, intensified their sensibility towards the research topic during the interview. As being a topic possibly more confidential and uncertain, if the participants have not mentioned it before, I introduced my questions concerning Hindu practices and caste system at the end of the interview. I also had some special questions towards community leaders about their work for the community. Attachment 5 shows the used interview guide.

The guide is seemingly long, but many questions return in another form, and many of them overlap each other. Participants gave answers often to other questions too concerning the closer topic. My experience was also that some questions were saturated much faster than others, e.g. about the characteristics of Hindu festivals or the places of Gujarati settlement in the examined cities, and especially those questions which were completed by observation too. Furthermore some questions were not applicable for the Milanese case because of the very small size of the local community, and the lack of a local Hindu temple.

Before the interview I introduced briefly the research’s reason, the interview process, and the subject and purpose of interview. A lot of interviewees were not aware of the basic meaning of PhD studies and research, and this fact made more difficult the initial steps. In many occasions I found that my arrival and interview activity caused a kind of ‘sensation’ in the family which I visited. I had the impression that generally the process of interviewing was an unusual event for most of participants, as research interest too towards their experiences was strange for them, and while in most occasions they accepted it with pleasantness and affably, in a few cases they approached towards it suspiciously. Some participants asked me at the beginning of our acquaintance, if I

came from the government or an immigration office ‘in reality’, and in certain cases I felt fear and resistance to share information with me, which was a warning to be as much informal and gentle, as I could. Also, because at the beginning of interview I often experienced a natural anxiety of interviewees because of the recording.

Usually I ended the interview by asking if the respondent has any further things to add before finishing the interview. However some interviewees became more easy-going after the interview, and restarted the conversation, completing his answers and deepening his opinion about the arising topics now without recording. After the interview I asked the participants what was their experience about the interview, and most of them find interesting or useful the conversation, expressing that due to the conversation they could recall some important moments of their life (especially their childhood or younger age in Gujarat), which caused a nice feeling, and also they rediscovered their life in more integrated way, feeling something special which was taken natural before. Many interviewees were also interested to know more about the research, my personal impressions about Gujarati culture concerning the research, and not only in my work, but also in the place of my origin, my experiences of migration, and my personal life.

The average length of interviews is a little more than one hour both in Leicester and Milan. The majority of participants were busy working men and homemaker women, and during the day they were occupied by work and domestic tasks, and intended to spend the short weekend with family and religious activities. Therefore in many cases they were available for interviewing only in a weekday evening or Saturday early morning. The limit of available time and the flexibility towards the participants’ stories resulted that not every interview touched each sub-topic.

Interviews were taken in 50 cases in English, in 12 cases in Italian, all were recorded. For a few interviews with women who spoke only Gujarati I required a total translation during the interview, provided always by a family member. The fact that research sample contains fewer women than men caused not just by language problems. There were cases when women meeting me were too shy to give a formal, recorded interview. Also in two cases the husband did not support to make an interview with the wife.

The location of interviews was in most of the cases the participants' home and in Leicester in many cases a temple, accepting the interviewees' proposition. In general they did not prefer to choose public places as a coffee room or a university room for the interview.

Partly because of interview location and partly because of social habits the interviews were definitely social events. According to the Hindu traditions a woman and a man cannot stay alone in the same room. When I interviewed a man, in many occasions his wife, daughter, or a female family friend accompanied us, both in case of an older and a younger male participant. Also when I made interview with a woman, often 2-3 other women, e.g. her mother-in-law, sister-in-law, and a female friend were sitting there, showing interest in the event, although they did not understand anything from the interview. In these cases the presence of others encouraged the interviewee, at the same time obviously increased the importance of interview and interviewee. In a few cases the husband wished to be present at the interview with his wife. Many interviews with women were made by the help of their family member to facilitate the communication, and in some examples this member too added her or his own opinion concerning some questions, although resisted to give a complete interview. There were also cases when a community leader being present in the same hall joined unintentionally to the conversation making with a respondent. Therefore many interviews contain exterior additions, and in certain cases the accompanying persons' contribution was particularly useful for the research, as they did not aim to improve the other's opinion, but add their own experiences about the question. In the case of an extensive contribution, I fixed the attendant's data besides the main interviewee in the attachment 1 and 2. Unfortunately, in rare occasions accompanying persons caused unavoidable disturbance too, when an interview with female participant was attempted to dominate by a male interrupter, or an interpreter tried to take the place of the respondent.

For the citations from interviews, instead of names I have used pseudonyms. Pseudonym has the following form: the serial number of interview/sex and age. At the end of the citations I indicate whether the interview came from Leicester or Milan sample/the serial number of interview from the table about interviewees' data/interviewees' sex and age at time of the interview, e.g. LE/Interv1/F34.

There were special topics about which people gave opinion rather outside of interviews. One of them was the stereotype of White people, and the contrast between the Western and Indian society. While people spoke much openly at home and in the temple, I observed that when interviews were made in public places, participants were aware to begin to speak about their religious believe; at this point of the conversation they looked around and lowered their voices. These little gestures confirmed my impression that some people feel uncomfortable assuming their original self in another environment.

4.6. Method of analysis

The broad approach towards the research object, the interest in qualitative data, and the variety of applied research methods to collect data require also a flexible method for their analysis. The research suggested that representations of place-identity can be recognized and brought to light from detailed qualitative data. Interviews after a transcription were analysed by thematic analysis which is a ‘poorly demarcated, rarely acknowledged, yet widely used qualitative analytic method’ (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 77), described amongst other qualitative research analyses since the 1980s (see Taylor and Bogdan, 1984; Benner, 1985; Leininger, 1985; Silverman, 1993; Wolcott, 1994; Aronson, 1994; Coffey and Atkinson, 1996; Mason, 1996).

Thematic analysis is ‘a process for encoding qualitative information’ (Boyatzis, 1998, p. vi), and is used in various fields, e.g. psychological dream analyses, behaviour analyses, ethnographic analyses of cultures, economic analyses about preferences of market trends. The method is convenient both to filter and discover the themes inductively without preliminary ideas and to test already established hypotheses, as Twigger-Ross and Uzzell applied this method to test the principles of place and identity processes chosen by them (1996). To encoding the analysis, it needed an understandable code, which can be a model or list of themes, indicators, and qualifications (see Boyatzis, 1998). Mason approached towards the code-making process as a creation of categories, which was followed during the thematic analysis by a classification of received information according to these categories (Mason, 1996). Codes used depend on the research’s object; ‘[c]oding can be thought about as a way of relating our data to our ideas about these data’ (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996, p. 27). This method provided ‘a

coherent way of organizing or reading some interview material in relation to specific research questions' (Banister et al., 1994, p. 57).

The thematic analysis was highly suitable on one hand to distinguish different aspects of Gujaratis' experiences, and on the other hand to identify the common principles, motives, and functions of place-identity. In this research the searched themes were earlier developed, deductively producing from the established place-identity theory and empirical studies on the topics. In case of interviews, the thematic analysis concentrated on a limited number of recognizable themes and patterns that could be found in the textual data; they could be readable directly or present latently. The achievement of analysis had several steps, and the process required reading the transcripts many times. Firstly, I identified the main patterns of interviews. Then with reading again I was seeking to find all data which concern, elaborate and deepen the already recognized patterns. Patterns were identified alongside the 'conversation topics, vocabulary, recurring activities, meanings, feelings, or folk sayings and proverbs' (Taylor and Bogdan, 1989, p.131). The main patterns were partly consequences of the subjects of interview questions, however because of the semi-structure interviews, open-ended questions, and individual, personal answers, these patterns came out variously and were expressed, intensified, completed on very different ways by research participants, which resulted many subthemes within the main themes. The next step was to find a pattern amongst these subthemes too. During this process I examined the components of answers regrouped according to the different topics. These patterns brought 'together components or fragments of ideas or experiences, which often are meaningless when viewed alone' (Leininger, 1985, p. 60). So the analysis of received data was made partially too; according to each research themes. On one hand, every interview reflected a whole, unified, and individual story of the research participant. On the other hand, the interviewees' responses contained in portion the main and subthemes, and bringing together these parts gave a comprehensive, all-round panorama of their collective experience (see Aronson, 1994).

By using the thematic analysis, the presentation of research results became part of the analysis on descriptive way. The structure of thesis reflects on these main themes found. To test the hypotheses I identified the key characteristics of assumptions, and I examined them evaluating the theoretical frame.

Thematic analysis can be used not only to texts; it is generally adaptable ‘to observe and perceive people, groups, organizations, cultures, or events’, and it is often used to find visual patterns (Boyatzis, 1998, p. viii). Therefore observations also were translated in the same manner; by identification the pattern of visual particularities alongside the main thematic patterns.

In the last step of analysis, I compared and confronted the interview results with those of the observations, paying attention to the validity of outcomes. The combined analysis of interviews and visual observations resulted into one case study from each of the two cities, and at the same time several common principles that run through these case studies.

My personal research experience was concerning the thematic analysis that for using this method it was indispensable to have a very deep knowledge about and be familiar with the collected data. Finding thematic patterns can be seemed an easy research task; however I had to pay attention that the pattern reflects to the required level of analysis in the desired profoundness. During the interviews I had occasions to probe the already emerged themes by related interview questions with other participants, and this flexibility was very useful to develop further the existing ideas and improve the direction of analysis according to the raw research experience. Conducting personally the interviews, in person making the observations were also indispensable to interpret correctly the data, especially hidden data or latent meanings.

Chapter 5

Focusing on Role of Home Place in Emergence and Maintenance of Place-identity

“How can we live without our lives?
How will we know it's us without our past?”
John Steinbeck

5.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discover migrants and descendants' attachment to the home place. It studies Hindu Gujaratis' memories about home place, who settled in Leicester and Milan, in order to understand how home place evokes and preserves their identity and belonging. The chapter focuses on the role of place played in the attachment: that how attributes of place and temporal dimension of the connection to place affect the attachment.

Attachment is based on positive feeling, and positive emotional effects of home place on well-being are widely acknowledged (Relph, 1976; Cuba and Hummon, 1993; Fullilove, 1996; Perkins et al., 2002; Mallett, 2004). Also we know relatively much about the psychological sense induced by home place: home place generates the feelings of insideness (Relph, 1976), safety and comfort (Manzo, 2003), family and warmth (Olufemi, 2002), the sense of having an anchor (Brown and Perkins, 1992; Alterman, 1993; Bowlby, Gregory, and McKie, 1997), belonging to a culture (Jones, 2000), the feeling of rootedness (Hay, 1998; Malkki, 2008). Even key signifiers to meanings of home contain such positive expressions as heart, fireplace, or paradise (Olufemi, 2002). Strong positive emotional bond that people develop towards home place was examined through several studies, and results clearly demonstrated that the concept of home place significantly contributes to the construct of identity (Buttimer, 1980; Altman and Chemers, 1980; Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Duncan, 1982; Hummon, 1989; Cuba and Hummon, 1993; Moore, 1998, 2000; Wardhaugh, 1999; Olwig, 1999; Speller et al., 2002; Manzo, 2003). As home place is the place to where we belong, its importance amplifies for migrants who shift from home place to another.

People's attachment to a place can be approached from three sides; it has a place aspect that concerns to the object of attachment, a person aspect that describes who attaches, and a process aspect that manifests the attachment (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). Through examining home place's contribution to attachment, this chapter concentrates on the place aspect. It means that it approaches towards place-identity not regarding the differences between persons, but the distinctive elements of places. The main question of this chapter is in which ways home place induces an attachment in people. By its sub-questions, it concentrates on two, relatively less examined areas of the effects of home place; that to which features of home place Gujarati migrants are attached, and how temporal dimensions of home place experience influences the attachment.

5.2. Place-time dimension of home place attachment

Emotional effects of home place on human beings may arise by different spatial levels: similar to other places home place too is nested (Breakwell, 1996). This research focuses on urban landscapes and urban scenes; however even in this frame the interpretation of home place is broad in scope. For Gujarati migrants home place means foremost their state Gujarat, as well as their hometown in Gujarat, their neighbourhood, and their house situated in it, but in larger sense India too. There are suggestions that the level of place attachment can differ according to its geographical scale (Cuba and Hummon, 1993; Kaltenborn, 1997b; Gustafson, 2001a). However, measuring and comparing residents' emotional sense of place towards their city, region, and nation, Shamai found a strong bond towards each of these places (1991).

The features of place significantly influence the residents' local spatial experiences and emotional well-being, the uniqueness and memorability of place, and so they contribute to the development of an attachment to it. To understand the emotional significance of a place it is important to know that people emphasize which attributes of it; which features are captured in their memory. However, researches investigate the aspects of place meaning rather than the features of place that produce the meanings (see Sixsmith, 1986; Jaakson, 1986; Agnew, 1987; Gifford, 1998; Droseltis and Vignoles, 2010). While long-range studies broadly demonstrate the implication of home place in identity; that who, how, and how much are touched by

place, relatively less works examine that by which features home place has a highest attachment capacity to produce an affective bond.

A part of studies that centre on the contribution of place to the sense of place, does not arrive to the level of attachment, but examines the emotional preference of place. Dearden tested empirically by three groups of respondents, which had different environmental interest, whether it would be revealed a relation between familiarity and preference of the landscape (1984). He found that familiarity with the landscape has a positive correlation with preference, and the influence of familiarity is supported by four factors: the past landscape experience, travel, present living environment, and recreational activities. Although emotional preference makes a hint that which features of place may induce an attachment, and preference is a necessary element of the attachment (see Atchley, 1987; 1989; Burholt, 2006), it is not identic with it and not sufficient to it. Preference can be guided by a simple aesthetic feeling. Schroeder defined preference of a landscape as ‘the degree of liking for one landscape compared to another’, while for the attachment landscape should possess meaning; it has to evoke ‘thoughts, feelings, memories and interpretations’ (Schroeder 1991, p. 232). Preference of place was examined in many cases without seeing it as an indication of place attachment or place-identity (Rapoport, 1990; Jacobs, 1999). More recently Kaltenborn and Bjerke investigated the associations between place attachment and preferences for local landscape categories (2002). They demonstrated that place attachment has a positive effect on attractiveness of landscapes that are natural type, and landscapes that have historical value. They concluded that as both attachment to a place and preference for natural and historical landscapes mirror positive emotions, the evaluation of a place might pass along a pleasant–unpleasant dimension.

Other part of recent studies on place attributes shows mixed approaches, less organized theoretical frames, providing various and very vague key features of place, which sometimes do not move on the same contextual level or cannot be distinguished clearly from each other. To map the nature and areas of place attachment, Burholt examined the reasons of Welshmen to stay in their present community (2006). She identified seven key areas of attachment to place: general locational satisfaction, historical perspective, aesthetic and emotional components of location, social support, social integration, appropriateness of the environment, and relocation constraints.

Teddy, Nikora, and Guerin studied five dimensions of place attachment taken over from the relevant literature: continuity, distinctiveness, symbolism, attachment, and familiarity, by the example of Māori belonging to a particular area (2008). Relating these key areas they discovered subareas as childhood, past, obligation and maintenance, change, future, reconnection, pride, comfort, belonging, people, connection, participation, feelings, physical environment, social environment, values.

‘Place experiences are necessarily time-deepened’ (Relph, 1989, p. 26), so experiences must be examined in a frame of a place-time context. Regarding the effect of time on the attachment, empirical studies found that the temporal dimension of association with a place has effect on the bond felt towards it (Patterson and Williams, 1991; Moore and Graefe, 1994; Kaltenborn, 1998; Vorkinn and Riese, 2001; Smaldone, 2006). Qualitative researches emphasized the role of continuity in strengthening the attachment towards a place (Mitchell et. al., 1993; Brandenburg and Carroll, 1995; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996; Cantrill, 1998; Cantrill and Senecah, 2000; Gustafson 2001b).

Studies on the role of place played in place attachment and place-identity indicate three kinds of difficulties that need to be resolved. Firstly, they provide evidence for the dangers to meld the motivations, which prompt to create an attachment, the meanings of place, which are expressed by the place, from the features of place, which evoke an attachment and give rise to the place meanings. Secondly, they call attention to the need of a theoretical model that is able to treat the elements, effects, and consequences of place avoiding their melding. The proposed PPP framework of place-identity (see Chapter 3), which will be applied here, approaches separately to the features of place that evoke place-identity, the motivations behind creating and preserving place-identity, and the meanings of place on individual or group level, and therefore satisfies this necessity. Thirdly, studies reinforce the need for a distinction between physical and social level of place (see also Kaltenborn’s division of place attributes to natural-cultural factors and familial-social factors, 1997a, 1997b). This research pays special attention to catch and analyse distinctively the physical and social elements of place concepts. During the analysis, I identified eight key features on material level of home place: familiarity, openness, variety, interpretability, accessibility, naturalness, spirituality, and historical value; and eight key features on

social level: kinship, integration and sharing, vivacity, predictability, social support and cooperation, recreation, spirituality, and rootage. There are features, which are typical on every geographical level of home place, and so they characterise India, Gujarat, the hometown, and neighbourhood of research participants on different modes. Through these features, home place became not only a unique and memorable place for migrants and their descendants, but they also gave rise to an emotional well-being, such a strong sense of safety, comfort, and belonging, that by them home place contributed to the identity formation and preservation. The features of material and social level of place correspond with each other, thus at the end of chapter I will present an eight-domain conceptual scheme to model the contribution of place features to place-identity.

Looking into the temporal dimension of place-identity is especially interesting regarding this research, as it focuses not on residents' attachment to their local place, but that of migrants who left the home place. In their case home place means the place of origin, but claiming Gujarat as a home place does not necessarily involve life-experiences of home place. The research sample of Gujarati migrants and descendants contains two types of subgroups: firstly, India-born persons who passed time in Gujarat before moving to another country and who have life-experience there, and secondly, persons of Gujarati origin who were born outside of India and gained experience of Gujarat via visits. The chapter focuses whether there is a difference between the two subgroups' attachment regarding the time of place experience, and how they preserve the attachment influencing the temporal dimension of connection. Visits and planned resettlements indicated not only migrants' attachment to their place of origin, but by their aims and reasons they highlighted also which features of home place attract mostly the migrants.

5.3. Time of home place in Gujarati migrants' life

As Aristotle simply said: 'memory is of the past'. Memory is linked to the past, and in migrants' case memories about past contain their memories about their place of departure, so the connection between time and place may link the home place to the past. Nevertheless, regarding Gujarati research participants, home place is not in every case linked to the past at all. On one hand, there are two-, three-generation Gujarati descendants, who did not have past life-experience about India, but as they consider

India, and within it Gujarat as a place of origin, they gain local place experiences through visits. On the other hand, those Gujarati research participants who were born in the state also return frequently to their home place. So home place is interruptedly, but regularly present in research participants' life; it never becomes a closed past. Moreover, migrants and their descendants are able to travel to home place not only on a physical, but also on a mental way: memory is just a medium to reach and contact the home place left behind.

Research participants' habitudes show that if they can afford, they prefer to keep contact with their place of origin physically. They refresh their memories of home place and/or gain new ones due to their visits that many of them do as holiday with a few years or even annually regularly. Although wealth of Gujarati community in Leicester is stronger than that of in Milan, the research found no deviations in the intention that research participants in both cities willed to spend money for travelling to India, however research participants in Leicester visited to home more frequently than participants of Milanese sample. At the same time, research participants from both cities privileged a trip to their home place over any other travels abroad.

I like go every 1-2-3 years in India, if in world everybody say 'choose which country would you like it', I prefer first in India, anyway. (LE/Interv21/M49)

Gujarati interviewees who were born outside of the country underlined the significance of home place as a place of origin. Although sometimes they lived since three generations in another country, not that country was deemed to be a home place, but India, where their roots are.

I don't know whether to call myself Gujarati from Gujarat, but like I said and I'll say it again that a Gujarati can be a Christian, born in Gujarat, living in another country, or he can be a Muslim, living in another country, but he has roots in Gujarat. [...] I wanted to maintain the roots, although same thing happened with us, my grandfather moved to Africa, but we still got affection, affiliation, you know the bond between India, not very much with Africa, but definitely with India, because that attachment of that soul is still there. (LE/Interv23/M64)

By their visits to India, research participants born outside the country could know the place via physical contact as not an imaginary, but a real place, and started to attach to its material dimension too, having a need to sense and experience the country again and again. Frequent visits supported to have a continuous contact with the place and to be informed about its changes by time.

African born research participants showed a special case due to the local Gujarati ethnic concentration and place making activities. These participants described their resident area to be very similar to that of Gujarat, consequently, their contact with the familiar, homely environment, in form of characteristics transferred from one place to another, never ceased.

[Gujarati tradition] is always taught by our parents, and we had a Gujarati subject in the school, [...] we used to learn Gujarati and Hindi and that thing we used to learn that you know. [...] Environment] was same like Gujarati, because all people were the Gujarati, there were Africans living aside, but where we lived, there were all Gujaratis. (LE/Interv6/M63)

Yet, after leaving Africa they thought that it was important to visit repeatedly their home place: not the African country where they were born and/or where they passed most of their life before moving to the UK, but Gujarat. In cases of multiple-generation descendants, even the practice and pattern of visit were inherited from one generation to another.

My grandfather came from Gujarat, from Jamnagar, and as I said to you earlier on, when I was well settled and when my boys grew up to understand life, I wanted to go and see where my grandfather grew up. [...] I took them to my father's place, my grandfather's place, you know, where my grandfather lived in that house in Jamnagar. [...] Secondly for me I went there, because my father went on holiday when I was 6 years old, to India, and he went by boat from Africa, and he never came back, because he died of a heart failure. [...] I just felt that I must go and see that place, in Gujarat. And when I went there, the people were very nice, they remembered my father, although I'm just thinking, I must be about 35 –36 at that time, but they, the elderly people remembered my father, where he died and how he died and all that, and that made me go to Gujarat and Jamnagar. [...] I just thought that I'll go and see the place and show my children the place, because I thought I

have to do them a good turn to understand what culture, if not culture, what the life is all about, it's a system of bringing them up. (LE/Interv23/M64)

Participants' stories showed that while migrants attempted to familiarise their children with the place where ancestors lived, children were searching for the traces that previous generations left on the local environment. Accordingly, Gujarat became a real, experienced home place also for research participants born outside of India. The closeness to place passed from one generation to the next, and home place became able to maintain its role in identity during the time.

In Chikhodra my dad was showing us everything. There was this Mandir there, it's a bit like the others in Anand as well, and he showed the place I think where he went to school. We had a little tour around the village, in neighbours and things, it was really funny, because like everyone just knew him there, and then no one passed, everyone was just like waved us. (LE/Interv19/F15)

For most of research participants life period began with the past experience of home place, then home place was present regularly for much of the participants, and as a future plan many interviewees expressed their intention to return to and resettle in their home place. The reinforcement of bond, assuring a certain continuity of contact with the home place, provides a sense of stability, safety, and comfort for research participants that they are there where they belong.

I love India as much as I love Milan too. The reason I want to go back is, I feel... there is a belongingness that I belong to that place, and I want to do something there rather than doing something here. It's just you are in a more..., it's more comfortable for you, it's your people, it's the language that you speak, every time. (MI/Interv7/M26)

Research sample contains migrants and descendants who have lived in the place of resettlement from one month to 51 years. Time might develop and deepen the feeling of affection for the new place, weakening the bond toward the home place. However, in the sample I did not find a definitive trend concerning how the length of time passed in settlement influences the attachment towards the settlement place and home place. On one hand, there were interviewees who argued that place of resettlement created new

attachments, its foreignness became recognizable and usual due its ordinariness, while the home place altered and estranged during the time passed elsewhere, and despite the visits without an uninterrupted personal contact they lost the everyday-sense of place.

When you move from here [from your birthplace], gradually attachment is less this here, and more in Leicester, you got more bond relation with Leicester than, because the people when you left your own town, or village, the people of your age groups, like my age group I'm talking about, is not there possibly, older people died and the younger you don't know them as well. The systems, the customs, habits and all other things, you've adopted here, you get used to here, and that's why more attachment here than there, this is your own town, own country, your family is here, and you like to come back here again. [...] When we came to Leicester, we had to adopt the system here, now we used to here. Now when we go there [in India], the system we left, when we left there, Gujarat, is different, then we have to adopt the new thing there. (LE/Interv32/M74)

On the other hand, other interviewees who passed around 35-45 years in the resettlement place maintained their place-identity attached to the home place, felt to be affected primarily by Gujarat even after that time, and were determined to return for their retirement. Moreover, a few research participants even from the sample born outside of India intended to move 'back' to their place of origin, presenting reasons for the economic development of Gujarat, kinship, lively social life, and cultural heritage among other arguments. Therefore, I found examples for both the effectualness of time on the place-identity and its ineffectiveness, without showing a clear trend.

5.4. Features of material environment

During the analysis, focusing on the Gujarati urban environment presented by Hindu Gujarati migrants and migrant descendants, I identified eight key features of material environment, which were responsible to create an attachment towards the home place, and via which home place contributed the identity formation and preservation. These features are the familiarity, openness, variety, interpretability, accessibility, naturalness, spirituality, and historical value.

Familiarity reflects to property of place that it becomes well known, habitual, and customary by frequent or everyday visit, use, and practice, therefore it is a

particularity of place produced by time. Repeated visits of urban places made them more memorable, and certain places created strong emotional bonds by time. Research participants often underlined that their favourite places in the city were the regularly visited places, what they visited frequently and during a long period, while other participants reported that they were touched by the quotidian surroundings of their family home the most over all other places.

I have mostly grown up with three people, my granddad, my grandmom and my dad's younger brother. [...] So my favourite place growing up with them was..., specifically with my grandmom, was the temple, which was at walking distance, [...] and I remember I used to go every evening walking with her there. My granddad used to take me to park, where kids come and play [...]. I remember, it was right next to the temple, where I used to go, and there was one more place with my uncle, [...] his hanging out places with food-joints, called 'Choice' in Ahmedabad, old 'Choice' on the C.G. Road. That was one place, which I used to go with him and I like to be there. (MI/Interv11/M26)

Interviewees' memories suggested that places, which supply regular location to happenings of certain life period, also became emotionally important. For the majority of research participants the hometown provided the place of childhood, and many of them mentioned that experiences of growing up, pleasures of making friendships in the neighbourhood, playing together in the same streets and courtyards around family homes developed affection towards these public sites.

Gujarat has been a place where I've grown, like the thoughts, the understanding and the people around me, they have sculpted whatever I have grown into. So as per for memories, my childhood has been there into local streets of Gujarat, I have played in those streets. (MI/Interv15/F23)

Many interviewees recalled the playgrounds from their childhood as emotionally important places. Everyday places received outstanding emotional significance due to their habitualness, and they created a bond not only directly towards a place itself, but indirectly towards the larger level of its geographical location too; belonging to a city area reinforced the bond towards the city where place was located, or belonging to the city towards the state.

The next material feature of home place, which was highly positively evaluated by interviewees, is the openness. They called attention that because of the local geographic circumstances and people's special needs Gujarati residence buildings have some common particularities: houses possess open roof top, terraces, and open front space, moreover windows and doors are usually kept open all the time.

If you see in Ahmedabad, or any other Indian city [...] every houses, even the smallest of houses like this, like they would have small space in front of the house, but they would have that space. Because that is, where interaction from one house to other house happens, in Ahmedabad specially, if you go in the old city or in the new city, other than the boring skyscrapers, all the old and even after post-independence the buildings were made such a way. (MI/Interv11/M26)

Besides houses with some kind of open space, Pol houses are typical residence clusters in Gujarati urban centres, especially in Ahmedabad. Pols generally unify people from the same caste, religious, or professional community, and they have an important common place; the courtyard. Courtyard is preferred place, because it counterbalances the extreme summer heat, gets sunshine during winter, and it is accessible for every resident (UNESCO: World Heritage Center, 2011; Yumlembam, 2011; Agarwal, 2009). Open spaces; courts, balconies, terraces, rooftops have higher importance in Gujaratis' life, because they invoke and raise social and religious gatherings. Furthermore, transparency increases residents' sense of public security and the feeling of being safe.

In India, 24 - 7 doors and windows are open because of the weather firstly, let's put it that way, it's of our country, and secondly that's the natural surveillance, isn't it? [...] It's just natural surveillance, kids playing in a common ground, like open space we call it here, but in a common ground that's overlooked by 10 – 15 houses, and all the doors and windows are open, so even anyone who cause a threat or a harm knows, they are going to be in a trouble. (LE/Interv1/F34)

Variety is another prominent characteristic attributed to the homely physical, built environment. More interviewees underlined that Gujarati cities are not entirely planned cities, and this particularity qualifies both the city structure and residence buildings. Cities usually separate into a historical, rather disorganised old part, and a

more planned and developed new one, which reflects the industrial development arisen after the independence.

In Gujarat where.., because now at each place I was there it is so.., very old places are there, and because of that there is no proper town planning and all this thing, so it's all congestion, house and all this thing, and there is freedom that everybody is building their own house with their own design, [...] and there was congestion, and small streets, and all these things, and there is no proper planning. (LE/Interv27/M55)

However, when interviewees remembered their homely built environment, they thought that even in case of recently built areas the planning and implementation happen much flexibly and less rigorously in India, which pushes again the quality of buildings from standard to heterogeneous.

The construction in olden time is such a way that very narrow and congested, that's why earlier I said that it's two cities everywhere now, the new and old. The new one is developing fairly reasonable, good, but nothing like here [in the UK], there are many reasons for that, the quality of development, and the quality control, that's lack of things like in India, you know, so planning... So the cities in India is much behind. (LE/Interv7/M78)

The partly uncontrolled and unstructured city development, and permitted individual place making activities gave very variable face to Gujarati cities, from which interviewees emphasized mostly the various appearance of buildings, the very narrow streets, the colourful environment, where there is 'always a little bit of chaos, informality, disorderliness' (MI/Interv11/M26). Gujarati cities were presented by interviewees as they are disordered and diversified, where not only old and new, but every kind of variety is mixed, and residences of wealthy people, completed with well-kept private gardens and leisure facilities, and marginal dwellings, metal and muddy built shanties of poor people mingle. This variety was captured by most of research participants as a spontaneous, distinctive, and stimulating characteristic of home place.

Despite the variety, home place meant an interpretable environment for the research participants. They suggested that acquaintance of signs, symbols, material objects, physical design and settings support the interpretability of environment and so

it reinforces the attachment towards it. Interviewees told about artefacts and material objects that make visible their identity through the place.

Different design elements of the resident houses offer an example for this kind of manifestation. Participants reported that they put traditional flower decorations and other type of hangings on the front door, accompanied many times by other symbols. This Hindu traditional door hanging is called ‘toran’ in Gujarati language, and symbolises a sacred gateway. It is a daily decoration, but in Gujarat usually another symbol accompanies it; the ‘rangoli’, which is a flower form decoration on the floor in front of the house, made by colour powder. These decorations communicate about the residents’ identity, and they are interpretable only to persons intimate with local meanings.

Another example is the clothes. Moreover, as clothes reflect the wearer’s identity, it works as a visual symbol. It is noticeable already from far and makes visible the origin and belongings to the public.

If they are with their wife, because of the dress they wear, you can tell that they are Punjabis, Muslims. [...] The clothes is the first thing, the names, from the names as well, you can tell from a name, because Muslim name is different, Punjabi name is different, so you can easily tell, from the name is that they are Muslim, they are Punjabi, they are Gujarati. (LE/Interv5/F49)

Clothes are substitutive symbol, which is able to replace the use of other symbols, e.g. language, because people are able to identify the origin of others only by clothes, without hearing them to talk. So, clothes on one hand differentiate the individual from others on the streets, and also distinguish him as a member of a group from other groups’ members. On the other hand, they express togetherness within the members of the same group.

Accessibility comes from the quality of place that it is transformable according to the place users’ needs and people might deal with it relatively easily. Home place adapts to local residents’ requirements, and is able to change in order to suit their new purposes.

The built environment is because of the roots, and their lifestyle [...]. The buildings are the character, this is how they live, this is how they've lived, and if they wish to live in a different way later, then the building automatically would change. (MI/Interv11/M26)

The property of accessibility makes possible that home place reflects the residents' identity as an exterior mirror. Interviewees told about benefitting from the flexibility of their surroundings in various ways by various practices. While accessibility itself generally refers to the attribute of place, the level of accessibility varies in different places. The opportunity of wearing traditional clothes, putting symbolic decorations on buildings, shaping the forms of buildings, using streets according to their personality, organising public festivals, performing rites all depend on the given level of accessibility of local place. Interviewees illustrated by different examples that they sense the accessibility of home place to be very high, and it much more stands above of the known settlement places.

Many research participants emphasized the naturalness as a salient and highly positive feature of their home place, thinking mainly about the natural, recreational areas of their urban environment. Amongst their best-loved places, most participants mentioned parks, which unify the features of naturalness, familiarity, and openness. Local weather provides especially favourable conditions to enjoy parks.

There is a one park and there is a one big hotel, we used to go every time, sometime we used to go maybe once in a month to eat out there, in a park. Once we have the kid, we used to go in that park maybe once the weather is allowing, we used to go every weekend there, there is a routine. (LE/Interv13/M48)

Parks were presented as a kind of heterotopia in Foucauldian sense⁶. Interviewees underlined that besides their naturalness parks offer meditative places or oppositely a very active, stimulating, and diverting environment according to people's

⁶ Michel Foucault invented the term of heterotopia, which extended further the interpretation of places. Heterotopia is a place that is connected to other places, it is the inverse of utopia; contrary to the representation of an unreal place in the real world, heterotopia is a real place with more levels of meaning or connections to further places that people cannot perceive at first sight. See more at Foucault, 1986.

actual needs. They called attention that parks are places of an individual mental immersion, but also social gathering and integration depending on the situation.



Figure 6: A mandir in Rajkot, Gujarat
(Photograph taken by an interviewee)

The attachment to the home place was reinforced more by the attribute that home place satisfied Hindu Gujarati's spiritual needs both on material and social level. Mandirs⁷ provide a variety within the urban environment. At the same time, they are constructed by a convenient arrangement, which highlights the building amongst the others. Interviewees told about the importance of mandir's physical appearance and that Hindu scriptures fix how temple must be look like, what is the right material, construction, and decoration of the building, how it must arrange its interior spaces, and

⁷ Means Hindu temples in both Hindi and Gujarati language.

install the murtis⁸. The mandir's look makes the building distinguishable and it manifests its function, so devotees can recognize even from far that the building is a temple. A special design element, the shikhara, which resembles a peak or a dome, giving a particular shape to the building facilitates its recognition. Interviewees called attention that besides its decorative and symbolic function, shikhara has a practical function too: on the top of big complexes indicates the entrance, while on a small temple it shows the place of murti.

Even its material refers to the use of building: interviewees described that temples are usually made partly or completely by marble, and very detailed, intricate carvings depict scenes from Hindu history and mythology on the walls. The physical material, which is different from ordinary buildings, the design, which has its own independent meaning, and the practice of use the building together produce a temple. Mandirs also can be viewed as heterotopias, where the real existent place includes an insubstantial place; where the concrete material place allows entering into a ritual sacred place, closed in an unaltered form independently from time. Therefore, although mandirs have a physical location in the reality, they are places outside of the places at the same time.

⁸ Means idols in Hindi and Gujarati.



Figure 7: The celebration of Kite Festival on the terraces and roofs of Ahmedabad, Gujarat
(Photograph taken by an interviewee)

Mandirs are not the only dual physical-spiritual places; terraces and balconies of resident houses also provide place for everyday religious gatherings, moreover they are traditional sites of an important Gujarati festival; the Kite Festival, when all activities happen on terraces and roofs.

We all have..., you know because of weather, you don't have open on the top. Houses, like veranda and what we called..., things like that where you have a little..., you have open roof top and..., penthouse, something like that, and you stay, sit there. And you went, it's a kite season, you go and fly some kites. (LE/Interv12/F60)

There is a national holiday for three days in Gujarat for this kite festival. So like people are so crazy about that, that they get up in the morning early like at 5 o'clock, they go up on their terraces, every single man and woman in the house for like 3 or 4 hours, they usually come up on the terrace, we have a gathering over there, like we fly kites in the morning, [...] we have a small DJ and all on the terraces. But everyone..., when you get up..., in the

afternoon when you go up on your terrace, you will get to see from your terrace, like every terrace on the each of the building, till wherever you site is, it is full of people, like flying kites over there. (MI/Interv14/M25)

Public Hindu spiritual festivals change fundamentally city areas, not only by their special acts and performances, but just due to the attracted crowd. As urban places are flexible sites, which are always reshaped again and again according to their function, Hindu rites transform them to a sacred and at the same time a deeply intensive social space, firstly offering special decoration and functions, and secondly bringing together people and providing a sense of unity.

The city is made for the festivals, and during the festival city takes another charm [...]. Every event in India would be a festival, like a small wedding also would change the face of the street, from wherever the wedding is passing, even Holi, even Diwali, all kinds of festivals would change the street. So it's very flexible in that sense, and still interactive. Because the people are almost outside the house, but still inside the house, in that sense, because there is no stark wall of the houses. (MI/Interv11/M26)

The moment there used to be Navratri, the places to eat out would open till three o'clock in the morning, so suddenly people would just drop by and stop by to eat or drink something. So the whole public space changes, because you know otherwise by three o'clock things would be closed in general, but then everyone is out there on streets, with their bikes and their cars and eating out, chatting, joking. So, it's something like, you imagine something which would happen around at seven - eight in the evening, would happen in same way, with same vigour, at three in the morning. So I think that way the public space gets transformed very easily with the public celebration time. (MI/Interv4/M28)

Festivals make city spaces more open, in that physical sense that they tempt people from the close private sphere to outside, and on that social sense that they bring together people, who otherwise may never meet and get contacted. For research participants festivals belonged to the material and social image of home place, and increased its attractiveness.

The last key feature of home place on material level is its historical value. Some research participants talked about India, Gujarat, and Gujarati cities as historical places,

and they visit them to know more about the past and origin of their own nation and ethnic group. Other participants appreciated the historical architectural value and aesthetic dimension of their hometown. Many of them mentioned the architect, designer and urbanist Le Corbusier, who planned buildings throughout India, constructed more houses, villas, community buildings, and a museum in Ahmedabad, former capital of Gujarat, placing the city on the world map of architecture and design.

Ahmedabad was a very important architectural city on India's map, after the industrial revolution. Because when Le Corbusier came to Chandigarh, he came to Ahmedabad after that, and he did a lot of buildings in Ahmedabad. Ahmedabad has very specifically that kind of design influence, of Corbusier style, of houses. And Corbusier style of houses had always coats, very elaborate, very specific proportions of houses, terraces. (MI/Interv11/M26)

Chief Architect and his assistant, who planned the new capital city of Gujarat in the 1960s, also worked as trainees under Le Corbusier's activity in India and his effect remained determinant on the new capital (John, 2011). Even those interviewees, who otherwise are not interested in architecture, were aware of Le Corbusier's traces on Gujarat. Urban design and historical buildings made home place a special, worthwhile, and aesthetically pleasing environment for research participants.

5.5. Features of social environment

Analysing Gujarati urban environment introduced by Hindu Gujarati migrants and migrant descendants, I identified eight key features on social level, which were emphasized as important elements of the belonging to home place, and via which home place affected identity. These features of home place are the kinship, integration and sharing, vivacity, predictability, social support and cooperation, recreation, spirituality, and rootage.

Kinship meant the close personal, familial relationships, which characterized Gujaratis' social relations at home place. Research participants considered the family as a base of social life, most of them shared social programs mainly with family members, while some of them counted on the family even as a base of economic life, founding common business with relatives. The importance of family relations, closeness and attachment between family members was well expressed by the fact that most of

research participants lived in an extended, joint family before the movement. According to their reports, sometimes even 30-40 family members lived in the same home or in close neighbourhood, therefore members habituated tight social relations around them.

If you live together, we can good relations with family, feelings, save some money as well, because one roof, heating cost and another cost you can save as well, and is good bonding within the family. (LE/Interv32/M74)

Most of interviewees considered the system of joint family as a positive social organisation which reinforces the emotional link between family members and subserves that they can rely on each other across time and space, still in case of a long and far geographical separation. Settled migrant interviewees missed their family members most of all from their home place left behind, and one of the main aims of migrants' visits to their home place was to keep contact with family members staying there, both close and distant ones. These facts demonstrated the importance of tight social relations for Gujarati migrants and their descendants, and these emotional and social ties bound them to the home place. Those few research participants, who did not have any family relations in India, chose to travel there for the sake of old friends. Length of time spent in another country seemingly did not change the need to maintain social relations with people left at home. Family tie-ups determined the place of visits; most of the interviewees said that they visit their birthplace first of all, and then they went to cities where other family relations are.

I've been 43 years in Leicester, alright? And I do go back to India, every now and then, two or three years, you know because I've got my all brothers and everyone in my family is down here in UK, but wife's family, all in there India, my brother-in-law and sister-in-law is there. So usually every two years or one year we go and see them, and also because I see some of my friends, my college friends, so that's why we go down there. (LE/Interv6/M63)

Interviews revealed that Indian families treat neighbours as an extended part of their family; neighbourhood works as a wider family, because people share their everyday activities, participating in each other's life, and helping and supporting each other.

First our like family is next neighbour, because anything happen, neighbour is look after you. (LE/Interv21/M49)

Family and tight social relations meant for interviewees comfort and safety, not only by affectionateness and warmhearted feelings, but also by the secure and knowable social environment that they provided. Kinship extremely contributed to gain information and knowledge about the place.

Family place and neighbourhood were important scenes for the next feature, integration and sharing. Interviews suggested that incorporation into a social group and having, using, enjoying something jointly with its members are very similar, interdependent actions. Sharing was an expression often mentioned by interviewees to characterize their social life, and it was not limited to the sharing of living space, everyday activities, vital substances within their family, social, ethnic or religious group, but they consider the act of sharing as a fundamental base of the Indian society.

In hometown like they would share it [things], how they open you up, it's good life, and like you know, people do get together every day, it's a kind of daily routine, they do every day. (LE/Interv4/F26)

Interviewees suggested that sharing and being integrated into a community were not separable from each other, because the need of share a problem creates a community, while community is based on partaking in.

You share out in the community any problem, [...] any people they need some friends or environment or good relation, no one can live alone, because if you live only, your house you own, sometime you mad, so you go your neighbour, talk to them, go your community, serve them, and I'm just doing my community (LE/Interv21/M49)

Everyday experiences of research participants revealed that integration and sharing is facilitated by physical environment. Not only weather condition, but also Gujarati people's need for socialisation incited to make open, common spaces. Open dwelling structures offer physical places to settle social space, and they also make the social relations to be available and transparent. According to the research participants'

report, integration and sharing reinforced further the attachment to the homely environment.

If you know about some like properties things in South Asia, they got big part of the house, but not whole, everywhere the like building, there is open space in their house. So the people came down over there and sit over there, they chatting with each other, with some religious thing, some another activities like day to day life activities, they done with some another people and they talk to each other like that way, and spending for that time until they going to sleep. (LE/Interv26/M41)

It was a very strong common point in interviewees that they were touched by the vivacity of their home place. Vivacity of urban social life came straight from the openness of physical places, the intention of incorporating and sharing, and made more spectacular the physical variety of urban public places. Many interviewees called attention that open residences contributed the impression of vivacity as people inhabited windows, terraces, roofs, doorsteps, streets, and places, and due to their own open place interviewees could observe and enjoy how animated was their direct neighbourhood.

We used to have the balconies as well, you know, on the house there, so you can stand there, and you can look at the all-around, like all the people and view, and you can get on what's going on there outside and everything, you can see there. (LE/Interv20/M21)

Vivacity also referred a very active social life, and research participants often felt that being at home the potential social relations lay at their doorstep and they were never alone.

There everyone know everyone, so social life is much more, much more active, much - much more active, everyone know everyone, it's not you have to make a special effort to start a conversation, it's always there, it's always there. So you know, it's up to you where you want to stop and go back to home and go to sleep, otherwise when you are stepping out of the home, it's already there, it's already there. (LE/Interv1/F34)

Participants claimed that vivacity and openness made them feel extremely safe in their environment, as neighbours saw into each other's life and actively kept the place under surveillance.

Through the vivacity, the spontaneity that cityscape architecturally reflected was presented also in everyday public life. Interviewees reported that streets are not only very lively, but they mirror a freedom, a spontaneity, a randomness, a freshness, which pervades the public activities, like people's use of pavements and common places, and dealing with the traffic on the roads. They suggested that Gujarati people consider and use public place as their own, more or less freely fulfilling their own needs. Therefore besides the positive aspects of vivacity research participants mentioned some negative ones, as the extreme noise, pollution, dirt, and the over-crowding of Gujarati city life, which partly resulted from the unplanned and disordered physical arrangement of public spaces, the chaoticness of their use, and the demographic condition.

Kinship, integration and sharing facilitated the emergence of another feature of home place: the predictability. Predictability meant for research participants that human behaviours, actions and reactions are understandable and foreseeable in their home place. Predictability contributed to participants' self-confidence and their feeling of being in comfort and free from danger, because surroundings are comprehensible and explicable for them. Some interviewees were motivated to return to their home country just because of this reassuring feature of homely environment.

I think I'll be more confident in my own country to work, because I know the people very well in and out, I know how they behave, I know how they react. (MI/Interv13/F26)

Research participants' approach to the caste system and their explication of its survival also expressed their need to a predictable environment. Caste, whether it is based on occupation or religious beliefs, it is inherited by the way of endogamy: the practice of marrying within the same caste and of refusing to marry with others outside of the specific caste. Majority of interviewees, both as married person, potential spouse or his/her parent, were in accord to marry or married already within the same caste, as staying in the same caste makes personal social life to be predictable.

It was marriage basically, that's where it [caste] all starts, and marriage... what used to happen in India is that, if the girl doesn't get married in the same caste, [...] it's all different, she doesn't understand, because different castes have different rituals, so if she gets married to a different caste, she wouldn't know how to live in their way, because castes have different ways of living. (LE/Interv34/F21)

Interviewees argued that people inside the same caste are connected by the same lifestyle and same rites, they follow the same customs and ways for social interaction; this predictability give an incentive to people to stay within their caste and avoid the contact with people from outside, with whom the interaction can be disharmonious and risky.

Social support and cooperation is the next feature of home place bonding migrants and descendants, and the valuation of these closely associated attributes reinforces further the collective nature of Indian society that research participants depicted. Many interviewees saw one main advantage of living in an extended family that members share the home exercises and mutually support each other. The support covers especially the elder generation, as the respect towards elders and the responsibility felt to take care of them is traditionally acknowledged in the Hindu culture. Mutual support expanded on the larger neighbourhood too, which formed a second, larger circle of family, although this social entity is organised not on the basis of kinship, but on the basis of sharing the everyday activities and experiences of the same geographical area. Because neighbours shared the same environment and its positive-negative effects on residents, they concentrated in a community of interest, involving each other to many activities and stand up cooperatively.

Neighbours and everybody are very cooperative, and on that time it's not very good facilities and everything, so sometime you know if you have any problem or anything then we are sharing, you know. Because the space-wise we are struggling there, then the living-wise we are not very good living there, sometime we get the guest from outside so we can't cooperative and accommodate, you know and the food-wise as well, on that time we find ourselves... [...]. We are always, you know stick together and we think that your problem is mine and my problem is yours, is like that, and we are always cooperative. [...] We haven't got that much facilities or money or anything but the love-wise, the cooperating-

wise and helping-wise the moral support is very on that time, so that's a good time. (LE/Interv18/M49)

In India, we are bound within the community by, main thing is, by neighbour or maybe religious activity or by tribe, it means you can get many positive help from the people every time. (LE/Interv13/M48)

Interviews revealed that religious activities are also organised on the basis of mutual help and cooperation between the members of religious community. While participants attributed reciprocity and cooperation generally to the whole Indian society, their personal experiences hinted that mutual support and cooperation work first of all within smallest communities, where people rely firstly on members of their family, then they favour to turn for support to members of their own religious community and caste.

Home place induced positive feelings also by assuring recreational activities, which diverted and refreshed research participants. Recreational areas, as parks became memorable and emotionally important not only by their aesthetic values, but also by the various pleasurable activities through which participants repeatedly went there. Due to these relaxing activities, they attached more both to direct and extended locations of events.

In Baroda we had a really big park called Kamati Garden, and they've a quite a lot of activities to do in there. There was a zoo as well, and there was a space centre as well, Planetarium which we used to call, and it was just brilliant, because being a dry country you don't have lush green everywhere, and park was the best place to hide and to relax and rest and feel cool and.., yea so I remember going there was the most best exciting part, because whatever occasion is, once we visit that park, and go to the zoo, and go to Planetarium, and enjoy yourselves there. And food is centre part of it, so they used to have really good restaurants and cafés within the park, so yea that was the another criteria to go there and have bit of fun. (LE/Interv1/F34)

Social level of place gained emotional importance by its spirituality too. Hindu research participants regarded Hindu rites, ceremonies, and festivals as highly important social events, as they bring people together and integrate them into their surroundings, they incite to share the feeling of ceremony, giving an occasion to express solidarity,

and many of them change temporarily the urban public places, making them more animated and colourful. Participants described rituals that they insist to perform, and they revealed how these rituals connect them to the home place, not only socially, but also geographically by certain elements.

Majority of research participants went regularly to mandir, which provided place to perform a rite of praying together with the community, called aarti. Aarti is a structured rite, which requires to light a special ‘Aarti Diya’⁹. Besides aarti, temples offer special celebrations too, connecting to the gods and gurus of the temple. Research participants underlined that mandirs function as social institutions, serving as centre of culture and education, where people can integrate into temple community through various, not exclusively religious events, they can share both spiritual thoughts and common meals, and they can get moral and social support to their self-development.



Figure 8: Interior of Bala Hanuman temple, in Jamnagar, Gujarat
(Photograph taken by an interviewee)

⁹ Candle with more branches, in the temple lit by a priest.

Interviewees called attention that there are a few, high priority rites in a Hindu's life, the rites of passage, which indicate the transition from one life phase to another: when a Hindu gets married, when she or he has the first child, and when she or he dies.

Most of research participants accentuated the marriage amongst all rites, being the most fateful happening in a Hindu's life, and they told with pleasure about their own ceremonies or the one they participated. They reported that marriage ceremony in India lasts for several days and includes more rites, of which the wedding is only one, and which have distinguished elements according to the regional habits. Nevertheless, the huge number of participants gives the main grandeur of event, because marriage ceremony involves many hundred people; it is the biggest community event, when not only distant family members and descendants meet, travelling even from foreign countries, but also any kind of social relations, including the very extensive neighbourhood. The participation works on a reciprocal basis: if somebody received an invitation, he will reciprocate it when occasion comes from his part, although not everybody participates in every event and on the same manner. After the wedding married women occupy a new place in the familial hierarchy, and geographically too, moving to the home of the husband and his family.

Regarding child's birth, although the ceremony after the first baby's birth is a familial one, but the place of birth is determined by Hindu traditions. Interviewees told by personal experiences that keeping the customs, first time pregnant woman passes the last couple of months of her pregnancy and the first few months after the pregnancy at her parents' home, so women return to their original home place; to parents' house once again. Birth is celebrated mainly by female relatives' participation from the larger family, and it has a concrete timing: it has to be performed on the 6th day after the birth, when according to traditions the god of destiny determines the newborn's future. This is also the date to give name to the newborn: a priest is asked to determine the first letter or syllable of the name.

According to the research participants, Hindu funeral rite has many elements fixed to India. Similar to marriage ceremony, Hindu funeral rite gives occasion to social gathering, it has different stages, it takes many days, and the process of performance varies from state to state. However, there are some constant elements: the usual mode of disposal of the body is the cremation, and the place of cremation is located near to a

river or directly on the riverbank, so when cremation is finished, the remains of body are immersed into the river. Research participants told the funeral is an extensive social event, in which not only family members, but neighbours, friends and other familiar persons also participate, and during the rites they join and help the family. Funeral attaches Hindu souls to home place by more particularities. Firstly, preferably dead bodies are cremated at the bank of the river of their home place in India. Secondly, who can afford, they spread the ashes into the river Ganga, which has sacred cities specially to perform the rite, as Varanasi and Haridwar. Furthermore, the rite may link in multiple threads to the Ganga: at the preparation of the dead body, a few drops of Ganga-water may be put into the deceased person's mouth.

Hindu festivals are enormously popular and research participants emphasized a lot that they extremely enjoy celebrating, especially when they can share the traditional activities and perform the rites together. Participants mentioned Diwali, as their favourite and most important Hindu festival of the year, especially for Gujaratis. While Hindus from other states celebrate the New Year in spring, Gujarati community all over the world celebrates the New Year after Diwali, furthermore, they begin the new fiscal year too on the same occasion, which has high priority for the business-minded Gujaratis. Diwali is the festival of renewal; people offer extra foods in the temples, buy new clothes and electronic equipment for their home, and try to begin the New Year so that the generosity and munificence attract prosperity for the rest of the year.

Research participants also called attention to the festival of Navratri, which is particularly important for Gujaratis, because it contains regional ethnic elements. Gujaratis celebrate Navratri by dancing during nine nights with their own traditional and very popular folk dances, the Garba and the Dandiya-Raas, which are recognizable by the people dancing with sticks.

Interviewees talked about another major Hindu festival; the Holi or the festival of colours, which has its own celebrative touch from Gujarat. Holi originally marked the agricultural season, celebrated by a bonfire, and the next day by colouring each other, either with powdered colour or with liquid colour. Finally they mentioned the Rathayatra or the Chariot-festival too, when Hindus transport gods' murtis on huge chariots, allowing the public to see them.

Interviewees felt that festivals give a special aura to Gujarati urban places because they bring together all people to participate in and share the joy of celebration.

[In India] the festivity mood is different, the children mood is different, if we go over there, then they absorb us straight away [...]. I've been there for Holi, [...] walking on the street, they don't bother as to who you are, but they just throw a coloured water over you or spray colour powder over you and straight away welcome you in their festival, and that is what makes me go to India to celebrate an Indian festival, or Gujarat for a Gujarati festival. [...] It's huge, and it is so full of, kind of electricity that everybody and everybody takes part in it, and it changes the whole atmosphere for one or two days. (LE/Interv23/M64)

Besides the visits to the family members in India, spiritual events, first of all marriage ceremonies and public festivals attracted the most interviewees back to their homeland, increasing the number of festival participants. Festivals were so pleasing to them that even Gujarati research participants born outside of India visited the country to celebrate there, as an occasion to renew their bond to the place of origin. The majority of interviewees also returned or intended to return to Gujarat to organize their own wedding in their home place. Furthermore, interviewees confessed that when they can afford it, they transport the body of deceased family members to India, in order to arrange the final funeral ceremony and settle the body in its place of origin.

Lastly, rootage expresses feature of home place that aggregating of past generations allows people to find their long-run origin there. Rootage is a special link to place through time; a property that migrant research participants build further by every generation, re-connecting migrant descendants to the place of origin.

India ... is my mother country and my ancestors, relatives are all in India ... their children and their family know my family and me. I know them, those who were young grew up and came to know us and how they are related to us. [...] If I had to go to other country, I would prefer to go to my country ... to meet my relations and their children ... so that they all know that ... these are our relations and this is our family. (LE/IntervEE/M62)

Interviewees reported that they visit India also so that their children born abroad can be in contact with their roots. Therefore, they brought their children to India to make known their roots by visiting the place.

Both my daughters love India, yea, you know, they are ready to move there as well, they say, ‘we would...’. [...] I mean my two daughters are born here [UK], but because from their early age we have been taking them to India, they know what the culture is, they speak Gujarati, they know the culture. (LE/Interv5/F49)

However family’s different generations dispersed in space and time, the place of their roots offers a fixity, on which they can rely. Parents would like to share the lessons given by the place of origin and show the values to the next generation, that children could use and give further as base of their own and future generations’ measurement. Therefore, the place of origin gains a special respect against other places, as the source of ancestry and the storage of heritage.

5.6. Conclusion

This chapter analysed Gujarati migrants and descendants’ attachment to the home place. It examined Hindu Gujaratis’ memories about home place, who settled in Leicester and Milan, in order to understand how temporal dimension of the connection to place affects the attachment, and to which features of home place Gujaratis are attached.

Concerning the temporal dimension of attachment to the home place, Gujarati research participants showed an intensive tendency to revisit India, as their home place and place of origin, in order to maintain a continuous contact with it. The research did not find significant difference amongst participants’ intention to a visit according to their settlement place, although participants of Leicester-sample due to their overall favourable economic conditions might visit more frequently. The research also did not find a definitive proof to the weakening effect of time on identity attached to home place, contrarily, the maintenance of place-identity associated to home place was rather prevalent in the sample. While time passed in the settlement place estranged some migrant participants from their home place, many descendants preserved a strong emotional attachment even through several generations. I have to note here that although time itself was not validated as an influencing factor on place-identity, it might matter that research participants spend the time in which kind of settlement place, as features of settlement place and migrants’ position in the receiving society also may

influence the preservation of attachment to home place. Other chapters will examine these possibilities.

The research found several key features of home place, eight for material level and eight for social level. These features provided such positive and strong emotional well-being, sense of safety, comfort, belonging, and closeness, that they contributed to residents and descendants' identity formation and incited their conscious or unconscious efforts to preserve this attachment. A part of the found features confirmed the results of previous empirical studies and discovered further already identified areas, while some of them showed a new perspective towards the influencing characteristics of home place.

Table 9: Correspondence of place features

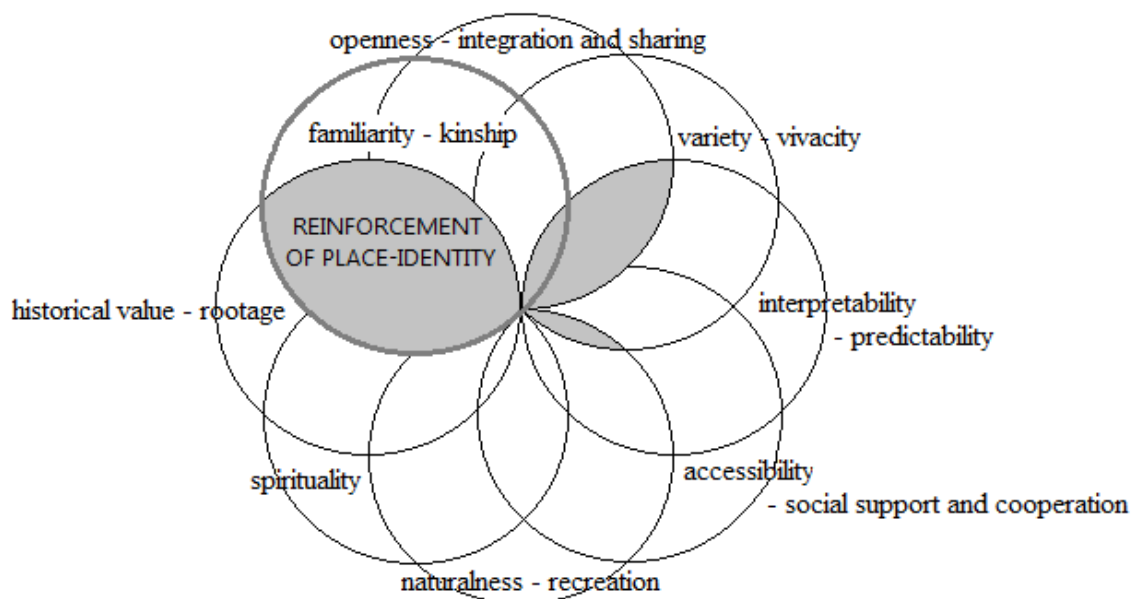
PHYSICAL LEVEL	-	SOCIAL LEVEL
familiarity	-	kinship
openness	-	integration and sharing
variety	-	vivacity
interpretability	-	predictability
accessibility	-	social support and cooperation
naturalness	-	recreation
spirituality	-	spirituality
historical value	-	rootage

The analysis made clear that although these features form separable and distinguishable categories, they affect the quality of each other, as we saw e.g. that familiarity facilitated the accessibility of material environment, or vivacity of social life and spirituality gave domains to recreation. Furthermore, features reinforced each other overpassing their material and social origin, as physical openness of city environment intensified social vivacity, social kinship facilitated the familiarity of physical place, or spiritual social acts increased the physical variety of city places. This fact indicated that the separation of place aspects to physical and social level might happen only by theoretical purposes to facilitate the examination, and these aspects are tightly intertwined in the reality. Modelling the relations between the discovered features,

empirical results suggested that certain features on material and social levels are related to each other as two side of the same coin, and features of material and social level can be organised into pairs. (This was more obvious in the case of spirituality, which coincidentally touched the physical and social aspects of place.) Table 9 contains features organised in the most appropriate pairs, in order to highlight the material-social duality of place features, which results in eight domains of place characteristics.

These physical-social features make up eight domains of place that induced attachment in research participants towards the home place. Structuring the relation of these eight domains, figure 9 depicts by a conceptual system how features of place contribute to place-identity. One-one circle symbolises each domain, which overlaps each other, so there are areas where two, three, or even more features of place are present together and reinforce the effects on people to arouse and maintain attachment towards the place.

Figure 9: Contribution of place features to place-identity



While this empirical research distinguished and identified eight-eight features of place on physical and social level, it raises the question that how many and which features' presence is necessary to stimulate an attachment. Are there salient features, which are more effective than others for influencing the attractiveness of a place?

Answering these questions requires further research, which exceeds the scope of the present thesis.

Lastly, I must make a final remark. Research results hint that amongst the discovered features there are place-specific ones, which characterise especially Indian physical environment and society, and not necessarily can be attributed to any place in general. Such features as openness of physical environment and both material and social aspects of spirituality are not necessarily prevailing or prominent in every place, and research participants underlined integration and sharing also as a special feature of Indian society; a more intensive property comparing other societies, especially Western ones. These ideas remind of the restriction of extending this model to whichever place in order to study its attractiveness and attachment, and call attention to the limit of treating places by a uniform approach, foreshadowing a boundary when they may lose their specificities.

Chapter 6

The Impact of Migration on Place-identity

"Give place, let the prisoner by; give place."
– the first English use of the word,
according to the Oxford English Dictionary

6.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the disruption of place-identity, and it aims to understand how the event of migration temporarily affects migrants' feelings, emotional well-being and stability. It analyses Hindu Gujaratis' experiences and senses about the process of movement and the settlement in Leicester and Milan, in order to understand how loss of home place affects identity and what the symptoms of disruption are. The chapter approaches to identity from its emotional side, and examining the emotional effects of change between places, attributes of destination places, and migrants' abilities to treat the change, it explores a number of previously less studied or detailed issues.

The experience of migration can be contrasted with the experience of home place. As home place is the source of identity, the absence of home place may result in the sense of loss of belonging (Relph, 1976; Seamon, 1979; Buttimer, 1980), and the process of migration might disturb and interrupt identity (Mehta and Belk, 1991; Milligan, 2003). Arrival experiences might be accompanied by the sense of disturbance, confusion, anxiety that are induced by the strangeness and unfamiliarity of new environment (Oberg, 1960; Furnham and Bochner, 1986; Fullilove, 1996; Bhugra, 2003). While psychological consequences of exposure to unfamiliar environments were widely studied as a cultural shock, and many research studied the effect of migration on cultural identity, less studies focused on the role of place and the attachment to it as a causative factor. However, leaving their habituated place and arriving at a new one, migrants' feelings reveal their attachment to the home place, the nature and deepness of place-identity, and the effects of movement and relocation on it.

People's attachment to a place has three aspects: it can be approached from the people, the place, and the process's sides (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). Through analysing the effects of movement between places and the sense of new place on identity, this chapter concentrates primarily on affective processes between people and

place, in order to deepen the understandability of place-identity by exploring its emotional nature. It considers the attachment to home place as an affixation that influences people's feelings towards other places, and it examines the emotional consequences when people are separated from this contact and are touched by another place. The main question of this chapter is how the change between places influences the identity continuity. The comparison of migrants' choice to settle and their feelings arriving in cities with distinguishing qualities helps to understand the variation of settlement pattern and the contribution of settlement place to the threat on place-identity.

By studying Gujarati migrants' emotional disturbance experienced by moving to Leicester and Milan, the chapter aims to answer three sub-questions: that which factors and how do they influence Gujarati migrants' choice to settle in Leicester and Milan, how the process of migration and relocation influence Gujarati migrants' emotional state, and which factors and how do they affect the nature and degree of feelings.

6.2. Disruption of identity by migration

Home place and the process of migration has a contrast, as in home place people feel stability and rest, while in migration they face movement and changes. By the migration people experience a conflict between rootage and rootlessness (Buttimer, 1980), relax and activeness, ordinariness and irregularity (Casey, 1993), familiarity and unfamiliarity (Seamon, 1979), which put them in tension. Home place and settlement place symbolize and objectify the opposite poles of conflicts. Place provides its residents 'predictability, and order in knowing what to expect from the environment' (Brown and Perkins, 1992, p. 280). Migration is often viewed as inverse of the attachment to a place, and therefore the location from one place to another may erode the emotional bond to places (Gustafson, 2001a), and may cause uncertainty, upsetting migrants' emotional stability. Because local environment affects identity, the latter is geographically bounded, and the changes in environment threaten its continuity, interrupting the continuity of place attachment to the original site. As identity is 'linked to spatial continuity, it may be disrupted' by the migration (Milligan, 2003, p. 382). Brown and Perkins defined the disruption of place-identity as 'noticeable transformations in place attachment due to noticeable changes in the people, processes,

or place' (1992, p. 284). Literature refers to the impact of change sometimes as 'disruption' of place-identity (Brown and Perkins, 1992), sometimes as 'threat' on place-identity (Bonaiuto, Carrus, Martorella, and Bonnes, 2002), or 'place interference' (Sharpe and Ewert, 2000), but these expressions cover the same phenomenon: the temporal loss of attachment to a place. While place-identity clearly provides and represents stability, signifying long-term bond between people and their place, disruption threatens to overwhelm people with feelings of instability, creating a stressful period (Brown and Perkins, 1992).

The emotional effect is much deeper for international migrants who replace their home place with a strange and unknown environment. As places, and in this case home place have a primary importance for migrants, they can sense 'displacement' (Milligan, 2003), being 'out of place' (Cloke et al., 2000), 'disorientation' (Fullilove, 1996), 'identity alienation' (Mehta and Belk, 1991), 'outsideness' and 'placelessness' (Relph, 1976) after the relocation in a foreign environment, 'grieving for a lost home' (Fried, 1963). Studying the effects of migration on identity, this chapter aims to refine the pattern resulted from previous studies, identify contributing factors of place-identity disruption, and strengthen the knowledge about place-identity.

While the study and test of elements that favour place-identity formation dispersed widely in place attachment literature, the examination of factors that foster or counterbalance disruption remained neglected. However, as disruption was considered to be a reversal of the attachment process, studies of attachment indirectly indicated some factors of disruption, like the congruence of place. As disruption in place threatens the self-concept, more the features of new place resembles that of the old left behind, disruption will be less perceivable and the sense of continuity will be more provided. The maintenance of identity continuity incites migrants to select destination places that are congruent with their home place in more characteristics and express their values (see place-congruent continuity, Duncan, 1973; Graumann, 1983; Feldman, 1990). As physical and social setting of new place shape immigrants' understanding who they are, its attractive features due to their preferability may support immigrants' emotional well-being and diminish their sense of disruption. The special place attributes that migrants consider important when they select their settlement place illustrate which needs, demands, and preferences pull certain migrants to certain places. Consequently, the

examination of place attractiveness from migrants' perspective may discover that according to Hindu Gujarati migrants which place features are determinant in selecting a new home place, in order to assure their identity continuity.

While in theoretical approaches the well-known home place and unknown settlement place are often confronted with each other, in most of cases the settlement place is not unknown for the migrants, but previous information help them to select between potential destination places. Similar to the attractiveness of new place, past experience or information gained about the new place also facilitate to prepare for the changes. Migrants can receive previous experience by visiting the place before locating themselves, they can gain indirectly information about it, or they can imagine the place (in which case the settlement place is imagined, but not imaginary). These contacts make the future place of settlement more reachable, cognizable, and familiar for migrants, and therefore influence how they react emotionally to the process of migration and settlement. Familiarity of new place has a countervailing effect on the sense of disruption; more previous knowledge and past experience immigrants have about the new place, it will more familiar to them, and so more preferable (Dearden, 1984; Brown and Perkins, 1992). This argument ensues that disturbance caused by environmental change may decrease because of the insufficient previous information and experience of the new environment. It also suggests that if an immigrant possesses only weak information and so he became familiar with the future settlement place exclusively through his imagination, more the imagined place reflects the real one, more familiar the new place will be sensed. While, if the gap between the imagined and real place is too broad, it increases the perceived environmental change, and so it intensifies the effects on migrant.

Finally, Sharpe and Ewert thought that disruption is most intensive in situations where the individual attached to place has little control over the change (Sharpe and Ewert, 2000). Weak incapability of control the change and decide about it makes people more vulnerable and lost in the situation, where they have to suffer passively a transformation around them. Brown and Perkins also found that groups who have fewer resources to recover from the disruption because they are e.g. poor or isolated, are more vulnerable to disruption (1992). On one hand, they take the event of disruption more severely, and on the other hand, they have less resource to cooperate with others after

the change and recover their identity continuity. Local social support, past experiences, and previous information may help immigrants to negotiate the change and the new circumstances.

Social network plays an important role in making the migratory process more manageable and predictable, diminishing its risks, and it may mean not only support, but also an incentive. Migrants follow 'beaten paths' (Stahl, 1993), and help the next migrants through personal chains, when potential newcomers 'learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants' (MacDonald and MacDonald, 1964, p. 82). Furthermore, a successful return too requires the maintenance of social network between the settlement place and the place of origin. As the process of migration strengthens the social network and vice-versa, the migratory movement becomes self-sustaining, and from the social network a 'migration industry' may emerge, a network of agents, mediators, recruitment organisations, and lawyers, who all support and at the same time exploit the immigrants (Castles, 2000). By flowing information, the social network affects the selection of destination places, and it makes them familiar for potential newcomers. The phenomenon that migrants begin to concentrate in certain areas once the first migrants settled there is partly consequence of the social nature of migration (Castles, 2000). After a long period, these informative channels may become international communicative networks, which may influence the related countries' culture, social and political institutions, and economic relations (Basch et al., 1994). A former colonial relation between the countries in the past facilitates and deepens the networks too, so it will be especially interesting to compare the role of social network in the process of migration between Indian migrants who moved to the UK, and to Italy.

One aim of the chapter is to identify the factors that attracted Hindu Gujarati research participants to Leicester and Milan and how these factors influenced their selection. Other aim of chapter is to capture immigrants' feelings at arrival and settling in their destination place. Verbatim of interviewees highly supported the classification of feelings, as in many cases research participants described very sensitively their emotional state and identified concrete feelings. Finally, the chapter aims to understand which factors and how do they affect the nature and degree of immigrants' sense of

disruption and identity continuity, of which the concluding section contains a summarising table.

6.3. Selecting destination places

6.3.1. Factors pointing to Leicester

During the analysis I identified the following key features of Leicester which attracted the research participants to the city: economic opportunity, manageability of immigration, cultural familiarity, local familiarity, and social network, of which the first three features research participants attributed to the UK, while the last two specially to Leicester.

Analysing research participants' reports about what features of the UK and Leicester incited them to select this place for settlement, economic opportunity was amongst the outstanding reasons. Many research participants, most of the men, came as labour-migrants searching for better life conditions. These people arrived in the 1950-1960s directly from Gujarat, composing a part of first Gujarati migration wave into the country.

The UK offered not only economic opportunity, but also it was a culturally familiar place for Indian people. This kind of familiarity did not require a local personal knowledge of the country; the period of dominion brought the UK close to India, concerning especially the language. Interviews revealed that cultural familiarity of the country, facilitating the management of migration and so the integration into the local society, prompted to select the country.

Nevertheless, in the 1960s there was another type of Gujarati immigration flow, with different migration pattern and slightly different motivation, which was represented in the research sample. Migrants arrived from the territories ruled as British protectorates, mainly from Africa, where Gujaratis settled since the 1900s. Elder research participants, who moved from Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania, reported that they held British passport, which significantly facilitated the entrance into the UK, and so the manageability of immigration process incited them to continue to move to the UK when African territories gained independence. These research participants felt that besides being attracted by the economic opportunity, the selection of UK as a destination country was obvious for them due the relative facility of migration process.

We came to this country, large number of Gujaratis and Asians..., because of the policy, it is in government policy, you see. [...] we were become British by we somehow born in British India, or in Africa we have given our British nationality. [...] Then gradually from all over the world, who are the British, they all come to this country, and same thing with the French government has got the French nationals, Portuguese has got Portuguese national, German has got their German nationals around the world, and they came into the Europe. Now it was not a direct choice to come here, but it was the situation where you have no choice, but to come. (LE/Interv7/M78)

The first inflow in the UK, and so in Leicester created a further attractive feature of the place in the form of social network. Research participants' migrant patterns confirmed the guiding role of chain migration in the choice of settlement, mainly based on family members. With a very few exception, participants had relatives in the UK, mostly in Leicester, so the selection of the country and city passed together. 'My sister was here', 'my mum', 'my father', 'grandmother', 'my brother, his wife', 'my uncle', 'my cousin', 'a friend' lived in Leicester; traced back their settlements. The already settled family relations sometimes bridged across generations.

My grandparents came first, and I think it was quite hard to settle in London, and my auntie and my uncle they lived in Leicester, so they thought it'd be best to come to Leicester, and my dad found a job in Leicester as well. (LE/Interv3/F22)

Following family members in the settlement was most particular in case of married women interviewees, where the majority followed their husband, as his opportunities determined the migrant destination. Research experiences hinted that rather wives follow husbands in decision about the migrant destination, and during the process of migration they tend to settle after their husband with a time lag.

Already settled relatives in the potential settlement place made possible to acquire personal information about the place and it becomes more known, more familiar before the movement. Gaining familiarity from relatives or friends facilitated research participants' decision and determined their selection of place. The information came from relatives did not mean a possibility of comparison, because relatives usually concentrated only in Leicester within the country. Information meant firstly an

acquaintance about a place in the unknown outer world, and secondly a concrete attraction to Leicester.

We are in contact before, when I arrived then due to these relatives. I chose this city, that better to go where somebody can help us, because to start with new things, you require somebody's help, to assist only, not to I can stay at his home, but just to give me the guidance that what is correct, where to live, where not, what to do, what not, how to find a job. (LE/Interv13/M48)

Familiarity not in every case came through others' knowledge; more research participants lived before in Africa received previous personal experiences in the UK during their holiday visits. These research participants, who were African Gujarati migrants or descendants and moved to Leicester in the 1960-1970s, made a more conscious decision in comparison to migrants of first wave arrived earlier directly from India, because at that time UK became an already known destination to Indian people and the community of Leicester also expanded more. African Gujaratis came on holiday to the UK regularly, went around in the country, and they could compare the cities before the decision of settlement.

I came on holiday in 1971 here, and I went around here, all the big - big cities for two months, and I preferred Leicester. (LE/Interv7/M78)

Due to the social network, the possibility of integration into the local Gujarati community also drew immigrants into Leicester. Hindu Gujaratis exiled from African countries formed a massive basis of immigrant community in the city, and as local Hindu Gujarati community expanded more, it made Leicester a specific place in the UK from this point of view. The progress of Gujarati community attracted potential migrants' attention in Gujarat, and for many research participants was an important factor to determine their selection within the UK.

When I firstly came in London, and once I visited my uncle's house, and that time ... I find out that in Leicester many Asian and Gujarati communities lives here, and I liked here, and then we moved here. (LE/Interv25/F44)

I had a brother, so I came down and settled with him. [...] There was a friend down here, when he [my brother] came, so he came straight from Kenya, and his friend was here. And there were quite a few Gujarati here, so he chose Leicester. So I chose Leicester to come, because Gujarati community was here. (LE/Interv6/M63)

It was quite different how research participants imagined Leicester before coming, because many of them received very precise information from already settled relatives, while others had only blurred imagination about a general British life style and urban environment. The latter gained a starting point from films and built the British cultural influence experienced in India also into their prevision.

Leicester will be 'like you see in the movies ... I was thinking that there will be like very clean street and everything and there will be like, so lot of cars and things, even I was imagining that's the driving, there will be on the other side, but things it's no, it's the same one, they drive on left hand side. (LE/Interv20/M21)

Because many interviewees have already heard about the local Indian community in Leicester, their anticipation turned mainly into this direction, and imagined that Indian community transformed the city similar to the Indian urban environment.

I was thinking, it would be similar to India, because they used to say that quite lots of Indian people live here. (LE/Interv4/F26)

These interviewees did not venture too far in their imagination about the urban environment and their visions remained in a very general, superficial level; while their imagination relied on films and photographs, they did not guess in details or nor the particularities of local physical or social environment.

6.3.2. Factors pointing to Milan

Both Italy and Milan are not amongst the preferred destination countries and cities for Gujarati migrants as also research participants mentioned, and they found the main reason of it that Italian language and culture is far from that of Indian. Moreover, more research participants (also from the Leicester-sample) thought that Italy does not

favour those type of small businesses in which Gujaratis generally deal, e.g. jewellery business or textile trade.

I spoke to one of the Gujarati there [in Rho Fiera]. He was a silver trader, the silver traders, and he has jewellery in silver and all, so we have our own stall, like Indian stall. [...] He said that, ‘..and also in Milano, they are not very interested in doing businesses here with this.’ So he was very struggling, really hard to get the business opportunity here in Milano, because he thinks that there is lot of scope here, but because of the, you can say, the law or the politics, he is not getting too much of freedom to enter into this business here. (MI/Interv25/M26)

Research participants thought that the other probable reason for Gujaratis not to move to Italy, and so not to Milan is the lack of a strong local Gujarati community.

I think the main reason is, they feel.., when they go out, they want some other Gujarati people to be there [...], for Gujarati that’s a big question, they don’t feel safe, if there are no Gujarati people. So like now, if they are like 200 Gujaratis, if you tomorrow come to Milan, settle down and then there will be 2000 more next year, and 20,000 more in next five years, so it’s just that, nobody has just come before, if somebody comes here, it starts flowing in. (MI/Interv7/M26)

Interviews suggested that because Italy and so Milan missed important attracting features from the beginning for Gujarati people, they rarely selected the city to settle. Consequently, firstly any significant community core was not organised which could draw further migrants by the hope of integration, and secondly, any significant information network was not built on which Gujarati migrants could rely, gain information, and become familiar with the potential settlement place.

During the interviews, research participants emphasized the economic opportunity, manageability of immigration, social network, familiarity, and education as highly attractive features of Milan. Nevertheless, similar to the Leicester-sample, these features were differently emphasized by certain Gujarati groups.

Within the sample, I could distinguish fundamentally two kind of migrants according to their migrant status; that they came to Italy to work and live permanently or for a time-specific purpose, to study. On one hand, research participants arrived to

Milan at the beginning of 1990s to work in the agriculture or factories; they were attracted by the Italian economic opportunity, and they succeeded to find a work and settled here. On the other hand, other participants arrived recently as students, although some of them hoped to stay and settle after their studies, if they succeed to find a job.

According the interviews, the very core of the present Milanese Gujarati community left India in the late 1980s – early 1990s. As rather being low-educated people they did not speak English, they did not have any priority towards the UK, and chose that European country where they had contacts. Their first destination was not Milan, even not Italy; majority of them went to Paris due to their local familial and friend relationship. Some of them entered in France as political refugees, then by the help of already settled family members they tried to find a physical job, but they could not succeed to stabilise their status there. When their refugee status terminated in the 1990s, they needed to move forward, and as Italy was open for immigration at that time, they selected this destination. Although the Law 39/1990 provided stricter conditions to enter and gain access to social services (Bonifazi, Heins, Strozza, Vitiello, 2009), Gujarati immigrants were directly attracted by the new Italian regularization comparing to other European countries because it facilitated the immigration process.

[Mio padre] in Francia ha saputo che in Italia ha aperto i flussi immigratori. Quindi fa i documenti. E quindi va con i documenti per stare qua. In Francia non c'era possibilità di avere documenti. Flussi qui aperta in 1990.¹⁰ (MI/Interv12/F23)

[In Francia] io ero senza documenti. Avevo là senza documenti, poi hanno aperto immigrazione qua in Italia, allora venuto qua per permesso, ho permesso per momento.¹¹ (MI/Interv20/M34)

¹⁰ [My father] in France he knew that Italy became open to the immigration flow. Therefore he did the documents. And so he went with the documents to stay there. In France there was no possibility to have documents. Inflow, here opened in 1990. (MI/Interv12/F23)

¹¹ [In France] I was without documents. I was there without documents, then they opened the immigration here in Italy, so I came here for permission, I have a permission for the moment. (MI/Interv20/M34)

These Gujarati research participants did not come directly to Milan, first they tried to find possibilities and prosperity in Rome. Some of them met and knew each other in Rome, they moved to share the same rented lodging, and when they did not find work in Rome, moved also together to Milan between 1990 and 1993. Because of language difficulties, Gujarati immigrants were dependent on each other. For circa 1993, the core of Milanese Gujarati community stabilized: according to the reports, it contained around six persons, only men, in age between around 16 and 27 at that time, majority already married.

Firstly arrived research participants told that they tried to acquire information about the destination place through already settled relatives, but as Milan, and generally Italy was a less favoured and discovered area, their social network hardly covered it, and information passed only in very indirect ways from other European countries. Nevertheless, social network played fundamental role in the extension of community, as family reunification began some years after the settlement, and continued till the early 2000s. Close and more distant family members and some friends from India made the next inflow, between approximately 1996 and 2001, and they brought their own family members too. Social network built by the first arrived householders already made possible to familiarise Italy as destination place to other potential migrants in Gujarat, although the news of an Italian opportunity dispersed only in small, close family scale.

Per esempio che c'è mia famiglia qua, miei parenti in India 'nostro figlio in India, nostro figlio è in Italia e vive molto bene', e anche loro vieni qua anche, visite, poi là vieni qua così. Così là un'altra persona 'Ah, Italia è buona, lavoro è buono', così, e pensare anche loro a vieni qua. Piano piano, prima viene la persona, poi chiama la moglie, fare così. Prima trova lavoro lui, lavoro come si chiama, regolare lavoro, poi fare le ricongiungere familiare, poi portare la moglie, figlie, come così arriva la famiglia.¹² (MI/Interv24/M40)

¹² For example my family is there, my parents in India tell 'our son in India, our son is in Italy and he lives very well', and also they came here to visit, then he goes there. So there will be another person 'Ah, Italy is good, work is good', like this, and thinks that also they come here. Slowly-slowly, first comes the person, then he calls his wife, doing like this. First he finds a job for him, a job, how can I say, a regular job, then he does the family reunification, then he brings the wife, children, like this arrives the family. (MI/Interv24/M40)

For Gujarati research participants both Italy within the countries, both Milan within the cities were the second best solutions. Their number is hardly growing since the beginning of 2000s; community member interviewees were in accord that the size of community is increasing only by local residents' Gujarati spouses.

In contrast, major of Gujarati students selected very consciously, directly Milan. This group contained mainly students who are studying in Milan, and some outsourced young workers. The common point in these Gujarati youth was that most of them got engaged with a kind of design art: architecture, product design, or fashion. Their professional interest and ambition showed clearly to Milan, the 'global center for the fashion and design industries' (Agnew, Shin, and Bettoni, 2002, p. 266), as the place which offers convenient institutes to develop their capacities.

I did not choose Milan because of the city or the country, I chose Milan because of my school, [...] which is one of the most famous schools for design. [...] There is no other reason to choose Milan, just my school, and Italy because Italy is good for design, and it's quite well-known for design and arts and stuffs like that. (MI/Interv10/M25)

Design, it is the hub, I mean Italian designs are known for their name, and it's so deep here, they really understand how you want to work. While you go back home in Gujarat, there are people who really don't understand why they're doing that design, but they just do it because it's the trend, you know, they just do it for the name, the brand name, or the trend. (MI/Interv15/F23)

Previous imagination of Milan was partly determined by research participants' immigrant status and their previous knowledge. The majority of first generation of migrants arrived from France, while student participants often made large tours in Europe before coming to Italy, and interviewees from both group frequently blurred these geographically and culturally different experiences, determining the supposed character of Italy by the fact that it is one of the European countries.

A typical European country, I mean..., which I always had seen probably on a television or in photographs, and I was also speaking to lot of people, heard about the weather, I imagined..., I read about it, so that's how I started taking it as like how the culture is, how the people are. (MI/Interv10/M25)

Those few research participants, who came in the first inflow, did not know anything about the country, but experiencing earlier France, they imagined Italy must be alike to France.

Qua non lo so, però come stessa in Francia, Italia è stessa, non cambia tanto, come uguale.¹³ (MI/Interv20/M34)

Concerning students, research participants stated having gained previous knowledge about Italian culture as a centre of art, architecture, and design due to the focus of their studies, being informed mainly by books, so they were familiar to more extent with the physical appearance of the city before arrival. Some of them also referred to the Italian products traded in India that made a little known the Italian culture there. However many elements of their image remained obscure.

Because I am an architecture student, by background, so everything I know is Europe, like everything I study or we study in India is based on architecture, because architecture was initiated in Europe, maybe in Italy, because this is the place where architecture and art and those things for the world originated, as a subject. [...] And the city..., I didn't imagine the Italian systems to be so vague, but the city was more or less a blurred image of old and little bit of new one. Because we have been brought up with lot of Italian products in India, so we have this idea, but not about the people, not about the places like how the trams would be working or how the..., not a detailed image I have, very – very faint image. (MI/Interv11/M26)

Finally, most of research participants who arrived due to the family relations had no previous contact with Italy or Europe in any way, and they had only a very vague and unclear imagination about the country and/or the city, gained through the TV or films. Italy appeared in their imagination, as a representation of Europeaness and Whiteness.

¹³ I don't know there, but similarly to France, Italy is the same, there isn't many changes, as the same. (MI/Interv20/M34)

Sai, comunque le persone dell'Europe s'immaginano si guardi la tivù. Ma immagino tutto diverso ovviamente, perché nella tivù ti fanno vedere la neve, le persone bianche, quindi anch'io un po' immagino come così.¹⁴ (MI/Interv22/F24)

Although interviewees of Milan-sample had not at all previous experience of Italy, and many of them arrived with minimal information about the place, their imagination too remained simple and overall, without any particularity, mostly determined by Italy's geographical surroundings and integration into a greater European area than by its own national cultural characteristics.

6.4. Migrants' perceptions on the threats to identity

6.4.1. Feelings arriving in the UK

Gujarati migrants narrated various emotions; mostly negative feelings, which they suffered at arrival in the destination place. Emotional effects of movement contained the sense of anxiousness, strangeness and alienation, enclosing and isolation, the insensibility towards place and disorientation, the feeling of separation, being lost and bewilderedness.

A general anxiousness was experienced by many migrants, especially at those, who did not possess previous information about the settlement place or who did not make the decision about place by their own. Mainly women, who followed their husband in the settlement, and children who arrived with or after their parents, suffered the general feeling of anxiousness. Wife's adaptation to the husband's decision about the place of settlement was accepted as a part of the marital support, as a practice of Hindu tradition that wife moves to the place of his husband, but it was not free from negative feelings; concern and worry.

I was worrying, first time when I was coming here, when I got married, and when I knew that his family is living in UK, and I was so worried, about people, about environment, about everything, language, everything, so I was so worried, so worried, I didn't want to come. (LE/Interv12/F60)

¹⁴ You know anyhow persons in Europe are imagined, if you watch the TV. But obviously I imagine everything differently, because in the TV they show you snow, White persons, so me too I imagined a little like this. (MI/Interv22/F24)

Furthermore, however more migrants had previous information about the new place, there was a gap between the real place and imagined place. Information gained through social network was rather limited to the earning and living possibilities than describing the appearance of local urban environment. Contrary to the images gained from British films and familial gossips about the city, Leicester proved to be a new and strange place, and the unfamiliarity of environment made people embarrassed and strained.

The first thing I asked for was a cigarette, to calm my nerves, I was excited, happy but also filled with anxiety being rather in a strange place, with strange environment. (LE/IntervBM/M49).

Oh my God, when we came first time, my children was crying, 'where we are?'. (LE/Interv22/M81)

Strangeness of place is manifested by various aspects. Research participants' reports showed that they tried to deal with the strangeness of new place by searching the familiarity within it and identifying the already known elements. Like when a participant saw the field covered with snow, first he thought that it is covered by cotton as he was habituated in India, but when he realised the truth, he was intimidated by its unknown and strange particularity. Foreignness of place experienced at arrival alienated research participants from the settlement place, and firstly made them think that they will not be able to live there under such strange conditions.

Before I landed I saw from the cloud, all the fields were covered with what was white, and I said 'What is this?' and I thought 'They don't grow cotton here, so what are these fields full of?' Because there weren't enough snow on the road to say it's snow, and I think everything else completely that the fields had been spilled a layer of snow, and I thought 'It's strange that they can grow cotton here!' But then later came to know that is snow. ... I quickly got on to my parents and said 'Please call me back! Send me the return ticket'. (LE/Interv16/M61)

Most of research participants recognised immediately after their settlement a particular feature of British environment, which named as the phenomenon of ‘closed door’. Participants argued that primarily the locally dominant unfavourable climate that incited residents to keep closed doors and windows, but this environmental particularity had serious consequence on emotional well-being of immigrants, causing the double sense of enclosing and isolation.

I thought I don’t really want to be here [in Leicester], because everything was very squashed, everything was very secured, whereas in India you had open space so you can walk about anywhere, so there was no problem of crime, and you weren’t just in the house. So I wanted to go out as soon as the next day, but it was so cold that I couldn’t go out, stuck indoors, so I felt like prisoner. (LE/Interv24/M38)

It’s not like here [in Leicester] - the ‘closed door’ environment, over there [in India] it’s very different, it’s like doors – windows are all open all the time, all the time, it’s not closed door environment. Over here when you walk around the street, you feel isolated, because everyone has shut their doors and windows are closed. (LE/Interv1/F34)

Leicester’s urban landscape was determined by the City Council house-building projects, which attempted to preserve the Victorian and Edwardian architectural heritage, and to ensure a visual uniformity to the city. The preservation of architectural legacy was responsible for a significant number of brick-built buildings, and the City Council building programmes, which supported the mass construction of houses, assured unified residential areas and neighbourhoods (Nash and Reeder, 1993). Therefore Leicester’s built environment was not only new and strange for immigrants in comparison to the Indian built places, but research participants felt that contrary to the varied and spontaneous Indian cities it provides a monotonous urban space. The brick made row houses themselves seemed to be similar in participants’ eyes, and the streets increased the monotonous effect as they form a regular geometric grid, with same wideness.

Here mostly you find every street the similar height of the house and similar area of the house [...] The pattern of the house in the street is mostly similar here. (LE/Interv26/M41)



Figure 10: Residential street, Leicester

The sense of monotony, the feeling of insensibility towards the new place might come from the characteristics of city architecture. At the same time, it also might be the result of a strong difference with the home place, which did not allow perceiving the altered variety of new place and made migrants insensible towards its particularities.

Furthermore, for many research participants Leicester was an environment without experiences, without memory, while its city places were perceived undistinguishable according to their physical appearances. The similarity of built environment disturbed many participants to navigate in the unknown surroundings after their arrival to Leicester, causing the feeling of disorientation, and made them mentally and practically too lost in place.

When I came here, that time, first when I came in Britain, I just think, ‘oh, I’m forgetting every street.’ Because every street is normally same, but if you know the street name, then you have to reach your destination, but if you don’t know, then every corner is similarly same, and I’m not recognising which thing is which place. (LE/Interv25/F44)

The feeling of separation also emerged from the relocation. As movement rarely passed together for the spouses, it separated the couple sometimes for years, and research participants often suffered the feeling of separation from their marriage partner. There was example of eight years long waiting. In some other cases the couple left behind their child in India to the care of relatives until they stabilise their life in the new place. Settlement, which on one hand brought together the larger family as members followed each other, on the other hand in many cases separated the nuclear family, but in their reports migrants confessed the separation as a kind of sacrifice to reach another place and benefit of better living conditions.

Finally, research participants faced not only the strangeness of physical environment, but also all the new aspects of its everyday life, in which they lost in the first time. They had to habituate new customs in communication, behaviour, and still little variants of daily life, like shops' opening time, influenced their manner of living. Even those research participants were not prepared to this kind of novelty, who knew better the UK, because visits were not able to reveal the local system in daily level and its totality.

How we adopt the new environment? [...] We studied history, and we know that there is a cold country, and there a complete new system we have to adopt, and we were prepared, but we have to adjust, we have to learn, we have to learn to pick it up, the new system, like bathroom systems and so many other things, keep the doors closed all the time, like when you go one room to another, keep, to preserve the heat, that sort of. (LE/Interv32/M74)

Staying bound to habitual daily practice and obliging to use unaccustomed ones, immigrants felt bewilderedness and being lost, and they confessed that their new everyday life was reshaped by a mixture of old and new customs for a long initial period.

6.4.2. Feelings arriving in Italy

Gujarati research participants' feelings arriving in Italy presented a strong dependence on their motivations to select Milan, their migrant status and settlement conditions. Arrival into the strange environment affected differently those people who

came for searching a job, their relatives who came in the frame of family reunification, and students who arrived within institutional, organized frame that provided definite background.

Men arrived firstly were occupied to find a work, establish and manage their restarted life. They did not get any special impression about the new surroundings, but they experienced high and long-term difficulties in the migration process, and problems in job search and stabilisation in the new place, which put pressure on them. Family members who arrived to reunify with the established husbands and fathers, and students paid more attention to the environmental differences, and underwent distinguish emotional sensations as they got contacts with different aspects of the new environment. Their feelings contained the sense of strangeness and alienation, rupture, satisfaction and disappointment, togetherness and individuality.

The general feeling of strangeness and alienation appeared in most of reports, independently of circumstances of the interviewee's settlement. Whenever they counted on the unfamiliarity of settlement place, whenever they found the new environment otherwise attractive, it raised the feeling of alienation simply by its dissimilarity with home place.

Lì era tutto diverso perché non sapevo la lingua, non avevo i miei amici, non conoscevo nessuno. Quindi comunque non mi sentito mio agio perché era diverso.¹⁵
(MI/Interv22/F24)

Piangevo. Appena sono arrivata in casa, piangevo. [...] Perché non mi piaceva. Previsioni non mi piacevano. Non è che non era bello, tutto è bello, però tutto è diverso, nessuno parla nostra lingua. E quindi piangevo, perché mi mancavano i parenti, e mi mancava l'India, quindi piangevo.¹⁶ (MI/Interv21/F24)

¹⁵ Here everything was different because I didn't know the language, I didn't have friends, I didn't know anybody. So, therefore I didn't feel myself comfortable because it was different.
(MI/Interv22/F24)

¹⁶ I cried. I've just arrived to home, I cried. [...] Because I didn't like it. I didn't like the provisions. Not because it wasn't beautiful, everything is beautiful, but everything is different, nobody speaks our language. So I cried, because I missed my parents, and I missed India, so I cried.
(MI/Interv21/F24)

Migration also evoked the feeling of rupture in the usual life and the separation from the home place. More research participants accounted that they missed India, and the feeling was more significantly for those research participants who came for a life time and not for a study period, because they were afraid that the separation may be definitive. Especially those interviewees, who moved in childhood in the frame of family unification, felt a rupture and that the separation from India is not as a voluntarily chosen, but an obligate process.

Un giorno così che mamma mia mi ha detto di quale che andiamo. E quindi niente. Così. Ma ero piccola, quindi non sapevo anch'io che magari non si potevamo venire subito, perché pensavo che noi vada là, però ha detto che noi rientra in India, capito. Però non è facile a tornare non mai in India. [...] Perché il mio padre ha trovato lavoro qui [Milano], quindi ovviamente dobbiamo stare qui.¹⁷ (MI/Interv22/F24)

Because student research participants selected Milan very consciously and arrived with some expectations concerning the urban environment, their impressions about the city determined their feelings at arrival. Nevertheless, their reports were very mixed. Some of them felt great satisfaction; on one hand, because they could face at first time the reality what they imagined before, and on other hand, because they found Milan even above their anticipations.

I was blown by the architecture, I was blown by the roads, it simply gave me a retro feel, you know, as I raised to see movies, because personally I've never been abroad in my life. (MI/Interv15/F23)

Others were slightly disappointed regarding the standard of living in certain city areas, against their higher-level hopes as they imagined a general prosperity, welfare, and elegance, and named districts that they found similar to some Indian urban places regarding their negative aspects: poverty and neglected environment.

¹⁷ It was a day, like this, that my mother told me about that we go. And so nothing. Like this. But I was small, so I didn't know also that we couldn't come back immediately, because I thought that we go there, but she told me that we will return to India, I understand this. Nevertheless, it isn't easy to never return to India. [...] As my father found a job here [Milan], so obviously we have to stay here. (MI/Interv22/F24)

I expected more of glamour or more of places which is extremely expensive or something..., there are some places, but still I expected more of glamour than from the city. Like there's some amount of poverty in the city right now, which I didn't expected, because I thought it would be the other way, like here everyone would be..., like on a good financial condition. (MI/Interv19/M26)

The migration brought for many research participants the feeling of togetherness, because they could re-unify with their family members already settled. Togetherness was a great relief for those members, who lived already 6-10 year long separately. The narrative of these interviewees revealed that at arrival they focused on rather the joyful event of long-awaited family unification than in what kind of environment it happened.

Mio papà dal 1989 era fuori di casa, c'è praticamente fuori dall'India. E ogni tanto veniva, tipo di due anni – tre anni. [...] Però da quando ho cominciato capire, due o tre volte ... chiedevo 'quando che ci porti, quando ci porti', perché lui quando veniva in India, stava un mese, poi stava indietro qui. E ero lì da solo con la mamma, con i nonni, con gli zii. Poi noi siamo venuti nel 1999, [...] siamo venuti qui. Io, mia mamma e mio fratello l'ultimo. Lui è rimasto in India, perché c'era problemi con la casa, quindi non poteva aggiungere. E quindi noi siamo venuti prima, e lui circa 6-8 mesi dopo è venuto lui, ecco. E poi eravamo contenti, basta, perché l'unica persona dalla famiglia mancava lui.¹⁸ (MI/Interv21/F24)

In contrast with research participants who arrived due to the family reunification, majority of students emphasized the feeling of individuality.

¹⁸ My father since 1989 lived outside of home, practically outside of India. And every time he came, like every 2-3 year. [...] Since I began to understand, second or third time ... I asked 'when you will bring us, when you will bring us', because when he came to India, he stayed for a month, then he came back here. And I was there alone with my mother, my grandparents, my uncle and aunt. Then we came in 1999, [...] we came here, me, my mother, and my brother last. He stayed in India, because there were problems with the house, so it couldn't possible to add. And so we arrived first, and he after 6-8 months later, he came here. And then we were satisfied, that's all, because the only person missed from the family was him. (MI/Interv21/F24)

It was completely different what experience I had in the past, it was the first time that I was on my own, away from my family, away from my country, for such a long time, and I was mentally trying to digest this fact. (MI/Interv23/F25)

While the sense of individuality initially caused a shock and much practical difficulty, after a short time most of students evaluated as a highly positive sense, which they could never experience before their movement. Feeling of individuality was increased by the fact that students arrived independently was not aware at all of the locally persisting Gujarati community.

I have been here for six months and I've never met any Gujarati people. (MI/Interv16/M26)

I don't know anyone Gujarati from local, even I don't know anyone Indian local person. [...] There are no Gujaratis in my university at least. So I did not even expect to meet a Gujarati, from my side I was not expecting to meet a Gujarati. (MI/Interv19/M26)

The fact that students arranged their lives independently in Milan, some of them consciously, while others because of lacking knowledge of local Gujarati community, affected not only their feelings at arrival, but also their actions after the settlements, and later it had a consequence that students and local community members' experiences and spatial-social practices became considerably different from each other.

6.5. Conclusion

This chapter presented the effects of migration on people's emotional state when they move and settle into a new environment. Firstly, it discovered which factors guided Gujarati migrants to Leicester and Milan. Secondly, the chapter identified migrants' feelings at arriving and settling in destination cities. The final aim of chapter was to understand whether there is difference in the nature and degree in immigrants' feelings according to the attractive features of place, immigrants' social categories, and their previous experience, information, and imagination about it.

The first part of analysis presented the key attractive features of Leicester and Milan, perceived or expected by Gujaratis, which pulled them into these cities. It also

highlighted the main differences within the Gujarati immigrant group, according to not only their destination and migration pattern, but also their ability to control and manage the process of migration and settlement, and that they received from which source and what kind of previous knowledge and imagination about the future settlement places.

Concerning migrants' feelings about arriving and settling in a new place, the second part of chapter demonstrated that immigrants experienced dominantly negative senses, these feelings were related principally to the perceived quality of settlement place, and they were resulted from its strange and new sense. Research participants suffered amongst others from strangeness and alienation from the new place, the feeling of separation from home place and their important social ties, a rupture in their habitual everyday practice, and the feeling of being lost because of foreignness and unfamiliarity of settlement place. Participants' feelings reflected a break in their emotional well-being caused by the environmental change. Their mainly negative perceptions concerning the new place, their lack of embeddedness in their usual socio-physical environment, their incomprehension of the new, unfamiliar one, and their mental confusion followed by the migration indicated the disruption in their attachment to the home place, and the interruption of their place-identity continuity. The research pointed out that social network plays a significant role in making the migratory process securer, also regarding its emotional consequences, and the network is established stronger and works more effectively in case of a post-colonial relation.

The research identified the following factors that affected the sense of disruption: place congruence, place attractiveness, control of change, manageability of migration and settlement, past experience, previous information, and imagined place congruence. Nevertheless, I must note that attractiveness of settlement place, previous information about it, and congruity of settlement place image with the real one affect immigrants' feelings by making the settlement place more familiar, but not necessarily support the continuity of attachment to the place of origin. Table 10 summarizes how quality of factors affects the degree of emotional stability and identity continuity during the migration and settlement.

Table 10: The effects of factors on the sense of migration and settlement

FACTOR	QUALITY OF FACTOR	DEGREE OF THREAT ON EMOTIONAL STABILITY	DEGREE OF THE THREAT ON IDENTITY CONTINUITY
Place congruence	—	+	+
Place attractiveness	+	—	uncertain effect
Control of change	—	+	+
Manageability of migration and settlement	+	—	—
Past experience	+	—	—
Previous information	+	—	uncertain effect
Imagined place congruence	—	+	uncertain effect

Migrants' reasons of choice suggested that they favour destination places that correspond in character of their home place in order to assure continuity. As Leicester-sample participants partly selected the city because of its cultural and local familiarity, while Milanese participants' argued to avoid Milan because of the lack of local Gujarati community, more facts confirmed the importance of place congruence to the home environment and migrants' intention to continue their everyday life in a similar environment. The research called attention to the significant effect of post-colonial relation between India and the UK, which contributed to build a solid migrant pattern into the UK, and for Gujaratis into Leicester, and by that also contributed to establish the social and material basis of a homely environment. The research also demonstrated that experienced differences compared to the home place destabilized migrants' emotional state, and the features of new place that oppose to the home environment make immigrants stressed and uncomfortable. 'Closed door' environment of Leicester made participants feel isolated because they were habituated to openness, while the sensed monotony and difference compared to the variant home environment made them lost and insensible towards the new place.

Amongst the attractive features of Leicester and Milan, some made the cities unique destinations for research participants. The local Indian, Gujarati community guided research participants to Leicester instead other British cities, while its fame as fashion and design capital and the resulting education possibilities pointed univocally to Milan to carry out art studies. When a pretended consequence of the movement, e.g.

economic progress or family reunification, was realized by the movement, it increased immigrants' satisfaction towards the place, fostered its preference, and immigrants reported less negative feelings compared to those, who arrived without any hopeful expectations. This study indicated that attractive features of the destination place were not necessarily congruent with the features of home place. However, they made the new place more positive and likeable, and therefore they were able to counterbalance more or less the negative emotional effects of environmental change. At the same time, making the place more preferable, attractive features may incite an attachment towards the new place (Mesch, 1998), and so it may cause a shift in the object of migrants' attachment.

There was a vast difference in research participants' capacity of controlling the change according to their age and sex. According to sex and occupation, the typical decision-makers were men and independent students. Research participants who arrived as children in frame of family reunification expressed many times their memory that they felt to being 'forced' to accept the fact of movement to another country and leaving India without any possibility to decide about it. Women participants who were married or came to their future husband, with one single exception followed their husband's decision about the settlement. These two dependent groups expressed much intensive previous fear and anxiousness from the change, and much significant alienation and isolation at arrival.

The ease and simplicity of migration and settlement management made the process more predictable, and so meant an assuring factor for research participants. Participants from Leicester found three features of the city, which eased the management, partly for the first-generation immigrants: formal colonial relations facilitated the migration process, cultural familiarity made easier the bureaucratic process, and local social network, which provided support in the settlement process at both familial and ethnic community level. Contrarily, only a few of Milanese participants immigrated during a politically permissive period, and although second-generation newcomers got help to manage the process, merely from the tight familial relations. Milanese participants reported more difficulty concerning their migration and settlement process, which produced tension in them, and also caused an uncertain feeling about the loss of control and that they depend on chance.

Past experiences definitely decreased the shock of arrival. Those research participants, who earlier visited Leicester or just other city in the UK, arrived much more confidently and relaxed. Firstly, they selected the place very consciously, so they controlled the change, secondly, they had personal, direct experience about the place, so it did not sell a pig in a poke. Moreover, these migrant descendants already went through a relocating process in Africa. Therefore, as they had much expanded view by comparing places even outside of the UK, they had previous experience about relocation, they knew more precisely what kind of place they are looking for, and how they may acquire it, they went through the migration with much comfort.

Information about the new place also decreased the vulnerability of migrants, principally in the case of second-generation migrants. More information they got before the settlement, the place became more anticipated, predictable, and familiar to them, and so less strange and alien. Social network had a dominant impact to make the destination place familiar and served as one of the main purposes for second-generation migrants, who selected Leicester partly due to the already established Gujarati community, and arrived to Milan in order to unify with their settled family members. Contrarily, first-generation migrants selected the cities principally for work or study purposes and arrived only with partial information. Interviewees showed that the main purpose of firstly arrived migrants determined the source and object of orientation. Most of the students (who came without the help of social network and in this sense their situation resembled to the first-generation) were interested in architectural, design, and fashioned character of Milan, and received their knowledge about the new place from university art books, while potential workers asked advices first of all about job opportunities. Interviews revealed that orientation used to neglect the physical appearance of new environment, which later proved to cause one of the main distresses. Except the students arrived to Milan, who were only very slightly disturbed by the physical changes of their surroundings, being prepared and attracted by the physical environment due to their studies, participants were disturbed by the change in physical environment in highly varied way.

Lastly, interviews clearly presented three trends concerning research participants' imagination about the settlement place. First, mass media, especially films, provided a primary source for people's imagination about a place. Secondly, research

participants' knowledge about the larger geographical surroundings determined their image about the place, as they projected the perceived or real features of larger area: country, continent, to the image of city. The identified area seemed to be narrowed by deeper cultural knowledge about it: while many Milan-sample participants supposed Milan to be a 'typical European' city, participants of Leicester sample imagined Leicester attributed to the British culture. The third trend was that potential migrants did not venture too far in their imagination about their future place; their previous imagination remained very limited and superficial. Research participants, who arrived without significant previous information or their information was restricted to a narrow area, were not prepared for the environmental changes. Participants' experience showed that even little variations in their surroundings may have large impact on their emotional well-being, especially when they arrive with only blurred images and expectations. More the imagined place was congruent with the real settlement place, migrants had to deal with less unexpected changes, which call attention to the responsibility of media to influence the sense of migration by depicting the world through created 'mediascapes' (Appadurai, 1990).

This study reinforced the results of previous studies about identity disruption, demonstrating the threat of environmental change on identity and the caused disruption in place-identity continuity, it revealed in more detail some contributing factors already indicated by previous studies and explored new ones. Migrants' sadness felt because of the separation from home place demonstrates that people not always recognize their attachment to home place until a disruption happens. However, interviews in the two cities suggested that the features of settlement place have not only an instant effect on the actual sense of disruption, but also a long-term effect on the success of recovery, and the reconstruction of migrants' previous life depend significantly on the physical-social features of settlement place.

The recognized relation between migrants' abilities, place qualities and the sense of disruption may help to estimate the nature and degree of emotional disturbance caused by migration according to immigrants' social groups, categories, and destination places. Thus it may facilitate the targeted support of immigrants' integration and adaption concentrating on the most vulnerable groups.

Chapter 7

The Management of Disruption in Place-identity at Physical Level

“This city is what it is because our citizens are what they are.”
Plato

7.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discover the manifestation and materialisation of place-identity revealed by immigrants after the relocation. It studies Hindu Gujarati immigrants and descendants' place-shaping activities in Leicester and Milan concerning the physical level of place, in order to understand how attachment is manifested by people's actions. This chapter focuses first of all on the role of actualising processes played in the place-identity; that what Gujaratis' spatial practices tell about their attachment and its continuity, and how migrants and descendants' social groups and categories, and environmental factors of settlement place affect the materialisation of identity.

Studies, and previous chapter of the thesis too, have empirically demonstrated that the process of migration and resettlement, interrupting the continuity of place, threaten to overwhelm people with feelings of instability and disrupt their identity. Who will be a migrant after losing the solid ground under his feet: the certainty of home place? As Erich Fromm asked: ‘If I am what I have and what I have is lost, who am I?’ (1976, p. 96). The feelings of displacement, homelessness, rootless, alienation, and disorientation usually involve the requirement to retrieve the sense of identity continuity (Milligan, 2003). Immigrants ‘pick up their roots in an orderly manner from the ‘mother country’, the originative culture-bed, and set about their ‘acclimatization’ in the ‘foreign environment’ or on ‘foreign soil’ (Malkki, 2008, p. 279). When a disruption happens and people feel losing the sense of their world, their ability to control and cope with the challenges of new world, they stick to their left ‘thread of continuity or stability’ (Brown and Perkins, 1992, p. 282), and they merely try to assure the continuity between the past and present. The physical level of place; the material environment provides an opportunity for recreational actions. Previous empirical field works presented that as migration interrupted the continuity of place, immigrants attempt to recreate the sense

of home place in the settlement place and reconstruct their features in order to maintain the continuity (Michelson, 1976; Bhardwaj and Rao, 1998; Mazumdar et al., 2000; Peach and Gale, 2003; Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2009). However the degree of recreation or adoption to given local environment depends on the factors of settlement place.

In Chapter 3, I expressed the supposition that attachment to a place is motivated by self-esteem, distinctiveness, continuity, and self-efficacy that place provides to residents, and what they attempt to preserve. In case of migration, people are incited to be in a place, which maintains their positive self-esteem, which is congruent with their identity, where they feel to be able to manage the tasks and challenges of the environment, and by which they can manifest their distinctiveness. They transform and try to rule the place in order to reflect, maintain, and validate their identity.

The chapter concentrates mainly on actualising processes, by which immigrants give substance to their identity through the physical environment, but at the same time it involves other – people and place – aspects of place-identity into the inquiry. The main question of this chapter is how relocated people manifest and maintain their attachment towards the home place on physical level. By its sub-questions, it focuses on three areas of place-identity: what Gujarati immigrants' spatial practices tell about their place-identity, how place-shaping activities differ according to Gujarati immigrants' social groups or categories, and how environmental factors of settlement place influence the transformation of place. The study provides a descriptive explanation of answers by the help of interviews and ethnographic fieldnotes.

7.2. Creating the sense of home place by shaping the physical environment

As the scope of built environment expands from a material product to the entire planet (McClure and Bartuska, 2007), effects of immigrants' spatial practices on material environment may appear at different levels, from which the thesis focuses on cities (subdivisions, neighbourhoods, wards, etc), landscapes (as courtyards, parks, sites for homes or other structures, etc), external form of structures (as housing, office buildings, churches, streets, squares, etc), and material products (as artefacts, design elements, graphic symbols, monuments, etc).

Regarding the level of city, although in lot of cases immigrants officially do not take part in city planning or architectural development of the city, through their settlement, involuntary or by choice following the practice and geographical pattern of familial or ethnic relations, immigrants might form ethnic enclaves. These territories with their particularities separate different districts from the larger city area on economic, physical, and social ways (Portes, 1995). Harvey emphasized the importance of balancing between the individual and the total structure of the city, and drew attention to the difficulties of accomplishing a spatial equilibrium within a city (Harvey, 1973). Later more works argued that urban development and town planning do not take account of users' needs and expectations, and underlined the role of social, economic, and political forces in the recreation of social interaction within urban communities and physical form of their neighbourhood (Butterworth, 1980; Lobo, 1983; Logan, 1984; Low, 1988; Jones and Turner, 1989). The virtue of compact city with mixed land uses remained later too in the proclamation of urban planners and policy makers, in order to balance 'of a reasonably ordered and legible city form, and places of many and varied comings and goings' (Montgomery, 1998, p. 93). Compact city is considered more sustainable economically, socially, and environmentally too, against the urban sprawl (Dantzig and Saaty, 1973; Jenks et al., 1996; Dempsey, 2010). While anti-immigration groups took efforts to link sprawl with immigration (Fulton et al., 2001), research results indicated that immigration is negatively correlated with sprawl (Bae, 2004). Although a few researchers called attention to the issue that in some cases designers and users try to recreate the appearance of an authentic community, which in reality no longer exists in that area (Claiborne and Aidala, 1983), others consider the ethnic enclave as 'an important aspect of an immigrant's place identity [...] connected to the places left behind' (Abrahamson, 1996; Mazumdar et al., 2000, p. 319).

At the level of landscape and city structures, immigrants might establish special buildings, community and religious centres in the city, or modify the original function of buildings to make them adaptable to their practices. Evaluating Goffman's thoughts, Hall pointed out that buildings designed by immigrants may function as a 'facade that people present to the world and the self they hide behind it. The use of the term facade is in itself revealing. It signifies recognition of levels to be penetrated and hints at the functions performed by architectural features which provide screens behind which to

retire from time to time. The strain of keeping up a facade can be great. Architecture can and does take over this burden for people. It can also provide a refuge where the individual can 'let his hair down' and be himself' (Hall, 1969, p. 104). Therefore, architecture has double significance: on one hand, it is able to manifest immigrants' innermost feelings, and on the other hand, it may assure a place that makes immigrants free and relaxed. Sime argued that the quality of sense of place in the case of buildings is inseparably connected with the role of building in the person's life; 'the building may be imbued with particular qualities or physically modified by the eventual building users' (Sime, 1986, p. 60). By their special functions, buildings might reinforce a particular sense of place. Hull, Lam, and Vigo examined in the case of an American city that which urban structures are outstanding for people to bond them to the place and symbolise their identity. They found that people attached the most to the local churches, homes, urban forest, public buildings, historic places, and retail structures (Hull, Lam, and Vigo, 1994). Immigrants often 'use religion to create alternative allegiances and places of belonging' (Levitt, 2003, p. 851), and they tend to create sacred buildings and places in the city of their settlement, although the establishment of religious places often cause tension between the religious group and the state (Kong, 1993).

Lastly, material products assure the most accessible and variable place-making possibilities for immigrants. The complementary and decorative elements of public places, like monuments or memorials further reinforce the connection to the place of belonging, importing its historical value to the new place. Monuments are products of historical changes and reflect the evaluations of them, but they are also the store of common public memories (Baldassar, 2006). These objects which Lefèbvre (1991) calls 'the production of space', reproduce and increase the immigrants' power regarding identity politics. Privately possessed material artefacts are also meaningful reminders of the past and hold particular significance to identity, providing comfort (Buckley, 1971; Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Wallendorf and Arnould, 1988; Mehta and Belk, 1991; Tolia-Kelly, 2004; Miller, 2008). Artefacts gain their meaning often travelling across sites and become a connector between places (Rowse, 2011).

In addition, people themselves might present a material component of the environment. De Certeau called the attention to the way in which the 'urban travellers become active participants in the production of difference, identity' by their ordinary

spatial trajectories (1984, p.358). As immigrants have distinct appearance, e.g. they hold artefacts expressing their identity such as clothes or jewellery, their physical concentration in the city, through their settlement or spatial trajectories, might change the area's visual perception, contributing to place-shaping on material level.

Empirical researches about place-making activities have already explored many types of actions that directed to assure the identity continuity. They studied the effect of a disaster on identity and the reconstruction of old environment in the same site (Geipel, 1982; Alexander, 1989, Erikson, 1994). In case of migration and relocation, they analysed the reconstruction of left environment in the settlement site (Michelson, 1976; Mazumdar et al., 2000), the construction of sacred places (about Hindu sacred places: Bhardwaj and Rao, 1998; Gale, 1999; Peach and Gale, 2003; Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2009), and the maintenance of physical proximity to the attached place (Low, 1992; Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001; Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2004). However, analyses are often limited to one single area or aspect of place-making activities, or one social group as actors, while overall studies tend to treat the physical and social necessities together and do not cover in detail the ways and variation within particular place-making activities. There is scarcity of researches, which expand thoroughly in more scales and intend to gather and classify activity types from immigrants' side. Furthermore, although literature about people's place-making actions implies that processes may be different according to people's cultural belonging, their social group or categories, and given features of place, comparative studies are very rare. By examining Hindu Gujarati immigrants' place-shaping activities in Leicester and Milan, this research aims to look deeper into the processes by which attachment to place is manifested at behavioural level, and to discover those functional, practical actions by which people substantiate and fortify their identity in the physical world. It also reveals what differences can be between the transformations of environment performed by different groups and categories of Gujaratis. Finally, comparing the transformation in cities with different background and qualities, the research discovers how given characteristics of local environment affect the nature and degree of place-shaping activities.

7.3. Physical Aspects of Gujarati people's Place Creation in Leicester

7.3.1. Formation of ethnic enclave

Although I collected research participants by snowball-sample, mainly through local centres and not on territorial base, I found that almost every research participants lived in an ethnic concentration in the city. Most of them in those areas, where Gujaratis concentrated, while some of them in a rather Indian or Asian neighbourhood. There are many ethnically mixed populated wards preferred by Gujarati settlers, but the most known Asian ethnic ward is the Belgrave, where Gujaratis historically concentrated the most.

While in 1951 Leicester's Asian population contained only 624 persons, it increased to 4,624 persons until the immigration restrictions of 1960s (Martin and Singh, 2002, p. 8). Asian settlement within the city was influenced by the availability of low price houses and proximity of railway station and urban public transport. Different ethnicities preferred different city parts to settle, and Indian people chose the wards of Spinney Hills and Highfields. Indian population further increased in these and neighbouring territories and they spread to the ward of Belgrave too, in the northern part of the city (Pritchard, 1976). Belgrave 'has always been a morphologically very distinctive section of the city' (Pritchard, 1976, p. 167), and in the 1970s, when the arrival of second migrants from Africa dramatically increased the Indian population, it became one of the most attractive areas for immigrants. As interviewees also reinforced, Belgrave was preferred especially because the head office of British United Shoe Machinery¹⁹ was there. Many Indians found work in this or other local factories. Interviews revealed that proximity of work place was one of the reasons that Gujaratis began to settle in Belgrave. The other reason was the availability of this city area. Gujaratis from Africa had entrepreneurial skills and remarkable business experience; they were self-employed and engaged in business running, and they were searching a place for this independent activity. The low cost Belgrave, which 'was looked like a run-down area, the properties were all in demolished condition' (LE/Interv7/M78), offered an adequate opportunity. The Belgrave before Gujarati arrivals was

¹⁹ British United Shoe Machinery was the world's largest manufacturer of footwear machinery in the 20th century, and one of the largest employers of Asian labour. This city site works nowadays as a commercial centre for Asian businesses.

overwhelmingly a White working-class neighbourhood (Seliga, 1998), and Gujarati immigrants, buying small shops from English residents one after the other, gradually displaced the original inhabitants.

[In the 1970s] it was very few Asian families there, that time, very few, there wasn't any shops, one temple, only one temple, and no shops around, no Asian food shops, no Asian vegetables, ... no vegetables from abroad like India, Pakistan, or sometimes from Australia, Africa. ... Slowly – slowly, as Asian people were coming and settling down in this part of Leicestershire, so more shops and more food shops and things were opening, and two or three temples. (LE/Interv12/F60)

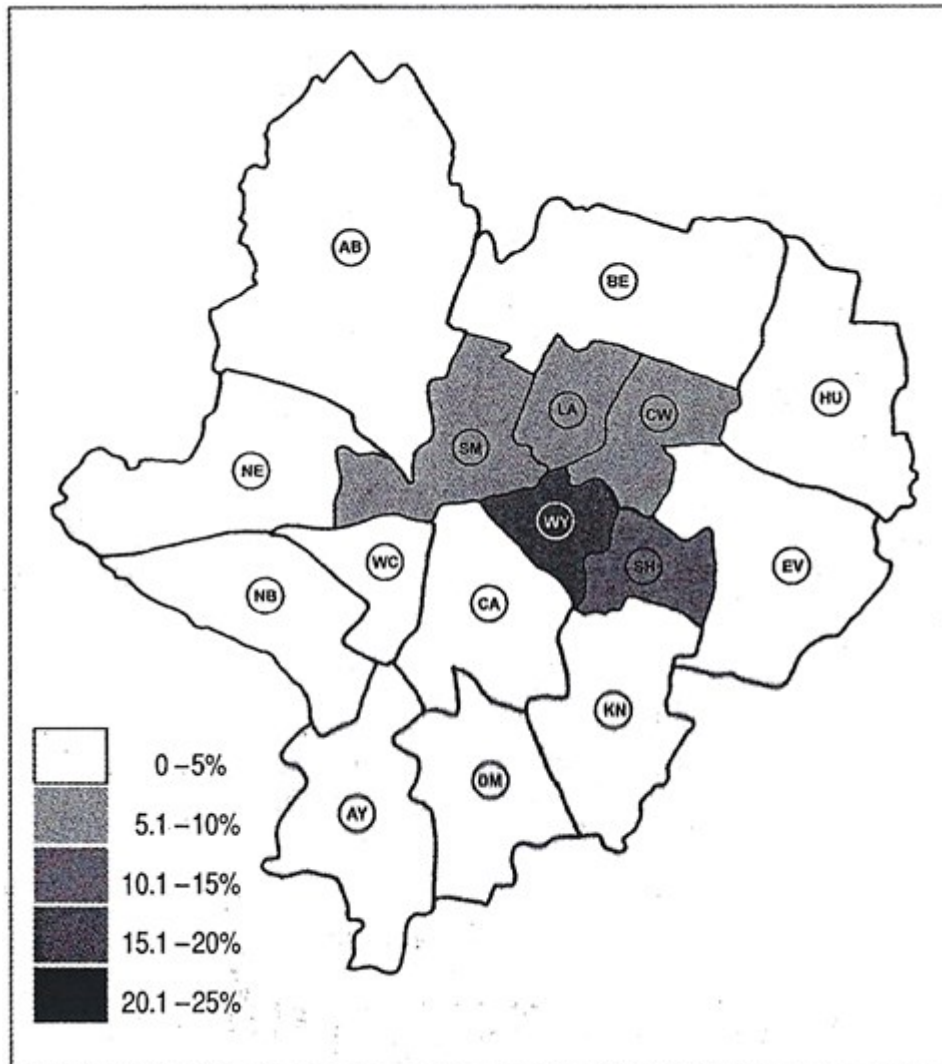
Research participants told that opening of Gujarati shops in Belgrave made this area doubly attractive for other Gujarati immigrants. Primarily, the shop owners offered social company to these newcomers and they meant to be contacts for further potential settlers. Secondly, these shops assured those important goods for Hindu life, which were not available in other parts of the city, even in the country.

Leicester was the first city where Gujarati community and Asian community imported all the requirement from India and Africa, ... mainly the food was the concern, and all the Gujarati food first imported in Leicester, and then gradually London and then Birmingham and all that, and the domestic items, like utensils, and dressing, so all these, our traditional things, for religion, for social, for cultural, and for everything was firstly available in Leicester. (LE/Interv7/M78)

Some interviewees called attention to the beginning of spatial segregation in the 1970s, based on religion: while Hindu settlement grew and dispersed in the north of the city, Muslims remained in the inner city of Highfields (see also Martin and Singh, 2002; Herbert, 2008). Besides the Belgrave, Spinney Hill remained the other attractive area, but because of newcomers and interior movements Indian residents spread to other neighbouring areas, and made some of them very concentrated with time. After the Gujarati inflow from East-Africa, through family contacts and interpersonal relations many Gujaratis arrived and settled in these areas, so gradually Gujaratis became

dominant amongst the Indian communities. Figure 11 and 12 compares the proportion and distribution of India born residents in Leicester in 1971 and 1991.

Figure 11: Distribution of residents born in India throughout Leicester in 1971.



AB: The Abbey, AY: Aylestone, BE: Belgrave, CA: The Castle, CH: Crown Hills, CO: Coleman, CW: Charnwood, DM: De Monfort, EK: East Knighton, EM: Eyres Mansell, EV: Evington, HU: Humberstone,

KN: Knighton, LA: Latimer, NE: Newton, NB: N. Braunstone, NP: New Parks, RF: Rowley Fields, SA: St Augustines, SF: Saffron, SH: Spinney Hill, SM: St Margaret's, TC: Thorncourt, WC: Westcotes, WH: West Humberstone, WP: Western Park, WY: Wycliffe

Source: Martin and Singh, 2002.

residents, but amongst them Indian residents live also in significant number. Located next to Belgrave, Rushey Mead possessed 53.3 per cent Indians of non-White British residents, Coleman 46.9 per cent, Evington 31 per cent, Charnwood 29.7 per cent, and Stoneygate 29,5 per cent (Leicester City Council, 2001). There are city places described as predominantly Hindu Gujarati areas, especially the Belgrave, where Belgrave Road and Melton Road are bordered by Gujarati businesses, and Rushey Mead, where they live in the bigger proportion. But I found research participants from Highfields, Evington, Humberstone, and Hamilton too, where also many Gujaratis were settled, sometimes moving to there from Belgrave. Furthermore, the village of Thurmaston touching the border of Leicester by Rushey Mead, and Oadby within the Leicester Urban Area are two main outskirts destinations for Gujarati people.

What was the motivation for Gujarati newcomers to settle within the Indian inhabited city areas; arriving in a new environment why they chose to continue their lives in an Indian ethnic milieu? Research participants argued that they selected these areas because they wanted to feel the sense of India.

I know about the Belgrave Road from the beginning, I know about the Asian culture here, there is lot of celebration we are doing here, lot of things, and you can feel as a..., if you go in Melton road, we can feel as a India, something like. (LE/Interv13/M48)

‘Feel as in India’: this was a very attractive opportunity for research participants, and according to them, this feeling related to the feelings of safety, security, comfort, and belonging. The sense of India concretised and was supported by many different attractive place features, what Gujarati immigrants attributed to the Indian inhabited city areas. Research participants mentioned amongst the main pulling features the settled family relationship, the integration into the local Gujarati Hindu community, the social support, the familiarity of these areas using Gujarati language and Gujarati products, and the spirituality that appeared on both in the built environment, community and individual life.

The already established Indian Hindu community of Belgrave had a strong appeal, the news of established community spread through contact, and attracted more and more people to the area. The efforts of immigrants to keep up their safety were demonstrated by not only the process of chain migration, their settlement into the ethnic

area, within their own ethnic group, but also by their intention to stay near to the family members.

A specific priority always given, that if there's a some relatives are next neighbours or something. It is easy to communicate. (LE/Interv13/M48)

Kinship and already established familial relations also affected newcomers' selection of place, as an argument to settle in Hindu Indian areas, and the preference of family members' availability gave birth to concentrated ethnic nodes within these particular wards.

Besides the existing ethnic community that assured predictable social surroundings, keeping continuity with the already settled relatives further facilitated the integration into the new place. Some research participants argued that settling in a foreign environment; although urban society provides human company, it is a foreign society, and immigrants feel themselves alone within it. The presence of ethnic community meant not only a simple companionship, but also being in the own society where they belong.

It's full of like Hindus, around and about, so you felt like, 'oh there's somebody of our ethnic origin', so you feel more at ease, rather than being somewhere where you're completely alone and you don't know anyone really. At least if there's like people who you can speak to, like for example Gujarati, and then there's that self., like companionship, really that 'oh, there's other people that's we're not on our own. (LE/Interv3/F22)

Research participants argued for having selected the Gujarati inhabited areas also because of the availability of social support. The support might come from the already settled family members or Gujarati neighbours who had local past experience, but also from the established Gujarati community, which had many centres and temples, especially in the Belgrave, and living nearby they offer a constant and easily reachable support for newcomers.

Gujarati concentration also attracted newcomers by its familiarity, most of all by using Gujarati language and providing Gujarati products. Many newcomers, first of all women and elders, arrived without significant or any English language knowledge, and

during the research I experienced that members of the two latter groups had constant deficiency in using English despite their long-term settlement. The widespread use of Gujarati language in the ethnic areas was an important factor through which the sense of home place and its safety persisted. Language also helped to interpret the new place and manage its challenges, for not only women and elder immigrants, but also young newcomers.

If my parents wants to go anywhere, they can find Gujarati people [...] I've never gone with my papa to buy anything, he can go to any Indian sweet shop, or any bank, or any area in this community, and he can communicate with anybody, because they all Gujaratis, so I don't need to go with him. (LE/Interv35/M26)

The availability of Gujarati products also attracted newcomers to settle in the ethnic areas. Especially the Belgrave with its Gujarati shops provides products habituated and used in Gujarat, making convenient the place. Many research participants reported that they keep a traditional family where wives maintain the household and take care of the shopping, and an easy accessibility of Gujarati food materials are necessary for a comfortable housekeeping.

The area at the moment where we live now, it is the heart of Leicester ... and this is basically the Indian community, most of the people you will find here are Indians [...]. And everything is quite near, shopping area is and everything is quite nearby, so he [my father] thought this will be the better area to live in, so everything is convenience, like my mom never used to work, and she can't drive, so this area is better for her, because she can buy Indian vegetables and stuff. (LE/Interv4/F26)

Moreover, more interviewees mentioned that they wanted to live near to the Hindu temples, which are also in this area; it was an important point of view especially for women, because firstly, they spend more time in temple community, and secondly, they cannot drive and move so easily. In addition, many research participants mentioned the festivals and religious ceremonies attracted them into this area.

However, there is an inner movement amongst Gujaratis too, and while new arrivals come, many of older residents leave the Belgrave. By 1980s they moved

towards the north territories, while by 2000s they tend to move to the more wealthy wards to east of Leicester (Herbert, 2008). The reasons of movement are – as research participants revealed – that earlier settled Gujaratis have increased their affordability, many of them desire to live in a more quiet area than the inner city space, and the larger houses of outer city areas are more adequate for the extended family life than the smaller terraced houses of Belgrave. However, mostly young, qualified Gujaratis are moving in the outskirts; many elder Gujaratis still remain in the Belgrave, and the area is keeping its popularity amongst those too who do not live there because of its homely features.

Re-summing the attractiveness of destination place at all geographical levels, including the position of country, city, and city ward, three different trends stood out. Gujarati migrants in the 1950-1960s chose their place of settlement on country level; they gave the priority to migrate to the UK, not planning a more precise geographical target, and they almost randomly ended up in Leicester, depending on the labour possibilities. During the next flow in the 1970s, Gujaratis arriving from Africa had already possibility to compare the cities, their selection passed rather at city level, and they specifically targeted Leicester. Finally, their settlement attracted further migrants, who heard about the Gujarati city parts by interpersonal relations, and who were attracted especially by the transformed areas, mainly the Belgrave. The Belgrave allured them to re-feel the sense of India through the settled family relationship, the integration into the local Gujarati Hindu community, the social support, the use of Gujarati language, the supply of Gujarati products, and the Hindu religious institutions. While Gujarati immigrants' concentration contributed in itself to determine the characteristics of city areas by their physical presence, on one hand the ethnic concentration facilitated the accessibility of place for further transformation, on the other hand concrete spatial practices appeared which carried out the transformation, activating people's attachment to their home place. Next sections overview these activities and circumstances.

7.3.2. Establishment of small ethnic businesses

Not only concentrated ethnic settlement attracted Gujaratis into Leicester, and precisely into the mentioned city parts, but also the economic success of this ethnic group. Considering Indian effects on public places of the city, Hindu Gujarati people

emerged even amongst Indian immigrants to leave a particular trace on the city, foremost due to their ethnic characteristic: their talent in business. Gujaratis' talent in business is a living stereotype amongst Indian people – represented by the research participants – , and an avowed capacity at international level too; Gujarati businessmen and industrialists control many corporations, especially in financial system and trading, so academic studies about Gujarati immigrants often concentrate their entrepreneurship and management capacities demonstrated in foreign countries (see Kalnins and Chung, 2001; 2006). Research participants found three main reasons for Gujarati people's successful business capacity. The first that it is a 'natural' talent, a given ethnic particularity supported by good mathematical education; the second is that it is a result of conscious determination and high risk-taking; and the third reason of success was based on the social relations, that Gujarati family members work together in the business, and it is running with relatives, from generation to generation.

Gujaratis' business capacities had an important role in the maintenance of place-identity, firstly, because it assured the necessary financial background for place-shaping, secondly, because it provided the material objects necessary to the spatial transformation, and thirdly, because Gujarati identity was expressed partly through the appearance of shops.

Gujarati businesses were prosperous from the beginning, and transformed the Belgrave Road, and its continuation, the Melton Road to a 'Golden Mile', as local people call it since 1960s. Some interviewees thought that the expression of 'Golden Mile' refers just to Gujarati jewellerys, of which windows are rich in bright gold jewels, covering the passengers' way with glitter. Others argued that it symbolises the material progress of Gujarati community. While there is a controversy about the origin reference of the expression, for nowadays the name became clearly a synonym, and the territory turned to a physical symbol of local South-Asian community's prosperity. Gujarati research participants who were actually or retired businessmen identified the 'Golden Mile' with their own success gained in the new land, as they turned the area judged to demolition into a nice and progressive city place by their hard work and prospect. They not only gave new life and shaped ethically this area, but also made it a well-known commercial centre for European Gujaratis and Indians; now 'anybody from Europe and everybody, when they want any shopping for the wedding or anything, they

come here' (LE/Interv23/M64). 'Golden Mile' was one of the spectacular signs from economic side that Gujarati immigrants and their descendants are able to manage their life successfully in the new environment by their own efforts, and they proudly identified themselves with this geographical area, which gained its new meaning by a transformation made by them. Nevertheless, Gujarati immigrants' economic capacities were not enough for the transformation; it needed that the settlement place assured adequate opportunities to realise their capacities, flourish their businesses, and convert their material results into the level of emotions.



Figure 13: Indian jewellery stores on the Belgrave Road, Leicester

'More than anything else, buildings and the spaces around them capture identity of a city' (Nash and Reeder, 1993, p. 1), and Indian people actively participated in Leicester's urban place-making. Due to their entrepreneurship, establishing small, independent businesses and specialty stores, Gujarati immigrants largely contributed to transform certain public places in Leicester, especially the Belgrave.

At the first time, I arrived to the Belgrave ward by walking from the direction of city centre, alongside a less populated highway, where mainly old factory-like buildings and huge stores stood. When I reached the edge of Belgrave, the difference in the physical environment touched me immediately. While the city centre was destined to satisfy Western needs, full with Western fast-fashion shops everywhere, on the Belgrave Road one shop came after another, but with very different shop windows. Houses generally were not alike as in other parts of Leicester, but windows, which fully filled the view at the level of sidewalk, changed the impression totally. These windows offered brightly coloured sarees, gold ethnic jewellerys, Indian sweets and foods, and announced the offers and reductions with Sanskrit scripted letters. I thought that I would recognise when I arrive to the Indian inhabited area, but the intensity of sight came unexpectedly. I passed in front of a photography shop: Indian students smiled in line on the studded photos. I glimpsed the statue of Mahatma Gandhi on the other side of the road, which presented him in his special khadi, leaning on his cane. The road was straight, and the colourful, brighten windows on the two sides seemed to keep endless. (LE/Field Observ)

By shops' stock holdings, which reflect daily needs of Gujaratis and other Indian nationalities and mirror Indian life-style, shop owners unconsciously gave an ethnic character to the area. Nevertheless, the speciality of stores had more consequences too.

Discovering more and more shops within the Belgrave I saw a very high variety especially of traditional clothes, jewellerys, and sweets. But seeing Gujarati news agencies, sarees and Indian accessories in bride dressings too, take away cookeries offering bhajiya (typical Gujarati fastfood), samosa and chili paneer (India-wide fastfood), grocery stores keeping vegetables and corns that are preferred in Gujarati kitchen, beauty salons and hairdressers providing special preparations for Hindu weddings, DVD-shops with a principal supply of Bollywood films, it became clear that most of the products targeted people with Indian origin, and might be rarely used by British residents. (LE/Field Observ)

The store targeted to especially Indian people partly explained why White population shifted from the Belgrave. Long-time ago settled research participants reinforced that while the establishing Gujarati shops attracted more Gujaratis into the environment, local British shops targeted rather White people. These shops went into difficult situation unless they offer Indian products. Shops were sold to newcomer

Indians, and gradually the majority of White population left the area. Besides, many existing restaurant, bar, and pub changed its profile to suit the Gujarati life style: bars and pubs also provide food, many of them vegetarian and do not offer alcohol (Gujaratis do not consume meat and abstain from alcohol), and they became family friendly places, where a family can enjoy together.

Another important consequence of Gujarati small businesses is that by providing services related to Hindu ceremonies they made possible the continuity of Hindu rites.

Asians, especially Hindu girls, if they wanted to get married and they wanted to dress up as a bride it used to be very difficult to get beauty therapy, to change and dress them up, for Hindus. [...] Now that's changed completely, people are being trained, they've become beauticians, they open beauty shops on Melton Road. [...] Another big change that has occurred on Melton Road is having Asian funerals, which I think is great, before Asians had to go to English ones. [...] It became a very successful business, because more Asians started going there. The reason Asians started going there was because you had Asian people dealing with the Asian funeral, language, you go to the funeral the way you wanted to. [...] More Asians now go to Asian funeral companies, and Asian funerals have expanded. (LE/IntervBM/F33)

Research participants arrived in the first and second inflow missed a lot the services related to the organisation of a Hindu wedding or a Hindu funeral, and establishing businesses gradually filled this gap.

Summing up, Leicester attracted a part of research participants due to its economic opportunity that favoured the establishment of small businesses, in which Gujarat ethnicity felt them talented and well-endowed. Nevertheless, the establishment of small businesses, shops and specialty stores overgrew immigrants' economic needs for settlement and integration, and contributed to the manifestation of Gujarati people's attachment to their home place and the preservation of identity from many sides. Firstly, small shops satisfied Gujarati immigrants' positive self-esteem and self-efficacy, proving that immigrants were able to successfully manage the process of resettlement and made a steady progress, which became known outside of the community too and gained a positively communicating symbol. Although the further development of self-esteem and self-efficacy happened in the settlement place, but they were based on

regional ethnic abilities that rooted in the home place and inherited from ancestors, therefore their reinforcement linked further immigrants to the place of origin. Gujaratis' economic success in Leicester became known primarily as a progress nourished by the qualities of immigrants, which were evoked by the place of origin, and only supported by the place of relocation. Secondly, small businesses and shops also manifested Gujarati people's distinctiveness by their profile and stock holdings. Thirdly, they reflected the demands of Gujarati people's usual daily life in their home place, and supported the continuity of their life by offering daily products and ritual services. Moreover, the economic profit of businesses made possible for Gujarati immigrants and descendants to provide financial help to cover such other place-shaping activities, as use of house decorations, construction of temples, and organisation of religious events.

7.3.3. Use of ethnic urban decorations

The shops broadcasted Gujaratis' attachment to home place not only by their function and stock holdings, but also by giving place to many changes on the level of decorative elements. On one hand, they assured a supply of decorative elements, transported from India. On the other hand, they assured a site too, amongst others, to use these urban decorations. Because when Gujaratis established their shops and businesses, they did not adopt the local British store design; they used their own ethnic decorations and symbols.

Entrance and window of shops were sometimes decorated by garlands of yellow and orange flowers, Indian artefacts, and glass stickers that presented Indian motives. In many windows around the jewelleries or drugs, I saw small Indian pots, diyas²⁰, or small statues. Posters of smiling Indian girls announce the beauty parlour and jewelleries, and photos of Indian families the studios of digital memories. In the background, behind the offered products, in a few shop windows I noticed large printed posters of Indian landscapes and pictures of daily life, as national advertisement. On the wall of a tailor's shop, painted silhouettes of cholis²¹ made known the function of establishment. Photos outside of restaurants, which tried to lure potential guests, uncovered the restaurants' intention to imitate an authentic Indian interior. Even the name of shops: Indian Queen,

²⁰ Means special shaped candles in Hindi, they are called Diva in Gujarati language, Divo in singular.

²¹ bodice part of saree

Deepam, House of Sarees, Indi Kal, Popats Madhuri, Ram Jewellers, Vishal Jewellers, Planet Bollywood, Radhika Sarees&Suits, Krishna Entreprises, and their typography brought India into my mind. Outside notices of some businesses also contributed to the sense of India: e.g. as a Beauty Parlour indicated on its window that we could ask for a Hindu Priest inside. Some shops had names typically Gujarati, as Sona Rupa²², Roopkala²³, Shreejee²⁴, Lakhani Group²⁵, and Patani Jewellers²⁶. Name of shops were sometimes written in Gujarati language, in Gujarati script too, while in a few cases the function of the shop was written outside only in Gujarati language. (LE/Field Observ)

Material design used by Indian residents referred to an Indian environment, decorations and aesthetic elements recalled immigrants' original environment; the place where they feel to belong, and recreated the ambiance of an Indian place within a British city. The small objects used for the decoration as authentic Indian pieces symbolically represented people's transition from one place to another, travelling from India similarly to people, and at the same time they materialised the continuity between the place of origin and the place of resettlement. The material transformation was not perceivable only through a physical touch or by visual perception.

The material transformation of Belgrave touched all my physical senses: the products and artefacts were tangible in the shops, they were well visible even in the front, Gujarati food was sensible in the restaurants and sweet shops, the smell of sweets and incense sticks spread out to the streets, together with Indian music and conversations in Gujarati language. (LE/Field Observ)

Transformation was validated through every sense, including smell and hearing, affecting research participants' perceptions from many sides and completed the sense of the recreated home place. Moreover, it indicated especially important aspects of home place that during the transformation became salient in the recreated area, e.g. the religious characteristic.

²² Means gold and silver in Gujarati, indicates that shop is a jewellery shop.

²³ a round about meaning is the presentation of beauty or appearance, it is a typical shop name for sarees in Gujarat

²⁴ Also typical shop name in Gujarat, the name indicates a belief in Hinduism, and so the probable caste belonging of the shop owner.

²⁵ typical family name in Gujarat

²⁶ typical family name in Gujarat

A lot of shops have always the holy hymns in the background as well, so instead of Indian, English songs and pop songs, Indian pop songs, they prefer to have the Indian hymns going in the background as well. (LE/Interv5/F49)

Besides the small businesses, other buildings too carried Indian decorations. The strong presence of Gujarati community implies that there are many Gujarati or Indian community and cultural centres in Leicester, especially in Belgrave. Some examples are the Gujarati Arya Association, the Gujarat Hindu Association, the Hindu Religious and Cultural Society, the Hindu Sahitya Kendra (means Hindu Literature Centre), the Sabras Sound Radio House, and two care homes for elder people; the Mahatma Gandhi House and the Gokul Nivas. They occupied ordinary British style, brick made buildings, but Hindu decorations, Hindu gods' images painted on the windows indicated their special functions and the origin of people who use them.



Figure 14: Painted images and lighting decoration on the windows of a prayer hall, Leicester

Monuments provide also an example, how immigrants assert their identity (Harney, 2006). As I wrote before, in the ‘gate’ of the Belgrave area stands Mahatma Gandhi’s monument. Research participants told that he symbolises the whole Indian community, however Gandhi is maybe the most famous Gujarati, in memory of whom the new capital city of Gujarat was named to Gandhinagar. His statue at the Belgrave manifested the attachment to home place, and by its material tangibility further reinforced the bond between the home place and the settlement place within which the identity actually persists. Also, it was a reminder for Indian people of a common, shared history.



Figure 15: Mahatma Gandhi’s monument, Leicester

At the same time, the statue could be unconscious marker of a territorial border, where Indians found new home, and where the real place gained new meaning by remembering the home place and its physical projection. Finally, installing Gandhi’s statue in an Indian ethnic area within the British environment could be a production of local Indian community’s power, which not only reminded immigrants of the values of

their home place, but also announced them towards the British and other ethnic neighbours. As Gandhi himself too became a symbol of peaceful arrangement of conflicts between ethnicities and nations, the materialisation of his recall was a constant reminder to Indian people's intention to smooth the way towards peaceful negotiations in case of historical conflicts between countries or social struggles between ethnicities.



Figure 16: The Belgrave Neighbourhood Centre, decorated for Diwali, Leicester

Not every decoration was so much constant as a monument. Hindu festivals typically changed temporary the city, and left material reminders to the place of origin, even for short term, in the form of festival decorations. I experienced the most spectacular and most long transformation in the case of Diwali, which is the most significant Hindu celebration, during five days, but its preparation and after-effects cover rather a month. For this period giant electric 'diyas' illuminated the main street, like it is habituated in India. At the research time, Leicester City Council installed 6,500 lamps alongside the 'Golden Mile' (Leicester City Council, 2011), and yellow and orange flower garlands appeared on the pylons, temples, and Hindu community centres.

The installation of public decorations at time of a religious festival, similar to the monument of Mahatma Gandhi, reinforced the local ethnic and religious community cohesion, and furthermore, it indicated the power of community to mark their place and validate their values.

Urban decorations left many mark on ethnic city areas, satisfied immigrants' need for distinctiveness and continuity, for being surrounded by homely material elements in public places. Decorations also indicated the Hindu Gujarati minority's power to express their origin on a spectacular, and sometimes temporary, sometimes – through setting a monument – a very long-standing way.

7.3.4. Use of private ethnic and cultural artefacts in public

Because of the planned, given residential areas and houses Gujarati immigrants had no possibilities to manifest their identity through the architecture. Regarding the house structure and quality I did not find any significant difference between the mostly Indian populated areas and other parts of the city. The mostly brick made, uniformed row houses which touch each other are very different from Gujaratis commonly used separate, large family houses, which had their own individual space around them. Indian residents yet find a way to individualise similar house fronts by decorations.

In many front doors I saw torans; hangings from little bells or leaves or flowers, or textile or pearls or simple coloured cords, or the mix of these materials. In many cases they were completed with a picture of religious idol, religious symbol or citation. Citations generally were written in red letters, and as I was informed by local residents, red colour was used traditionally because it has a symbolic force and power; being sacred and positive. On some doors, the sense of citations was in Sanskrit or in Gujarati, written in Gujarati script, and they referred to wise adages or glorified a Hindu god or guru.
(LE/Field Observ)

Front door decorations, installed consciously or unconsciously, gave clues about the residents' identity of the houses; they told about their origin, their language, their religious beliefs, sometimes they made a hint even of their caste belonging, as certain gods are favoured by certain castes.



Figure 17: Entrance door of a home in the Belgrave, Leicester

Nevertheless, the public use of private decorations were limited for several reasons. Some research participants complained that weather made impossible to use some of the traditional exterior house decorations, as the rangoli. Similarly, participants missed the decoration of their house entrances and front windows with real diyas at the time of Diwali. That kind of private decoration is not allowed in the UK because of fire safety reason. Nevertheless, torans on the front doors distinguished homes from other nationality, ethnicity by their unique motifs in a visible and public manner, and at the same time they expressed coherency with members of the same group. They also made varied the otherwise identical row houses, breaking the monotony of original environment, and so brought something of India's colour and vividness into the British environment. Private objects put in the ground floor windows worked on similar ways, although they gave a less frequent, less spectacular and less unequivocally interpretable clue about residents.

Because row houses opened directly into the streets and their ground floor windows installed besides the sidewalk, interior decorations putting into the windows became part of the street view. I saw in many cases particular statues, which because of their forms – elephants or Hindu idols – also reinforced the sense that I was walking also in India, not only in Britain. (LE/Field Observ)

I also observed that in many shop windows little idols were kept in the centre, or in a well visible place, among the products. These idols served shop owners' morning ritual in order to gain a good business that day.



Figure 18: A shopwindow in the Belgrave, Leicester

When they open the shop, they do a little prayer, because after all God is the one who is helping you and you've got to be grateful, because of God is helping you away with your business or things like that, so that's why they will do a incense stick, in the morning before opening the shop, and that's why they keep them there as well. (LE/Interv5/F49)

Idols kept in the windows of shops told as distinctly about owners' identity, as torans on the door of family homes.

Lastly, I must mention amongst the factors of Leicester's material transformation the Gujarati community's physical presence on the streets, which concentrated in the Belgrave foremost. Their clothes are also such an artefact by which they manifest their identity in the urban environment.

Walking on the streets of Belgrave, more than every second woman I saw was wearing a saree. Indian clothes on men were far rarer, worn rather by elders and on the weekends. Saree also was preferred mostly by aged women, but in the evenings and weekends, when streets were more alive, many young girls appeared, in groups of 2-4, dressed in saree, and the view of streets became even more intensive and awakening because of the strongly colourful textiles. Wearing the sarees by residents completed the function of small shops, and women by their movements in the eye-catching sarees brought a dynamic element into the otherwise statically reconstructed material environment. (LE/Field Observ)



Figure 19: Shopping women in the Belgrave, Leicester

When Gujarati women kept their traditional clothing style in public places, by their appearance they significantly contributed to reproduce on highest level a Gujarati environment. Women interviewees told that they are dressed in saree not only at home, but in the streets too during their everyday life, e.g. when they are shopping or enjoying free time. Wearing a saree at work place depends on the particularity of that place, as in a factory or company they have Western clothes, but if they assist in a Gujarati shop, they are keeping saree. The reason of wearing traditional clothes, also outside of private places, was that it made women to feel comfortable.

Because the clothes, which you've been wearing that's what we have been wearing from the beginning, so you feel comfortable wearing the traditional cloth rather than the English. In works we do tend to wear jeans and trousers, but in the house would like to prefer to wear the traditional clothes because it's comfortable. (LE/Interv4/F26)

Clothes contributed to the feeling that people find their home place with all its comfortableness and stability in another environment, and not only women, but because of the visibility of clothes men too. Some male interviewees said that when they see women in saree in the streets, they less suffer from the lack of India around them, therefore saree re-brings the homely feeling not only for its wearer, but for its environment too. Clothes, besides expressing the personal identity, manifested the group identity too, and this function intensified in the Western environment. Traditional South-Asian clothes have a sign, which is not interpretable to everybody, as sarees are folded in different manner in India's different states. Consequently, to know the meanings of use of the clothes and decorations it is necessary to be insider of the South-Asian, within it the Indian, moreover of the given Indian state's culture. Therefore, yet the knowledge of symbols privileged certain groups and connected certain people, most of all immigrants from different states of India, it excluded many other, rather British residents and non-Indian ethnicities.

Artefacts, either public elements, either publically used private objects functioned as a material continuance of home place on double ways: firstly, they contributed to the reproduction of migrants' original environment, secondly many objects were exported from India, therefore they created a real physical link between the two places.

7.3.5. Creation of sacred places

In the 1970s John Gay had a persuasion that ‘Hinduism has not made any real impression on the English social landscape’ (1971, p. 199), and he got an impression that by migration ‘Hindus leave their religion behind in India’ (1971, p. 201). During that time Hindus have created the fewest worship places in European cities, but later ‘their impact has been among the most spectacular’ (Peach and Gale, 2003, p. 470).

While there are more than ten Hindu temples in Leicester, my field work reinforced that not every temple is visited by Gujarati Indians. There were temples, which bound together a Gujarati community, while others were visited rather by mix or other ethnicities. Although temples were open for everybody, but beside my personal experience that non-Indian visitors might have difficulties to access, during observation and through informal conversations I could conclude that Indian residents preferred to visit those temples, which reunite their own ethnicity, or in some cases their own caste. This preference could be given already by the fact that different communities founded different temples.

Early arrived research participants told that Hindu temples in Leicester were called to life by the request of Hindu people to have an own sacred place, because they used to pray together since they settled in the city, in residential houses.

First of all we were worshipping from house to house, suppose you’ve got a big house, I call everyone in the evening here and we pray, that sort of things, that’s how we started religious programs. Then there are some churches going for sale, you know, at that time, so we bought some of them, and transferred them into the temples site, that’s how we started religious sites. (LE/Interv22/M81)

Indian Hindu immigrants met in each other’s houses, every week another family hosted the group. There were three main difficulties with this early system. Private houses were not large enough to accommodate the growing group. Its environment could not provide the habitual, traditional characteristics of a religious place. Finally, it was not a fix place, so however the meetings were regular, their site could not give stability. As Gujarati community grown, their urge to have an own sacred place also increased. The growing Hindu Gujarati settlement in Leicester started an original

pattern in near 1970, when they found the first Hindu temple, which was a new example in the country as well.

We started the temple here in 70s, then we need all the items related to religion, which also Leicester has provided first, and that's how it is. Then we started a Gujarati teaching school here in Leicester, then cultural dancing and all sort of classes here. So that is the way you know, gradually everything is setting in Leicester first, and from Leicester other cities have started their temples and worshipping, and all that. (LE/Interv7/M78)

In Leicester, the demand for a sacred place successfully met firstly the sufficient size of community, and secondly the religious material supply assured by local Gujarati shops, by which they were able to perform the necessary religious environment. In interviews, former president and a committee member of the first Hindu temple said that the City Council and British society welcomed the temple and later Hindu temples became well received part of the multicultural city space.



Figure 20: Shree Shakti Mandir, Leicester

Initially Gujarati (and other immigrant) people had no possibility to produce an original physical environment during long time, but they had to accept the existing environment. Elder research participants told that immigrants organising in groups and having support from Indian organisations bought different, no longer used, abandoned public buildings, as schools, factories, and Christian churches, and transformed them into Hindu sacred places. In 1970s, this early time of settlement they changed the original city environment merely by foundation of Hindu temples.

Hindu temples have changed drastically because loads of people are going worshipping there every day. I was talking to a couple who were using the temple especially one of the temples that I am talking about used to be a church, [...] that used to be a church, but that's now been taken over by Hindu people that has become a temple by Hindus. (LE/IntervBM/F33)



Figure 21: Shree Sanatan Mandir, Leicester

Furthermore, immigrants, and so Hindu Gujaratis too attempted to reshape physically the possessed buildings according to their own sacred needs. Although the changes touched at various levels the interior and exterior of buildings, a total shift never happened; during my visits at Hindu temples, the buildings themselves showed various states of transformation.

[Temple] it's more of a reconstructed from another building, so we transformed. For example if it was like a school or something, that's been transformed into a place of worship, so it's different, because it's like a house really. [The mandir] in Leicester currently is not a full-fledged, it doesn't look like a mandir. (LE/Interv3/F22)

Changes were made rather in interior than exterior. Inside I found community halls and prayer halls, with murtis, ornate altars, pictures, Diyas, and other sacred decorations, which all have their right place to post.

Now because of the circumstances of this country, we can't build how we want it, we have to buy certain building and then slowly – slowly extend it, and that is how we build this temple. Now before this temple 19 years, there was one canteen here, there was a factory here, and these people bought that factory out and then they made the temple, hall, dining hall, upstairs hall, so that is how slowly – slowly they built it. But if you go according to the scripture, the statues what we put inside, that is according to our scripture, the building according to what it was, this murti is according to our scripture. In the future if we destroy this whole building, and if you want to rebuild it, then you will go according to our scripture when we rebuild it. (LE/Interv17/M36)

Participants from mandir-committees, management, and services revealed that the temple-community furnished the building only with original Indian artefacts; all elements of temple decoration, including marble altars and stone pedestals, and the statues of deities, were transported from India. These objects created a physical, tangible link, which relates the new place to the place of origin. But because exterior building characteristics many times did not differ at all from ordinary British buildings, they installed symbols usual in India to indicate the special function of buildings.

There is always some symbols there, you might see some flags there, religious flags, on all the temples, [...] so that indicates that there is a temple there. (LE/Interv22/M81)

However these signs seemingly remain below the expected symbol system. Many interviewees said that Hindu temple which they visit, does not appear from outside like a temple, it can be any building, and if there would not be a writing on it about its function, nobody could recognise it. Meanwhile some temple made the first steps towards the traditional temple by installing shikharas above the entrance, similarly to a triple dome. These completed buildings reminded of Hindu temples in India in much spectacular and sensory way.

Nothing indicates better the significance of built environment for local Hindu Indians than the newest temple, which complied completely the formalities of Hindu temple-architecture. Participants from mandir-committees, management, and services told that as community could control the construction of temple from the beginning, it will be the exact replica of traditional Hindu temples of North-India not only from the outside, but from inside too. This temple opened in October 2011, but during the research it was yet under construction.

Till now I saw temples in Leicester of which buildings were made by red bricks, and regarding the architectural form and material only a triple, simple, mainly non-ornate shikhara indicated the building's special function. But this mandir spectacularly moved ahead of other temple buildings in architecture and design. It is very spacious, and although partly covered by scaffolding, I can see clearly that the building is made by white material, and the huge marble shikharas, which are ready now, are carved in extreme details. (LE/Field Observ)

The building contains a foyer, the Mandir itself, a Sabha Hall, and a sports hall too. Research participants talked about the new temple with satisfaction and they were gratified with the changes.

You can see the progress of the temple. You can see, that it is looking like a mandir from, as if it was in India, with all the pinnacles, with all the carvings and everything. So yea, it will definitely bring back that joy of the Hindu community, in terms of that they will be

definitely able to relate and say that, well anyone will be able to say that, ‘that’s a mandir. (LE/Interv3/F22)



Figure 22: The new Shree Swaminarayan Mandir, Leicester

In Hindu temples besides the interior religious artefacts and decorative elements, people’s presence and appearance also contribute to create a sacred place. During the observation, it was easy to find the way to certain temples, because itineraries of women walking in saree showed the direction. By respect towards the occasion, women wear saree in religious events.

When we have to go out for occasions and social gatherings, or any festival or any some, you know, occasion, we do wear sarees because that’s the tradition and you have to wear it. Yea, we have to wear cardigan on top, that’s different thing, but yea we tend to wear traditional. (LE/Interv4/F26)

Women participants revealed that clothing contributes to the sacredness of the place. Therefore, the other reason to wear homely clothes beside the easiness is to maintain the practice of particular places, where the clothing makes part of the environment and represents its significance. Clothing is part of the material self, and as the expression of self becomes place-dependent, it highlights the interdependence of self and environment.

I already wrote about how quality of sacred places changed by time, but in a quantitative manner there will be always difference between a Hindu temple in India and outside of India. Some interviewees mentioned that the size of Hindu community in a foreign city, even in the UK, stays far below to that of a local community of an Indian city, and this fact limits the temple's size and the spectacular greatness of religious events. Although Hindu temples in Leicester started to show a tendency to imitate temples in India more and more, they will be never so big in size, and many participants continued to miss Indian temples, because they are so large and monumental.

Despite all of their unfitness, Hindu temples have an important role as visual reminders to India in Leicester's urban place; temple constructions underline the importance of material environment to immigrants, where they can express their ideas and values. By the creation of sacred environment, Hindu Indians changed ordinary, everyday urban places to consecrated places, which could be used only for special higher purposes. Temples materialised Hindu Gujaratis' beliefs, assuring a physical ground and appearance to their spiritual properties. Moreover, Hindu temples made a mark in the local urban environment and demonstrated the community's power to negotiate their conception of sacredness in a foreign urban space.

7.3.6. Concentration of trajectories in the ethnic enclave

Physical concentration by Gujarati immigrants and descendants' spatial trajectories, besides that reveals which type of places they favour, contributes to the transformation of environment. Research participants reported that during weekdays their movement in the city is determined by the sites of work or study, especially for men and young people.

Women who work at home and manage the household, have to handle the shopping for the family and perform those duties, for which other family members do

not have enough time. Food shopping is one of the main reasons for regular movements for women, but as Gujarati immigrants put a strong emphasis on having their habitual meal, women attempt to purchase Indian ingredients. I observed in the city public places and women interviewees reinforced that Indian women go both to the city centre market, where there is a larger choice of products at less expensive price, and to the groceries of Belgrave, where many shops are specialised to Gujarati ingredients. Shopping in the Belgrave is especially favourable to those, who speak only Gujarati and otherwise cannot communicate, or who live nearby and cannot drive. As many Gujarati live in Belgrave, in proximity to shops, the shops almost offer themselves. It is a back and forth arguing: many people settled here because shops are in available walking proximity, while shops were open to satisfy immigrants' special needs. The proximity of shops has another consequence to immigrants' mobility: those who live in walking-distance from shops of Belgrave, generally do not require to possess an own car. Consequently, they remain geographically more stuck to the Belgrave.



Figure 23: Elderly Indian women sitting in a street of Belgrave, Leicester

As I wrote earlier, the stores of Belgrave provide not only Indian food ingredients, but also traditional clothes and other Indian products. I saw that main streets with shops became lively during the weekends. Shopping or window-shopping, or just promenading in the Belgrave is a casual family program during the weekends, and it is a good occasion to meet other Gujaratis who also take there a leisurely walk.

I go to my job daily so didn't got time, but whenever is Saturday – Sunday I definitely go there. [...] Because when we go for the job and all this thing, it's different, people different, but once we go that place and we saw our people, [...] anywhere we some relative, some friend, so somebody we just walk down from there and then somebody will be meeting there. (LE/Interv27/M55)

For women temples provided precious sites of visit in weekdays; for some female interviewees going to the temple is part of their daily routine. Research participants told that they visit the temple, which is adequate for their caste and/or ethnicity, and amongst the proper places which is the nearest to their home. While during the weekdays people visit even more temples if they would like, weekend events ordinarily fix them to the same temple community. From Friday afternoon till Sunday evening temples offer programs for the whole family.

I discovered that besides the temples, Indian people's other main public destinations for free time activities were two parks. The Abbey Park is at the border of Belgrave ward, beside the Belgrave Gate, while the Cossington Park (officially Cossington Street Recreation Ground) is near the Belgrave Road. Gujaratis tend to go to one of them to walk, play tennis, football, or other sports, or just for picnic. Parks were very popular amongst interviewees: especially during the summer time when the weather is nice, the days are long, and children do not need to go to school, many Indian families chose these parks to take a rest.

Hindu and Indian festivals break the monotony of days, but geographically they also concentrate on the Belgrave. In festival-time Belgrave Road, Melton Road, Abbey Park, and Cossington Park become the main destinations for Hindu Gujaratis. The Belgrave Road and Melton Road give place to the celebrations of Diwali and Rathayatra.

Shopping alongside the 'Golden Mile' had a special importance during the Diwali, when I saw a crowd of Indian people buying gifts, new clothes, and house equipments in honour of the New Year. During the two weeks period of Diwali, Hindu families filled the 'Golden Mile'; large families promenaded, sought, and shopped together, and the high street became one of the busiest places in the city. (LE/Field Observ)

Fireworks of Diwali and the celebration of Dashera are organised in the Cossington Park. Holi is usually celebrated also in the Cossington Park and in the Spinney Hill Park, which is another preferred place of settlement for Indian-Gujarati people. The Cossington area was also the original site of Belgrave Mela – South Asian Arts and Cultural Festival, then when the festival became bigger, it moved to the Abbey Park, and since 2005 it is held in Leicester City Centre. The Gujarati festival of Navratri is celebrated in the De Montfort Hall, which is the city's major concert hall, located in the South from city centre.

Spatial movements refer to people's choice concerning physical places, and present their affection towards certain places, 'voting with their feet' to certain city areas. Considering Gujarati people's usual spatial movements and destinations in Leicester I can conclude that Gujarati activity space largely covered the Belgrave, and heavily linked to Gujarati residential areas and sacred places. Consequently, the area became more particular and distinguishable from other city parts.

7.4. The effects of material transformation and the sense of transformed place in Leicester

Indian immigrants' place-shaping activities; the formation of ethnic enclave, establishment of small ethnic businesses, use of ethnic urban decorations, use of private ethnic and cultural artefacts in public, creation of sacred places, and concentration of trajectories in ethnic enclave during the everyday and special occasions resulted in a radical change in the character of certain city areas in Leicester. The transformed environment satisfied immigrants' needs in many ways for positive self-esteem (see the pride associated with the success of 'Golden Mile', or the positive evaluation of the transformation of Belgrave, which qualities boosted their self-esteem, or their intention to settle in the Belgrave), distinctiveness (see the use of torans on front doors or wearing

ethnic clothes in public places), continuity (e.g. using the same type of artefacts, recreating Hindu built forms), and self-efficacy (immigrants' belief that they will be able to handle the challenges of new environment and the validation of identity within it). Obviously, the modified or newly produced elements might fulfil more motivations overlapping each other at the same time.

The transformed city parts of Leicester successfully mirrored certain features of home place at physical level. Indian businesses and shops largely contributed to the homely sense of place; that research participants referred to Belgrave as Mini-Gujarat or Mini-India.

All the shops, Indian shops, opposite to each other, they are all Indian shops, not one is English shop, because Melton Road is named as 'Mini India'. ...Why they call it 'Mini India' is because of the shops, the restaurants, they've got the banks, they've got the saree shops, the clothes shops, the restaurants. (LE/Interv5/F49)

With the storefronts of small shops and urban decorations, migrants partly reproduced the visual variety of Indian cities, and the progress of temple constructions revealed an increasing development in the recreation of spiritual space. By creating a homely environment, Gujaratis contributed to make the new place more similar to the old one, and more familiar and more interpretable at the same time.

The research also discovered that Leicester had some features compatible with those that research participants attributed to their home place, such as the accessibility and naturalness. The transformations could be realized due to the high-level accessibility of local place, moreover, in the city parks research participants re-found the required naturalness too.

Transformation of city areas affected the feelings of Hindu Gujarati immigrants and descendants towards the settlement place. Research participants confessed that due to the changes made by Gujaratis and other Indians since 1970s, the Belgrave turned into a place that gave similar emotions to the Gujaratis as Gujarat or India may give.

[In Leicester] I felt as if this is my old town, that's all. (LE/IntervEE/M80)

Hindu Indian migrants' activities in the Belgrave recalled many facets of home place through the material environment: the surrounding familiar built forms, decorations, objects and artefacts; the presence of people with shared ethnic origin and mother tongue; temples and festival sites were all part of it. The environment similar to home place rebrought the feeling of home place too.

I feel that I'm back in Ahmedabad, you know like that, because all Indian, because there're Indian shops, some Indian music going on and like that, and you can see Indian ladies, Indian girls and like that. (LE/Interv6/M63)

The mentioned activities all facilitated to fulfil the remembering and reconstruction of home place in the foreign environment, and the reproduced place did not remind only of the physical place left behind, but also its meanings and values, all that shaped it and that the place represented.

I can see my culture all over the place of Belgrave Road I can see the tradition on Belgrave it seems like and feels like home. (LE/IntervBM/M49)

The Belgrave due to its transformation successfully reproduced those feelings of safety and comfort, which were linked to the home place. The unique property of Belgrave – that it was able to evoke, make visible and tangible the home place through a foreign place –, returned the feeling of security to the settled immigrants. The feeling of being in India linked to the notion of safety for participants both physically and mentally. On one hand, living in an Indian city area provided a practical safety concerning the availability of necessary goods and products to follow an Indian, Gujarati and Hindu lifestyle. On the other hand, the built ethnic areas assured a mental safety that newcomers will be absorbed into and immigrants may continue their life in a familiar, recognisable, interpretable environment.

The creation of ethnic environment like the Belgrave, restored and revitalised Hindu Gujaratis' attachment to their home place, and research participants felt their belongingness to their home place through their attraction to the transformed area. They belonged to the Belgrave as Belgrave reflected to their home place, and the transformed place became a reminder of the home place, and a reminder of the identity.

[The formation of the Belgrave helps] making sure I don't forget my values and culture, and not forgetting my background of who I am, I don't lose myself in the Western community, enjoy by all means and do what you have to do, but never forget of who you are, and don't try to resemble that you are not, so it's matter of find balance of mixing in and at the same time not forgetting of what you are, who you are. (LE/Interv24/M38)

Gujaratis not only have shaped the tangible forms and sensible aspects of public places, but also they have filled them with intangible values. Many research participants spoke with pride about the ability of local Gujarati community to reshape the city.

If you saw the Belgrave Road ... all those properties were going to be demolished, and you know, you would have the demolition would have continued... it's the Gujarati community which came into Belgrave, invested the money and actually had love for Belgrave, which they transformed the area. (LE/Interv16/M61)

The formed homely, familiar environment worked as a constant reminder of the home and provided a place for immigrants and descendants where they can be and remain 'themselves', preserve their identity, and do not lose it in the foreign environment, society, customs, and habits.

7.5. Physical Aspects of Gujarati People's Place Creation in Milan

7.5.1. Settlement reflecting the migrants' status

According to the president of 'Gujarati Samaj of Milano', 15 Gujarati families live in Milan, including communes, such as Magenta, Legnano, and Castellanza in the urban agglomeration of Milan, in Province of Milan. Gujarati community's size is extremely small, especially in comparison with the more than 3 million of Milan city's population. In nearby cities also there are few Gujaratis; according to the knowledge of president three Gujarati families live in Parma, five in Torino, but in Italy the biggest Gujarati community can be found definitely in Milan.

My observation revealed, and research participants reinforced that it was extremely difficult to find and identify a Gujarati in Milan. Not just because they were very few and lost in city population as needle in a haystack, but because they were mix, moreover, with the local South-Asian residents, and this multiple assimilation made

them hardly perceivable. Indian people blended mainly with Sri Lankan and Bangladeshi minority, which occurrence made difficult the recognition of Indian people or Indian areas in the city even for Gujarati interviewees, because the appearance and clothes of people from these countries were similar, being from neighbouring countries and culture with common origin. In the mix of very close cultures, the use of language meant the most important clue to identify Gujaratis.

All the people who looks like Asian, they are generally Bangladeshi here [...]. They talk sometime and when you have a conversation or something, you understand that.., I have always found Bangladeshi people like on Central Station or something, they'll be selling, they'll look like Indian, if you find any Indian, he would be also looking the same, but generally they are Bangladeshi. I don't know.., and even I have been to some Indian restaurants, which is like cheap Indian restaurant, not like expensive ones, and there they right 'Indian Restaurant' but people working inside are from Bangladesh, so when you talk you understand. (MI/Interv19/M26)

Observation also explored that Gujaratis physically disperse within the city, unlike Leicester, the Indian, Gujarati community fuses into the local population in Milan.

There are Asian communities like you know there are lot of people from Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, but I didn't really see Indian community here as such, they are all spread. [...] They are all gelled with the Italian culture, Italian society. So I don't see that there is a community, I mean all the Indian families they're staying in separate locations. It's not like UK, where you know Wembley in London, Wembley is full of Gujarati community, or Southampton full of Indian community, not like that, or Leicester is full of..., not like that over here, surprisingly. They are all gelled with the community, even you won't find Indian neighbourhoods over here. (MI/Interv10/M25)

Although Gujarati presence almost dissolves in the mix Milanese population, with the help of interviewees I found a pattern in their settlement, influenced fundamentally by the place of work. Gujarati immigrants arriving in the first inflow initially settled in the city centre, mainly near to the Central Railway Station, in common rented flats, or social accommodations provided by religious institutions.

Nevertheless, as most of them finally found work at the factories and industries in the urban agglomeration, precisely in the municipality Settimo Milanese, most of them moved there or the neighbouring municipality Cornaredo.

Vicino stazione io. Poi arrivato miei quattro-cinque amici, sei mesi io stata casa di comune. Poi arrivati mi amici, 5-6 amici ho fatto, sei amici ha preso casa, affitto, quasi circa un anno - un anno e mezzo. Poi stazione, vicino stazione c'è la casa, io devo venire da Settimo, allora un anno e mezzo io andata-ritorno, andata-ritorno fatto. Poi vado a questa zona vicino per trovare casa, io trovato una casa affitto, io postato qua.²⁷ (MI/Interv17/M48)

The zones of Settimo Milanese and Cornaredo, as established factories also indicate, are peripheral areas, situated in the outskirts of the city, but immigrants rather moved there to be close to the work place rather than travelling back and forth regularly from the city centre.

Stato con gli amici prima. Poi arrivata mia famiglia. Quando arrivata mia moglie, allora preso casa di affitta in Milano, abito in Milano. Poi quando trovato lavoro Settimo, preso casa Settimo. [...] Perché per me..., io lavoravo a Settimo, per avanti-dietro un giorno devo fare 40 chilometri, allora preso una casa Settimo, ci vado con bicicletta, 5 minuti là, più vicino lavoro è comodo.²⁸ (MI/Interv20/M34)

The majority of Gujaratis live together with their family in rented apartments, in blockhouses. For immigrants, many of whom earlier shared a common flat, the acquisition of first independent family home was a special moment, of which they remembered as an important step, filled with satisfaction. This step ended not only the

²⁷ I was near to the station. Then my four-five friends arrived, I was six months in a common house. Then my friends arrived, I had 5-6 friends, six friends rented a flat, almost one - one and a half year. Then at station, near to the station there is the flat, I have to go to the Settimo, so one and a half year I go and return, go and return. Then I go near to this zone to find a home, I found a flat to rent, I moved there. (MI/Interv17/M48)

²⁸ I stayed with friends first. Then my family arrived. When my wife arrived, then I rented a flat in Milan, living in Milan. Then when I found work in Settimo, I rent a flat in Settimo. [...] Because for me..., I worked in Settimo, for going and returning I have to do 40 kilometres a day, so I take a flat in Settimo, if I'm going by bicycle, 5 minutes there, closer work is comfortable. (MI/Interv20/M34)

commuting for men, but also terminated symbolically the process of migration for the whole family, fixating them finally to one concrete place.

Figure 24 shows the location of Settimo Milanese and Cornaredo municipalities, where Gujarati families live; they are situated outside of the city of Milan, in the western agglomeration.

Gujarati immigrants found the municipalities of Settimo Milanese and Cornaredo to be comfortable and pleasant not only from practical point of view, but also because of the peaceful lifestyle, which a suburban area provides. Many of these immigrants arrived from villages or smaller rural towns, and the less urbanized, greener suburban zones reminded them more of their home places. Calmness and naturalness further attracted them to settle in these outskirts areas.

Figure 24: Gujarati concentration in Milan and its surroundings.



Source: based on Google Maps.

Tutti da noi, tutti noi preferiamo vivere fuori da Milano, cioè nel piccolo paese, perché noi siamo abituati a vivere non in città, ma nel paese, quindi preferiamo vivere tipo a

Cornaredo, dove abito io è un piccolo paese, che non ci sono tanti stranieri là. Siamo solo noi, quindi è più bello, tranquillo. Mi piace vivere in un paese tranquillo, non pieno di gente, pieno di traffico, non mi piace, perché non siamo abituati.²⁹ (MI/Interv22/F24)

Immigrants in Settimo Milanese and Cornaredo had Italian neighbours, and lived in a principally Italian community. Although they did not form a Gujarati neighbourhood, but through these close zones they built a net of Gujarati families, who regularly share common programs.

Piacciono Settimo, questa zona che piacciono a tanti gujarati. [...] Piacciono a tutti, perché noi siamo vicini tutti tante famiglie, poi gente sono bravi, anche a Settimo sono gente educati, anche gente italiani. [...] Ci sono quattro famiglie gujarati [...] Perché ogni lavora qua, per vicino, anche vieni per la preghiera ogni sabato, anche più vicino, allora tutti molto... viene cercare casa perché tutto vicino.³⁰ (MI/Interv20/M34)

Similar to the working community members who wished to live near to their work place, Gujarati students reported that their settlement also was influenced by the intention to stay near to the educational institute. Students and young independent workers, newly came from India without any local community contacts, tried to find a home, which is near to their institute and surrounded by appropriate services, so they were dispersed mainly in the city's inner area, in accordance with the institute in which they study or work.

I chose my location because of the college, it should be close to my university, I should be able to go to places which I need, because you get everything in every area here. There is supermarket, post office, everything is around in every zone of Milan, it's very easy, and I chose it because of my university, it should be close by, and previously I used to stay to a

²⁹ All of us, all we prefer to live outside of Milan, in small countryside, because we habituated to live not in the city, but in the countryside, therefore we prefer live in like Cornaredo, where I'm living, because there isn't so much foreigner there. We are just us, therefore it is more lovely, calm. I like to live in place calm, not full of people, full of traffic, I don't like that, because we didn't accustom to it. (MI/Interv22/F24)

³⁰ They like Settimo, many Gujarati like this zone. [...] Everything is pleasant, because we are close to every, so much families, then people are good, also in Settimo there are educated people, also Italian people. [...] There are four Gujarati families [...] Because everybody works there, close to, also they come to the prayer every Saturday, also closer, so everything is very ... comes to find house because everything is near. (MI/Interv20/M34)

house, which was one hour away and I used to have this problem of travelling everyday one hour and coming back at home, tired and cooking and.., so I again shifted to a place which was close to university, and I think that's better, to your workplace or anything. (MI/Interv15/F23)

Research participants unanimously experienced that Gujarati inflow to Milan has stopped since the 2000s, the number of Gujarati community did not augmented since years. A future increase can be expected primarily by the second-generation youths' spouses, who also arrive from Gujarat, and after by their children. I can conclude that although I found a pattern in the community's settlement, it was influenced primarily by immigrants' skills, which linked them to industries and factories in the outer zones of the city. There were also some indications that Gujarati immigrants in Italy too attempt to live near to each other, as they lived in shared flat both in Rome and Milan, and they keep contact and visiting each other even after moving to independent homes. Nevertheless, because at the time of research most members of immigrants' second generation had not arranged yet their own homes away from their parents, I cannot make any statement, if a second generation will further reinforce the Gujarati presence in Settimo Milanese and Cornaredo, or they will melt into other areas of the city.

7.5.2. Use of ethnic house decorations

Seeking Gujarati people's influence on Milanese public sites, during the observation I recognised that Gujarati immigrants scarcely expressed their attachment towards outside, in visible public places. They do not possess community buildings, usually they do not decorate house fronts, and they reported in interviews that they see very few physical things in the city, which remind them of India. However I discovered temporal decorations, and research participants confessed their very requirement for an own place.

The small number of local community precluded that Gujaratis made a spectacular effect on urban space, moreover their cultural effect lost within the varied and more intensive immigrant presence in Milan. Interviewees themselves saw very few traces of a Gujarati existence.

Gujarat has very less influence I think, in Milan. Indian influence is there, because I have seen some restaurants, which is Indian, so Indian restaurant, it has influence. Then there are some clothes shop, where you can find Indian clothes, so clothes and food, yes, those are the two main things, which has influence in Milan. Those are the only two things, I can pick up. (MI/Interv16/M26)

I experienced very similar facts while searching for any trace of Gujarati presence.

I heard about a few Indian restaurants in Milan; by visiting them I came to know that their owners were mainly from Punjab, and their clients too were not especially Indian people. There were some Indian hairdressing salons too in the city; also Punjabi businesses. The small stores, which offered Indian food and products, were operated by Bangladeshi and Sri Lankan businessmen. I visited Yoga, and Ayurveda centres, which were guided and visited by Indians in Leicester, but in Milan these centres had Italian employees and guests. (MI/Field Observ)

Even Indian presence remained unaccented in the city, but Gujarati people did not possess any business or service, which they could use as a public platform to promote their culture, as it was reinforced later by interviews too. Gujarati products also made a shortage, since there was not a fairly large demand for it. Gujarati or Indian immigrants had no community house in Milan. Consequently, community places and private residences provided the solely shapable space. Community places received interior decorations at the festival-time, like the Diwali, but usual light decorations with diyas and fireworks were not permitted.

[Diwali] we celebrated by spreading lights and firecrackers and all that, but here we don't do because it's against the law, I don't know what, but it's not possible to do firecrackers here. So it's quite strange that we cannot celebrate the function as it was supposed to be. So we celebrate, we put candles in our house, but outside you cannot do anything, which is the major drawback I think to live here. (MI/Interv25/M26)

Gujarati people would have the possibilities to dress their houses with some ethnic decorations outside. Nevertheless, observation and interviews revealed that only

a few of them put decorations, and they too did it mainly for special occasions. With the exception of these few home and these occasions, from outside Gujarati residences could not be distinguished from other local inhabitants' homes. Temporary decoration was used to celebrate Diwali and the Indian New Year.

Come vedi qua, vedi fuori lucettini, quindi appena da noi qualcosa, vicino, visto che nostro capodanno fa sei giorni, che abita, lui è un indiano, capito, questa è l'indicazione. Perché poi soprattutto le case indiani tu le vedi così, perché vedi qualcosa è così, vicino è un indiano. [...] Allora, come ti ho detto, abbiamo [capodanno] cinque giorni prima, quindi fuori della casa ci facciamo una cosa, decora, decoriamo con tutte le cose che piace, poi mettiamo le candele, perché dicono che se mettono la sera le candele, si illumina la casa, perché l'illuminazione porta fortuna, allora si mettono le candele fuori della casa. Poi mettiamo le luci fuori della casa, tipo così, in balcone, tutte intorno del balcone, e così ci decoriamo la casa.³¹ (MI/Interv22/F24)

This temporary decoration used once a year was the only that indicated the homes of Gujarati in Milan towards the public, and singular result of Gujarati immigrants' place-shaping activities in an openly visible manner.

7.5.3. Substitution of sacred places

In Italy 2.5 per cent of immigrant residents followed the Hindu religion in 2007 (Ministero dell'Interno, Italia, 2008), and we can find some Hindu temples and ashrams in the country, principally established by the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON). However at the time of research, in Milan there was not any Hindu temple; Indian immigrants found the nearest, the Hare Krishna Temple in Chignolo D'Isola, in the province of Bergamo. Members of Milanese Gujarati community were aware of the Hare Krishna Temple, and regularly went there with their Hindu friends outside of Milan too, but they uniformly reported that mainly Italians

³¹ As you can see there, see the small lamps outside, then this is just something from us, neighbour, because our New Year's eve was six days ago, who lives, is an Indian, you know, this is an indication. Because you can see it most of all at Indian homes, so seeing something like this, this is an Indian neighbour. [...] So, as I told you, we have [New Year's eve] five days ago, so outside of the house we are doing something, decorate, we decorate with everything we like, then we put the candles, because they say if we put the candles in the evening, it lights up the home, because lighting brings good luck, therefore we put candles outside the house. So we put the lights outside of house, like this, on the balcony, all around the balcony, and we decorated the home like this. (MI/Interv22/F24)

visited the temple. Therefore, Hare Krishna Temple unified on one hand Italian, Indian, and other national Hindu believers, and on the other hand, although the temple was dedicated to Krishna and Rama, devotees of other Hindu deities visited it as well, being the single Hindu temple hereabouts.

Nevertheless returning to Milano, Gujarati community missed an own temple. Firstly, because the distance to Bergamo did not help visiting the temple on a daily or even weekly basis. Secondly, because in India every region and community has own deities to respect, and the Milanese Gujarati community primarily prayed to another God instead of Krishna. As a temporal solution, since 2004 the community rented a hall for every Saturday in a community centre in Settimo Milanese.

C'è qua a Milano, perché Bergamo è molto lontano, perché Bergamo è molto lontano qua. Noi abito al momento per andare al tempio, però molto lontano. Allora ogni due-tre mesi andiamo al tempio.³² (MI/Interv12/F23)

The hall remained invisible for public audience; I did not see any indication on the building and inside the community house that the hall regularly functions as a Hindu temple. Community members were invited via phone call, when there was a meeting, and they used to meet every Saturday.

Che qui c'è questa preghiera, no, per adesso non abbiamo fatto questa indicazione perché nessuno c'è, non lo so. Noi indiani tutti lo sappiamo che ogni sabato si fa, perché al telefono ci sentiamo che 'guarda, abbiamo un incontro', quindi noi è diventato un'abitudine che ogni sabato dobbiamo andare là, quindi c'è, sappiamo tutti, capito. Non abbiamo nessun tipo una scritta, che 'guarda, qui preghiamo', non, queste non ancora. Perché ancora la comunità è piccola, magari se organizzamo qualcosa di grande, lo scriveremo.³³ (MI/Interv22/F24)

³² This is here in Milan, because Bergamo is very far, because Bergamo is very far from here. For instant we use to go to the temple, but very far. So every second-third month we go to the temple. (MI/Interv12/F23)

³³ That here there is prayer, no, for instant, we didn't do any indication, because nobody is, I don't know. Us, Indians, we all know about that every Saturday it is made, because we hear it by phone that 'listen, we have a meeting', so it became a habitude for us that every Saturday we must to go there, so it is known for everybody, you know. We don't have any type of writing that 'look, here we are praying', non, not

The necessary decorations with other everyday materials arrived from the UK. When a member of the community visited London for a few occasions per year, the other members collected and ordered the necessary things, and he bought and brought them with him. The community decorated the hall week-by-week in similar manner as a temple interior, bringing and installing murtis, pictures, garlands, and necessary equipments there. They could not leave the decorations there, because in other days the hall was occupied for other events.

Purtroppo dobbiamo così perché non ci sono i templi qui, quindi noi ogni sabato prendiamo hall, portiamo tipo di foto così, libri, si leggiamo libri, cantiamo le canzoni, e poi preghiamo tutti insieme. [...] Ci danno solo sabato il hall. Tutta la settimana la usa qualcun altro. Quindi dobbiamo portare, riportare.³⁴ (MI/Interv22/F24)

The regular transportation, installation and packing not only physically tired the community members, but also psychologically burdened them. Moreover it reinforced the feeling that the sacredness of place what they inaugurated, was only temporary, transient, could not give a real stability, in contrast to temples.

C'è tantissima differenza, perché un tempio è tempio, perché c'è la presenza del dio, c'è proprio sua, come si dice, la sua statua, ci sono le guardi che guardano, si fanno, ogni tipo pomeriggio si prega, la mattina si prega, la sera si prega, quindi c'è, vengono la gente. [...] Qua invece abbiamo solo per due ore si preghiamo e basta, non c'è un tempio proprio, capito. Quindi la differenza è quella, non è un tempio.³⁵ (MI/Interv22/F24)

yet. Because the community is small yet, but if we will organize something big, we will write it. (MI/Interv22/F24)

³⁴ Unfortunately we have to do like this because there is not any temple here, so every Saturday we rent the hall, we put a kind of photo like this, books, as we read books, we singing songs, and then we pray all together. [...] We receive the hall only Saturday. All week it is used by somebody else. So we have to bring, and take away. (MI/Interv22/F24)

³⁵ There is many difference, because a temple is a temple, because it is the presence of God, this is its own, as they say, his statue, there are guards who keep it, do it, every afternoon there is pray, morning pray, evening pray, so people come. [...] Here instead we have only two hours to pray and that's all, this is not a proper temple, you know. So the difference is that this is not a temple. (MI/Interv22/F24)

While group members considered the rented hall, as a place to pray, they could not consider it a temple. The own sacred place, as other homely places, communicated to its users, through its material details, through its activities used to practice within it, evoking a unique affection in its user, and transmitting a unique meaning, that only the attached person could understand. The contrast between the hall and a temple did not favour keeping the usual rituals. There was a dissension between the place and its related activities and feelings, which did not reinforce, but weaken each other.

[Un tempio] quella è sacra, mentre che c'è un solo salone, dove facciamo molte cose. Quello è un luogo sacro, quindi non puoi andare ..., senti, se hai tipo ... suola ... alto piedi ... prima, non sei puro, quindi preferire lasciare nella camera per andare. Invece qui è un salone. Se hai bevuto alcool, non puoi andare al tempio. Invece qui è più un salone normale, come a casa.³⁶ (MI/Interv12/F23)

The presence of Gujarati community was so invisible, that students and young workers, who did not arrive as a relative of local community members, were not aware at all of the persisting community. Therefore, they were not aware also of the regularly functioning hall. Students mostly went to pray to the Duomo di Milano (even community members too reported that they visited occasionally the Duomo to pray there).

³⁶ [A temple] that is sacred, while this is only a hall, where we do many thing. That is a sacred place, so you cannot go ..., you know, if you have a type ... sole ... high heels ... first, you are not clean, so it has to leave in the room to enter. On the contrary, here this is a hall. If you drank alcohol, you cannot go to the temple. On the contrary, this is rather a normal hall, like a house. (MI/Interv12/F23)



Figure 25: Preparing for the Christmas at the Duomo, Milan

As students followed religious rites, they too missed a Hindu temple, and the Duomo, although being a sacred place, could replace a Hindu temple physically, but not mentally. Some students reported that feeling of praying in a Christian (or any other) church is not the same, because all the material design is different, and they wished to see and touch those habituated physical elements that transformed a building into a Hindu temple.

‘I’ve been to churches, and I think any place, if you take a temple or a church, it gives the same peace, but the aura is different. [...] I miss these temples, to go to those temples and look around to the statues of Gods, which are holy, and you know, you can worship them with the fingers, with your fingers you have to take saffron, you have to blend the saffron with milk, and you should not taste it because it is made for God, and you have to worship the God with it, at major portions of the body of the God, like shoulders and knees and eyes, and head. So yea, all that is very detailed, I mean it’s hard to find out here, it’s really

hard, almost impossible, because you need a culture, you need a society that is working that ways also, you just can't adapt it. (MI/Interv15/F23)

Interviewees revealed that Gujarati community was dedicated to realize a Hindu temple in Milan in the future, to satisfy their profound need.

C'è bisogno [d'un proprio tempio], però come abbiamo, ci siamo pochi, e bisogno, si parla anche sul livello economico, per fare un tempio non anche che vogliono centomila euro o c'è bisogno tante. E poi deve essere anche la comunità sia grande. Quindi adesso è difficile.³⁷ (MI/Interv21/F24)

They hoped to construct the temple as a member of an international spiritual network, receiving support from abroad, but they were worried because they represented a less widespread belief of Hinduism, and other Hindu Indians maybe will not visit the temple.

The community want to create a temple in Milan. But we don't have money and the permission. [...] We are in few and we can't manage all this, so it's difficult. [...] Because this God only, I think, on the area of Gujarat, the others of them don't know this God. This God is God of Gujarati area, so other Indians don't know. So the others maybe won't go well in this temple, because they don't know who is this God. If we create a temple of Shiva, is a God that known for all Indian, because Shiva is one of the three most important God. (MI/Interv9/M28)

The intention at the same time indicated the importance for immigrants of having an own sacred place, a physical ground on which they can regenerate their spiritual relation and regain the feeling of belonging. The research revealed that Hindu Gujaratis had very moderate possibility to create an own sacred place in Milan, and the material representation of sacred values through the place was limited to the interior decorations. Therefore, the act of purification of the sacred place was not based really on a physical transformation, but rather on a mental acceptance. Although the place was

³⁷ We need [a proper temple], but as we have, we are few, and the need is there also in economic point of view, to create a temple not even we need hundred thousand euros or we need many. And then it must be also that the community would be large. So now is difficult. (MI/Interv21/F24)

transformed rather ‘in the heads’, it successfully provided a material frame of Hindu Gujaratis’ membership.

7.5.4. Establishment of trajectories to ethnic places and urban landmarks

Although there were places in Milan where Gujarati immigrants concentrated more, on one hand they were not so many that their concentration became perceptible in public places, and on the other hand their spatial trajectories rather indicated a geographical dispersion in general, which many times led out of Milan.

Research participants’ quotidian spatial trajectories were determined by the places of work or study, so usually they commuted between home and work place or university plus library. Those homemaker women, who passed weekdays at home, had very limited spatial movements. They took significant movements, when they moved out with their family for a common purpose.

[Mia madre] esce da sola. Però non fa tanto movimento, un po’ nelle vicinanze. [...] Non sapeva niente nella sua città, [...] non ha fatto diciamo tanti movimenti, stava in casa, almeno visitava i suoi genitori, poi tornava alla casa del suo marito, in India. Questa qui, magari quando farebbe le vacanze, però non è nessun parente dove va.³⁸ (MI/Interv26/F43)

Besides the weekdays’ regular activities, the primary regular movement for Gujarati community was their weekly meetings in the hall of Settimo Milanese, which they used as a common place of worship.

Occasioni per incontrare, guardi, ci incontriamo nella weekend, perché lo sanno che ogni sabato noi andiamo a pregare a Milano. Torno verso alle sette a casa, andiamo lì, perché anche loro fanno la festa, ogni settimana, quando c’è sabato, lo fanno festa così. E andiamo lì e ci incontriamo. Lo so tramite con telefono.³⁹ (MI/Interv5/M21)

³⁸ [My mother] goes out alone. But she doesn’t make many movements, a little in the neighbourhood. [...] She didn’t know anything in her city, [...] we could say, she didn’t make many movements, she stayed at home, at least visited her parents, then returned to the house of her husband, in India. Here, even if would take a vacation, but there isn’t any parent to visit. (MI/Interv26/F43)

³⁹ The occasions to meet, listen, we meet at the weekend, because they know that every Saturday we go to pray to Milano. I return around at 7 to home, we go there, because they also do the celebration, every weekends, when it’s Saturday, they do this celebration. And we go there et we meet. I am informed by phone. (MI/Interv5/M21)

The hall was the most important and at the same time the only common destination for the community. Members told that the community used the hall since 2004, but in the earlier 4-5 years too they had met regularly for the same purpose in the park of the Piazzale Lotto.

Prima non c'è sala, noi facciamo in giardino. [...] Noi pensiamo che adesso trovare qualcosa piccolina sala, che meglio che bambino, anche donna non ha foglio, fredde, prende freddo, prima giardino fare freddo. [... In un] park, vicino Piazza Lotto. C'è grande là. Quattro-cinque anni così, fuori, senza speaker, perché non c'è così devi a fare. Trovato questo senza luce, giriamo qua. Poi trovato questo sala là per fare le speaker, le microfone, tutte le fare, luce, così.⁴⁰ (MI/Interv24/M40)

Other weekday destinations were various according to the research participants' age and family situations. I found two different trends: while local Gujarati families rather searched for calm places, the students were much more interested in the inner city areas. They were attracted to discover areas related to their studies about architecture and design, and they favoured lively places where they could immerse and learn the local culture.

I like Lanza Brera, because of.., it's one of my favourite places in Milan, Lanza Brera, the streets of Brera, because of it's architecture, because of it's design, I mean in Brera there're lot of design stores, nice products you see, there are lot of musicians on street, lot of artists on street who are actively doing something, and you can see something or the other happening, so Brera is my favourite place. And then I would see this area, Domus and San Babila, and all these places behind Duomo is my second favourite place in Milan. Triennale is a place where I like to spend time, Parco Sempione, these are places which are good, because I got to know about lot of local culture over here. (MI/Interv10/M25)

⁴⁰ Before there wasn't a hall, we did in a garden. [...] We thought to find a small hall, it is better, the children, also women don't have cover, cold, they get cold, first in the garden it was cold. [...] In a] park, near to the Piazza Lotto. There is a big there. Four-five years passed like this, outside, without speaker, because there isn't like this, it has to do. We found that without light, we went there. Then we found this hall there to make the speaker, le microphone, everything to make, lights, like this. (MI/Interv24/M40)

Duomo was an exceptional place, which stood at first place for both families and individual students, as an absolute favourite site. Firstly, the Duomo attracted research participants as a sacred place where people find peace and satisfaction, secondly as an outstanding architectural spectacle, and thirdly as a core of a commercial area, one of the most fascinating centres of Milan, which drew mass of tourists and local residents, making the area one of most vivid, dynamic, teeming places in the city. Especially young research participants referred that they liked to move the most within the area with boundaries of Duomo and the other shopping streets.

Mi piace andare al Duomo tanto. [...] Mi piace a andare al chiesa ogni tanto e mi piace a vedere ogni tanto la gente che sono là, tutti sono contenti, mi piace.⁴¹ (MI/Interv22/F24)

I like Duomo a lot, I like the church and sit in the square, you can sit around and you can just talk and meet people, it's like a hub-stop. (MI/Interv15/F23)

Natural areas, parks were highly evaluated by all Gujaratis, and they visited parks with pleasure, both alone and with company, to have a picnic or do a leisurely walk and sport.

I saw this botanical garden in Academy of Arts, it's university, but it's for arts, and I saw this botanical garden there, it's beautiful. Like whenever I think I am feeling low or something, I like to go there, because it's just so between the nature, there is lot of trees around you, it gives you good vibes actually. (MI/Interv13/F26)

Behind students' preference towards the locally populated places, like Piazza del Duomo, San Babila, Porta Venezia, Navigli, there was an attempt to know better local culture, and being part of its happenings. Some participant argued that it was also a tactic to avoid the loneliness, which burdens foreigners, especially when they are in extreme minority.

⁴¹ I like very much to go to the Duomo. [...] I like to go to the church every time, and I like to see every time people who are there, all of them are satisfied, I like it. (MI/Interv22/F24)

I like being part of urban activities, more public activities than only private activities. Like, I like smaller pubs and smaller places and smaller cafés, but I equally like the Colonna Piazza here, where there are lot of people on the piazza and doing all kinds of things, whatever they like. And I like good clubs, like Armani Clubs, or whatever, and even walking on empty streets, like day before yesterday we went looking.., at 12 or 2 in the night, looking at small stores. (MI/Interv11/M26)

Gujarati students and young workers, who settled temporarily in Italy at least for instant, were searching to understand Italian culture. They favoured to mix with those places that radiated the vivid Italian lifestyle.

One thing is there that most of the Indian students who come here, they are not really looking for Indian community over here, they want to mix, they want to know about the local culture, so they would not really you know go after ‘where are the Indians and..’, very few. [...] I mean my personal opinion is I am here to explore local culture. (MI/Interv10/M25)

Contrarily, the already established Gujarati families preferred less to go to the city centre, and they focused on rather maintaining relations with other Gujarati friends and relatives. In their free time, they enjoyed the calm ambiance of their home environment in the outskirts of the city.

Mi piace camminare a Cornaredo, perché là si abita la mia amica qui. Quindi soprattutto vengo a Cornaredo, Settimo, quindi mi piace di visitare solo queste città dove sono le mie amiche. [...] Dove c’è più tanta gente, dove c’è traffico soprattutto, tipo centrale, così non mi piace andare perché c’è troppo traffico.⁴² (MI/Interv22/F24)

Research participants who had family in Italy kept personal contact with other Gujarati families settled in nearby cities, and tended to visit them. Students were also

⁴² I like to walk in Cornaredo, because my friend lives there. Therefore most of all I come to Cornaredo, Settimo, so I like to visit only these areas where are my friends. [...] Where are so much people, especially where are traffic, type of centre I don’t like it so, because there is too much traffic. (MI/Interv22/F24)

open to the wider Italian environment, but they wanted to discover the geographical place itself. They told that they often organised long weekend trips together to know better the province of Milan and nearby country areas.

Saturday – Sunday same thing, we'll get together and probably we will go to another country. [...] In nearby there are good places, like we went to Garda Land, there is one amusement park here, and we will have Disneyland kind of rides, so that was very good trip. (MI/Interv16/M26)

Finally, I would like to bring attention to the experience that the trends of Gujaratis spatial trajectories and their purposes behind it indicated a relation between Gujaratis' immigrant status in the country and the places visited during their everyday life. While temporary resident students were interested in the cultural side of the place and the absorption of native culture, the stably settled immigrants focused on the construction and preservation of ethnic relations that the place offered. Age was supposed to be another influencing factor in Gujaratis' spatial movements, but interviewees showed that second-generation youth usually follow the spatial pattern of their parents. Therefore, while spatial movements of students indicated a trend to assimilate into the local culture and society, spatial movements of local Gujarati community served to reinforce the cohesion between group members, and by their actions to fill places with their own values.

7.6. The quality of material transformation and the sense of local place in Milan

The number of Hindu Gujarati immigrants stayed insignificant to make well visible transformation on the city; even the effects of Indian immigrants remained dispersed and limited to distributed residences and shops. Although some Gujarati immigrants settled near to each other, they did not form an ethnic concentration, neither with other Indian immigrants. Their public decorations were hardly visible and time limited, and their sacred place was not distinguishable from outside. However, immigrants' aim to create an own sacred place indicated their requirement of an environment that contributes to their positive self-esteem, and their demand made clear

their need for an environmental distinctiveness and continuity. But research participants also confessed their belief that they do not have enough power to create a sacred place, as in Milan because of their small number they have no capacity to produce places.

While Hindu Gujarati immigrants found and positively evaluated the naturalness of the settlement place, that they found in form of city parks, and they temporarily, but regularly transformed an ordinary building into sacred at least in its interior, the most features of home place they could not find, neither reproduce in Milan. Therefore Milanese environment stayed for many of them unfamiliar, unusual, and hardly interpretable, that their feelings also reflected this fact.

Italy ... it's very good, very charming, but it's not a place to live, because I am not very connected with this place, in terms of people and places. (MI/Interv25/M26)

Some research participants argued that built environment of Milan reflected the cultural roots and lifestyle of its natives, and as immigrants could not comprehend and conform to those roots, they could not change the character of local environment to shape it to their own lifestyle, because it is not their place.

I am here for a year, or maybe for two years or maybe for five years, but I am not born here, I am not brought up here, however I would be able to learn their way of life, I am not them by roots. And the built environment is because of the roots, and their lifestyle, so I don't think I should..., it can be improved, but it cannot be changed completely, or radically something impose. (MI/Interv11/M26)

Other interviewees told that they lacked the feeling of security in public places, because they did not feel the environment to be their home and did not dare to behave or appear publically in a homely manner.

Here if you walk out in shorts and slippers, you will be like..., you yourself will feel like where have you come? because the shoes are..., you'll have to get ready, you'll just have to pack yourself, and face the whole world. But there it's very relaxing, in India..., like they'll say, 'I am just going here' and they'll just walk by outside their home. But here they won't come out of their home in their slippers and like that, they'll just..., even for two minutes they'll have to come out, they'll get ready and they'll come out. So things are kind of very

different, in India they'll 'it's ok, it's our home, we are just going out of our home', so it's kind of relaxing thing. (MI/Interv3/M19)

Participants mentioned about their feeling that they are foreign part of the environment, staying outside and being unable to fit in or being without reassurance. At the same time, they felt an obligation to conform to the environment, although it restricted their identity. They attributed this pressure to the local society, which forced them to assimilate.

I think that there is so much of social pressure, at least while living in Milan. So for example, when you move out in the city, to be dressed or to be presented in a specific way, after sometime is so much of social pressure. In India, you perhaps have more liberty to that, you could be dressed casually or any way, of course not scantily, but it's never looked upon. In a sense sometimes you're scanned, if you are in the metro, the way you're dressed, you know, people do that, which is quite a weird thing, which you wouldn't come across in India. [...] The kind of freedom and the liberty that is there in an Indian city, that you can literally choose to shout in case if you have to, in the middle of the day, in an Indian city [... In Milan] every time you think you have been watched, or you know..., not because you are different, also this, but also because everyone acts in some specific way. (MI/Interv4/M28)

Even many times after the migration, the unfamiliar environment preserved the initial sense of strangeness, outsidership, alienation in some research participants, and made them uneasy, uncomfortable, and unsecured in Milanese urban places, upholding the feeling that the place did not belong to them.

7.7. Place-shaping activities at physical level and social stratification

The common elements, the unity of transformations, both regarding the activities within a city and comparing them in Leicester and Milan, referred to a shared identity amongst Gujarati immigrants, which was impressed by the environment of their regional origin. However, the implementation of many place-shaping activities differed according to Gujarati immigrants' social groups or categories, linking to and characterised more certain groups or categories. Activities could be classified alongside certain dimensions; the key categories, which influenced the difference between place-

shaping activities, were the immigrants' sex, age, migrant status, caste, belief within Hinduism, and whether they are members of a local ethnic community. Table 11 summarizes the main links between social categories and place-making activities; that primarily on which categories Hindu Gujarati immigrants' certain activities depend.

Table 11: Stratification of activities at physical level.

	SEX	AGE	MIGRANT STATUS	CASTE	BELIEF WITHIN HINDUISM	COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP
Settlement pattern			settlement in Milan			
Establishment of small businesses	small business in Leicester					
Use of ethnic decorations			artefacts in Milan			
Use of private ethnic and cultural artefacts in public	clothing in Leicester					
Creation of sacred places			establishment of sacred place in Milan		establishment of sacred places in Leicester	
Creation of community centres				creation of community centres in Leicester		
Spatial trajectories	trajectories in Leicester / trajectories in Milan					trajectories in Milan

Some material transformation passed on individual level, while others on group level. Regarding the changes made on individual level, sexual categories were the most determinative. Although small businesses regrouped many members of extended families regardless of their sex and age, interviewees and observations revealed that most of all men established and managed the businesses. Women have outstanding role in using completing artefacts, as decorations of homes and sacred places. At the same time, women highly contributed to the transformation of public places by wearing ethnic clothes, and their special appearance made spectacularly visible their spatial trajectories and daily physical concentrations in city areas, as markets or temples. The sexual division of activities indicated the preservation of traditional division of the Indian

society, where men took the role of breadwinner, while women are rather homemakers and they have special role to keep alive the religious traditions. There was a difference in place-shaping activities also according to the Hindu Gujarati immigrants' status, whether they arrived with an intention of permanent settlement or for a limited time period. Students in Milan made a special group separated from other migrants, because they were not aware of the functioning local Gujarati community, and on one hand they excepted from some common place-shaping activities of the group members, and on the other hand they themselves individually did not initiate any similar activities. Milanese Gujarati students were the only group that, besides the physical visibility of their settlement and trajectories, did not contribute with any other activity to the transformation of physical place. Students' special situation called attention firstly to the importance of stability of settlement. Although many students wished to stay in Milan or Italy after their graduation, they were insecure whether it would be possible and Milan will be the place where they will stably settle.

Concerning the changes at group level, the construction of temples and creation of community places realised by the organised direction of Hindu Gujarati community, representing different community institutions and charitable organisations. Community membership highly influenced the place-making activity from two sides: whether a person was member of a group; a temple-community or an ethnic community, and if yes, how was his or her group position in the surrounding society. Group membership was determinant, because immigrants grouping validated more easily and spectacularly their power on the new environment, as group organising made possible activities which otherwise were not manageable and realisable individually. Research participants, who were involved in a group, affected the environment more intensively, and as well if their group had a significant position in the society. Students' faint activities pointed out to the effects of lacking membership in the local ethnic community.

7.8. Effects of place on place-shaping activities

What was the reason that activities became so rich and effective in Leicester, while they stayed modest and less producing in Milan? How the given features of settlement place influenced its transformation? Table 12 summarizes the main

environmental factors that positively or negatively influenced Gujarati immigrants' place-shaping activities.

Table 12: Postive and negative effects on the transformation of material environment

	LEICESTER	MILAN
	material environment	
history:	postcolonial ties + supply of Gujarati goods +	inadequancy of Gujarati goods -
geography:	weather -	
state authority:	policy promoting ethnic and religious diversity + safety and pollution regulation -	safety regulation -
urban planning:	regulation on building forms and design -/+	
society:	Gujarati Hindus' minority position +	Gujarati Hindus' minority position -

In Leicester, the historical past of Gujarati inflow and the dominant position of Indians, and Gujaratis within the ethnic minorities, furthermore the multicultural policy promoted the maintenance of cultural identity and supported the manifestation of ethnic character. Nevertheless, many research participants confessed that although the environment is similar to India, the transformation is not complete. Firstly, there were some given natural characteristics of the local environment, as the climate, which favoured the 'closed door' residences, prevented to build homes in Indian style with open spaces, and to use certain daily decorations at the houses. Then, the already constructed residential areas also limited the transformations of houses to the use of decorations, as temples too kept initially the original forms of buildings, with partial changes. Public safety regulation was also different in the UK, preventing to realise in

all aspects some ethnic transformations and complete the material setting of festivals. Finally, research participants thought that in India ‘there is a lot more grandeur and there is a lot more joys because it’s such a bigger country’ (LE/Interv3/F22). They sense that they brought everything from India to Leicester, but just in a smaller scale, and they missed the crowd from the streets and from the temples, and so the intensity of the transformation made by the density of people.

In Milan, research participants argued that the insufficient size of community meant the first boundary to make an effective transformation, and as they did not expect significant increase of community, they rather accepted the local environment as it was. Some of them also felt that local environment discouraged to be different from the majority. In Leicester, the major position of Hindu Gujaratis amongst immigrants gave power to affect the place, and the environment reassured their self-efficacy as it allowed expressing their identity through the place. In Milan, the extremely minor position of Gujaratis affected negatively their opportunity to affect their environment and prevail their identity, furthermore some of them felt that the given environment also supported rather an assimilation. I can conclude that the minority position of immigrant group in the receiving society and the public policy affected significantly immigrants’ opportunity to transform the settlement place at physical level, and therefore to sustain their attachment to the home place.

7.9. Conclusion

This research unit aimed to discover how relocated people manifest and maintain their attachment towards the home place, transforming physical places. It explored many activities by which Hindu Gujarati immigrants reproduced their homely environment, using their home place as a model of imitation, and changed the material aspect of settlement place. The research showed that immigrants’ activities were highly different in Leicester and Milan according the local opportunities and boundaries. In Leicester the main activities covered the formation of ethnic enclave, establishment of small ethnic businesses, use of ethnic urban decorations, use of private ethnic and cultural artefacts in public, creation of sacred places, and concentration of trajectories in ethnic enclave. In Milan the key activities were limited to the settlement reflecting the migrants’ status, occasional use of ethnic house decorations, substitution of sacred

places, and establishment of trajectories to ethnic places and urban landmarks. The findings suggested that concerning the relationship between social categories and the transformation of physical place, gender, age, migrant status, caste, belief within Hinduism, and community membership were main determinants of place-shaping activities. However, these factors played role in different context in the two cities; while sex and age were influencing in both cities, in Leicester mainly the belonging to a caste and to a certain tradition of Hinduism, while in Milan the migrant status affected rather who and how he or she shapes the social environment. The setting of settlement place also affected the transformation of place by different point of views. In Leicester, due to the past colonial ties which diverted the migration inflow and the receiving multicultural policy, the Gujarati Hindu diaspora reached a significant size and got effective power to promote their interest, which was supported by time by a more permissive urban planning policy concerning built appearance of religion. Gujarati immigrants' spatial mobility within Leicester from the central segregated, transformed zone to the outskirts mixed residential districts confirmed Burgess' idea about the geographical expansion and development of cities and immigrants' role in those processes (Burgess, 2002). In Milan, because of the insignificant size of community, Gujarati Hindus did not even think to make distinct and constant changes in city places, except their need for an own temple-building, but for this need too they felt the community presence to be too weak.

Activities in the two cities covered more or less the same type of actions, however, not only the form of activities was richer in Leicester, but also the variety and quality of their use. Consequently they produced vigorous effect on local public places and changed whole city areas, first of all the Belgrave which they turned into a 'Mini India', a 'small Gujarat', basically modifying the character of the city. In Milan Gujarati and Indian immigrants' place-shaping activities remained extremely modest, limited, and only slightly visible, which did not add any particular quality to the urban landscape. In city places of Milan a very few and dispersed element reminded the immigrants of their home place, and city places caused them senses contrary to the feelings of home place, evoking feelings of uncomfortableness, uncertainty, strangeness, and unsuitableness. Migrants and descendants in Leicester, transforming the city in their special way, reproduced many material facets of their homely

environment, and they received feelings of safety, comfort, rootedness, and belonging, which were linked to their place of origin. The research, on one hand using the example of Leicester, proved that the reconstruction of homely environment through the mentioned activities is able to re- evoke and stabilise the senses of home place, preserving the attachment to the place left behind. On the other hand, by the example of Milan, the research indicated that the lack of homely environment may make suffer immigrants from the feelings of unfamiliarity and uncertainty, ceasing the continuity of sense of home place, not only directly after the arrival, but also for a long time.

The described activities and material elements that people used in the settlement place, demonstrated the importance of physical environment for them; that they care about living in which kind of material place. Spatial practices and activities in both cities indicated that Hindu Gujarati immigrants and descendants intended to reconstruct the homely environment, and therefore maintain their belonging, their attachment to their place of origin. Moving to Leicester Gujaratis did not follow the adoption of local material culture, but when they had opportunity, they shaped it according to their homely environment. They sacrificed their financial resources to carry out a transformation, and they used their emotional attachment to orientate the transformation. They succeeded to shape the environment in many ways and they reproduced the major features of home place, as familiarity, variety, interpretability, accessibility, and spirituality, although in different qualities. In Milan Gujaratis recreated especially one material feature, the spirituality, but the quality of reproduction generally was lower than in Leicester. At the same time, in Milan many Gujarati research participants suffered from different senses of an obligated assimilation to the environment, and some of them mentioned that they felt them as a stranger in the city, and the place as not their own.

The realised transformation demonstrated in various ways and levels Gujarati immigrants' demand for a place, which reinforced immigrants' positive self-esteem gained in the home place, which was distinguishable from other places and mirrored the migrant group's values, which provided continuity with the home place, and which, similar to the home place, reassured migrants' belief about their ability to shape the place. The home place gained its form and meaning by accommodating the residents' requirements, and so immigrants tried to shape the new environment by putting an

effort to keep the similar characteristics as their home place in order to satisfy their needs and validate their values, restoring the emotional significance of home place as the place of origin and belonging.

As the effects and transformation of built and social environment are tightly interrelated, immigrants' activities at social level elaborate further their relation to the environment and clarify their influence on the urban place. Next chapter continues to examine how Hindu Gujarati immigrants and descendants manifest their attachment to the home place by shaping the public places of Leicester and Milan by social practices, everyday routines, rites and ceremonies.

Chapter 8

The Management of Disruption in Place-identity at Social Level

“I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any.”
Mahatma Gandhi

8.1. Introduction

This chapter continues to discover Hindu Gujarati migrants and descendants' place-shaping activities in Leicester and Milan, in order to understand how attachment to home place is manifested by people's actions. Nevertheless contrary to the previous chapter, which focused on the changes created at physical level, this chapter concentrates on the transformation produced on social level, and it studies migrants' and descendants' social activities in the settlement place. The chapter aims to answer that how Gujaratis' social practices express their attachment; how they maintain the sense of identity continuity, and how migrants' and descendants' groups and categories and their social surroundings affect the manifestation of identity.

Migration disrupts people's place attachment to their original site, and when disruption happens and people feel themselves being lost and suffering losses, they reach back to their remaining bonding and they merely try to continue their usual daily routine after the movement, in order to regain their well-being, sense of stability and continuity (Brown and Perkins, 1992; Milligan, 2003). Migration can be interpreted as a movement from 'being at home' with 'yearning for home' (Dovey, 1985, p. 46; as cited in Robinson, 2002, p. 37), and immigrants are continually engaged in the construction and reconstruction of their everyday life in the settlement place. The characteristics of place do not limit only to physical design and architectural elements (Sime, 1986). It contains social and community ties (Rivlin, 1982), everyday routines, rites, and ceremonies (Kong and Yeoh, 1997), which represent and nourish the symbolic meanings (Stedman, 2002, Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981), and they all produce a setting through which identity may be recreated. Social level of place supports and completes its material level (Altman and Low, 1992; Lalli, 1992), and

provides another dimension to immigrants to rebuild their identity. This chapter examines the recreation of place-identity by social actions.

Through examining the social reconstruction of place-identity, this study focuses primarily on the actualising processes, by which the immigrants make their attachment real and concrete. However, studying the actualising processes the research also considers other – people and place – aspects of place-identity as further influencing factors. The main question of this chapter is how relocated people manifest and maintain their attachment towards the home place at social level. In its sub-questions it aims to answer that what Gujarati immigrants' spatial practices tell about their place-identity, how place-shaping activities differ according to Gujarati immigrants' social groups or categories, and how environmental factors of settlement place influence the transformation of place. To answer these questions, besides the interviews the research uses ethnographic fieldnotes.

8.2. Creating the sense of home place by shaping the social environment

Scientists and researchers often view space, place, and built environment as it is socially produced and constructed (Peattie, 1968; King, 1980; De Certeau, 1984; Harvey, 1989; Cuff, 1989; Lefèbvre, 1991; Gottdeiner, 1994; Dunn et al., 1995; Castells, 1996; Smart, 2002; Zhang, 2010), while built environment reacts with and has effects upon residents' social practice, behaviour, and social well-being (Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff, 1983; Lawrence and Low, 1990; Bell et al., 2001; Brown et al., 2009). Social dimension of home place: social practices and ties, because they are physically anchored to place, on one hand depend on the physical dimension of place, while on the other hand create and reinforce further the attachment to resident place (Altman and Low, 1992; Campbell and Lee, 1992). As Feldman recognized, the 'sense of home is made in part in repetitive details of daily interaction and use of space' (2006, p.10). Urban sociologists regard place-identity as a fundamentally social attachment (Hunter, 1974, 1978; Hummon, 1992; Simonsen, 1997; Corcoran, 2002); sometimes considering as similar to community identity (McMillan and Chavis, 1986), or they combine it with community identity (Perkins and Long, 2002). Migration interrupts the continuity of social practices, but because 'social life abhors a vacuum' (Berger, Berger

and Kellner, 1973, p. 168), and human beings suffer the disruption of identity, relocated immigrants attempt to re-find the social attribute of home place and pick up their habituated social life in the settlement place, shaping the local landscape at social level.

‘Places are not just a specific space, but all the activities and events’ which made possible to produce a place, defines Buchanan (1988, p. 33). Place-making often unifies two goals; on one hand the improvement of the urban space’s visual aesthetic quality and on the other hand the revitalisation of its social quality (Jarvis, 1980). Public places, as sites of social life, might be shaped to be adapted to and express social requirements; landscape, buildings, and material products mirror and determine their users’ social practices at the same time. By their physical appearance, buildings and designed public places also transmit and communicate social and cultural values: Lawrence and Low brought out how they play a role ‘as communicative or mnemonic devices expressing or reaffirming through symbolic associations relations between groups, or positions held by individuals within a culture's framework. [...] As symbols, sites condense powerful meanings and values; they comprise key elements in a system of communication used to articulate social relations’ (Lawrence and Low, 1990, p. 466). While Buchanan saw urban design as a structured, conscious activity, it does not always pass consciously; simple practices, forming a repetitive everyday life, can transform urban places without any intention for a direct intervention, and may give meaning to them (De Certeau, 1984). ‘The meaning of public space... will be understood only by paying attention to the often confusing or seemingly trivial contests over the use and enjoyment of public space, whether old streets or new parks and cemeteries’, as Goheen advised (1998, p. 493).

Empirical researches discovered many types of actions that immigrants brought with them from their home place and which shaped their everyday practice in the settlement place, as family ties (Foner, 1997), ethnic neighbourhood relations and social network (Wimmer, 2004), community practice (Krase, 2003), everyday social interactions (Mazumdar et al., 2000), religious practice and rites (Mawani, 2007; Shah, 2007). These practices operate in physical urban areas with various scopes, as houses, neighbourhoods, temples, parks, wards, and cities, of which material and social features might influence the quality of migrants’ actions, and therefore their chance to keep up their identity.

Researchers revealed that the process of place-making itself strengthens the closeness of group members. 'The making of places [...] not only changes and maintains the physical world of living; it is also a way we make our communities and connect with other people. In other words, place making is not just about the relationship of people to their places; it also creates relationships among people in places' (Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995, p. 1). Relph viewed the place as a surface where a community can convey its values: '[t]he relationship between community and place is indeed a very powerful one in which each reinforces the identity of the other and in which the landscape is very much an expression of communally held beliefs and values and of interpersonal involvements' (1976, p. 35).

Empirical studies proved that religious rites play a significant part in the process of identity making and preservation (Rutledge, 1985; Hurth and Kim, 1990; Kivisto, 1993). Religion as a human construction reacts extremely sensitively to the uncertainty of human conditions, and the physical, social, and metaphysical 'homelessness', which menace immigrants, leads them to insist even more to their spiritual rites (Berger, Berger, and Kellner, 1973). Rituals cultivate the sense of belonging: '[r]itualization and formalization lie at the basis of the invention of tradition', so the preservation of rites contribute to the preservation of tradition, making culture of belonging to be timeless (Fortier, 1999, p. 49). By keeping spiritual ritual practices after the movement, immigrants reinforce their belonging, and not only shape a place, but also get reminded of the original site of rites (Seales, 2008). As Doreen Massey reasoned, the 'invention of tradition is here about the invention of the coherence of a place, about defining and naming it as a 'place' at all' (1995, p. 188). Researchers found that immigrants' spiritual ritual practices, community feeling, and the preservation of identity are tightly bound to each other (Schweizer et al., 1993; Bankston and Zhou, 1995). As I mentioned before, Hindu temples in India function also as social institutions. Reproductions of these institutions in the settlement place are used in divergent measure as community and congregational centres (Williams, 1988; Vertovec, 2000).

The role of temporal factor is especially intensive and ambiguous in the case of social practice. Firstly, time works against memory, secondly, time affects the acts of generations: migrants' descendants not always have their own experience about home place and they are not always able to link the act to its origin, therefore the act can lose

its meaning and significance. Nevertheless, on the other side, time can be confirming too; it may support that an act becomes usual and part of the tradition, if it is practiced repetitively and through generations. Common practice and events shared across generations mean a significant cohesive force; the invention of tradition is strongly related to the maintenance of origin through generations, and common origin is revived as members recall together their common history and memory (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). Adequate social environment supports to maintain the identity of second-generation immigrants in the foreign environment; besides second-generation migrant children's own efforts to identify themselves with their ethnic group, the parents' involvement in ethnic organisations or activities heavily re-assures children's attachment (Waters, 1994).

While immigrants attempt to express and preserve their identity by creating their own social life at the settlement place, they have to consider the restrictions and incentives of material and social environment. The characteristics of Indian immigrants' traditions – which in India often remain unaltered, conquering the social changes caused by time –, become more noticeable and perceivable in the Western society than in their original environment (Berger and Kellner; 1981). However, Indian immigrants' tradition is present in the new place as minor actions, under the pressure of being distinguished from that of the majority group. More empirical studies demonstrated that Hindu Gujarati immigrants' second generation reacts more positively to their culture if the relevant practice is appreciated by the majority group, and they are attracted mostly by those aspects of their culture, which are harmoniously mixed with that of the majority group (Mukadam, 2007; Patel, 2007).

Nevertheless, researches on the transformation of city by immigrants rarely investigated social practice separately of physical place-shaping activities or in many cases they focused only on one type of action, as a concrete rite or urban festival. Moreover, although literature suggested that immigrants' actions may be dependent according to their in-group origin and their belonging to other type of social groups or categories (Gans, 1962; Kobayashi, 1988, 1984), many researches treated the immigrant ethnic community as a homogenous group or they focused on members who shared the same social category. Overall investigations, which cover all key activities and extend on distinguished social groups, are rarely present in the literature. This research pays

special attention to capture all main relevant elements of immigrants' social practice in the city through which they express their identity. Furthermore, it offers a yet less used approach towards identity, when it examines practice not as a way of operating community or ethnic identity, but as a way to perform the attachment to a place through the reconstruction of its social level.

By analysing Hindu Gujarati immigrants' place-shaping activities in Leicester and Milan, this research would like to consider deeper the processes by which attachment to place is manifested on behavioural level, and to present those actions and rites by which people affirm their identity in the social world. It also discovers what differences can be between the transformations of social life made by different groups and categories of Gujaratis. Finally, comparing the transformation in cities with different background, the research explores how given characteristics of local environment and receiving society influence the nature and degree of place-shaping activities.

8.3. Social aspects of Gujarati people's spatial practices in Leicester

8.3.1. Maintenance of extended family relations

Research participants, who had family in Leicester, made efforts to stay with their family members, also included their extended relatives. Firstly, they tried to keep together the family by settling in the same home with as much close members as possible, secondly, most research participants tried to have a residence near to their relatives. Independently sex and age, interviewees acknowledged the advantages of continuing the life in joint family, moreover, the settlement in a foreign environment reinforced the reasons and provided new ones. The responsibility felt towards elder generation was even bigger in Leicester, where many of them were not able to communicate with the surrounding society, because of knowing only Gujarati language. Extended family also made easier women's life, because they could share the housework, and family members currently staying at home offered a company for them during the day. Family programs were in the first place in research participants' social activities.

In the afternoons-evenings, I saw many Indian couples or families together with one or more children shopping or just window-shopping in the streets. When it was a sunny weekend, Indian families went to the parks to play or do some leisurely sport there. Participating in the occasions of community gatherings, religious celebrations, and festivals, I observed that most of Gujarati, Indian people were accompanied by their family members. (LE/Field Observ)

Sometimes, like we tend to go just something nearby, or visit in the town, whole family together, we would go then, even like we have to go shopping, we tend to go with the family. (LE/Interv4/F26)



Figure 26: In front of a sweet shop on the Melton Road, Leicester

Family members played an important role in keeping India's image as a home for immigrants, because they represented a fix part of immigrants' tightest community. They personally embodied the kinship habituated in India, which is one of the key features of home place, and by their movement they recreated exactly the same

personal, close social environment. Consequently, relatives living in the settlement place were outstanding connecting links between immigrant people and their place of origin.

Research participants explained that neighbourhood-relations were considered in India as a larger circle of kinship, and they composed a very important part of people's everyday social relations. In Leicester, although majority of Gujaratis lived in a neighbourhood of their ethnic origin, research participants reported less social contacts and weaker relations with neighbours. Most interviewees thought that the intensity of neighbourhood-relations did not depend on the neighbours' ethnic origin or religious beliefs, but the weakness of these relations was a cultural phenomenon, also a contributing factor and result of the 'closed door' environment at the same time. The weakness of neighbourhood-relations significantly tightened Gujarati immigrants' social relations.

Here you know with the weather and some another circumstances, people not come down from their house to sit outside or something, so you just come to know them in particular circumstances, if they are working with you, if they are ... if you go library every day and some people are coming over there, then you come to know, or maybe you come to know some people on the like temple or somewhere, where we visited regularly, that kind of neighbour you can get it here, but straightaway you can't find it, very next door people as a neighbour. (LE/Interv26/M41)

Because Gujaratis did not find habitual social company immediately at their homes, they had to visit meeting places and community centres in order to meet people. Consequently, the significance of these institutions increased, and flexibly reacting to the requirements, they elaborated the provided activities.

The reduction of family relations and the lack of neighbourhood relations touched foremost the women.

After 1 – 2 months I feel like little bit lonely, because in India we are living in houses open, means door is open, and everyday we met neighbours, you know, 10 times – 20 times, because is no boundary to going in home. (LE/Interv25/F44)

[In India] specially for ladies, you know, you can't get it bored, because if you just step out in, outside door, you find another woman or... and also they got a free time to chat you with, you can discuss her with something like that way, so you can't find that things here straightaway. (LE/Interv10/F40)

Married women research participants, who were homemakers during their whole life, and women who became housewives after the marriage, both linked to the house space and suffered from the lack of usual companionship. These research participants confessed that the feeling of loneliness and solitude felt by the movement did not disappear with time passed at the new place.

8.3.2. Maintenance of social group membership

Observations and interviews reinforced that Gujarati immigrants' actions in the settlement place started with the creation or selection of a group and were determined by their group membership. Regrouping was an important act of integration; it was immigrants' second step after contacting local relatives, and immigrants' following actions were influenced by how they succeeded to regroup themselves, of what kind of groups they became members, and how they maintained the groups.

Research participants argued that community-membership came with them from the old place to the new one, and for Hindu participants the membership passed alongside their social class and/or religious belief. Arriving to the new place, they tried to rebuild or they contacted those communities already working of which they belonged in the home place. Participants reasoned that belonging to a community is a familial heritage; even second-generation African Gujarati participants told that they belonged to the same temple-community in Africa as their parents before the movement in India, and then moving to Leicester they became members again of the same community. For some research participants the belonging to a social class or a social tribe was more determinative than belonging to a religious belief within Hinduism, and they did not engage in activities of one single mandir, but visited many of them. Contrarily, for other research participants one single mandir, which type was visited by their family in India, determined their social life in the new place.

The adherence to a community and the resulted regrouping had new consequences in the settlement place comparing to India. Many interviewees called

attention that the main difference between the community activities in Leicester and India was that in Leicester these activities were not unified in one common activity. The interviewees emphasized especially festivals, which brought together every temple-communities and social groups in India, while in Leicester celebrations within the own groups and community centres received much more importance.

Regrouping according to the regional belief was well perceivable. Temples joined Hindus with same religious belief and practice, which provided to members not only daily get together during prayers, but they offered a separate celebration of festivals too.

Here, it is different, it is different, even in terms of festivals everyone has their own stuff, [...] festivals yea people do say that ‘oh yea, it’s celebrations and all’, but it’s particularly to that community only, which we never had in India, where here also even celebrating like Navratri and all you’ve seen different communities have their own community halls, where they celebrate their own stuff and other communities are not allowed, even though they are Hindus, so that is something which I found it new, which we never had it in India. [...] Here is more..., communities are more focused in their own stuff rather than overall stuff, so it’s not much more welcoming, when people are in their own stuff, it’s that comfort level. (LE/Interv1/F34)

During interviews socio-cultural differences came up between those immigrants who arrived from Africa, as sometimes they were second-, or third generation African Indians, and those immigrants who arrived directly from India and therefore gained an experience about their home environment directly, at first-hand. As I indicated before, African Gujarati interviewees considered themselves to be Gujarati. Nevertheless, while some of them did not feel themselves to be different from original Indian people, many others recognised that there is some difference between a Gujarati from Gujarat and a Gujarati from outside of India in a way of thinking and behavioural manners, what ‘Gujarati-born’ Gujarati interviewees also noticed. These latter research participants shared a general, but unclear and indistinct idea that Gujaratis with African origin did not preserve their Gujarati, Hindu identity as strictly as people arrived from Gujarat, because during the time passed away from their home place they were losing their attachment to traditional customs.

An interesting question was whether caste-system was kept or revived in Leicester due to the huge number of Indian immigrants; whether local Indian society replicated the Indian social stratification in this sense. Opinions were highly divided whether caste-system was present in the Gujarati community in Leicester and with what effects. A part of participants thought that castes were naturally present in Leicester as a part of Hindu cultural tradition and social order that immigrants brought with them from India, and they argued that because the tribe-membership came with the immigrants from India, Gujaratis joined and became part of the same caste as they did in Gujarat.

Here I think, because people are more here, Gujarati, so that still they are maintaining all these things, and particularly new generation, which are there, they are giving all these traditions and culture from the beginning, in the temple and some social, even this temple. [...] Some individual castes also, they have their own building. (LE/Interv27/M55)

There was another type of opinion about castes in Leicester, which supposed that distinguished castes are vanishing in India, but immigrants in the settlement place kept it alive, because they needed to reinforce their origin in the foreign environment. They argued that the preservation of belonging to a caste facilitated the preservation of origin, and people got special support from their community organised on caste-basis, when they needed it in a vulnerable situation in the foreign environment. Finally, some research participants found that caste-system is disappearing in India, and it did not reappear in Leicester too.

Research participants thought that as a type of community-membership, the belonging to a caste also inherited from parents and captured through generations in the family. The recognition of caste-system came out truly by observing the Hindu people's most important life passage: the marriage. The selection of future spouse unfolded not only the depth of inter-ethnic relationships, therefore the practice of castes too, but of the intra-ethnic relations. Married interviewees were married inside of their caste, but as they said, time was changing. Most interviewees told that caste did not affect any more the acceptance of young generation's selection in Leicester because of the moderating customs on ethnic cohesion and the emerging ethnic commixture; products of globalisation and multiculturalism of the city.

Gujarati has got so many different castes, some are Lohana, some are Patel, some are Mistry and different, and before we were not marrying each other, our girl don't go to any other community, but now they do, because they learn together, they are in college together, they are in Uni together, they get in love and they get married [...]. Well it was getting gradually changing since beginning, you know, but now it's gone open to everyone. Before we were thinking, if some girl goes from one caste to another caste, we say, 'oh my God, what happened?', but now everyone knows it happens, so we accept that. [...] I think this is a worldwide trend, not only in India or Africa, in Europe, but everywhere, it happens nowadays, that's changing now, it's worldwide. (LE/Interv22/M81)

Research participants, who were parents of the present-day generation, told that they have begun to accept their children's optional selection outside of the caste; however, it remained important that the future spouse will be Gujarati and Hindu, and the same caste was still preferable.

It is different to what it was then and what it is now, because now it is mostly children will find their own partners here. [... Gujarati origin is] very important. Even now, we prefer. Caste is going out now [...], so as long as you are Gujarati, it doesn't matter now, even we prefer it to be in the Gujarati. But obviously youngsters nowadays, it is just getting multicultural now, you know, you well know, you know, people do love-marriages, so it can be, they get married to anybody and everybody. But yea, so it is very important that we try and marry in our own Gujarati section, you know, if possible. [...] Parents prefer it to be in the Gujarati, they do not prefer if they marry into a Muslim, specially Gujarati people and Punjabi people, they definitely don't want their children to marry a Muslim. We are very against, yes, because it's totally different culture altogether, and way of thinking, although everybody get on with each other, it's not being racist or anything like that, but it's just way of thinking as well, that you would prefer your children to marry in your own, yea. (LE/Interv5/F49)

Despite of the wider possibilities offered by the multicultural social environment and the more permissive parents, young interviewees thought to get married with a Hindu Gujarati from the same caste in the future, with whom they share the same and tightest community. Staying within the own caste was still appreciated, as it provided a well-known ritual life and way of thinking.

I'd like to get married into a Hindu family really, keeping, maintaining the traditions that I have learnt about my history and keeping that..., going and having a Hindu..., like in-laws also helps. Because you can relate to them and you can have open conversations with them, for example if I can speak Gujarati, they can speak Gujarati, it's a lot more easier, and they know all the traditions, I know all the traditions, it's a lot better. Whereas if it was somebody from another community, or another completely different religious background or different community altogether, it's quite difficult, because they wouldn't know the language, they wouldn't know the traditions. (LE/Interv3/F22)

Similar to the intra-ethnic relations where, according to many opinions, the distinguishing role of caste was fading and social constraints were less strict, concerning the inter-ethnic relations research participants experienced a permeable border between ethnic groups. A possible reason was that the work place and the educational place received larger role in social life, and these places provided contact area with the multi-ethnic social environment. Public ceremonies unified not only Hindu people, but also attracted English and other non-Indian residents.

Although Hindu street festivals were open to public, and many non-Hindu people were interested in the participation, community events were still limited to community members. During my visits in temples at prayer ceremonies and temple-community celebrations, I did not meet anybody outside of the local temple community, which was limited to Hindu Gujaratis or Hindu Indians. (LE/Field Observ)

Interviews revealed that immigrants and descendants stuck to their language, even second-, third-generation migrants used Gujarati language at home, with friends, and within their community, and language determined the possible membership. The foundation and function of community houses, as Lohana Centre⁴³ or elder care homes, as Gokul Nivas, which is especially for Gujarati people, demonstrated Indian people's need to persist within their own tightest community.

[Gokul Divas for Gujarati elders] is better because same language you speak, Gujarati, same chapatti and our food we eat, we are vegetarian. Not non-vegetarian, we are

⁴³ Lohana is one of the Hindu Gujarati castes

vegetarian, we don't eat meat and all those other things. But when there is a care home, same Gujarati family, is better because same language, same culture and same food, and you understand better each other. (LE/Interv32/M74)

In 2011 the second Hindu school of the country opened in Leicester; a state-funded primary school, on the site of a former Catholic boarding school. The school follows the national curriculum alongside Hindu values; the religious features include meditation and the recitation of Hindu scripture at the start of the day, it also applies yoga courses, and uses vegetarian kitchen. As a free school, it can give priority to pupils with Hindu beliefs, and so can reinforce the social segregation (Dryden, 2010; Vasagar, 2011).

Hindu immigrants also made extreme efforts to build Hindu temples, to organise these institutions into a net, and extending the net at national level, they brought into existence the National Council of Hindu Temples.

8.3.3. Performance of religious rites

The practice of religious rites was a highly important activity, both from spiritual and social point of view, which remained unchanged despite migration. Interviewees assured me that the performance of religious rites provided by mandirs in Leicester followed without modification the same rites of temples in India, and a priest research participant, who performed the necessary rites, argued also that his work did not change because of his movement.

I observed that even entering to the temple, devotees preserved the traditional customs and rites. One is that women in the temple wore traditionally sarees.

Generally whenever you go a temple it's not really expected but it's like, it would be nice if you wear traditional clothing, so as Hindus, whenever is a Hindu festival, everyone dresses up in the traditional Indian clothing with their bangles, their Bangdis, their Indian suits, all their Indian sarees. [...] You're not like forced into anything that, 'oh, you have to wear this of this height'. It's more of., it's nice if you wear., it's also respectful in terms of., because you are going to the house of God. [...] What the main criteria is, as you try not to expose yourself, as much as possible, and if possible, wearing traditional clothes. (LE/Interv3/F22)

I saw some people touching the doorstep or bowing their head before entering to the temple. There was a basic rite for entering in the area of the shrine: the devotees had to take off their shoes, which indicated that the visitors express the respect towards the holy place by not bringing the dirt of the street inside the temple. In a smaller temple where hall was multifunctional, people removed their shoes for the occasion of a spiritual gathering, but they could keep on for a common dinner organised in the same hall.

Although the rites were not modified, the frequency of participation in the temple-rites changed. People's possibility to share the aarti was much reduced and remained mainly a weekend activity, from Friday evening until Sunday evening.

Monday to Friday we [pray] at home, because our God say, 'you go everyday', but this is, country is different, so is not possible you go every day in the temple. It good, if you go every day, that's very good, but if you not, then you go the small temple in my house, in the kitchen. (LE/Interv21/M49)

The prayer at home and aarti in temple completed each other in immigrants' life, and made complete their spiritual activity during the week and provided a prayer for each day. The repetition of rites on one hand indicated the passage of time, and on the other hand assured the continuity of time and place too. During my visits, I found the temples at the time of aarti always filled with devotees who participated in the ritual of worship, but outside of aarti too there were visitors.

[This is] one of the busiest temple in Leicester, we get at least 350 to 400 people everyday visit to our temple, and on the first Sunday of the month, we get about 1500 to 2000 people, because there is a celebration we have, and there is people who..., whoever come here, they must have lunch and go, and that is free of charge, we don't charge them at all, that is from the temple side. Now because this temple is surrounded with the residential people and those all the people 80 per cent of them are Indian, and 70 per cent of them is Gujarati, so that is why we get more people here in our temple. Their day will start with the visiting of the temple, if anybody is going to the job or to school or children, whoever you take, if they are nearby, they must go, bow down here and then they will carry on with their life, so if they can't come in the morning, they will visit in the evening after they finish their job. (LE/Interv17/M36)



Figure 27: Inside of a mandir in a quiet weekday moment, Leicester

Besides aarti, Sabha is another regular occasion of spiritual get together, organised on Sundays in mandirs.

I had the chance to participate in a Ladies' Sabha. The reading and the following conversation was in Gujarati; every woman could stand up and asked questions to the saint or to the audience, or they shared and discussed their opinion about the actual topic. As I came to know from Sabha-participants, women asked about God and the disciplines what is good to follow, but the object of conversation could be anything. It might concern the spiritual discourses about the purpose of life, how to know our soul, how to know who we really are, in which way people should live their lives and interact with others, how people can be better persons, and little stories about the community's Guru, about his qualities, and the ways how devotees could get those qualities in order to be like him. (LE/Field Observ)



Figure 28: Celebrating the birth of a temple community's Guru, Leicester

Sabha provided a certain structure, a spiritual guideline that participants could adopt in order to know better themselves and offered values that they could follow to develop their personality and build into their self-definitions. In some temples, the Sabha segregated the congregation according to sex and age, and people in different groups kept their Sabha.

The ladies will have their own Sabha and the gents have their own Sabha, the 14 to 20 years old, they have their own Sabha, the young kids up to age of 14, from I think 5 to 14, they have their Sabha on a Sunday, separate day, that's how we're segregated. (LE/Interv24/M38)

There were occasional festivities too in temples, as celebrating the birth of the temple's guru.

I was invited to witness the celebration of Guru's anniversary, which was arranged in a large community hall on a Friday evening. Hindu people arrived in small groups, one after other, leaving their shoes at the main gate, until the hall was filled with more than 200 devotees, who were sitting in regular lines on the carpet in front of the stage, men in front and behind them women. Women were dressed in sarees, while a very few men wore white kurta⁴⁴ with lehnga⁴⁵, and most of men wore Western clothes. Elder people took seat in chairs at the two sides and background of the hall. The Guru's idols were installed on the stage, which was decorated also by his huge images, and plants. In the corner of stage, a little group provided music, playing tabla⁴⁶. Special spiritual guests, saints arrived from London, who wore clothes in the colour of ochre, a sacred colour of holy men and ascetics who have renounced the world. The program covered spiritual talks in Gujarati language about what the Guru did during his lifetime, how his character and way of living was, which virtues he possessed, what the devotees could learn about his life, and how they could use those experiences and values to develop themselves and progress further on their spiritual path. Talks were alternated with spiritual songs, when devotees sang together about the Guru, accompanied by live music. By time more and more devotees arrived; they greeted each other and took seat in the end of the hall. Later people enjoyed food together, and the celebration lasted late into the night. (LE/Field Observ)

Research participants enjoyed the religious events further beyond their spiritual support and occasion to contemplate. Religious rites and spiritual events brought Hindu Gujarati immigrants together and so became the basis of community construction, and assuring regular meetings they turned into one of the centres of social life. Moreover, their exact practice returned the stability in people's lives. As religious rites were able to transmit Hindu values to immigrants in unchangeable forms and with unbroken practice, they were able to keep their original role in guiding people's self-definition and self-development.

⁴⁴ Traditional shirt for men

⁴⁵ Traditional trousers for men, the pair of kurta

⁴⁶ Hindustani classical hand drum

8.3.4. Expansion of temple-activities

Both interviews and observations revealed that in Leicester Hindu temples became main centres of Hindu Gujarati social life. One of the reasons of temples' emergence was that Hindu religious people gave priority to visit a temple by religious purpose over activities provided by community centres.

Everybody is busy, and only you can say when they are gathering for the God they have the time, other time nobody is bothering for a second one. (LE/Interv13/M48)

Another reason was that the temples recognised that immigrants leaving their usual social environment had extreme social needs and that they could not fill the social vacuum in the ways accustomed in the home place. In Leicester mandirs brought into existence such social activities that usually were not offered by temples in India, and therefore developed more than merely sacred places and sites of prayers, becoming active centres of the local Gujarati social life. Mandirs provided first of all religious activities, and those social events that served to reinforce the link between members of temple-community and keep the community together.

By time, as I visited temples with weekly regularity, I came to know and witness their varying regular activities. Besides the everyday rites, some of them provided weekly religious reading programs, called Sabhas, and common dining evenings, when the devotees ate dinner together. I visited women of the community when they prepared food together in the kitchen of temple. During the events I met regularly with the same devotees and their families, which proved that these people passed a significant time of their everyday in temple-events. (LE/Field Observ)

Common engagement in the cooking provided social life to women, unified them in a common activity, and involved them even more in the community. Research participants argued that consuming the food together with the community has an important meaning: it symbolises familial ties. When a temple-community dined together, it symbolised members' togetherness and offered a new kinship in place of the family relationship separated by and lost during the migration.

Eating as a community, being part of one big family, being part of each other, not about being in little groups, it's more about being one, whole family being one, whole community. (LE/Interv3/F22)



Figure 29: Members of a temple-community attending a common diner, Leicester

Besides the Sabhas and common dinners, temples provided such activities, as cultural and sport courses and programs, which in India were usually organised by other, non-religious centres. These activities covered dance-courses and dance-performances, cricket-matches, drama-performances amongst others. They were organised by different temple-communities, but there were common programs for more groups too, and events, as cricket-matches, not only brought together members of a particular temple, but also created opportunity to meet other temple-communities and unify with them in the frame of common activity.

We play lots of games as well, so I took part in cricket as well, so we play cricket [...]. There are many groups, all different temples have cricket groups, all individuals have their own groups as well, there are some private clubs as well, all different groups there. [...]

There are religious groups as well, I mean every temple has sports activity, so, even this mandir has sports activity, so they organise cricket match, even other organise cricket match as well. [...] The tournament I took part in, it was in, it's one temple, because [this kind of temple] it's in London as well, it's in Leicester as well, in different, Nottingham as well, so all the teams, there are 8 – 10 teams together were in the London area, and they had a proper tournament against each other, like a world cup tournament is, yea. [...] It's not a rule that only Gujaratis play, but most of them are Gujaratis. But anybody who wants to play they can come, anybody. (LE/Interv35/M26)



Figure 30: An Indian group playing cricket, Leicester

These programs and events principally aimed to socialise people and get the community together. At the same time, they focused on such activities that are attributed to Hindu and Indian culture, like Hindu dance and cricket, which became the most popular sport in India during the expansion of British Empire. Therefore, activities also contributed to preserve the Hindu Gujarati values in the diaspora.

You learn more about the kind of cultural values there, it's not as that kind of activity but when they do, you know like give some talk on that, so you learn about more value of culture and values, and how things work and why we do that and things like that, so that's helps me to understand more. (LE/Interv20/M21)

Finally, many of these programs were presented publically, as dances at celebratory occasions or cricket-matches, and as a result, they promoted the community's origin towards the public.

Temples played role in not only preserving and doing publicity for the community's values, but also in transmitting them to the younger generations. They organised school programs for children at the weekends, by which children born in the diaspora could learn easily the Gujarati language and writing system and acquire the basics of the Hindu Gujarati culture and social values. Furthermore, some temples also provided education seminars for older persons.

The programs and events were organised on the basis of mutual help and cooperation between community members. A lot of research participants took an active role to establish, organise, and develop the temple-events, as priest, vice-president, manager, teacher, accountant, administrator, and other volunteers in different temples. From the first wave of immigrants, many research participants started to do a community work because they had special capacities, e.g. English language knowledge, to help other newcomers. These people took an active role to establish the basis of different temple-communities. Later arrived immigrants and young descendants were involved into the organisation of programs because they were Gujarati Hindus, and so they had the same religious-cultural background to adopt the community and transmit its values. Young members helped the old ones and newcomers outside the temple too, gaining experience in certain tasks and supporting the operation of the institute. Many of young interviewees considered that their active involvement had multiple benefits: they socialised by the participation, they gained real work experience, they went through a mental practice, they stayed connected with their culture, and they supported the future generation to maintain the contact with their Gujarati Hindu origin.



Figure 31: Women cooking together in the kitchen of a mandir, Leicester

I observed and research participants confirmed too that there were some activities particularly for male and female community-members. Common cooking and cleaning activities were mostly performed by women; similarly, the activities related to younger children were also being taken care mostly by women, while men accomplished rather management and organisational works.

We have children activities there, which I used to do, even I do, but at the moment because I'm studying, I can't do on Sundays, but my sister-in-law, she goes Sundays to teach our language Gujarati, we teach the children the social values and religious values. [...] So then over there I learned to, you know like spend time with children, I am trying to learn there, like you know, mentality, how to deal with children, how to talk to them. (LE/Interv4/F26).

Right now helping like them in accounting as well. Like you know when me in work as well, like even though there's any need to fill in any forms or so something, because we don't even want them prob..., even right now, so it's, they need to fill one form for everybody and you know make like on the keep up to the record and everything, so I have

helped them in that. So that keeps me kind of experience for my work, so whenever I go for work, I can say that I've worked this kind of work. (LE/Interv20/M21)

This suggested that community life in the temples contributed to preserve the gender division of labour traditionally used in India, where women carry out household activities and care taking responsibilities towards the next generation, and men undertake active role in the work market.

8.3.5. Participation in leisure-activities connected to culture and tradition

While research participants were engaged in various leisure-activities in their free time, generally they selected activities which were common activities and which were culturally linked to India. Therefore leisure-activities served not only to be relax and satisfied, but also to spend time together and vivify the belonging to the home place.

Sport provided an important cohesive factor for the Gujarati diaspora, most of all for its male members, and the similar interest unified not only the tighter Gujarati community, but also Indian people. They favoured cricket, 'like in England everybody follows football, and in India the cricket is their main sports, they follow it, they don't play even but they follow it, they listen to commentary, watch it on TV' (LE/Interv6/M63). Sport commentaries mediated from India or other parts of the world about Indian groups reminded research participants of their home place, their pursuing stimulated gatherings and passing time in each other's company, and the celebration of a sport victory brought together the whole Indian community.

Recently, just now we had that cricket match, world cup was there, and India has won it, so everybody was joyful. So I was working on that day, so we came down and my daughter, son-in-law, they also come down and then we went to Belgrave road, Melton road. So it was full of people, then we enjoyed all these things joyfully for there, and have lot of photographs and all these things, so we all went together there, Indian flags and marching and dancing. [...] It was very – very good, you know, that people had something, that we remember our country and our place. Thus they were dancing, and joyful time was that. So at that time everybody went together. (LE/Interv27/M55)

There were other social activities in Leicester, that community centres or schools provided in order to maintain Indian or Gujarati tradition, amongst them yoga, meditation, ayurvedic massage, Indian folk dance, Indian classical dance, Hindi classical singing, and music lessons on Indian classical instruments, offered in English and Hindi language. Some courses were funded by the Leicester City Council.

I have a friend for example, [...] she has been teaching the Indian classical dance for 30 years, she teaches young girls and young boys to do the..., Indian classical dance is a unique, they call Kaththak dance. [...] There are lots of classes who teach classical dance, who teach harmonium, which is like, it is an air organ, like an accordion or like a piano, but that is an Indian instrument played with air. There are classes funded by City Council, and they teach the big dhol, the drum [...]. Santoor is another cord instrument like guitar, and there is lots. There are Bollywood dance which is now a new craze, [...] so film songs, Hindi film songs, people learn to dance by that Bhangra, you may have heard of Bhangra, which is a North Indian folk dance, so there are classes for that, and there is lots, there is yoga for example, yoga is again an exercise of organs in body or breathing in - breathing out, there are classes for those, but this is all started from India. (LE/Interv23/M64)

Soon after the massive Indian settlement in Leicester, the Hindu dance courses came into great public demand that a Centre for Indian Classical Dance was founded in 1981, and since then it organises trainings and performances. Young female participants, even born in Leicester, reported that they preferred to learn classical Indian or Bollywood dance or to attend classical Hindu singing courses, because they felt to be related to India. They also benefitted socially from the courses, because classes provided them further connections to the local Gujarati community and helped them to have more friends with similar interest. At the same time, these courses were cultural reminders of the place of origin and helped to keep alive its art in a foreign environment.

8.3.6. Celebration of passages in Hindu life

There are a few, special rites in a Hindu's life and these are the rites of passage: the ceremonies when a Hindu marries, when he or she has the first child, and when he or she dies. As the ritual performed at child's birth is rather a familial one, carried out at home, research participants told that they could follow the same rite and kept it without

any difficulty in Leicester too. In contrast, the ceremonies of marriage and death required special place and authority to perform it.

If we recollect immigrants' memories about social life in India, we know that marriage is the most important rite and at the same time the biggest ceremony in a Hindu's life. In Leicester there are more and more services concerning a Hindu wedding; I found Gujarati wedding planners, beauticians, photographers, food services, rentable halls for the ceremony, priests offered consultations to the prospective couples, provided knowledge about the religious rites, and undertook to perform it, even the UK's first Hindu woman priest worked there to conduct ceremonies. However, certain local circumstances prevented to organise the same kind of ceremony as in India. While in India people invited whole neighbourhood to the ceremony and they accommodated all invitees in the family house, within their direct environment or at the neighbours, in Leicester social relations were weaker, there was no place to accommodate so many people, and neighbours could become rather disturbed by the noise than being curious about it and help the preparation for the ceremony, as research participants argued. Participants also told that because of working schedule, Hindus were obligated to limit the traditional 5 days-long and sometimes even longer ceremony to the two days of weekend. Moreover, many relatives also had to travel to the ceremony from far, in which they lost time again. Consequently, people were obligated to limit the rite of wedding to the main points and not practice in its full content. Because of these time-place pressures, wedding ceremony arranged in Leicester lost some part of its original ritual form and its joining and sharing character. Thus, many research participants chose to organise their wedding ceremony in India, where they could reunify with their family members, refresh the contact with their neighbourhood left behind, and enjoy the rite in its original and homely quality.

Hindus had to face difficulties considering the rite of death too. Although nowadays there are several Hindu funeral services in Leicester, research participants told that this kind of service appeared relatively late in the city. Time had to elapse before the requirement took a massive scale, and initially the people who could afford the expenses of shipping the body to India, carried out the ceremony there. One of the research participants was amongst the firsts in the local Hindu community, who recognised immigrants' need to get a special rite on site in Leicester, but at that time no

priest could provide the service. Therefore he started to perform funeral ceremonies for Hindu residents in 1995 by himself, and later received award from the Lord Mayor of Leicester to honour that he has spent his life supporting bereaved families by performing free funerals.

When I lost my wife, it was difficult to get the preacher who can do the..., perform the funeral ceremony and that sort of thing. So that's why I learned that thing, I made a good research on it, and then I'm helping people free of charge, if someone dies, I go to their home, perform the ceremony, go to crematorium, perform the ceremony free of charge and help them that way. (LE/Interv22/M81)

Nevertheless, the complete process of ceremony is not yet the same. Again, because of time and place-restrictions they are obligated to arrange the ceremony during the weekend, so that relatives and friends can share the ceremony, the rite cannot be performed in its traditional form, and for a long time they could not perform even the end part of ceremony in waterfront.

Here those funeral take after one week or like that, and in India they do the cremation on the same day, somebody is expired then call to all relatives, friends and neighbours, everybody will come down there for helping, and on the same day they will do all the cremation and these things, and people will go to their place freely, everybody will help. Here it happens only on Saturday – Sunday like that, on normal days nobody goes. [...] Here it is taking after one week or like that, cremation and all these things, then it is sometime difficult to where they put the ashes, but now I think in Leicester and..., they have given some permission that some lake is there, so they can put into that, and in London also Thames river, I think they give permission now, you can throw the ashes into there, because in our tradition they say that the ashes should be thrown in river or sea or somewhere. (LE/interv27/M55)

By the Cremation Act of 1930, the open-air funeral pyres are considered to be illegal in the UK, therefore a traditional open-air cremation is not available for Hindu residents. However, since 2010 the government allows performing a ceremony with the ashes on the banks of a river or seaside (Roy, 2010). Therefore, the place of the last part of ceremony was assured ultimately.

8.3.7. Public celebration of festivals

There are many Hindu celebrations and festivals too organised in Leicester, which reinforce not only the cohesion of Gujarati community, but also the integration of whole Indian community.

The most important - as it was in India - is the Diwali, and Diwali celebration in Leicester is the largest outside of India; in 2011 with up to 35,000 people attended the festival on the Belgrave Road (Leicester City Council, 2011). Elder research participants remembered that the festival established gradually, firstly a group of Gujarati people organised get together, prepared food, shared it and celebrated, then as the number of Indian immigrants grew, people asked from the members of City Council whether they could organise something common for Diwali. So they arranged Diwali lights and festive programs, and small businesses provided the sweets and other products usual during Diwali.

Diwali celebration began with the program of 'Diwali Lights Switch On'. On this late October Sunday evening, a huge crowd assembled at the beginning of Belgrave Road, where the stage was installed. The majority of people were Indian, but not only Hindus; I saw many Sikh families too. Also there were a lot of White families, and spectators from other various ethnicities; seemingly Diwali was an interesting spectacle for the whole city population. Spectators filled the road, which was closed for the festival time, in its full width and they covered endlessly the Belgrave Road. Firstly, a cultural show began; Indian dances, musicians, and singers alternated each other, and then came the official speeches, finally in frame of a formal ceremony the Diwali Lights were switched on, alongside the Belgrave Road and Melton Road. Later firework and laser show raised the splendour of the festival in the nearby Cossington Park; people slowly left the road, which was re-opened for the circulation. The festival lasted almost two weeks, during which many Indian street spectacles and plays, e.g. Rangoli Competition, were organised to entertain people. The festival ended with the 'Diwali Day', which had a very similar program to the opening day with stage entertainment and firework. (LE/Field Observ)

Diwali was celebrated not only on the streets of Belgrave, but at homes too in familial circle, and Hindu temples too provided special celebration to its community. By its triple sites; celebrating at home, in the temple, and in the street, Diwali integrated

Hindu and Indian people at three social levels: it reunified the family, the temple community, and all Hindu and Indian residents of the city.

Navratri, the typical Gujarati celebration, was organised mainly in the community halls by temple-communities. Many research participants came to know the Gujarati community first time after their arrival due to celebrations, especially Navratri, '[b]ecause you go every day and you do dancing with them every day, at temple. So you know them and they know us, so we get more friendly like that. And then in between time, we visit them, they visit us, if we go more close with them' (LE/Interv33/F49).



Figure 32: Stage show during the Diwali festival, Leicester

Holi had an open public celebration in a park.

A big bonfire was lit from pallets in the Cossington Park in the afternoon, encircled by around a hundred spectators, but their number continuously grew. They were mainly Indians, also some White spectators, as in the surrounding park many people walked, did a sport or picnic, and the event attracted more and more people. In India people throw colour powders on each other on the streets during the day, then light a fire in the

evening, but here I experienced that the throwing of colours for the public audience was replaced by painting a modest coloured stripe on the face, and it happened in parallel with the bonfire. As everything was controlled because of safety reasons, fire was cordoned, so people could not go near to it. They prayed, listened the live tabla music provided by a group of musicians, and gave coconut to the persons who worked inside the cordon. They put the coconut into the fire, offering to the God, as prasad (food firstly offered to God, then consumed), then took out the coconut, and gave back to the people to consume it. (LE/Field Observ)



Figure 33: The celebration of Holi, Leicester

Holi was arranged differently comparing to its celebration in India; it lost its usual accompanying games, it was reduced in its structure, and the act of throwing colours also was diluted, which all influenced how devotees sensed and experienced the atmosphere of the festival.

You can't throw it [colour] to anyone I guess [...], whereas in India anyone just chuck at anyone, just this thing in India, that's the best thing, in India no one would mind being like

colour chucked, at here you know you have to ask first, but mainly we'd do it in families.
(LE/Interv19/F15)

Same as Diwali, Holi too was celebrated in three places: in the family, in the temple, and in a selected public place, therefore it joined Gujaratis on three social levels. Nevertheless, because of the public restrictions, the colour throwing, one of the main rites of celebration, shifted from public places to family homes and lost its unifying role.

At last, the fourth biggest festival is Rathayatra, chariot festival of Lord Krishna, organised by the ISKCON Leicester, as its biggest street festival.



Figure 34: Pulling one of the chariots of Rathayatra on the Belgrave Road, Leicester
(Photograph taken by an interviewee)

[It] is called 'Chariot Festival', is run by the 'Hare Krishna and Hare Rama' temple people, it's celebrating same like back in India, they just chariot on the road and our Goddesses

come on the..., it's a van on the road and we just celebrate the same festival another than the part of the UK, so that's the good things, which they provide us. (LE/Interv26/M41)

Interviewees told that on the occasion of Rathayatra, three chariots brought gods' idols and saints, seemingly pulled by devotees. The chariots departed from the city centre and moved forwards in the Belgrave area, alongside the Belgrave Road to the Cossington Park, on the roads specially closed for the occasion. The audience was mostly composed by Indians, and a group of devotees accompanied the march.

8.3.8. Use of media for connectedness

The role of electronic and print media is highly recognised in the emergence of cultural flows, which stream between places and link different localities (Appadurai, 1990), and I must emphasize the role of media as a tool of community construction and connector to the home place in case of Gujarati community in Leicester. Asian programmes started to be broadcasted in Leicester in the 1980s.

Just after late 1983 I think, BBC Asian Radio Network started up to have a one-hour show on the air, for the Asian people. That used to be very exciting, I remember people just went ballistic, mad, on this, Asian music being on, on the air and people could put in a request, and every evening many people, many families would gather round the radio and sit. [...] Now we've got our own broadcasting channel in Leicester which is MATV, which is in the heart of Belgrave. [...] Now people in Europe they can see MATV. That means programmes which are recorded in Belgrave, Leicester, people in Europe can see them now. [...] When they started it was very local shows and then Mr Vinod Popat he had a joint venture with SAB TV which from India and he used to bring programmes from India. So that again gave the Asian people a lot to watch, especially in Leicester. (LE/IntervBM/F33)

Besides MATV, the Sabras Radio functioned, also in Belgrave. It broadcasts in 'Hindi, Gujarati, Punjabi, all the Asian language they are playing, and there is the specific time, you can have the Gujarati, in that Gujarati program, they are announcing all the function, and they are playing 24 hours Indian music and Hindi music' (LE/Interv13/M48). Gujarati people also receive both the news of Gujarat and the local Gujarati community through a local newspaper.

We have a Gujarati paper delivered in our house every Thursday, this morning I had one. So we know all the news from Gujarat, and from here, anything happening in UK, general, in our Asian communities. [...] It's called 'Gujarat Samachar'. [...] It's like some political news, some... yea, everything. [...] And here, we have, if anything going on in our Asian communities then we have news for that and any events happening in any temples around in UK anywhere, we get that news. (LE/Interv12/F60)

The 'Gujarat Samachar' made known a large type of local news; political, social, religious, including the changes in the British government rules, especially immigration legislation, and explaining all in Gujarati language. Furthermore, the Belgrave Library, which is one of the Council's public libraries, has a large collection of books in Gujarati language, and Gujarati journals. Indian programmes, as I presented e.g. in the case of cricket-commentary, assured a common topic for Indian community members, linked them again to their home left behind, moreover provided them fresh information about the home place, so they could have a current image about it, paying attention to its changes. Youth preferred to be informed about the daily news by internet. But I have to mention that the image of India and Gujarat, that immigrants got through the media, could not always be similar to their experiences gained by personal visits, as the 'mediascape' of home place presented by journals or television was an image already filtered, produced, and made consumable by the media (Appadurai, 1990).

Nevertheless, research participants gained information about India's actual happenings directly too. Most of them, especially youth, used internet to keep regular contact with their relatives.

I don't have much friends here, but in India I had many friends, so I communicate with them through internet or phone from here so that makes..., keeps me going. (35/M26)

By regularly communicating, they were interested in and were informed about the changes, which touched the closest living environment of their family, and general news about the country.

8.4. The effects of social transformation and the sense of transformed place in Leicester

Activities as maintenance of extended family relations, maintenance of social group membership, performance of religious rites, expansion of temple-activities, participation in leisure-activities connected to culture and tradition, celebration of passages in Hindu life, public celebration of festivals, and use of media for connectedness contributed to shape social life of city areas regularly or permanently. By these activities Hindu Gujarati immigrants affected the urban social environment, made it able to satisfy immigrants' need for a positive self-esteem (as research participants gave positive evaluation of the ethnic-, and temple-community that they formed and they referred that these group memberships increased their self-esteem), distinctiveness (e.g. by the selection of leisure-activities or the ritual forms of life passage), continuity (in the case of temple-rites completely), and self-efficacy (see immigrants' ability to carry out their everyday life, their chosen leisure activities, and their rites, and to organise their festivals in the new environment).

Research participants recognized that living in an environment which does not suit to their origin and usual lifestyle, and to which they have to adapt, has effects on their identity.

I've got the Indian customs in me, obviously there are certain things what we may do as Indian custom as well, you know like certain things, I can't really put an example to.., but there is.., I think you are what you are, you know, if you are Indian, you will just do the Indian way, nothing different, but yea, if you're living in this country, obviously some customs you have to follow and you will do that. (LE/Interv5/F49)

Many research participants argued that fear guided the transformation of social environment: Hindu Gujarati immigrants' fear of losing the contact with their roots. This motivated them to create a protective environment: a convenient social environment, and so led them towards their own community, to be enclosed within it. So immigrants' sticking to their own community was incited by the threat of new environment posed to their identity that they never knew in India.

I think, they had a fear, they had a fear of losing their own culture, that's what I feel. In India it was.., it was never had that fear, and when you haven't fear of something, you try

to hold on more tightly to that stuff. Over there it wasn't imposed the thing, over here people impose, because they have a fear that 'oh, what if they don't know about our culture when they grow, they will be completely lost with their roots', and that's what people don't want, and that fear makes them to direct towards or focus towards their own stuff, rather than thinking about all integrated stuff. (LE/Interv1/F34)

Research participants felt a special menace for the spiritual values of social life and everyday practice, arguing that the foreign environment with its different religious concepts threatens not only the preservation of Hinduism practices, but the identification with its values too. Participants worried that facing unlike ideas about religion they will gradually neglect their sacred practice and forget their religious roots. Visiting India some of them had impression that relatives, friends stayed there were practicing the religion more strict than Gujarati Hindus in Leicester. They thought that in India residents preserve a more spiritual environment, in which is easier to keep up with their traditions. Spiritual practice received an outstanding place amongst immigrants' activities. Being part of a temple-community and continuing the practice of rites became tools to resist against the effects of foreign environment on identity. Many interviewees found that the re-integration into a spiritual and so a social group did not only support the preservation of their origin and belonging to India, but also gave them standards to a personal interior development.

You come down to practice, you can easily lose your tradition and values. If it is being installed in you as a kid, like it's to me, I've been going to temple since I was 7, if it's been installed in you and if you practise that, and that's all you know, and you know for a fact what you're doing is correct. [...] This is much of practise really, a lot of people lose their identity, they'll lose if stop practising, and then community is the key. So it's the outside influences, university, friends, upbringing, area [...]. The Mandir helps me, it gives you a sense of who you are and what you should have been, so you know you're an Indian living in England, living under the British rules and regulations, but at same time you still observe your faiths and beliefs and your traditions, still keeping them 32 years later on, and I'm not breaking them, so what you do now so making sure you're not breaking current traditions. (LE/Interv24/M38)

Time may intensify the effects of foreign environment on identity, thus identity continuity of second-, third generation might be threatened in increased degree. Despite

of the large number of Gujarati residents in Leicester, community construction became a permanent work, because younger generations in the settlement place was continuously touched by other local cultures.

Younger generation is moving away from religion and our culture, but we are trying to hold them, by doing lots of activities, by calling preachers from India, they can preach, and other languages as well, and wherever our centres are, our temples are, we always try to attract them to come together. [...] We've got some sports as well to bring them as.., specially Navratris we have Raas-Garba, playing and.., they really come there, all of them, and that way they are just coming there in the community and coming to the religions, and temples as well. (LE/Interv22/M81)

Most research participants put their confidence into the spiritual practice, which will support their children growing up in the UK to preserve their identity.

It is difficult, that's why we are believing to keep our culture in our hand, that's why when we go to temple, we are hundred per cent making them [our children] to come, we are just training like that, that you want to attend that function hundred per cent. (LE/Interv13/M48)

We could see from many sides that immigrants put the family in the first place even regarding physical settlement, social events, and religious rites; family level participation in rites served not only a micro-group formation and a cohesion between generations, but also the hereditary transmission of identity from one generation to another. The involvement of younger generation seemed to be successful, during my visits in temples I saw many young people praying after the school, and they supported the community events as well.

The transformed social life and spiritual practice concentrated in the Belgrave. Due to the dominant Gujarati settlement, shops, restaurants, temples, gatherings, rites and celebrations, a vivid social life flourished not only inside the community buildings, but in the streets and other public places too, during which Gujaratis might use their accustomed recreational activities, social interactions, spiritual rituals, and their original language, continuing their life in a predictable environment. By its unique social

character, the Belgrave was able to reveal the feeling of home place, giving the sense of safety and easiness.

If we are walking in that area, means Belgrave area, we are not fear inside, or we just walk like this is our country, is like a small Gujarat, and we walk freely and we talk too freely as well, and every person we meet, we say, 'hello, how are you, kem chho? (How are you in Gujarati language). (LE/Interv25/F44)

Many interviewees felt that the transformation of Belgrave area in order to recreate an Indian environment was successful, and extended on every aspects of home place that were reproducible.

I think that everything in India is real, really, all the activities, as all the festivals and everything, they're all celebrated here, so you..., not a single point that you not feel a part of India, even whether a shopping, or whether it's a traditional cloth shopping [...]. We've brought India into Leicester, really, the people, all the food that's around, Indian food, the clothing, the temples, the festivals, everything is being celebrated the way it's celebrated back, so it's everything is here, just on a smaller scale. (LE/Interv3/F22)

Community membership, whether based on common regional ethnic origin, belief, or caste, provided integration and social support, while community events evoked the practice of cooperating. Membership reinforced not only the sense of being part of a tight community, but also the sense of being inside of the transformed social environment and of belonging to Gujarat and India, which meant a common ground for these groups.

You can go there [community event], nobody is going to stop you, nobody is going to tell you that why you are here, because is this say that we are Gujarati, they are not going to stop us, there is a free food, free things, everything is..., it means it provided, there is a free event totally, you can participate there [...] When you go there , you are not going to feel that you are in UK, you can feel, you are in Gujarat. And everybody is totally..., they can cooperate you, they can talk to you, once they know your name, then they are more religious, and more relative, more social. They can ask the question, that how you are, what you are doing, what is the problem. If you are sick, then they can come to our house and visit us, if we are sick, or if they are sick, we are going their house sometime, we can

develop new relation with the people, who is staying far from us, not next door neighbour and they are not in our community also, they are different tribe people. (LE/Interv13/M48)

Hindu rites and ceremonies meant the spiritual continuity in immigrants' everyday life; through festivals immigrants and descendants could recreate and enjoy the socio-cultural environment of India at smaller level in the UK. Research participants evaluated very much the festivals, as they brought back the vivid, diverting social life of India.

During that time we get together and we play, we do this traditional dance and all that kind of things, so that's really the key to make you feel like India. (LE/Interv9/M23)

Hindu Gujarati immigrants and their descendants were able to preserve their social group memberships, practice unalterably their regular religious rites, organise the most important rites of their life passages in site, and transfer the sense of belonging to the next generation, but many research participants missed an important feature of the social life habituated in India: the sharing. Integration into a group not necessarily included sharing, especially sharing with Indians outside of the group. Festivals are just such events in India, which symbolise people's integration and sharing, as festivals involve everybody in one unity and share the joy of event. As I demonstrated in the case of festivals, in Leicester 'here people do keep things to themselves' (LE/Interv4/F26). On one hand, many research participants argued that regrouping overwrote the cohesion: when Gujaratis were divided into groups and started to organise festivals separately too, they emphasized the social segregation within the Hindu Gujarati community and diminished the importance of the common celebration. On the other hand, even on Diwali, of which Leicester provides the largest celebration outside India, for which Indian people travel from worldwide, participants missed the close integration and sharing, enjoying jointly the festival with everybody.

In India it's more of community based, where everyone was regardless of 'who you are', everyone is just together, and like everyone is meeting every single person, and everyone is like that, where as.., and you could.., it's like.., yea everyone is meeting with. Whereas here it's more of you just go to your own family, it's not.., even though there is community stuff, [...] whether have the fireworks and like they all the shops were open going down

and they've got all this shopping part of that atmosphere and going to visit your families, and greeting them and wishing them like 'Happy New Year' and everything, it's different, because it's all.., it's not as open in terms of.., it's not like one.., it's just you and your families, really, and a few friends, whereas there it's everyone, and you can feel it. (LE/Interv3/F22)

It's different, the feel is different, maybe they are celebrating the same way it's celebrated in India, all the religious stuff or all the pooja and it's same, but the feel is different, out on the way, the feel is different. There you kind of enjoy more, and because it's everywhere, everyone is doing the same thing. (LE/Interv1/F34)

Despite the seemingly fully imitated circumstances, many research participants did not feel being part of the whole community events or they failed to perceive that the reproduced Indian festivals connected Indians thoroughly and united them under one single Indian community as back in the home place.

8.5. Social aspects of Gujarati people's spatial practices in Milan

8.5.1. Regrouping on ethnic and religious basis / opening towards other ethnicities

Interviewees revealed that the importance of family relations did not change by the movements; research participants, who arrived to Milan alone or lived without their family, missed their family from India. Those who migrated to Italy for work purpose with an intention of long-term settlement, attempted to reunify their family again after having established stable living circumstances. However, family reunification extended only to spouses and children. Although many of the research participants invited and hosted their elder parents for longer periods, they had no intention to encourage their parents to move to Italy, and neither their siblings nor other relatives were attracted to follow them. Consequently, everyday family space reduced to a nuclear family; parents and children, which was a very limited part of a family comparing to that of India, where joint families and close lodging in the neighbourhood contributed to keep physically close even more distant relatives from several generations.

Moreover, research participants did not find the habituated close neighbourhood-relations in Milan and they reported about very weak neighbourhood relations in general, what they explained with the 'closed door' environment and the closeness of people.

There is not a lot of interaction happened in the neighbourhood, because I feel that the neighbourhood is not so open, I don't know. Like I have been staying here since a month now, and I have still not seen the neighbours right beside me. (MI/Interv11/M26)

Although some Gujarati families concentrated in the same municipality, they did not live next to each other, but dispersed in the Italian neighbourhood, with which they did not find contact or did not experience it enough receptive.

Qua ognuno ha suo lavoro, ognuno ha per fatti suoi, tipo tu e la tua casa, io e mia casa, non si esce, si esce solo sabato e domenica. [...] Qua tu cucini, mangi per te, non vai dare al vicino qualcuno altra.⁴⁷ (MI/Interv22/F24)

Therefore research participants tried to develop human relations by other ways. The 'Gujarati Samaj of Milano' gradually formed since around 1997, when the first Gujaratis in Milan started to organise get together, and this organization is working effectually since around 2004. Therefore the Samaj was organized from the bottom, to satisfy the needs of local Gujaratis, as a result of their personal network.

Nostri padri erano, abitano prima sempre insieme; quando noi non c'eravamo. Quindi conoscevano le persone, mio padre conosceva suo padre, e c'è padre di un'altra amica. Allora prima, quando non c'eravamo da noi, loro abitano, tutti maschi abitano insieme, quindi già conoscevano tra di loro.⁴⁸ (MI/Interv22/F24)

Although the Samaj itself means a social community, in Milano it organised both on religious and ethnic basis, regrouping Hindu Gujaratis, and its first program was the regular common praying. Local ethnic community members formed tight relations by common activities, and while they assured support to each other, they relied heavily on the support of each other in the foreign environment.

⁴⁷ Here everybody has his own work, everybody has his own things to do, like you and your house, I and my house, they don't go out, go out only Saturday and Sunday. [...] Here you cook, you eat by yourself, don't go to give from it to the neighbour. (MI/Interv22/F24)

⁴⁸ Our fathers first lived always together; when we were not there. So they knew the persons, my father knew her father, and there is a father of another friend. So first, when we were not there, they lived, every men lived together, so they already knew each other. (MI/Interv22/F24)

Aiutiamo chi ha bisogno qualsiasi cosa, aiutiamo con soldi, se vuole aiutare, magari manca qualcosa, noi aiutiamo, quello è possibile per noi. Tra di noi aiutiamo tutto. Quello che riesce, fino dal aiutiamo, amici. Se uno che non c'ha a mangiare, aiutiamo anche a mangiare. Quello che è possibile, facciamo noi, incontriamo tutti, parliamo che lui c'ha problema, magari manca soldi, quello, quello, anche tanti perdono anche lavoro, tutti altri fanno quello che è possibile.⁴⁹ (MI/Interv20/M34)

Research participants who were member of the local Gujarati community, through the religious reunions became part of a larger social network, which extended to other cities in Northern Italy and regrouped Gujaratis from cities as Venice, Parma, or Torino. They kept a close relation with Gujarati families living there, visiting each other regularly.

Andiamo da amici, Vicenza o Venezia, vicino perché abitano il mio cugino, ogni tanto vado là. [...] Vado a Legnano, per trovare amici e basta. Ogni per una volta vieni loro poi andiamo noi, così.⁵⁰ (MI/Interv20/M34)

Research participants from the community univocally reported that in their social relations they did not care about the caste origin. While members came from different castes, the community itself was too small to even think about dividing it into further groups, therefore the small size had a positive unifying effect.

Siamo tutti di caste diverse, non c'è tutti sono le stesse caste, però noi non ci raggiungiamo con le caste che 'tu sei dall'altra casta', 'tu sei dall'altra casta'. Siamo indiani, e siamo

⁴⁹ We help who needs something, we help with money, if he wants help even if needs something, we help which is possible for us. Between us we help everything. What we can do, until that we help, friends. If someone has not to eat, we help also to eat. What is possible, we do, we meet all of us, we talk that he has problem, even if it misses money, this, this, also many lose their job, all others do what is possible. (MI/Interv20/M34)

⁵⁰ We go to friends in Vicenza, or the close Venice, because there live my cousin, every time I go there. [...] I go to Legnano, to visit friends, that's all. Once they come, then we go there, like this. (MI/Interv20/M34)

dalla stessa religione, stessa città, quindi non guardiamo le caste, siamo come unici, siamo tutti uguali.⁵¹ (MI/Interv22/F24)

However, the importance of caste and Gujarati origin stayed unchangeable in marriage. Young girls from the community, who recently got married or prepared to get married, had spouses or planned to select them from India, and they chose a spouse or were determined to choose one from Gujarat, from the same caste.

La nostra cultura non ci permette di sposare qualunque persona. Ci sono delle caste, e devono mantenere con delle caste. Io so quelle che devo mantenga la mia casta. Non posso sposare magari un punjabi. Non posso, almeno che non è una storia amore. Almeno ci sia love-marriage. Però bisogna mantenere le nostre tradizioni. Quindi anche lui è da Gujarat e dalla mia casta.⁵² (MI/Interv21/F24)

By these intentions and selections, the community anyhow preserved the social stratification, and contributed to a possible future regrouping associated with castes.

Community members' tendency to have closed community relations got projected to their intra-ethnic relations. Research participants who stably settled in Milan, and formed or founded their community, expressed their satisfaction with the group activities, and had a social life mainly within the community. Although they were aware that in Milan there were other, more significant Indian communities, as Punjabi, Bengali, and Goanese, the Gujarati Samaj community had not common activities with them, and members did not mix even for Hindu celebrations, because traditions were different according to origin within India too. The Samaj organised its own celebrations, which kept together Gujarati community, and at the same time narrowed ethnically the festival, as also I experienced on the occasion of Navratri (see in section 8.5.5.).

⁵¹ We are all of different caste, it isn't that everybody has the same caste, but we don't get the caste that 'you are from another caste', 'you are from another caste'. We are Indians, and we are from same religion, same city, so we don't keep the castes, we are like one, we are equal. (MI/Interv22/F24)

⁵² Our culture doesn't allow to marry whoever. There are castes, and they have to maintain with the castes. I know these that I have to maintain my caste. I cannot marry even a Punjabi. I cannot do this, at least it isn't a love story. At least it must be a love-marriage. However it needs to maintain our traditions. Thus he is also from Gujarat and from my caste. (MI/Interv21/F24)

The young generation, which came to Milan on their own for studying and working purposes, was not regrouped amongst them, because they were not fully aware of each other; the only common social position that they shared was their outstanding position of local Gujarati community. Student and worker youths had to face an unusual circumstance: the independence from the family. While youth's independence and freeness from limitation on their choice is quite usual in Western society (Côté and Levine, 2002), Indian students experienced it as a radical change. Youth had to manage their life without the direct help of their family, but they accepted the independence rather as a positive feeling.

It was a bit difficult in the first week, but after the first week I enjoyed a lot here. As in, people here are more independent, whereas in my place, in India, they are more dependent on their families, or their siblings or something like that, as in to do even their work, they are more dependent on others, and here people are more independent. (MI/Interv18/F22)

Moving to a faraway, different place, most of these youths met first time in their lifetime with individual decisions and individual responsibilities. Moreover, as they were not aware of the presence of Gujarati community, they felt that they left not only India, but also they got separated from the Indian society. By time, most students knew and made friendships with 1-2 other Gujarati students through their educational institution, but there remained students who did not come to know any other Gujarati.

A part of student participants showed or experienced signs of sticking to local Gujarati people before any other ethnicities, supposing that their own ethnic group members understand better their special needs and habits, and they communicate with each other easily. They favoured Gujarati assistance in the first place, and even then, they required rather Indian people's help, and preferred to support other Gujaratis and Indians as members of the same, ethnic and national group.

My college helped a lot in finding, and I have my Indian friends whom I.., I just came with nothing, just a suitcase to Milan and I had an Indian friend out here, he helped to stay with him for a few days, by the time I was staying with him, I found my new house, so I shifted. So yea, that is a good advantage of knowing people from your own country out here, because they help you, unintentionally – intentionally, you know. (MI/Interv15/F23)

When I came over here firstly, I met a friend of mine and I just told him..., he just asked me that ‘who are you? which is your caste?’ and I told like, ‘I am a Gujarati’. So as soon as he heard that I am a Gujarati, he told me that ‘even I have a Gujarati friend’ so I was like ‘ok, please give me his number so that I can contact him’ [...], and we both were like very happy, we spoke in Gujarati after so much of time in our language, and it was quite good feeling, like talking to him in Gujarati. (MI/Interv14/M25)

For some interviewees living alone was more than living outside the protection and without the support of the family. The separation highlighted the existence of self, as an individual entity, and the physical, material self-sufficiency got developed into a requirement for self-reliance, at the same time for a social independence not only from the family, but also from the collective social system of India.

When I was in India, I always had so much..., I mean my social life was completely packed, I always had something or the other to do all the time. But being here, you are by yourself. Ok, even if you share the apartment with 3 – 4 other people, but still you are by yourself, [...] you make your own commitments, you make your own choices. Whereas in India, the society makes choices for you, because if you have an occasion to attend, you have to attend, you don’t have a choice to say yes or no, you have to go, and here it’s like ‘ok, it’s your option’. (MI/Interv23/F25)

Some opinion suggested that Indian society has much more effects on individual’s life that putting individuals in joint families, surrounding them by mass of people on the streets and by a tight network of community relations, but this social concentration takes away individuals’ personal choices, pressing on them to act in the order of society. Experiencing social life in Milan without a surrounded Indian society, some students argued that Indian society fixes individuals’ social roles, which obstructs a personal, independent development.

This could be one of the reasons that many students tried to be part of the new place by leaving Indian social environment and entering into an open social life, what they felt an Indian society held back. The lack of surrounding Indian society, which should provide support and companionship, prompted students’ individual adaptation to the new environment. They wished not only to discover, but also to become similar to the new environment.

I don't want to meet specifically Indians all the time. [...] I have my college friends. Indians there as well, so we happen to meet Indians too, but there are very few Indians. In our college there are people from all over the places, we have all kind of friends.[...] I would not like to live like an Indian here, I would love to live like an Italian here, that's the main point, but I don't want to follow the same Indian traditions here. (MI/Interv7/M26)

However, any young student or worker research participant did not terminate the link to local Indian community. Many young interviewees mentioned that they learnt to evaluate in the new environment what they left behind, and how they can replace the important elements of old environment. They appreciated more the sense of belonging meeting people with common origin and they recalled the joy of accidental meeting with Indian, Bangladeshi, and Sri Lankan people.

When we enter the..., you know, we saw them and we just identified that 'yes, they are Indians', and they also identified us in Indians, so we didn't talk in Italian, we didn't talk even in English, we started talking in Hindi, and I mean..., you know, if you meet some old friend and some smile comes to your face, so that was the feeling, like 'oh! we have met some Indians. (MI/Interv16/M26)

As time passed, they began to miss the Indian social environment, so they contacted different associations to get involved into Indian social activities, and also searched for substitution of regional ethnic community relations through other ethnicities. They participated in cultural events that are popular all over India, and they highlighted that they visited events of other Indian communities, like the Bengalis.

I find there is possibly like only one community, which we really interacted, is the Bangladeshi community, because they understand the West Bengal, the Bangla, the language, some of them. There are lot of people from Bangladesh, lot of people from Bengal here from India, and Bangladesh is a different country. So they celebrate Durga Pooja, which also we celebrate, so that's how we communicate. (MI/Interv25/M26)

My personal research experience also supports this fact; when I participated in Durga Pooja organised by the Bangla Cultural Association, I met some Gujarati students there (see section 8.5.5.). Indian cultural events gave a lot of positive emotions

for student and young worker research participants, as they told, because due to these programs they could stay connected to their home place. Some of them recognized that while in India they were not attracted by these special events, because social life and happenings naturally surrounded them, in Milan living in lack of those surroundings they discovered the loss and searched to find them again.

Besides Indians, they developed social relations with other nationalities. As education and work place offered an international environment, with a high opportunity to get to know other nationalities, they extended their relationship to various nationalities besides Italian, such as Turkish, Greek, Chinese, Vietnamese, Portuguese, Iranian, Columbian youth. Students promoted their culture through these relationships, so even these relationships contributed to express and maintain their values attached to the home place.

Well, there are interesting that there are lot of Italians here who are really interested in Indian music and art, so I have met a few people, who play Indian classical music and who dance ‘Bharatnatyam’ and Indian music, not specifically Gujarati but.., so that’s a quite interesting thing for me, I never expected that there will be so many people actively involved in Indian culture and musics, I am talking about non-Indians, Italians.
(MI/Interv10/M25)

However, many student participants argued that the intensity of their relationship was not close to the level habituated in India, and they complained about aloneness and isolation in Milan.

8.5.2. Performance of religious rites

As I showed in previous section how much difference resulted in Gujarati immigrants’ social relations according to if they were members of the local Gujarati community or lived outside of it, the ethnic membership influenced the spiritual life too. Because the Gujarati Samaj was organised not only on a common ethnic base, but also on a common religious base, membership affected the members’ spiritual life; in which kind of places and in which manner they could practice their religion. Community members practiced Hinduism as high level as the new place permitted it, but these

circumstances were different for those who lived outside of the community and had to re-invent individually the Hindu religious rites.

I must point out another difference, which was gaping between community members and independent youth. Contrarily to community members who were practicing Hinduism intensively before the migration, some students practiced less or irregularly their religion in India, so they arrived with less religious commitment. They confessed about their life in India that ‘there is no strong ritual that we follow’ (MI/Interv7/M26), or ‘I didn’t follow any rituals, and specially for the daily I didn’t follow any’ (MI/Interv19/M26). A part of students had less religious interest, which is important to know, because as we will see, students practiced also less or in different manner Hinduism, compared to the community members.⁵³

Community leader and members of Gujarati Samaj told that initially there was not much activity, because the community’s size remained very small. Three Gujarati family came together and rented a Hall for regular weekend meetings in order to pray together.

Dieci anni fa non era niente, dieci anni fa solo facevamo un piccolo incontro, magari due famiglie, tre famiglie, perché anche le case erano piccole. Adesso ci sono le case grandi, ma prima era solo una camera, magari solo un soggiorno. Non è che c’era un incontro speciale. [...] Ma sabato, domenica, sì, sì, solo quello. Anche le feste non si facevamo perché appunto la comunità era piccola, e ragazzi erano piccoli, perché noi tutti così bambini dieci anni fa, non c’è uno dodici-tredici anni. Quindi non faceva tanto, diciamo.⁵⁴
(MI/Interv21/F24)

⁵³ Maybe this was the main point during the research, when I felt myself in a rather privileged situation, as I was aware of the local community religious practice and I had the occasion to share this possibility with those students who were searching for it. That I did not do it, it was because I felt, it would be an external intervention in immigrants’ process of adapting to the new environment by their own efforts, and because the community itself did not proclaim its programs in a wide circle that could reach students, although they must have been aware of this kind of Hindu Gujarati presence.

⁵⁴ Ten years ago there was nothing, ten years ago we did only a small meeting, perhaps two families, three families, because also the homes were smalls. Now there are big homes, but first it was only a room, maybe only a living room. There wasn’t any special meeting. [...] But Saturday, Sunday, yes, yes, only these. Even the festivals we didn’t do because at that time the community was small, and children were small, because all of us like children ten years ago, there wasn’t anybody 12-13 years old. So we didn’t do much, we can say. (MI/Interv21/F24)

Then on one hand, the community's size increased and they invented more and more religious events. On the other hand, the network was extended to outside of Milan too. Although Gujarati families from other cities did not participate on the weekend prayers, they reinforced the special occasions.

Fuori Milano anche dire che Parma, Torino, loro vieni, però quando c'è grande festa indiana, loro vieni. Noi chiami, anche telefonata, e-mail, che questo giorno, questo giorno c'è grande festa, e loro vieni Parma, Torino, Venezia, Roma. Loro non è tutte sabato vieni, perché lontano, [...] ma quando c'è grande feste indiano, in anno vieni due-tre-quattro festa che grande, noi chiamo, loro vieni.⁵⁵ (MI/Interv24/M40)

The Gujarati Samaj resolved to continue the habitude of regular common prayers by renting a hall that functions as a temple.

The weekend congregation started in the evening in a small hall, with the participation of around 20-25 people, amongst them children too. People left shoes in front of the hall door, in the corridor, before entering in the hall. A table written with Gujarati character stood in the corner, because before the religious get together children had a Gujarati language course. Women also brought food for a common dinner, which waited in covered pots. Tables pushed together served as an altar, keeping a small idol of deity and his small image, and people put two blankets on the floor and they set down in two groups; the men closer to the altar, the women behind them. When the ceremony began, mainly young boys were present; men arrived directly from work a little later. An elder woman began to sing a devoted song and guided the melody, and all women joined and accompanied intensively, while boys sang rather timidly and quietly. Before starting the songs, a young women distributed the paper copies of the text amongst the participants. Later men arrived and served live music for the songs, they played tabla, khanjari⁵⁶, and manjeera⁵⁷, and men and women began to sing the first line of actual song in turn.

⁵⁵ Outside of Milan also like Parma, Torino, they come, but when there is a big Indian festival, they come. We call, also by phone, e-mail, that this day, this day there is a big festival, and they come from Parma, Torino, Venice, Rome. They don't come every Saturday because it's far, [...] but when there is a big Indian festival, two-three-four festivals are in a year, which are big, we call them, they come. (MI/Interv24/M40)

⁵⁶ Traditional Indian musical instrument, a wooden frame with jingling disks fitted into the frame

⁵⁷ Traditional Indian musical instrument, a pair of small hand cymbals connected with a cord

Singing lasted one and half hour, when in the next hall of building another activity began by Italian residents and its loud accompanying rock music almost exceeded the devotees' song. Devotees told that it happens every week. Soon they began the praying ceremony, which was kept without a priest, as he was not available in Milan. Then they finished the evening with a common dinner, consuming the food brought there. (MI/Field Observ)

Consequently, meetings on Saturdays meant an occasion to preserve religious traditions and to enjoy a social get together at the same time. However, its primary purpose was to keep the contact with God.

Durante il weekend, sabato come ho detto prima facciamo la preghiera di tre ore [...]. Con tanta gente. Con la mia famiglia, con altre famiglie, c'è un po' di gente. Per mantenere diciamo in contatto con dio. [...] Anche in India facevo, sì. Poi stavamo facendo anche qui, quindi mi stavamo collegato.⁵⁸ (MI/Interv21/F24)

At the same time the continuation of common prayers meant not only to keep contact with God, and also with community members, but to keep contact with those customs and lifestyle that they were habituated of in India, and maintain that kind of social and religious environment. Community members also visited the temple of Bergamo at special occasions, e.g. the celebration of Janmashtami.

Andiamo noi al tempio, notte di là. Janmashtami, queste quando Hare Krishna, dio Krishna è nato. Questo giorno è nato questo dio. [Vado a Bergamo] la sera alle otto, poi notte torno alle tre. Mangiare là, pregare, fare così, siedo così, parlare canzone, poi mangiare.⁵⁹ (MI/Interv24/M40)

⁵⁸ During the weekend, Saturday as I've already told you, we do a pray of three hours [...]. With many people. With my family, with other families, there is a bit of people. To maintain, we could say, contact with God. [...] I did it also in India, yea. Then we are doing also here, so we are staying connected. (MI/Interv21/F24)

⁵⁹ We go to the temple, for a night there. Janmashtami, this is when Hare Khrisna, God Krishna was born. On this day was born this god. [I go to Bergamo] at 8 in the evening, then I return at 3 in the morning. I eat there, pray like this, sit like this, singing songs, then eat. (MI/Interv24/M40)

Special occasions like that enriched Hindu Gujarati immigrants' religious life, and offered an opportunity to enjoy some rites in their habitual environment, even Milanese Hindus could not go every week to the temple because of the distance.

Those Gujaratis, who are community members, settling stably and possessing a common hall for religious, cultural, and social purpose, could continue to practice their regular religious rites in almost the same manner, however in a very deficient environment. Contrarily to them, students had to face the complete absence of a Hindu temple and also the complete absence of a Hindu Gujarati community. For those students, who practiced religious rites before the movement, this kind of reduction of the religious environment influences negatively their spirit to pray.

[I pray] actually in Milan not quite often, because like you know, because I have this habit of going to temple and pray, but there are no temples here, so..., but yea, I do pray sometimes, you know, like wherever, you know, whenever I get time. (MI/Interv13/F26)

There were other students, who confessed weak engagement in Hindu practices. Some of them were awakening just by deficiency of local environment to understand what they lost from around them. They began to rediscover the Hinduism and renew their relationship with it by the available tools, e.g. praying in the Duomo, or they picked up the practice of Hindu religious rites in a way that they did not habituated in India before.

After coming here, I have started listening to a lot of Indian prayers, which was a bit uncommon for me when I was in India, because I wouldn't do that, I took it for granted. And now after coming here, there are many mornings when I just wake up, I put on Youtube and I am listening to these things, which was a bit astonishing for me, because I didn't imagine I would ever do that, because I am not a very religious person. (MI/Interv23/F25)

While others, who stated that they do not need to practice their religion in formal manner or so intensively, did not seek a religious environment and community.

Based on the interviews I could draw a general ascertainment that movement to the new environment changed not only the conditions of a religious practice, but also it changed the attempt of practicing. The new environment caused a transformation in the

quality of rites, obligated immigrants to invent new forms of rituals, and by this many research participants rediscovered the importance of rites. Students, being not aware of the community were unable to perform a part of rites or they managed them on even more limited or highly different manner. Unfortunately the existing sample was not enough large to decide definitely that generally students' weaker religious practice is the consequence of the lack of contact with the local religious community, or of their originally less religious interest. There were interviewees who expressed their need to continue the practice of their religion, they called for a Hindu religious place in Milan, and probably they would accept pleasantly, if they can visit the community's religious hall. From those students who arrived with less religious commitment, some rediscovered the practice of rites in another form, while others continued their life without being touched by a local religious agent.

8.5.3. Participation in ethnic community-activities

As local community-membership determined immigrants' social acts, which aimed to maintain their relationship with their home place left behind, the lack of membership also influenced basically the possibilities and acts of Gujaratis, who were left out from certain social activities. In Milan there are not many, but minimum 3-4 organizations which provide Indian, Hindu, or Gujarati festivals and programs, and these events meant the main possibility for research participants to meet the local Gujarati or Indian community.

One of the main organizations was the 'Gujarati Samaj of Milano'. Research participants said that they started to organise social activities to bring back the feeling of India, especially its spiritual content. Because the Gujarati Samaj started to work due to the personal network, and it was organised by the local community, the news of the events too spread primarily within the community. Initially the Samaj's activity was limited to religious activities; regular common prayers, religious events and festivals, and the Hall functioned as a temple. But as the community developed by time, they involved more activities which are not usually assured by temples in India. They arranged common dinners at the end of weekend religious ceremonies, and they began to provide cultural and religious education to the community's young Gujarati children.

Since around 2005-2006 some members also participate in Milan's cricket matches, forming a cricket group.

Samaj activities kept together Hindu Gujaratis on three levels. Firstly, they reinforced the familial links. On one hand by their events they gave occasions to family programs, on the other hand they treated families as a participating unit, and divided the preparations and works between families. Typically cooking was an activity that families did in rotation, every weekend another family cooked for the community dinner, shifting each other. Secondly, the activities obviously reinforced the links between the community members. Families cooperated in the organization and shared its charge, members from far cities visited and participated in community festivals, and thus met time by time. Thirdly, Samaj activities, especially the cricket helped to integrate the Gujarati community into the Indian and Asian community, as other Indian ethnic communities, like the Punjabi, but also Asian nationalities, like the Pakistanis had a cricket team with which Gujaratis played matches. Furthermore, cricket was the only tool to have common activities with Italian people, who had also their own team, and Gujarati community could show themselves on international level too, as British also arrived to play cricket.

Nevertheless, those Gujarati students and workers who arrived for a concrete period and were not aware of the community activities, found other organisations and were engaged with other activities. Most of them contacted the Indian Association of Northern Italy, which functioned since the 1980s, growing up from the Indian Association of Milan. Students came to know about the Association through various ways, like Facebook, where the Association advertised Indian festivals or through the Consul General of India in Milan, when they searched for Indian festivals in Milan or meet Gujarati people or participating in Indian social activities. The Indian Association organised Indian festivals, in which students took part as passive participants, except one of them who played sarod⁶⁰.

I came to know that there is this Indian community, they organize a function, so somebody just suggested me that 'you know, you...,' they knew that I play this instrument, 'so you

⁶⁰ A classical Indian, stringed music instrument.

come, perform'. [...] Since I performed there, people started knowing me and then you know they started inviting me for the things. (MI/Interv10/M25)

Taking an active role in community events, he regularly performed in musical events for the festivals and other events, as a member of Cultural Committee of the Indian Association.

8.5.4. Partial celebration of passages in Hindu life

In Milan there was not any publically available Hindu religious service, neither to organize and arrange a ceremony, nor to guide it, therefore the deficiencies of local Hindu religious environment made difficult to keep the rites of passage, that of marriage, birth, and death, which indicate the main stations in a Hindu's life.

Amongst interviewees four persons married recently or were preparing to marry in the near future, all of them community members, and all of them returned or planned to go to India for the ceremony. One reason of their decision was to meet again with the family members and share this highly important celebration with the whole, large family. The other reason was the necessity, because in Milan there was not any Hindu temple, there was not any Hindu priest.

[Organizzare un matrimonio a Milano] non è facile, perché non abbiamo un priest, cioè colloquierebbe un priest. Deve fare matrimonio, fare come cristiani. Andare al Comune e firmare e basta. Però non religioso, secondo me questo non posso fare. Oppure bisogna da chiamare, c'è possibilità a chiamare da Londra, da Inghilterra qualcuno chi viene celebrare il matrimonio.⁶¹ (MI/Interv12/F23)

The next main rite of passage should be the first child's birth, which in India they celebrated with the participation of female relatives together, in a larger familial circle, and a priest indicates the initial syllable of the baby's name. In Milan, the lack of family members and religious services obstructed to celebrate the first child's birth in the traditional manner.

⁶¹ [To organize a Hindu wedding ceremony in Milan] is not easy, because we haven't any priest, that is, it would call a priest. We have to make wedding, make it as a Christian. Go to the city hall and sign, that's all. But not religious, according to me I can't do this. Or it needs to ask, this is possible to ask from London, UK somebody who comes to celebrate the wedding. (MI/Interv12/F23)

[In India] fanno la festa, dopo dodici giorni decidiamo il nome, arriva tutti parenti. [...] Qui non abbiamo parenti, abbiamo amici, quindi non facciamo la festa.⁶² (MI/Interv6/M30)

There were families who wished to have the presence of a priest too, but they were obligated to ask a priest from the UK, which meant a heavy financial burden.

Quando qui una donna è incinta e c'è la festa di primo bambino, ogni tanto noi chiamo da Inghilterra un priest che viene qua e fa questo religioso.⁶³ (MI/Interv12/F23)

But maybe the organization of third rite of passage; the rite of death was the less feasible, because of the young age of community these people did not face the death till now, and there was not any precedent to organize a funeral in Milan. Gujarati immigrants even did not have any idea that which activities the common law would permit in this case, and in what measure and in which way they might reproduce the traditional Hindu ceremony of death in Milan.

Questo non è successo mai, così non lo so niente. Se adesso successo qualcosa, non sappiamo niente a fare. Non lo so niente ancora.⁶⁴ (MI/Interv17/M48)

While the lack of an institutional religious presence compelled the research participants to perform the rite in a highly reduced form or demanded extra sacrifice from them to restore the original rites, the small community-size, the families' reduction to nuclear families took out one important reason and meaning of the rites: their family reunifying role. Consequently, these rites, which have outstanding and special importance in Hindu people's life otherwise, because of the deficiency or lack of use atrophied in the Milanese Hindu diaspora.

⁶² [In India] they do the celebration, after twelve days we decide il name, every parents arrive. [...] Here we don't have any parents, we have friends, therefore we don't do the celebration. (MI/Interv6/M30)

⁶³ When here a woman is pregnant and there is the celebration of first child, every time we ask a priest from England to come here and do this religious thing. (MI/Interv12/F23)

⁶⁴ This never happened, so I don't know anything. If now it's happening with anybody, we don't know nothing what we can do. I don't know anything yet. (MI/Interv17/M48)

8.5.5. Private celebration of festivals

While Hindu festivals in India unify people, same festivals in Milan divided Gujarati immigrants, as they were organized in parallel on one hand by the ‘Gujarati Samaj of Milano’, and on the other hand by the Indian Association. The news of festivals provided by the Samaj dispersed primarily amongst the members and their contacts; consequently mainly community members participated in them. At the same time, the festivals offered by Indian Association were widely broadcasted over internet; their website and on the Facebook, and they attracted not only Gujaratis who were not members in the Samaj, but also other Hindu Indian ethnicities. Naturally, the same types of festivals distinguished from each other not just because of their governing body and participants, but because these factors involved other variances too.

The Gujarati Samaj organized two main festivals of Hindu Gujaratis: the Diwali and the Navratri, that community members celebrated in more levels: at home with the family, and with the community too. Immigrants tried to reproduce not only the activities of festivals, but by their timing they linked to India, because they assigned the exact day for the activity when it is happening in India.

Against their all efforts to reproduce these festivals in Milan, the events stayed below the spirit of festivals in India, for which research participants remembered a little yearning. One of the main deficiencies of festivals in Milan was just due to their limited participants; because the involvement was narrowed mainly to community members, the celebration passed in a small scale, which was very unlike to the vastness of Indian festivals.

Qua festa di Diwali è gente pochi, quindi che vedono li, e troviamo e pregiamo e mangiamo qualcosa, e ogni uno grande, due grande linea, e pregare 'namaste' con altri facciamo, e basta, è questo, non è propria festa come in India qua.⁶⁵ (MI/Interv2/M47)

Tutte le feste che abbiamo noi, sono festi grandi. C'è qua che la gente è poca, però in India queste feste sono grandi, c'era persone lo fanno contenta, diciamo, per tutto diciamo.

⁶⁵ Here at festival of Diwali there are few people, therefore they see and find each other there, and we pray and eat something, and everybody is in one big, two big lines, and we do the pray 'namaste' with others, that's all, this is not a proper festival like there in India. (MI/Interv2/M47)

Allora festa grande. [...] Infatti, abbiamo qui la problema, ma in India è molto grande, perché in India tutte le parti lo fanno, è grande, festa è grande.⁶⁶ (MI/Interv5/M21)

Because of the few participants, the celebration of Diwali contained a much more modest program; community members met in a bigger rented hall, they prayed together, and sitting in lines on the floor they enjoyed the food made for this special occasion.

Navratri was the very first festival that the Gujarati Samaj organized for its members, in 2008. Research participants told that now more families participate than at that time, but the celebration remained in the frame of the Samaj.

Navratri happened in a greater hall, the same where the community celebrated the Diwali. It lasted for eight nights, properly on same days as in India. Community members decorated the hall for the occasion by hanging coloured garlands, textiles, and putting huge images of gods on the wall. Women wore specially decorated sarees, and in the same way significant part of men and children too wore traditional clothes. They celebrated the occasion by dancing from the evening, making half of the circle by women, some of whom danced with their babies in their arms, and the other half of circle by men. Sometime they formed a circle only by women or only by men, varying the dancing steps. Dance was followed by a common dinner in the late evening, and then program closed towards midnight. (MI/Field Observ)

However, the festival far stayed behind which are organized in India, from more points of view. An interviewee, who celebrated Navratri not only in India and Milan, but in the UK too, found that Milanese festival has the same deficiency as the UK one, yet the gap between the original festival and its foreign reproduction was even more deep concerning Milan. Firstly, because of the different work regulations people cannot afford to dance all night long, ‘in UK as well and here also we stop that dancing at 12 o’clock or 1 o’clock, in India we start at 11 and we stop at 5 o’clock in the morning, so we worship at 5 o’clock’ (MI/Interv16/M26). Secondly, the largeness and particular

⁶⁶ Every festival that we have is a big festival. This is here that people are few, but in India these festivals are big, there were persons who did it joyful, we can say, for everybody, we can say. So big festivals. [...] Indeed, here we have a problem, but in India it is big, because in India all part they did it, it is big, big festival. (MI/Interv5/M21)

ambiance of the festival in India is already given by the large number of the participants, but ‘here it’s very small gatherings, like only 40 or 50 people will meet. [...] So in India it would be huge, but here since we don’t have that many people, it will be very small’ (MI/Interv16/M26). Thirdly, open space expresses the monumentality of festival, but on one hand, people in Milan are bound to celebrate in a closed space because of the weather, on the other hand, this space also is very tight because of the community’s small size, members’ small-scale performance and activities. ‘It’s inside the house or inside the building, like in India it will be open air, it will be in a cricket ground, and it will be open, and there would be very loud music’ (MI/Interv16/M26). At last, fourthly, the material sacred elements too are much less richer and intense, only a modest reminder of the sacred materials are used. In India ‘we will place statue of our god and around that we will dance in circles’ (MI/Interv16/M26), but here only garlands and gods’ wall images give a ceremonial frame for the event.



Figure 35: Navratri-celebration by the Gujarati Samaj, Milan

Although non-community member interviewees had lesser occasions to practice religious rites, they showed a general care about participation in Hindu festivals, even they came to Milan for just one or two years. Most of them were searching for attending Navratri, Diwali, and Holi, and they found the latest two, organized by the Indian Association. Contrarily to Navratri, these two festivals did not link specially to any ethnicities within India, consequently had mix, larger quantity of Indian audience.

The Indian Association rented a small theatre hall for the celebrations, which they use for all events throughout the year.

It was a huge crowd, I mean like I don't know from wherever people came in, maybe around 500 people will be there. [...] not all of them were Indians. There were our friends, some Italians, people who know them, like Indians who settled here for years and years, they know some Italians, they want to celebrate Diwali, all that. So they came over there also, and it's quite strange that the lady spoke in English and Italian. [...] The host, the main host who was there, she spoke in Italian and English, because lot of Italians they don't know English, so she has to speak in Italian also. [...] And there they showed all the dances, different – different regions, they did some quiz contest and giving some gifts and all, showed what Diwali., eating and celebration, all that happened, but it's a very close., for us Diwali is to show., it's a return of a god, to our country, to the place where he belongs to, when he was exiled and then he came back, home. (MI/Interv25/M26)

While the participating students expressed that festival provided a kind of return to their country, to the place where they belong to, some of them regretted that the 'journey' could not be complete, as in Milan it was not possible to reproduce the same festival environment. Others complained that Diwali in Milan was rather a passive show than an interaction between people.

Here is not like India. Not with fireworks, but only with important singers, Indian singers or the other dancers. And all we watch them. (MI/Interv9/M28)

However, research participants thought that rather the local given circumstances are responsible for the deficiencies than the community and the organisers.

I think the fact that they were celebrating Diwali in the city like Milan, they're trying level best, I think, I won't say they are reaching there, but they've done their best. Because Indian people are more close to their festivals, and culture, so I think the Indian community is trying to do that, they are trying to get their festivals here, they are trying to celebrate it here, so that, you know, we don't miss the home, because that's the point when we miss home maximum, during festival time. So I think they are trying their level best. (MI/Interv13/F26)

Anyhow, just because festivals are important to Indian people, they found other ways too to celebrate them; many students made a simple get together, celebrating in a private circle and sharing the events with other nationalities; friends from worldwide. Festivals, besides they provided an opportunity for students to stay in contact with the place of origin and feel themselves at home, were tools too to share the culture with other people and surpass the ethnic borders.

Next to Diwali, Holi is the other main Hindu celebration organised by the Indian Association.

They had a dance program, a musical program, and there were some kids performing on the stage, and.., yea they had like a small dinner, and then a DJ, who was playing. It was not typically how Holi celebrations are in India, of course. But I think it was a nice small way of creating a Holi moment, in Milan, in Italy, away from home. It was nice to be there. (MI/Interv23/F25)

This festival too attracted Indians from every state. However, the event interpreted the celebration of Holi in a more elastic manner, emphasising rather its social than the religious side, and comparing to the Diwali the general interest towards it was less. Many research participants, although they were informed about it, did not participate in it.

Even less Gujaratis visited the festival of Durga Pooja. Durga Pooja is an annual Hindu festival, the most popular religious-socio-cultural event in West Bengal and Tripura states, but spread to the whole India and it is celebrated in Gujarat too. In Milan the Bangla Cultural Association organised the Durga Pooja.

Durga Pooja was kept in a rented theatre hall, and mainly West Bengali and Hindu Bangladeshi people (as Bangladesh was formed from east part of Bengal), who are a huge community in Milan, participated in it, but it had some Gujarati visitors too. This event was rather a cultural show, presenting musicians, singers, dancers from India, while organisers distributed pre-prepared food for the participants. But they organised also a praying part of the festival, where the participants could go to the murti of Durga, and other smaller murtis of gods in order to pray and offer prasad. (MI/Field Observ)



Figure 36: Music performance on classical Indian instruments during Durga Pooja, Milan

The murti of Durga plays a principal role in the rite. At the end of the festival, devotees traditionally immerse the murti into a river or other water, leave it to sink (the rite is called Visarjan), and for the next year celebration they use a new idol. But because the transportation cost is very high from India to Italy, and there is no workshop from where they could replace the murti, Milanese community performs the rite with the same murti since years.

Here they are doing it since 10 years I think, the same idol, because they said that ‘the transportation costs’ [...] So.., yea they said that they cannot do the ‘Visarjan’ which is requisite for our culture. So it’s quite strange that we have to adopt to something, so they have this holy water, they put the holy water after the celebration and they put the idol in the storage, because it’s very difficult to get anything of that sort in Milano, and you don’t find anything, any shop or any one who makes such kind of idol in Italy specially. [...] So it’s quite strange I find something like this where I want to practice my religion but I cannot do it, in such kind of conditions, so it is not welcoming in that sense. (MI/Interv25/M26)

The last big annual public Hindu festival in Milan is the Rathayatra, which is provided by the ISKCON as the only open-air celebration.



Figure 37: Pulling one of the chariots of Rathayatra, Milan

During the celebration, a line of chariots departed from behind the Castello Sforzesco, accompanied by Hare Krishna-Hare Rama devotees, running through the main high streets of Milan’s centre. Being a public Hindu festival and also spectacular one, its grandeur attracted gaping audience of local residents and tourists on the border of streets.

The march arrived to the Giardini Indro Montanelli, where they established the chariots and presented devotional songs, dances, and prasad. The participants, arriving primarily from the local Hare Krishna community, were majorly Italian people. (MI/Field Observ)

Probably their belonging to another ethnicity and other religious direction causes that - although the same society operates the temple in Bergamo that Gujarati community members usually visit -, neither Gujaratis nor other Indians do not really take part in this festival.

8.6. The quality of social transformation and the sense of local place in Milan

Hindu Gujarati immigrants' activities in Milan; the regrouping on ethnic and religious basis, opening towards other ethnicities, performance of religious rites, participation in ethnic community-activities, celebration of passages in Hindu life, and private celebration of festivals were only partly visible in urban public places, and many of them were realized within community places, so their effects on Milan's public social environment remained weightless. But that did not mean that the developed social life was not able to re-bring the sense of home place for research participants in certain measure by certain practice. The foundation and function of Gujarati Samaj reinforced its members' positive self-esteem by reconstructing Hindu Gujarati community life. Research participants outside of the community, although they did not try to regroup themselves on ethnic or religious basis, searching Indian companionships acknowledged the cultural and social values of India and positively associated themselves with their home place towards other nationalities. The community was able to manifest a distinctive lifestyle and transfer certain characteristics of home place to the settlement place by common religious practice and social activities, satisfying the desire to preserve a distinctive and continuous identity attached to the home place. While students found some other opportunities by which they could keep contact with their home place and express their origin, they willingly mixed with and assimilated to the new environment at the same time. Neither students, nor community members felt them self-efficacious to manage their daily function in the new urban environment and

transform it to the image of their habituated social environment, therefore their shaping activities limited to small places; to the community halls.

Although research participants were not able to carry over the extended family relations to the settlement place, a part of interviewees successfully integrated into the Gujarati Samaj. Local social relations and therefore activities would be heavily limited in Milan, if they were kept within Milanese Gujaratis. Gujarati Samaj members opened geographically and they made contact with Gujaratis from other Italian cities, while independent youths opened their relationships rather ethically. Members supported in all areas each other, and a strong cooperation formed between them in order to carry out community activities.

Spiritual activities; rites and ceremonies received extra weight to assure a homely sense for research participants, especially if they were not members of the Samaj. Members tried to reconstruct the elements of the original tradition, however they could not accomplish a perfect recreation of religious rites.

Non ancora abbiamo cambiato nessuna tradizione, magari siamo facciamo meno cose rispetto a quello dell'India, però comunque c'è, non abbiamo cambiato niente. Vedi che cosa, magari in India facciamo più, più riti, più tradizione, invece noi qua facciamo meno.⁶⁷
(MI/Interv12/F23)

Just because rites and celebrations were flexibly formable within certain limits without losing their original meanings, they were able to offer to immigrants what the rigid material environment or the weaker social relations could not give: an environment, which was transformable, reinforced togetherness, and made a bridge between the home and the new place. Even if material sacred environment was more modest, rites filled the space and reassured the belonging to the place of origin, preserving one dimension of its environment.

[Ho mantenuto la mia origine] perché facciamo alcune cose in casa, poi stiamo facendo anche le feste, e poi noi ogni sabato facciamo una specie di preghiera di due ore e qualcosa,

⁶⁷ We didn't change any tradition yet, but we are doing fewer things compared with that of India, though we didn't change anything. You see this thing, but in India we do more, more rites, more tradition, on the contrary here we do less. (MI/Interv12/F23)

e quindi facendo la preghiera noi abbiamo tenuto la nostra cultura, le nostre tradizioni e le nostre usanze.⁶⁸ (MI/Interv21/F24)

At the same time spiritual festivals, whether organised by the Samaj, the Indian Association, or other society, functioned as important social platforms, where people could find new relations in place of families and neighbours left behind, and they could share common ethnic and religious membership.

Really nice to organise such things [like Holi festival], it's good, like people who really miss and who want to engage, and if they are free, they can go and enjoy these festivals here organised and meet people from India and more communicate with more people out here and if they have any problem, they can spread a word and people can help always, and it's fun to meet new people, but the environment is not exactly the same. (MI/Interv15/F23)

Students took independent initiatives to organise festivals in private circle, and shared them with other nationalities, not only to feel themselves at home, but also promote the Indian culture.

[Diwali celebration] was organised by this Indian guy, in restaurant called 'Garam Masala.' So it was.., basically he called very few Indians, and we got our other friends, which were not Indians, we took like some Columbians, and some.., like in general, just to show how we celebrate Diwali. And that was more like a dinner, and then we even danced for some time, so that made you feel home, you know, like, dancing. (MI/Interv13/F26)

Moreover, on the basis of religious community, the Samaj extended its activities to sports and educational programs, therefore it was more able to replace in increasing measure the social life missed from India and offer such recreational activities which linked to the Indian culture, furthermore transfer Gujarati, Hindu values to the next generations growing up in the foreign environment.

⁶⁸ [I maintained my origin] because we do some things at home, then we are doing also the festivals, and then we do every Saturday a kind of pray of two hours something, and therefore doing the pray we kept our culture, our traditions, and our customs. (MI/Interv21/F24)

When I came here, we are few. So I don't have Indian, Gujarati friends, or Italiens so. Here nothing like India. But after some few years came the other people and we start to do some festivity, play some cricket, so it's more like India. (MI/Interv9/M28)

Because homely social ties and routines reactivated mainly in community centres, restaurants, and other enclosed public places, the reproduced social features of home place, such predictability and vivacity too limited mostly to these concrete places.

Due to activities that the community carry out, members still keep their identity linked to the home place, and for a recently arrived bystander their behaviour is as much 'Gujarati' as of Gujarati residents in Gujarat.

The way they dance, the way they talk, the way they wear clothes, the way they carry themselves, all things are same. I mean, there are people who are here from you know 15 years or from 20 years, but still they are like us. I mean, when I came first, I had fear in my mind that 'they will be like us or not', but they were like us only. (MI/Interv16/M26)

Some community members argued that original traditions probably will be transformed by time because of the circumstances. According to the age of members, the community is very young, but the necessary limited practice of rites foreshadows future community members' gradual separation from their origin, thus the whole community might lose its particularity and identity. Nevertheless, as actually the only source of increase of the community is the new spouses arrived from India, maybe these newcomers re-establish the direct link towards the place of origin and refresh the community's leaving practices from time to time.

8.7. Place-shaping activities at social level and social stratification

Regarding the activities' aims, most activities referred to a common aim of immigrants, both within a city and comparing them in the two cities: that they feel themselves in a homely social environment. The common directed force of activities was the shared regional ethnicity. But the quality of activities, that who and how did they carry out the activities, depended on immigrants' social attributes, to which social groups and categories they belonged. Sex, age, migrant status, caste, belief within Hinduism, and whether or not immigrants belong to an organised community; all these

categories influenced the place-shaping activities at social level. Table 13 summarizes in the case of one-one activities, which categories determine primarily that who and how do they carry out the activity.

The comparison of research results suggested that the main social category that fundamentally determined place-shaping activities in Leicester and Milan, and which caused the experienced differences in Hindu Gujarati immigrants' reconstructed social life, was the community membership. First of all, immigrants organized groups on common regional ethnic ground, but they got divided into smaller groups within it according their caste or religious belief within Hinduism. In Leicester, I did not find any research participant who was not linked to a group alongside these two categories. However in Milan, a part of Hindu Gujarati immigrants did not become member of any groups, and one single group was organised by Gujarati Hindus, not able to divide into smaller units because of its small size.

Table 13: Stratification of activities at social level.

	SEX	AGE	MIGRANT STATUS	CASTE	BELIEF WITHIN HINDUISM	COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP
Preservation of social relations	extended family relations in Leicester		social relations in Milan			
Maintenance of original community membership			group-membership in Milan	group-membership in Leicester		
Performance of religious rites and rites of passage				rite of marriage in Leicester and Milan	temple-activities in Leicester	temple-activities in Milan
Organisation and participation in religious festivals						festivals in Milan
Organisation and participation in expanded temple-activities	social and cultural activities in Leicester					social and cultural activities in Milan
Organisation and participation in activities which link to the ethnic culture	leisure-activities in Leicester					cricket in Milan
Use of media		media-use in Leicester				

In Milan, the group membership was determined by the pattern how immigrants arrived into the city. The fact whether research participants were member or not of the local community, influenced their accessibility to the practice of rites, the celebration of festivals, and their social and leisure-activities too.

As I mentioned above, in Leicester research participants maintain their social group membership according to their caste or religious belief. These two categories influenced that immigrants became members of which group, and then the group, especially if in the case of religious belief it was represented by a temple-community, shaped their practice of rites and the performed temple-activities. Caste-membership determined one special rite of passage; the rite of marriage, because most immigrants assured the preservation of belonging to a caste through generations, foremost by the marriage.

Gender was experienced to be important especially in place-shaping activities carried out in Leicester; female interviewees supported especially the maintenance of extended family relations, because it provided them support in the homework and companionship during the day. Women also visited more frequently the temple and passed more time there. In temple-activities women research participants tended to work with children, providing education, and women performed cooking and cleaning activities, while men rather assured the organisation work, having occupations like accounting and other administrative work. Regarding the leisure-activities in Leicester, where Hindu Gujaratis had many opportunities to choose activities linked to their traditions, girls rather participated in Indian singing and dance-courses, while boys chose sports-activities, like cricket.

Age firstly determined free-time activities. Research participants chose different activities if they were young or elders. Their relation to the media was also different, while elders preferred to read Gujarati newspapers in the library or at home and follow Indian television broadcast, youth rather used their computer, gained the news about their home place from the internet and kept contact with friends in India by the modern IT-technology. In Milan, students also used the internet to substitute rites, which were not available in the city, e.g. by listening to sacred, devoted songs. Elder people supported the maintenance of joint family system because of their increased vulnerability in the foreign environment.

Finally, there were some activities in Leicester, in which the participation was not divided according to any social categories. Hindu festivals, like Diwali and Holi, unified every Gujaratis and Indians, although they celebrated these festivals together with their groups too. Furthermore, those participants who had the occasion and the possibility celebrated the rites of passage too.

8.8. Effects of place on place-shaping activities

One of the most common aspects of interviews both Leicester and Milan was that research participants suffered from the lack of social life. Social life was most of all, what they missed from India, and they had a very strong opinion about that there is no social life in their new settlement place. As we think back to Gujarati people's outstanding need to live in an extended family, furthermore live integrated into the neighbourhood and move within the community, these requirements already indicated the importance of social relations and community life for immigrants. Therefore, it is not astonishing that they made intensive efforts to regain the homely sense of social life, even by religious practice, but the given features of settlement places also intervened into the realization of social life, supported or obstructed it.

The past colonial relations, by shaping migration pattern, contributed to the large number of Gujarati immigrants in Leicester, which positively influenced from many side Gujarati social life. Knowing that many Gujaratis lived in Leicester within their own ethnic community, during the interviews I tried to understand which factors were responsible for the weakness of Gujaratis' social relations comparing to their home place. Table 14 compares the positive and negative environmental effects on Gujarati immigrants' place-shaping activities at social level in Leicester and Milan.

Research participants indicated that a main factor of weakening family relations was the restriction on household size. In India they were habituated to evolve huge households with their relatives, but in the UK the regulation limited the number of persons in one household. Housing sizes represent another major obstacle in participants' effort to continue their personal life in a collective family space. Most of research participants moved into an already executed house, in many cases into one of the row houses with fix sizes, but the usual housing size in Leicester generally did not make possible to share the house with as many family members as they wished.

Table 14: Postive and negative effects on the transformation of social environment

	LEICESTER	MILAN
social environment		
history:	postcolonial ties + supply of Gujarati goods and services +	inadequacy of Gujarati goods and services -
geography:	weather -	
state authority:	policy promoting ethnic and religious diversity + household size - strict work schedule - holiday calendar schedule - safety and pollution regulation -	holiday calendar schedule -
urban planning:	housing size - lack of open spaces in residential areas -	lack of open spaces in residential areas -
society:	closed door environment - Gujarati Hindus' minority position +	closed door environment - Gujarati Hindus' minority position -
culture:	language + harder work culture - stronger consumer culture - time pressure - faster lifestyle -	language -

From the part of material environment, the local built environment did not favour also the usual social channels between Gujaratis, especially in the neighbourhood space. Interviewees argued that social life requires social places, those street places, terraces, which offer enough space physically for a meeting, and which are accessible for participants. On one hand, interviewees found that the houses were very closed, where closed doors and windows defended the private life, and obstruct the view to others' everydayness. The closeness of buildings resulted into incommunicative lives. On the other hand, they did not find enough space for common activities. The Victorian and Edwardian styled row houses and built-in streets were not adaptable for their

habitual outdoor activities, and they did not possess enough interior space even to accommodate all family members.

Weather was another given characteristic of the new place, which made difficult the social life. One component was the generally much colder temperature comparing to India, another was the shorter daytimes during winter, and lastly the frequent rain, which were the main characteristics of England's weather. Research participants told that on many occasions bad weather did not allow or rather discouraged them to organise outside get together, and negatively influenced their willing to leave the home.

While many Gujarati immigrants lived in Leicester in a Gujarati or Indian neighbourhood, and near to a temple, they did not keep a tighter contact even with their own ethnic community, and research participants argued that it was because 'no time', 'everybody is busy', 'people haven't got time'. Therefore, the next reason for the weaker social relations is the lack of time. Putnam notes that being busy 'is everybody's favourite explanation for social disengagement', not only of Gujarati immigrants (Putnam, 2000, p. 189). But what happens with Gujaratis in the UK that they feel themselves busier than they were in India?

Here, all, everybody is busy, they are going to morning to work, coming evening to home, and they are make cooking and still seating on a house, nobody is no going some anybody's house, yea? (LE/Interv34/F49)

The pressure of time usually links to the pressure of money (Putnam, 2000). In the UK Gujarati immigrants faced a menacing economic pressure; job insecurity and living stress, which urged more engagement with work.

Over here it's hard, one person cannot support the whole family, everyone has to work. So here mother has to work, father has to work, even kids have to work, to support their own fees and lifestyle and all that kind of things. So that's why people get busy over here, and there not much they get busy. [...] Plus the working hours are different over there, so that way it helps over there. (LE/Interv9/M23)

Many research participants mentioned that the strict work hours, which did not permit habitual interruptions as in India, also reinforced the feeling of reduced social relations. Although a part of Gujarati immigrants was self-employed and led their own

business, in the foreign land they had to prove their qualifications, and the pressure of profit again led them to the lack of free time. Research participants thought that being immigrants their priority first of all was to survive economically, therefore they confronted economic pressure by resettlement, and also time pressure at work place. A few interviewees mentioned furthermore the stronger consumer culture of Western world that motivated them in the UK to satisfy new, material needs, instead using time to gratify social needs. Finally, I must mention the feeling of research participants that while arriving to the UK they arrived to a fastest world too. This phenomenon seemingly touches everybody in their environment. Not only they do not have time for the neighbours, but neighbours also do not have time for them, whether they are immigrants or natives. Because of time pressure everybody's time is scheduled, visits to the neighbours are not spontaneous, but they have to be planned in advance, like every other social activities.

When on one hand ethnic diversity in Leicester assured social acceptance of immigrants, on the other hand they had to conform themselves to many different cultures existing in parallel in the city.

Here too many people you can found in very next door, like different – different country's people and different – different language, language is not big things but different – different country's people are here. So you don't, mostly they not straightaway rely on you, and as well as you can't rely on them, so that's the relation is less like high or lows, there is no big deep relation. Back in India you can make it big relation in, big relation between the people, because if you did something wrong to you, or if you then come through them, they can found you easily, but here you haven't got clue, so that's another factor to make a relation. (LE/Interv26/M41)

Some interviewees complained that they did 'have no clue', neither to know language for exchanging thoughts with different nationalities, nor to form with them deep relations because of mutual dependence based on their common immigrant status, nor to understand their culture. Of course, the factors, like weather, time schedule because of economic pressure and lifestyle, multicultural society, undermined not only neighbourhood relations, but intra-, and inter-ethnic social relations too in general.

In Milan, language meant a salient problem to make social relations outside of the Gujarati community. Research participants also faced with the closed door environment, and found people to be more closed than in India. Nevertheless, the research participants found that the very small size of community was a major drawback, which made difficult the progress of social relations. Because of the weak Gujarati presence, Gujarati goods and services were not available in adequate number and quality, and by preventing to perform rites and organise celebrations these factors too limited the occasions of get together. The most negative factors that Gujaratis faced in Leicester, like the housing size, the household size, the strict work schedule, or the time pressure, did not play for Milanese Gujaratis as contributive factors, because they did not find social relations around, for which they needed more place and time.

While in India people found the site of social relations in the neighbourhood, both in Leicester and Milan the temples became the most important locations (in case of Milan an alternative place for temple). I interpret this shift also as Gujarati social relations turn from private space towards public space. Social relations were no longer easily found at the doorstep, as people were living without an open neighbourhood, and they did not only inhabit closed houses, but themselves too became closed. Research participants' experiences in both cities showed that the losing of daily routine of socialisation was partly replaced by weekend religious rites and occasional celebrations.

In Leicester, research participants evaluated highly positively the local policy, which promotes the ethnic and religious diversity. Nevertheless, although Leicester hosts very significant festivals, which are sponsored by the City Council and/or supported by the local religious and cultural organisations, Gujarati residents had to face some restrictions. Firstly, weather again precluded the open-air celebrations, which would be important attribute of many festivals. Of course, an indoor celebration limited the numbers of participants. Restrictions worked against the spontaneity of Indian festivals loved by many interviewees, e.g. throwing the colours at Holi. However, some research participants found utile some regulative forces, which held back the impulsive and turbulent nature of festivals.

It's celebrated in the like system manners, in India we can celebrate but you know the people celebrate by their own ways, they want they do, like that way, and here

you need to go by systems, and it's like.., very good manners in that way, it is a respected celebration we can say that way. (LE/Interv26/M41)

Other restrictive factors touched Gujaratis both in Leicester and Milan. There were festivals, like the kite festival, which became unavailable for Hindus because of the built environment and authority regulations.

The celebration of kites we are not doing here, because the atmosphere and that's time and we have to go to.., there we celebrating on the house, because that house system is also like that, it's roof, plain roof and like that, houses are like that, so people got down on top floor and some big building is there, so they can have their kite celebration. [...] Here we can't do that because so many restrictions of the road and pollution all these thing. There the people enjoy even on the streets, everywhere they can move and they are doing that, if there is some place like this small place here, also they can fly the kites and everything, so there people are free. Here we have some restriction, we have to look for the others also, neighbours and all these things, so you cannot do it. (LE/Interv27/M55)

Celebrating the same day in the settlement place as in India is very important for Gujaratis, because time created a further link between the two places. But British and Italian holiday calendar is differently scheduled than Hindus habituated, considering local festivals and popular holiday events. Consequently, sometimes Hindu Gujaratis were obligated to organize their celebrations on distinguished dates than the Hindu calendar, putting and limiting the celebrations to weekends. This change shortened the festivals' traditional period, and reduced the time dedicated for common social activities. Working hours made difficult to maintain the main Gujarati festivals, for example the Navratri. As Gujarati community celebrates the Navratri with an all-night long dance during nine nights, they kept the tradition in Leicester and Milan too, participation in the festival obviously caused difficulties for those who had to start working at fixed morning time the next day. These differences, although weakened Hindu Gujarati immigrants and descendants' possibility to recreate the home place at social level, formed a solid element of the local regulations and customs and they were not bypassable.

8.9. Conclusion

This research unit aimed to examine how relocated people manifest and maintain their attachment towards the home place, shaping the social environment. It discovered many activities by which Hindu Gujarati immigrants preserved and expressed their identity attached to the social environment of India. The research presented in which ways immigrants' practice carried over from their home place modified the social aspect of settlement place, and how activities differed in Leicester and Milan according to the local opportunities and restrictions. In the former city, the key important place-shaping activities were the maintenance of extended family relations, the maintenance of social group membership, performance of religious rites, expansion of temple-activities, participation in leisure-activities connected to culture and tradition, celebration of passages in Hindu life, public celebration of festivals, and use of media for connectedness. In the latter city, the main activities contained the regrouping on ethnic and religious basis, the opening towards other ethnicities, performance of religious rites, participation in ethnic community-activities, partial celebration of passages in Hindu life, and private celebration of festivals.

Regarding the social stratification of place-making activities, gender, age, migrant status, caste, belief within Hinduism, and community membership were the key categories, which affected social practice. However, belonging to a caste and to a certain tradition of Hinduism, sex, and age were principal causal factors in Leicester within the categories, while in Milan first of all migrant status and the alternative whether immigrants were members of the local Gujarati community determined social life.

Concerning the influencing factors of settlement place, in Leicester the common historical ties and policy that supported the ethnic diversity, affected positively Gujaratis' social activities, unlike the other authority regulations, unfitted urban planning, and rather preventing cultural particularities. In Milan, research participants found mainly negatively influencing elements; their extreme minority position discouraged the recreation of homely social environment, and interviewees considered many other obstructing factors as consequences of weak Gujarati presence in the city. As both, the massive Gujarati settlement in Leicester and weak Gujarati presence in Milan, were the direct or indirect outcomes of postcolonial relations or of lack of those

relations, the experiences called attention again to the determining role of colonial past. Postcolonial relations between India and the UK determined not only the migrant pattern due to the facilitated access and language adeptness, but also through the caused migrant concentration they indirectly influenced migrants' opportunities, life conditions, and social practices in the settlement place.

Gujarati immigrants in both Leicester and Milan intended to vivify their social life from two sources, which referred to the two activating spirits of social life in India: the social relations and the spiritual congregations. Nevertheless, their ways were merely different in Leicester and Milan, even within Gujaratis in the cities.

In Leicester, although Hindu Gujarati immigrants got mixed with people from other parts of India, shared places with immigrants having other religion, and were settled in a British society, still tended to prefer the company of each other within their own group. Social practice, language, and religious belief kept people within their own ethnic community, yet they stayed to be attached to their groups according to social and religious practice within ethnicity, reconstructing the traditional social organisation of Indian society in some degree.

Gujarati community members similarly cohered in Milan, but probably because of the group's small size they did not separate into sub-groups. At the same time, individually arrived students and young workers separated from the community. While the 'Gujarati Samaj of Milano' according to its president covered every Gujarati settled long years ago in the city, the organization remained hidden from students and young workers without Gujarati contact, therefore the youth were searching for contacts through the Indian Association or the very limited personal interrelationships. Moreover, the two organizations offered different social programs. There were celebrations, like Holi and Diwali, which both the Indian Association and the Gujarati Samaj organized, but they covered different ethnic circle, and Gujaratis in Milan visited only one of them according to their membership. The programs of Indian Associations were rather cultural ones, and attracted Indians independently of their regional origin.

By the maintenance of social group membership, no matter how narrowed was its scope, research participants aimed to establish a protective social environment. They felt that surrounding new environment, which was dissimilar from their place of origin, threatened their identity. By their social group membership, being surrounded by

interpretable relations, which are supportive and cooperative, they reached to have a safe place. They got the feeling of being inside of the place: inside of the group, which they formed and/or into which they integrated, and due to the group inside of the new place too.

The type of social activities, that Gujarati immigrants chose to relax, also reinforced the reconstruction of an Indian everyday life. Gujarati immigrants tended to organise or select those free-time activities, sport, courses, media programs, which they know from their homeland and/or which reminded them of their place of origin.

Examining the changes in immigrants' lifestyle caused by the movement into a foreign and strange environment, I found that Hindu rites and ceremonies changed the least. Immigrants consciously sought to preserve their rites in order to preserve their rootage. Temple-rites were kept in the same form in Leicester, and almost in the same form in Milan, and public ceremonies were organised nearly in the original manner, according to local conditions. Contrary to all deficiency and necessary conformation to given opportunities, rites and celebrations provided primary support that research participants regain their feeling of being at home in the settlement place. For Milanese Gujarati immigrants the locally organised Hindu rites and celebrations brought back an important aspect of their everyday life they used to live in India; a so important aspect, which was able to maintain almost single-handedly the attachment to the home place. Rites also were primary activities to involve the young generation into the traditional social practice and evoke diaspora-born children's emotional attachment to the place of origin, counteracting the possible eroding effects of time on identity.

The used social actions, community ties, everyday routines, rites, and ceremonies expressed Gujarati immigrants' attachment to their home place, their demand for a homely social environment in order to maintain their identity. By their acts, they reshaped, permanently or temporarily, city areas in Leicester, especially the Belgrave, but their activities remained limited to community halls in Milan. The variety and degree of social activities, especially in Milan, could not be compared to the broadness and intensiveness of social relations in India, in spite of their geographical extension or the involvement of inter-ethnic relations. Consequently, the homely sense gained in the new place also was not total; research participants even in Leicester felt

that social integration was not complete and missed the aspect of sharing, while in Milan especially students complained about isolation and loneliness.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

“Many a trip continues long after movement in time and space have ceased.”
John Steinbeck

9.1. Introduction

The principal aim of this research was to discover how the process of migration and resettlement influences people's place-identity and reactivates their attachment to the home place. Migration is a complex global phenomenon, which due to the technological development in transportation and telecommunication increasingly involves and touches people worldwide. Migration breaks the contact with the home place, which has special importance amongst places as the place of origin, and which represents stability and belonging, determines self-definition and symbolizes the self. While people in growing number experience the change between places and get concentrated in urban areas, on one hand the meaning of place may lose its significance, but on the other hand, a need to maintain the belonging to place may emerge. The general theoretical and empirical literature about the effects of migration on people's relation to place and their attachment to the place left behind is inconclusive in many essential questions.

To understand people's bonding to the home place and the effects of migration on it, the research tracked three phases of place-identity regarding the migration: the pre-disruption phase, when place attachment is evoked and functions in the home place; the disruption phase, when attachment is interrupted by the migration, and the recovery phase, when people recreate the lost attachment to home place in the settlement place. According to these phases, the research units sought to answer the questions:

- How home place induces an attachment in people?
- How the change between places influences the identity continuity?
- How relocated people manifest and maintain their attachment towards the home place?

In order to explore the interdependent relationship between people and place, the research studied and compared Hindu Gujarati people's experiences about home place,

migration, and resettlement in the UK and Italy. At the end of the XX century Indian migrants were discovering Europe as new destination, raising their global significance. The thesis presented that emerging factors, such as the increasing population density, the growing proportion of young people within the population, and the improvement of obtained education level provided favourable conditions by that time to motivate a large emigration. During the colonisation, India has already witnessed once an immense outflow of labour work, which later established basic settlements in the former colonial centre, supporting the migration by personal chain. In the UK the earlier imperial relations made up the political and social context for a receptive, multicultural surrounding, and cultural diasporic relations laid a favourable receiving ground for further Indian immigration. India had no previous historical contact with Italy. Due to the large migrant inflow from various countries, in Italy also an ethnically varied surroundings received the Indian immigrants, but their number because of the restrictions on entry and language barrier remained low.

The main research results contributed to the deeper understanding of people-place relationship not only from the side of place, examining the influence of home place on people's identity, but also from the side of people, discovering the manifestation of identity in the urban place. Gujarati immigrants, in order to regain the continuity of place-identity linked to their home place, shaped the urban landscape both at physical and social level, while they had to deal with either favourable or obstructing factors of settlement place.

The following sections will briefly discuss the main empirical findings in comparative perspective, linking to the research questions, they will answer the hypotheses and present theoretical implications about how findings influence the further understanding of place-identity theory, they will provide recommendation for future researches, identify the limitation of the study, and conclude in short the overall significance of the study.

9.2. The principal research results in comparative perspective

Many empirical findings are chapter-specific and were summarised at the end of chapters about the respective empirical research units: in the Chapter 5 'Focusing on role of home place in emergence and maintenance of place-identity', in the Chapter 6

‘The impact of migration on place-identity’, in the Chapter 7 ‘The management of disruption in place-identity at physical level’, and in the Chapter 8 ‘The management of disruption in place-identity at social level’. This section will summarize the main research results regarding the principal research questions, also considering a cross-urban perspective.

The first unit of research studied Hindu Gujarati immigrants’ attachment to the home place. It approached towards the people-place relationship from a relatively less examined perspective and investigated which features of home place create an emotional bond. The results reinforced the already recognized influence of certain place features – familiarity, integration and social support, naturalness, recreation, and historical value – that they contribute to call forth affection towards the home place. Results also refined features that were described in more general form, and involved them into the influencing factors, as kinship and rootage. Lastly, the research distinguished features less considered until now, like openness, variety-vivacity, interpretability-predictability, accessibility, and spirituality. The results suggested that in the case of Hindu Gujaratis the above-mentioned features of home place prompt people to evoke and maintain an attachment towards it. The results also indicated that the elaborated place features overlap each other, and they arouse place-identity by reinforcing the effects of each other. However, the research did not discuss the order of importance amongst the features, and results hinted that certain features could be place-specific, which characterised especially Indian physical environment and society, and not necessarily could be attributed to any place. For the research question, that how home place induces an attachment in people, I conclude that the concrete and identified place features, both from physical and social level of place, clearly contributed to evoke a positive and strong emotional attachment in Hindu Gujarati people towards their home place, in form of strengthening the effect of each other, but the possible generalizability of certain features requires further research.

The second research unit studied the emotional effects of separation from the home place and arrival to the settlement place. Hindu Gujarati immigrants’ feelings during migration and resettlement were in accordance with the findings of earlier research of this area; that the change in environment produces a disruption in the sense of place-identity and causes feelings like instability, mental confusion, strangeness, and

alienation. Comparing Gujarati immigrants' reasons to select Leicester and Milan as destination places, and their feelings of migration and resettlement, the analysis indicated that the sense of place-identity disruption differs according to certain abilities of migrants and certain qualities of destination places. Research results confirmed what earlier studies already recognized: that the congruence of settlement place with the home place, and migrants' ability to control the change affect the sense of disruption: lesser the new place agrees with the old one, and lesser a group is able to control the decision and fact of movement, the threat on place-identity continuity will be more intensive. At the same time, the research also identified two factors empirically less studied in this context. It found that manageability of migration, which was mainly the consequence of postcolonial relations and cultural familiarity with the destination place, facilitated entry process and established social network between the sending and destination countries; moreover previous experience of destination place too worked against the sense of disruption and diminished the threat on place-identity continuity. Finally, results called attention to three further factors, which influenced the emotional effects of changing place, but their effects on identity continuity were uncertain, depending on further conditions. The research found that more the destination place was attractive for migrants and more information they gained previously from the place, they experienced less stress and tension, while more the real destination place differed from the mental image that they imagined before the movement, they felt more intensive emotional disturbance. Regarding the research question; how the change between places influences the place-identity continuity, empirical findings presented that it caused an emotional disturbance, and the degree of interruption in the relation towards the place depended on how people were able to control and manage the change, whether they had previous experience or information about the settlement place, how the settlement place was attractive, and how it corresponded in character with the home place and the imagined destination place.

The third and fourth units of research studied from two sides how Hindu Gujarati immigrants regain their sense of place-identity continuity in the settlement place. While immigrants invented and followed certain practices in order to preserve and express their attachment to the home place, they shaped the surrounding urban environment. The third unit presented their actions and effects at physical level of the

place, while the fourth unit concentrated their practices and effects made at social level, both in Leicester and Milan. Comparing Hindu immigrants' activities in the two cities, the third and fourth units demonstrated that immigrants' practice to recreate their home place followed the same type of pattern in Leicester and Milan, and they basically invented and used the same type of activities. Concerning the research question; how relocated people manifest and maintain their attachment towards the home place, the research argued that keeping up social relations, maintaining original community membership, performing religious rites and rites of passage, using ethnic house decorations, using private ethnic and cultural artefacts in public, establishing sacred places, organising and participating in religious festivals, expanding temple-activities, and organising, participating in activities which linked to their own ethnic culture. Furthermore, here I have to remind and add a further activity elaborated at the beginning of the analysis: the visits to the home place.

The transformation of place happened in parallel with the adaptation to local conditions, and there were enormous differences in the degree how Gujaratis could realize their activities, and therefore in the outcome of activities too; that how they could preserve and express their place-identity. Empirical findings called attention to the environmental factors that affected differently immigrants' place-shaping practices. While in Leicester some initially negative factor became less determinant with time, in Milan Gujarati immigrants felt foremost the insufficient size of community, which limited their activities.

Nevertheless, regarding the cross-urban results, the research accumulated and came out with several empirical findings related to the research question, which further elaborated the coherence and consistency between the ways of place-identity preservation and manifestation, and the context of migration.

An important empirical finding was that immigrants' entrepreneurial skills affected their place-shaping activities from many sides, and therefore influenced the maintenance of their place-identity. In parallel with the geographical patterns of migration Gujarati immigrants' particular skills and labour profiles were also different. While in Milan the majority of Gujarati workers came from agricultural sector and were employed in factories or did manual labour, in Leicester many entrepreneurs arrived, partly because of their exile from the earlier British African colonies. Established small

businesses, providing social relations, homely urban environment by their familiar appearance, necessary everyday goods and services for a Hindu Gujarati lifestyle, highly facilitated the physical transformation of settlement place and made a primary contribution to the recreation of homely environment. They had a role not only to facilitate emerge an ethnic enclave, but also build it up; because small businesses reinforced the ethnic concentration and character of enclave, the area attracted further immigrants. Moreover, small businesses created economic independence and financial help to cover other place-shaping activities. Lastly, because of their economic success, the transformed environment became symbol of the Gujarati community's prosperity.

Research results also pointed out the increased social role of temples and spiritual places in both Leicester and Milan. Although temples in India also work as social institutions at the same time, in the settlement place their functions highly exceeded their original focus, and undertook social and cultural tasks. In Milan immigrants had no other place for gathering, however temples in Leicester also undertook social and cultural tasks, while there the community had more, separated educational and cultural institutions for that purpose. The social and cultural roles of temples were not developed because of the lack of necessary institutions, but rather due to the increasing importance of spirituality, which attracted more attention to temples, and partly because of the general lack of neighbourhood relations. Immigrants felt that foreign environment threatens their identity, and they used religious practice as a tool to preserve their belonging. Religious practice resulted into the foundations of temples and birth of temple-community, which drew more people in the temples. The menace of identity prompted activities that recalled the memory of home place and supported the reconstruction of homely environment, and which strengthened the social cohesion within the temple-community, also recreating a homely social milieu. It is important to note that the extension of religious places' practice to social and cultural activities realized in the same way in Milan, where the sacred place had not religious superintendence, but it was an initiation by community members.

Another significant empirical finding was the transmission and maintenance of social stratification in the settlement place. However amongst research participants, there was a tendency to hide the influence of social stratification into castes, but at the selection of spouses the importance of caste and the dominant practice of its

preservation became clear both in Leicester and Milan. As the caste affected the everyday social relations, especially when a caste had its own community building, through the relations it brought back a part of the integration, social support, and cooperation habitual in India. Furthermore, as family relations through generations based on the belonging to a caste, and family relations influenced the physical concentration in Leicester, these findings suggested that residential concentration according to caste might be present in the city in certain measure. Research participants also preferred to settle near to the visited temple or community centre, thus the belonging to a caste might influence the residential concentration from that direction too.

Finally, the cross-urban comparison called attention to the necessary level of community development in order to shape the place. As activities of Hindu Gujarati immigrants were the same type both in Leicester and Milan, they advanced by the same steps. One dimension of the community development was its extension in space. The size and concentration of community determined many further possibilities to maintain and express place-identity both at physical and social level in the two cities. In Leicester the community size made spectacular the used ethnic artefacts, as house decorations and traditional clothes, and also due to the particularities of built environment, where ground floor windows of row houses composed part of the street view, privately used artefacts became publically visible in a noticeable quantity. Community size incited the introduction of several types of print and broadcast media about Gujarat and India, which reinforced further the community cohesion and created again a link towards the home place. In Milan regarding the size of concentration, Gujarati immigrants were absorbed in the city and so the transformation of public environment remained dispersed. Research participants reported that they did not dare to dress and behave publically like in India, and they felt an obligation to conform to the local environment and society, which indicated the pressure of surrounding majority on them. The other dimension of community development was its extension in time, as community attained special opportunities by time and common history again reinforced the community cohesion. In Leicester during the time of three or even four generations since the first Gujarati inflow, immigrants achieved a new level of transformation from generation to generation, and the establishment of own places for religious get together, the

architecture of temple-building, and the practice of rites and festivals are complying more and more with the formalities of Hindu traditions. In Milan Gujarati immigrants, being members of the first generation of inflow, hold the first steps of a long and gradual process of advance, the same types as in Leicester in the 1960-1970s. But because of the spatial limit of community, time probably will not help move forward the Milanese Gujarati community's progress.

Although the research organised around the above-discussed three topics, there were important empirical findings that ran across and linked the separated research units, converging to not only support the answer of research questions, but also understand the complexity of people-place relationship.

The research made special attention how Hindu Gujarati immigrants' belonging to social groups and categories influence their relation with the place experiencing the three phases of place-identity: in the home place, during and directly after the migration, and in the settlement place. Regarding these three phases together, the belonging to some social groups proved to be less beneficial than to others regarding the emotional disturbance caused by the movement and opportunity to transform the place. The research found an outstanding difference according to gender, and it was partly the consequence of two sexes' social and physical place in the Indian society, which was reproduced by the movement too. While majorly male research participants took an active role in the decision of migration and settlement, female research participants in marital status usually followed their husband, having less control on the decision and selection of place. In Milan those female research participants who migrated individually, referred to their decision as an unusual act that opposed the traditional role of women. Settlement in a foreign environment in most cases deteriorated married homemaker women's life conditions, because the family and neighbourhood relations, which meant the main social environment for these women, were reproduced only partly or not at all in the settlement place. Furthermore, because they stayed principally engaged with homemaker activities, they had less possibility to gain new social relations from outside of family, thus learn the local language, and vice-versa, therefore the gates of private place closed on them. Nevertheless, these women had an important role in place-shaping and the preservation of place-identity for the whole of Gujarati community, because turning their relations from the family and neighbourhood to the

temple they gave the fundamental motivation and reason for the development of sacred places, and their extension into social places. Regarding the second and third generation in Leicester, due to the family heritage of community membership, temple-community remained an important source of social relations for the young, working or studying women too, but the reconstructed social life did not bring satisfaction especially to homemaker women. Speaking about the wish to move back to the home place, women argued mostly with the advantage of the vivid social life in India. Considering these arguments, the research pointed out that women found themselves in an underprivileged situation because of the resettlement, and could not regain the most important aspect of place for themselves.

The research found evidence to the collective nature of Indian society and its spatial consequence from many side. Research participants emphasized integration, sharing, social support, and cooperation as especially important features of home place; they kept tight relations with the larger family and neighbourhood, even in business; they favoured to migrate alongside social relations; they maintained their belonging to a social or religious group after the migration and opted to ask support primarily from their group members. These findings indicated research participants' high preference for belonging to a group. The strong collective nature that they transplanted in Leicester and Milan, building up communities alongside common values, where members took care of each other, facilitated them to attain their common goals as a unity, and to not only persist, but also control their environment in certain measure. In Leicester, newcomers arrived into an already firmly established Gujarati community, and they were easily involved in it. The habituated strong collectiveness might result that although Gujarati immigrants shape the Belgrave to a Mini-Gujarat or Mini-India, they missed one thing from the transformation: the sense of sharing, enjoying the transformed place in common. The Leicester-case indicated the possible reason: immigrants, preserving the attachment to their social group, privileged the belonging to smaller units, like temples and castes, over larger categories, as Hinduism or Gujarati ethnicity, which obstructed the unification habituated in India. While the revitalisation of collective practice seemingly facilitated the transformation of place according to the community's values, those interviewees who were left out from the community in Milan, and therefore from most of place-shaping activities, enlightened its negative

aspects: the lack of personal choices and the fixity of social roles. At the same time independent research participants faced the assimilating force of the local environment, and they were absorbed deeper by the local society. The research found that collective social life offered an outstanding advantage to build up group identity, shape the settlement place alongside common values and resist assimilation, but at the same time adversely affected the development of personal identity.

Spirituality was another phenomenon that made a special influence on place in the context of Indian migration. First, spirituality was an outstanding feature of home place, which was present in Gujaratis' lives not only in form of religious rites and built sacred places, but also as a base of group membership, integration and sharing, social support and cooperation. Spirituality; the visit of temples and participation in festivals was an outstanding purpose of immigrants to return for holidays to India. Empirical findings however demonstrated that the role of spirituality in socialization increased in the settlement place comparing its significance in India. Concerning the temples' social engagement I already detailed the consequences of the increased role of spirituality, which Hindu Gujarati immigrants used as a tool to assure identity continuity. But why religious practice just became salient amongst other practices? The research elaborated that religious practice changed at least, because it was an activity that immigrants could organise amongst themselves, without any exterior support, even without a convenient place, as at the beginning of community development religious get together happened in homes in Leicester or in a park in Milan. Religious practice changed at least, because it was able to separate and became independent from the environment, so the change of place did not affect. In Milan, where Hindu Gujaratis did not have regular access to a Hindu sacred place, they invented its substitution, or missing even that they used the sacred places belonging to another religion. Examining place-shaping activities, the outstanding use of religious activities in order to keep contact with the home place, still for the next generations, suggested that those activities reinforce which can be practiced the most independently from the new environmental conditions.

Empirical findings also called attention to the indirect, yet determinative effects of postcolonial relations between migrant sending and receiving countries on migrants' place-identity. The research showed through the example of Gujarati settlement in Leicester that postcolonial relations affected directly the pattern of migration;

nevertheless, their influence did not stop there. Comparing Gujarati immigrants' settlement in Leicester and Milan, research results demonstrated that postcolonial relations made migration to a more conscious and more secured process: Gujaratis arrived to Leicester had previous cultural links with the country, they had social network working between India and the UK, so they had more information about the new place, yet, they gained personal experience before the migration due to their previous visits (which guided them to the UK again due to the postcolonial relations). Furthermore, postcolonial relations, and the subsequent mass inflow from the former colonies also influenced the migrant receiving policy, and prompted to evolve a receptive environment in the UK. The favourable environmental conditions and the growth of Gujarati community mutually supported each other's development. The research presented that the postcolonial relations between migrant sending and receiving countries had significant effects on place-identity, and setting in motion the chain of influencing factors, they positively affected the maintenance and expression of attachment to the place of origin.

While the research focused on people's relation to place, it encountered repeatedly the concept of time and its effects. Immigrants when they considered place, they had to face with time: time affected their relation with their home place and their memories about it, and time influenced their preservation of place-identity and the attachment of diaspora-born generation to their place of origin. When the research examined whether time weakened Gujarati immigrants' intention to stay contact with their home place, it did not find a definitive proof of the weakening effects of time. The examination of place-identity preserving activities further refined this result, and showed that immigrants were aware of the menace of time on the preservation of attachment to the home place, and they consciously carried out activities in order to resist it. Furthermore, they consciously involved the diaspora-born next generation into the place-identity preserving activities, like the above mentioned religious practices or the education of Gujarati language, culture, and social values, which were present in both Leicester and Milan. So the research showed arguments that though the existence of place-identity is not always a conscious bonding; as many research participants recognized just after the resettlement what they had lost, immigrants made conscious

efforts to regain the sense of place-identity continuity and to preserve it for the further generation, fighting against the destructive force of time.

9.3. Examining hypotheses

In order to understand the mutuality of people-place relationship, and the influences of home place and settlement place on people's activities, the research had two hypotheses.

The first hypothesis suggested that:

- Reshaping the settlement place, Hindu Gujarati immigrants and minorities imitate the characteristics of home place in order to maintain their identity attached to it.

Concerning the first hypothesis, the emerged research results supported its accuracy. The research firstly investigated Hindu Gujarati immigrants' attachment to their home place, and it found that through certain place features the home place created strong emotional bond in people, evoking the feelings of safety, comfort, belonging, and closeness. Then the research inquired about people's feelings at migration and resettlement, and it presented that immigrants had to deal with majorly negative senses, as feelings of strangeness, alienation, being separated and lost, because of the foreignness and unfamiliarity of new environment. Their mainly negative perceptions and incomprehension of the new place indicated that by change of place their attachment to the home place suffered a disruption. Immigrants settled in Leicester and Milan started the same type of activities to reshape the settlement place, and their intentions, their acts, and the results of their activities too pointed that they aimed to reconstruct their place of origin. Considering the built environment, in many cases they not only used an Indian type of decoration, but a decoration indeed imported from India, and gradually they attained temple-buildings, which were in accordance with the traditional Indian temple-architecture. Another example regarding the social environment is that they kept the belonging to their original social groups, and privileged social relations within their groups. Many research participants recognized and admitted their conscious effort to bring back the sense of their place of origin, and some of the Leicester-sample argued that they selected the destination place because it was transformed to be as Gujarat or India. Based on the research results, the hypothesis should be accepted, as when Hindu Gujarati immigrants reshaped the settlement place,

they used the character of home place as a model, in order to create a same type of environment and regain their sense of home place.

The second hypothesis proposed that:

- Environmental factors of settlement place affect Hindu Gujarati immigrants and minorities' capacity to recreate their home environment and therefore to maintain their identity attached to it.

The research made an effort to identify the environmental factors concerning the history, geography, state authority, urban planning, society, and culture of settlement place, which principally influenced Hindu Gujarati immigrants and descendants' place-shaping activities according to the research participants. Participants enlightened beneficial and obstructive elements amongst the factors, and a factor affected physical and social transformation together in most of cases. The most determinative differences between the influence of Leicester and Milan on immigrants' practices were the positive effects of postcolonial relations, the local policy which promoted the ethnic and religious diversity, and Gujarati immigrants' dominant minority position in the receiving society, in Gujaratis' favour in Leicester. Nevertheless, the research also demonstrated that not only the factors of given environment, but immigrants' skills and abilities also significantly influence their place-shaping capacities and maintenance of place-identity in the settlement place, for example, Gujaratis' entrepreneurship skills and the establishment of small businesses in Leicester, or the ability of certain immigrant groups successfully diminished the sense of place-identity disruption. Although research results support the hypothesis, its claim does not cover comprehensively the effects on immigrants' place-shaping capacity, because environmental factors are responsible only for a part of the effects on it. The emerged research results indicated that not only environmental conditions, but immigrants' belonging to group, like sex or work specialisation, also affected people's place-shaping capacity. Therefore, while the accuracy of assumption emerged from the results, the claim made in the present form cannot be considered clearly sufficient.

9.4. Theoretical implications

How identity theory explained the discovered place-related phenomenon? During the analysis, place was approached as a social category, and place-identity was considered as it shares the principles of identity. The study viewed place-identity as a principally social construct, and the attachment to place was explained similarly as a belonging to a group: Gujarati immigrants considered themselves to belong to the category of Gujarat, they evaluated this membership positively, and they had affectional bonding towards the place (Tajfel, 1981, Bonaiuto et al., 1996, Twigger-Ross et al., 2003). Migration and the reached new place created a situational demand towards people, that they needed to manage.

As a theoretical frame, the research used the modified and extended model of person-process-place framework (Scannell and Gifford, 2010), and research questions concerned to the corner points of the framework and the relations between them. Examining the people-place relationship in the context of migration, because migrants are influenced by both the home place and the settlement place at the same time, I proposed to expand the model towards the new place too besides the old one, in order to be able to distinguish and understand the effects of the two environments. The empirical findings supported that migrants' place-identity after the migration may be taken to different directions by the home place and settlement place, as the continuity of attachment evoked by the home place may be facilitated, but also obstructed by the settlement place, furthermore the attachment may shift from the place of origin to the place of resettlement with time. Therefore, research results about the difference in effects of home place and settlement place on place-identity justified the distinction of their role in the theoretical framework too.

Suiting the proposed theory, I also approached separately to the physical level and social level of place. The separation of the two levels were motivated by many researchers (Riger and Lavrakas, 1981; Altman and Low, 1992; Lalli, 1992; Scannell and Gifford, 2010), and served the deeper understanding of the functions of place. In spite of the separate analysis, empirical findings indicated in every research unit that physical aspect and social aspect of place are inseparable. Examining the attachment to home place, place features from physical and social sides tightly intertwined, the new environment disrupted place-identity continuity by both its material and social

appearances, and the setting up of physical and social place-shaping activities on each other also proved that the two levels are tightly connected. Still, I found very useful their separate examination in order to be able to distinguish and clarify social processes and their consequences in the material world, and vice-versa. While therefore the research emphasized the mutual interdependence of physical world and social processes, it unified the approaches of those earlier investigations, which examined the built environment's effects on human behaviour (Lawrence and Low, 1990), and those, which studied human effects on the physical place (Rapoport, 1982).

Involving processes from the identity theory, in the proposed person-process-place framework I distinguished four types of processes, the affective, cognitive, motivating, and actualising processes, which all manifested the attachment to place. Although earlier each of these processes was applied in a same or similar manner, combined or singularly, to study identity from the perspective of place, they were not involved together in one single theoretical model about place-identity. Research results suggested that all these processes necessarily contribute to elaborate and explain the function and manifestation of place-identity. Due to the proposed theoretical framework, I could clearly distinguish the four types of processes: the feelings that a place evokes, the knowledge and meanings of place, the motivations to create an attachment, and the processes that actualise the attachment, so their combined, collective involvement and test would be useful for further understanding of the subject. Initiatives of place-identity were explained by the same motivating processes that identity theories use. The research used a theoretical frame unifying the processes of social identity theory, like self-esteem (Tajfel, 1981, Turner et al., 1987), and identity process theory, like distinctiveness (Hummom, 1986), continuity (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996), and self-efficacy (Breakwell, 2010). While the principle of distinctiveness suggested what Ellemers and her colleagues too argued: that because of the greater salience the minority group have stronger in-group identification than the majority group (Ellemers et al., 1999), the research found that Milanese Gujaratis could maintain their attachment to place less intensively than Gujaratis in Leicester just because of community size and other environmental effects.

Concerning the place-identity incorporation into the self-identity, Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff proposed that place-identity is a substructure of self-identity, a

category in parallel with other sub-identities, but at the same time separated from them, taking place on the social and cultural side of the self-identity (1983). Empirical findings of this research showed that the attachment of place pervades other identity categories, as migrants' attachment to home place influences and links to the belonging to a social group, a religion, an ethnicity, and culture. This pattern is consistent with that presented by Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996), and underlines the significance of place in identity.

9.5. Recommendations for the future

During the research, while I worked to answer the research questions, many new questions arose, which on one hand came from the need to further define the place-identity concept and its theoretical frame, and on the other hand from the limits and particularities of the realised investigation.

The framework of place-identity included that people attach to a place both individually and through their groups too. The present research showed that place-identity could be formed both due to the personal memories and individual experiences of place, and due to the shared historical experiences, values, and symbols. However, there might be difference in the sense, content, and conduct of place-identity at group level and individual level, which connotes further questions. Like, which component can be more relevant to place-identity development and preservation: the attachment at group level or at individual level? What are the place features that favour an individual development of place-identity, and what features favour a collective one? How group-based place-identity influences the attachment to a place on individual level?

Examining through which features the home place creates an attachment, the results suggested that some emphasized features, like spirituality, openness of physical environment, and integration and sharing, could be country-specific attributes, and they may be present in India in an intensive manner, but they are not necessarily prevailing or prominent in every place. To understand which features can be used to describe the heuristic attaching character of a home place, it would be necessary to compare people's bonding to home places with different properties. By a quantitative inquiry, we would know more about the possible order of importance of the features too.

Concerning the reconstruction of sense of home place, the present inquiry discovered that Gujarati immigrants preserved their social group membership. This result suggested that there might be a spatial consequence of the group membership; that Gujarati Hindus' belonging to a religious belief or social group determined the spatial order of their settlement, similarly as their ethnic belonging determined the spatial arrangement of the city in a larger scale. The present research did not extend to examine the spatial arrangement within the ethnic settlement; its future inquiry may contribute to a deeper understanding of home place reconstruction at group level.

There is another point of view for further consideration: the effects of culture on place-identity. The research found that Gujarati Hindu immigrants maintained their attachment to the place of origin even after 3-4 generations and/or moving between several places during that period. The research examined the effects of settlement place on their preservation of place-identity; however, the prominent use of religious practice, and also the conscious adherence to the homely traditions hinted that besides the environmental effects, migrants' culture also plays a significant role in place-identity continuity. How immigrants' cultural belonging may contribute to the place-identity development and maintenance after a migration; it is also a worthy point to investigate in the future.

The research called attention to the possible favourable effects of postcolonial relations on immigrants' place-shaping opportunities, and so their place-identity continuity; however, this outcome needs to be refined more, as environmental factors could be very different according to countries, e.g. comparing a multicultural and an assimilation policy. To have a more certain knowledge about the effects of postcolonial relations, cross-country analyses are required about postcolonial migrant settlements.

India's economy is rapidly developing and the country is becoming more attractive for migrants to return, while the regulations of emigration are tending to tighten in the European countries. Indian migrants pleasingly maintain the close relationship with relatives staying at home place, continuously being informed about the changes. These economic and social forces pull back the migrated population, anticipating a forthcoming change in the migratory trend, which deserves further attention. Regarding the perspective of place-attachment, returning migrants will unify their home place left behind and recreate again their attachment to the place, but their

practices probably will be different comparing to those habituated in the foreign settlement place, and also the evaluation, meaning, and sense of home place may be different from the original one before the migration.

9.6. Limitation of the research

During the sampling, data collection, and analysis, the research confronted with some limitations, which need to be considered.

One main limitation of research came from a methodological point of view. Gujarati community's size in Milan (although in Italy they concentrated the most into this city) meant a serious boundary, which restricted the results from many sides. Small size made difficult the contact and access to the community, and made its members more distrustful and shy towards an outsider, so doubly complicating the interviewing and information collection. The community's melting into the urban environment washed away the physical and social signs of their presence, and resulted in very weak findings concerning the place-shaping activities. At the same time, it directed my focus from the public places to the community events. Furthermore, just because of the small size of community, only one permanent gathering functioned, and once I contacted the Samaj, it was easy to meet and know its members. The proportion of interviews and contacted persons comparing to the community's size was much higher in Milan than in Leicester, thus it covered much better the whole Gujarati community. Furthermore, regarding Gujaratis living outside and independently of the Samaj, I succeeded to interview almost all of them, again due to their limited number. Consequently, although the sample of interviewees in Leicester was greater and interviewees generally talked with more confidence, interviewees in Milan covered much better the various experiences and opinions of Gujaratis. Therefore, the above mentioned limitations worked together to provide focus and strengthen the empirical results.

Other main limitation came from a theoretical point of view. Place-identity studies emerged in the Western culture (Côté and Levine, 2002; Burkitt, 2011), from identity-approaches that incorporated those choices, commitments, and roles; values, practices, and beliefs, which were particular in the Western cultural context (Oyserman and Lee, 2008). When the present research approached to place-identity and modelled the place-identity, it was based on Western theories, but on several occasions it

encountered demands and problems, which were not usual Western ones, but were attributed to the Eastern, Asian culture. The cultural context of place-identity is very different in a Western society, which is usually described by rapid adaption to changes and where identity is defined by individual attributes and goals, comparing to an Asian culture, which is characterised by adherence to the traditions and where identity is defined by long-lasting group membership (Hofstede, 1980; Hsu, 1985; Markus and Kitayama, 1991), which difference may result in a different place-identity concept. By cross-cultural examination of place attachment, future researches may construct a more culture-sensible place-identity conception, responding to this limitation.

9.7. Conclusion

The globalised migration disrupts increasingly people's relation to places, as well as a fix, certain setting and a tying location. While changes between places accelerate, it is controversial whether migration cuts people's relation to places and makes them more insensible and flexible towards the acceptance and adaption of new places, or it strengthens their bonding to habituated places, reinforcing the need for fixity and stability. The purpose of this research was to contribute to the discussion about how migration affects people's attachment to home place. It investigated the elicitation of attachment to home place, the disruption of place-identity continuity caused by migration, and the reconstruction of homely environment after the settlement. The study explored these three phases in the case of Gujarati immigrants arrived in Leicester and Milan. By this choice, it put a Western originated theoretical problem into an Eastern context, and the cross-urban comparison emphasized the environmental effects of settlement place on the disruption and continuity of place-identity.

The study used the identity-theory as a theoretical framework to transfer the principles of identity to the concept of place and model the complex entity of people-place relationship. It organised the place, person, and process aspects of people-place relationship into a simple four-party model, applying it to the empirical exploration of research themes.

Empirical findings called attention to the outstanding role of home place amongst the places that people come into contact with during their lifetime. First, the research provided clues that due to which particular place features the home place

evokes strong positive emotions in Gujarati immigrants. Secondly, examining the emotional effects of migration and resettlement, it reinforced the trace of earlier investigations, proving that migration causes a mental confusion as it is accompanied by change of place. Advancing further, it showed that there is relation between the sense of disruption and certain abilities of immigrants and certain qualities of sending and receiving places. Thirdly, analysing how Gujarati immigrants and descendants maintain and express their attachment to place in Leicester and Milan, the research manifested that immigrants intend to keep up their belonging whenever it is possible, instead an assimilation into the new urban environment. It demonstrated that Gujarati immigrants use the same type of practices to reconstruct the homely environment in the two cities, but they have different outcomes, depending on immigrants' special skills, labour profile, and the particular environmental factors of settlement place. Gujarati case studies in Leicester and Milan proved that religious practice, as an activity easily revivable independently of the surrounding conditions, became an outstanding tool for Hindu Gujaratis to recreate the homely physical and social environment and preserve their attachment to the place of origin. Cross-urban results also indicated that postcolonial relations between the migrant sending and receiving countries, providing a receptive environment in the destination place and internationally extended social network, guided migratory pattern and favourably influenced the immigrant community development, thus they might have indirectly facilitated the transformation of urban place.

The research contributed to the growing body of literature on place-identity and urban ethnic landscape. Empirical findings provided evidences that home place, through the emotional bonding felt towards the environment, became part of people's identity developing place-identity, and the need to regain the sense of home place disturbed by the migration prompted immigrants to recreate the home place in the urban settlement. The transformation of place depended on the environmental factors of settlement place; nevertheless, cross-cultural comparison from immigrants' side may discover other probable factors in the future.

GLOSSARY OF HINDU EXPRESSIONS

Aarti - Common pray rituals.

Aarti Diya - Candle with more branches, in the temple lit by a priest.

Bhagatji Maharaj Jayanti - Celebration of a community-Guru's anniversary.

Choli - Bodice part of saree.

Diwali – Most important festival for Hindu Gujaratis, a festival of lights, which comes on no-moon-day, the last day of Gujarati Hindu calendar. It indicates victory of light over darkness, mainly being related with Lord Ram's arrival to his home place after having victory over Rawan, according to Hindu mythology. For Gujaratis, the next day is the New Year.

Diya - Special shaped candles in Hindi, they are called Diva in Gujarati language (plural form), Divo in singular form.

Garba and Dandiya-Raas – Typical Gujarati traditional dances, very popular during the festival of Navratri.

Holi – Festival of colours, being celebrated in almost every part of India. During the day they sprinkle the colour powder or water on each other, and in the evening they do a bonfire and traditional prayers encircling it.

Janmashtami – Festival of birthday of Krishna, celebrated in Krishna temples in all over India.

Khanjari - Traditional Indian musical instrument, a wooden frame with jingling disks fitted into the frame.

Kurta - Traditional shirt for men.

Lakhani - Typical family name in Gujarat.

Lehnga - Traditional trousers for men, the pair of kurta.

Lohana - Lohana is one of the Hindu Gujarati castes.

Mahaprasad - Common dinner and get together for Gujarati community.

Mandir - Hindu temple in both Hindi and Gujarati language.

Manjeera - Traditional Indian musical instrument, a pair of small hand cymbals connected with a cord.

Murti - Idol in Hindi and Gujarati.

Navratri – A Hindu festival of nine days, particularly very popular amongst Gujaratis, where they do the traditional Garba dance in traditional clothes during nine nights.

Patani - Typical family name in Gujarat.

Rathayatra - Festival celebrated in Krishna temples on the second day of the bright half of Ashadha month, when the deities (Krishna, Balram, and Subhadra) are taken round the place in three different chariots.

Roopkala - A round about meaning is the presentation of beauty or appearance, it is a typical shop name for sarees in Gujarat.

Sabha - Religious get together for Hindu Gujaratis.

Samaj – A group of people with common belief system or religion; a society, in Hindi or Gujarati language. They use the word for congregations.

Sarod - A classical Indian, stringed music instrument.

Shreejee - Also typical shop name in Gujarat, the name indicates a belief in Hinduism, and so the probable caste belonging of the shop owner.

Sona Rupa - Gold and silver in Gujarati, indicates that shop is a jewellery shop.

Tabla - Hindustani classical hand drum.

Uttarayan or Makar Sankranti or Kite Festival – Festival of transition of sun from Sagittarius to Capricornus; winter solstice. Specifically in Gujarat they celebrate this event with flying kites on 14th of January, a very popular festival amongst Gujaratis.

Attachments

Attachment 1: Basic information about research participants in Leicester.

PSEUDONYM	PLACE OF BIRTH	OCCUPATION	MARITAL STATUS	TIME PASSED IN LEICESTER (till 2011)	MIGRATORY PATH
1/F34	Baroda, Gujarat	planning officer at Leicester City Council	married	9 years	Gujarat -> Leicester
2/M35	Ahmedabad, Gujarat	factory worker	married	7 months	Gujarat ->Leicester
3/F22	Kenya	student	single	16 years	Kenya -> Portugal -> Leicester
4/F26	Jamnagar, Gujarat	student and part time financial job	married	7 years	Gujarat -> Leicester
5/F49	Kenya	customer service adviser	married	46 years	Kenya -> Leicester
6/M63	Mumbai, Maharashtra	retired (before factory worker, salesman, cashier)	married	43 years	Maharashtra -> Kenya -> Gujarat -> Leicester
7/M78	Vachharvad, Gujarat	retired (before self-employed businessman, also worked at Leicester City Council - Health Department, and he was president of the first Hindu temple in Leicester)	married	37 years	Gujarat -> Kenya -> Leicester
8/M43	Uganda	self-employed restaurant manager	married	39 years	Uganda -> Leicester
9/M23	Jamnagar, Gujarat	student	single	7 years	Gujarat -> Leicester
10/F40	Ahmedabad, Gujarat	housewife (and helps her husband at home in accounting)	married	4 years	Gujarat -> London -> Leicester
11/F39	Veraval, Gujarat	housewife and part time care assistant in a nursing home	married	6 years	Gujarat -> Leicester
12/F60	Mehsana, Gujarat	housewife	married	40 years	Gujarat -> Leicester
13/M48	Baroda, Gujarat	logistic administration coordinator at a paper manufacturing company	married	6 years	Gujarat -> Africa -> Leicester
14/M60	Surat, Gujarat	self-employed driving instructor	married	51 years	Gujarat -> Leicester
15/F54	Jamnagar, Gujarat	housewife	married	7 years	Gujarat -> Leicester
16M61	Surat, Gujarat	inspector of tax	married	46 years	Gujarat -> Fiji Islands -> Leicester
17/M36 and 17/M74	Mahuva, Gujarat /Uganda/	Hindu priest /president of a Hindu temple/	married	3 years	Gujarat -> South-Africa -> Leicester
18/M49	Surat, Gujarat	shop assistant counter	married	25 years	Gujarat -> Maharashtra -> Leicester

19/F15	Leicester	student	single	15 years	no migration (migrant parents)
20/M21	Jamnagar, Gujarat	student	single	5 years	Gujarat -> Leicester
21/M49	Chikhodra, Gujarat	at plastic engineering company	married	25 years	Gujarat -> Leicester
22/M81	Kenya	retired (before self- employed newspaper-shop manager)	married	36 years	Kenya -> Leicester
23/M64	Tanzania	retired (before graphic designer, senior project and business manager)	married	34 years	Tanzania -> India -> Kenya -> London -> Leicester
24/M38	Dharmaj, Gujarat	flight attendant at British Airways	married	32 years	Gujarat -> Leicester
25/F44	Mumbai, Maharashtra (all of her family live in Gujarat)	housewife	married	20 years	Maharashtra -> London -> Leicester
26/M41	Ahmedabad, Gujarat	factory worker	married	4 years	Gujarat -> London -> Leicester
27/M55	Kenya	mail sorter at Royal Mail	married	7 years	Kenya -> Gujarat -> Leicester
28/M57	Bardoli, Gujarat	post person at Royal Mail	married	30 years	Gujarat -> Leicester
29/M50	Chikhodra, Gujarat	engineering of plane parts	married	19 years	Gujarat -> Leicester
30/F52	Africa	housewife	married	30 years	Africa -> Gujarat -> Leicester
31/F22	Leicester	student	single	22 years	no migration (migrant parents)
32/M74	Bodhan, Gujarat	retired (before at Central Government of India, at Gujarat's Government, and at Leicester City Council - Public Transport Department)	married	45 years	Gujarat -> Leicester
33/F49	Dabasang, Gujarat	factory worker	married	9 years	Gujarat -> Leicester
34/F49 and 34/F21	Uganda / Leicester/	housewife (before factory worker)	married	25 years	Uganda -> Gujarat -> Leicester -> USA -> Northamptonshire -> Leicester
35/M26	Jamnagar, Gujarat	at engineering company	married	3 years	Gujarat -> Leicester
36/M40	Navsari, Gujarat	dispatch packer	married	8 years	Gujarat -> Leicester

Attachment 2: Basic information about research participants in Milan.

PSEUDONYM	PLACE OF BIRTH	OCCUPATION	MARITAL STATUS	TIME PASSED IN MILAN (till 2011)	MIGRATORY PATH
1/M20	Ahmedabad, Gujarat	student	single	2 months	Gujarat -> Milan
2/M47	Ahmedabad, Gujarat	working at carpet cleaning company	married	14 years	Gujarat -> Milan
3/M19	Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh (lived in Gujarat too)	student	single	3 months	Uttar Pradesh -> Milan
4/M28	Madhya Pradesh (lived in Gujarat too)	student	single	3 years	Madhya Pradesh -> Milan
5/M21	Valsad, Gujarat	searching for work in factory	single	11 years	Gujarat -> Milan
6/M30	Mehsana, Gujarat	working at carpet cleaning company	married	13 years	Gujarat -> Milan
7/M26	Nadiad, Gujarat	student	single	1 year	Gujarat -> South-India -> Milan
8/M24	Valsad, Gujarat	student and working in service sector	single	13 years	Gujarat -> Milan
9/M28	Raima, Gujarat	working at electrical engineering company	married	15 years	Gujarat -> Milan
10/M25	Jamnagar, Gujarat	student	single	9 months	Gujarat -> Rajasthan -> Maharashtra -> Milan
11/M26	Surat, Gujarat	student	single	1 year	Gujarat -> Milan
12/F23	Mandvi, Gujarat	accountant	married	15 years	Gujarat -> Milan
13/F26	Mumbai, Maharashtra (passed holidays in Gujarat)	student	single	1 month	Maharashtra -> Milan
14/M25	Pune, Maharashtra (lived in Gujarat too)	student	single	2 months	Maharashtra -> Milan
15/F23	Mumbai, Maharashtra	student	single	1 year	Maharashtra -> Gujarat -> Milan
16/M26	Nadiad, Gujarat	IT engineer at British Telecommunication	single	8 months	Gujarat -> UK -> Milan
17/M48	Bharuch, Gujarat	lathe turner	married	11 years	Gujarat -> France -> Rome -> Milan
18/F22	Palitana, Gujarat	student	single	1 month	Gujarat -> Maharashtra -> Milan
19/M26	Surat, Gujarat	student	single	1 year 2 months	Gujarat -> Milan
20/M34	Karcheliya, Gujarat	pitchman	married	18 years	Gujarat -> France -> Rome -> Milan
21/F24	Surat, Gujarat	call center	single	12 years	Gujarat -> Milan

22/F24	Dehiri, Gujarat	call center	single	10 years	Gujarat -> Milan
23/F25	Mumbai, Maharashtra (passed holidays in Gujarat)	student	single	1 year	Maharashtra -> Milan
24/M40	Ichchhapore, Gujarat	factory worker	married	19 years	Gujarat -> France -> Rome -> Milan
25/M26	Mumbai, Maharashtra	student	single	1 year	Maharashtra -> Milan
26/F43	Khergam, Gujarat	housewife	married	12 years	Gujarat -> Milan

Attachment 3: Basic information about interviewees of Ethnic Elders Collection.

SOURCE	PSEUDONYM	PLACE OF BIRTH
640, EE/12/13	EE/M63	Jamraval, Gujarat
639, EE/11/12	EE/M80	Santashtra, Gujarat
637, EE/09/10	EE/M62	Porbundar, Gujarat
638, EE/10/11 A,B	EE/M63 and EE/F61	Bhuvasar, Gujarat and Rua, Gujarat

Attachment 4: Basic information about interviewees of Belgrave Memories.

SOURCE	PSEUDONYM	ORIGIN
Belgrave Memories	BM/F33	Gujarati origin, parents moved from Africa
	BM/M49	Gujarati origin, born in Kenya

Attachment 5: Interview guide.

- How do you remember about your hometown?
- What is your first memory of Gujarat?
- How your life was in Gujarat?
- How was your home environment in your hometown?
- How was your neighbourhood in your hometown?
- How you and your parents got friends there?
- What were your social activities in your hometown?
- Which were the places in your hometown where you used to go and why?
- Which were the places important for you?
- When did you visit India and for which purpose?

- Before coming to Leicester/Milan, how did you imagine this city would be?
- Did you know anybody from Leicester/Milan before coming here?
- Why did you choose this city to move?
- How did you choose your home within Leicester/Milan?
- What was your first impression when you arrived?
- How did you feel yourself after the movement?
- What were your main difficulties after arrival?
- Did you get help from anybody or an institution to settle here in Leicester/Milan?

- How do you feel now about the city environment of Leicester/Milan?
- How could you compare the city environment of your hometown and Leicester/Milan?
- In which area of Leicester/Milan Gujarati people live?
- Is there any area where Gujarati people are concentrated?
- What do you think, why Gujarati people settled in that area?
- How this area is related to the other parts of the city?
- Walking on the streets how do you see that Gujarati people live in that area?
- Could you describe me the city area where you are living actually?
- How do you spend your daily life here?
- In your day-to-day life which parts of the city you visit, and for what reasons?
- How do you feel yourself walking in those streets?
- What parts of Leicester/Milan do you prefer and why?
- Is there any place in Leicester/Milan mostly visited by Indian ladies, and other mostly visited by Indian men?
- Do you see anything in the streets of Leicester/Milan, which can be in your hometown too?
- What is your opinion about the urban conditions of everyday life in Leicester/Milan?
- Is there any place where rather you do not prefer to go?

- How do you remember to the first occasion when you met the local Gujarati community in Leicester?
 - Which were the most important moments of your integration in Leicester/Milan?
 - How did you find friends here?
 - With whom do you mix socially the most easily?
 - What are your free-time activities?
 - Could you tell me about your actual social relations?
 - How and why you began to work for the local Gujarati community?
 - Is there any activity mostly practised by Hindu ladies? And is there any activity rather practised by Hindu men?
 - Do you and your wife/husband have some friends who are not common friends?
 - Have you ever participated in an Indian/Hindu street festival in Leicester/Milan?
 - What are the differences between a Hindu street festival in Gujarat and Leicester/Milan?
-
- Did you follow any religious rituals in your hometown?
 - Could you tell me about your daily religious rituals here?
 - What type of ceremonies do you celebrate with your family at home, and which ceremonies together with the community?
 - Could you tell me about the Hindu religious organisations in Leicester/Milan?
 - Do you visit a religious place in Leicester/Milan?
 - How could you distinguish a Hindu temple from other buildings?
 - Could you describe me a common activity in the temple, in which you participate?
 - How do you feel during this event?
 - At the temple which you visit, what kinds of activities are helpful for you?
 - How the prayer room looks like in the temple?
 - Could you tell me how a prayer ceremony is?
 - What do you think why is it important to have an own sacred place in Leicester/Milan?
-
- What are the most important events in your life?
 - How did you celebrate your child's birth?
 - Is there any place in Leicester/Milan where Hindu marriage ceremony can be organised?
 - How did you arrange your wedding ceremony?
 - Have you ever participated in one of your Hindu relatives or friends' wedding ceremony?
 - Could you tell me how Hindu people can do the ashes after a relative's death in Leicester/Milan?
 - What do you think, how local Gujarati Hindu life follows the Indian society's values in Leicester/Milan?
 - What do you think how local community centres are able to respond to Gujarati people's requirements?

- Could you tell me about the different Gujarati tribes in Leicester/Milan?
 - What is your experience, how caste system affects Indian people's daily life in Leicester/Milan?
 - How different Indian groups mingle with each other in Leicester/Milan?
 - Is there any interaction or cooperation between Gujarati immigrants and other, non-Indian nationality immigrants?
 - How does Gujarati community interact with the local British/Italian community in Leicester/Milan?
 - Do you know about any group on national level for Gujarati or Indian people in England/Italy?
-
- How your everyday life changed, when you moved from India to Leicester/Milan?
 - What do you miss here of your homeland?
 - How does the local Gujarati community help you to feel yourself at home in Leicester/Milan?
 - How local institutions help you to feel yourself homely here?
 - How the city's institutions and planning support the Gujarati community's existence and activities?
-
- What are your plans for the future?
 - Do you plan to settle back in India and where?
 - How do you imagine your future here in Leicester/Milan?
 - In the future which changes you would like to see around you to feel yourself more homely in the city?
 - In the future which changes you would like to achieve in the city to create better surroundings for Gujarati people?

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