



UCL Migration Research Unit

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Research Unit.

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No. 2018/11

Identity Construction,
Belonging, and Community:
A case study of queer Muslims
in the United Kingdom

Elizabeth Johnstone



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6#, '3%! V*11'#3(!^H ! !]5! H`!, '2 : &7-11(! *+=+\$, E\$+! &: 3&/ d8-31&3&E\$! , \$+\$3, . : ! Q'11! 3!Q3(+! '%E*1E\$! 8-3%&3&E\$! \$1\$4\$%&+! 3%#! E'. \$! E\$, +3Fe! V*Q\$E\$, /! &: \$+\$! &Q*! 2\$%, 3! 3DD, *3. : \$+! , \$43'! #'+&% . & ! %! +\$E\$, 3! '4D*, &3%&! Q3(+F! G : \$! E31-\$! *7! 8-3%&3&E\$! , \$+\$3, . : ! '\$+! D, '43, '1(!'! '\$+! 3='!&(!&*'!#\$%&7(!+&3'&'. 311(!+'2%'7'. 3%&! #7\$, \$%. \$+! 3%#! &: -+! *7&\$%! , \$8-' , \$+! 3! 13, 2\$! . * , D-+! 3%#! % -4\$, ' . 311(! *D\$, 3&'*%3'!T\$#! E3, '3=1\$+! A *, ! \$N3 4 D1\$/!Q\$!4 '2 : &!. \$. * , #&: \$!7, \$8-\$%. (! *7!&: \$!-+32\$! *7!. \$, &3'!Q* , #+!3++* . '3&\$#!Q'&: ! 3!%\$23&E\$!37\$. &/!+- . : !3+!d7\$3,/e!d+ . 3,\$#/e! * , !d3%2, (/e!'!8-\$%, !9 -+!4 +P! . * 4 '%2S* -& ! %3,, 3&E\$+! F! c \$! 4 '2 : &!: \$%! . * 4 D3, \$! &: '+! Q'&: ! &: \$!7, \$8-\$%. (! *7!+- . : ! &: \$, 4 +! '%! %*%\$ 9 -+!4 +P! . * 4 '%2S* -& ! %3,, 3&E\$+! F! G : '+! Q* -1#! = \$!3!+- '3=1\$! 3DD, *3. : !&*!3%+Q\$, '%2!3! 8-\$+&%!+- . : !3+! #*!8-\$%, !9 -+!4 +!2\$%, 311(! \$ND\$, '\$%. \$! &: \$! . * 4 '%2S* -& ! D, * . \$++! 4 * , \$!%\$23&E\$1(!&: 3%!8-\$%, !%*%\$9 -+!4 +!%&: \$! ; <h!Y%&: \$! *&: \$!, ! : 3%#!Q : '1\$!'& 43(! 13. R!+&3'&'. 3!+ - DD*, &/!8-31&3&E\$!3%31(+'+!'+!. 3D3=1\$! *7!#, 3Q'2!=, *3#\$!, ! . *%. 1-+!%*+! &: 3%!8-3%&3&E\$!3%31(+'+!3%#!43(! 3. R!\$! -!3%#! -!8-\$+&%+! V*11'#3(!H ! !]`F!6! 8-31&3&E\$!3DD, *3. : ! 4 '2 : &= \$!4 D1* (\$#!&*!1* *R!3&8-\$+&%+!+- . : !3+5! V*Q!#* \$!+!&: \$! . * 4 '%2S* -& ! D, * . \$++!%71-\$%. \$!8-\$%, !9 -+!4 +P! = \$! '\$7!%!" +13 4 h! c : (!3, \$!. 1*+\$&\$#!8-\$%, !9 -+!4 +!. 1*+\$&\$#h!Y, ! : *Q! 4 '2 : &8-\$%, !9 -+!4 +!D\$, 7*, 4 !&: \$!, ! , \$!2'*%!3%#!+\$N-3!*, ! 2\$%#\$!, !#\$%& '\$+!&*!43'%'&3'!+37\$&(h!

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c : '1\$! = *&: !8-31&3&E\$! 3%#! 8-3%&3&E\$! 4 \$&: *#+! . * -1#! = \$! -+\$#! &*! +&-#(!&: \$! =, *3#! &: \$4 \$+! !: 3E\$!#'+. -++\$#! '%!D, \$E'* -+!. : 3D8\$, +/!: \$!D3,& . -13, !, \$+\$3, . : !8-\$+&%+! !: 3E\$! +\$&!7*, &: !\$#! &: \$4 +\$1E\$+! = \$&&\$!, !&*!3!8-31&3&E\$!3DD, *3. : !3+!"34!D, '43, '1(!'%&\$, \$+&\$#! '%! &: \$! ! 3%#! &: \$! = \$: '%#! &: \$! . *%+&, - . &'*%! *7! 8-\$%, !9 -+!4 ! '#\$%& '\$+! 3%#! . * 4 4 -%'\$+! C\$. *%#1(! 3!8-31&3&E\$!3DD, *3. : !'+!3DD, *D, '3&\$!7*, ! 4 (! +&-#(!#-\$! &*!

' 4 '&!*%+!*?+3 4 D!\$!+'T\$F!6!+&3'+' . 311(!,\$D,\$+\$%&3'E\$!3%#!2\$\$%,31'T3=1\$!+3 4 D!\$!+'T\$!
Q3+!*%&!7\$3+'=1\$!*%&:'!+&-#(/!#-\$!*&' 4 \$!. *%+&,3'%&+!3%#!&:\$!\$%2&!*7!*%&\$,E'\$Q+F!
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,+\$3, . : F!"#!#3%!*%\$!+\$3, . : !7*, !,\$1\$E3%&!+-DD*, &!2, * -D+/\$%&!* -&!3%!\$4 3'!*&!*&:, \$\$!
^+\$!6DD\$%#N!B`/!3%#!,\$.\$'E\$#!3!, \$+D*%+\$!7, * 4!*%\$!Q'&: '%!3!7\$Q!#3(+F!"!: \$3,#!=3.R!
7, * 4!3!+\$.*%#!2, * -D!3= * -&!3!4 *%&: !13&\$, FIG:\$!7', +&!2, * -D!&*!2\$&!=3.R!&*!4 \$!'!+.311\$#!
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- %#\$, +&3%#%'2! 2, * - D! #(%34'. +F! _ * &! *%1(! Q3+! D3,&.'D3%&! *+\$, E3&' *%! 3! +* -, . \$! *7!
. ,+\$3, . : ! 4 3&\$, '31! &+\$17! =- &! 31+*!73. '1'83&\$#! 4 (!+\$, . *%#! 4 \$& : *#! *7! #3&3!. *11\$. &*' *%5!
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X3,&.'D3%&!*=+\$, E3&' *%!: \$1D\$#!+ : 3D\$! 4 (!%'&\$, E'\$Q!8-\$+&' *%+!3%#!+&, - . &-, \$!/3+!&!23E\$!
4 \$! 3! +\$%+\$! *7! '++-\$+! 377\$. &%2! 8-\$ \$\$, ! 9 - +' 4 +! '%! &: \$! ; <! 3%#! #\$\$=3&\$+! Q'& : '%! &: \$!', !
. * 4 4 - %'\$+F! 9 *, \$*E\$, /! D3,&.'D3&%2! '%! \$E\$%&+! 3%#! *%1%\$! 2, * - D! . : 3&+! Q3+!
'%#! +D\$%+3=1\$!%'!, \$., - &%2!%'&\$, E'\$Q\$\$+F! c & : !D\$, 4 '++'*%!7, * 4 !2, * - D!3# 4 '%!+&, 3&*, +/!"
+\$%&! * - &3!. 311!7*, !, \$+\$3, . : !D3,&.'D3%&+/\$ND13%'%2! 4 (!, \$+\$3, . : !3%#! *=\$. &E\$+/!& *!& : \$!
V' #3(3 : ! 4 \$ 4 =\$, +! c : 3&+6DD!2, * - D!3%#!& : \$! ; <! 9 - +' 4 +!C-DD*, &! <'R!2, * - DF!6!7, '\$%#!
31+*!7*, Q3, #\$\$!& : \$! 4 \$++32\$!& *!3%*& : \$!, !c : 3&+6DD!2, * - D!7*, !8-\$ \$\$, !9 - +' 4 +!%'!M *%#*%F!
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D3,&.'D3%&+F!G : +! 4 \$3%&!&: 3&"! : 3#!31,\$3#(!23%'\$#!& : \$!&, - +&3%#!7, '\$%#+: 'D! *7!+\$E\$, 3!
3.&E\$!V' #3(3 : ! 4 \$ 4 =\$, +/!3%\$. \$++3, (! +\$D!%'!, \$+\$3, . : !*%!8-\$ \$\$, ! 9 - +' 4 !D*D-13&*%+!
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Q*, R!&: 3&!Q\$!. 3%!' 4 D, *E\$!&: '%2+!%'!& : \$! 9 - +' 4 !MLOGj!. * 4 4 - %&(F!G : 3%R! (* - !n& : \$!
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7*, Q3, #!& !&5^F!6!&: ', #!D\$, +*%!D, 'E3&\$1(!4 \$++32\$#!+* 4 \$! *7!& : \$!2, * - D! 4 \$ 4 =\$, +! *%! 4 (!
= \$: 317!/3+!+ : \$!R%\$Q!& : \$ 4 !=\$&&\$, !& : 3%!"!#&#F!G : \$+\$!D- ='. !3%#!D, 'E3&\$!\$%#*, +\$4 \$%&+! *7!
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JF! L \$&!3%!"#3! *7!& : \$! !'E\$#/!%#E' # - 3! /!+ - = \$. &E\$!\$ND\$, '\$%.. \$+! *7! 8-\$ \$\$, ! 9 - +' 4 +!%!
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c : 3&+6DD!%- 4 =\$,!/31*%2!Q'&!:!4 (!+-D\$,E'+*,P+!%3 4 \$!3%#!\$S 4 3'!3##,\$++F!"!\$ND13'%\$#!
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&:3&/!31&: * -2 :!+:\$! :3#!%\$E\$,!E\$,=311(!#\$.13,\$#!:\$,+\$17!=+\$N-31!*,!+D*R\$%!3=* -&!:\$,!
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4 3%7\$+&3&'*%!7!:\$,!8-\$%,%\$++!3&!&:\$!&'4 \$!*7!*-,!%&\$,E'\$Q!Q3+!3=[\$!&*!7'&!Q\$11!\$%*-2:
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dD3'/%e!d\$4 *'!*%3!D,\$++-,\$/e!d:-,&!7\$\$1'%2+/e!* ,!d+&, \$++Fe!A*,!+*4\$/!&:'+!7\$3,!Q3+!`%R\$#!
&*&:\$!73.&&:3&=\$'%2!8-\$\$,!4\$3%&&:\$(!Q*-1#!%*&!==\$!3=1\$!&*7-17'11!\$ND\$.&3&`%*+!3,* -%#!
43,, '32\$!3%#! .: '1#, \$%F! Y%\$!`%&\$, E'\$Q\$\$!\$ND13'%\$#!&:3&&:\$!#\$.+'*%!%*&!&*!. * 4\$! * -&
Q3+!, * * &\$#!`%!, \$+D\$.&!7*, !:\$,!73 4 '1(!=\$.3 -+\$!+:\$!#'#!%*&!Q3%&!&*!: -,&&:\$4 F!!
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C3#'(3!3!+*!7\$1&!3!, \$+D*&+='1'&(!&*!D, * &\$.&!: \$,!73 4 '1(F! c:\$!+:\$!:\$1D\$#!,-%!3!+-DD*,&
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,23%'T\$,+F!C:\$!#'*!%*&+*:Q!:\$,!73.\$!%&:\$!4\$#3!3%#!Q'&:\$1#!:\$,!3+&!34\$#!-, '%2!

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Q3(F!C*!'&!%\$E\$,!,,\$3!!(!.34\$!-D!%!. *%E\$,+3&'*%/! -%1\$++!&Q3+!+D\$. '7'.3!!(!3=* -&!&:3&!*,!
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6+43,3!+!2,* -D! *7!7,'\$%#+!Q3+!=\$%\$7'. '3!!&*! :\$,!+\$%+\$! *7!= \$1*%2' %2!3%#!+\$17S\$+\$&\$\$ 4 F!
V*Q\$E\$,!/7*,!*&:\$,+!%*%S&3,2\$&\$#!8-\$,\$,!+D3.\$+!Q\$,,\$!3%!3##'&'*%31!.3 -+\$! *7!'#\$%&'&(!
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u3,3!7* -%#!3!+\$%+\$! *7!= \$1*%2' %2!%!+\$E\$,31!*%1%\$!&,3%+2\$%#\$,!+-DD*,&7*, - 4 +/!= -&7\$!&
-%3=|\$!&*!+D\$3R!3= * -&, \$!2'*%!*D\$%!(F!6!7*, - 4 !+ :\$!: \$1D\$#!43%32\$!:3#!3!, - 1\$!323%+&
D*&'.3!*,!, \$!2'* -+!D* +&+F!aE\$%!+ *!/u3,3!#. '#\$#!&*!+ :3,\$!3%!'%7*, 43&'*%3!D* +&/!Q:': :!
\$ND13'%\$#!&:3&!+* 4 \$!, \$!2'* -+!2,* -D+!3,\$!3.. \$D&'%2! *7!&,3%+2\$%#\$,!#\$%&'\$+F!C :\$!Q3+!
4 \$&!Q:&:!=3.R!3+ :!7,* 4 !2,* -D!4 \$4 =\$,+5!

A bunch of people just decided to chime in about how religion is all nonsense. And you know I [...] told them that I didn't post those things so they had a right to come and attack my religion, or every religion. [...] So yeah there was some intolerance there.!

u3,3!= \$!'\$E\$#!&:3&!&: \$!, \$+D*%+\$!+ :\$!, \$. '\$E\$#!Q\$, \$!, * *&\$#!%!&: \$!2, * -D!+!dD, *S3&:\$'+&e!
+&3%. \$!/, 3&:\$!, !&:3%!3%&'S9 -+!4 !='2*&, (/!%'!D3,&'. -13,F!_ \$E\$, &:\$!\$++/!&: \$!4 \$++32\$!Q3+!
&:3&!u3,3!+, \$!2'* +'& (!Q3+!%* &!Q\$!. * 4 \$!%!&: \$!2, * -DF!C :\$!Q * -#! :3E\$!&*!R\$\$D!&:3&!D3,&
7! :\$,+\$17!8 - '\$&!2'%2!7*, Q3,#F!

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D,*7\$++'*3!+\$&%2+!&*,*43%&!.!*,!+\$N-31!.*%&\$N&+F!!

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9-+!4+!'%&:\$!8-\$,\$,!.*44-%'&(F!0*,%!'%&*!3!) :,+'3%!734'(/!6#34!2,\$Q!-D!'%!3!
D,\$#!*4'3&\$1(!Q:'\$!Q%!"%!_*:&:\$3+&a%2!3%#F!V\$!.*%E\$,&\$#!&*!0-##:'+4!3+!3%!3#-1!
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+\$E\$,3!V">!.:3,'&\$!+!3%#!8-\$,\$,!,'2:&+!3.&E'+&2,*-D+/!7*,4'2!&Q*!*7!:+!*Q%F!6%!
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3%#!Q3+!Q*,R'2!%!3!,!3&\$#!X:@!3&:&\$!&4\$!*7!*-,!%&\$,E'\$QF!
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&\$!!%2!:'!734'(!3%#!7,\$%#+!:\$!Q3+!9-+!4!Q3+!d!R\$!.*4'2!*-&3!+\$.*%#!&4\$Fe!G*!
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Adam's recollection of his social media friend's comment fits within a broader homonationalist narrative, wherein queerness and Muslimness are pitted against each other as naturally opposing in the battle for human rights. According to this comment, Adam had betrayed his community, as Islam was an existential threat to the queer cause.

Adam and Rafiq believe that this sort of religious bigotry is grounded in a certain "defensiveness" queer people may have due to years of oppression at the hands of religion, specifically the Church. While this may be true, the effect of discriminatory attitudes and actions can be detrimental to individuals' mental health and well-being.

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6 . * +\\$3/! <F! ^H | JJ` !dC\$N - 3! !) ' & T\$%+ : ' D5! 93,, ' 32\$/! 6# * D&!*% /! 3%#! " 4 4 ' 2, 3&*% ! '%! & : \$!
; %' & \$#! C&3&\$+ / e! '%! c F! 6, 4 31%\$ /! @F! L 13+= \$, 2 /! 3%#! OF! X-, R3 (3+ & : 3! ^\$# F` ! H

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V3!!/!CF!^JUU\`!d_ \$Q!a&:%' .&'\$+/e!"%@F! 9 *,!\$(!3%#!<F!VF!) :\$%!^\$#F^/! H :
C /!M*%#*%5! ? * -&!\$#2\$/!ZZJSZ[!F!
V'#3(3:! ML0Gj! ^H!J\`! ! ^ c c c`! A3.\$=**R!
^QQQF73.\$=**RF. * 4I:'#3(3:12=&lk!HU!_ *EF!H!JK`!
V'#3(3:! ^H!J]`! d c :3&! 3,\$! * - ,! 3'4+! 3%#! * =b\$.&'E\$+he! ^ c c c`! M*%#*%5! V'#3(3:!
^QQQF:'#3(3:12=&F. *F-Rk!H!]C\$D&F!H!JK`!
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ZI!

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X-3,! fF!^H! I]`! A : H /! @-, : 3 4 5!
 @ -R\$! ; %'E\$,+'&(!X,\$++F!
 ?'. : 3,#+*%/! @F! ^H! I I`! d) 13'4 '%2!) '&T\$%+ : 'Dh! C\$N-3!&(/!) '&T\$%+ : 'D! 3%#!
 M\$+= '3%IA\$ 4 '%'+&G : \$*, (/e! /!B!/H/[SH]HF!
 ?'. : 3,#+*%/! @F!^H! J]`!d? \$&: '%R'%2!C\$N-3!) '&T\$%+ : 'D/e! /![J!/H!/H!KSHHZF!
 ? -='%/! LF! CF! ^JUUUB`! dG : '%R'%2! C\$N5! _ * &\$+! 7*, ! 3! ?3#'. 3! G : \$*, (! *7! &:\$! X*1'&. +! *7!
 C\$N-3!&(/e! '%! VF! 6=\$1* E\$! ^\$#F`/! L G /! _\$Q!
 m*, R5! ? * -&#\$2\$/!BSZZF!
 ?(3%SA1**#/! ?F!^H! I U`!L : , /!
 03+'%2+&*R\$5!X312,3E\$!93. 4 '13%F!
 C\$#2Q'. R!/aF!<F!^JUUU`!E C /!0\$,R\$!\$(5! ; %'E\$,+'&(!*7!) 3!7*, '%3!
 X,\$++F!
 C : '#1*/! 6F!3%#! fF! 6 : *13!^H!JB`!d9\$%&3! : \$31&!: . : 31!\$%2\$+! *7!ML OG!7*, . \$#! 4 '2,3%&+/e!
 F M /IZH!/USJJF!
 C"4!/0F!^H! I I`!G C /!) 34=, '#2\$5!) 34=, '#2\$! ; %'E\$,+'&(!X,\$++F!
 C4'&:/! 6F! 9F! ^JUUZ`! N D /!) 34=, '#2\$5!
) 34=, '#2\$! ; %'E\$,+'&(!X,\$++F!
 CD'E3R!/LF!^JUKK`!d) 3%!&:\$!C-=318\$, %!CD\$3Rhe!%'!) F! _\$1+*%!3%#!MF!L, *++=\$,2!^\$#`!
 M / C /! ; , =3%35! ; %'E\$,+'&(!*7!"1'%"*+!X,\$++/!
 H]JSBJBF!
 C*&%\$Q311!^H! J]`!dML OG!%'!0,'&3'5!V3&\$!), '4\$!3%#!@'+. , '4 '3&'*%/e!^ c c c `!M*%#*%5!
 C*&%\$Q311!^QQQF+&*%\$Q311F*, 2F-Rk!B!C\$D&F!H!JK`F!
 G3(1*, /!@F!^JUKU`!d) '&T\$%+ : 'D!3%#!C* . '3!X*Q\$, /e!C P /!U!/JUSBJF!
 G : * 43+/_F!^JUU\`!d) *1#A-+'*%/e!A A /!UK!/J!/USJ\!F!

ZJ!

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m'D/! 6F! <F! GF! ^H ! [`! dW-\$\$, '%2! ?\$1'2'* -+! G\$N&+5! 6%! aND1*,3&'*%! *7! 0,'&+:! _*%\$
:\$&\$, *+\$N-3!) : ,+'3%+P! 3%#! 9 -+1'4+P! C&,3&\$2(! *7!) *%+&,- .&%2! C\$N-3!'&(S
37', 4 '%2!V\$, 4 \$\$-\$& .+/e! /!BU/!J/!Z]S\ [F!
m'D/!6F!<F!GF!^H ! K`!d?\$\$+\$3, . : '%2!M\$+=3%/!L3(/!3%#!O'+\$N-3!) : ,+'3%+!3%#!9 -+1'4+5!

ZH!

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