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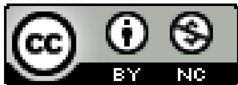

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Introduction

During my fieldwork in 2019 in Hackney, a neighbourhood in the north-east of London, I sat in a cafe with a few young people whose parents are Kurdish and Turkish. A few days earlier Shamima Begum's citizenship had been revoked, and we started talking about how they would feel if they were stripped of their British citizenship. Erkan[1] said 'I would feel lost'; he was interrupted by Kenan, who added 'they cannot strip our British citizenship. We were born in this country.' Erkan asked Kenan, 'Do you know Shamima Begum's case?' Kenan shook his head; Erkan answered his question: 'Shamima Begum is a British-Bangladeshi whose British passport has been taken away by the British government because she joined ISIS. She was sent to Bangladesh, where she has never lived, and cannot return to the UK.' He followed up: 'Imagine if this happens to us. I have never lived in Turkey and would not want to live there. I do not even speak proper Turkish. I am British. Here is my home and there is no other place to call home.' Mehmet interrupted: 'You are lucky because you are Turkish and Turkey is not a dangerous place for you. Returning to Turkey in my case is not safe as there are lots of racist attacks taking place in Turkey against Kurds.' Erkan added: 'Yes, but I do not feel comfortable in Turkey. I do not want to live there. I am British. I was born in this country. I belong here.' Kenan said 'Do not worry, guys! They will not send us back to Turkey. They want to get rid of black and brown people, not us. We are white compared to them.'

Their conversation[2] highlights racialised hierarchies of Britishness, what constitutes a sense of belonging, and in which ways whiteness plays a role in how they position themselves with other racialised groups. It also confirms their views about what constitutes a sense of belonging, which varies depending on their experiences in one another's hierarchical positions that are defined by their parents' country of origin, ethnicity, religion and class. By looking into how the children of refugees and

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immigrants position themselves within a range of places where they face racism and discrimination, how they make sense of their identities and belonging within the contemporary political context in Britain and Turkey, and what it means to be a citizen of Britain and/or Turkey, this book, by drawing on ethnographic research conducted in north London, aims to provide a conceptual tool highlighting a need to focus on these young people's experiences of racism and discrimination within the political spectrum of Britain and Turkey.

While I was completing this book Rishi Sunak became the first ever British Asian Prime Minister in Britain. Since then, racist memes about his Britishness have been shared on social media and comments such as 'he is Asian, not even British',[3] have been made, questioning his Britishness. His Britishness is not only questioned by English people but also by minorities. Before he became Prime Minister, in one of his speeches he said: 'People say "you have a great tan". I say "I stay in the sun a lot"' – to position himself in close proximity to whiteness. Although Rishi Sunak revealed that he had experienced racism when he was a child and a young person, he also said in one of his speeches: 'I don't think this would happen today because our country has made incredible progress in tackling racism.'[4] When addressing questions posed by reporters he said: 'I absolutely don't believe that Britain is a racist country. And I'd hope that as our nation's first British Asian Prime Minister when I say that it carries some weight.'[5]

In line with this assumption, the Conservative government's policy and discourse around immigration and citizenship reproduce 'a racialised notion of what it means to be British, and who deserves to be British'[6] that often ignore racialised minorities' experiences of racism. Seemingly, the children of refugees and immigrants, and people of colour, are not considered British. Who is British and who is not British is not related to being born in Britain or holding British citizenship; rather, it indicates the structure of a racialised hierarchy of Britishness. Britishness for the children of refugees and immigrants has always been questioned and, in many cases, it is questioned by the minorities within their communities.

The idea of writing this book first occurred to me when witnessing my cousins' experiences, particularly the challenges they faced with growing up in a transnational social space and engaging with both the country of settlement and their parents' country of origin. Mixing Turkish with English when they speak with their parents and 'performing' their identities depending on their location has become a daily routine for them. During our conversations about Turkey, and Britain, their sense of cultural and national belonging(ness) and identities, they highlighted

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that they have a heightened awareness of how a place can impact a person through their experiences in both countries and realised that other children of immigrants would also perform their identities depending on their location; they became intrigued by the diverse and multiculturalist cities of the world. The challenges, they stated, are mostly associated with language, traditions and cultural practices, especially when they visit Turkey, rather than experiencing racism based on class or migratory background. Race and class are not significant in their experiences of living in a transnational social space and especially in 'Brexit Britain'. However, this might not be the case for other children of immigrants whose parents are from Turkey. This case made me explore the experiences of the children of refugees and immigrants in the country of settlement and their parents' country of origin, their sense of belonging and their feelings, as well as their relation to the identities surrounding them.

Am I Less British? is a study of hierarchies of belonging, racism and transnational experiences of the children of refugees and immigrants in London, whose parents migrated from Turkey. The book rethinks the questions of identity and belonging beyond the category of culture as a form of resistance to racism and exclusion in a transnational context. It combines the lenses of migratory background with a more explicit emphasis on racialised, classed and gendered dynamics of belonging within the political spectrum of Britain and Turkey, and the complexities of their intersection when exploring the young people's relationships with London, north London and Turkey. In light of this, the book focuses on four main approaches – the role of the social and political circumstances of Britain and Turkey; transnational experiences; places in which the young people interact; and racialised, classed and gendered dynamics of belonging in how young people understand their sense of belonging and identities.

By delving into the role of the social and political circumstances of the children of refugees and immigrants in a transnational context to explore their sense of belonging, this book offers insights into the experiences of young people from Turkey in north London. It aims to explore how the children of refugees and immigrants position themselves within a range of locations (London, north London and Turkey) where they face racial and class hierarchy, racism and sexism; how they think about their sense of belonging within the contemporary political context in Britain and Turkey.

The children of refugees and immigrants' relationship with their respective nationalities, cities and identities raises the question of whether they are seen as British, regardless of how they feel about

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their Britishness, especially in Britain's 'hostile environment', which was established with the set of immigration policies introduced with the Immigration Act 2014 and intensified with the 2016 Immigration Act to exclude 'illegal immigrants from all public services and encourage them "go home"'.[7] Due to the British government's 'hostile environment' approach to immigration policies, some members of the Windrush generation – those who arrived in Britain from Caribbean countries between 1948 and 1973 – were wrongly detained and deported by the Home Office in 2018. People who have only lived in Britain were being deported even after the Windrush scandal. In his book *Deporting Black Briton*, through engaging the individual stories of the deported people who migrated to Britain in the early 2000s and were all deported following a criminal conviction, Luke de Noronha argues that the 'hostile environment' demonstrated 'the settled status of black Britons remained revocable and raised several questions about race, citizenship and belonging in "Brexit Britain"'.[8] In this light, racism has increased for the children of refugees and immigrants, especially after the European Union Brexit referendum in 2016, which is also confirmed by Shamima Begum's case and the Nationality and Borders Bill.

Therefore, the fact that someone holds British citizenship does not mean that they are unconditionally settled in Britain and belong to Britain. What it means to be a citizen of Britain has been changed, and every single British child of a British parent born overseas finds themselves in the structure of racialised hierarchies of Britishness. The new 'hostile environment' has been introduced with the approval of the British government's Nationality and Borders Bill in 2021.[9] These citizenship-stripping policies not only create second-class citizens but also corrode, especially, many Muslim, Asian and black people's sense of belonging within Britain. The power to remove British citizenship based on what is 'conducive to the public good' will immensely affect people of colour and determine that citizenship is defined by whiteness.

Although I have provided examples of the 'hostile environment' and the erosion of citizenship in recent years, it is crucial to state that these dynamics were pre-existent and they have their roots in the British Empire. Nadine El-Enany shows that the immigration system in Britain was constructed to control the entry of former colonial people after the collapse of the British Empire.[10] This political rhetoric on immigration and citizenship continues even more harshly in recent years in attacking racialised minorities.

Am I Less British? shows what it means to be British in 'Brexit Britain' through the narratives of British Kurdish and British Turkish in north

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London and how they experience 'new hierarchies of belonging'[11] in London. They imagine their future is more blurred than before, as stated by Dilan, a British Kurdish youth: 'I feel and experience a clear division between myself and a European British or English young people even though I was born in Britain and do not speak English with a foreign accent as my parents [do].' This highlights that there is not only a clear distinction between migration and citizenship status, but also between citizens. I discuss the racialised hierarchies of Britishness further in Chapter 6. How the children of refugees and immigrants make sense of their Britishness should be explored not only by focusing on their experiences in Britain. Their sense of belonging and belongingness should also be situated in a transnational context, because their social relations, emotions and identities are situated across the borders of nation-states.

From this perspective, *Am I Less British?* also examines transnational links between the children of refugees and immigrants, particularly focusing on their experiences in Turkey and their thoughts about Turkey. The dynamics of the Turkish context, and the political climate in Turkey, especially the exclusion of Kurdish identity and racial discourses, are looked into. I argue that the children of Turkish immigrants deidentify themselves from national identities, such as Turkish and British, due to their experiences of racism and exclusion transnationally. As a result, they find themselves in a constant process of negotiating their identity. However, the children of Kurdish refugees identify more with their Kurdishness as a response to racism in a transnational context, both in Turkey and Britain. So their identity-making process is not only influenced by the environment in which they live in Britain, but also by the political atmosphere in their parents' country of origin. I touch on racism in a transnational context to gain a better understanding of the ways experiencing racism in both settlements influences their sense of belonging in relation to how they feel about Britishness, Kurdishness and Turkishness. Most of the young people are also Turkish citizens and have transnational links with the country; therefore, the migratory trajectories of their parents, their experiences when they visit Turkey, the socio-political changes taking place in Turkey, and how these changes are affecting the ways the participants make sense of their Kurdish and Turkish identities are as important as their attachments to Britain (more on this in Chapters 2 and 5).

Another important point the book makes is that the processes of racialisation in a transnational context plays a central role in how young people define themselves and how they account for the everyday dynamics of their relationships across the borders of nation-states. I pay particular attention to the processes of racialisation, the experiences of racism

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and the hierarchies of whiteness that are visible in the everyday experiences of the children of refugees and immigrants in London. Racialisation informs how they constructed and challenged a sense of belonging (see Chapters 4, 5 and 6). The whiteness that is associated with white supremacy, and racial domination is a shifting category that is constantly reproduced and articulated within the political and social lexicon and should be framed historically,[12] and a difference becomes a racial one when markers of identity are invested with political meanings that can be mobilised in conflict. The ways young people refer to their sense of belonging and how they are seen by others are very much related to the hierarchies of whiteness that depends on the places, societies and power dynamics in both countries. I am interested in exploring how the racial categories of those who fall into white and non-white differ, how these categories change over time, whether this change depends on class, gender, the places where they interact, and how the hierarchies of whiteness play a role when they interact with young people from different ethnic and racial backgrounds. In her book *Who Cares about Britishness?*, Vron Ware demonstrates that there are various kinds of Britishness internalised by people whose experiences differ depending on communities and places they intersect within multicultural Britain.[13] As Ware shows, while Britishness means nothing for some people, it represents important things, especially, for people with a migratory background, which is very much related to belongingness.[14] The narratives of the children of refugees and immigrants on how they relate to Britishness and whiteness is explored further in Chapter 6. The transnational experiences of young people present a deeper understanding of the complexity of their lives in changing political and social circumstances across the borders of nation-states. In this book, I shall also examine how encountering racism and discrimination in both societies affects the sense of belonging among young people.

As argued by Victoria Melangedd Redclift and Fatima Begum Rajina, transnational activities among Bangladesh-origin Muslims in Britain increased as an escape from the hostility they experienced.[15] Transnational context is important when exploring how the children of refugees and immigrants relate to Britishness, Turkishness and Kurdishness, especially when reflecting on their experiences of racism. However, the transnational context is not always an escape for the young people who are alienated from their parents' country of origin as a result of the racism, exclusion and sexism they experience. Overall, the book demonstrates that the intersections of local, national and transnational approaches, the political context through which the lives of young people

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are framed, their experiences of racism, and the role of class, ethnicity and gender are a *sine qua non* in exploring their relation to Britishness, Kurdishness and Turkishness. It shows how the intersection of racial hierarchies, class, ethnicity and gender plays a crucial role in their identification, not only in the British, Turkish, Kurdish and transnational contexts but also in the local context.

This introductory chapter sets out the theoretical framework of the book and engage with the relevant literature on racism and belonging in a transnational context to which the analysis of my ethnographic material responds. It aims to challenge the existing theories based on methodological nationalism that does not account for the lived experience of the children of refugees and immigrants. In the next part, I explore the concept of transnationalism.

Why does transnationalism not offer sufficient understanding beyond nationalism?

The transnational perspective was developed in the 1990s as a replacement or addition to the concept of diaspora. In the 1990s, a new shape of migration, the transformation of the nation-state in a global age and the level of diasporic exchanges focusing more on the individual, challenged the notion of diaspora and led to the concept of transnationalism entering the field of migration. The transnational perspective in migration studies has emerged as a new theoretical framework and analytical tool that accounts for the changing nature of contemporary migration, which is now received as more fluid rather than being fixed to nationally defined borders. It entails the movements of people, groups or entities across borders, with the implication they are doing so because of the developments in globalisation. Border-crossing activities as transnational practices are not limited to traditional or physical border-crossing activities and are now easier in the global context as a result of new technological developments.[16]

The main focus of the transnational perspective is on border-crossing activities, which attempts to avoid 'methodological nationalism' that refers to 'nationalist thinking and the conceptualisation of migration in post-war social sciences'.[17] Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick-Schiller argue that the nation-state-building processes have shaped the ways migration has been perceived and suggest an analysis of migratory movements from a transnational context that represents a shift of perspective beyond methodological nationalism and is classified as a challenge to

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the nation-state.[18] Transnationalism has emerged as a new theoretical framework and analytical tool that accounts for the changing nature of contemporary migration, which is now received as more fluid rather than being fixed to nationally defined borders. The concept of transnationalism has become one of the fundamental ways of understanding the practices of migrants across the borders of nation-states.[19] In the literature, transnationalism is most of the time defined as a 'process by which migrants, through their daily activities, forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic and political relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, and through which they create social fields that cross-national boundaries'.[20]

However, transnationalism has been criticised because it does not answer certain questions such as, what sort of migrant community it refers to, what is its historical limit and what kinds of migrant practices it includes.[21] Despite transnationalism becoming a modish concept in the recent decade, some scholars have provided radical critiques of the concept.[22] For example, Alisdair Rogers argues that 'not all migrants are transmigrants and not all cross-border moves are transnational. The various policies and programmes described as a mobility order set the conditions under which individuals, families, and communities make their decisions.'[23] Peter Kivisto also criticises the efficiency of transnationalism by not offering a convincing argument about which sort of migrants it includes,[24] and Janine Dahinden questions the concept because it focuses on migrants and ignores non-migrants who might also be involved in transnational activities.[25] In Janine Dahinden's account, if globalisation has had a huge impact on people's lives in terms of constructing social networks across borders, it should be said that almost everybody nowadays, to some degree, is transnational, but their level of transnational activities distinguish varying social positioning in a globalised world.[26] Social networks play a crucial role in her understanding of transnationalism, as they also do for Bruno Riccio, who argues that transnationalism is about constant networking within transnational spaces and encompasses differing practices.[27] On the other hand, Paolo Boccagni highlights the interplay of the 'here' and 'there', which impacts both the host and home societies, rather than limiting the transnational perspective solely to the relationship of migrants with their home societies.[28]

The effects of transnational links on both sending and receiving countries have been studied in relation to economic, political and socio-cultural aspects in the multidisciplinary literature. The studies focus on cross-border entrepreneurialism and remittances,[29] dual citizenship and voting practices[30] and everyday practices.[31] How it is possible to talk

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about the meaningful effects of the transnational perspective on both sending and receiving societies without challenging 'national accounts of the history of nations in the Global North';[32] transnationalism does not offer a sufficient analysis of migrants' experiences beyond the nation-states. As stated by Ipek Demir, the concept of transnationalism does not take into account how colonial legacies and racial hierarchies are relevant to our time when positioning itself as an alternative to nationalism.[33] From another point of view, Janine Dahinden argues that membership and identification refer to ethnic categories and nation-states; the nation needs to be taken into account when researching transnationalism because it influences the level of transnational practices among migrants.[34] In her later work, Dahinden states that it is important to focus on both 'a de-nationalized epistemology while simultaneously analysing the potential force of nation-state categories'.[35] The categories of nation-state and ethnicity still shape the identities of many transnational migrants because not all migrants identify with multicultural cultures.[36]

There are several reasons why transnationalism does not offer sufficient understanding beyond nationalism. Firstly, the transnational perspective treats minorities who migrated a long time ago and were granted citizenship as 'migrants' and analyses their links with the receiving society by measuring their levels of 'integration' and on what basis they contribute to the receiving society.[37] Secondly, its territorial understanding of 'home' and 'homeland' assumes that all 'transnational migrants' have a 'home country' that they feel they belong to besides a settlement country, which intensifies a state-centred approach. How can home and homeland be conceptualised in a transnational context if there is no 'homeland' state? Does the concept of transnationalism explain the links of 'transnational migrants' to a place that is imagined? These questions should be taken into account when defining transnationalism and exploring the experiences of transnational communities. 'We [Kurds] do not have any country, territory', said Rozerin. She continued: 'We do not have anywhere to call home.' The perception of the 'homeland' is only an idea or a part of the political project for stateless communities. As argued by Nancy L. Green and Roger Waldinger, 'the "home" to which the migrants prove attached is as likely – if not more so – to involve the village, region, or even ethnic minority of origin, as opposed to the sending state or the imagined nation to whom that state is presumed to belong.'[38] Thirdly, transnationalism does not take into consideration colonialism when questioning nation-centred thinking.[39] The legacies of colonialism are affecting the lives of many children of refugees and immigrants today who are not migrants but are treated and referred

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to as migrants even though they hold British passports, because the term migrant carries racial implications for anyone who is not white British. Racism has a huge impact on the ways immigrants have been defined. In order to challenge the nation-state-centric perspective, transnationalism must take into account the impact of colonial legacies and racism on the cross-border experiences of many children of refugees and immigrants.

The world is a political and social structure that is the product of a 'dual revolution' – a 'dual revolution' whose two elements mutually feed each other and offer mutual causality. On the one hand, the Industrial Revolution created capitalism as a universal norm and, on the other hand, the Enlightenment shaped political and social consciousness and determined its norms, which are deeply intertwined with racist and colonial thinking and practices. Nationalism as an integral part of both the Industrial Revolution and the Enlightenment that concentrates on the obvious negative effects of nations and neglects to examine the underlying causes is a form of habitus that results in the loss of this dual revolution.[40] This situation is not much different in terms of transnationalism. I argue that transnationalism does not offer sufficient understanding beyond nationalism, and dismisses considering racism as an impact of colonial legacies on the cross-border experiences of many children of refugees and immigrants, which are reflected in the socio-political context of both the receiving and sending societies. The concept of transnationalism falls short in fully comprehending the experiences of children of refugees and immigrants and overlooks the impact of racism. It disregards the socio-political contexts of Britain and Turkey that exacerbate cross-border experiences.

In this book, I use terms such as 'transnational activities' and 'transnational experience' instead of transnationalism when exploring the experiences of the children of refugees and immigrants across the borders of nation-states as transnationalism carries connotations of nationalism. Migrants' and minorities' experiences of racism have not received enough attention in the literature on transnational migration. Therefore, I pay close attention to how the children of refugees and immigrants whose parents migrated to Britain from Turkey are affected by racism in both settlements.

Below, I explore racism in a transnational context to gain a better understanding of which ways experiencing racism in both settlement countries and the country of origin influence the sense of belonging among the children of refugees and immigrants and how they identify with Britishness, Kurdishness and Turkishness.

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Racism in a transnational context

Racism is a political phenomenon, it is global and transnational and should be understood in the historical context that is inspired by the structural system of power and domination.[41] However, it is rarely discussed in its transnational dimensions. Paul Gilroy offers a transnational perspective in understanding the shared experiences of racism and resistance among black American travellers.[42] How racism transforms itself and is altered through social networks across national borders, and what experiencing racism across national borders can do to people, are important questions to ask. Exploring racism within its transnational perspective becomes crucial not only to illustrate it as a worldwide problem but also to highlight its historical context. As argued by Martin Bulmer and John Solomos, without a clear understanding of the historical context it is not possible to understand how racial ideas have emerged out of and become an integral part of societies.[43] Similarly, Eduardo Bonilla-Silva highlights that racism is inspired by the structured system of power and domination that has a historical basis.[44] In the case of Turkey, for instance, the Kurdish identity has been racialised through power dynamics in cultural, social and economic terms ever since the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923.[45] This legacy of an overlap between race and power, which has marginalised the Kurds in Turkey, has also oppressed many migrants and refugees in Turkey.[46] The process of racialisation shows how racism is based on lived experience and grows in line with the processes of exclusion, as referred to by Frantz Fanon.[47] Racism, in this book, is defined as a structured system of power and domination grounded in enduring historical narratives.[48] I am interested in exploring how racism as a lived experience in a transnational context is influencing how young people whose parents migrated from Turkey make sense of their identities and belonging within the contemporary political context in Britain and Turkey.

The transnational perspective on migration not only highlights the fact that the sending societies are important to the lives of migrants; it also focuses on the positive impacts of interactions established between the receiving and sending societies on migrants' lives in both societies.[49] When exploring the relationship between the sending and receiving societies in understanding migrants' experiences, the transnational perspective often analyses the experiences of migrants from one angle, which is the positive impact of engaging with the sending society on their lives in the receiving society.[50] For example, Annemarie Klingenberg *et al.*, focusing on the experiences of South Africans who migrated to Australia, argue

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that the transnational experiences of migrants provide distinct benefits for their lives in the receiving society.[51] Conversely, other studies use the term 'reactive transnationalism' to show that migrants' experiences of discrimination in a country of settlement make them identify more with a country of origin as a reaction.[52] These studies draw on Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut's notion of 'reactive ethnicity', suggesting that reaction occurs when racialised minorities experience discrimination and compensate by bolstering ethnic identities.[53] Exploring the cases of 'reactive ethnicity' studies show that, as a result of discrimination, ethnic group solidarity and group consciousness become more visible.[54] Adopting 'reactive ethnicity' in the context of transnational migration, it is argued that migrants identify with their countries of origin, and engage more in transnational activities as a reaction to the experience of discrimination.[55]

However, these studies look into the relationship between discrimination and transnational engagement, neglecting racism as one of the main experiences among migrants and their children in the countries of origin. In examining the linkage between transnationalism and racism through drawing in-depth interviews with first, second, third and fourth-generation Bangladesh-origin Muslims in London, Luton and Birmingham, Redclift and Rajina introduce the concept of 'protective transnationalism' as a specification of 'reactive transnationalism'[56] and argue that protective transnationalism was invoked only about land and property.[57] They show that transnational practices in the case of Bangladeshi-origin Muslims in London function as a form of protection, especially when immigrants experience racism in the country of settlement.[58] Alice Bloch and Shirin Hirsch, from a comparative and inter-generational approach, explore transnational activities among the UK-born 'second generation' from three refugee backgrounds – Tamils from Sri Lanka, Kurds from Turkey and Vietnamese – and argue that 'experiencing racism during visits to the heritage country reinforced the specificity of the refugee context that led to their parents' migration'.[59] There is little research on how experiencing racism in both the receiving and the sending societies influences the children of refugees and immigrants' transnational ties and sense of belonging. Transnational ties can change over time depending on the political and socio-economic conjuncture of both countries.

'Second generation' within the transnational perspective

The children of refugees and immigrants are often referred to as 'second generation' and their transnational activities are called 'second-generation transnationalism' in the literature. The term 'second generation' includes

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lots of connotations in its definition. It is used to define the group of people who were born or grew up in the country of the settlement who are seen as not belonging to the country in which they were born and are often recognised as foreigners. In most cases, they are referred to as 'second-generation migrants', even though they are citizens of their country of birth.[60] I do not use the term 'second generation' when referring to the children of refugees and immigrants, as both categories of 'second generation' and 'second-generation migrants' are associated with exclusion and emphasise colonial and assimilationist perspectives towards them.[61]

Most of the research on transnationalism has been based on the experience of the first generation, such as visits to their country of origin, the idea of returning to the homeland, constructing strong ties with family and friends in the country, sending remittances, investing in the country, and being politically active in both country of settlement and origin. The focus on the first generation is justified by some scholars as the 'second generation' may have less connection with their parents' country of origin than their parents and, therefore, they should be less transnational than their parents.[62] In other words, it is assumed, especially in the case of the 'second generation', that 'assimilation appears to have implications for understanding transnationalism'.[63] According to this view, cultural assimilation offers the ability to speak English, which in turn helps migrants construct close ties with the receiving society and have a better standard of living. The experiences of the first and 'second generation' might be differentiated regarding the length of their stay in their parents' country of origin and the settlement country, as well as the level of their interaction with the settlement society. Young people who were born or raised in the settlement society may engage with this society more than their parents because they go to school, make friends there and may adapt to the ways of life of the settlement country more easily than their parents. At the same time, they know and learn about their parents' country of origin from them, community organisations, transnational media, and through their visits to their parents' country of origin. Generally, young people negotiate social and cultural positioning within both societies. Susan Eckstein states that 'the second generation, in particular, has ties to the broader receiving society through language, education, friendships, work, marriage, and children that their parents may not have'.[64] Several studies on 'second-generation' transnationalism explore the link between transnational relations and integration.[65] For Peggy Levitt and Mary C. Waters, 'second-generation' transnationalism exists and will continue, as 'transnationalism and integration should not be seen as opposites'.[66] They argue that 'there are multiple ways in which immigrants and their children can combine transnationalism and

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assimilative strategies, leading to diverse outcomes, both in the United States and in immigrants' countries of origin'.[67] According to these authors, young people are more likely to engage in the receiving society than their parents through education, language and friendship. As they have grown up in the receiving society, they have built their social networks and social environment in the receiving society under the lifestyle and rules of this society. At the same time, however, they are aware of the socio-cultural life in their parents' country of origin through their families, transnational media and visits to the country.

Language is one of the most important factors in young people's level of participation in transnational networks. Also, not being fluent in their mother tongue affects the ability of young people to participate in transnational networks.[68] According to Susan Eckstein, this situation makes young people more reliant on their family or community, making it less likely for them to act independently.[69] Similarly, Tracey Reynolds argues that, for the Caribbean 'second generation', transnational ties are strengthened by the family, holidays, and improved telecommunication systems.[70] Rebecca Golbert also supports that Ukrainian Jewish youth have adapted to the linguistic, cultural and socio-economic life of another country that assists them to be transnationally active.[71] Focusing on the experiences of 'second-generation' Italians in Switzerland and Italy, Susanne Wessendorf argues that transnational relations of many members of the 'second generation' and integration into co-ethnic peer groups help construct a strong sense of belonging and attachment to where they live.[72] Focusing on the transnational experiences of Palestinian and Lebanese 'second generation' in Australia, Heba Batainah shows that their transnational involvement involves the religious and cultural practices of the migrant community.[73] In the case of 'second-generation' youth from refugee backgrounds living in Britain, Alice Bloch and Shirin Hirsch explore that, similar to the 'second generations' from non-refugee backgrounds, they have fewer social transnational connections and little economic engagement; however, their political consciousness is higher.[74] Laurence Ossipow, Anne-Laure Counilh and Milena Chimienti's research on the experiences of children of refugees and immigrants in Switzerland suggests that the children of refugees are identified as foreigners even though they hold Swiss passports and have socio-economic success, whereas the children of immigrants manage to socialise with the Swiss population.[75]

Most of the studies concerning the children of immigrants from Turkey have been conducted in Germany,[76] neglecting the situation in Britain. Likewise, most of the research on transnational links of migrants

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from Turkey has focused on a limited number of issues, such as socio-economic exchanges, the formation of Turkish cultural identity, difficulties in education, and adaptation to different cultural spaces. The research conducted by Ayhan Kaya focuses on the cultural practices and identity positioning of young people whose parents are from Turkey and shows that these young people in Germany have multiple identifications, such as German, Turkish and global.[77] Ayşe Çağlar argues that the children of immigrants whose parents are from Turkey are connected to Berlin – an urban space – rather than a nation and/or ethnic communities.[78]

This book aims to fill some of the gaps in the literature, taking into consideration a population that has been so far under-researched, that is British Kurdish and British Turkish youth living in London, and using a broad approach, exploring the everyday experiences of this population. Besides, rather than focusing on integration and cultural aspects of transnational links, it explores how the children of refugees and immigrants make sense of belonging within the contemporary political context in Britain and Turkey. The role of political circumstances in the sending and receiving countries on young people's sense of belonging and transnational links has not been paid much attention. This book, distinctively, focuses on how the 'hostile environment' policy, including Brexit and the Nationality and Borders Bill, are impacting the lives of the children of refugees and immigrants and their sense of belonging in Britain, and how Turkey's authoritarian regime, including anti-Kurdish sentiment and anti LGBTQ+ policies, are affecting their sense of belonging to their parents' country of origin and how they identify with their Britishness, Kurdishness and Turkishness. I now discuss the ethnographic context and methods used in this study that guides the book.

Fieldwork and research setting

Why this book focuses on the experiences of British-born Kurdish and Turkish youth in London is the main question I have been asked. In the first instance, given that I am a British national from Turkey, knowing both contexts well, makes it easier to understand the experiences of young people within both the context of Britain and Turkey. There are various reasons why the experiences of the Kurdish and Turkish youth are of interest to a wider audience. First, the complexity in the way the children of refugees and immigrants in north London identify themselves is expressed through the experiences of these young people in local, national and transnational spaces where they interact and has

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not been paid much attention to in the field. Importantly, I want to raise the voices of the young people from Kurdish and Turkish backgrounds living in north London. I hold the belief that their experiences speak volumes about the experiences of numerous other young people of non-European origin in Britain, particularly in London. Second, the challenges Kurdish and Turkish youth have been facing growing up in a transnational social space, and how British Kurdish and British Turkish youth relate to transnational context differently depending on their ethnicity and gender, offers a unique case in exploring the transnational experiences of the children of refugees and immigrants. Third, the impact of political climate in Turkey, especially the racialisation of Kurdish identity on how British Kurdish youth identify themselves and relate to Turkey differently compared to British Turkish youth suggests divergent understanding of transnational experiences of the children of refugees and immigrants.

London, a postcolonial city,[79] has been chosen not only because of its 'multicultural' and 'super-diverse' characteristics but also its complexity. Les Back describes London as a 'metropolitan paradox' in his book *New Ethnicities and Urban Culture* which refers to a new possibility of what multicultural London could be and the portrayal of racism that is shifted over time.[80] Focusing on how young people experience living in London, and particularly north London where the fieldwork took place, I explore the complexity of everyday life in an urban setting, and refer to Paul Gilroy's writings on conviviality through the narratives of young people. North London, the district north of the River Thames, is where the majority of Kurdish and Turkish migrants settled, particularly around Green Lanes, which starts in Newington Green and extends to Winchmore Hill. A significant number of British Kurds and British Turks live in northeast London, in areas such as Hackney, Dalston, Stoke Newington, Harringay and Tottenham. Kurdish and Turkish first generation have established their businesses, community organisations and language schools in north London. North London not only represents a neighbourhood where the majority of Kurdish and Turkish migrants settle, it also indicates their class identity, reconstruction of gender, cultural exchanges and solidarity (see Chapter 3). London, on the other hand, while offering a rich perspective for these young people in understanding other cultures surrounding them, is also a city where everyday multicultural practices display ethnic and racial differences within convivial formations and is a reminder of being an outsider and the experiences of racism for these young people (see Chapter 4). The interpretations that young people ascribe to places such as north

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London, London, and Turkey in a transnational context are in a state of constant flux. More generally, their relationships with their respective nationalities, cities, local contexts and identities raise the question of whether they are seen as British or as white-British, regardless of how they feel about their Britishness.

My field site was mainly around Harringay, Green Lanes, Tottenham Hale, Seven Sisters and Hackney. Green Lanes, especially Harringay, is an interesting area. It is predominantly a Kurdish and Turkish area, which has a community spirit. According to the 2011 census, 65.3 per cent of the Harringay population is made up of non-white-British ethnic groups. This is higher than both London (55.1 per cent) and England and Wales (19.5 per cent), and it is the capital's most linguistically diverse area, with over 16 languages spoken.[81] It can be described as a diverse neighbourhood hub.

In the London borough of Harringay, between Turnpike Lane station and Green Lanes, there are many businesses, including restaurants, cafes, off-licences, hairdressers, flower shops and law firms run by British Kurds and British Turks. While some name the area as 'Little Istanbul', others refer to it as a rural part of Turkey.[82] I was already familiar with the area before starting to conduct fieldwork for this research. I attended social events organised by local community organisations and participated in cultural events organised by the Day-Mer (Turkish and Kurdish Community Centre) Youth Committee. At Day-Mer young people from

Figure 1.1 Harringay-Green Lanes. Photo by author.

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different backgrounds, including Caribbean, Kurdish and Turkish, perform traditional dances and other social activities. I have been acquainted with the social milieu of the participants, thereby creating proximity between me and them. Having lived in north London and been a member of the community created a particular engagement with the positionality of the young people I interviewed. However, my background did not mean that I could fully comprehend the experiences of these young people. Accordingly, I aimed not to relegate myself to a specific, marginal position in the course of the research. Rather, I sought to consider myself both an insider and an outsider. In a way, I had a unique viewpoint as an insider and an outsider. The participants could relate to me because of their closeness in terms of origin, but at the same time, they felt removed from me because I was Turkish-born and they were British-born – except for one participant who was born in Germany and sought asylum in Britain when she was two years old. Due to my Turkish background, I had many opportunities to explore and analyse certain issues related to Turkey and migrants' life in London from an insider's perspective. During the fieldwork, as a researcher who is from Turkey, I did not experience any difficulty when conducting interviews with young people whose ethnicity is Kurdish, as I was not an 'outsider' to them. Nonetheless, politics might play a part here as one of the Kurdish participants said during the interview that she could not openly state her views about the Kurdish question in Turkey if she was going to be interviewed by a Turkish nationalist researcher. The participants openly shared their experiences of living in London, and also north London, and their relation to Britishness, Kurdishness and Turkishness. I had more advantages compared to outsider researchers as I was able to bridge the gap of socio-cultural misinterpretation. Furthermore, knowing both the Turkish and British contexts gave me an advantage in observing the transnational activities in the lives of young people whose parents are Kurdish and Turkish. This may have been more difficult to analyse for someone from outside the community. However, occupying the role of an insider researcher provides an opportunity for practical negotiation of the research process, such as accessing the Kurdish and Turkish communities and conducting interviews.

I conducted the fieldwork between 2019 and 2022; however, most interviews were conducted between 2019 and 2021, with some additional interviews in 2022. In finding participants, I used my social networks and reached them through community organisations in local areas where the young people live. All interviews were conducted around north London where the majority of Kurds and Turks live. Forty young people, aged between 18 and 23, took part in the interviews. Some identified

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as male or female, while others identified as LGBTQ+. They were bilingual, educated in London and came from middle-class or working-class backgrounds, with parents of Kurdish and Turkish origin. Even though the research participants reflect the heterogeneity of the Kurdish and Turkish societies in terms of class, gender, belief and political views, all of them stated they do not support the current governments in Turkey and in Britain and their politics. I also conducted interviews with 14 first-generation British Kurds and British Turks, including the directors of community organisations, who migrated to Britain in the 1980s and 1990s, to explore their motivations for migration, socio-political spaces they established in north London and their thoughts about Brexit. All research participants except one are anonymised. Pseudonyms were used when referring to research participants. Written and oral consent were obtained from participants using an information sheet before starting the interview process. The collected data was anonymised by removing both direct and indirect personal identifiers.

The common features of these young people who were raised in London are speaking Turkish and English (only a few of them stated that they speak very little Kurdish), and having transnational links, especially through regular visits to Turkey. Focusing on both Kurdish and Turkish young people in north London assisted me in analysing how their social relationships might be shaped by institutional factors on different levels, depending on the background of their family and socio-cultural factors. More importantly, it contributed to exploring the power dynamics, racism in a transnational context, the positionality of young people among themselves and with other racialised groups, and their relationships with Turkey.

My approach to the field research was drawn to provide insights into the lives of young people; I observed their interactions with one another in the neighbourhood, community organisations and cafes where they usually hang out. In Green Lanes, Harringay the young people know most of the Turkish and Kurdish people in the neighbourhood. They looked like an extended family. I also observed that they switched between Turkish and English languages depending on to whom they were speaking. For example, in community organisations, young people spoke Turkish with the first generation of the community, but they mostly spoke English among each other. I visited community organisations that run specific activities, such as dance, theatre, and Kurdish and Turkish language courses for young people.

Among the community organisations that were established by the first-generation Kurds and Turks, Day-Mer is the one that continuously organises activities for young people; I came to know the majority of the

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young people whose narratives I share in this book through Day-Mer, where I attended youth events and spent some time in the communal area. The founders of Day-Mer were politically active in Turkey and migrated to Britain as political asylum seekers. Since settling in Britain, they have been just as politically active as they were in Turkey, and have set up parallel structures in London. So this was the idea behind establishing Day-Mer, set up in 1989 to work with Turkish and Kurdish people living in London. Its main objectives are to help solve the problems of Turkish and Kurdish people related to housing, employment, settlement status, to promote their cultural, economic, social and democratic rights, and to strengthen solidarity between themselves as well as local people. They also provide recreational activities; for instance, there is a free annual festival organised by Day-Mer, which promotes the integration of different communities and ethnic groups.

Many of the young people whom I met in Day-Mer stated that, through the organisation, they met young people from the Kurdish and Turkish communities. The young people who regularly participate in Day-Mer's events have also constructed transnational links with Turkey in the same way the first-generation Turkish and Kurdish immigrants have, and are familiar with the social and political atmosphere in Turkey and have an interest in Turkish politics.

I also met young people in other community organisations, such as Gik-Der, Komkar (Kurdish Advice Centre) and IAKM (England Alevi

Figure 1.2 Logo of Day-Mer. Photo by author.

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Cultural Centre and Cemevi). Gik-Der and Komkar, which were founded by migrants fleeing political and racial persecution in Turkey in the 1990s, provide support and advice to the community in terms of housing, employment, immigration and citizenship, and run activities such as Kurdish language courses and traditional dances.[83] IAKM, which is a faith-based organisation for Alevis,[84] and the largest community organisation in size and number in service of the Turkish and Kurdish community, offers educational, cultural, social and sports activities to everyone regardless of age, religion, ethnicity or nationality.[85] The directors of the community organisations stated that these organisations provide a safety net for young people, guarding against delinquency in London, and if they attend the socio-cultural activities of community organisations they are more likely to stay away from the streets, where they are threatened by drugs, gangs and criminality. Turkish and Kurdish community organisations foster a sense of cultural identity among young people by encouraging them to learn the language and culture. They create a social space in which young people can participate, as well as provide various social and cultural activities, which contribute to reducing youth crime.

So, community organisations play an important social, cultural and, to a lesser extent, political role for the young people living in north London, and improve their well-being by creating a sense of belonging to the community. These community organisations are important places that connect young people with their parents' country of origin. Most importantly, these organisations inform young people about the political climate in Turkey, and the dynamics of the Turkish context, including the Kurdish issue, racial discourse and migration from Turkey to Britain. However, the children of refugees and immigrants question the political positioning of these organisations and are selective in the organisations they prefer to attend. I explore these community organisations further in Chapter 3.

Empirically, this book presents a rich ethnography of the lives of young people and shows how they relate to Britishness, Kurdishness and Turkishness, as well as how they position themselves with other racialised groups. I facilitated young people in discussing their transnational experiences, relationships forged across national borders, and experiences of racism, rather than imposing artificial identity categories. This was achieved by asking them how they feel about identities surrounding them rather than making them choose from a list of identity categories established by nation-states and policymakers. My approach to the field research was designed to get a deeper understanding of how young people negotiate and translate social relations within a range of spaces where they face racism.

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Overview of the book

The chapters of this book are organised to explore how young people negotiate identities within intersecting socio-political spaces in a transnational context, which draws on rich material about transnational experiences, identity, and belonging among British Kurdish and British Turkish youth in north London. In this chapter, I have set out the theoretical framework of the book and engaged with the relevant literature on racism and belonging in a transnational context to which the analysis of my ethnographic material responds, and have explored the transnational perspective in analysing the sense of belonging of the children of refugees and immigrants and their experiences of racism across the borders of nation-states. I have argued that transnationalism does not offer sufficient understanding beyond nationalism because it treats minorities as migrants. It has a territorial understanding of home and dismisses experiencing racism as having an impact on the cross-border mobilities of many children of refugees and immigrants. For it to challenge nation-state-centric thinking, transnationalism should consider racism as an impact of colonial legacies on the cross-border experiences of many children of refugees and immigrants. Throughout the book, in exploring the experiences of racism among the children of refugees and immigrants in both sending and receiving societies, I use terms such as 'transnational link', 'transnational experience' and 'transnational social space' instead of transnationalism, because transnationalism carries connotations of nationalism. The literature on transnational migration has not paid enough attention to the experiences of racism among migrants and minorities.

Drawing on interviews with the first generation of British Kurds and British Turks, Chapter 2, 'Between Britain's hostile environment and Turkey's authoritarian regime', provides insight into the historical detour of migration from Turkey to Britain to better understand the transnational socio-political participation of the Kurdish and Turkish communities who migrated in different periods and had different reasons for migration.[86] This historical detour is essential for understanding the transnational political participation and cross-border activism of the first generation, which plays a crucial role in the processes of identity-making among the children of refugees and immigrants. This chapter also sets out the dynamics of the British and Turkish political context, including Brexit and the rise of authoritarian politics in Turkey, which affects the experiences of the young people interviewed.

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In Chapters 3–6 I present the ethnographic data that explores the narratives of the children of refugees and immigrants in north London whose parents migrated to Britain from Turkey that inform their transnational experiences and how their experiences are racialised, classed and gendered within the socio-political transnational context in which they live. These empirical chapters are organised to introduce the places that are significant in the construction of their identities and senses of belonging across the borders of nation-states and their thoughts about identities, belonging and citizenship that are framed by their transnational experiences. The rationale behind the organisation of the chapters is to introduce the transnational experiences of young people, which are constructed by the socio-political context of places they interact with, which affect the ways they think about identities and the question of belonging and how they are seen by others.

Chapter 3, '"My north London accent indicates my working-class background": north London, class, ethnicity and community', focuses on the north London context, where Kurdish and Turkish communities settled. To have a better understanding of how Kurdish and Turkish communities create their own social spaces and, in particular, how these social spaces influence the lives of young people, this chapter shows what north London signifies for young people whose parents migrated from Turkey and discusses young people's identity-making processes through their relationship with the Kurdish and Turkish communities. In exploring north London in-depth as a transnational social space that offers transnational elements, I also examine the role of community organisations as a crucial transnational resource, which brings the socio-cultural and political aspects of Kurdishness and Turkishness to the identity-making processes of young people. I analyse the impact that the urban environment inhabited by Kurdish and Turkish communities has on how young people identify themselves. This analysis focuses on their perceptions, views on living in north London, and their relationship with this area, rather than emphasising the particular cultural elements in an urban space. In this chapter, I also discuss how young people transform traditional discourses of the neighbourhood into their everyday life, how they respond to and negotiate these discourses on their terms, and how they articulate classed and gendered dynamics of belonging. I put forth the argument that, on the one hand, north London, as a socio-cultural space for Kurdish and Turkish communities, provides a sense of safety, security and community for the children of refugees and immigrants. However, on the other hand, their affiliation with this space also categorises them as *Other*, particularly

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when they enter homogeneous white spaces. The notion that 'diversity is cool' dismisses the experiences of racism among young people.

In Chapter 4, '"I enjoy the diversity of London but also feel excluded": London, conviviality and racism', I discuss how young people experience London and make a home in this city. Bringing together Paul Gilroy, Les Back and Shamser Sinha's works on conviviality,[87] I argue that young people's experiences in London show the realities of racism that shape everyday life within multicultural conviviality. It shows that the broader social and political contexts influence the ways young people view themselves within the hierarchies of belonging.[88] How young people experience the city varies depending on their everyday life patterns. In order to understand how young people can transform the city, and how their interaction with London influences their identity-making processes, the chapter draws on young people's experiences of living in London. In exploring how London became the locale for expressions of conviviality and racism for young people, I delve into the concept of multiculturalism, Britain's multicultural discourse and how young people confront the multicultural discourse in their everyday lives. I examine how British Kurdish and British Turkish young people view London and make a home in London, how they respond to the multicultural discourse they encounter in the social context of London, and negotiate and interpret their experiences of racism. London, itself, represents a constant reminder of being *Other* for the children of refugees and immigrants who experience racism and exclusion. This chapter also portrays the importance of solidarity and empathy in convivial moments that are forged from their common experiences of racism.

Chapter 5, '"Turkey is not my home. I've never lived there": discovering parents' country of origin', examines the meaning of belonging and home through transnational engagement. In this chapter, I focus on whether Turkey becomes a place of emotional security and stability for the reproduction of self and collective identity in the narratives of British Kurdish and British Turkish youth in London. In exploring this question, I delve into young people's experiences of their parents' country of origin when they visit. The experience of visiting Turkey is a focal point for discussing their relationships with Kurdish and Turkish societies. I explore how British Kurdish and British Turkish youth reflect on Turkey, belonging and mobility, and what types of transnational links they construct through their narratives. I argue that their relationship with Turkey is fragile and influenced by the political

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transformations in the country that creates a lack of belonging. In this chapter, I inquire into how young people adapt to various political, social and cultural resources transnationally, and the complexities of young people's negotiation and interpretation of their experiences during their visits to Turkey. I also seek to understand how the dualism of inclusion/exclusion is experienced within Turkey's socio-cultural and political context, especially in the case of Kurdish youth because of long-standing violence against Kurds in Turkey.

Chapter 6, '"Am I less British because I am a descendant of an immigrant?": citizenship and belonging', departs from the young people's experiences of the spaces they interact with and explores the more exceptional and explicitly self-conscious practice of performing identity. In this chapter, I investigate whether socio-political context plays a role in young people's negotiation of identities. Using empirical evidence, I demonstrate how young people perceive their positions in society; whether racial hierarchies, class, ethnicity and gender are important in one's identification; how young people's transnational background is reflected in their perceptions of their identities; how the socio-political context of Britain and Turkey and experiencing racism and exclusion influence their Kurdishness, Britishness and Turkishness; and how the young people feel about being British, Kurdish or Turkish. In doing so, I explore young people's sense of belonging within the contemporary political context in Britain and Turkey and discuss whether their engagement with the socio-political context of the countries they relate to has an impact on the ways they identify themselves. I argue that the children of Turkish immigrants deidentify themselves from national identities, such as Turkish and British, due to their experiences of racism and exclusion transnationally; and the children of Kurdish refugees identify more with their Kurdishness as a response to racism in a transnational context, both in Turkey and Britain. Concentrating on the political context of both countries in exploring how young people position themselves in both the receiving and sending societies allows for a wider lens that considers not only how these young people cultivate a sense of identity and belonging, but also the often overlooked reasons why.

In the final chapter of the book, Chapter 7, 'Conclusion', I summarise the insights provided by the analysis of this research. This chapter allows me to bring to the fore the narratives of Kurdish and Turkish youth in London, enabling readers to comprehend what these young people's experiences tell the wider discipline.

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Notes

1. All names are pseudonyms.
2. Before I started conducting interviews with them, I had their consent to take notes during the conversation for my research.
3. See Solomons 2022.
4. See Forest 2022.
5. 'Absolutely don't believe Britain a racist country: Rishi Sunak', *The Hindu*. 20 December 2022. https://www.thehindu.com/news/international/absolutely-dont-believe-britain-a-racist-country-rishi-sunak/article66284992.ece.
6. See Saini *et al.* 2023: 9.
7. See De Noronha 2020: 12.
8. See De Noronha 2020: 4.
9. Information relating to the Nationality and Borders Bill, introduced in the House of Commons on 6 July 2021. https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/the-nationality-and-borders-bill.
10. See El-Enany 2020.
11. See Back and Sinha 2012.
12. See Ware and Back 1994.
13. See Ware 2007.
14. See Ware 2007.
15. See Redclift and Rajina 2021.
16. See Levitt 2002; Glick Schiller 2003; Klingenberg *et al.* 2021.
17. See Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002.
18. See Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002: 301.
19. See Pries 1999; Faist 2000; Vertovec 2001; Glick Schiller 2003.
20. See Basch *et al.* 1994: 6.
21. See Guarnizo and Smith 1998; Mahler 1998; Portes 2001; Al-Ali and Koser 2002; Levitt and Jaworsky 2007; Dahinden 2009; Vertovec 2009; Faist 2010.
22. See Al-Ali and Koser 2002; Soysal 2000, 2015.
23. See Rogers 2004: 174.
24. See Kivisto 2001.
25. See Dahinden 2009.
26. See Dahinden 2009: 1383.
27. See Riccio 2001.
28. See Boccagni 2012.
29. See di Giovanni *et al.* 2015; Sommer 2020; Elo *et al.* 2022.
30. See Spiro 2019; Vink *et al.* 2019; Finn 2020; Klingenberg *et al.* 2021.
31. See Favell and Recchi 2019; Innes 2019; Savage *et al.* 2019; Erdal 2020; Kwon 2022.
32. See Demir 2022: 29.
33. See Demir 2022.
34. See Dahinden 2009.
35. See Dahinden 2017: 1482.
36. See Dahinden 2009.
37. See Portes 1996; Vertovec 1999; Levitt, 2001; Smith, 2002.
38. See Green and Waldinger 2016: 2.
39. See Demir 2022.
40. See Hobsbawn 1990; Woolf 1996; Lawrence 2005; Özkırımlı 2020.
41. See Gilroy 1993; Bonilla-Silva 2001; Lentin 2008; Bulmer and Solomos 2018.
42. See Gilroy 1993.
43. See Bulmer and Solomos 2018: 1004.
44. See Bonilla-Silva 2001.
45. See Saraçoğlu 2010; Ergin 2014.
46. See Şimşek 2021.
47. See Fanon 1986.
48. See Bonilla-Silva 2001.
49. See Boccagni 2012.

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50. See Basch *et al.* 1994; Portes *et al.* 1999; Vertovec 2009; Goldring and Landolt 2012; Klingenberg *et al.* 2021.
51. See Klingenberg *et al.* 2021.
52. See Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2002, 2005; Snel *et al.* 2016; Beauchemin and Safi 2020.
53. See Portes and Rumbaut 2001.
54. See Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Snel *et al.* 2016; Herda 2018.
55. See Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2002, 2005; Snel *et al*. 2016; Yıldız and Hill 2017; Beauchemin and Safi 2020.
56. See Redclift and Rajina 2021: 206.
57. See Redclift and Rajina 2021: 209.
58. See Redclift and Rajina 2021.
59. See Bloch and Hirsch 2018: 16.
60. See Berggren *et al.* 2019; Midtbøen and Nadim 2019; Falcke *et al.* 2020; Mavrommatis 2021; Varshaver *et al.* 2022; White and Goodwin 2021.
61. See Chimienti *et al.* 2019.
62. See Vickerman 2002; Levitt 2009; Lee 2011, 2016; Fokkema *et al*., 2013.
63. See O'Flaherty *et al.* 2007: 840.
64. See Eckstein 2002: 232.
65. See Levitt and Waters 2002; Crul *et al*. 2012; Dekker and Siegel 2013.
66. See Levitt and Waters 2002: 223.
67. See Levitt and Waters 2002: 231.
68. See Correa 2002.
69. See Eckstein 2002.
70. See Reynolds 2006.
71. See Golbert 2001.
72. See Wessendorf 2010.
73. See Batainah 2008.
74. See Bloch and Hirsch 2018.
75. See Ossipow *et al.* 2019: 14.
76. See Çağlar 2001; Kaya 2001.
77. See Kaya 2001.
78. See Çağlar 2001.
79. This refers to London being a previously colonial society, and having done time as an imperial metropole, because of the large postcolonial populations it attracted following the end of the empire, and also migrants from these ex-colonies (King 2009).
80. See Back 1996.
81. Harringay Council 2021.
82. See Husband 2002.
83. GikDer: http://gikder.org.uk/introduction/; KomKar (Kurdish Advice Centre): http://www.kurdishadvicecentre.org.uk/ . Accessed 2 June 2021.
84. Alevi is a branch of Shi'a Islam based in Anatolia that is strongly differentiated from Sunni and fundamentalist Islam and comprises Turkey's largest religious minority community.
85. IAKM (the England Alevi Culture Centre and Cemevi): https://www.iakmcemevi.org/hakkimizda/. Accessed 2 June 2021.
86. See Çicekli 1998; Küçükcan 1999.
87. See Gilroy 2004; Back and Sinha 2012, 2016.
88. See Back and Sinha 2012.

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