

**TURKEY ON SCREEN!**  
**We, the diasporic youth talking about the Homeland**

Visual Elicitation Study of Turkish Diasporic Youth's Identity and Place Perception

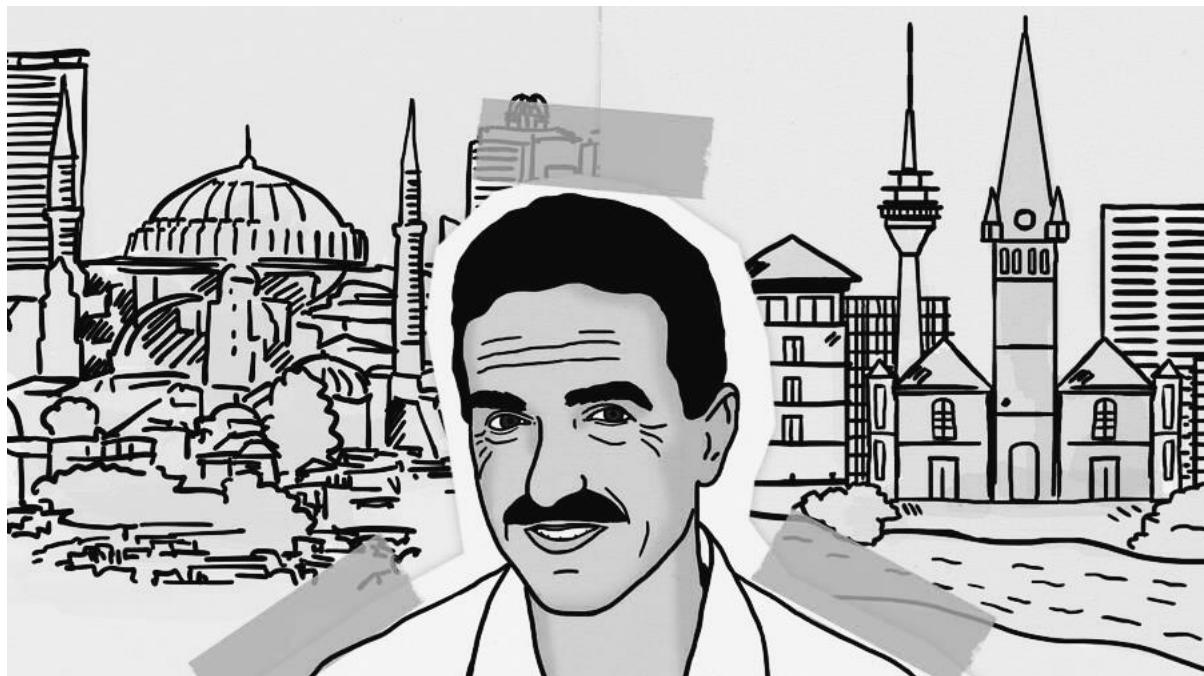


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Student Name: Mara Noto  
Student Number: 543902

Supervisor: Dr. Thomas Calkins III

Arts, Culture and Society  
Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication  
Erasmus University Rotterdam

Master Thesis  
June, 2020

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## ABSTRACT

By inquiring into the narratives and system of discourses, this study explores the identity and place-based perception of the Turkish diasporic youth. Specifically, this study is concerned with how being born and raised in a country different than the home country impacts the self-identity construction and the perception itself of the country of origin. To that end, 12 Turkish immigrants based in the Netherlands have been interviewed according to an intersection of video-elicitation technique integrated within semi-structured interviews. The use of moving pictures arises out semiotically as a social practice, by means of which hidden nuances of the everyday life are unraveled and alternative meaning-making are conveyed. Under the following premises, the screening of 6 short movies has been employed as a springboard for discussion. The theoretical framework of this study is rooted in the constructionist and interpretive approach of symbolic interactionism, according to which the self emerges out of the dichotomy of the domestic and public sphere, shaping the Me and the I. Moreover, this study has been colored by the theories of Pierre Bourdieu, in regard to the Habitus and Cultural Capital.

Tracing the results of the thematic analysis, three main factors have been identified as playing a considering role in influencing diasporic youth's perception. First of all, the family environment as well as the public one, materialized in the very concept of Habitus, lay out the groundwork for the identity construction process. Intrinsically attached to the latter, another factor identified is the concept of Cultural capital, through which not only the participants' practices in terms of language, traditions and customs, but also their reception of the movies has been understood. Finally, the difference in gender and the implication of it on the representation of the self has furthermore confirmed the finding, according to which the identity and the perception of the home country differs and develops across the habitus, the cultural capital and the gender. As a result, the diasporic youth's identity remains in between the here and the there in a continuous dualism between the inner and the outer self, as being the eternal foreigners bouncing at the backdrop of the domestic versus the public dichotomy.

**Keywords:** Turkish diaspora, Self-identity, Habitus, Cultural Capital, Video-elicitation technique

## Table of Contents

<i>ABSTRACT</i> .....	2
<i>Acknowledgements</i> .....	5
1. <i>Introduction</i> .....	6
2. <i>Theoretical Framework</i> .....	9
2.1. Redefinition of the Concept of Diaspora.....	9
2.1.1. <i>From Labor Migration to Turkish Diaspora</i> .....	11
2.2. The perception of Identity .....	12
2.2.1. <i>Self-identity and Social Adaptation</i> .....	12
2.2.2. <i>Thinking Transnationally</i> .....	14
2.2.3. <i>Family and Social Habitus: The Rucksack Approach</i> .....	16
2.3. Place-based identity perception.....	17
2.3.1. <i>Beyond the Place and towards Deterritorialization</i> .....	17
2.3.2. <i>In Between Reality and Imagination: the Concept of Home</i> .....	18
2.4. The creation of a Home far away from Home.....	20
2.4.1. <i>Cultural assimilation: the Dichotomy between the Domestic and the Public Sphere</i> .....	20
2.4.2. <i>'Neither Turks nor dutch': in the Realm of Exported Traditions and Segregated Neighborhoods</i> ..22	
2.5. Research Question.....	23
2.5.1. <i>Expectations</i> .....	24
3. <i>Methods</i> .....	26
3.1. New choice of Methodology .....	26
3.1.1. <i>Creative interviewing with video-elicitation</i> .....	28
3.2. Film analysis as operationalization .....	30
3.2.1. <i>Kebabaluba (1995) – Enis Tahsin Özgür</i> .....	30
3.2.2. <i>Istanbul – Through the Prisma (2016) – Justin Heaney</i> .....	30
3.2.3. <i>Insanbul (2016) – Nadine Prigann</i> .....	31
3.2.4. <i>Imaginary Postcards (2016) – Jocelyne Saab</i> .....	31
3.2.6. <i>Yörük (2020) – Can Katipzade, Sümer Ezgü</i> .....	32
3.3. Data Collection.....	33
3.3.1. <i>Sampling and Participants</i> .....	34
3.4. Data Analysis .....	36
3.5. Researcher's Role.....	37
4. <i>Results</i> .....	39
4.1. Representation of the self .....	39
4.1.1. <i>Migration and Family</i> .....	39
4.1.2. <i>Self - reflection</i> .....	41
4.1.3. <i>Experiencing Stereotypes and Discrimination</i> .....	43
4.1.4. <i>Social Environment</i> .....	44
4.2. Memories of the Homeland .....	45
4.2.1. <i>Holiday memories and Relocation to the home country</i> .....	45
4.2.2. <i>Perception of Turkey</i> .....	47
4.2.3. The Utopia of no borders and boundaries .....	49
4.3. Identity and Belonging .....	51
4.3.1. <i>In comparison with the Netherlands</i> .....	51

4.3.2. <i>Cultural Assimilation</i> .....	52
4.3.3. <i>Where is Home?</i> .....	53
4.3.4. <i>Sense of Belonging</i> .....	54
4.4. Gender Identity and Intermarriage .....	56
4.4.1. <i>Female Gendered Identity</i> .....	56
4.4.2. <i>Gender self-perception</i> .....	57
4.4.3. <i>Partner Expectations and Intermarriage</i> .....	58
4.5. Habitus and Cultural Capital .....	60
4.5.1. <i>Religion</i> .....	60
4.5.2. <i>Language</i> .....	61
4.5.3. <i>Music, Food and Culture</i> .....	62
<b>5. Discussion and Conclusions .....</b>	<b>64</b>
5.1. Discussion .....	64
5.1.1. <i>Habitus: domestic versus public</i> .....	64
5.1.2. <i>Cultural Capital</i> .....	66
5.1.3. <i>Gender difference</i> .....	67
5.2. Conclusions .....	67
5.2.1. <i>Limitations and further research</i> .....	68
<b>References .....</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>APPENDIX A .....</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>APPENDIX B .....</b>	<b>85</b>
<b>APPENDIX C .....</b>	<b>87</b>
<b>APPENDIX D.....</b>	<b>88</b>

## Acknowledgements

A pleasant and tumultuous journey of discovering not only others, but also myself.

Many notions, as new acquaintances have influenced and guided me.

There have been difficult times, in which given the social circumstances to which lately we have all been subjected, I have not always been able to see a light at the end of the tunnel.

But fortunately, I have never been abandoned by the delightful people surrounding me.

Indeed, before embarking on this journey of self and social discovery, I would like to dedicate some space to the people, among those who supported me morally and academically, as well as those who have given me their availability, making this research more compelling and inspiring.

First and foremost, I would like to deeply thank to my family, who supported me unconditionally.

Further, I am sincerely grateful for the encounter with my peers, Ayumi, who introduced me into the world of filmmaking and cinema, and Agustin, who has never stopped transmitting me his positivity; while sharing all three together our doubts and concerns.

Undeniably, a special acknowledgement goes to my supervisor, Dr. Thomas Calkins III, who left me the freedom to be creative, strengthening my critical sense, while providing me with useful advice, both academically and personally.

Last but not least, a sincere thanks is deserved to all the 12 participants, who let me enter into their domestic realm, sharing some of their time while enriching me with their narratives.

Thank you for your curiosity and your participation.

## 1. Introduction

Narrow streets, with cafés mirroring trendy minimalism, standing next to the ethnic supermarkets and fast food selling Kebab and Baklava, constitute the urban décor of Netherlands' metropolis. Lost in the multiculturalism of the country's identity, small enclaves of Turkish culture, embedded in the Dutch everyday life and the strong smell of spiced lamb, represent the silent testimonies of the presence of a community that has been writing a piece of Dutch history after World War II.

From being intrinsically associated to the Jewish dispersal, the term Diaspora started to be acknowledged within social sciences for its enlarged denotation, encompassing some of the post-war migratory waves, as for instance the Turkish labour migration towards the Netherlands (Van Mol & de Valk, 2016). Indeed, in 1960s the Netherlands started to welcome a wave of guest-worker, given its lack for manpower. What initially took the shape of a temporary migration, with the subsequent family reunification process (Van Amersfoort & Doomernik, 2003) has been turned into a permanent; resulting today in one of the most emblematic migrant community. While on the surface there appears to be a peacefully coexisting multiculturalism, in the hostility of some neighbourhoods an air of segregation and intolerance can be breathed. Besides, the existence of segregated neighborhoods showcase a strong ethnic-based preservation (Van Kempen & Bolt, 1997); groups of men from all ages, drinking tea and chatting while keeping an eye on Turkish news channels.

Although not much has been said, the case of the Turkish community's integration appears to be rather complex, peculiarly reflected in the way how the second-generation youth, is trying to find their way within the Dutch society and culture (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). As a matter of fact, diasporic studies have carefully sought to conceptualize the process of identity building and how the latter is reflected on various social aspect of the individual, who has been either voluntarily or involuntarily forced to migrate away from its place of *rootedness*, while maintaining cross-border relationship (Faist, 2010). Within the last century, the dismantlement of space-time barriers gave rise to a transnational flow of individual identities, collective culture and ideologies, thoroughly overturning identities, uprooted from the place of origin and put into a global framework (Gomes & Alzougool, 2013). Furthermore, in an endless mutating society, with shifting paradigms and deterritorialized spaces, diasporic self appears to be in a continuous battle between the interrelated Me, *the inner self*, and the I, *the outer self* (Mead & Morris, 1934). Furthermore, it tries to affirm its identity within a society, perceived simultaneously as familiar and

foreign. As for instance is happening within the Turkish second-generation immigrants (Backus, 1996), the eternal foreigners bouncing at the backdrop of the domestic versus the public dichotomy.

According to symbolic interactionism, the self arises out of the social interactions we experience: nothing is innate, nothing is given, everything is in a process of being and becoming (Hall, 2014). So, are the identities of the 12 respondents that participated to the following study. The narratives and system of discourses of Turkish post-migrants, based in the Netherlands, have been explored through online videoconference-based interviews. Under the premises that film viewing entails the potential of involving the spectator in social and spatial significance (Smets et al., 2013) 12 semi-structured interviews, evolving around the co-vision of 6 carefully selected short movies, as an attempt to virtually bring them back to Turkey, have been carried out. The interviews, under the ongoing circumstances of social distance implicated by the outbreak of COVID-19, were made possible through the employment of videoconference-based platform, as Zoom and Skype, permitting both to see the respondents face-to-face as well as to share my screen for the required movies.

Building on the intersection of a video elicitation technique integrated within in-depth interviews I will draw an answer to the following research question: *How does the Turkish diasporic youth perceive their identity and their 'homeland' through the vision of experimental short films?*

In addition to the main questions, two organically related sub-questions have been formulated. The first one is primarily concerned with the participants' Habitus (Adams, 2006) grounded into the influential clash of the domestic against the public environment. Insofar, the related sub-question is: *How does the dualism of the Dutch and the Turkish culture affect their domestic and public environment?*

By means of delving deeper into the cultural capital, the embodiment of values and beliefs (Erel, 2010), faced by the second-generation immigrants, a second sub-question emerged: *how is the dualism further reflected within the practices of language, customs and traditions?*

Given the cultural and social context of the following study, the academic and societal relevance of the latter appeared to be interestingly interrelated. While there is a growing body of research concerning the identity and place-based perception analyzed mostly through mainstream film consumption, few studies have considered film reception as a semiotically social practice (Nichols, 1981). Empathetically moving pictures, especially when pertaining to concrete representation of what is intrinsically part of the everyday life, can provide access

to otherwise hidden significance given to identity and place. Moreover, the study is intended to contribute to the understanding of diasporic youth's identity, in view of the immigration and the related integration concerns of the second-generation of immigrants (Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2018), by means of providing further clarification of what is considered to be of high concern within the public debate in the Netherlands (Roggeband & Vliegenthart, 2007).

Recently, the societal relevance of this study became more evident with the rise of the PVV party (Partij voor de Vrijheid) in the Netherlands, and its anti-immigration propaganda, which has cracked the Dutch path to multiculturalism, taking out its contradictions, within which also the Turkish minority has been involved. To this end, the following research will shed light on the eternal struggle, both societal and personal, of who is in between *the there and the here*, searching for an identity within a multi-layered sense of belonging.

The study will be presented through a fluid development of three main sections. After this introduction, at first a theoretical framework will be traced, by means of which a contextualization and conceptualization of diaspora and the related consequences on identity building and place perception will be provided. Then, the Methods section will be described, through which an outline in detail of the undertaken analytical path will be offered. Culminating in the Results section, which can be seen as a display of the main findings, relevant to the research and the two sub-questions, which will be further analysed in the discussion and conclusion section, where an answer to the initial research question will be drawn.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework is divided in 4 subchapters. At first, an explanation of the term diaspora will be given to clarify the motivation behind the use of the term in regard to the Turkish migration. Alongside, the guest-worker migration from 1960s to 1980s will be contextualized to have a better understanding of the origins of the Turkish community within the Netherlands. By means of delving more into the main research question, the concept of identity, according to symbolic interactionism and its implications in diasporic youth will be approached. To shed light on participants' perception of the homeland, the reception of inhabited and imagined places, bordering on diaspora's eternal longing for a homeland will follow. In addition, a magnifying glass of the attempted integration of the Turkish immigrants across the Netherlands will also be outlined. Finally, the section will be concluded with the exposition of the research question and the related sub questions, with a final reflection about the expected outcome of the following study.

### 2.1. Redefinition of the Concept of Diaspora

As the following research evolves around the understanding and perception of identity within diasporic groups, a conceptualization of the diaspora phenomenon is required to be able to delve more into profundity of the case studied. Since ancient times, human beings have been forced to be in constant motion (Butler, 2001), looking for better opportunities, alongside a more hospitable and welcoming environment. Indeed, various wave of humans displacing all around the globe can be traced back in history (Butler, 2001). Originally, the term diaspora dates back in antiquity, evoking the dispersion of the Jewish community, following the destruction of Jerusalem's Temple and the annexation of Judea and Samaria to the Roman Empire (Gayer, 2007). Additionally, the term was borrowed by the Greek and Armenian communities to define also their experience of dispersion around the globe (Faist, 2010). However, throughout the centuries the term has progressively enlarged its denotation by attributing new meanings and interpretations to the migratory waves in the aftermath of World War II (Van Mol & de Valk, 2016); entering the collective language with a more general meaning of movements and displacements around the globe (Berthomière, 2005; Silverstone, 1999).

In studies prior to the 90s, the concept of diaspora has been associated to the rather traumatic journey faced by the Jewish Community forced to live within the hostility of Babylon, imbuing the term with negative connotations, evocative of their condition of

enslavement, exile and displacement (Cohen, 2008). Contrarily, in the early 1990s (Tölölyan, 1991) the term started to no longer be merely associated to the ancient condition of Jews, Greeks and Armenians. Thoroughly, within the social sciences (Berthomière, 2005) the concept of diaspora started to be related to a broader semantic field including the conditions of “immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest-worker, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community” (Tölölyan, 1991, pp. 4–5). More precisely authors such as Safran, Cohen, in addition to others, brought the concept beyond its known etymology. Especially Safran (1991), broke down the barriers by applying the concept to expatriate minority communities. He highlighted a triadic relationship between diaspora, the home and the host country; identifying within the members of dispersed communities some common characteristics such as the retainment of a collective memory and longing for the homeland, alongside a feeling of not being fully acknowledged; which is further strengthened by the attempt to maintain and protect one’s origins, resulting in a common solidarity, retrieved in the relationships of individuals to the homeland (Safran, 1991).

As argued by Faist (2010) throughout the decades the term ‘diaspora’ acquired popularity within both academic and social research, assuming a clearer classification between old and new usages. In contraposition to the old usage, the new one rooted its etymology in new forms of voluntary migration (Faist, 2010), as in the case of the Turkish labor migration towards Europe. The main difference between the old and new notions of diaspora resides in the introduction of the concept of *transnationalism*. According to the latter, diasporic members’ bond to the homeland is lessened given the cultural assimilation with the host country (Faist, 2010). Indeed, a more flexible meaning started to be attributed to the concept of diaspora, including the idea that “today, immigrants develop networks, activities, patterns of living, and ideologies that span their home and host society” (Basch et al., 1994, p. 4). 20 years later after the first discussion concerning the notion of diaspora, Faist (2010) characterized diasporas as the outcome either of migration or dispersal, entailing cross-border relationships while maintaining their own cultural individuation.

Under the following assumptions, although they have not been forcedly expelled from their countries of origin (Safran, 1991), but given the similarities of the cases with the abovementioned notions introduced by Faist (2010) I decided to avail myself of the concept of diaspora to identify the condition of the Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands; although the research focuses on the diasporic youth in which notions such as the homeland and the concept of relocation might appear blurred, given the degree of cultural assimilation faced by them.

### ***2.1.1. From Labor Migration to Turkish Diaspora***

With the post-1945 period, the world began to take on a new shape. The end of the two wars marked the path towards a global world united under the emerging technological infrastructures, such as better telecommunications, high speed transportation facilities and the emerging information system (Kennedy & Roudometof, 2003). The ongoing information revolution (Castells, 1996) at the backdrop of the globalization process, uprooted communities and individuals from their place of origin. Given the dismantlement of space-time barriers, new spaces of cultural clash emerged within and across nations (Kennedy & Roudometof, 2003).

After World War II, a mosaic of migratory waves pervaded Western Europe, highly affecting economies, polities and societies, unfolding in a set of various patterns and circumstances in each country (Messina, 1996). In response to the Second World War, the economies of North-Western European countries were booming, strongly in need of more manpower (Van Mol & de Valk, 2016). As a result, countries, such as Germany, Belgium, Netherlands and France, tried to fill the gap by requiring surplus workers from less industrialized countries from the Mediterranean and Eastern part of Europe (Van Mol & de Valk, 2016). Although Turkey joined later the postwar European migration than the other countries, as for instance the Yugoslavian countries, alongside Italy and Greece (Van Mol & de Valk, 2016), it quickly became one of the main provider of labor workers (Sayari, 1986). In the time frame between 1961 and 1973, officially 800.000 estimated migrants have been sent from Turkey to Western Europe. Additionally, thousands of others arrived via unofficial routes; constituting one of the largest ethnic migrant group within Western Europe (Sayari, 1986).

What was expected to be a temporary migration, aimed at a wealth accumulation to bring back to its own country after a few years of hard work, took another turn (Van Amersfoort & Doomernik, 2003). Indeed, when the first wave of male-dominated workers came to an end, around 1980s began the second wave of migration, known as family reunification in which families, such as wives and children, reached their husband and father in the host country (Messina, 1996; Van Amersfoort & Doomernik, 2003). Temporary migration expectations started to change as Turkish immigrants adapted to the higher standards of the welfare states they were hosted by, in stark contrast to the galloping inflation and political instability, which made it unattractive to settle back to Turkey (Van Amersfoort

& Doomernik, 2003, p. 60). Meanwhile, several young Turks were ready to enter the marriage market (Van Amersfoort & Doomernik, 2003). Given the strong bond to their home country, the latter led to another wave of immigration of marriage partners; both men and women, almost in equal amount, were brought here to marry a Turkish resident (Van Amersfoort & Doomernik, 2003).

In the late 80s migration began to slow down, giving shape to a community of Turkish immigrants mostly made up of young families, which started to give birth to a diasporic youth, born and raised in the host country, intended as second generation immigrants. (Backus, 1996). Across the following diasporic youth, I intend building my field of research on, trying to unravel not only their identities, but also to what extent their identity is affected by the domestic environment, as for instance the parents and the surrounding community, considered to be first-generation immigrants.

## 2.2. The perception of Identity

### 2.2.1. *Self-identity and Social Adaptation*

By means of understanding the perception of diasporic identity, a deepening of some social theories underlying the concept of the identity and its related construction within society is necessary. Indeed, the society we are living in, is in an endless mutation. Each our self is constantly changing, taking on new forms and structures in relation to the social interactions and constructions to which we are subjected. Given the emergence of the self within the society, as argued by Stryker (1980), a mutual interactivity between the self and the society has been identified. Plainly, the self shapes the overall society through the creation and maintenance of groups, organization, networks and institutions, contrariwise society impacts the self through the embodiment of shared meanings and languages which are reflected upon the individual, enabling him to interact with others (Stets & Burke, 2003).

The following assumptions are at the basis of what has been defined as symbolic interactionism. According to the latter, as theorized by Mead (1934), individual's identity emerges from the interaction of the Me and I, merging together into the self. As a matter of fact the self is a product arising from the mind, which has been shaped through social interactions (Stets & Burke, 2003). Under the following conditions we acquire the knowledge of how identity is not experienced directly, but it is a gradual social process, springing up from the self, reflecting the sociological structure within which it has been shaped. Consistently, the notion of identity represents a personal narrative within a broader social

distinctive environment, foregrounding social and spatial dynamics in influencing identification, especially when it comes to psychological and sociocultural identities within immigrant communities (Verkuyten et al., 2019).

The research is rooted in the theory of symbolic interactionism, stressing the role of the individual within the broader social reality, of diaspora, while highlighting the relevance of settled cultural and symbolically transmitted norms within a country far from the native one (Jenner et al., 2004). Indeed, symbolic interactionism offers a suitable framework by means of which the construction of identity and the related social adaptation of the second-generation immigrants might be conceptualized. As argued by Tajfel and Turner (2004) the definition of the self is an intertwined intrapersonal and social process. So, identity arises out of the individual's sense of the self, alongside its perception of how others view him. As a matter of fact, it appears clear that the public environment and the interpersonal interactions faced by the individual are at the basis of the identity construction. Others' people appraisal hugely impacts immigrant's perception of their self, especially when it comes to negative labelling the following finds resonance in the development of problematic identities, shaped by overt behavioral responses (Ukasoanya, 2014).

Recent migration studies, have shown how the dichotomy of familiar cultural values and norms against the hosting country's cultural values and norms represents an impediment to diasporic youth's adaptation (Ukasoanya, 2014). Indeed, immigration is represented as a psychic flux (Akhtar, 1995, 1999, in Walsh et al., 2005, p. 415), in which the presupposition of re-organizing own's self, is a matter of social adaptation to environment and a culture different than the native one. The latter might culminate in what Harlem (2010, in (Ukasoanya, 2014) discussed as being a cultural dissociation, where the immigrant although physically far from the homeland, psychologically he/she is still close to it, given the difficulty of integrating within the new society. The following case is more common within the first-generation of immigrants. But the pressure deriving from the domestic environment is the start of the confusion post-migrant children relate to when confronting their self with what they are familiar (Ukasoanya, 2014).

As in the case of the Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands the social spheres to which especially the second generation of immigrants are exposed, might appear rather conflictual. On one side the experience of the domestic environment molded predominantly by solely the Turkish culture, finds itself crashing against public circumstances, which in contraposition to the mono-culturalist domestic environment, is unfolded into a mix of

cultures, as from the moment that the Netherlands appears to be a melting pot of cultures (Doomernik, 2005).

Through the analysis of their narratives and systems of discourse, which according to Foucault (1980), summarize and provide knowledge about the world and the meaning giving to the latter, the identity of the diasporic youth will be explored, trying to fill the gap of whether cultural values, beliefs and norms are reflected within their cognition and perception of social circumstances (Ukasoanya, 2014).

### **2.2.2. Thinking Transnationally**

Despite various contributions to the understanding of transnationalism within a global world (see Appadurai, 1996; Giddens, 1991) a theorization of diasporic youth's perception of identity is still incomplete. The progressively exposure to societies, cultures and each other's practices given the constant flux of people from one place to the other bordering on the technological advancements of a global world, uprooted intrinsically the concept of cultural identity. As argued by Hall (2014), cultural identity can be defined in two ways. First, cultural identity encompasses a collective "one true self", hidden behind the many other artificially imposed selves shared with others holding a similar historical experience and cultural system of codes (Hall, 2014, p. 223). Secondly, Hall recognized that history play a relevant role, creating a gap between what we are and what we become. The acknowledgement of the ruptures and the discontinuities experienced through the everyday life, is what transforms cultural identity in an interrelated matter of 'being' but also 'becoming' (Hall, 2014). As a matter of fact, according to Stuart Hall (1996), the concept of identity within a diasporic community, recalls a *moveable feast*, in which the lack of a stable anchor gives rise to a malleable identity, which adapts and transforms itself in relation to the post-modern environments in which it is placed.

A rich body of research literature digs into the profundity of analyzing questions of integration, in addition to acculturation tendency with the host country, while keeping ongoing ties with the home country and the native culture, resulting in transnational identities (Levitt & Schiller, 2004). Regardless of the growing literature and contributions to the field, the concept of transnational identities, even though some similarities between the cases have been recognized, given the abstractionism and subjectivity of the concept itself, the notion of identity remains still vague (Naujoks, 2010).

Under the premises of the global circulation of people, besides cultures and ideas, the individuals affected by the latter found themselves within a mixture of belongings, detached from their original cultural roots and liberated from dependence upon physical locations (Gomes & Alzougoor, 2013; Kennedy & Roudometof, 2003). The following culminated in a creation of a fragmented society, recalling the idea of Imagined Communities theorized by Anderson (1983). Thence, in a world of overlapping and interconnected cultures, the new immigrants, also called *transmigrants* (Kennedy & Roudometof, 2003, pp.10-13) created and stayed devoted to their own imagined community, existing regardless of geographic and national borders, nourished despite their physical distance by a strong attachment to the homeland, its culture and traditions.

Transnationalism stands for a shared space, where multiple cultural as well as linguistic affiliations emerge, because being transnational means more than just stepping beyond national borders. Indeed, by being simultaneously in between the here and the there, identities arose out of cross-cultural bargain and conciliation of difference (Reynolds & Zontini, 2016). Some studies in regard to second-generation immigrants discussed how the creation of transnational social bonds and cultural identifications resulted into discourses built upon an in-betweenness, as a way to subvert the discourse both from the native and the adopted countries (Reynolds & Zontini, 2016, p. 382). Following the study of Reynold and Zontini (2016) transnationalism within the second-generation of immigrants, nowadays can be seen through various forms and meanings, in contrast to the first one. As a matter of fact, more and more studies suggest how there is increasingly an amount of post-migrant youth maintaining strong links to their parent's homeland, which are far from being just symbolic (Reynolds & Zontini, 2014).

Yet there have been encountered also some criticism in regard to multiple sense of belonging within identity construction. If on one hand being transnational is seen as both personal and cultural enrichment, on the other it brings with it negative implications, as young post migrants may encounter a sense of dislocation, caused by being seen as an eternal foreigner both in the country of origin and in the adopted country (Reynolds & Zontini, 2016). Another aspect that needs to be stressed concerns the heterogeneity of the single cases; several intersectional factors, following symbolic interactionism, influence post-migrant youth's being, making a generalization of the cases very difficult.

The following study is intended as unravelling not only whether the Turkish second-generation immigrants in the Netherlands entail transnational identities or not, but rather how do they make sense of the world through the transnational lens, and more precisely whether

transnational practices can be found within the family and social habitus. The latter calls upon Bourdieu's (1986), concept of habitus, which will be further explained in the upcoming subchapter. Through the reception of some short movies, post-migrant youth's being transnational will be analyzed by delving into their self, ethnic and gender identities and how these are shaped by their migration background as well as social and cultural habitus

### **2.2.3. Family and Social Habitus: The Rucksack Approach**

As a matter of gaining a more in-depth clarification of the heterogeneity of post-migrant youth's identities, the notion of Habitus, conceptualized by Bourdieu (1986), will be introduced. According to Bourdieu, Habitus is described as an *embodied* phenomenon, arising unconsciously and translating into a *modus operandi* of how individuals evolve around their environments (Adams, 2006). Habitus is intended as the overall orientation of being in the world, encompassing inclined means through which an individual thinks, acts and moves around and across various social circumstances, reflected upon its posture, outlook, expectations and taste preferences (Sweetman, 2009, p. 493). Habitus is the bodily and mentally reproduction of the social structure in which the individual is placed, permitting him to act within a shared cultural context, through the cultural commonalities of the class reflected upon its being (Adams, 2006). The concept of habitus, throughout this study, will be used as a means by which participants' identity will be further clarified, to understand to what extent their habitus is shaped by either one or both of the adopted cultures and how this is further translated into their views of themselves and of their Home country.

Closely connected to the concept of habitus, we also find that of cultural capital which is articulated out of the habitus that surrounds the individual. Cultural capital consists of formal and informal practices, values and beliefs transmitted by the family and the surrounding cultural community (Erel, 2010). Within migration studies, the embodiment of cultural capital is highly discussed; indeed, the following study is aligned to others, arguing for the tendency within cultural community of creating a migration-tailored cultural capital (Erel, 2010). One of the most discussed tendency, calls upon the *rucksack approach*, according to which migrants export within the Host country their cultural capital regardless of whether it appears appropriate or not (Erel, 2010). Concerning the latter, few studies have been used video elicitation technique to discover how the rucksack approach is mirrored within second generation of immigrants.

As previously mentioned, under the premises that identities are not homogenous, but shaped by the different social interactions to which one is exposed, I advocate that also post-

migrant children's cultural capital is far from being homogenous. As well as I endorse post migrant's cultural capital not as being simply the unpacking of cultural capital brought by their native country, but rather an adaptation and creation of new forms of capital suited within the host country (Erel, 2010).

Additionally, the concept of habitus and that of cultural capital are not only relevant in this context to deepen the immigrant's socio-cultural sphere, but it also underlies the choice of employing visual methods, given Bourdieu's visual interest within social research. Pictures, either static or moving convey different ways of seeing, permitting to uncover and illuminate the habitus (Sweetman, 2009). The employment of visual methods and its related explanation will be further discussed in the Methods section. (see 3.2. New choice of methodology)

### **2.3. Place-based identity perception**

#### **2.3.1. Beyond the Place and towards Deterritorialization**

Cognisant of the difficulties and controversies (Moorti, 2003) embracing the diaspora topic, it is appropriate to take a few steps back and include the concept of *place-based identity*, introducing the related influence the perception of space has on self-identification and representation (Uzzell, 1996). Based on the following theories, participants' attachment to the home-country will be explored, by means of which I intend finding a reply to the main research question of how they perceive their home-country.

The disjunction of diasporic' identities does not merely stem from an internalized cultural struggle, but a relevant portion is also given from a failed acknowledgement of place-based identity. As argued by De certeau (1984), a space is an assemblage of elements, imbued with subjective meanings of identity and culture. Indeed, the issue of space and place comes along with the interconnected concerns of displacement and identity building (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). As a matter of fact, place does not only imply physical but also psychological notions (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015) under the assumption argued by Soja (1996) places are interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood, and imagined by the people inhabiting them.

In addition, the notion of place-based identity acquires even more acknowledgement when it comes to transnationalism, in which permanent border crossers, such as refugees, immigrants or expatriates, abandon their perceived 'homeland' seeking for a new one (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). The diaspora phenomenon is accompanied alongside by a dispersion of

territorial roots and an erosion of the cultural distinctiveness of places, which concretely materialize into a perception of homelessness and a feeling of deterritorialization (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). Within the latter, the here and there are confused in a game of hidden nuances, similar to what happens to the identity, which is in a continuous dualism between the inner and the outer self, which respectively represent the ancestral roots versus the new roots of a country that welcomed and raised them (Fukuyama, 2007). In the aforementioned theoretical framework of space and identity, the transnational conceptualization of space is challenging the national and supranational citizenship, by becoming almost irrelevant in terms of seeking for a single sense of belonging (Georgiou, 2010). Under the following assumptions it becomes clear how imagined communities (Anderson, 1983) strongly relate to imagined places, as the outcome of displaced communities and their attempt in remembering and imagining a ‘homeland’, within a broader context in which the denial of territorialized anchors is becoming the reality (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992).

### ***2.3.2. In Between Reality and Imagination: the Concept of Home***

The conceptualization of a deterritorialised sense of belonging due to the loss of physical proximity experienced by diasporic communities, found resonance within the modern world. Under the following theories, participant’s perception of place will be discovered through the vision of some short movies, depicting Turkey, trying to stimulate their memories about the time spent there.

Given the various migratory waves, Europe became a new home to many non-Europeans (Droneyak, 2012). The concept of home, therefore started to gain attention; it is important to distinguish the notion of home as a dwelling place from the rather abstract concept of home, entailing the meaning and the experience of a place of belonging (Dovey, 1985). Indeed the idea of being at home reflects not only a spatial and temporal understanding, but also a more profound sociocultural meaning, such as a concrete and meaning-centered mental experience (Dovey, 1985). Home is a contested and emotionally fraught terrain (Moorti 2003, p. 360); the term preserves a fundamental importance within diasporic communities, despite their multiple layers of affiliations and identification with both home and host country. Hence, the eternal longing for a home, under the perception of a continuous relocation, is a leitmotiv within diasporic narrative (Moorti, 2003). Consistently, the meaning given to the homeland, functioning as a hallmark of diasporans’ condition, resides an important role within the diasporic framework analysis (Butler, 2001). Besides

entailing the basis for a collective identity, a personal meaning and identity arise from the place we perceived as home. Indeed, within the concept of home is reflected the idea of *rootedness* as from where the intrinsic human being alongside its attachment to traditions is originated as discussed by Heidegger (1966 in Dovey, 1985); as a matter of fact, what Heidegger calls rootedness or autochthony is the starting point for the development of a human existence (Dovey, 1985, p. 7). Home is the embodiment of the sense of belonging, through which given the familiarity of the place our identity and our past connections are evoked. So, the notion of home in this sense plays a relevant role within the identity construction, defining who we are through where we come from (Dovey, 1985). Concerning diasporic communities, the notion of home mirrors the complexity and the ambiguity of the case (Georgiou, 2010), resulting in a gap that I intend filling by digging into second-generation immigrants' concept of home and place-based perception.

Rather than the physical importance given to the place, what forges especially diasporic identity is the meaning attributed to it, therefore the perception that the individual has of the concept of home, which is far from the physicality of the place itself. Accordingly, sharing the meaning of a given identity appears to organically relate people of a community together under the same perception of nostalgia, even though the single individual has never been that close to it (Boyarin & Boyarin, 1993). Under the following premises, Home is imbued with a symbolic meaning of familiarity, intimacy, security but also collective identity against what is perceived to be as unknown, distant and unsecure (Georgiou, 2010). In opposition to some traditionalist theories Hall (1993), stressed out that within new diasporic communities the connection to the homeland is rather blurred. Thus, the loss of strong cultural boundaries, given the displacement in a new country flows into developing multiple perspectives of the concept of home. Within diasporic individuals the concept of home materializes in a dualism of perception; on the one hand the host nation takes on the role of home, in the essential meaning of a dwelling place, while from a metaphorical meaning the perception is merged into an idealization of an imagined home that finds no correspondence in modern reality (Georgiou, 2010). This misrepresentation of reality lashes out against a lack of a strong desire to return. In that sense, there is not necessarily a going "home" again (Tsagarousianou, 2004). Within the modern and global context, the interpretation of the home holds a rather unclear meaning, in which the power of nostalgia and memory of the homeland blurs the reality of the facts. As argued by Tsagarousianou (2004), the desire of a return is strictly connected to the extent of inclusion or exclusion experienced by the single individual within the lived circumstances. The latter entail the premises for both a social and political

struggle in relation to the multi-faceted sense of belonging towards an imagined and an actual realm of the home.

## **2.4. The creation of a Home far away from Home**

### ***2.4.1. Cultural assimilation: the Dichotomy between the Domestic and the Public Sphere***

Bearing in mind what has been said until now, given that diasporic identity can be found at the crossroad between the home and the host country, it appears necessary to look more into the specific case of the Turkish second-generation immigrants in the Netherlands. The overcome of boundaries, in relation to cultural identity development and place attachment, has been translated into a continuum of transnational processes, in which a mix of the home and the host culture might be identified (Tsagarousianou, 2004). Against a mono-culturalist view, the identity of diasporic youth encompasses fluid and malleable identification processes, resulting in a hybrid personality formation. The notion of hybridity perfectly summarizes the tendency of diasporic youth in developing intercultural and cross-cultural life styles and practices (Anthias, 2008, p.10). Indeed, diasporic youth's identity is grounded into the influential clash of the domestic against the public environment. While within the domestic space a strong ethnicity and a maintenance of cultural traditions can be retrieved, the public environment instead offers a completely different reality. The latter results in a colliding exposure between what happens within the family nucleus in the four walls of the house, and between what happens in the public, in relation not only to the host culture but also to the subjectivation of other nationalities and cultures (Verkuyten et al., 2019). This is the case of the Netherlands, an example of nation that after the wars and post-colonialism had to deal in addition to the Turkish one, with several migratory waves, guest worker migration, as well as former colonies migration, resulting today in a melting pot of nationalities (Doomernik, 2005).

One of the most discussed aspects within cultural assimilation theories resides in the importance given to norms and values; in western society norms and values lost their rigidity, becoming notably more flexible than in comparison to eastern cultures, especially where Islam is the major religion (Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2018). Within the latter conservatism prevails in several life domains, as for instance equal perception of gender, marriage and family practices, sexuality related topics, religion and politics (Norris & Inglehart, 2012). Undeniably topics such as gender identity, intermarriage practices as well as religion and politics will be touched upon during the expected interviews.

The weightiness of cultural norms and values can be clearly mirrored within the first generation of immigrants, where a stronger attachment to one's cultural traditions and practices can be identified. Whereas within the second generation a more confused cultural identity arises in response to the cultural assimilation to the host country (Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2018). Contrarily to the first, the second generation is continually subjected to a multifaceted process of socialization (Bronfenbrenner, 1986) the interaction, especially within educational and social environment, with various individuals of different ethnic backgrounds, thus contributed to a more open and influenceable perspective than the traditional one of the first generation. By means of the following theories, the sub-question of how the dualism of the Dutch and the Turkish culture affect the contrasting domestic and public environment emerged organically.

On one side being subjected to multiple cultures and practices, might result in transnational identities with more open and less traditional visions of life, but the other side of the coin must also be considered. Indeed, the malleability of second generation's identities come along with both personal and social pressure given by the eternal ambivalence between the domestic and the public, resulting in a conflicting identity construction between two opposing forces (Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2018). The nature of this ambivalence finds clearer resonance in the divergent contextual influences, such as the socio-economic condition, the neighborhood and other networking institutions (Alba, 2005).

Cultural differences between Western and Eastern culture have been playing a relevant role not only concerning the cultural assimilation of the immigrants, but also within the acceptance and integration from the native inhabitants' side (Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2018). Accordingly, under the following circumstances, within the second generation might be encountered a stronger ethnic and religious identity, in response to the oppositional cultures they are influenced by. This strong attachment to one's ethnicity can result in coping with exclusion from the societal mainstream (Alba, 2005, p. 21), especially given the Islamic culture which is considered to be one of the biggest barrier to Moroccan and Turkish migrants' integration in the Netherlands (Eijberts & Roggeband, 2016). As a matter of fact, the perceived lack of integration within diasporic youth in the Netherlands started to be seen as a concern throughout public and political discussions (Roggeband & Vliegenthart, 2007).

## 2.4.2. ‘Neither Turks nor dutch’: in the Realm of Exported Traditions and Segregated Neighborhoods

*Neither turks nor dutch* (Ogan, 2001, p. 4), the eternal struggle of being in between the home and the host country, as for instance happens within hybrid and ever-changing nature of identities in a transnational context (Georgiou, 2006, p. 3) can be clearly identified in the Turkish diasporic community around Europe. Following this assumption, I decided to formulate my research towards the discovery of how does the Turkish-Dutch youth born and raised in a country that struggles to integrate them, perceive themselves within this context.

As mentioned before, the Turkish migration, supposed to be a temporary one, took quickly the shape of a permanent one; presenting a higher concentration in the main cities, they settled down throughout the whole country (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). Cities such as Amsterdam and Rotterdam, given the proximity to the international airport of Schiphol and the Europoort harbor, after the 1960s until today have been counting a high density of Turkish migrants within their inhabitants (Crull & Heering, 2008). The spatial distribution of the Turkish community has been highly discussed through academic and public debate. Especially in the largest cities, a high concentration of Turkish households within specific urban areas has been detected (Van Kempen & Bolt, 1997).

Although the hostility of the neighborhood, given reported cases of deviant or illegal behavior, the existence of so-called segregated neighborhoods, showcase a strong preservation of ethnic-based networks (Van Kempen & Bolt, 1997) streets filled with Turkish groceries shop, alongside typical Turkish street food takeaways and restaurants, with here and there a mosque and Islamic institutions, emphasizing the religious affiliation (Crul & Doornenik, 2003). Although the integration attempts, the case of the Turkish community is quite complex, peculiarly reflected in the way how especially the youth is finding their way within the Dutch society and culture (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). The cultural clash between the eternal foreigners and the native Dutch inhabitants is stressed out by the emergence of ethnic ghettos or what has been identified as *parallel societies* (Huntington, 2004; Tibi, 2002 in Lucassen & Laarman, 2009). These contributed to a socio-cultural micro-environment arisen within a broader macro context (Smets, 2013) resulting in unresolved identities, as a natural outcome of heterogeneous frameworks of displacement (Harindranath, 2005; Lewellen, 2002).

As a matter of fact, a second sub-question emerged, in regard to what extent does the dualism forge the cultural practices and the habitus of the post-migrant children. Indeed, as argued by Spierings (2015), the preservation of the Turkish culture and language is partly

kept through the domestic environment, influencing the view of the diasporic children. Moreover, in terms of linguistic parent-child interaction, as argued by Backus, (1996), Turkish remains the preferred language within the realm of the family. Although, always according to Backus (1996) as the children grow older, Dutch becomes the better mastered language, ending up mixing the two languages, as a reflection of the in-betweenness of the two cultures. The mastery of the language is a practice that changes from case to case, counting various factors such as the family environment and the social sphere to which the individual is subjected, thus requiring an accurate analysis of individual cases, in fact the intention of my research, as some videos are entirely in Turkish, is to understand up to what level they feel comfortable with the language of their parents.

Besides, the domestic environment, influencing the degree of assimilation of the diasporic youth, also the network of exported products and traditions played a considering role (Van Amersfoort & Doomernik, 2003). In fact, while at the first stage the cultural preservation was mainly maintained through some leisure-time activities and the export of some typical products from the country of origin. Once the community started to establish themselves more and more within the Dutch borders the resulting migration of cultural practices and norms became a far reaching issue (Van Amersfoort & Doomernik, 2003). As a result, cultural traditions, as for instance the celebration of national and religious festivity, marriage customs, child rearing practices, alongside with culinary and music traditions, were displaced and adapted to the new environment, contributing so to a cultural hybridity (Ogan, 2001).

## 2.5. Research Question

Based on the aforementioned theoretical framework, gathering several theories across differently conducted research, I intend inquiring into the system of discourse (Foucault, 1980) of the Turkish diasporic youth in the Netherlands. Despite the impossibility of a generalization, given the variability of several factors influencing the single identities and its perceptions, I will aim for answering the following research question: *How does the Turkish diasporic youth perceive their identity and their 'homeland' through the vision of experimental short movies?*

All over the study, the concept of diaspora is placed as the focal point around which this research has been developed, foregrounding the notion of people and communities that either voluntarily or involuntarily have been somehow displaced from their homeland (Smets,

2013). Given the complexity of the case, with several theorization evolving around the topic after the formulation of the main research question, two more sub-questions emerged organically. The first sub-question that arose in conjunction with the other one is: *How does the dualism of the Dutch and the Turkish culture affect their domestic and public environment?* By means of having a deeper understanding of diasporic youth's cultural assimilation, a second sub-question has been formulated, as for instance *how is the dualism further reflected within the practices of language, customs and traditions?*

Through visual elicitation-based interviews (Glaw et al., 2017), the ultimate goal of the following study is to contribute to the academic and social debate, concerning identity construction and place-based identity perception within migrants' community, specifically focusing on the Turkish community within the Netherlands.

### **2.5.1. Expectations**

By aligning this research with previous studies on cultural identity on Turkish diasporas (Ehrkamp, 2005; Ogan, 2001; Robins & Aksoy, 2001) my expectations lie in the in-betweenness, as the identity itself of the participants that I'm going to interview. As discussed through the theoretical framework, I expect to meet transnational identities strongly influenced by the habitus in which they are located, while maintaining intrinsic aspects of the Turkish culture transmitted by the domestic environment. In the latter, I expect to encounter a strong intergenerational contrast between the actual movers, so either the grandparents or parents, and the children, bearing their family's choice as being second-generation immigrants. As a matter of fact, I believe the dualism to be clashing within the family environment, from the moment that their parents' might have been shaped more by the Turkish culture given that either they have been born there or lived there for a while, in stark contrast to the second-generation which has mostly been raised within the adopted country.

Additionally, given the abovementioned theories concerning linguistic practices, I expect a mastery of both the Turkish and the Dutch language. As for the perception of the homeland, I expect a strong sense of attachment to it, however, characterized at the same time by a detached feeling of not totally belonging to it, due to the lack of lived experience within the parents' country. Guided by the following assumptions I expect to encounter unclear identities, vacillating between being neither *Turks nor Dutch*. Moreover, I also acknowledge that the complexity of the topic could come up with different paths of integration and assimilation (Reniers, 1999, pp. 695–696) due to various socio-cultural variables, as for

instance family background, place of origin as well as the social sphere which bearing in mind the theory of symbolic interactionism, highly impacts the identity construction process especially within diasporic youths, which appeared to have a malleable identity (Hall, 2014).

### 3. Methods

The data collection phase of the following study coincided with the outbreak of COVID-19 (Stein, 2020), quickly declared to be a worldwide Pandemic by the World Health Organization (*WHO Announces COVID-19 Outbreak a Pandemic*, 2020). Given the aggressiveness of the virus, causing numerous infections, in addition to also many deaths all over the world, the Dutch government, similar to other nations, has responded to the latter by instituting some restrictions, intended as lowering the impact and magnitude of the virus. How the undertaken restrictions and circumstances have impacted the process of my thesis can be further read in *Impact of COVID-19* ([see Appendix A](#)). Indeed, according to the initial thesis proposal, submitted before the outbreak of COVID-19, my chosen methodology was developed around the employment of focus group sessions. Unluckily, by means of the main restriction of social distancing, the gathering of more than 3 persons was soon labelled illegal, forcing me to adapt to the given circumstances. The changed methodology with the necessary adjustments will be explained throughout this section.

First of all, a conceptualization of the adopted qualitative approach, through the employment of online videoconference-based interviews will be given. Moreover, a clarification concerning the choice of a visual elicitation technique within the interviews will follow, alongside a brief analysis of the screened short films. After the data collection process, some practical issues, such as the sampling and the participants will also be discussed, in addition to the data analysis carried out through the availability of ATLAS.TI. Finally, the section will end with a reflection of my role as an insider researcher.

#### 3.1. New choice of Methodology

Under the premises that it sits on the continuum between arts and science (Turner III, 2010), implying creative interpretation but also structured rigour, for the sake of my research I decided to rely on a qualitative approach. The motivation behind this choice resides in the awareness of qualitative research as a useful tool, highly stressing the individual's perspective, meaning making processes and interpretation of their social environment (Bryman, 2012). From the moment that social sciences are devoted to the encounters with others (Devereaux & Hillman, 1995) I am aware of how a flexible and exploratory perspective is required to serve not only the researcher's needs, aiming for the subjectivity and individuality of each participant, but also to give acknowledgeable space to the different *selves* constituting the individual (Bryman, 2012). Despite similar traits that can be found, big

differences in the way we perceive and make sense of the world, discern us drastically from each other. The latter is the reason why for such a research I preferred not only a qualitative approach but also an approach that could be defined creatively risky. I am aware of the atypical and rather experimental way I chose to conduct the interviews; but the determination to maintain things as previously set, led me to search for a logical and feasible alternative in a social context, that given the latest events of the COVID-19 is facing major uncertainties, which are undoubtedly affecting the single individuals.

Moreover, as discussed by Bryman (2012), commonly the methodologies are not simply chosen tools, but they are intrinsically linked with the researcher's way of embodying social reality, and how the latter should be inspected. Furthermore, the adopted social method, arises out of the researcher's personal interest and biography (Lofland & Lofland 1995). By and large, the following research emerged deductively from some previous literature and researches, in addition to a personal proximity to the subject, which will be further developed within the section concerning the role of the researcher (see 3.5. Role of the Researcher).

In behalf of that, the following research materialized out of the epistemological theory of interpretivism, according to which a divergent research procedure is necessary as a means by which to reflect human beings' distinctiveness (Bryman, 2012). As advocated by Max Weber (1864-1920) Interpretivism evolves around the German concept of *Verstehen*, namely the interpretive understanding of the single social action. A further theorization of the latter can be retrieved within the implications of symbolic interactionism, indeed at the cornerstone of the latter resides the interpretative and interactive nature of human behaviour struggling in between the self (Me) and the social environment (I) (Mead & Morris, 1934).

The reason why I chose the following approach came from the acknowledgement that individuals while interacting with each other, by interpreting and attributing a meaning to what they see, they reverse the acquired meaning on their actions (Jenner et al., 2004).

As discussed by Denzin (2016, p. 5), symbolic interactionism comes in multiple varieties, the interpretative stance of the approach also influenced the interpretation itself given to it by various sociologists. Personally, I felt more in line with the constructionist approach, which does not only highlight the interactions but also a constant revision of them. This means that instead of perceiving culture as something externally imposed on people, it can emerge as a result of constant construction and re-construction, which is indeed the case of the second-generation immigrants which are constantly shaped by the persistence of two different cultures.

Additionally, symbolic interactionism emerged throughout this study from its emphasis on the reflexive nature of human experience (Denzin, 2016), by retracing narratives and system of discourse, as a way of giving meaning and significance to the world. A system of discourse is what summarize and produce knowledge about the world (Foucault, 1980). Given the impossibility of studying the reality and human experience directly, I decided to do it by means of interviewing respondents, including a visual elicitation technique (Glaw et al., 2017). Symbolic interactionism with its narrative turn, has been shaped towards a layered construction of interpretations, attributing continuously new shapes and meanings to what has been discovered (Denzin, 2016). This infinite discovery through the interaction and addition of new meanings and forms, guided me throughout the whole process of the thesis, from the initial brainstorming of ideas, passing through the data collection phase, which according to me is the clearest and most emblematic representation of the latter, until the analysis of the collected data.

### ***3.1.1. Creative interviewing with video-elicitation***

As argued by Lofland & Lofland (1995), face-to-face interaction is the most appropriate experience of acquiring knowledge about the mind of another human. For that reason, under the abovementioned circumstances of social distance I decided to carry out semi-structured interviews (Bryman, 2012) through the employment of Zoom, an audio and videoconferencing platform, which allowed me albeit virtually, to interact face to face with the participants. Especially within qualitative research, interviews are the most common tool for data collection. But in my research work, I decided to go beyond the standard interview (Bagnoli, 2009, pp. 547-548) by including video-elicitation, which is a technique encompassing the use of some audio-visual material during the interviews in order to stimulate participant's discussion by asking them to comment on what has been seen and perceived (Glaw et al., 2017).

In the last decade, emphasized also by the introduction of high quality technologies, visual methods have taken on new light among the methodological sphere of sociologists and researchers (see Banks, 2001; Pink, 2001; Sweetman, 2009). A connection between the resumption of visual methods can be associated with the *cultural turn* experienced within sociology throughout postmodernism (Rojek & Turner, 2000), in addition to an increased enthusiasm concerning the visual culture emerged with the advent of the Internet and relative cheapness of audio visual related devices (Evans & Hall, 1999).

The choice of integrating a visual elicitation technique in interviews stemmed out of my personal interest towards the visual field, especially for what concerns cinema and filmmaking, in addition to my interest in Bourdieu's theory of visual methods' ability of revealing the habitus. Indeed, as argued by Sweetman (2009), visual methods can be extremely appropriate for inspecting some unexpected areas of sociological interest, as for instance notions of our everyday lives, which given the degree of familiarity with them might be overshadowed. The act of using audio-visual material is rooted in the attempt to employ them as a springboard for discussion (Bryman, 2012, p. 455). Moving pictures, especially when perceived semiotically as a social practice, convey individuals with the possibility of alternative meaning-making (Nichols, 1981) providing the premises under which we gain access to different representation and perception of our identity and culture.

We are continuously surrounded by images either static or in motion, imbued with symbols and communicative meanings. Indeed, by means of these symbols, individuals enter into communication processes with one another (Nichols, 1981) laying out on the groundwork for an exchange of multiple meanings. Recently, art and its semiotic meaning have been embraced within both qualitative and ethnographic research (Krzys Acord, 2006) as a means through which to stimulate what would otherwise left unsaid. As discussed by Harper (2002), visual material stimulates deeper the consciousness than words do and they might be a tool facilitating participant engagement (Pain, 2012). In the multivocality of visual material, with its ability to communicate manifold narratives lies the motivation of my research procedure (Banks, 2001).

Under the premises of Banks (2001), visual methodology can be carried out either through a co-production of visual representations between the researcher and the researched, or through the employment of already pre-existing material, serving the purpose of social analysis. Given that *images inspire conversations, conversations may invoke images* (Pink, 2007, p. 21) I will endeavor through the use of 6 short movies, online available, that will be analyzed in the upcoming section, to critically and methodologically answer my research question. Following what has been theorized by Harper (1988), visual-elicitation interviews reconcile with the abovementioned Weber's concept of *Verstehen*, indeed rather than merely being a data collection tool, it entails a strong mutuality in creating and sharing meanings and knowledge through an interpretative understanding of the reality (Pink, 2007).

### **3.2. Film analysis as operationalization**

Throughout the interview, 6 short movies have been shown to each participant. Each movie was somehow related to some pertinent concepts, which are categories for the organization of ideas and observations, relevant for a better understanding of the field of research (Bulmer, 1984, p. 48). The primary purpose of viewing these films was to evoke memories, emotions and beliefs in regard to the home country (Harper, 2002). Therefore, a selection of some short movies, available through the video platform of Vimeo<sup>1</sup>, was done on the basis of the most representatives of Turkey and its culture, through the showcase of its inhabitants, cities, landscapes and soundscapes.

#### **3.2.1. *Kebabaluba* (1995) – Enis Tahsin Özgür**

*Kebabaluba* is an animated short film produced in Ankara, Turkey and Berlin, Germany by the director Enis Tahsin Özgür (Özgür & Özgür, 2010). It was presented 1995 at the Annecy International Animation Film Festival. The film narrates about Hamdi, a Turkish vendor of the fast food, Döner Kebab, showing his simplicity and at the same time his pride in exercising the profession of being a vendor, as contributing to the Turkish Economy. While narrating about himself, Hamdi, the main character addresses some known stereotypes in regard to Turkey, such as being a common touristic destination given its favorable climate and its attractive dance and music culture. In addition, some references to the German language can be heard; indeed Germany, together with The Netherlands, was one of the European countries towards which the guest workers in 1960s started to migrate (Euwals et al., 2011). Through the first movie, participants' representation of their self, touching upon social stigma, discrimination and the social environment, has been explored.

#### **3.2.2. *Istanbul – Through the Prisma* (2016) – Justin Heaney**

*Istanbul – through the Prisma* is a short Prisma inspired animation, created and directed by Justin Heaney (Heaney, 2016). Throughout the movie the colors and shapes typical of Istanbul are highlighted, while in the background emphasis is put on the mystical soundscapes, characterizing Turkey. As argued by the filmmaker the application of the Prisma effect emerged as an attempt to apply a fresh and new perspective to the ancient capital of the Turkish Empire, by conveying the idea of an illustrated storybook (Link, 2016).

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<sup>1</sup> See <https://vimeo.com/>

### **3.2.3. *Insanbul* (2016) – Nadine Prigann**

The following short film, entitled *Insanbul*, has been realized within a 5 days international workshop at the Marmara University by Nadine Prigann, together with Luis Rutz, Lina Schick and Gülcin Yurdatapan (Prigann, 2016). The title *Insanbul* is addressing the city of Istanbul, specifically its inhabitants and their traditions, indeed translated it means looking for people. The film is a result of three overlapping videos, showing first of all an image of the person, followed by an allusion to its typical surroundings and finally a reference concerning themselves can be heard. The three videos are played at the same time to give meaning to the quickly changing chaotical city of Istanbul (*Insan Bul — Nadine Prigann*, n.d.), metaphor for the ongoing changes Turkey is facing in the last decades. Istanbul – through the Prisma and Insanbul, the former and the latter were intended as stimulating respondents' memories and idea about Turkey and whether the latter confirmed or not what has been seen in the video.

### **3.2.4. *Imaginary Postcards* (2016) – Jocelyne Saab**

The short movie, realized by Jocelyne Saab, has been presented in 2016 at the DocLisboa Festival as part of the Jocelyne Saab Retrospective Project. The movie is intended as an imaginary post card written to the Turkish writer Orhan Pamuk (*Imaginary Postcards - Doclisboa 2019*, n.d.), known for its criticism towards Turkey's current politics, forced for this reason to mainly live abroad. The video is shot in Istanbul, putting the emphasis on the many bridges highlighting the city's essence of being split between Europe and Asia. In the background a woman voice can be heard, telling about her admiration to Turkey and about her concerns about the fragility of herself but also of the country's current position, in relation to the Middle East, destroyed by the never-ending conflicts.

The participant's perspective about the current situation of Turkey was addressed through the vision of the following video; as a matter of fact I attempted to reflect Turkey's peculiarity of being simultaneously part of two continents, as a reflection of the participants' transnational identity and how the latter is materialized within their perspective in regard to the ongoing geopolitical struggles in their home country.

### **3.2.5. *Boşa Giden Her Şey (All in vain) (2017) – Vural Uzundag***

*Boşa Giden Her Şey* (translated: All in vain) is a Turkish short movie, directed by Vural Uzundağ and awarded by various Film Festivals. The movie depicts shortly the everyday life of a family, made of three kids, living on the opposite side of the modern city life of Istanbul (Uzundağ, 2018). All in vain is the story of Safiye, the main character, and a marriage arising from necessity, making both sides unhappy. Whereas she is taking on her shoulder the burden of the house and the life of her kids, Idris, the husband found remedy in his pigeons, which symbolically stand for the tension between the couple, which need to be released. The movie was selected given its accuracy in representing the condition of a Turkish family, in which a clear distinction between the role of a man and of a woman could be seen.

### **3.2.6. *Yörük (2020) – Can Katipzade, Sümer Ezgü***

The last film, called *Yörük* is a documentary about the traditions of Turkish Yörük, co-produced and directed by Sümer Ezgü and Can Katipzade (Katipzade, 2016). The video shown to the participants was not the full length documentary, but a short preview highlighting some of the intrinsic aspect of the culture of Yörük, which are a nomadic tribe, known for their music and dance, besides their art of storytelling and craftsmanship, while migrating across the Taurus Mountain area.

The engagement with cultural roots through artefacts, rituals and knowledge, is perceived to play a relevant role within the ethnic identification process (Lidskog, 2016). Especially music has a relevant role within individual and social identity formation (Lidskog, 2016) from the moment that it mirrors our *true selves* (Rund, 1997, p.3). Given the emphasis on Turkish music that emerged almost through all the 6 selected videos, the last section was dedicated to the understanding of the diasporic youth's attachment to cultural traditions, precisely in regard to music, dance and artistic practices, under the premises that cultural and artistic practices serve as the basis of the construction and enactment of a social identity and social memory where both the individual and the collective are linked together (Lidskog, 2016).

So, the following videos have been employed in order to let myself guide through the research question and the sub-questions. From the moment that this research attempts to clarify the perception of identity and place of the Turkish migrant community. As an indicator of how the diasporic youth perceives their identity and their home-country, I will

keep in mind throughout the interviews and the vision of the connected videos, the notion of transnationalism and deterritorialization. Within the context transnationalism is meant as a spatial and cultural interconnectedness (de Jong & Dannecker, 2018) based on the integration, assimilation and acculturation in the receiving nations, while maintaining tied bond and interaction with the home country (Naujoks, 2010). In addition the concept of *deterritorialization* is understood as the eradication of physical and mental roots, “showcasing a relation between thought and territorial placing, between internal and external exile, while bearing relation to notions of nomadic thought, hybridity and diaspora” (Elden, 2005, p. 9).

### **3.3. Data Collection**

One of the most widely methodologies used within qualitative and ethnographic research are semi-structured interviews. The main advantage of conducting qualitative interviews lies in the richness and depth of the accumulated date. Moreover, the semi-structured approach leaves room for creativity and flexibility in formulation and sequence, permitting the adjustment of the questions according to the individual cases (Bryman, 2012). Before starting with the data collection phase, an interview guide ([see Appendix B](#)) highlighting the main concepts was created. The interview was structured according to two different sections, a first rather narrative and a second introducing the visual elicitation approach.

First of all, in order to break the ice, the participants were asked to introduce themselves, providing a general overview of who they are, where they come from, in terms of both their parents’ origin and their place of birth, in addition to their study course or profession. These data are clearly displayed in the Participants’ overview ([see Appendix C](#)). The introduction was then followed by the first section, in which two open-ended questions were asked; first of all, the participants were asked to talk about their family migration story, precisely when did they come to the Netherlands and under which circumstances, by means of which an overview of their migration status was given. Secondly, an additional question was asked in regard to the first notions coming to their mind in relation to their home country.

Once the first section was completed, the visual elicitation section started. As previously explained, the interviews were carried out online through the employment of an audio and videoconferencing platform; besides permitting me to see the participants, it also had the feature of sharing the screen, thanks to which I was able to screen the selected videos

with the respondents. The following section was subdivided in 5 categories, associated each to one video, except for the category of *Memories of the Homeland* were two really short videos were screened one after the other. So, the second part of the interviews has been structured such as to first screen the associated video through the feature offered by the platform, followed by some video-related questions. Following a feminist approach in qualitative interviews (Bryman, 2012) I tried to keep the interviews as much as flexible and conversational in nature as possible. The latter implied mostly a non-hierarchical relationship, without imposing my authority as a researcher, but doing everything possible to make them feel comfortable in speaking and sharing their narrations and perceptions with me. The latter implied also a form of flexibility in which and how the questions were asked, besides replying sometimes to some questions asked by them, in regard to my point of view. The role I played within the research and the data collection phase will be further explored in the below section.

More or less, all the interviews lasted between 50 minutes and 100 minutes. Under the participant's consent the interviews were audio-recorded, to permit a verbatim transcription, in order to report as possible, the original conversation, including some speech characteristics, as for instance utterances, moments of hesitations or laughter. Moreover, the verbatim transcription ensured the possibility of eventually developing the collected data into a further research, without losing any particular which could be somehow relevant for a more in-depth analysis (Fielding & Thomas, 2008).

### **3.3.1. Sampling and Participants**

Under the awareness that any generalized reference to the Turkish post-migrant community does not acknowledge the social complexity of the diasporic phenomenon, I will avail myself of some terminologies, such as *Turkish second generation immigrants* or *post-migrants* to contextualize the samples within which I will carry out the research.

Given the field of research tackled within this study, the sampling was done by means of a mixed sampling approach (Bryman, 2012); whose goal of sampling strategically while entailing also a networking aspect was in comply with the requirements dictated by the research question. Indeed at first a purposive sampling approach (Bryman, 2012) was done by means of contacting Mozaik<sup>2</sup>, the Turkish Student Association, based at Erasmus

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<sup>2</sup> See <https://www.sv-mozaik.nl/>

University. The association was founded in 1995 by Dutch-Turkish students, with the aim of promoting a mutual contact and sharing of activities within the Turkish community based all around Netherlands. So, purposive sampling approach, was followed by a snowball approach (Bryman, 2012) from the moment that the initial contact with the president of the Association provided me with the possibility of broadening the participants by including some of the association's members. Alongside contacting Mozaik, a call for participants was posted on the social media of Facebook, within some other university groups, such as of those of Codarts and Willem de Koning Academy, two universities for the Arts also based in Rotterdam, Netherlands. Finally, the remaining participants were gathered also by means of the snowball approach, indeed most of them have been recommended to me by some other respondents.

During the first sampling attempt, many more people had shown interest, mostly given by the interest aroused in participating in the focus group session with other peers. Unfortunately, with the outbreak of the coronavirus, the sampling has undergone some changes, causing some respondents to drop out. From the initially 20 respondents who have given me their availability, finally 12 respondents were left, precisely 6 females and 6 males between 21 and 30 years old ([See Appendix C](#)). The main criteria of selection were related to their migration status and whether they had borne the consequences of their parents' or in some cases of their grandparents' choice of migration. While some might be classified as second-generation others might be intended as sponsored immigrants (Backus, 1996). In regard to gender, personal background such as place of birth, origins as well as study course I tried to differentiate as possible the selection of participants, to ensure variance across the different narratives, as a mean to analyze also how social and cultural factors might affect the respondent's perception (Balan & Reijnders, 2019). Therefore, the 12 respondents, despite their common country of origin, they all presented a diverse socio-cultural background. Some of them indeed spent some time living in Turkey, while others have never been there if not just for holidays. Besides, 10 respondents have both their parents' origin in Turkey, while 2 respondents, one female and one male, as an outcome of an intermarriage, presented some roots within the Dutch culture. Accordingly, both of them underwent a different type of migration than the guest-worker one. Deniz, 24, born in Turkey from a half-Dutch and half Turkish father and a Turkish mother, migrated to the Netherland with her family at the age of 12, so she has been included in quality of sponsored immigrant (Backus, 1996). While on the other side the case of Erol, 23, is different. He was born in Belgium, from a Turkish mother and a Dutch father, as soon as he was born his parents decided to move back to Turkey,

where they lived until he was 18 and then they voluntary decided to move back to the Netherland given the ongoing political unstable situation in Turkey. So, although the case of Erol, 23 does not entirely suit within the aforementioned diasporic conditions, I decided still to include him given the transnational identity forged by the existing dualism of the Dutch and the Turkish culture. In addition, the case of Erol, served as a means of comparison with the other analyzed cases.

### **3.4. Data Analysis**

The transcribed data has been analyzed via thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) through the employment of the ATLAS.TI<sup>3</sup>, a software for qualitative analysis of textual, audio and video data. An initial reading, to identify recurring themes, was carried out, followed by a second careful reading of each transcript, through which the initial codes emerged. The coding was done by means of keeping in mind the main research question and the associated sub-questions. The reason why thematic analysis has been chosen was mainly due to the necessity of a flexible method of analysis that could cover a wealth of detailed data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Moreover, as argued by Braun and Clarke (2006) within thematic analysis a constructionist approach can be identified, which allowed to analyze a range of discourse, such as experiences and meanings given to the world.

As a matter of fact, through thematic analysis not only how the participants make sense of the world, but also what is behind that meaning-making process can be discovered. By letting myself guide by the main research question, after carefully reading the transcripts, the data was dissected into meaningful codes, representative of the participants' opinions. The initial coding was then followed by a more focused coding, in which the initial codes were grouped together under broader categories, which in turn have been associated to 5 main themes ([see appendix D](#)), linked to the aforementioned theoretical framework, which will be enounced and discussed in the upcoming section of the Results.

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<sup>3</sup> See: <https://atlasti.com/>

### 3.5. Researcher's Role

A researcher embarking on the qualitative approach is confronted with a certain flexibility and freedom in choosing the most suitable approach through which to give meaning to the social world; but in turn such flexibility brings with it criticisms (Jenner et al., 2004). One of the main criticisms addresses the role of the researcher itself. I have to admit that from the beginning of this research process, from the first moments I chose the topic of research, including the decision of how to conduct it, as well as the selection of the films, the reflexivity of my role as a researcher transpires. Indeed, all over the research I have been guided by my personal background, as insofar being first of all a post-migrant myself, given my childhood in Germany, where I have been raised as the outcome of an intermarriage between a Turkish mother and an Italian father; secondly, as being a migrant myself, from the moment that I voluntarily moved to the Netherlands for the sake of my studies.

Nevertheless, my personal background can be reflected in several aspects, I have been aware of the latter throughout each step of this study. The growing tendency within academics to study migration and mobility by being themselves migrants or part of the researched community, has been welcomed with some criticisms, concerning the scope, the utility, as well as the authenticity and the validity of having an insider researcher (Voloder & Kirpitchenko, 2016). Indeed the main critical assumptions lies in the lack of detachedness between researcher and the field of study, especially when it comes to share the language and similar migration stories (Voloder & Kirpitchenko, 2016).

Although before conducting this research I extensively informed myself of the assumptions and implications of *Insiderness* within migration studies (Voloder & Kirpitchenko, 2016), I decided to proceed anyway given my initial belief that a cultural sharing in terms of the similarity of migration history and language sharing could be a helpful background in investigating the meaning making of young diasporic immigrants who have had, although not entirely, a migration background for some traits similar to mine.

My initial belief got confirmed first of all when I had to approach the initial participants; given my lack of knowledge of the Dutch language, the fact of speaking Turkish definitely helped me in gathering some participants. In addition, it has been further reflected also in the conduct of the interviews. All the interviewees agreed on speaking mostly in English, but often and willingly when they were not able to express a concept in English, they switched to Turkish, by introducing here and there some Turkish words as a way of letting me better understand. This addition has definitely contributed to put the participants more at

ease. Moreover, all the participants who before or after, as a matter of testing the influence it might have, have been told about my Turkish origins.

To what extent being an insider affected instead the analysis of the gathered data? Undeniably throughout the whole process, my role of researcher has been influencing the turn taken by the research as well as the final outcome. As argued by Holloway and Todres, (2007), researchers tend to self-reflect their perception especially when carrying out qualitative research. By means of coping with the possible criticisms of being an insider researcher, I tried to not take anything for granted within the process, resulting in a wealth of data. Indeed, several questions, as well as additional questions with the aim of clarifying more in depth where it seemed to be necessary, have been addressed to the participants. In addition, during the data analysis and the outline of the results I tried to keep as possible the words and the interpretation given by themselves.

Prior to each interview, all respondents have been extensively informed about the topic, the aim and the process of the research. Therefore, an informed consent form has been drawn up, through which participants' consent to be audio-recorded as well as the consent about their identity to be revealed or not has been asked. All of them agreed on being audio-recorded, while not all of them wanted their identity to be revealed. For the sake of the latter the names of the following ones have not been disclosed.

## 4. Results

This section will be entirely dedicated to the presentation of the results and the related analysis obtained from the 12 interviews, carried out in the second half of April. The interviews, analyzed according to a thematic approach, were initially coded, and then categorized by means of broader themes, encompassing multiple notions, relevant in view to the research questions. The five thematic categories are the *Representation of the Self*, *Memories of the Homeland*, *Identity and Belonging*, *Gender and Intermarriage* and finally *Habitus and Cultural Capital*.

First of all, their migration status and family background of the 12 respondents will be outlined, to have a better understanding of the socio-cultural circumstances they come from. Followed by their experience with discrimination and stereotypes, the image the participants have of themselves and their culture will be discussed by reflecting the latter in their social environment, in addition to their personal beliefs and values. Through Memories of the homeland, the perception of Turkey, given by the accumulation of Holiday memories and through their knowledge and opinion about the current situation of Turkey, as well as their desire of relocation will be touched. The theme of Identity and Belonging is based upon the sense of belonging and the importance of the concept of home, highlighting the perception and relationship with the host-country, the Netherlands. After that, the role of gender, besides their partner expectations, in regard to intermarriage tendency will be clarified. Finally, last but not least through the theme Habitus and Cultural Capital, the respondents' ethnicity and attachment to religion and culture, such as language, and music will be analyzed.

### 4.1. Representation of the self

#### 4.1.1. Migration and Family

Most of the participants, when asked about their family migration background, they mentioned that commonly the first one who embarked on the journey towards Europe, were their grandfathers, either from the mother side or from the father side. Indeed, under the premises of the guest-worker migration started around 1960s, most of the participants' grandfathers, given the unfavorable socio-economic conditions their family was facing in Turkey, took the decision to temporarily migrate to the Netherlands, which at that time was in need of manpower.

My family used to live in what we call in Turkish *gecekondu* (slum), in Turkey, in Ankara. So, it is like uhm yeah it's not a nice neighborhood to live at and my father's grandfather decided to go to Germany, to Hamburg because he had brothers and sisters there and also like his cousins, his uncles' son and so on [...] after he came to Rotterdam and he worked at a cigar factory to just like packing cigarettes and stuff. And then ehm he went back to Turkey when he had enough money. (H., 22)

H.'s migration background started even before, with the father of his grandfather which decided first go to Germany, where already some members of the family were living, to then further move to the Netherlands. After several back and forth of the male members of H.'s family, his father decided to establish himself here and to create a family. In contrast to H.'s family background, the case of most of the other participants, has been less unsteady. As stated by B. (26), "I think my grandfather moved here first for my mother side ehm when he was pretty young [...] uhm and he liked it here enough". While many of the guest-worker arrived here with the mere purpose of accumulating some money in order to offer a better life to the family in Turkey, several others instead from the expectations of a temporary migration ended up settling here. Driven by the possibility announced by the Dutch government to bring the family here, such as wife and children, who usually stayed in the country of origin and to whom the male component was sending the money, proceeding towards the family reunification phase (Messina, 1996; Van Amersfoort & Doomernik, 2003).

After the Netherlands allowed families to come over, my grandmother joined him as well, as well as my dad and an uncle of mine. So, they started living here. So I think my dad was around his twenties and that's like in 1990", similar to the story of Cengiz, "at a certain point that the Dutch government because all these workers were working here uhm and sending money to Turkey and at a certain moment the Dutch government told them to get their family to the Netherlands and they would they would cover the costs, so he also did. (R.,21)

So, most of the participants' families, such as grandparents and usually either the mother or the father started a new life in the Netherlands from a young age. While some of their parents were born in Turkey and brought here later; some others were born already in the Netherlands. As for instance the case of Seleyna (21) her mother was born here in 1970, and similar to other cases her grandparents moved here seeking for better opportunities. On the other side instead, the father of Deniz (24), has been born in the Netherlands, from an intermarriage between Deniz's Dutch grandmother and Turkish grandfather. Depending on the age they have been brought here, some of the participants' parents attended Dutch

schools, while others that were brought here, once grown old enough to not attend schools anymore.

A relevant aspect touched by almost all the participants resided in the peculiarity of how their parents have met, similarities have been retrieved within the analyzed cases. Indeed, several times, differently from what I was expecting, they were not the outcome of two Turkish immigrants established in the new country. Plainly, several of them stated that either the mother or the father usually was brought here to marry a Turkish resident. The following phenomenon reminds of the migratory wave of marriage partners, discussed by Amersfoort et al. (2003). Under the following premises, with the exception of some more specific cases such as the history of Deniz (24) and that of Erol (23), who have been the outcome of a different type of migration; the other 10 participants can be seen as the consequence of the guest-worker migration (Van Mol & de Valk, 2016). Accordingly to what has been stated in the theoretical framework, it was either their grandparents' or parents', decision to migrate to the Netherlands; which at first was supposed to be a temporary choice subsequently turned into a permanent as soon as the families were allowed to join the father in the Host-country (Van Amersfoort & Doomernik, 2003); highly shaped the participants' identity and reflection of their self, given rise to a diasporic youth, born and raised in a country far from their homeland (Backus, 1996).

#### ***4.1.2. Self - reflection***

After the first rather narrative questions concerning their migration background, the first video, entitled Kebabaluba, has been screened and watch together with the participants. The reaction towards the latter were rather different, while some believed it was funny and depicting a typical Turkish salesman, others instead perceived it as a stereotyped image of their compatriot.

It is really I think it is like a stereotype of Turkish people who run a döner kebab place maybe, oh yeah my döner kebab is like the best or yeah Turkey .. they always come to me. The accent is typical turkish - english I guess like, like you can hear immediately that it is a Turkish person from the accent. Uhm yeah it was quite funny I thought it was a funny video. (Mehmet, 27)

While on the other side, H. (22) found some clear similarities between what he experienced in Turkey and what has been depicted in the video, remembering the times he walked around the main streets of Ankara and Istanbul. Even though H. (22) retrieved some

similarities with his experience in Turkey, on the other side he plainly mentioned some stigmatizing characteristics of Turkish people, such as the belief that Turkish people are really rough and loud. Instead according to Erol (23) the main character of the first video, even though not entirely representative of every Turkish man, but at least of a part of it, as explained by himself.

Uhmm... It's kind of true I mean, it's also a part of the culture to brag about things you know, or the things you do or to show to be very full of yourself. It's something that thrives among the men I believe in order to sustain their position on both socially and also in their families and you know, it's not it's not easy since there's a big gap between professions and the things that people do let's say. (Erol, 23)

Contrarily to what has been perceived by the others, D. (24), highlighted how she perceived some similarities between the main character, Hamdi and the guest-workers, showcasing the quite hard-working side of the people and their desire to earn money as they did not have the opportunity to study. She continued by mentioning her parents, who did not have a higher education and now are expecting from her to study in order to get better life chances than they had. Similar to Ilayda (21) according to who, the main character, Hamdi reminded her about those “Dönerciler (Döner vendor) in Germany, [...] who are like talking about their home country than really like native Turkish people”.

Most of the participants, while acknowledging the stereotyped image of the main character, on the other hand they also expressed how some stereotypes find confirmation in reality, based on what they saw in the behavior of Food vendors, such as the main character, either back in Turkey or here, in the Netherlands, where many Döner Kebab places are run by Turkish people. Deniz (24) who lived in Turkey until she was 12, instead perceived through the video a clear care for the tourists, indeed she remarked how when there is a tourist the main character of the video, which she supposed to be the owner would serve the client by himself, while instead when a Turkish person asked for a Döner, he would charge his employee to serve him.

Following the dichotomy of the Me and the I (Mead & Morris, 1934) different perspective were depicted about how they perceive their compatriots and also themselves, through a reflection of their self to the main character of the video. From the argumentation of the video and the main character, the conversations were moved to a more personal question, regarding their experiences with discrimination and stereotypes and how eventually they have dealt with it.

#### ***4.1.3. Experiencing Stereotypes and Discrimination***

Under the premises that the Islamic religion and culture is seen as the biggest barrier to the Turkish migrant's integration, with the latter being perceived as a concern within public debates in the Netherlands (Eijberts & Roggeband, 2016; Roggeband & Vliegenthart, 2007) the attention was brought to the participant's personal experiences in regard to stereotypes and discrimination, if they had ever experienced any of those and how they have dealt with it. From the question about discriminatory experiences, different perspectives emerged. Some male respondents reported about a racial selection done at the entrance of some bar or clubs.

I sometimes saw it when I was like going out with friends, when I go out with my Turkish friends for instance they .. it is a little bit harder getting in or like in cafès or bar [...] there was this one time, I went to a bar and they didn't let us in, and they told us like yeah there is like, you can only go with uhm certain people or it was full or you could only go with ladies. And then when I went with my Dutch friends they don't .. they never do this. (Mehmet, 27)

Melisa (25), instead, stated that people have a lot of prejudices about the Turkish culture, asking her whether she has to marry someone arranged by her parents, as well as they appear to be surprised that she does not wear a scarf, although being Turkish and Muslim. According to Melisa's point of view, there are many prejudices, especially towards Turkish girls, who are considered to be constrained and limited by both family and religion. The influence of the Islamic religion in shaping stereotypes and discrimination is also confirmed by another respondent:

I would say a very common stereotype is that a lot of Turks would be very religious [...]. But Turkey changed a lot over the years and so have Turkish people, so that thought pattern is kind of lost in time. I would say it is kind of like if you would think that every Dutch person is a Christian, you know, no definitely no longer the case anymore. So And Islam comes with its own prejudice. (B., 26)

According to Cengiz (30), who experienced several discriminatory episodes as he was the only Turkish teenager living in a small village in the inland of the Netherlands, the blame should not be given only to the Dutch people, from the moment that discrimination exists everywhere as well as bad people. Indeed, the belief that discrimination is not necessarily directed just to Turkish people has been confirmed also by B. (26), who believes that the

problem does not reside in being Turkish, but in not being from the Netherlands. He mentioned how the blame should be put on the fact that “we think in boxes because that's easy [...] And you give those boxes some labels like loud and quickly irritated, then it's hard to think out of that box”.

Some of the respondents stated that they acknowledged the issues by learning how to deal with discrimination without caring too much about it. D. (24), claimed instead how people are usually directly connecting her Turkish origins to the Döner Kebab, well-known and highly appreciated fast-food across the Netherlands, and how the latter started to gradually annoy her more. In addition, B. (26), as well as Mehmet (27) both are quite sure that when applying for jobs and internships, they definitely have lower chances, in comparison to Dutch candidates.

You hear about applications being turned down because someone is not Dutch in that then it gets exposed and then they have to do their PR stuff to get it right but you know, it happens. It doesn't happen, it doesn't happen blatantly doesn't happen in the open as much anymore. (B. 24)

A different perspective instead was given by Ilayda, (21) who personally never coped with discrimination, given her attendance of a white high school, in addition to being surrounded mostly by Dutch people; contrarily to her brother, who is “embracing more his Turkish nationality”; the reason for this disparity, according to Ilayda (21), lies in her cultural assimilation with more Dutch People, in contrast to her brother who is keeping stronger his Turkish Identity. Similar instance has been reported also by Erol (23), who mostly lived in the Turkey and moved to the Netherlands not long ago.

when I compare myself to other Turkish people, I don't see myself as part of their community because everybody has their own community or secret society or these kind of things but also because I have a Dutch passport and uhm from a young age, I am already used to different things not just me not just eating Döner, but also how other people live let's say but feeling discriminated I haven't felt discriminated no. (Erol, 23)

#### ***4.1.4. Social Environment***

Within the following category, I intended to delve into participants' social sphere and its influential character of shaping and changing one's perception of the self. Indeed as mentioned within the constructionist approach of symbolic interactionism (Denzin, 2016) the self is continuously shaped by the different interactions to which an individual is subjected.

While interviewing the participants', some additional questions were addressed to enrich as possible the overall outlook. Indeed, it came out that some participants' social circle was either solely composed of Turkish people, while others instead did not pay attention to the nationalities. Deniz, (24) stated that despite being friendly and gentle to everybody, within her own world she mainly counted with Turkish friends, as a matter of relating better with her Turkish compatriots. Alike idea was outlined by H. (22) who despite having some Dutch friends is convinced of not feeling the same connection as when he is with his Turkish friends. According to Cengiz, (30), who did not have any Turkish friends until he was 20, and D. (24), for both their social sphere has been characterized by ups and downs.

First when I went to high school it was like "oh Turkish friends and kind of stuff. But I guess it was not my thing, uhm they always have like fights and dedikodu (Translated means gossip) that kind of things and I was like, I'm so done with it. And then I got my friends were I think 90% Dutch, so I went with Dutch friends and since then I'm like, I'm more related to them and down-to-earth. (D., 24)

## **4.2. Memories of the Homeland**

Within the following theme, *Memories of the Homeland*, participants' memories in regard to their perception of their home-country, as for instance their point of view of the city of Istanbul as well as their opinion regarding Turkey's geopolitical situation will be touched. Moreover, also a possible relocation to the home-country will be discussed.

### ***4.2.1. Holiday memories and Relocation to the home country***

One of the selection criteria concerning the participants was the fact of never having lived in Turkey: while 8 participants saw Turkey only by going there on vacation, for instance intended as visiting relatives, 4 of the respondents spent, who more who less, a certain period in the country of origin. Therefore, most respondents' perception of their home country is mainly connected to what they remember from their Holiday experiences, which can be seen as annual family rituals, as reported by Mehmet (27): "I never lived in Turkey, I went uhm often to holidays of course to my family, which is my mother's side. Uhm but I have never lived there no", likewise R. (21) who claimed that she would go at least once per year, as well as Seleyna (22) who mentioned that she would go each year in the summer holidays to visit her family.

Before starting the visual elicitation part, the respondents were asked to define the first things coming to their mind about Turkey. Indeed, most of them, related the country to a summer holiday destination, such as Deniz (24) whose first things about Turkey were summer, sea and ice cream. Besides, Cem (28) that claimed to like the abundance of green and the sea, combined with good weather. Moreover, Cem (28) pointed out how Turkey would be nice country to only go on vacation and nothing else, showing this detachedness from his parents' country. Various positive memories have been accumulated by the participants, as for instance claimed by Deniz (24),

When I go, when I go to Turkey in the summer and I go to a restaurant or a cafe, you know and at the beach you hear music, but here is everything dead, [laughs] people are so boring but turkey is uhm life, you know, it's very energetic and people are happy you know positive. So yeah, I miss that here very much.

While many mentioned about the beauty and diversity of the country, and how they spent their holidays in the commonly known touristic areas of Turkey, on the other side, also some rather unpleasant experience came out; such as the case of R. (21) who narrated about an episode in which she and her sister have been followed by a car while walking back home.

So it was.. you just feel really unsafe at those moments while you were 30 minutes ago you wouldn't ...you weren't even thinking about it. I think for me for us because we are not very exposed to that kind of behavior. We were never expecting it. (R., 21)

Therefore, although the participants' reported mostly good impression about their time spent in Turkey, when asked whether they had ever thought about living there, most of them showed no desire to go back, as already mentioned by Tsagarousianou, (2004) according to whom there is not necessarily a going "home" again. Opinions about a possible relocation to the home country were affronted with some confusion. For instance, Melisa (25) admitted that when she was around 18 years old, he had a strong desire to back to Turkey, to experience thoroughly her native culture, but then she refrain from doing so given the political instability of Turkey, alongside the matter of inequality between woman and man, which she defined as being really different here. One of the main reasons of a lack of desire to go back seems to reside in the perceived incompatibility between them and the merely Turkish lifestyle. As stated convincingly by Ilayda (21),

No, I don't, I think. I don't know because like here everything is so well also with like very simple stuff like the traffic and Healthcare and stuff. It's like all done very well on there's like chaos like I love turkey and I want to be there for vacation and stop and maybe for a longer vacation that I don't think that I can live the rest of my I live over there.

Similar idea has also been retrieved in H. (22), who blatantly believes that the sole condition under which he would go back is if he would have 1 million euros on his bank account and an income of 10.000 euro per month, then "I can consider not even make sure but consider to go back to Turkey, because if you don't have money in Turkey you are nothing" (H.,22). Although, not everybody shared the same idea, for instance Deniz (24), who spent her childhood in Turkey, mentioned how the desire is always there, but the insecurity of what awaits her in going back after being exposed to a welfare state like the Netherlands makes her worry. Likewise, Erol (23), who lived there until he was 18 after being born in Belgium from a Dutch father and a Turkish mother, reported that if he would see an opportunity, he would like to live in Turkey.

#### **4.2.2. Perception of Turkey**

As previously explained, the videos used as an visual elicitation technique, have been selected according to their being representative of Turkey, showcasing cities, landscapes, in addition to some hidden references about what is happening across the country, in terms of culture, traditions, but also in regard to the geopolitical situation. Indeed, through the vision of *Istanbul – Through the Prisma*, together with *Insanbul* a range of different perceptions came out, especially in view of the city of Istanbul, in comparison to the rest of the country. As acknowledged by Seleyna (22),

I must say there's like a huge difference between Istanbul and like other any other city in Turkey because I feel like uhm Istanbul is like so exceptional because it's touristic and you know very crowded and stuff, but it's not like any other place. I feel like so yeah when I looked at the video, I totally recognize Istanbul but yeah, sometimes it feels like Istanbul is its own country, you know because the other parts are so different and also Antalya like, you know, it's turkey but I don't know it's so different two other worlds kind of.

While Cem (28) although recognizing the peculiarity of Istanbul, thinks that probably there are differences, but the melting pot of Istanbul gives an idea of how diversified is Turkey as a country itself, since many people living in Istanbul are not all native residents, but people mostly coming from other cities who moved to Istanbul, by bringing their way of experiencing the Turkish culture with them. As a matter of fact, all participants agreed on the fact that Turkey is polarized, mainly between what is considered to be more westernized in contraposition to what is perceived to be Asian. In fact, as recognized by R. (21), according to her the division between the Asian and European side is reflected within the same inhabitants. Ilayda (22) instead reflected the condition of being split clearly by showcasing the example of her family:

Like my sister she's married to someone from Izmir. So I have also known their family and they are like very different from people from Kayseri and stuff because Kayseri it's more like it's like raw and edgy and stuff and Izmir is more like yeah, how can I put it it's maybe a little bit average but it's like more high class or something. It's they have more manners and they are more like western and going with like the Europe style and Kayseri it is more like I don't know it's more like turkey. It's more like very raw and weary edgy.

But not only the participants' perceived Turkey as being polarized between west and east, so between what is commonly perceived as being more related to a European lifestyle in contrast to a more conservative Asian one; but the mentioned polarization encompassed also a social gap, which according to B. (26) was highlighted in the video entitled *Insanbul*, through which similarities in the shown people could be depicted with the actual different kind of people living in Turkey, as some being poor, while others very well off. In addition to that, most of the participants pointed out how being rich and having a wealth of money would be a necessary condition to live in Turkey. The following was mentioned by Cem (28) according to whom Turkey is characterized by a rich people game, meaning that if you are rich you might have a good life, contrarily to what would happen if you would be poor. Confirmed also by Erol (23), who mentioned about how also the educational system in Turkey is money-based:

In Turkey if you don't come from a wealthy background or a background that gives you this opportunity you have to work extremely hard to get good grades in order to be a part of Academia or in order to be able to pay or have a scholarship. (Erol, 23)

The latter has been pointed out also by Deniz (24), according to whom children with money are more successful than children without. Indeed, another reason why most of them did not have the desire neither to study in Turkey, was mainly given the prevalence of a privatized educational system. Ilayda (21) instead mentioned of her desire to go on exchange to Istanbul, but then persuaded by her cousins, living there to not come because she would not have gotten anything from it.

So the perceptions relative to the home-country, Turkey, are rather diversified within the respondents, it might be seen as a reflection of the country itself, which not only is represented in its native inhabitants but also in its diasporic community spread around the Netherlands (Van Mol & de Valk, 2016), giving evidence of what has been argued by (Uzzell, 1996) a place is reflecting within the self-identification and representation of the individuals intrinsically connected to it.

#### **4.2.3. The Utopia of no borders and boundaries**

Turkey is known for its peculiarity of being simultaneously in two continents, the European on one hand and the Asian on the other. The presence of such a division has deeply influenced the country from a historical point of view, giving its eternal struggle in defining its identity as either European or Asian throughout the Roman as well as the Ottoman empire; alongside the more recent debate about Turkey's geopolitical position, considered to be strategically connecting Europe to Asia, functioning as an entrance door to the Eastern side of the globe. The following debate has been touched by the participants, especially after the vision of the video, entitled *Imaginary Postcards*, which offered some clear references to the political instability undergone by Turkey, together with the other videos through which participants' opinions, as well as concerns about Turkey emerged. Indeed, the scope of the following category resided in the discovery of their knowledge and point of view about Turkey's actuality (Norris & Inglehart, 2012), in order to measure how strong is diasporic youth's bond yet to the country of origin, laying out the groundwork to understand whether they could fit within the abovementioned description of transnational identities (de Jong & Dannecker, 2018).

Some of the participants, such as Erol, (23) mentioned that the reason of his family's migration was due to the growing political situation in Turkey. In addition to, D. (24) who replied to my question of about the first things coming to her mind in relation to Turkey she replied slightly hesitating: "I guess is the how can I say that? (*hesitates*) Erdogan and his regime, let me tell ya.. like that". Cengiz (30), full time composer and musicians, criticized

instead turkey as being stuck intellectually, showing his disappointment about the lack of new music and poetry. He attributed the cause of it to the disruption of politics and how people want to get mighty. Precisely 2 respondents, mentioned about their political engagement, as for instance Melisa (25) who claimed:

Well, I'm following it of course, but I'm not that .. [small break] well, let's say two years ago I was really following it and I was like, oh my God it I was like, how do you say that?... I was uhm (*hesitates in finding the right word in English*) more an activist like say not really an activist, but I was really busy with it. (Melisa,25)

In addition to, D. (24) who preferred to remain anonymous, plainly mentioned that she used to demonstrate against the current Turkish president, informing herself constantly, while recently she acknowledged that she does not feel the connection to it anymore. As other respondents who showed to not have a clear opinion about the topic while others appeared to prefer not to talk about it.

A point evoked through the video of Imaginary Postcard was related to the many bridges of Istanbul, perceived as a metaphor of Turkey's geographical position. From here the debate on whether Turkey should enter the European Union or not has been touched by some of the respondents.

Actually, like it did make me think of something like when she says something like the efforts of turkey it made me think about you know, how turkey always like tries to be a part of the European countries as well" (Seleyna, 22)

Followed by R. (21) according to who entering the European Union would guarantee Turkey economic benefits, but on the other side she is not sure to what extent Turkey would fit within the European Union. Melisa (25) instead claimed that Turkey is failing in its attempt to enter the EU, because the traditions and also themselves they are different than Europeans. The following topic was further developed by inquiring into the participants' perception and understanding of the following citation taken from the video Imaginary Postcards, "the utopia of a world in which these absurd divisions does not exist is always on my mind" (Jocelyne, 2016, min 1:26). Deniz (24) reflected the following sentence upon her nostalgia for Turkey and mostly for her friends, she was forced to leave when her parents decided to move to the Netherlands at the age of 12.

No Boundaries [repeating out loudly] yeah, that's for sure that Utopia. Uhm ..Yeah, it's what I think it would be nice if there were no boundaries or rules and you can go and come whenever you want and wherever you go. Uhm she means by that travel and something like that right? (Deniz, 24)

Ilayda (21) on the other side perceived the utopia of no borders as a metaphor of being trapped between two borders and not knowing where to belong. As well as in the other section, a variety of responses, reflecting each self, were given under the premises argued by Foucault (1980), according to which, knowledge and the meaning given to the surrounding world can be interpreted through system of discourses.

### **4.3. Identity and Belonging**

The following theme might be seen as a natural follow up of the previous one. Indeed while in the previous section, the memories and the relationship with the home-country has been touched, in the upcoming one a deeper analysis of diasporic youth's identity and their sense of belonging, in relation also to their perception of the Netherlands and how they conceive the notion of home will be developed. Accordingly, in the following theme, in addition to the notion of home and their perception of the Host-country, also their integration and assimilation degree, as well the dichotomy between Home versus Host country will be put in relation to their sense of belonging.

#### ***4.3.1. In comparison with the Netherlands***

Throughout the interviews, undeniably, several time respondents mentioned about the perception of their Host-country, underlining some particularly appreciated aspects, while expressing also some criticisms. Overall the respondents agreed all on having better opportunities by living in the Netherlands, especially from a socio-economical point of view. As evidenced by R. (21) "We have a more social uhm ..society. Yeah, it's really social so you have very a lot of opportunities to be.. to have a stable life and that's really missing there I think". A perspective shared also by Erol (23), according to which in the Netherlands a standard life is possible among people of his age, without having necessarily an academic background.

I think here it is better than Turkey. Because ehm in the Netherlands every.. this is also something I stand for, everybody should have like the same opportunities and the same chances like everyone else doesn't matter what color you have, doesn't matter

how much money you have, everybody should have the same chances, if if it is education or health, hospital and stuff, should be the same chances for everybody".  
(H., 22)

While Seleyna (21) stressed out how in the Netherlands no one pays attention if you would do weird things, while in Turkey it might be seen as a huge issue. But not only positive aspects were pointed out, H. (22) blamed the Netherlands to integrate external problems as if they were their concerns, while others, in comparison to the Turkish Mediterranean culture, mentioned about Dutch people's coldness and being distant (Seleyna, 22).

#### ***4.3.2. Cultural Assimilation***

The level of acculturation of the respondents appeared to be different from case to case, with some common patterns. While some attended only a "black school" <sup>4</sup> (H.22), others, as for instance Ilayda (21) has been only to white schools. Despite the attendance of a white school and a perceived high degree of cultural assimilation with the Dutch society, she claimed:

Uhm but on the other hand, I would want to see more that they will be more loving towards us, or something more accepting because more know right now it's more like the Turkish people have to give all in and they need to adapt and they need to do everything and it's nothing from the side of the Dutch people. So they just go on with their life and they don't adapt anything that I think like it needs to come from two sides instead of one like it is now. (Ilayda, 21)

Ilayda's statement appears to confirm what has been argued by Roggeband and Vliegenthart (2007) in regard to the perceived lack of integration of Turkish immigrants' as being a matter of public and political debate. H. (22) instead finds the reason in the segregated neighborhood (Van Kempen & Bolt, 1997) he is living in, "that was because the place because of my environment you know, the place where we live they were not Dutch guys here". He goes on by mentioning how according to him the social environment shapes Dutch people's hostility in accepting immigrants.

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<sup>4</sup> Black school, is intended as a school attended mainly by immigrants' children, in contrast to a white one, which is mostly Dutch-based.

I can show you the street where I live, the neighborhood where we live or also where you live, it is like Turkish people, Moroccan people, black people and there is a reason behind it, you know [...] So now what happens is that people with their rent contract for example when that is over, the price will get up and what happens is that people who don't work or are unemployed they can pay it anymore and they will leave and go, where uhm ... to Schiedam, Vlaardingen, Maassluis [...] ehm that's something the whole situation and that's why people with a migration background always be important, always be like in this kind of neighborhoods because they don't get the opportunity to develop themselves, they don't get the opportunity to have an education or live like in neighborhoods ehm .. [hesitating] I don't want to say white people but like the middle-class people, that's a better way to say it. (H.22)

Cengiz (30) instead reported how once he decided to make typical Dutch food for Turkish people, “and I told them I feel like a Dutch guy today”, causing anger in his Turkish friends for such a statement. The latter recalls the influential clash of the domestic against the public environment (Verkuyten et al., 2019). The cultural assimilation might not only be understood as adopting Host-countries’ norms and values, but according to R. (21) it is also a matter of being “a good citizen for this country, a beneficial citizen, so I think I do my duties as well”.

#### **4.3.3. Where is Home?**

“*Home could be anywhere*” said Cengiz (30). The significance attributed to the notion of home has gained popularity within diasporic research; outlining the need to distinguish between the physical dwelling place in contrast to a more metaphorical meaning attributed to what is considered to be home (Dovey, 1985). The notion of home entails clear evidence of place-attachment which results in a better understanding of the sense of belonging of the diasporic youth.

Several respondents, while talking about their perception of Turkey, they often referred to it as “home”. Indeed, as mentioned by Mehmet (27), according to whom when he spends more time in Turkey, it does not feel any more like holiday, but “it feels normal, just home I guess.” Likewise, Ilayda (22) who to the question concerning the first things about Turkey, replied how she liked the country itself with its cities, and the feeling of being home there. Indeed, not only Ilayda (22) but also other respondents connected Turkey immediately to a feeling of home and family. According to D. (24) instead it is rather “a second home, if I am there with my family, it’s all right, but I don’t have the desire to stay here.” Erol (23) instead, mentioned how the circumstances of COVID-19 and the related travel ban made him

feel more at home in the Netherlands, since currently he cannot travel back to Turkey. For Seleyna (22) appeared to be clear that she does not have a real home: "We don't have a home country and we don't actually belong to one place one country." The following findings can be aligned to the previous one, in regard to the relocation to the home-country, confirming the theories, according to which the concept of home within the diasporic youth is rather blurred. (Hall, 2014; Tsagarousianou, 2004)

#### ***4.3.4. Sense of Belonging***

Undeniably, by means of finding an answer to the main research question, I tried to delve into participants' sense of belonging, according to both their place of origin and place of birth; whether the being neither Turks nor Dutch, argued by Ogan (2001), finds resonance within the selected respondents. Apart from the specific cases of Erol (23) and Deniz (24), which have Dutch roots from their father side, all the other respondents have solely Turkish origins. As expressed by Cengiz (30), when he was asked to introduce himself "I am uhm from originally from Turkey. My parents are from Turkey". Furthermore, also Melisa (25) when asked to introduce herself she mentioned about being Turkish, by saying that she is from Malatya, the eastern part of Turkey. The place of origin mentioned by the participants gave a representation of the size and diversity of Turkey, indeed while some mentioned that they came from Ankara or Kayseri, B.'s family (26) instead stems from a completely different part.

Uhm they are from the province I think called Ardahan, it's like in the north eastern part of turkey and they are from a very small village that borders with Georgia like right on the border that you couldn't might as well call, Georgia you know what it's in Turkey. So yeah there I'm from there like our food also like the traditional food from a village has a lot of Georgian Roots. So, when I see a Georgia menu of like, oh, I know that so it's just called a little differently.

The already mentioned characteristics of Turkey being split between two continents, has been further reflected also in the question of whether they felt more attached to the European side or the Asian one. For R. (21), the question seemed to rather difficult to answer, since she finds it already difficult to identify as Turkish in general, showing a stronger bond to the Asian side. Likewise, other respondents who felt more connected to the Asian side, given that the European side appears to be too westernized in their perception. So, most of the respondents identified being closer to the Asian side of Turkey, when asked about their proximity either to the Western or Eastern side of the country. Things took another shape,

while talking about their identity in comparison to the Netherlands and to Turkey. In the case of Cem (28) he admitted feeling like a Rotterdamer:

I got two cultures and the Dutch and the Turkish culture, so I said always I said the last to you and I feel like a Rotterdamer. So, I don't feel Turkish or dutch too so this difficult. (Cem, 28)

Seleyna (22) on the other side mentioned how she struggles in defining her identity, when I asked her about what she would replied to the question “where are you from?”. Her reply was the following:

I mention both because uhm you know when you are in Turkey when I'm there, people just know that you're not from there, but people also know when I walk around here that I'm not fully Dutch so they won't like think that I'm Turkish but they immediately know that I'm uhm that I have like roots somewhere else. (Seleyna, 22)

As well, Cengiz (30) mentioned about his ability in perceiving both perspectives and defined himself a mixture of two identities. Interesting point was also stated by R. (21), according to whom the fact of using her Dutch passport, said already a lot about her being in between two countries and its related cultures. While Ilayda (21) recognized how she feels trapped in between:

Sometimes there is a moment that I feel trapped like between two cultures because like when you're in Turkey, you are like a one from Europe. You're not very very much Turkish. They don't see you as one of them. They look at you differently. So you will never be really Turkish and when you're here, you will never be really Dutch because you're Turkish so you're not accepted in both ways.

Cengiz (30) the oldest of the respondents, summarized his diasporic condition perfectly by narrating how once he was asked where he was from and he replied by saying: “originally from Turkey, but I grew up here. So, and I say but I don't feel like I am from somewhere. I am just Cengiz.”

The idea of being trapped and not being able to clearly define its proper identity came out with all the respondents, none of them indeed gave me a clear definition of whether they feel more Turkish or Dutch tracing back to what has been discussed by (Ogan, 2001). All of them acknowledged how they have been shaped simultaneously and contrastingly by two

cultures, the Turkish one experienced within the domestic environment, against the Dutch side experienced outside in the realm of the public environment

#### **4.4. Gender Identity and Intermarriage**

Through the vision of the short movie, namely All in vain, depicting the story of Safiye, respondents' perception of gender identity and their partner expectations have been analyzed as a means by which to measure their degree of cultural assimilation (Norris & Inglehart, 2012).

##### ***4.4.1. Female Gendered Identity***

All the participants, after the vision of the short movie, showcasing the difficulty that might arise within an average Turkish marriage, in which clear gender roles are defined, agreed on how the female main character appeared to be unhappy given the perceived image of a broken family. By means of the main character and the showcase of typical marriage situation, some of the respondents stressed out how they recognized similarities between what has been shown in the video and what is the reality of the facts, precisely within Turkish family. For instance, D. (24) mentioned how the videos gave a good representation:

The pressure on a woman so they have to keep the house on hold like they are the main person to keep that house standing, I guess. Uhm and that they are the person who have to fix everything like take care of children, take care of the food, take care of the house and think about to fix a window and for the money and they have to think about everything that they are sometimes overthinking and the pressure is so high that they can take it anymore. And that's the woman is a very strong person in this culture. It's like everything. (D., 24)

Similarities between how the woman is perceived within Turkish culture and the short movie, has been pointed out also by Melisa (25) according to whom several Turkish women are struggling. Moreover, she added that it appeared to her familiar what has been shown in the video and she thought immediately that the marriage of the two main characters had been arranged by the parents, as what her Dutch friends usually thinks about her. But not only the female identified a clear resonance between the reality and the film, but also according to Cem (28) a Turkish man within a family context acts like a "little Prince", who does not care about helping with the housekeeping, and this could have seen back in the movie. As well as

H. (22) highlighted how the conditions of the main character reminded him of what he is used to see at his friends' house, precisely in his friend's mother:

She feels like she had no childhood, she had no things what her daughter does now, like going out with friends, have some drinks going to school, she couldn't do that because she got married with her husband and they hate each other because both did not want it. (H., 22)

#### ***4.4.2. Gender self-perception***

The following debate about the main character and the related similarities within the Turkish culture was brought to further discuss the topic of gender inequality, whether they perceive differences between the gender perception in the Netherlands in comparison to Turkey, while in some other cases how they perceived their gendered identity in the two different countries was also touched by the respondents. As for instance has been discussed by H. (22) according to whom the fact of being in the Netherlands, does not change the fact that he has Turkish parents and that he has been raised Turkish, indeed he mentioned:

You are the man and if my father isn't at home then I am the man of the house and if my mother and my sister are alone at home then I am at home too, because then they will feel safe for example. Even though you know that isn't true or that doesn't need to be like.. to have role for something but still you are ..you think that way, you know what I am saying?. (H., 22)

Moreover, he mentioned about his protectiveness and responsibility towards his younger female sibling, in quality of big brother (H. 22). Ilayda (21) instead mentioned how the act of wearing shorts in Turkey, let her feel uncomfortable while here in the Netherlands she has never felt such a restriction. Some other respondents instead recognized also a change within how women are perceived, as for instance has been the case of Seleyna, who for the sake of an internship spent some months in Antalya and during those four months she perceived how the role of women is shifting slowly. Within this context, different perspective depending on their personal experience were exposed. Melisa (25) for example talked about her feeling of being scared and uncomfortable when talking to someone Turkish, especially from the opposite gender.

I can feel the scare by myself. Like okay, "what should I do now?" is he... does he want something for me or is he looking at me in a different way but it's also when I'm

talking to Turkish friends from Turkey, they're really different. I mean I can talk to you even if you're a boy I can talk to you as a friend, but they think I want more you know. It's I think also friendship is really different there. (Melisa, 25)

#### **4.4.3. Partner Expectations and Intermarriage**

Another aspect touched by the movie *All In vain* has been connected to the participants' expectations in regard to a future partner and the possibility of an intermarriage, focusing also on how the view on the topic changed between them, considered to be second generation and their parents' considered as first generation immigrants (Backus, 1996).

Although none of the respondents stated clearly of being totally against the possibility of marrying someone from another culture, several pointed out a deeper connection with someone Turkish or eventually with a culture that might have some common traits with the Turkish one. As for instance Melisa (25) that without thinking twice replied "Turkish" when she has been asked about the preferred nationality of her partner. H. (22) although not rejecting totally other nationalities, given also a high degree of intermarriage within his own family, he said that he would definitely have higher standards for a Dutch girl. Cem (28) instead expressed how he does not give importance to the nationality, but that he would like someone open to his culture:

I'm not typical Dutch so I cannot with a guy who is typical Dutch that's ...I like to someone who's really open to the Turkish culture. So can I can explain some differences when we are together, so can he can understand me and I can understand him. The only one thing I would like to have of most people's respect. If you respect me for who I am I could explain a lot if you're not I cannot. (Cem, 28)

While for some the understanding of the Turkish culture appeared to be essential within a possible partnership, Ilayda (21) stressed out her concerns about the difference in religion, which according to her might clash at some point especially when it comes to educate the children according to either one religion or another, so she as well as R. (21), both expressed their desire of finding at least someone with a shared religious identity. On the other side, Erol (23) who has been exposed to several cultures from his young age, claimed that southern culture might be closer to his perspective on life.

But while most of the respondents seemed to be overall open to the eventuality of an intermarriage, although specifying to be more inclined to rather southern or eastern culture, against the Dutch which has mostly been considered to be incompatible; the same perspective is not always shared within the first generation (Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2018).

Melisa (25) mentioned about how for a woman it is hard not only given the high pressure put on her from the family as well as the community:

It is hard because yeah, I mean what I see in my in my environment, it's more like be careful. I mean, even if you choose your own husband, even if you choose your boyfriend you can you can't do the stuff Dutch girls are doing you know what I mean? You can do it, of course, but when you do it, it's a huge thing. (Melisa, 25)

Confirmed also by R. (21) according to whom the Turkish community expects her to marry a Turkish partner. While some decided to meet the family's and community's expectations, B. (26) is already engaged to a Canadian, mentioned about how he actually was the first one within the family to go against their expectations, which finally resulted in an alleviation of the initial restrictions. But although breaking the tradition, on the other side B. (26), who would not marry necessarily following the Turkish standards of wedding, accepted a compromise since he is convinced that:

In our culture a wedding is not just about you. So, it is weddings also about your family and getting them bringing them together for this moment that they've kind of been waiting for. You know, every everyone's always in the back of their mind when someone's it gets older it looking forward to when they grow up and they start their own family and that's a thing that happens as a family and so wedding is a family thing in eastern cultures and it's an individual think in western cultures. (B.,26)

While some are still experiencing an intergenerational contrast, especially with what their parents expect from them, others instead reported an increasingly less traditional role of their parents, adapted to the standards of a European country as remarked by Deniz (24) whose parents leave her the freedom, given their consideration of love being the most fundamental aspect within a marriage. A further openness can be seen also within the context of D. (24) who mentioned about her family being aware of the boyfriends she had or the girlfriend her brother had. As a matter of fact, most of the female respondents, while mentioning about their freedom, realized to not be in a similar position as the females in Turkey.

## 4.5. Habitus and Cultural Capital

The last theme that has been approached with the 12 respondents concerned their Habitus and their Cultural Capital, two terms borrowed from Bourdieu (1986), in order to refer to the participants' embodiment of their culture given by the Habitus, intended as our way of being in the world (Sweetman, 2009), and how the latter is echoed in their cultural habits, in regard specifically to religion and language, in addition to their attachment to intrinsic elements of the Turkish culture, such as food, music and art. Additionally, the following theme has been intended as a further and deeper analysis of the participants' transnationalism, with the attempt to delve into the creation of a parallel society, made of exported traditions and products (see Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2007; Lucassen & Laarman, 2009).

### 4.5.1. Religion

In the screened short movies, explicit allusions to the religion through especially the soundscape of the call to the prayer has been retrieved. From the participants' elicitation came out that most of them connected the sound of the call to the prayer as something peculiar to Turkey, evoking their memories of the time spent in the home – country. "Symbol of Turkey" as defined by Deniz (24), while Erol (23) mentioned:

I'm exposed to it for 18 years in my life it's a of course I can it connects a lot to my youth and my growing up as a kid. Until I'm 18 years old. So, it does provoke some emotions let's say of melancholy.

So, most of the respondents reacted to it according to their memories about Turkey, while few felt a rather deeper connection from a religious point of view. R. (21), who defined herself as being a practicing Muslim said that although her knowledge about what the call to the prayer stands for and her familiarity with it, she claimed to not be used to experience it as much as people in Turkey does. The overall perception I got is that the evoked connection of the prayer was rather given by the perception of a familiar soundscape, bringing them back to Turkey, rather than connecting them to the religion, which might be intended as a not so strong bond to the religion.

#### **4.5.2. Language**

The mastery of the language is not only relevant to be able to communicate with others, as argued by Stets and Burke (2003), but especially the mastery of the parent's language might be seen as an indicator of the preservation of the Turkish identity within diasporic youth (Backus, 1996). Overall most of the participants affirmed that their level of Turkish was reasonable good to clearly communicate especially when it comes to express emotions (Melisa, 25); although some words, especially concerning some specific terminologies are perceived to be missing within their vocabulary, given a lower degree of exposition to the Turkish language, in comparison with native inhabitants. As pointed out by Seleyna (22),

You know that's kind of odd because both of my parents are from there and you know I've Turkish blood in me, but I don't know it's something yeah, I need to think bit more when I speak in Turkish, but I understand it completely. I think like except those, you know, those difficult words that you know only some smart people would know, I think it's quite good overall.

Generally, the respondents given also that some videos were entirely in Turkish, showed a good understanding, mostly because within the family environment the preferred language seemed to be Turkish, as mentioned by Ilayda (21) who said that:

well here they talk Turkish to us until we go to school so until I was 4 they only talk Turkish to me. And now I also talked like with my father I talk Turkish completely and with my grandpa also.

Despite mainly interacting in Turkish with the family, others given their higher mastery of the Dutch language, reported the tendency of mixing the two languages both with theirs peers but also within the family context, where usually the parents do not have a good level of Dutch, given that many of them did not attend any education here. According to Mehmet (27) it becomes natural to engage in an intertwined mix of languages. As a matter of improving their language skills, several of them reported to read books, as pointed out by H. (22) who during the interview showed through the webcam the Turkish book he was currently reading.

#### **4.5.3. Music, Food and Culture**

Finally, the last theme discussed has been related to the final movie, *Yörük*, through which participants' connection and attachment to the culture has been uncovered (Lidskog, 2016; Rund, 1997). By watching the videos, through the online interviews, I saw several participants smiling and slightly moving according to the rhythm of the music present in the video. For instance, D. (24) mentioned about her being impossible to not move.

I couldn't stay still (*laughs*) I really love the music and the tradition of their folk dance and that the sound of the Davul and the Zurna, it's like I was already like when is our wedding I have to dance I have to go out and something like that. (D.,24)

Although the short movie, showcased a particular ethnic group within Turkey, similarities in the sounds and the used instrument have been noticed by all respondents. Melisa (25) felt a stronger connection with the last video than all the other ones, "This is, this is really, I can relate to this. This is Turkey for me." In addition, to H, (22) who recognized the place as where his family comes from, mentioning how several Turkish artist comes from the same area of his father, where music and the connected instruments already play a relevant role from young age. Overall the perceived eastern soundscape had a great impact, as for instance has been pointed out by B. (26) "I love those Eastern instruments. Yeah, they speak to my soul somewhere. That's a tug on your heart strings, but yeah".

Alongside a general appreciation of Turkish music, expressed through a listening of especially *Türkü* (Folk music) and *Türk sanat müzigi* (Turkish classical music), 3 respondents have also been studying Turkish music, such as Erol (23) who is an Oud-player at the conservatory, Codarts of Rotterdam, together with Melisa (25) who is a singer in the Turkish department within the same conservatory. Last but not least also Cengiz (30), who studied in the same Conservatory and now is a full-time composer and musician, indeed he defined Turkey as being all the center of the most beautiful music. Besides the appreciation of Turkish music, most of the respondents reported also an appreciation of the Turkish food.

The other thing I really like about it, is of course the food, I love turkish food. Of course, I grew up with it but it is just really nice from the desserts to the dishes I like it. (Mehmet, 27)

Ilayda (21) reported how she likes to watch Turkish series, while D. (24) talked about her interests in Turkish artist and in the ancient Turkish way of doing pottery. All-embracing, although none of them had a particular desire of going back to live there, several of them mentioned about they practice and they are interested in various aspects of the Turkish culture, by means of having exported them also in the Host-country (Erel, 2010), as confirmed by H. (22) “For our weddings even here in Rotterdam we invite people from turkey and they come with their saz and Zurna”. Indeed, from what has been elucidated through the interviews is that generally most of them in their everyday are influenced by the Turkish culture, either through the familiarity of the Turkish food, with which most of them grew up, as well as listening to Turkish music, in addition to following Turkish artists or watching Turkish TV series.

## 5. Discussion and Conclusions

At this point, it appears necessary to trace an end to the study. In the following last section, I will, despite the variety of participants, opinions and ideas with which I had the pleasure to collaborate, draw possible answers first of all to *how does the dualism of the Dutch and Turkish culture affect their domestic and public environment*, in addition to the second sub-question as for instance, *how is the dualism further reflected within the practices of language, traditions and customs*. The following two sub-questions organically emerged out of the main research question, which instead is: *How does the Turkish diasporic youth perceive their identity and their 'homeland' through the vision of experimental short movies?*

By means of not getting lost within a wealth of data, at first a clarification of some considering factors will be offered, in order to approach a more reasonable conclusion in regard to the identity itself of the second-generation Turkish immigrants. Finally, the section will be concluded by presenting some limitations of the study and possible paths for further research.

### 5.1. Discussion

This study set out to inquiry into the perception of both identity and place within the diasporic youth. By means of which I focused mostly on understanding some common characteristics of their everyday life, such as the dichotomy between the domestic and the public environment, the social sphere they are surrounded by, as well as their memories and opinions about their parents' country, besides their cultural practices, in terms of mastery of the language, appreciation of Turkish music and other forms of arts. Tracing the results of the thematic analysis, three main factors have been identified as playing a considering role in influencing diasporic youth's identity and perception, which I will outline in the following chapter.

#### 5.1.1. *Habitus: domestic versus public*

By means of analyzing the dualism between the Turkish and the Dutch culture, the participants' family environment as well as social sphere has been explored. Although it was not possible to have an overall outlook on participants' domestic and public environment, during the different narratives, almost all participants mentioned something about it. According to my findings, the participants' perception of themselves and of their home-country is highly influenced by their surrounding environment and the social structure they

are placed within, namely the domestic and the public environment, intended as the Habitus (Adams, 2006).

Indeed, within the family environment some differences could be seen, accordingly reflected on the children. The first contrast retrieved between the first and the second generation reside in the first generation's cultural dissociation (Harlem, 2010, in Ukasoanya, 2014) given a low mastery of the Dutch language, as well as a not proper adaptation to the Host-countries values and norms. As a matter of fact the theory, stressing the dichotomy of the family cultural values against the hosting country as being an obstacle to diasporic youth's cultural integration, find confirmation (Ukasoanya, 2014). In the cases where both the Turkish culture and language prevailed within the domestic environment, I encountered a deeper connection to the home-country, filled by higher expectations, in terms of values and importance of culture, reflected slightly also upon an adversity towards the integration problem in the Netherlands (Roggeband & Vliegenthart, 2007). Contrarily, in the family environment appearing less conservative, in which the Dutch language has also taken over, I have found identities more influenced by the western standards according to which cultural restrictions have disappeared, and parents have adapted to a more flexible lifestyle, giving also their children the opportunity to adapt (Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2018).

If on one hand the domestic environment strongly influences Diasporic youth's identity perception, the public environment plays another role. The latter appeared to be important as the domestic one, in certain circumstances culminating in a clash of extremes where the domestic differed too much from the public. What I have been able to observe is that the more they came into contact with the Dutch reality, through above all a sphere of friends, the more they are exposed to a malleable identity (Hall, 2014), which found resonance in the refusal to live in Turkey.

The influential dichotomy of the domestic sphere against the public sphere, materialized in the very concept of Habitus, responded to the initial assumption rooted in the theory of symbolic interaction, according to which the identity of an individual is purely given by the interactions to which he is subjected. In fact, the cases in which there was greater exposure to the culture of the host country through the interaction of people from the country itself, a tendency to embrace practices, ideas and concepts considered more western and less conservative has been observed.

### ***5.1.2. Cultural Capital***

Another factor that need to be taken in consideration, given its relevant role played within both the analysis and the results, highlighting some differences, resides in the concept of cultural capital (see 2.2.3. Family and social Habitus: the rucksack approach). The latter, intended as formal and informal practices, values and beliefs transmitted by the family and the surrounding cultural community (Erel, 2010), has been welcomed with some salient implications throughout the study. Above all, it permitted me to have a deeper understanding of the participants' embodiment of culture and practices, consequently it played a catalytic role for the reception of the short movies, giving rise to discrepancies of the latter between the participants. The following concept of cultural capital was in first line, a notion to understand to what extent the participants are involved in cultural practices, such as listening and appreciating Turkish music, as well as other forms of artistic and cultural customs of their parents' culture. By means of which I intended exploring how the dualism is further reflected in these cultural practices, such as language, traditions and customs. While in terms of linguistic practices, a bilingualism has been encountered in all, although with a better mastery of the Dutch language, due to the fact that also within the domestic environment some mentioned about the tendency of mixing the two languages. Concerning instead other cultural practices some noticeable differences have been remarked, relatable to the concept of cultural capital.

Although almost everybody mentioned about being familiar with the soundscapes and the instruments that emerged predominantly within the last shown video, I noticed some differences in the way the short movies have been perceived. Indeed, as shown by the participants' overview, all the participants either they are currently studying at university, or they have already finished their studies. Precisely the course of study of each of them can also be seen within the participants' overview, while instead how the following is linked to the outcome of the study emerged, according to my findings, in the way the movies stimulated the discussions. Indeed, among those who were still students and among those who finished being so, some musicians as well as people more into the artistic sphere were present. In view of my findings, these respondents have shown a greater inclination in looking for deeper messages in the films, analyzing carefully not only the surface, but also what was hidden behind the surface. Additionally, they showed also a greater attachment and knowledge to and about their parents' culture, given that they have embarked on an artistic path highly influenced by their Turkish origins.

### **5.1.3. Gender difference**

Another aspect that needs to be stressed out, as being relevant for the study is the difference in gender. The amount of the 12 given respondents, has been equally and carefully divided between 6 males and 6 females. The gendered identity perception, from the beginning, has been a topic I intended to explore under the premises that in culture where Islam is the major religion, conservatism might be encountered in domains, such as equal perception of gender, as well as marriage practices (Norris & Inglehart, 2012). So, the following topic has been touched upon with all respondents by showing them the video of All in vain. Despite all of them mentioned about their freedom in choosing who to marry, greater pressure in terms of gender and marriage expectations has been observed in the female respondents. Which was further confirmed also by some male respondents, when they mentioned about their siblings who within the family received a different education, while being more subjected to cultural expectations than themselves.

This inequality between genders has also found resonance in the sense of belonging and in the desire for relocation in the country of origin, in fact more than one has replied that one of the major obstacles in adapting to Turkey lies in the lack of recognition of equal rights between woman and man, and in the way how, however, women and the relation between man and woman is seen. In fact, more than one reported some episodes in which she felt little at ease in her country of origin, showing in turn a greater inclination to cultural assimilation (Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2018) in the receiving country. Unfortunately, the data represents only a small part to be able to assert hypotheses, but for what I have been able to observe the female part has had less difficulty in adapting to the public environment. In other cases, the following aspect has also been confirmed within the family sphere. Taking into consideration the different social contexts and the reasons how and why they arrived here, it seems that many of the respondents' mothers have a good level in Dutch, in contrast to the father's one, with whom many reported to use mostly Turkish.

## **5.2. Conclusions**

The previous part of the section, namely Discussions, has touched upon some intrinsic aspects according to which the sub-questions have been answered, while approaching also the main research question. At this point, under the awareness that any generalized reference does not acknowledge the social complexity of the studied cases, I believed that the research question might be answered as following: the identity of the

Turkish diasporic youth and the perception of the place given by the vision of some short movies, representative of their parents' native culture, has been perceived differently across participants' habitus, cultural capital and gender.

These three concepts have made it possible to draw a certain linearity in a context influenced by various factors, which would require further extensive research, which I will explain in more detail in the last sub-chapter, entitled limitations and future research. Returning to the main question, by aligning my research with others, I found several confirmations of what has been previously analyzed. Above all, my expectations of finding unresolved identities, split between being neither Dutch nor Turkish (Ogan, 2001), found confirmation. Although I would like to argue it with my findings. What I have been able to observe is certainly a malleable identity, which is influenced by various social interactions. But mostly what I have found is the dichotomy of the domestic against the public sphere, and how these post-migrant children sit in the continuum between these two sometimes conflicting, sometimes complementary cultures; with a certain confusion that does not allow them to identify themselves with one or the other, and probably will never succeed, since themselves are the actual impersonation of this condition.

Despite the interesting findings that I have been able to accumulate, I would like to take a step back to when and why I started this project. As previously mentioned throughout my research, the reason that prompted me to undertake this research path is primarily given by my personal struggle to not know where to position my identity in any of the three nationalities given to me by my parents, despite having lived and deeply known all three. In fact, during this journey shared with the 12 respondents, I have not only tried to understand their identity but also my identity, coming to the conclusion that identities such as those of the second generation of immigrants will not find a reply, but that they will continue to remain unresolved between the domestic sphere, as in the following case filled by the Turkish side colliding against the public sphere, colored with multiculturality.

### ***5.2.1. Limitations and further research***

In many ways, although the unexpected circumstances of COVID-19, the following research took an interesting and inspiring turn, by shedding light on many notions concerning identity and place perception. However, it is also necessary to reflect on the limitations the study dealt with.

Undeniably, as can be read within the Appendix A the outbreak of the global pandemic has deeply impacted the research, in terms of how the research has been carried out, as well as the number of participants. Therefore, for further research I suggest benefitting from a larger number of units, considering the complexity of human beings and accordingly the difficulty of generalizing. Additionally, in regard to gendered identity perception, I would like to suggest focusing separately either one gender or the other, to captures better the different perspectives.

Another limitation I encountered was related to my lack of knowledge of the Dutch language, which did not allow me to get to the bottom of some nuances and meanings that I believe would have emerged by speaking Dutch. For the sake of further research, I suggest carrying out the following study within a bilingual, Turkish-Dutch, framework. Given the limited time and organizational framework, a deeper outlook of their socio-economical context has not been possible, which I would suggest by means of a further research for a deeper understanding of the factors discerning one Habitus and cultural capital from the other.

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## APPENDIX A

### *The Impact of COVID-19*

Towards the end of the year 2019 an anomalous case of pneumonia was found in a patient from the city of Wuhan in China, (Del Rio & Malani, 2020) initiating the coronavirus, what on March 11 has been declared to be a worldwide Pandemic by the World Health Organization (*WHO Announces COVID-19 Outbreak a Pandemic*, 2020). What initially seemed to be only strictly linked to the Democratic Republic of China, given the extensive travelling tendency within our globalized world began to involve surrounding countries and not only. Indeed on the 28 February 2020, as declared by WHO (*Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) Situation Report -39*, 2020), the Netherlands reported its first infected patient. As in the Netherlands as well as in the rest of the world, from the aforementioned date to today, many measures and restrictions have followed one another, forcing society to adapt to the emergency situation, taking on new required lifestyles and social behaviors.

While coronavirus is unfolding (Stein, 2020), the actual amount of contagions is still unclear. Some aspects concerning the outbreak resulted to be predictable, whereas the magnitude of the outbreak on an almost global level came rather surprisingly. Several scenarios and divergent level of contagions started coloring the world map, with some countries more at risk than others. Although the wealth of information we have been bombed with, during the ongoing pandemic period we are living in, woefully little is known about the virus and about the connected disease, so-called COVID-19 (Stein, 2020). However, the still lacking required knowledge concerning the outbreak and the lack of a vaccine, alongside the ineffectiveness of antivirals, undoubtedly amplified the effects and the consequence, forcing us to take on precautions (Del Rio & Malani, 2020). While in future appropriate cures might be found, in absence of any vaccine, the World Health Organization stated some behavioral guidelines in order to lower the impact and the magnitude of the virus. Within the latter one of the biggest change encountered, was the social distancing, as a matter of protecting highly susceptible groups (Stein, 2020). The social distance, intended as keeping an approximate distance of 1.5 meters in all public spaces, whereas the prohibition of any social gathering of more than 3 people not living within the same household, appeared to be until now a decisive determinant in limiting the speed and magnitude of contagions (Stein, 2020). In response to the overall uncertainty given by the continuous news and discoveries of the case, the Netherlands has decided to react against the further increase of the virus on the territory, restricting the social life of people through the imposition of some restrictions and closures.

As a consequence of the measures of social distance mentioned above, on March 12, the Dutch government decided to proceed with the introduction of some new measures, which presented obvious repercussions on the development and final outcome of this thesis.

Indeed, on March 12, as stated within the website of the Dutch government (see *New Measures against the Spread of Coronavirus in the Netherlands News Item | Rijksoverheid.Nl*, 2020) everyone in the Netherlands was highly recommended to stay home as much as possible, avoiding crowded places and contact with too many persons. Within this context, educational related activities were asked to be carried out online or at present postponed. But to what extent did the following circumstances impact the process of my thesis. Fairly, the adopted measures by the Dutch Government, besides the general adaptation to the circumstances, have given a different turn to the thesis, at least for what concerned the methodological part.

As reported in the thesis proposal, submitted on February 3, my previously chosen methodological path entailed a combination of focus group sessions with some in-depth interviews, evolving around the screening and co-vision of short films, depicting Turkey, its inhabitants in addition to its culture and traditions. From the moment that the research intended to unfold the understanding of identity and place-based perception within Turkish diasporic youth, I decided to combine some analytical approaches, with the ultimate goal of capturing various perspectives of the identification processes of the youth by reconstructing as possible social interactions and communication between peers within the context of a focus group.

Indeed as argued by (Agar, 2010) what makes focus group so valuable is, sharing connections among different experiences and perceptions, permitting the researcher to gain a collective identity, as a sum of the single perspectives (Morgan, 2011b). Under the premises that one of the biggest limitation of focus group lies in the failure to recognize the single perception, my intention was to fill this gap by asking some voluntary members of the focus group sessions to carry out in-depth interviews to gain a deeper insight (Morgan, 2011a).

The motivation behind opting for focus groups resided in the interactive potential of providing the researcher with a co-construction of meaning (Gubrium et al., 2012). Indeed, as argued by Mead, all human participants, in an embodied way, participate in the formation and re-formation of cultural activities (Mead & Morris, 1934), which in this case would have been the co-vision of the short films, followed by a group debate about what has been seen and perceived. The focus group sessions, according to the initial time schedule, were scheduled for the second half of March, but with the introduction of the abovementioned

governmental measure, the possibility of putting people together in a room was soon labeled illegal. The latter forced me to reinvent myself and find as soon as possible a methodology consistent with the ultimate aim of the thesis, keeping things as similar as possible, without completely overwhelming the predetermined idea.

## APPENDIX B

### *Interview Guide*

\* Possible immanent questions, in addition to one mentioned below might be asked for a deeper understanding of the context.

<b>Memories of the Homeland</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Could you please tell me, which are the first things that come to your mind when you think about Turkey?</li> </ul>
<b>Migration status</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Could you please tell me your family's migration story? When did they decide to come to the Netherlands, under which circumstances and driven by which motivations?</li> </ul>

<b>Representation of the self</b>  <i>Related video:</i> Kebabaluba (1995) – Enis Tahsin Özgür	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What are your first impressions about this video?</li> <li>- Which do you think are the common prejudices about Turkey?</li> <li>- Have you ever experienced any prejudice of being Turkish?</li> <li>- How would you define your relationship to the Netherlands and to its inhabitants?</li> <li>- Towards the end of the video, in the background we can hear the protagonist saying "<i>once upon a time I wanted to become a doctor...</i>" what do you think about the different educational and life opportunities between Turkey and the Netherlands?</li> <li>- Do you feel any desire to go back?</li> </ul>
<b>Memories of the Homeland</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What image of Istanbul according to you, do the films showcase? (What image of Istanbul and its inhabitants do you perceive through this video?)</li> <li>- How do you interpret the title <i>insanbul</i>?</li> </ul>

<p><i>Related video:</i></p> <p>Istanbul – Through the Prisma (2016) – Justin Heaney</p> <p>Insanbul (2016) – Nadine Prigann</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Can you understand the parts in Turkish? How would you define your mastery of the Turkish language?</li> <li>- In both videos the call to Prayer can be heard. Does it say something to you?</li> </ul>
<p><b>Identity and Belonging</b></p> <p><i>Related video:</i></p> <p>Imaginary Postcards (2016) – Jocelyne Saab</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What idea of Turkey and its geography is given through this film?</li> <li>- The video addresses some issues concerning Turkey's geopolitical situation. What do you think about Turkey's current situation?</li> <li>- "<i>The utopia of a world in which these absurd divisions do not exist is always on my mind</i>" what do you think about this sentence?</li> </ul>
<p><b>Gender Identity and Intermarriage</b></p> <p><i>Related video:</i></p> <p>Boşa Giden Her Şey (All in vain) (2017) – Vural Uzundag</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- How do you perceive the female role of the main character Safiye?</li> <li>- Do you think women are perceived differently here in Netherlands in comparison to Turkey?</li> <li>- What is your idea of the main characters' marriage?</li> <li>- Which are your future expectations about your partner and a possible marriage?</li> </ul>
<p><b>Habitus and Cultural Capital</b></p> <p><i>Related video:</i></p> <p>Yörük (2020) – Can Katipzade, Sümer Ezgü</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What does this film say to you about Turkish traditions?</li> <li>- Could you recognize any familiar sound or instrument? What do you think about the music?</li> <li>- Do you listen to Turkish music? Or more in general do you read or follow any Turkish artists (either writer, musician or painter)</li> </ul>

## APPENDIX C

*Participants' overview*

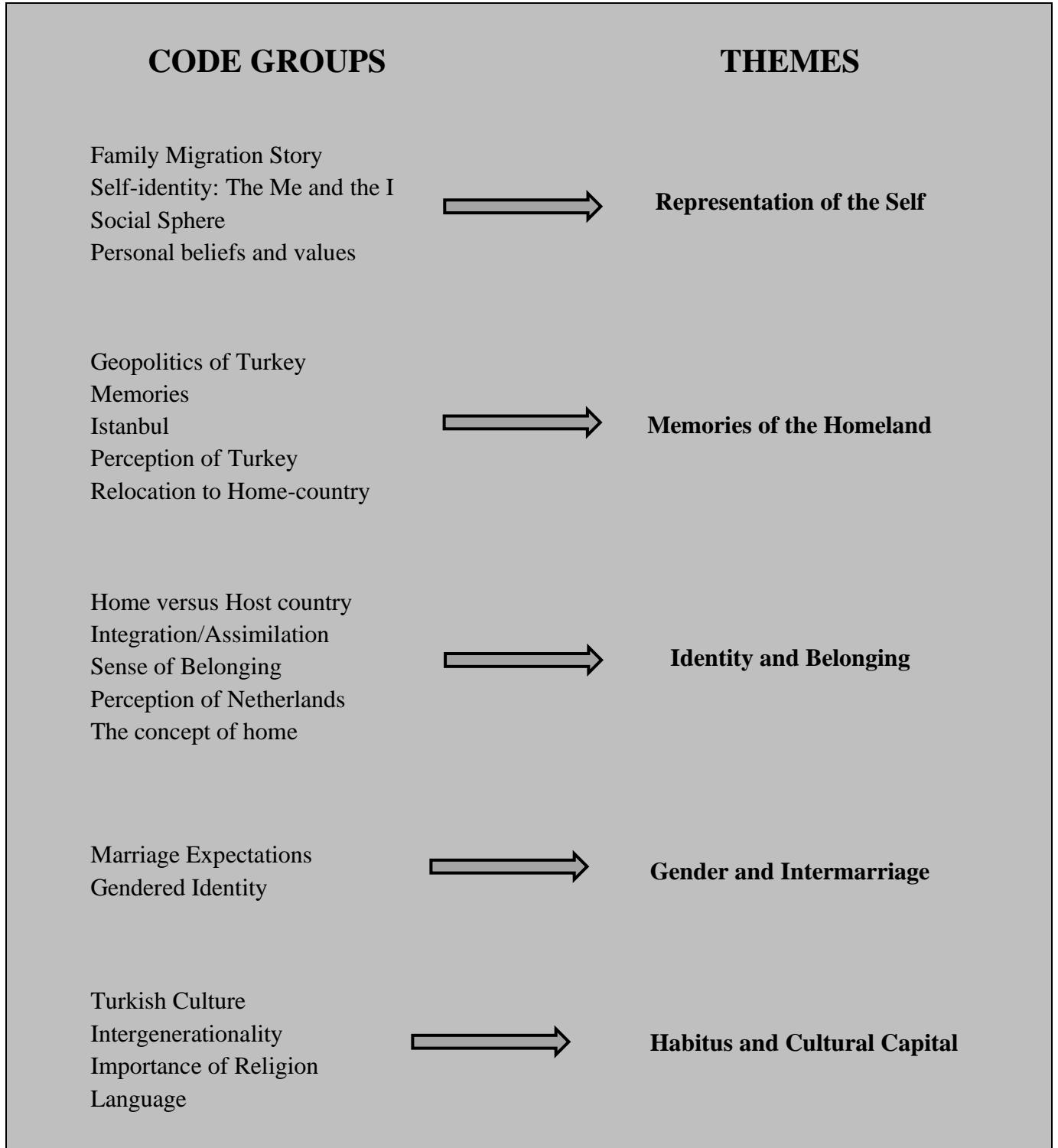
Interviewee	Age	Gender	Profession	Birthplace	Place of Origin	Lived in Turkey
H.K.*	22	M	Student (Business Administration)	Rotterdam	Ankara/Kirsehir	No
Mehmet Kisa	27	M	Student (Civil Engineering)	Deventer	Gaziantep	No
R.G.*	21	F	Student (Business Administration)	Schiedam	Kayseri / Nevsehir	No
Deniz Esen	24	F	Student (Pedagogy)	Turkey	Antalya	Yes (until her 12)
Cengiz Arslanpay	30	M	Music composer and producer	Sliedrecht	Kilis	Yes (from 5 to 13 years)
D.D*	24	F	Student (Arts education)	Hilversum	Aksaray	No
			Student			
Melisa Sahin	25	F	(Conservatory - World Music)	Hilversum	Malatya	No
Cem Topcu	28	M	Social worker	Rotterdam	Ankara	No
			Student			
Erol Leenhouts	23	M	(Conservatory - Composition & Oud)	Brussel (Belgium)	Istanbul	Yes (until his 18)
			Student (Business Administration and Tax Law)			
Seleyna Celik	22	F	(Applied Psychology)	Nieuw Vennep	Emirdag /Eskisehir	Yes (for an internship)
B.O. *	26	M	Graduated student	Deventer	Ardahan	No
Ilayda Özmen	21	F	Criminology	Rotterdam	Kayseri	No

\*The participant preferred to not reveal its identity.

## APPENDIX D

### *Coding Manual*

*The initial 200 codes have been categorized according to 20 code groups, which in turn have been consequently associated to 5 themes.*



## 1. THEME: REPRESENTATION OF THE SELF

### SELF-IDENTITY: the Me and the I

Avoids to watch Dutch TV  
 belief of having less chances when applying for a job  
 casual racism  
 coping with discrimination  
 description of Turkish people's attitude  
 Embarrassment when speaking turkish with natives  
 Experienced discrimination  
 Main character of 1.video as being a traditional Turk  
 not seen as being Turkish  
 perceived stereotypes  
 Personal narratives  
 similarities between 1.video and personal experience  
 Turkish people seen as being rough and loud  
 Victimization process



### FAMILY MIGRATION STORY

Guest-worker migration  
 Male as the first mover  
 Parent's background  
 Family joins the father in the Netherlands  
 Family moved back to Turkey  
 Father born in the Netherlands  
 Father came to marry the mother  
 Father migrated to Turkey  
 second generation immigrants  
 how mother and father met  
 mother came from Turkey to marry the father  
 reason of migrating back to the Netherlands  
 sponsored immigrants  
 telling about the father  
 telling about the mother

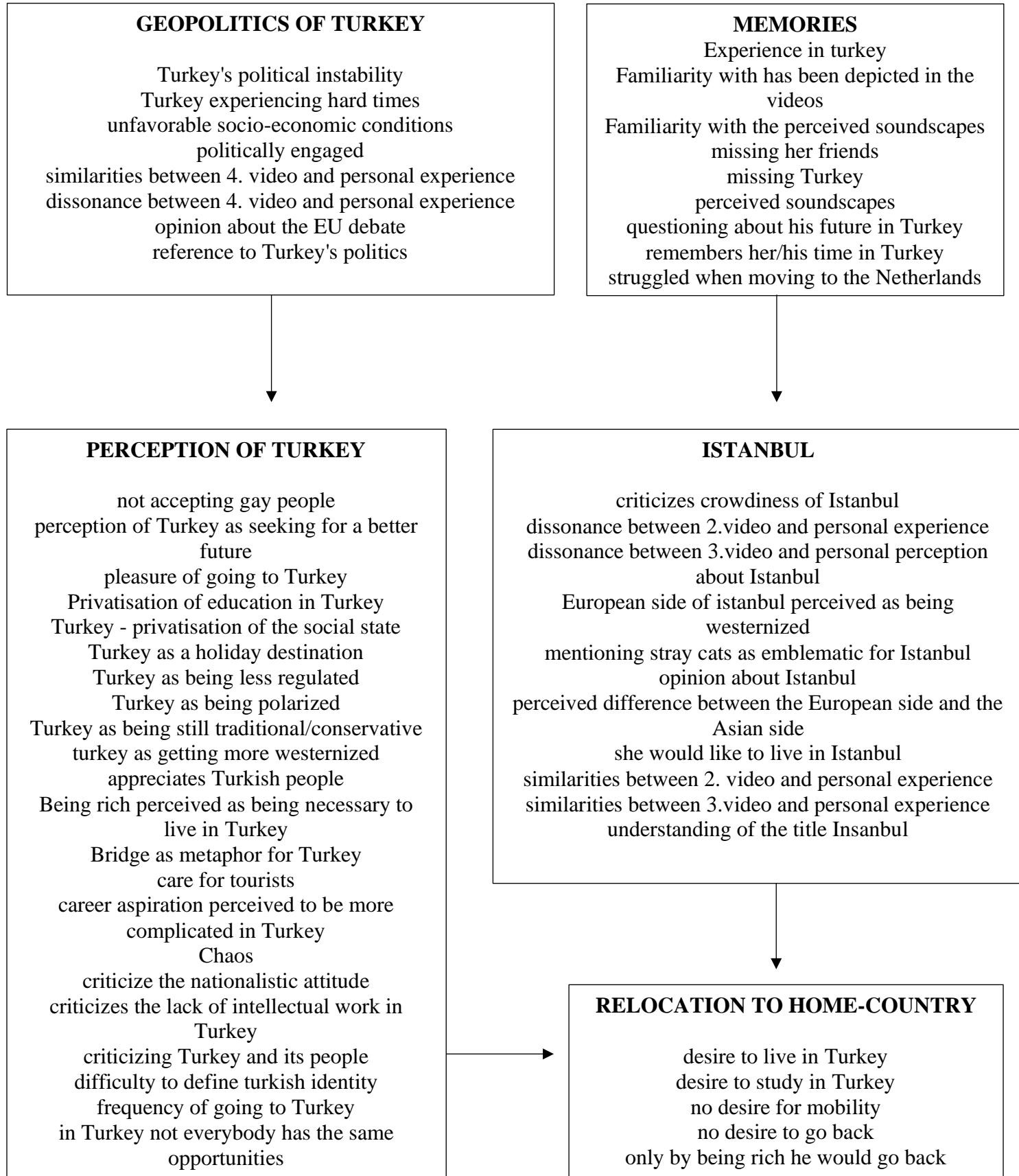
### SOCIAL SPHERE

He has dutch friends  
 lack of connection with dutch people  
 more connection to Dutch people  
 mostly Turkish friends  
 no turkish Friends  
 not many dutch friends  
 socio-cultural environment

### PERSONAL BELIEFS AND VALUES

Belief of distrust towards the Turkish president  
 belief that Turk are not affected by its geography  
 criticize the immigrants' attitude  
 critics to capitalism  
 did not think about Turkey being split  
 In Turkey some jobs are seen better than others  
 no discrimination within higher education  
 Perceived similarities in Rotterdam and Istanbul  
 Personal reflection about borders

## 2. THEME: MEMORIES OF THE HOMELAND



### 3. THEME: IDENTITY AND BELONGING

#### HOME VERSUS HOST COUNTRY

comparison with the Netherlands  
 Difference between Europe and Asia  
 perceived difference between Turks in Turkey and in the Netherlands  
 perception of incompatibility between Turkish and Dutch culture  
 travelling from Turkey to Netherlands

#### PERCEPTION OF THE NETHERLANDS

criticisms towards the Netherlands  
 Dutch people as being open-minded  
 Dutch people's perception influenced by media  
 Netherlands as being better organized  
 perceived better education in the Netherlands  
 perception of the Netherlands as being democratic

#### SENSE OF BELONGING

advantage of having Dutch citizenship  
 Dutch roots in her family  
 feeling of being more asian than european  
 feeling of not being accepted  
 I really feel a strong connection to Europe  
 identity in between  
 place of birth  
 Place of origin  
 strong attachment to the turkish side  
 thinks to not be compatible with the Turkish lifestyle

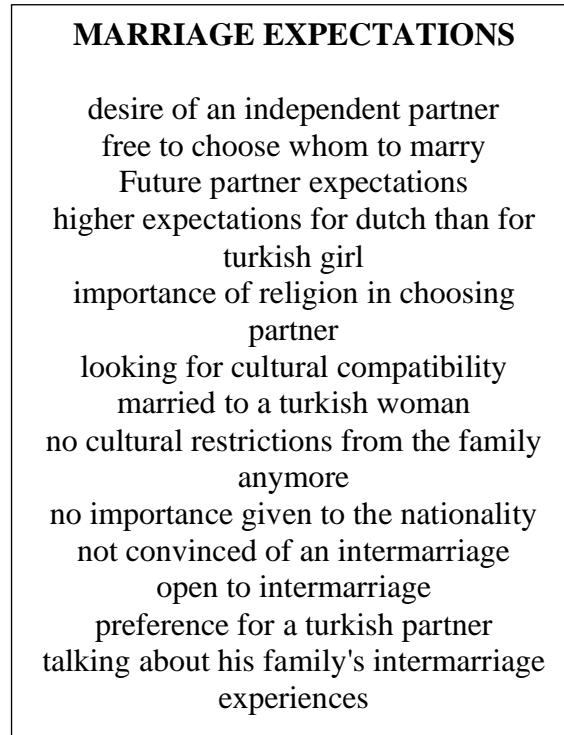
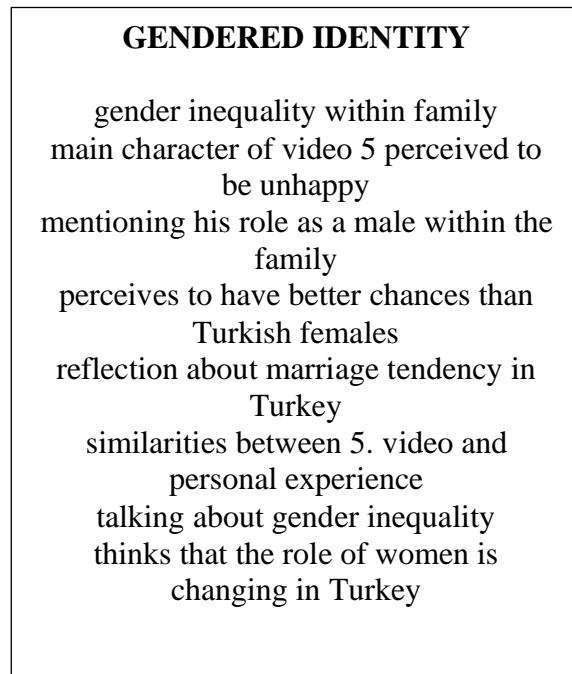
#### INTEGRATION/ASSIMILATION

acculturation process  
 attendance of black school  
 attendance of white school  
 feels more connected to someone Turkish  
 living in a multicultural neighborhood  
 perceived lack of integration/assimilation  
 problems of gentrification  
 reference to segregated neighborhood  
 social environment as a reason of lack of integration  
 talking about segregated neighborhood

#### THE CONCEPT OF HOME

home could be anywhere.  
 Netherlands as home  
 Netherlands perceived as home due to COVID19 circumstances  
 turkey as being a second home

#### 4. THEME: GENDER AND INTERMARRIAGE



## 5. THEME: HABITUS AND CULTURAL CAPITAL

