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Translating the City: Identity and Mobility in a Mediated City
A Case Study of Recent Turkish Immigrants in Berlin, Germany

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“Wish one day human could carry
his homeland
Like violets
In small soil pots
To wherever he wants
Under the vivid rain
Under the pure sun.”

“Migration of violets”

By Mohammadreza Shafiee Kadkani

Translated from Farsi by the author

Abstract

The aim of this study is to explore the relationship of recent Turkish immigrants with the city of Berlin through the lens of media and communication and to identify the identity dynamics in this relationship. The relationship with and the links of immigrants to their countries of origin is a common subject in diaspora studies, human geography, and media and communication studies. However, more research into immigrants' relationship with their local space of living and the impact on the structure of their new home is necessary. As a result, this study examines how recent Turkish immigrants change their living space through concepts such as daily life, media habits, mobility, and identity.

This thesis approaches communication studies in context and considers communication in a broader sense. This is a non-media-centric approach that allows the researcher to consider materials, infrastructures, and movements of various materials, people, and information as a means of communication. A number of research methods were employed, including a multi-sited ethnography, both online and offline, walking diaries, and semi-structured interviews. The case study is based on Turkish immigrants in their twenties who came to Berlin within the last five years. This case study enabled the researchers to learn about more recent trends in local Turkish immigrants' communicative practices in Berlin.

Findings of the studies show that while the informants face challenges in establishing routines in Berlin, such as a language barrier or a bureaucratic procedure, they devise their own tactics to negotiate these obstacles. In their everyday life media played a role in their sense of place, but not being dependent on their mobile phone also contributed to their identification as a Berliner. Through applications like Facebook and Instagram informants build an alternative support community and with Instagram they influence the way different immigrants' neighborhoods are imagined. Later on the analysis presents how different modes of mobility helps them to change their perceptions of Berlin and build more inclusive neighborhoods. In that relation, the research draws the conclusion that these different modes of mobility are all interconnected, and the informants are in a constant state of roaming between online and offline mobilities.

Key words: Mobility, Everyday Life, Mediated City, Identity, immigrants

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While I was working in an NGO in Istanbul, I had a meeting with an Afghan refugee woman that was waiting 10 years on her application for resettlement in Sweden by the UN. She told me that she can not stop thinking about how Sweden looks. “I wouldn’t mind the dark, it must be a beautiful calm country.”. The irony is that I am in Sweden now and since I came I think about her. This thesis is dedicated to her and many other people I met in Istanbul that hated their passport that defines their destiny in many ways.

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Chapter one

Introduction

Cities are built on networks of connections. From different streets that connect the neighborhood, to internet cables and digital maps that connect the resident virtually. Cities are not only materials, cities are also imagined and mediated through practices (Krajina et al., 2020). In this way, goods, materials, information and people are in constant circulation in the city. Cities have a communicative nature (ibid.:1). For this reason, cities are close to the perspective of media and communication studies. The connectivity in the city does not only contribute to making our life easier, it also plays a role in who we are becoming as residents of the city and what the city means to us. Cities have a scenery where we practice our everyday life in presence of others (Cresswell, 2013). This empowers the dynamic of identity in an urban setting. This characteristic of the city does not exist only in the offline world but is extended to the online environment. To look closer at this relation, I intend to study the circulation of materials, communities and information, both online and offline, of Berlin.

This is a non-media-centric study. With this approach, I will study the media and communication practices of everyday life, and approach communication in a more general sense. This is concerned with any movements of goods, ideas and people (Morley, 2008; Moores, 2012). This thesis is an invitation to walk alongside recent Turkish immigrants in Berlin. On this journey, we will look at the city's widely promised aspects through the eyes of immigrants. Immigrants are not the object of the study but rather the subject, and those who unfold the research problem. The experience of the connectivity in the city is not unison for my informants. There are dimensions of immobility and antisocialities that change the experience of the city for different communities. Communities find creative ways of adjusting the limitations in the city on an everyday basis, and build tactics to find a solution to the different barriers of urban life (de Certeau, 1988).

This research is important for three reasons. Firstly, further media and communication research that go beyond the institutional media (such as mass media or journalism) is needed (Andersson, 2019). In media and communication studies, researchers need to think of communication within contexts to be able to grasp a bigger picture of human experience. The focus on content and representation does not let us grasp the everyday life practices (Morley, 2008; Moores, 2012).

Due to the emphasis on representational theories and content in media and communication studies, a variety of practices are overlooked in communication research. Communication practices are not only limited to the content, message and digital environment. With a non-media-centric approach one can think of communication as any movements between two points, offline or online (Morley, 2009, 2017). Secondly, this study highlights immigrants' viewpoints since they are less advantaged actors in power dynamics (Harding, 2008). Immigrants are often studied in relation to how they maintain communication with their home country. However, researchers should pay more attention to how immigrants adopt to their country of residence. The opinion of the immigrant is relevant to more than only migration issues (Metykova, 2016). Immigrants build intense connections to their local place of living (Nedelcu, 2019:248). Media and communication is part of their connection to local space, and it holds similar importance as their connection to their homeland. Immigrants are the ultimate example of what it means to be cosmopolitan (Georgiou, 2010:31). There is a need to recognize such a dynamic more when designing research. Thirdly, in addition to the definitions given by natives, it is critical to consider alternative definitions for concepts such as home, belonging, and locality (Aksoy and Robins, 2000). Immigrants are often stereotyped as living separate lives from native residents in immigrant neighborhoods. It is critical in such a discussion to allow immigrants to express their views on the position of immigrants' neighborhoods.

Objectives and research questions

The first objective of the research is to find out about how the media and communication practices connect the informants with their living space. I examined communication practices used by my informants in their interactions with the city. I was interested in practices that recent Turkish immigrants engaged with in order to maintain a connection to their local neighborhoods. I look at the communities they engage with online and offline. The second objective of the research is to investigate the different mobility aspects in life of the informants. With this aim I focused on mobility of goods, imagined mobilities and physical mobilities. This would allow me to learn about the recent Turkish immigrants experiences of mobility. Are they limited or empowered in any way by mobility? What do they think of the Ethnic shops and restaurants that are circulating Turkish goods in Berlin's neighborhoods? The third objective of the research is to look at how these different practices relate to identity work; how the immigrants see themselves as

a part of these online and offline communities and how they are imagining Berlin and themselves in this setting. To achieve these goals, I designed two research questions:

1. What are the media and communicative practices that connect recent Turkish immigrants with Berlin?
2. How do these practices relate to identity of recent Turkish immigrants in Berlin?

With the first research question, I look at the media practices that are crucial for my informants in order to settle down in Berlin and feel connected to the place. Then I look at the way movements of goods, people and ideas play a role in informants everyday urban encounters. With the second question I hope to find the dynamics of identity in their practices online and offline in regard to their city of residence. In this question, I investigated the way informants of the study imagine the city and tell their own stories about it. I approached identity as multidimensional in my research and did not focus on one particular dimension of identity such as political or ethnic identity. Identity for this research is defined as a process of becoming (Hall and Gay, 1996). Therefore I put the focus on different roles identity plays in the connection of recent immigrants to their local place of living and analyze my findings within this focus. In order to find answers to these questions, I designed a multi-sited ethnography approach that is enriched with diaries and semi structured interviews. The multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995) empowered my direct engagement with everyday life practices in the city. Further on diaries and semi structured interviews allowed me to involve the direct voice of my informants in this research.

Research outline

In chapter 2, I will position my research in current academic discourse through a literature review. In this chapter I will explain the importance of concepts like everyday life, mobility, place, mediated city, immigration and identity to this thesis and look at previous studies concerning these concepts. I will then look at the methodology design, sampling and justify the mixed methods that were applied in a framework of a non-media-centric approach (Morley, 2008). In the third chapter, the analysis of the data is explained. I will first look at the practices of informants in their orientation to the place through digital applications and online communities. In those practices I aim to search for dynamics of identity of informants. Then, we

focus on the mobility dimension of practices in Turkish immigrants' neighborhoods and how online and offline modes of mobility are transforming certain areas of Berlin to translocal places. Throughout the mobility practices the identity dynamics of the community as well emerges. Finally, in the last chapter we will return to the research questions and summarise the findings.

Chapter Two

Literature review

Before detailing my methodology and analysis of the case study, I will explain the theoretical framework and outline several key arguments within academia that are central to this research. I will start by explaining why everyday life and its range of shared, ordinary activities is a rich source of empirical material within the social sciences (Highmore, 2001; de Certeau, 1988). I will then detail how everyday experiences of time, place and even mobility are not always equal between different groups of people (Morley, 2008; Back and Sinha, 2018; Massey, 1991) and address questions related to immobility and waiting. Lastly, I will explain how concepts of identity and imagination relate to people's relationship with where they live (Cresswell, 2013; Morley, 2000, 1995; Amin and Thrift, 2002).

Framing research in everyday life

Everyday life is where living happens, made up of different social and emotional interactions. How we approach simple, everyday activities reveals much about who we want to be and the values we want to uphold (Highmore, 2001; de Certeau, 1988; Thrift, 2007). As Highmore wrote, everyday life is dynamic as it is where the "unfamiliar" becomes "familiar," the "most revolutionary of inventions" absorbed in the "mundane" (Highmore, 2001:2). That which we accept into our everyday lives and consequently becomes ordinary, then, speaks to our identities and values. It is within these mundane goings-on that researchers can see how people's lives function from day to day.

However, it is not easy to discuss or even research everyday life, as it is something that is often taken-for-granted, mundane and certainly tedious (Löfgren, 2008; Johnstone, 2008; Perce, 1997; Ehn and Löfgren, 2010). The everyday is made up of repetitive acts that rarely attract our direct attention (ibid.). However it is in those small, quotidian details that we can understand how

practices come to be. It is these exact details “below the threshold of the unnoticed”(Johnstone, 2018:13-18) that interest me. That “infra-ordinary” (Perec, 1997) and “micro moves” which make up the everyday (Ehn and Löfgren, 2010) is the area of investigation in this thesis. In examining everyday life, Perec wrote that researchers can begin to reconsider predefined terms of city and place (1997:53). Ehn and Löfgren (2010), for example, took such an approach in their book *The Secret World of Doing Nothing*, where they examined the moments where we do nothing in particular and observed how we turn everyday life into a game, such as finding the checkout counter with the shortest line at the supermarket.

I also draw upon what de Certeau (1988) called the poetics of everyday life for my theoretical framework. He defined such poetics as the simple actions that we take from day to day, from cooking to walking. While there are social, political and other structures that direct our actions, which de Certeau called strategies, ordinary people also develop ways of resisting and making opportunities out of this power from above, which he called tactics (ibid.:35-37). Highmore elaborates upon this resistance:

“‘Resistance,’ here, is both a preservative and a creation of something new: rather than presenting the inverse of power, it offers a different and pluralized account of powers.” (Highmore, 2001:153)

De Certeau gives the example of walking as a form of resistance (1988:91-111). While cities may have roads and walkways intended to direct movement, pedestrians may not necessarily follow them (ibid.). The strategies of urban planning, therefore, cannot fully anticipate the tactics of pedestrians in how they choose to move, just as much as a map can give an overview of a city but cannot show how people choose to navigate it (ibid.:95).

Boredom and time

I based my theoretical framework on Highmore's approach to making everyday life appear strange (2001:12). Certain actions become embedded in our everyday lives through their repetition (Highmore, 2001) and, as stated previously, it becomes hard to notice these routines because they are simply mundane. However these routines are important as they are also rooted in cultural practices, and how individuals choose to follow or deviate from them speaks to their

personal values (Ehn and Löfgren, 2010). It is only in seeing the exceptional in the ordinary that researchers can begin to arrive at these observations (Highmore, 2002:3), such as how taking the same route on one's everyday commute can provide a sense of security (Felski, 2000; Ehn and Löfgren, 2010). The disruptive event of moving to a new country makes immigrants particularly aware of what is strange about their everyday activities both in their countries of origin and their adopted ones (Moore and Metykova, 2009:314). They are strangers in a new land and are more aware of the routines and practices they once took for granted (ibid.).

Repetition can eventually lead to boredom. Highmore related boredom to the modern obsession with filling time, a byproduct of workers being made to be more efficient in mass (repetitive) production (2001:5). However, feminist scholars have also approached boredom as a social construct, specifically how it carries different meanings to different groups of people (ibid.). This is particularly relevant to this research, given the difference between immigrants and citizens in their experience of boredom.

In different bureaucratic systems, immigrants wait hours, days, months, and even years to travel to their new country. Morley (2017) noted this, calling the phenomenon "the politics of waiting". In this structure, certain groups' access to "that fast-track lane" of life is limited (ibid.: 87). One empirical example of the dramatically long waiting experience of immigrants was discussed in Back and Sinha 2018's book *migrant City* (Back and Sinha, 2018). In their study of immigrants' experiences living in London, they wrote on how Londoners' fast-paced lives contrasts with the city's immigrants' experiences. They wrote that

Thousands of lives remain on hold here; prohibited from working legally, immigrants wait for the Home Office to process their immigration claims in the shadows while others briskly rush past. These unequal experiences of time in an unfolding life are another aspect of the migrant city. (ibid.:2)

In this way, immigrants learn to wait for every simple step that is guaranteed to the natives living in the same place. immigrants might experience boredom as they await the arrival of their papers. As such, the boredom immigrants experience is different from the boredom that natives experience. It speaks of the hierarchy of experiencing time; after all, immigrants did not choose

the long wait of months and years, but they have no options other than to follow the immigration processes in their new countries.

Media, everyday life, routines

Certain studies on media routines have examined how we incorporate media into daily life (Madianou and Miller 2012; Polson, 2013; Gregg and Driscoll, 2008; Kendall, 2002). For example, Madianou and Miller (2012) analyzed the way Filipino and Caribbean transnational families incorporated different media practices into their lives. In her book *Hanging Out in Virtual Pubs*, Kendall (2002) discussed the way that the relationship between men and women is mediated online and how offline and online relationships are connected. She examined the online platform as space for the user to socialize similar to an offline pub. All these studies show that aspects of digital media and the internet are not considered an outsider technology; rather, they have been “routinely incorporated into the everyday life” of these informants (Haythornthwaite and Wellman, 2005:6). In diverse ways, media affects how we conduct our routines, whether physical or virtual. Moores and Metykova (2009) showed how for the informants of their study, virtual routines like checking emails and physical routines like returning home from work are actually connected to each other (ibid.:322). As Moores (2012:22) remarked, the offline and online environments are continuous social spaces.

Understanding place as a network of socialities

Differentiating space and place

Most academics make a distinction between place and space. Place is a practiced space infused with meaning (see Tuan, 1979; Ingold, 2007; Heidegger and Krell, 2011; Bourdieu, 1973). Tuan (1979) observed that spaces when they hold meaning for people, they become places. In his words,

place incarnates the experiences and aspirations of a people. Place is not only a fact to be explained in the broader frame of space, but it is also a reality to be clarified and understood from the perspectives of the people who have given it meaning. (ibid.:387)

In this approach, the place is built through repetitive practices and rituals. In combination with Tuan, Tim Ingold (2007, 2004, 2000) was also interested in the habits that people create in order

to understand their immediate environments in order to make themselves at home while they go about creating the world. It is important to think of the place as a form built with people's efforts and added meanings. While spaces can be structured by impartial parties, such as how urban planners design cities, only the communities that live in those spaces can add meanings to them (Massey, 1991). We transform a space into a place through everyday activities. For example, Ingold, Bourdieu, and Thrift analyzed the way movements like walking or driving can transform a space into a place.

Place making practices and media

The practices that build a place can also be media practices. Moores (2012) expanded upon the ideas of Tuan and Ingold and spoke of repetition and rituals using the example of someone who buys the morning newspaper each day. He believed that returning to a newspaper every day and repeatedly engaging with it transforms that paper into a place of comfort for the reader, even though the newspaper is not a building or a town square (ibid.:32). In a general sense, our relationship with certain media practices makes them into a place. For instance, the online group that a person often checks to access certain information can become a place. This was examined in a study Kendall (2002) conducted of the aforementioned virtual pubs. People's relationships with media can be place-making practices. Moores discussed this in the context of the newspaper example; readers do not seek to read new content, instead expecting to see the same content and style every day in their preferred paper (Moores, 2012:32). In the newspaper example as well, additional components like the sofa one sits on to read the paper becomes a place in itself because it becomes its own part of the ritual (ibid.). The activities that emerge from digital media, like online groups, can empower the local bounds of the members of those online societies by connecting the individuals in offline spaces as well (see Duru and Trenz, 2017; Polson, 2013).

Place and community

In her work *A Global Sense Of Place*, Doreen Massey (1991) considered community and connection as a defining factor of place and what makes a place unique. She did not think authenticity, the site of the place, or the place's history is what defines it (Cresswell, 2013:72). Massey did not believe in economic institutional power's ability to provide a definition of such a

distinctive concept like place (ibid.). This is because place is always changing, and it is more than its historical past or the plan its governors had designed for it. She argued that limiting the place to history, space or time cannot explain the place in its entirety. In this sense, she stood against the definition of place that is fixed on the historical, political and cultural background. The social constructionism approach to place (Rodman, 1992) does not align with the arguments of this thesis either—not only owing to my own focus on routines and everyday life, but also to the relationship between place, history, and authenticity of the land, which limits the definition of such a dynamic concept to only its past (Massey, 1991). Definitions that relate place to its background in politics or history removes the power from groups like immigrants, which are not necessarily aware of the history of the place. Massey (ibid.) preferred to define place as a container that is filled with social relations and socialities that build networks of communication (material or immaterial) inside this container. Place is a hybrid concept, always changing and never bounding on a singular structure. Tim Cresswell (2013) referred to this dynamic characteristic of place, adding that

place provides the conditions of possibility for creative social practices. Place in this sense becomes an event rather than a secure place as an event is marked by openness and change rather than boundedness and permanence. (ibid.:34)

Cresswell saw place as a platform for practice and performance (ibid.). Thus, cities are more than “geographic”, “economic”, and “institutional” spaces (Mumford, 1937:87). Cities can be considered “a theater of social action” (ibid.). Place as a container for socialities or what Massey (1991) called networks of socialities gives the immigrants the agency to define what place means to them. It allows immigrants to be part of an open, borderless place wherever it offers them chances to practice everyday life and build social networks. In the following section, I expand on place as scenery for social relations, discussing what it means to think of a city in a mediated way.

Mediated city and beyond

Previously, I discussed how media is incorporated in the different aspects of everyday life. With the help of scholars, I now elaborate on the relationship between everyday communication practices and cities. Cities are a constantly changing scenery in everyday life (Nagy, 2020:87).

We encounter the city on a daily basis both offline and occasionally online through applications like digital maps that directly relate to the city. The relationship between media and communication and the city has a deeper connection and a longer history. Communication practices and the city were both built from material culture and “communicative natures” (Krajina et al., 2020:1). The city can also be studied as a medium that communicates to us (Griffin and Kittler, 1996); our relationship with the city is a two-way dynamic denoting what we communicate to the city and how the city communicates back (Falkheimer and Jansson, 2006:9).

In fact, cities and media are more intertwined than ever. Terms like media city, digital city, or geo media are some recent attempts at explaining this intertwined relationship (Georgiou, 2013; McQuire, 2016). Mediation is central to our understanding of the city as a place of everyday life encounters (Andersson, 2019). Thinking of cities as mediated brings us closer to Massey’s approach to place. Massey thought of place as dynamic. In a mediated city, active actors are constantly changing it through mediation and remediation (Amin and Thrift, 2002). Scholars believe that different media platforms have always provided “urban communities a common sense of location-bound fate” (James, 2020:175).

Cities are also branded, and different pictures of a city tend to circulate through media outlets in different contexts (ibid.). However, mediation is not a new concept, and it is not limited to fast internet or mobile phones. In addition to digital media technologies, older definitions of communication as transportations and connections between two physical points also mediated the city as a form of infrastructure.

To study different aspects of the mediated city experience, recent studies have assessed how media technologies transform or change the city experience (Hepp et al., 2018; Rajendran et al., 2020), and how a city’s media infrastructure, such as its public screens, might mediate the everyday lives of their audiences (Krajina, 2013). Commonly known mediums of communication in the city include billboards, advertisements, television screens, and similar media platforms. That said, mediation can occur within cities’ infrastructures as well as within material culture and everyday practices (Vretenar and Krajina, 2017 cited in Krajina et al., 2019). This can occur in the streets, in transportation (Löfgren, 2008), in windows (Silla, 2019), in shop signs (Trinch and Snajdr, 2017), and in graffiti and street art (Campbell et al., 2019). It can also

be mediated through communities and neighborhoods (Krajina et al.,2020). As Morley (2017) asserted, nothing is left unmediated. Even our physical encounters are mediated by language.

Roaming in cities

I aim to frame my studies in the way the city is mediated for immigrants and how they in turn remediate the city. As explained above, the process of mediation occurs at more than one site. It is a multi-dimensional experience. For instance, picture a pedestrian holding his phone and walking down a narrow street to take a train. As he walks, he passes through a market, hearing the specific sounds and smelling the specific scents of such a place. When he finally makes it onto his chosen train, he watches an advertisement on the train's television while he scrolls through the day's news in his phone and listens to the music a nearby passenger is playing aloud. On any ordinary walk, many experiences occur simultaneously. In view of this, I intend to link the different modes of mediation in a city to Hill (2019)'s concept of "roaming audiences." The roaming audience conceptualizes media as a landscape that audiences traverse, "roaming" between different sites of media and communication within it. The roaming audiences also relates to the idea of being in more than two places at once and moving between different forms of stories and messages (ibid.:14). The experience of the city requires a person to constantly roam between different mediations in everyday contexts. This creates a circle of materials, stories, infrastructures, and technologies that audiences encounter in the city and move between constantly through blurred borders.

In this sense, city is defined as a structure of connexity (Mulgan, 1997) as well. Connexity is an older English term used to define how the world is entirely connected by movements, the Internet, and connections. In the connexity of contemporary work, the solution to any problem, such as the climate crisis, depends on our collective movement (ibid.:3). Thus, the city's online and offline materials, from infrastructures to social groups, are all in a connexity framework where residents are constantly roaming between these sites and serve to mediate the city. If we conceptualize the roaming of audiences both offline and online in the city, then we need to also think of the dimensions of mobility and how the movements of city residents might be limited or empowered in this context.

On mobility

Urry (2000:1) presented a "manifesto for a sociology that examines the diverse mobilities of peoples, objects, images, information and wastes; and of the complex interdependencies between, and social consequences of, these diverse mobilities". Mobility is divided into five categories (Elliott and Urry, 2010). First is corporeal travel, which comprises different movements, from daily commuting to migration or leisure travel. Second refers to the movements of any objects such as imported objects or gifts. Third is imaginative mobility, which takes place when encountering pictures of different places online or on television and leads us to imagine ourselves in different settings. Fourth is the virtual mobility that occurs live and simultaneously to an offline event—such as using a mobile phone to perform a video call and watch the wedding of a friend who lives far away. Fifth and last is the communicative travel that occurs through text, letter, email, and any other way we send a message to another person (ibid.:16). In this project, I analyze the connections across the different modes of mobility and the roles they play in the lives of my informants. In what follows, I discuss the experience of mobility in the eyes of immigrants. Then, I focus on imaginative aspects of mobility.

Mobility from below

Massey (1991) also believed that the experience of “place”, “flows”, “interconnection”, and “mobilities” are not equal for everyone. She called this a power geometry dynamic that defines the relationships between social groups with mobility of all kinds. In her opinion, some have more power over mobility than others. Similar to experiences of time, the experience of place and mobility is different for immigrants. Immigrants have “contained mobility” (Morley, 2017) that restricts their mobility and movements in a place. An example of these hierarchies in mobility is observed in visa restrictions, residence permit issues, and the housing crisis. For instance, on discrimination regarding housing there have studies have shown that Turkish immigrants have experienced discrimination when seeking housing due to their statuses as immigrants in Germany (Auspurg et al., 2019). Another example is the experience of guest workers in Germany who are often offered housing far from a central location where natives live. Instead, they are placed in industrial areas and in residencies where only guest workers reside (Der Spiegel, 2011). The experience of walking as a form of mobility can also provide insight

into the hierarchy of mobility. For some, walking is a leisure activity, like walking a dog or hiking. For others, it is an action meant to control their carbon footprint to help alleviate the contemporary climate crisis (Bates and Rhys-Taylor, 2017; Hall and Ram, 2018). For refugees, walking is also the process of reaching a safer place (NBC news, Angerer and Lavanga, 2015).

Scholars have recognized that issues surrounding passports, visas, national borders, and citizenship rights should be more relevant to the way we think of communication and culture (Georgiou, 2011:205–220). Indeed, the promise of connectedness between different media technologies and transportation has not been entirely met, particularly for the parts of society still restricted in their free movement for political or economic reasons. Massey (1991) divided the understanding of time, place, and mobility dynamics between two groups: those “who are in some way in position of control in relation to it - the jet setters, the ones sending and receiving the faxes and the email, holding the international conference calls,....” and those who are “doing a lot of physical moving but who are not in charge of the process in the same way at all.” (ibid.:26)

In many cases, immigrants still have little input on geographical borders and where to settle after their arrival in a new place. This shows that the ideal of a borderless, placeless, and connected world has not fully met its aim despite all the technologies that are available. For example, some scholars have argued that, through modernization, place has lost its border and cultural meaning (Relph, 1976; Auge, 2008). Relph expressed that, as place is built on a physical setting and activities, the contemporary world has disturbed it through movements of all sorts. As a result, they suggested that a case of “placelessness” is relevant as a modern crisis. In particular, in his book *No Sense of Place*, Meyrowitz (1985) regarded media as a revolution that has engendered a social change to our understanding of place, adding that

evolution in media has changed the social order by restructuring the relationship between physical place and social place. Electronic media, especially television have had a tremendous impact on Americans’ sense of place. (Meyrowitz cited in Moores, 2012)

In contrast, Moores believed that high-speed internet and other technologies have not greatly altered the inequality of experiences. Access to technology might have changed the lives of less fortunate parts of society, but these connections are experienced differently in the different parts

of society (Moore, 2012:8-13). Questions to think about include those of who is mobile and who is borderless (Morley, 2017). In all aspects of communication and mobility, from access to high-speed internet to border control, place and border limitation exist for marginalized groups, and they must create a way to free themselves from it.

Mobilities that are imagined

Movements and mobilities of bodies are not limited to physical movements. One example of a person's physical mobility is walking. While walking, we are also consciously thinking, remembering, and, through different technologies such as mobile phones and smart watches, we tend to imagine ourselves in different settings (see de Souza e Silva, 2006). Thus, while movements do happen in the physical world, the imaginative mobilities of our mobile bodies allow us to move beyond the physical border. Urry (2007) was one of the first to associate these imaginative mobilities with media and communication practices such as the idea of watching television as an ability to be in more than one place (ibid.). Studies have shown that technology and media are changing the understanding of territory and mobility (see Hepp, 2018; Rajendran 2020). An imaginative mobility might cause a case of "doubling of place" (Moore, 2012). This is a term that Moore (2012) adopted from Scannell (1996). An example of doubling of place is observed in the moments when people talk on the phone with a friend far away while physically being on a train to a different location. In such a case, the individual is in connection with two places: where he is located physically and where the phone call is connecting him (see Moore, 2012:13-21).

Moore in particular is critical of discourse surrounding placelessness, disagreeing with the idea that the place is now entirely absent from our social experience (ibid.). Rather, he argued that, in contemporary life, places are "far from being marginalized" and are instead being pluralized (ibid.:13). Rather than living in a placeless world, we live through extremely polarized experiences of place. He considered this polarization to partly be a result of new technologies in both the transportation and media fields. For instance, Scannell (1996:173) analyzed media practices such as radio and television as "ways of being in the world." He argued that the experience of watching tv and listening to radio is "a magical possibility of being in two places at once" (Scannell, 1996 cited in Moore 2012:14). This again relates to the imaginative mobility

that Urry discussed. Imaginative mobility can accrue while watching TV or scrolling on a phone.

I emphasize that three modes of mobility—virtual, imaginative, and communicative—actually relate to media and communication practices (Moore, 2012:91). They are the three sources of mobility with which we are in constant movement between sites as we roam (Hill:2019). These modes of mobility allow us to imagine ourselves in different settings or to find a connection to places that are physically far away. In turn, I emphasize the importance of material mobilities and their connection to other dimensions of mobilities, particularly in regards to communication studies. I argue that we also experience an imaginative mobility when we encounter the materials in the city that remind us of our different memories in different parts of the world.

Material mobilities

Material mobility requires greater attention from media and communication studies as a medium of communication. In his reading of Urry, Moore (2012) considered imaginative mobility as one of the central dimensions of media and communication studies. However, he also suggested that we should not underestimate the important role that everyday life's embodied and material mobilities play in communication studies. Material mobilities are taken for granted in daily practices and often are overlooked in media and communication analysis (Krajina et al., 2014:688). Morley (2017) referred to container boxes and movements of goods as one such practice that has changed contemporary life. On smaller scales, another example is immigrants' luggage, which is filled with "various material goods, such as packs of biscuits and sausages" (Krajina et al, 2014:689). The wider approach to mobility and movement in media and communication studies showcases how the movements of people, goods, and ideas are interconnected.

Further, the material goods transported in different ways, whether the luggage of immigrants or container boxes, move the material culture of different countries to the immigrants' new country of residence. For instance, the role that mobility of goods plays in immigrants' lives is shown in the ethnic supermarkets and shops that sell imported products for immigrants in Canada (Wang and Lo, 2007). Indeed, one study focused on the experiences of Chinese residents in Toronto by examining their typical shopping habits at ethnic supermarkets. The study showed how

accessibility to the products have helped the respondents to maintain and perform an ethnic identity. The consumers were not only users of the products but also circulators and retailers of their ethnic identities in the new space (ibid.).

Using the concepts of connexity (Mulgan, 1997) and roaming audiences (Hill, 2019), I argue that the borders between different mobilities and sites are blurred. This is because, in our everyday lives, these mobilities are interconnected and are constantly being used in relation to each other (Elliott and Urry, 2010:16). In view of this, I intend to use this context to bridge the gap between the mobilities of goods and imaginative mobilities by referring to Tuan (1979:30-50). It is, for instance, possible to have a “habit of dwelling imaginatively” through images, films, books, or any physical products like a familiar coach or food. This means that the case of ethnic supermarkets shows how materials and our encounters with physical products can contribute to people imaginatively traveling to another place.

Building a translocal place

The prior discussion of immigrant luggage and ethnic shops showcased a broader picture of how immigrants transform their places of residence. Appadurai (1996) defined the modern period as a place for global and cultural flows. In defining and conceptualizing these flows, he discussed “ethnoscapes” as landscapes for moving individuals who are shifting the world: “tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guestworkers” (ibid.:33). Appadurai acknowledged the people on the move as those who are shifting the world and building a new characteristic of landscapes. In contrast to how Appadurai saw immigrants, the terms displaced and out of place have often been used to describe immigrants and refugees. Examples of the terms exist in different human rights reports and media outlets. For example, according to the UN Refugee Agency, by mid-2020, global forced displacement passed 80 million (UNHCR, 2020). This leads to questions of what displacement and who becomes displaced. This word is often associated with refugees and immigrants. For some, displacement is understood as existing in a place physically while feeling a connection to another place (Brun, 2001). Displacement, which is generally considered a forced process, continues to be used often by media outlets and human rights organizations to define people’s living situations.

There are also certain arguments from anti-multiculturalism discourse in combination with far-right parties and policies arguing for immigrants' living spaces to be segregated from the rest of the city (Vertovec and Wessenderof, 2010). Such "immigrant neighborhoods" have often been accused of being resistant to integration and of living a fully separate life (Der Spiegel, 2011). While I do not intend to discuss the integration and assimilation process of immigrants, I do refer to the immigrant neighborhood to see if Appadurai erred in referring to immigrants as people who are shifting modern life.

To answer this question, I refer to a case study discussed in Low (2017:182-193) that examined a Latino market in Brooklyn. In this ethnic market, different communities from different backgrounds gather to shop from the vendors with Mexican, Chinese, and African American backgrounds (ibid.:182). The migration backgrounds and material cultures that the vendors experience as well as the varieties of memories and sensory experiences, from music and smell to visual representations, produce a new identity structure in this marketplace (ibid.:193). That new identity economically saves the market by attracting a variety of consumers who shop there for a particular experience (ibid.). This example shows that immigrants have been successful in filling places with social relations. I argue that the word "immigrant neighborhood" shows that they managed to fill the neighborhood with their material cultures and social relations. This in turn relates back to the tactics and resistance that de Certeau (1988) was interested in; despite difficult obstacles, immigrants manage to create their own atmospheres in different parts of cities.

It is helpful to examine another empirical example of an immigrant neighborhood. Ehrkamp (2005) studied the relationship between Turkish ethnic places like tea shops and the identity work of immigrants. Her case study was located at Marxloh, a northern neighborhood in the city of Duisburg, Germany. The study found that true cultural practices like sitting in tea houses and shopping from Turkish markets represented the immigrants' attempts to build a local bond with the neighborhood. In bringing these practices and materials from Turkey to Germany, they place their identities in the new location to build attachment rather than to change the country or separate themselves from natives (ibid.:361).

This leads to two crucial questions: for whom are immigrant neighborhoods segregated, and which refugees or immigrants are considered out of place or displaced? The Latino street market and the Marxloh neighborhood cases alone show a different narrative of immigrant neighborhoods and ethnic places. In the Latino street market, for instance, Latinos were not the only ethnic groups to sell or to shop at the market. In fact, the market's very nature is particularly inclusive, and it attracts natives as well. It appears that the spaces in which immigrants are located have far more inclusive dynamics. Appadurai referred to neighborhoods in relation to immigrants as "coherent social formation" (Appadurai, 1996:99). He also defined the word "locality" and local in a more relational and contextual manner. His way of defining the neighborhood actually aligns with what was previously discussed as the definition of place based on social relations. He further considered the word "neighborhood" as a situated community that can be online or offline (1996:179). Appadurai (1996) acknowledged people's role in building the city, saying, "the many displaced, deterritorialized and transient populations that constitute today's ethnoscares are engaged in the construction of locality as a structure of feeling" (1996).

Appadurai also claimed that, when our image of nationality is disturbed, the meanings of locality gain in importance (ibid.:49). In this way, many scholars have assessed the locality and translocality of immigrants. Translocals, translocality, and translocal spaces have been gaining importance in giving agency to immigrants and translocals who build their lives through these networks (Rouse, 1991; Smith, 2001; Kearney, 1991; Brun, 2001; Andrucki and Dickinson, 2015). For example, Brun argued that refugees and immigrants are not "out of place" or displaced. Rather, he argued, they are fully present in the place where they physically reside while possibly holding a connection to more than one place. In this sense, some scholars see immigrants as the ultimate example of a cosmopolitan person (Georgiou, 2010:21). I prefer the term translocal to cosmopolitan, as I believe the experiences of immigrants are more about locality than globalization.

In his definition of neighborhood, Appadurai identified the concept of the virtually situated neighborhood. Online communities are a type of imagined community (Anderson, 1983) in "the media landscape" (Hill, 2019:33) that rises when the national borders weaken. Thus, the online and offline communities gain importance in formation of place on behalf of immigrants. Studies have examined how the online and offline communities relate. These studies examine the

connection between online platforms and offline places, considering online platforms as places themselves (see Miller and Slater 2000; Kendall, 2002; Haythornthwaite and Wellman, 2002). In analyzing what digital platforms mean to immigrants, scholars have focused on how immigrants relate to their homelands and how they use digital platforms to “spread their culture” and make a territory of what home means to them (Nedelcu, 2019:243). What has the capacity to gain greater attention from scholars is the dimension of immigrant influence on the landscape of their current residences since they are viewed as shifting the place, causing a translocal discussion.

As I conclude translocality, I want to bridge the mobility discussion with translocality discussions. I believe the construction of translocal spaces is the result of mobilities ranging from physical mobility and mobility of goods to imagined mobilities as well as the circulations of data and online communities. From the Latino street market mentioned in Low (2017) to the Chinese supermarket studies of Wang and Lo (2007), the construction of such places depended on mobilities of all sorts. The movements of immigrants, the transportation of goods, and the circulation of ideas holds an overall circle of connexity (Mulgan, 1997) that empowers the characteristics of a translocal space. By invoking the silk road in this discussion, Morely (2017:102) showed that such a structure for space is not actually only a modern project. The silk road was not only important in movements of goods but was also a way that information, stories, and gossip were circulated from far Asia to the heart of Europe (ibid.).

To become an immigrant

There is a cluster of words used to describe a person who moves from the land they were born in to a new place. Based on different interests, financial and political situations, the classifications include “expats”, “immigrants”, “diaspora”, “refugees”, and “displaced”. To be certain, the experience of forced migration is far different than those who make a choice to leave their country. If diaspora is a general umbrella term encompassing immigration, then diaspora has been defined as a concept that includes a sense of displacement, exile, and a strong bond with fellow members of the diaspora that leads them to create a community upon migration (Clifford, 1994; Safran, 1991; B. Anderson, 1983). A person is also considered part of a diasporic community if they have moved of their free will for work or study (Madianou and Miller, 2012). I do not underestimate the collective identity of a diasporic community nor the collective history

and struggles that one community may experience. However, I do argue that, in the mentioned definition of diaspora, much is taken for granted. Such a definition centers immigrants in regards to their relationship with their country of origin. It also relates them to their fellow members of the diasporic community and assumes that they are one themselves. I argue that a sense of diversity is not provided to an immigrant community if they are only studied and questioned in relation to their immigration and integration. Hall, for instance, once said, “Migration is a one way trip, there is no home to go back to. There never was” (1988:44). Therefore, asking questions about where they come from or their immigration process does not include them in the current discussion of where they live (Kymlicka, 2010). In relation to city life alongside questions of belonging, immigrants have serious worries, for example, about the rise of far-right parties in elections or discrimination in housing and job applications.

I prefer to ask my study’s informants what it means to be an immigrant. There is more than one way to practice everyday life with an immigrant’s identity because the different dimension of immigrants’ identity is pluralized. That means a singular definition of a diasporic identity stands in contrast to the texture of identity (Hall and Gay, 1996). Hall believed that identity does not have a unified, singular definition. Rather, he saw identity as more of a process of becoming that is in constant change. At its core, identity is a tool for establishing relations with our surroundings (ibid.:9). One can not give a singular definition to what it means to be diasporic of immigrants. In this way, It is beneficial to ask the immigrants themselves to position themselves and speak on their own values. Inspired by “narrative identity” (McAdams, 2011) one can listen to the story of immigrants regarding who they are and who they want to become. In narrative identity, researchers look at the story that is internalized by informants to make sense of their everyday life (ibid.:100). Motivated by my understanding of narrative identity, I looked at the way informants of this study imagine themselves in the city and tell stories about it. In this case the everyday life in Berlin is what engages the informants' in talking about their identity work. In the story of informants of the city of Berlin, I search for alternative definitions to concepts like belonging and locality because the definitions of natives on what it means to belong does not necessarily match immigrants’ understanding (Aksoy and Robin,2000). In what follows, I discuss the framing of identity in this research in a more detailed way.

In search of identity and social imaginary in the city

There are certain aspects of identity work that play an important role in the analysis and design of this research. Firstly, I use my respondents' living spaces to search for identity work as a way to maintain a conceptual similarity and connection. As previously discussed, place and the mediated city have been defined as dynamic and changing structures (Massey, 1991). Identity and place are similar in concept. They are both in a constant process of becoming (Hall and Gay, 1996; Massey, 1991). Massey agreed, arguing that, if people can have multiple identities, then places can encompass those identities. Place is considered a platform for the "creative production of identity" (Cresswell, 2013:39). In this way, we are constantly negotiating who we are and who we want to be in our spaces of living. It is a characteristic of identity that it performs activities in the presence of others (Goffman, 1956; Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998). The city is in itself a scenery for us to feel we are under watch of people who pass by. Charles Taylor believed that spaces of urban life are where relative strangers pass one another and yet we influence each other. When we are side by side in a train ride, for instance,

each individual or small group acts on their own, but with the awareness that their display says something to others, will be responded to by them, will help build a common mood or tone that will color everyone's actions. (Taylor, 2004:168)

It should also be noted that identity work depends on different dynamics of inclusion and exclusion (Hall and Gay, 1996:15). Similar inclusion and exclusion dynamics are relevant to city structures, such as the birth of gated communities (Cresswell, 2013), segregated neighborhoods, and housing discrimination (Bolt, 2009).

Moreover, identity in itself can be considered in relation to dynamics of tactics and strategies and how we creatively adopt and adjust ourselves. When Taylor (2004) discussed national identity, he referred to the ways that we tend to imagine ourselves in connection with others under the same national identity. The process of immigration weakens the dynamics of national identity. In this sense people tend to imagine pictures (Appadurai, 1996:49) and community for themselves. Media and communication contribute to the building of imagination while placing audiences in front of imaginary observers (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998:99). Thus, if a national identity

is given to a place of power, like government, ministries, and urban planners, then communities' methods of building alternative identities in such spaces are their ways of being tactical.

Next, identity work relates to the way we idealize, imagine, and fantasize about our surroundings (Hall and Gay, 1996:3). My research designs activities for the dimensions of this imagination in my informants to explain how they imagine their being and becoming in an urban setting. In this way, their identity work relates to the social imaginary. What Taylor (2004) referred to as "social imaginary" is often the practices that one develops to live in harmony with their surroundings. To build a social imaginary in the new place requires immigrants to "take up, improvise, or...[be]...inducted into new practices." (ibid.:28) Social imaginary means

the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations. (ibid.:23)

In this sense, the social imaginary is a common understanding of common practices that legitimizes the way we are (ibid.:24). Social imaginary again possesses a strong relation with the way we imagine ourselves in front of others (ibid.:16). This is because imagination itself is a social practice (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998:105). Lastly, whenever people refer to themselves versus a particular idea, they are approaching topics of identity (Hall and Gay, 1996:13). This ensures that their imaginations and becoming processes become part of a narrative (McAdams, 2011) of who they are and how the past and future looks for them. They position themselves in a story in which they are the main character. This is an example of narrative identity (McAdams, 2011), which is a way to make a positive meaning out of negative events. It can also be a tool for immigrants to overcome the bad experiences of their journey. I do not intend to perform a narrative analysis for this research. Rather, motivated by the discussion surrounding narrative identity, I analyze the ways that my respondents' identity work is hidden in the story they share with me.

Chapter 3

Methodology and Sampling

This research takes a qualitative approach (Bazeley, 2013:4) in understanding identity work in a city environment. Identity has an abstract nature and to study such a concept in more depth requires descriptive data (ibid.). A qualitative approach offers access to descriptive data through direct connection with informants. In this way, the understanding of different aspects of life is driven directly “from their experiences” (ibid.:12). This allows me, as a researcher, to dive deeper into value structures and concepts. This qualitative approach also allows for a contextualisation and to get at the little details of recent Turkish immigrants’ identity work from day to day in Berlin. In the following section, we will read on the different methods that were adopted in this research and my own reflections on each method as well as a section about the case study and sampling criteria.

Towards a phronetic research

The primary goal of this research is to take a phronetic approach in its examination of recent Turkish immigrants’ identity work within everyday life. In doing so, it encourages a dialogue on otherwise taken-for-granted understandings of identity and daily practices. Phronesis does not attempt to make value judgements or work toward a definitive answer (Flyvbjerg, 2001:58). It rather attempts “to provide concrete examples and detailed narratives of how power works” (ibid.:140). Phronesis invites us to get as close as possible to reality and look at practices (ibid.:129-140). It also requires the research to put the power and value at the center of the research (ibid.). The previously discussed theoretical framework aims to meet the above-mentioned goals by focusing on the concept of identity, because it is closely tied to our understanding of power and values.

What does non-media-centric studies mean for media studies?

The aim of non-media-centric studies is to decenter the media and to study it in context. This approach allows me as a researcher to access the bigger picture. This approach is inspired by David Morley (2008). He encourages media and communication studies to think of communication in a broader sense, that is relevant to issues of geography and mobility. With this

approach one can recognize all modes of communications, such as physical, material and symbolic (ibid.:116). This also includes transportation and movement of any sort (ibid.). Non-media-centric media studies aim to connect these different modes of communication. This approach pushes the focus of media studies away from content and text and relocates focus on materials, symbols and practices. Focus on content only limits us to the result of the practices and it does not let us study the practice in itself (Krajina et al., 2014). Our way of doing things is as important as the result of those practices(ibid.). In representational theory one tries to search for patterns of thinking in message and content but in a non-representational theory, thinking happens as well when people are doing a certain practice (Moore, 2012:39-41). We think in the process of doing things and that is not in particular grasped in representational theories.

The focus on materiality is what inspires Shaun Moore to link David Morley's call on non-media-centric approaches to non-representational theory (ibid.). In non-representational theory (Thrift, 2007), inspired by Heidegger's phenomenology (Heidegger and Krell, 2011), the research focuses on material and practices in relation to our body that tell us something about meanings and ways of living. Phenomenology in itself is concerned with bodily feelings, movements and senses. Moore (2012), in particular, believes a similar approach is needed in the field of media and communication studies in order to move beyond content analysis and representation theories. Moore (2012) argues that Thrift and Ingold will object to how such representation models focusing on message or content are commonly used in media studies.

Does a non-representational theory underestimate representation centered studies? The answer is no. Certain scholars believe such an approach is limiting the ability to grasp a bigger picture when studying certain phenomena (Ingold, 2000; Thrift, 2008). On the other hand, David Morley (Krajina et al., 2014) means that denying representation and previously developed theories in content analysis and coding/decoding models (Hall, 1973) is not necessary. This research is framed in what Morley (Krajina et al., 2014:694) calls a "more than representation" studies, where previously defined frameworks for research are extended to studying the "things" too. This approach incorporates "materiality, technology, and practices" to media and communication studies (Andersson, 2019:109).

Before moving on with the design of methodology, I want to summarize the importance of a non-media-centric approach for this study in a few points. Firstly, this approach enabled me to study concepts like mobility in connection to communication studies by thinking of communication as movement. Second, with a non-media-centric approach, I was empowered to locate the departure point of my studies in everyday urban life rather than limiting it to a specific online platform. With understanding my research as a “more than representation” studies, I benefited from a multi disciplinary understanding of media and communication studies.

Design of the methodology and reflections

Multi-sited ethnography online and offline

In order to reach phronetic and non-media-centric studies, this research adopts a multi-sited ethnographic method. Why ethnography? The research problem as earlier mentioned focuses on practices. One of the aims of the research is also to involve the direct voice of margin groups in the research field (Harding, 2008). Therefore, to get a “holistic and nuanced understanding of the informants' sense-making process” (Shrøder, 2003:73), this research benefits from the characteristics of ethnography. Ethnography “Bears A close resemblance to the routine ways in which people make sense of the world in everyday life” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983:2). The ethnography was applied to both online and offline sites at once (Appendix four). Therefore, it is a multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995) which enabled me, as the ethnographer, to look at more than one site of study and expand the observation as well as the participation of myself within the research problem (ibid.).

Multi-sited ethnography is beneficial since the digital environment is closely connected to the city and because I am interested in online media and communication practices alongside the offline ones. Terms like “digital city” and “media city” are more popular than ever (Krajina et al., 2020; Georgiou, 2013; McQuire, 2016). Involving multi-sited ethnography allowed the method flexibility by being creative (Marcus, 1995) in approaching a topic that deals with feelings, senses and abstract experiences (Appendix five). I considered the relationship between the two sites of study, the online and offline environment, inspired by the digital ethnography approach of Hine (2015). The offline and online sites are very close to each other and it is necessary to

study them in connection to each other (ibid.). I combined tools like participation and observation in the city environment both online and offline. By doing so I involved myself as a “research instrument” (Richardson, 1994) and had an autoethnographic experience (Hine, 2015).

Autoethnography

I come from an immigrant Iranian family based in Florida, United States. I grew up very close to the Turkish culture as my family during my childhood in Tehran used to watch different Turkish shows through a satellite connection, which is still illegal in Iran. At some point in my life, I booked a ticket and settled down in Istanbul for almost 6 years and learned Turkish fluently. It was during the beginning of the refugee crisis around 2014 and I started working in different NGOs in Istanbul. I was working on funding an NGO too, which is still running in Istanbul. Therefore, I have a close relationship with Turkey and Istanbul. I am also emotionally invested in migration and the experience of immigrants in their city of living, because of my own family’s experience. I also have professional experiences of working with immigration issues and refugee status in the midst of the so-called “refugee crisis” for Europe. I have experiences of living in Germany again, for family reasons, and I do speak some German. This research topic is not only something that I am emotionally invested in but it is also my personal passion and close to my professional experience.

For the above mentioned reasons, I found myself close to the research problem and decided to study it through experiencing it and I started the autoethnographic experience. I am aware that my closeness to the research topic might as well cause limitations in my analysis and that is why later on I contact informants to keep me on track and accountable for my assumptions. With the autoethnography method, I was able to put myself in the position of my informants and try to create similar experiences for myself (Hine, 2015). I lived in Berlin for two weeks to experience the city and the different aspects of it. In this way, I directly encounter different city spaces and materials from shops, to transportation and historical sites. I also used certain online applications that are commonly used in Berlin, like food delivery apps, google maps and transportation applications. However, the autoethnography experience was not limited to my two-week visit to Berlin. I extended the experience to online participation where I overlooked different Facebook groups and Instagram pages. In doing so, I was focused on finding out about the practices of

these communities, both online and offline (Appendix four). The experience enabled me to move beyond simply asking my informants about their relationships with the city. I could investigate the situation in relation to my own experience directly and this gave me a direct overview of the struggles, feelings and media and communication practices that are being conducted in everyday life of Berlin.

My writing format in this autoethnography was inspired by what Richardson (1994) calls “experimental writing”. I collected my own autoethnography diary and notes. Writing my ethnographic field notes, I used writing as a way of “knowing” my research topic better (Richardson, 1994). By writing my poetic autoethnography diary throughout, I was empowered as “the instrument” of the research. I explored my own relationship with the topic of study and tried to “discover new aspects” of the research. In this way I focused on the strength within my closeness to the topic of study. Writing is a creative process. This creativity, and production of a text, brings in a scientific value of reflecting on different dimensions of the research problem in relation to the position of the person that conducts the research (ibid.:518). In particular, approaching experimental writing empowered me to worry less about knowing everything and writing it in one single text to present it to readers (ibid.).

Diaries and semi structured interviews

Gauntlett (2007) believes that in studying topics like identity in media studies, we should try to be more creative in designing a methodology which involves the informants by creating things rather than only talking about them. Identity is a concept that we do not actively think about or calculate. So expressing the dimension of our character and identity is always challenging (ibid.). However, a creative way of expression helps the informants because a creative process gives the informant more tools to express herself (Gauntlett, 2007). I again used writing as a creative process of making a text and collected diary entries from my informants. Diary writing (Hyers, 2018) is a common method for ethnographers to reflect on the research topic. It involves the informants directly, in regard to the research question, and it turns the research process into a more inclusive environment (Hyers, 2018:38-39). Considering my research questions and after running two pilots for the diary, I wrote a loose guideline for my informants in order to understand what is required from them in this diary entry (Appendix five).

Within the guideline I suggested that they walk very slowly and record their walk in any form like photography, sketching, and voice recording. Walking and writing are actually two closely related activities. In both activities, our thinking is activated through movements of our body (Ingold and Vergunst, 2008:8). Writing a diary about the informants' walking experience was inspired by walking methodology in social science (Bates and Rhys-Taylor, 2017; O'Neill and Roberts, 2020). Through walking, we access a multi-sensual relationship of the informants and their place of living in particular (Bates and Rhys-Taylor, 2017:2). In walking methodology, walking is considered to be a way of storytelling and because of the performative nature of it, we can count on it as a way to reflect on ourselves (O'Neill and Roberts et al., 2020). It activates the informants' imagination about the city and places (Back and Keith 2014:25).

With this walking diary, I can see what catches their attention, how they felt on this walk and what a walking experience in the city looks like for the informants. They were asked, in the guideline, to think of their relationship with Berlin and what they think about the city. This choice was made to focus on their identity work and to answer research questions. I would have preferred to have a walking interview (Kinney, 2017) with my informants but the Covid-19 restrictions did not allow any offline interaction with my informants. Instead, they went on a walk and reflected by themselves (Appendix five). I only expected one written entry from each informant because the diary method is always challenging in keeping the informants engaged in the research. This, as well as the limited amount of time for writing this thesis, did not allow me to aim for more.

I analysed the diaries through finding case-related themes through Bazeley (2013:188-220) guide on alternative approaches to opening and connecting data. The reason behind using this alternative approach is the format of the diary as the data. I was afraid that by using qualitative coding I would lose my perspective on each informants' individuality, ideas and stories (Bazeley, 2013:189). As a phronetic researcher, I am able to think of the diary as a case-dependent story of my informants. In this way, I designed my analysis of the diaries in a detailed reading of the diary to find the answer to certain questions like "in what direction did they walk?", "what caught their attention?", "what are the media and communication practices in this walk?", "how

do they talk about themselves in this diary?” and similar questions to find emerging themes.

The diary in this research gave a form of agency to the informants to actually produce their own text for the research and get more involved in the process of finding data. The diaries were a tool for my informants to explore their feelings through walking and writing. Their relationship with the place is in fact filled with feelings because of the experience of migration and changing their country. Therefore, it was important to get the informants to reflect on their feelings with the place to find out about their sensory experience in relation to the city. The agency is provided to the informant in a way that they are not limited in their walking direction or what medium they use in writing it. The multidimensionality of the diary format and the freedom given in choice and expression to my informants actually empowered an artistic approach towards the data. This is what Thrift regards as treating the social science research like performance art and “bringing back the wonder”(2008:12). Thrift believes that with an artistic poetic approach, social science can renew itself and get free of worrying for finding final answers. We often try to fit everyday life into theoretical frames that do not contain the wonders of social life and in that way, we lose our access to social imaginaries because they often do not fit into the structured frame (ibid.).

There are certain concerns regarding the diary (Appendix five). These concerns are mostly focused on validity and variety of the data that is collected (Hyers, 2018:150). In the diary, the informants are given the chance to write in their own time and place and the researcher can not observe this process (ibid.:161). Not all aspects of the diary might speak for the research question and the informants might add additional information that is unrelated. Therefore, diaries are usually a “secondary source material” for a multi method approach (ibid.:7). I took these concerns into account and designed a final step in my method: interviewing my informants after they submit their diary to me.

Interviews are a way for ethnographers to dive deeper in the topic of study and focus on emergent themes (Hine, 2015:80). Hence, I conducted semi-structured interviews (Seale, 2012). According to Seale (2012:209), this method is a suitable method for studying complex issues such as “values and understandings” and diving deeper into the research topic. It also “allows the interviewees to speak in their voice and their language” (ibid.). When designing the interview, I

got inspired by the diaries that I collected in the first place and wrote a general final interview guide after running two pilot interviews (Appendix six). In the interviews, the diaries were a reference point for my informants. They often mentioned that they would not know the answer to certain questions if it was not because of the diary that made them start thinking about it. Therefore, the interviews were more productive as a result of the diaries. Later on, I analyzed the transcribed interviews through qualitative codings (Seale, 2012). After coding, I came up with three main themes out of the interviews: the imagined Berlin, everyday life, becoming and unbecoming. These themes have seven categories and 17 subcategories (Appendix seven).

My key concern during the analysis was balancing the data and findings through different methods. In doing so, I used my autoethnographic finding as a starting point to begin my analysis. The ethnographic findings assisted me in better understanding the daily lives and experiences of my informants in Berlin. I experienced the difficulties that they confront on a daily basis in Berlin. With interviews, I was able to delve deeper into several questions raised in my ethnography as well as their diary. Finally, using data that was collected through diary as a supplement method allowed the informants' poetic feelings to remain fluid in the study. In this way, interview analysis and ethnography are at the center of this research, while the diary technique sparked creativity in the participants and gave them an agency in the research.

The case study

According to Flyvbjerg, case studies are crucial for social sciences in order to study the particular human behavior in context (Flyvbjerg, 2001:72). Flyvbjerg, referring back to Aristotle, wrote that “values and human behavior must be seen in relation to the particular” (ibid.:70). Only in one particular case study can we claim to “close in on real life situations” (ibid.:82). Hence, for the researchers, context-dependent approaches are fundamental (ibid.:72). In the case study, the researchers are able to study “the phenomena as they unfold in practice” (ibid.:82).

The sample of this research was limited to 8 persons, all recent Turkish immigrants that moved to Berlin in the past 5 years. The age group was chosen between 20-29 (Appendix three). I chose to have 8 informants because of the time constraint, as well as needing enough time to analyse

both interviews and diaries, which in total became 16 documents. With 8 informants I managed to have a better communication and more trusted relationship. I managed to devote time for casual chats and to hear their immigration stories unrecorded beside the interview. Because these are interviews that are connected to ethnographic fieldwork, therefore it is important that I don't treat the interviews "an isolated one-off encounter" and I provide "space for emerging issues to be explored" also out of the interviews and diaries (Hine, 2015:78). I also focused on this particular age group because I wanted to grasp the relatively new experiences of the younger Turkish immigrants that are in their twenties. The sample of this case study emerged throughout the ethnographic field work (Hine, 2005:65) since it is only in field work that "the significant identities and locations unfold" and I could decide on the sampling (ibid.). This is also in order to avoid pre-judgments in the start of the field work (ibid.). I recruited participants through a Facebook post on 15th of January 2021, that detailed my research and sampling criteria. I aimed to find members of Turkish communities that live in Berlin. That post was shared through my friends in different Facebook groups and some friends tagged those who they knew under the post.

Background of the case study

18.6 percent of the population of Germany have an immigrant background. Out of this percentage, "The number of Turkish citizens in Germany stands at 1.7 million people, the number of persons with Turkish immigrant background at roughly 2.4 million" (Ohliger, 2008.). The recent Turkish immigrants are joining the biggest minority group that are from outside the European Union (Minority Rights International, 2020). There is a long history of immigration between Turkey and Germany. On 29th October of 1961, West Germany invited the guest workers from relatively poor villages of Turkey (Nathans, 2004:242). They were poorly paid and offered housing far from city centers (Der Spiegel, 2010). It was not expected that they would stay in Germany, but they did. By demanding their rights, they were finally given the right of "family reunification" in 1974 (Findley, 2005:220) as well as a right to citizenship in 1999 (Haddad, 2002:53).

The immigration rate and trends through time have changed. There were lower numbers of immigration from Turkey to Germany until 2012, and less applications regarding family reunification (Aydin, 2016). The only form of immigration and visa application that has gotten

more popular in recent years is for Turkish students applying to study or professionals from Turkey applying for a job (ibid.). In 2016, after the failed coup in Turkey, the political asylum applications from Turkey to Germany dramatically increased as well (Gasperis, 2019). My informants were half political asylum and half students or professionals. The informants of the research build their new home in a setting that has traces from previous immigrations. But they have different reasons and motivations for their immigration, as well as different access to media and communication practices during their process of immigration.

Ethic

Coming from an immigrant family as a researcher, I aimed to be sensitive in designing my questions, guide and in collecting data to protect the informants. There was a consent form designed to inform the participants about their rights and expectations from this research(Appendix two). Their permission was given through the consent forms (Bryne, 2012) to record and share the interviews' content, diaries' content, and any supplementary material they have shared such as pictures and voices. To ensure confidentiality of their personal identity in analyzing a diary, it was crucial that I delete whatever text that could reveal the address or identity of my informants. I assigned pseudonyms to my informants in transcribing the interviews. In cases where translation was needed from Turkish To English, I always translated it to the best of my ability and then reviewed it with my informants to see if the meaning of the word in English matched their intended meaning.

Furthermore, the COVID 19 regulations in Berlin were taken into consideration. I have updated my informants on the information from WHO on what to consider before leaving the house and going for a walk. I also needed to replace a few informants that were not sure if they had illness symptoms or not. All the interviews were conducted through Zoom. The limitation of an online interview depends on internet connection and lack of face to face interactions. This was sometimes limiting my informants and I to hear each other correctly. The informants additionally gave oral consent at the beginning of the interview and they were given time to turn off their Camera if they did not feel comfortable with their picture being recorded (Appendix two).

Chapter 4

Analysis

In this chapter, I firstly discuss how everyday life of recent Turkish immigrants in Berlin looks like. I invite you to think of the factors that limit the experience of the informants in Berlin. Then I take a closer look at the role different digital platforms play in their everyday life experience. The analysis will argue that aspects of digital platforms contribute to finding creative ways out of the limitations of everyday life. Further I discuss the mobility aspects of communication and its influence on our informants life in Berlin. There will be a debate on how mobility of goods, people, information and ideas have changed different neighborhoods of Berlin and contributed to building a translocal place. In this way I examine the connectivity of online and offline movements and where the recent Turkish immigrants stand in this flow.

Place and time in immigrants' everyday experiences of Berlin

During one of my walks in Berlin, I entered a Turkish supermarket in search of a quick snack. While looking through the shelves, I could hear Turkish over the radio. It spoke of the financial hardships for small business owners in Germany because of COVID-19. This is how I started talking to the shop owner, as he told me about his own difficulties during the pandemic. When I asked him how it felt living in Berlin, he thought back to the racially-motivated shootings in Hanau and what it meant to him as a citizen. It had only been a few days since its one-year anniversary. Angrily, he said: "We know how to live here."

His words turn in my head over and over. The shopkeeper uses "we" to associate with the victims of the Hanau shootings, the racial minority of Turkish immigrants. No matter the time he or my eight participants spent in the city, they continue to feel like an Other (Said, 1978; Bauman, 1991). Communities establish identities based on their perceived differences with the Other (Baumani, 1991:110). For the Turkish community, being an Other is not something they have to stop and acknowledge but, rather, something they keenly feel within their everyday lives. For de Certeau, everyday life happens in our quotidian routines, such as walking or shopping (de Certeau, 1988:xix). It is these simple, boring activities that become the basis for how we live our lives (ibid.). What becomes of this foundational knowledge when being an Other colors everyday

life?

This is what Thrift (2007:121) calls “practical knowing” which is the way to know how to do the mundane. Such practical knowledge is not just about knowing how to get around a city, like Berlin, but imagining ourselves within its spaces, its communities (Taylor, 2004). Time spent in immigrant neighborhoods, like Kreuzberg, Neukölln and Wedding, not only provides knowledge of how to navigate its streets; but establishes them as places, a space that holds meaning (Tuan, 1979). Berlin becomes a place through the mundane acts and daily encounters within that space (Cresswell, 2004:11). De Certeau gives the example of walking as a pedestrian, which allows them to know the city better than reading any map (1984:117)

But this practical knowledge is different for immigrants. The event of moving between countries, as Moores and Metykova (2009) observes, disrupts their established routines and forces them to build new ones. As recent immigrants, my informants needed time to establish new routines, and had to put forth the added effort to know the city better and to find a place for themselves.

Serkan, for example, has been “building a life” for himself as a political asylum seeker for a year and six months in Germany and has only recently moved into his own house. Migration is not simply about moving to a new country but also finding stable housing, being financially stable, learning a new language and culture. It occupies their everyday life and forces new routines upon them; but it is also in these routines that they recognize themselves as an Other. Informants, like Derya, had to wait long hours for appointments at the German migration office; and others, like Serkan and Reha, were denied housing because they have a Turkish-sounding name. Ruya, another informant, lives far from the center and since she is working in a Turkish shop in the center, she spends hours in public transportation. In housing and job applications, they take what they can get or otherwise face the financial consequences. The house Serkan is moving into was the first one he was offered after a year of searching and continuously being denied because of his political asylum status.

There are also simple routines that are inaccessible to my participants as recent immigrants to Germany. Reha, for example, had to wait six months to open a bank account because he was a refugee. A bank account is a basic necessity for those residing in Berlin, giving them access to

otherwise taken-for-granted conveniences like paying for a ticket without the exchange of physical money or shopping online. Reha's limited banking options show the power geometry (Massey, 1991) between refugees like him and other residents within Berlin. Specifically, power geometry refers to the difference in connectivity and mobility between different communities, and how that relates to social status of the community.

Informants also had different experiences of time. Özgür works as a food delivery person, a job he started because he has not been able to find a job and to fight his boredom ("I could not be at home doing nothing anymore"). His experience of boredom parallels Highmore's observation that boredom is related to social class and privilege (Highmore, 2001). Immigrants like Özgür cannot afford to be bored, as he has to meet his financial needs, attend language courses and continuously apply for jobs; where more financially-secure persons might not be under as much pressure to attend to those responsibilities.

A recurring example among informants is their experience of time in relation to the German migration agency. The lives of some informants are on hold as they wait for the agency to approve their legal documentation, such as Pari who has been waiting 390 days for her residence permit to arrive ("All I did, I waited"). Other informants face disruptions in their everyday lives as they learn the cultural differences in how the German and Turkish approach time. For example, Derya now arrives 40 minutes earlier to her appointments, as German government agencies are not as lenient with latecomers as Turkish agencies.

Pari and Derya's experience with time relates to what Morley calls the politics of waiting (Morley, 2017:86). To understand what he means, we need to consider the concept of connexity (Mulgan, 1997), which refers to how we are all connected with all sorts of movements, from moving around on the internet to moving around physically on public transportation. However, there is a hierarchy to this connexity (Morley, 2017:85), as not everyone has access to the fast lane in their everyday life. Pari's wait on her residence permit limited her mobility practically to travel around. In her words she felt "trapped" both physically and emotionally. Derya, after her previous experience with public transportation, caused her to be late and consequently pushed back her appointment by seven hours, now has to put aside more time to make it to the migration

agency. There is an explicit hierarchy in what Pari is able and not able to do while waiting for her residence permit and an implicit hierarchy in how government agencies accommodate those with limited transportation means and are forced to live in distant neighborhoods.

Acclimating to these differences in time takes experience, learning and unlearning what they know of it when they were still living in Istanbul. While German citizens might not consider the migration agency to be an important part of their everyday lives, it is a place that my informants have to return to frequently. It is a place they have come to see as unwelcoming but necessary as the people within it decide whether they get to stay in the country.

My informants also talked about their efforts to learn how to navigate Berlin on their own. For instance, Derya was convinced she would never learn how to make her way around the city after seeing a public transit map for the first time; but has now learned how to get around even without Google Maps (“Now, I don’t need to have Google Maps. I can even help others with address”). My informants’ knowledge on how to get around the city is an important part of their orientation and, ultimately, their belonging in Berlin (Moores, 2012; Ingold, 2007). Mobile applications, such as Google Maps, oriented my informants to the city (Krajina et al., 2020:368); but it was being independent of such applications that made them feel like they belonged. To this point, informants Derya, Ruya and Peri each echoed the phrase “I don’t need Google Maps anymore” as a sign of this independence.

There are numerous studies on how digital applications facilitate movement around cities (Georgiou,2020:118) but, in my observation, the absence of such applications is part of how my informants identified as belonging in Berlin. Ruya, for instance, states that “[she] knows this city better than those who born here,” therefore establishing her identity in relation to German residents (Hall and Gay, 1996:4). Similarly, Reha has to continue using his phone to translate German-language public notices posted in his apartment complex; but is looking forward to the day when he does not have to rely on it.

Immigrants' imagination of Berlin

Berlin as free and rebellious

In my observations and interviews, I observed a variety of materials involved in the mediation of Berlin for my informants (Andersson, 2019; Krajina et al., 2020). How people dressed, for instance, signalled to Mavi that it is a city where she can be free; and the Turkish phrases written on its walls made Derya feel a sense of community. Another example are the flags hanging from balconies, representing a range of political orientations, which told Serkan that it was where different opinions are welcomed. He adds:

“Here, everyday you see protests, somehow [...] like people are expressing themselves. I feel it everywhere. Sometimes, the protest has a stupid topic but the fact that everyone can, even for that stupid topic, be angry and come to streets is good, isn't it?”

Serkan comes to consider Berlin a rebellious city in seeing its residents protesting, no matter if it is for a “stupid topic.” In seeing those within the city “expressing themselves,” the political asylee comes to imagine the city as a place where he can be free. How Serkan comes to see himself in relation to other residents within the city is akin to what Taylor (2004) calls the social imagination, which allows him to both see protesting as socially acceptable within Berlin and relate to his surroundings (2004:174). That said, what Serkan imagines the city to be is entirely subjective (ibid.).

The social imaginary is often discussed in relation to citizenship, specifically how the national imaginary brings citizens together (Taylor, 2004). In the case of my informants, what constitutes national borders are blurred because they are between countries (Appadurai, 1996:49) and how they imagine Berlin is their way of making sense of the ambivalent space between Turkey and their adopted home, Germany. In a country that has legal systems and infrastructures that may explicitly and implicitly limit what they are able to do and what they have access to, imagining themselves as a part of Berlin becomes a comforting narrative.

Berlin as old, cold and unwelcoming

When I asked Derya if she has ever felt uncomfortable in the city, she talked about walking around with her friend in East Berlin. She was desperately looking for a place to stay then and had followed a listing to that part of the city, even if she knew they would look out of place:

“We knew we would be the only foreigners — Muslim-looking — in the neighborhood [Laughs] It was a very cold neighborhood. [...] You know, we got off the subway there and everyone started staring at us. Everyone. We were walking and everyone was looking at us, like we were very obviously an outsider there.”

In feeling that “everyone was looking at us,” Derya and her friend began to recognize themselves as an Other in East Berlin. Derya points out that they not only looked like “foreigners” but were “Muslim-looking,” drawing upon her experience with negative stereotyping of the religious group its association with particular ethnicities. Despite having the financial and technical means to make East Berlin her new home, Derya decided against moving to the neighborhood because she considered it to be “cold” and unfriendly to “outsider(s),” therefore “containing” her mobility (Morley, 2018). This “contained mobility” (ibid.) refers to Derya’s limited movement, as compared to other residents, within that same neighborhood.

Informants also draw upon their historical knowledge when imagining the city, which informs where they feel free to move around. It is difficult for informants not to position themselves in relation to this history, as they walk past the many memorials throughout Berlin. Much like Derya, Serkan also finds East Berlin and its buildings to be “cold” and unwelcoming, characterisations based upon his understanding of its communist history. Some informants also draw on this knowledge to find a sense of belonging, such as Ruya who visits museums because “it is good to know what happened to the city [in which] you are living, if someone asks questions, you know.” For Ruya, learning the city’s history is part of her identity work, making her feel more like a Berlin resident in eyes of others. However, informants, such as Derya, also visit museums because “it’s nice to be a tourist once in a while.” For them, it is a brief escape from the feeling of being Othered as an immigrant.

Berlin as “Little Istanbul”

At the same time, there are neighborhoods within Berlin that my informants felt more at ease in. Ruya, for instance, said there are places within the city that she knows better than those who were born in Germany. If there is a part of the city that has been called “dangerous” before, my informant tells me she has “been there.” When I asked her to elaborate, Ruya answers:

“You know some places in Kreuzberg might make most people uncomfortable [like] my German friends here. They wouldn’t go there because it is unsafe. I don’t feel, like, in danger. To me, it doesn’t feel dangerous, you know. Walking on Saturday morning through Kreuzberg or Wedding isn’t that scary for me. It looks, like, very normal to me.”

Ruya brings up Kreuzberg because of its association with immigration as well as crime (Ucta and Biermann, 2015). But where German residents may not feel safe in Kreuzberg because it reminds them of crime and drugs — at least, in Ruya’s opinion — she considers the neighborhood home to the best Döner kebab shop in Berlin. Ruya established her identity in relation to others (Hall and Gay, 1996:4), specifically German residents who might consider the city to be “unsafe” or “scary.” She finds a sense of community in the bustling immigrant community of Kreuzberg because, to her, it is not that much different from Istanbul. In fact, several other informants made this comparison, such as Derya calling Kreuzberg “Little Istanbul” and Ruya calling Berlin just another Turkish neighborhood. Finding similarities between the two cities, for them, is another means to orient themselves within the city.

To conclude, the neighborhoods and streets within Berlin itself communicate messages and stir feelings in my informants. Derya and Serkan do not feel welcome in “cold” East Berlin because they may not look like a typical resident or are reminded of its communist roots. At the same time, Ruya feels free to walk around “unsafe” and “scary” Kreuzberg or Wedding because of its primarily immigrant residents and familiar sights, sounds and smells from Turkey. It is not only physical structures, such as buildings or streets, that communicate such messages to my informants; but the social structures within those neighborhoods too. This is reflected in the

experiences of participants like Derya, Peri or Mavi who may not feel welcome in upper-class neighborhoods in Berlin because of the way they felt different.

Online affordances in stretching time and place

Facebook and Telegram

In searching for informants, I found several Facebook groups where recent immigrants were particularly active. One of these was a group for private home and apartment listings, which I joined both as a part of my online observation and as an immigrant looking to move to the city myself. I thought these Facebook groups to be active and responsive, as members were quick to answer my questions about housing with numerous comments and private messages. I found a feeling of community through these Facebook groups, bringing to mind how online groups come together where “people sense a decline in communal sociality” (Miller et al., 2016:192).

These Facebook groups are both public and private; and they all serve different goals, from learning German to shopping for secondhand items to connecting with other Turkish academics and students in the city. The community that my informants find in these groups is an example of what Anderson called “imagined communities, whereby social relations are “stretched” across space and time and they can imagine themselves as a part of a cohesive group (Anderson, 1983). This media landscape introduces “alternative meanings to locality” (Appadurai, 1996:49), where Berlin is not simply a space without meaning but a place where informants can imagine themselves flourishing as part of a community.

To this point, immigrants are able to connect with online groups as a means to not only find their footing in the city but to also build a community, in the absence of the social and familial relations they left behind in Turkey. Derya, for example, is a part of a private Facebook group for those seeking political asylum in Germany; and readily responds to those asking about appointments with the migration agency (“Whenever someone has appointment with immigration office, I would just comment that they should really plan to be there very early, because I don’t want anyone to wait seven hours like I did.”). Peri, too, is active in several Facebook groups, including housing groups and groups special to graphic designers or street

artists. She found comfort in the responses to her questions about residence permits and, in return, tries to offer help where she can in those same groups.

Furthermore, my participants are more confident about participating in these groups, similar to what Miller observed in certain groups feeling more assured in connecting through these online platforms (Miller et al., 2016:177). This is because of their literacy in German language. Informants can form questions at their own pace online and do not have to worry about whether they are saying it correctly (ibid.). For example, Yağmur said she is more comfortable asking questions in these Facebook groups than she is in a face-to-face encounter with an immigration officer because she feels that her use of German would sound “weird” (“My writing is better than speaking.”). This, too, reflects how immigrants are more likely to engage in such online groups.

These Facebook groups also exemplify how informants keep “other people close or distant” in an online space (Miller et al., 2017:177). Serkan, for instance, is active in different Facebook and Telegram groups, where he can keep in touch with different Turkish communities. Despite this, he does not like to be around other Turkish people within his own neighborhood, as the political asylee is concerned that he might be asked about why he had to leave Turkey. If finding housing was not so difficult, Serkan said he would move out of the neighborhood just to avoid political talk. This paradox speaks to the control that Serkan has over who to keep close or distant in online and offline interactions, as he is still able to connect with the Turkish community without having to be in a potentially awkward face-to-face interaction. Derya, who is also a political refugee, is also uncomfortable about other Turkish people questioning her:

“I came here because I was exposed to political pressure in Turkey. Turks here ask too many questions because they spoke very comfortably. Well, I didn't want to talk to Turks in the first months, because I didn't want to go into political issues. I did not used to go to Kreuzberg, or I would never go to a Turkish doctor. Still, they come to me and ask me questions. [...] ‘Why did you come?’ ‘What are you doing?’ ‘Oh, did you come recently, too?’ And then, they try to calculate my political view.”

In Derya and Serkan's examples, we can see that there are different ways in which immigrants imagine themselves in relation to others, both in online and offline spaces. While they may be able to meet other Turkish people in Berlin, there is no guarantee that the conversation will veer into their personal backgrounds. This, in turn, informs how free they feel to move around the city ("I did not used to go to Kreuzberg, and I would never go to a Turkish doctor."). The affordances of online platforms, such as Facebook and Telegram, allow them to control who they interact with and what they choose to discuss. As such, there cannot be broad generalizations that what Turkish immigrants are looking for in offline spaces is the same as what they are looking for in online spaces. One offers community and the other a potentially different type of Othering ("And then, they try to calculate my political view.").

These communicative means in orienting oneself to a place or connecting with others plays into how immigrants address what de Certeau called strategies, which contribute toward their unequal experience of place and time (1984). Strategies are the structural challenges that make it difficult for immigrants to establish routines (ibid.), rules and conditions such as Peri not being able to travel around or meet her family while waiting for her residence permit or Reha not being able to open a bank account because of his legal status as a refugee.

Immigrants, however, do not passively accept these strategies. De Certeau adds that people have tactics that "manipulate the events in order to turn [strategies] into opportunities" (1984:xix). My informants have their own tactics for addressing the everyday challenges of being an immigrant in Berlin. They use online platforms to find a sense of community, where they might otherwise feel explicitly or implicitly Othered being in the city; and to seek answers, where other sources might be vague or uninviting. In turn, these online platforms inform how they imagine themselves as a part of bigger communities within Berlin.

Nebenan

Several informants brought up how the mobile application *Nebenan* helped orient them to Berlin. It is an application through which they could connect with their immediate neighbors, coordinate events and buy and sell items. As a part of my autoethnographic method, with help of a friend I looked through some of the functions that *Nebenan* had to offer and recognized its affordances

for building relationships with those who live around me. The application provided a safe way for neighbors to connect with one another at a distance, given that the COVID-19 pandemic has limited face-to-face interactions in the city. Even then, I would feel more comfortable getting to know my neighbors through the application, as I would not normally interact with them given my limited German.

This parallels the experiences of several other informants with Nebenan. Derya, for example, has used the application to not only sell second-hand items in a communal “market” setting but to also host a “small iftar¹ in the garden during Ramadan.” These are events through which she has gotten to know her mostly older neighbors of different nationalities, who would otherwise be complete strangers. Media, here is ‘sharpening the boundaries of place’ (Andersson, 2019:111) by empowering local connections in their neighborhoods. Of particular importance to my informants is how there is no distinguishing between Germans and immigrants in Nebenan, as the focus of the application is simply people living within a particular neighborhood.

The use of Nebenan also allows informants to observe others within their neighborhoods. Unlike Derya, Serkan still does not interact that much with his neighbors but uses the mobile application to learn more about them (“I mostly only look, I just observe what people are doing, how they live here. I just read.”). He tries to figure out and avoid what irks them. The reasons for such silent members of online communities differ, including a lack of confidence (Sun et al., 2014). But, in Serkan’s case, he is slowly putting more of himself out there. He has started with posts, translated from Turkish into German using Google Translate, offering to help his elderly neighbors with grocery shopping during the pandemic.

As a final note, I want to look at how technological infrastructure has impacted the mobility of my informants. The use of online platforms and mobile applications, such as Nebenan, depends on immigrants having access to an internet connection; something that most of my informants did not have when they first arrived in the city. Technological limitations, such as limited access to the internet, certainly impacts what media affordances are available to them (Miller et al., 2016:143, 210) but also where they are able to move freely. My informants recall having to find

¹ Iftar is the time of breaking fast in month of Ramadan for Muslims.

and stay close to public WiFi connections, such as those on public transportation or in train stations, when they did not have access to the internet where they lived or were not able to make calls using their phones.

But affordances can be examined not only in relation to media but geography too. The affordances of places offer the “possibility for action provided to an individual by an environment”(Raymond et al., 2017). Online platforms and mobile applications, such as Facebook and Nebenan, have stretched the boundaries of place for my informants and allows them to negotiate their own identities in relation to others within the city. They are more comfortable conversing with them through these applications, as it allows them to word their responses carefully where they might not feel comfortable with spoken German. In this way, the affordances of these platforms provide them with a “possibility for action” (ibid.) that might not be as accessible to them offline. They are tactics, to use de Certeau’s term (1984), to overcome both the personal and structural challenges of being mobile and social within Berlin.

Instagram

My participants also highlight their use of Instagram in Berlin, as a way to update friends and family and also to reflect upon their own lives. Yağmur feels responsible for “taking some happy pictures, touristic poses” when she is in the city, so that she can maintain a connection with her social and familial circles back in Turkey. Despite the hardships of living in Germany, informants feel that they need to present themselves as “happy” and convince others they have made the right choice by moving to the country. Derya started a public account after moving to the city and uses it to document what she does from day to day. Not only does it motivate her to take more photographs but it allows her to reflect upon her own life in the city.

Instagram plays into how my informants imagine themselves in the city, specifically in two ways. Firstly, they take pictures of themselves or of their surroundings, which play into how they imagine themselves within Berlin (Abercrombie and Longhurst,1998). Secondly, there is a performativity to how my informants used Instagram in the presentation of the self (Goffman, 1956). They share pictures knowing that others, either in the public or within their closed group of friends, would see them (Leaver, 2020; Goffman, 1956); and, in doing so, is conscious of how

they might appear. As such, informants turn the camera toward what they want their audience to see. Participants' use of Instagram in capturing and tagging places remediates how they imagine the city to be. An example of this practice is seen in Ruya's Instagram pictures of Kreuzberg and Neukölln, which she shared with me. She had included the location where these photographs were taken and attached hashtags, like #Berlintoday and #Kreuzbergberlin. She said these neighborhoods are often associated with immigrant workers and danger but, in sharing colorful pictures of herself within them, she tries in her ability to negotiate the way Kreuzberg is imagined for outsiders of Kreuzberg.

As I took a walk around Berlin myself as a part of my autoethnographic method, I recognized how the familiar Turkish sights, sounds and smells of these neighborhoods started to disappear as I neared tourist spots. There were no more Turkish restaurants, no Turkish or Arabic written on the surrounding walls. Yet, in taking pictures of herself within these tourist spots such as Brandenburg Gate or Museum Island, Ruya remediates them as a place where immigrants like herself are present and thriving. In this way, she remediates the city how she imagines — or wishes it — to be. Her use of Instagram mirrors Andersson's observation about how the Rosengård neighborhood in Malmö, Sweden, is represented on social media platforms (2019:112). Much like Kreuzberg, Rosengård is a neighborhood that is often associated with immigrants and crime; but is remediated in a positive way through how residents on Instagram portrays it in pictures and propagates them using hashtags on the social media platform (ibid.).

In her book *On Photography*, Sontag writes that photography is “putting oneself into a certain relation to the world that feels like knowledge” (1997:2). While those words were written long before the introduction of Instagram, it speaks to how my informants use photography as a means to both express themselves and to remediate the city on their own terms. In this way, it gives them agency, a means to both have “an imaginary possession of a past that is unreal” and also “take possession of space in which they are insecure” (Sontag, 1977:6). Being able to take a photograph easily with their phones, then, is a means for them to claim a part of the city themselves, imagining themselves within its spaces where social, legal or even physical structures might limit their movement.

“We didn’t belong to anywhere, but we were everywhere.”²

The presence of the Turkish community is apparent in the material culture encountered in Berlin, from the Turkish flags that hang from the windows and balconies to the photographs of Istanbul landmarks in ethnic shops, cafes and restaurants. As my walk took me from Wedding to Neukölln, I stopped at different Turkish shops and restaurants to talk with its proprietors. In them, the sound of Turkish music plays over the radio and the sight of Turkish products, from dumplings to ice cream, surround me. There is a market selling *halal* products and fresh vegetables, its vendors loudly calling out in Turkish that it is all fresh and to come quickly. There is the familiar sight of small, foldable shopping carts, particularly popular back in Istanbul, being wheeled around the stalls (Appendix eight). It is as if the materials and lifestyle have immigrated. Derya took a similar route to mine before filling out her diary, and it reminded her of a poem from Constantine P. Cavafy: “This city will pursue you.”(Cavafy, 1975) Istanbul, she wrote, had pursued her.

This is not only evidence of the mobility of goods from Turkey to Germany, but also of ideas and styles. From the pictures of Turkish food across the facade of shops and restaurants to the flags that hang from buildings, these signs and pictures mediate the city as a place of diversity and inclusion; and, through them, my informants are able to define their identities (Trinch and Snajdr, 2017). Here Urry's concept of imaginative mobility similarly applies to the sights, sounds, smells and ideas throughout the Turkish neighborhood (Elliot and Urry, 2010). Earlier I discussed Imaginative mobility with an example on how the habits of watching Television and the pictures we see can be considered as a way of imagining mobilities (Elliott and Urry, 2010). In my autoethnography exploration I could see that the way I think of imagined mobility is also embodied in the sensory feeling of the environment beside the pictures and media practices. Imaginative mobility within these materials and sensory experiences enabled me to negotiate with myself, where am I at? The Turkish news that is played on television, the smell, the pictures and materials that the informants and I encountered in Turkish shops, restaurants and cafes can be considered all as different sites of a mobility that is imagined.

² Words of Yağmur, 25 years old, female, in her diary.

However, the cultures in so-called “immigrant” neighborhoods are not monolithic; and, while such neighborhoods are associated with segregation and displacement in (Vertovec and Wessenderof, 2010; Grillo, 2007), they are also a point of contact for different communities. Sights, sounds and smells from different cultures populate Wedding, Kreuzberg and Neukölln, which include both Middle and Far Eastern countries. Even then, both German citizens and expatriates rub shoulders in its establishments, some telling me it is because they are more affordable or are open for longer hours. Despite the differences in cultures, these communities have a “convivial” relationship, held together in the “daily interactions while living together in a place” (Duru, 2015:244). This conviviality does not manifest in the differences these communities have with others but in their common connection to their local neighborhood (ibid.).

The intermingling of different cultures also speaks to how such spaces are complex and multidimensional (Jackson et al., 2001:3). In that way, these neighborhoods can be considered translocal spaces, a place not defined by the borders established by the state but continually reconstituted through its resident cultures (Low, 2017:179). In this way, the immigrant community is able to reclaim agency over their neighborhoods (Brun, 2001), fortified through their material culture and social relations. My informants play a role in the constitution of these translocal spaces by connecting with its residents, visiting its establishments and propagating pictures of it to a wider audience on social media. As a food delivery person, Özgür also extends the boundaries of these neighborhoods as he delivers food from its different restaurants. Where local news media might further associate these neighborhoods with crime, the connections immigrants make and the pictures they share help to reshape how people think of these places.

The multidimensional experience of participants and I required us to be in constant movement in between different modes of mobility. Mavi in her diary wrote about her experience of walking to her local Turkish supermarket while video calling her mother in Turkey to figure out the ingredients of her favorite vegetarian Turkish dish, red Lentil meatballs. Mavi as an immigrant video calling her mom while being surrounded by Turkish material in a district of Berlin is performing her mobility in more than one site (“When I arrive I call my mom to tell me what are the ingredients I need. I hear some other people speaking Turkish here. I see a picture of Istanbul

right after entrance.”). In her experience we see how the movement of people as immigrants next to communicative and virtual mobilities is in relation with the mobility of materials and imaginative mobilities in that Turkish supermarket. This relationship between different sites of mobility shows how the participants are in constant roaming (Hill, 2019) between different sites of communication and communicative activities here.

There are two dimensions to these neighborhoods as translocal spaces. First, these are places defined by their networks of social relations, both offline and online (Appadurai, 1996; Massey, 1991; Perez, 2004:14). Here, the relationship the Wedding kebab shop proprietor has with his regular customers is as important to establishing it as a place as the Wedding residents who communicate with one another through the Nebenan mobile application. Where fellow immigrants might help another who is struggling with their German in Kreuzberg, as I observed, the advice they give over local Facebook groups also contributes to how it is imagined as diverse and welcoming. Second, the movements of Turkish immigrants also leave a trace upon the city, from the street art that stretches across its walls to the foods and products that follow them from Turkey. A common observation among my informants is that “home” is not simply about where you are from. As Serkan says:

“When you build a home, you don’t build it from scratch. You only need to put an effort and time into making it better, to feel it is your home.”

Serkan observes that “home” is what you make of a place and the mark you leave upon it (“You only need to put an effort and time into making it better.”). He acknowledges that immigrants like himself build this “home” upon an existing city (“You don’t build it from scratch”), rather than demolishing and replacing what came previously. In spreading their culture, there can be a “shared sense of meanings, loyalties and interests” that come to bring neighborhoods of both German citizens and expatriates together (Low, 2017:181). As translocal spaces, they present the opportunity for “multiple kinds of social, spatial and political formations” (ibid.). Despite this, recent terrorist attacks upon the immigrant community has made my informants uncertain about the future of these “immigrant” neighborhoods. After the racially-motivated

shooting at a shisha bar on 19 February 2020 in Hanau³, Ruya worries for her safety. She walks to the Turkish supermarket where she works every day, wondering if it will be the day it is attacked. Furthermore, far-right parties and their followers have been increasingly vocal about their opposition to the material culture of such communities, such as the “Anti-Kebab” movement in France that argues the dish is destroying its food culture⁴(AJ plus, 2020). This shows the symbolic impact that these material cultures have on the city spaces. Ruya adds:

“I belong to Berlin. [...] Actually, we don’t question our belonging. We are like “Oh, O.K. We belong here” and then, in exact moment something like the Hanau attack happens and Turkish people die, everyone starts thinking again, ‘Do we belong to here? Will they send us back? Will this attack in 10 years take over everything?’ [...] I cannot go back to Turkey now, things have changed so much that I know Berlin far better. Then I put myself in the position of Germans. From their eyes, we don’t belong to here. But not from my eyes.”

Much like Ruya, my informants said they rarely questioned whether they belonged in Berlin (“We don’t question our belonging”). It is only when they imagine themselves in the position of other Germans that they see themselves as an Other (“From their eyes, we don’t belong to here”). Ruya says that responsibility, then, falls upon her generation to push back against negative associations with the immigrant community and to, instead, find common ground. She brings up the example of the people who come through the supermarket, introducing their German friends to the different Turkish dishes on offer and explaining it to them. As in Ruya’s opinion the material culture and symbols are more accessible to Germans to engage with and therefore it is a doorway for building a common ground. Maybe then they can see one another as Berliners.

³ Read on Hanau shooting here:[Mass shooting in Hanau: Grief and rage persist one year on](#)

⁴ [Watch AJ+ Coverage of the protest in here.](#)

Chapter 5

Conclusion

In conclusion, I want to firstly reflect on the limitations of this study. The relationship between me as an ethnographer and my informants was built in a limited time. My offline autoethnography in Berlin was as well limited to two weeks. Therefore there is a potential for further research on this subject through a long term ethnographic experience. Due to COVID 19 restrictions, I was not able to have face to face interaction with the informants. Online communication has its own limitations. Later on with eight informants and a case study approach, the conclusion and findings are motivated for this particular case study.

To summarize these findings, this thesis examined the everyday media and communicative practices of Turkish immigrants in relation to their mobility in and imagination of Berlin. It looked at the different ways in which the city is remediated to them, and how that shapes their unequal experience of place and time. Yet immigrants have agency over this experience, acclimating to the city and connecting with its communities through the use of online platforms and mobile applications. In doing so, immigrants create opportunities for more convivial relationships with their neighbors which, in turn, makes them feel more at home and mobile in Berlin. As such, the analysis covers mobilities both in online and offline spaces, both in terms of their own physical and virtual movements and the movement of symbols between Turkey and Germany. It is this mobility that is integral to the formation of translocal spaces, such as Kreuzberg, Neukölln and Wedding. To conclude, I will answer the research questions posed at the beginning of this thesis.

What are the media and communicative practices that connect recent Turkish immigrants with Berlin?

The everyday lives of new immigrants are marked by structural challenges to how they socialize and move around, both critical in establishing a sense of routine in their adopted country of Germany. These structural challenges, which can be social, legal or even physical, is what de Certeau called strategies (1984) and they exert power over the day-to-day actions of people. Such challenges range from not being able to find accommodations or work because of their

legal status; or having to wait for extended periods of time for permits through the migration agency or accounts through the bank. This can lead to immigrants feeling as if they are trapped or stuck in place.

However, this does not mean that they are powerless against such strategies. Immigrants have their own tactics (de Certeau 1984) for resisting or making opportunities out of these structural challenges, including the use of mobile phones to acclimate themselves to their surroundings and to find a sense of community. When they first arrived in Germany, they depended on Google Maps or Google Translate to navigate the city or to translate German into Turkish. Over time, the mobile phone became critical to my informants acclimating to the social, legal and mobility challenges of being a new immigrant, as they sought advice and found community through the use of online platforms and mobile applications. My informants used Facebook and Telegram to connect with other immigrants to find accommodations and to practice their German. They used the mobile application Nebenan to observe their German neighbors and to build connections with them by hosting get-togethers centered around their own religious holidays. Where offline interactions might be uncomfortable for them because of their limited command of German, online environments allowed them to take their time in learning about their neighbors and crafting a response. The use of online platforms and mobile applications, then, is a tactic through which my informants were able to build a relationship with where they live. Eventually, being independent of these applications came to be associated with being familiar with their surroundings, therefore making them feel as if they belong and allowing them to identify as a Berliner.

However, just because my informants are willing to make connections online does not necessarily mean that they are as willing to make those same connections offline. For one, they have more control over who they interact with online, choosing to join online communities of supportive and similarly-minded Turkish immigrants. This is not necessarily the same when they meet other Turkish immigrants in person, as informants are concerned that they may ask probing, uncomfortable questions about why they moved to Germany. As such, informants also shared that they would move to neighborhoods where there are fewer Turkish immigrants if they could, just to avoid these difficult interactions.

Informants also connect with Berlin through their use of Instagram, remediating the city through how they choose to frame and distribute their photographs. It is through this online platform that they are able to present themselves to an imagined audience, showing themselves as happy and satisfied with the decision to move to Berlin. It is also through this platform that informants are able to present Berlin as they imagine it. Where Kreuzberg and Wedding may be commonly associated with immigrants and crime, they are able to present these neighborhoods as vibrant and welcoming places. The pictures they take of Turkish street art further strengthens their sense of connection to these neighborhoods.

There is also a material culture through which informants come to feel a connection with the city. While there are structural challenges that limit housing options and access to municipal resources in so-called “immigrant” neighborhoods, such as Kreuzberg, Neukölln and Wedding, its residents are able to reclaim these spaces through its material culture. Informants recognize these neighborhoods as “immigrant” through the Turkish flags hanging from its balconies and windows, the pictures of Turkish landmarks and products across storefronts and the Turkish street art that adorns its walls. This comes to inform their imaginative mobility (Elliot and Urry, 2010). It changes the atmosphere of these neighborhoods, not just in how it looks but how it sounds and smells as well. The smell of Turkish dishes and the sound of Turkish music spill out from supermarkets onto the street. In this city where the streets have foreign-sounding names, immigrants have built a home away from home.

It is not only the movement of immigrants through these neighborhoods but the movement of symbols from Turkey to Germany that shaped my informants’ connection with Berlin. This is not simply the movement of Turkish goods between the two countries, whether it is the tea glasses of traditional Turkish cafes or the imported products that line the Turkish supermarket shelves. It can also be seen in the familiar Turkish typography and designs in storefronts and restaurants or heard in the familiar sounds of market vendors calling out in Turkish for customers to purchase their fresh vegetables. With the movement of immigrants through the city also comes the movement of symbols and ideas, which reclaims the space around them to become what informant Derya called a “Little Istanbul.” This access to the material aspects of their culture,

offered my informants both comfort in their new surroundings and an opportunity to introduce others to their way of life. In doing so, they are empowered to challenge negative representations of their community.

To conclude, we can see the different intersecting mobilities that make up the everyday lives of immigrants, from the movement of material goods between Turkey and Germany to the movement of information and people across virtual environments. Immigrants' use of both online platforms and mobile applications contributed toward both their virtual and communicative mobilities (Elliot and Urry, 2010), allowing them to feel more connected to their adopted city and its different neighborhoods. It is in how immigrants move around through online and offline spaces that we can think of them as roaming audiences (Hill, 2019), taking in the different virtual, material and sensory experiences of the city. Where they run up against structural challenges that may limit their mobility or sociality, they roam elsewhere for media experiences through which they can find a sense of freedom and belonging. The “immigrant” neighborhood, for instance, is where they feel a strong sense of connection and mobility, which goes back to its translocality. Turkish culture is not monolithic in places like Kreuzberg, Neukölln and Wedding but, rather, part of a larger convivial tapestry of communities (Duru, 2015).

How do these practices relate to identity of recent Turkish immigrants in Berlin?

My informants rarely questioned whether they belonged in Berlin. It is after shocking events, like the racially-motivated shootings in Hanau, that they think about how they appear to German citizens and whether they look like the Other (Bauman, 1991). It is in seeing themselves through other people's eyes that they question their belonging. They think back to how the structural challenges, or strategies, in their day-to-day lives contribute toward them feeling like an Other, such as how uncertain legal statuses, job opportunities or housing options limit their mobility or ability to establish set routines. Therefore, they identify as immigrants through how they see themselves in relation to German citizens (Hall and Gay, 1996).

Yet my informants also identified — or, at least, sought to identify — as Berliners themselves. While there may be strategies that implicitly or explicitly set them apart from citizens, they

sought out other ways to relate and foster a connection with their adopted city. This identity work can be said to be a tactic against the structural challenges that attempt to put their differences in sharp relief, as my informants choose to find common ground with other residents rather than resigning to being an Other. They are not trying to make Berlin into another Istanbul but, rather, seek to belong by exploring and connecting over the similarities between the two cities.

Immigrants try to further identify with Berlin through their online activities. They are able to control their interactions online, choosing to keep certain people close and others at a distance. They can join a range of Facebook or Telegram groups, where they are able to interact with other immigrants or German residents in the city. Where they may feel uncomfortable in offline spaces because of their limited command of German or interactions with other residents within the city, they are more confident in asking for help and sharing their culture and opinions in online spaces. There are also mobile applications, like Nebenan, where there is nothing to distinguish them as immigrants among other users. As such, my informants are able to observe and learn from their German neighbors until such a time when they feel comfortable about making contact. This initial contact can then lead to meeting offline, where informants may feel more confident about sharing their culture and challenging misconceptions between their communities. Furthermore, taking and sharing photographs through the mobile application Instragram was also a means through which to show that they and other immigrants like them belong in Berlin. These digital practices play an active role in how my informants imagine themselves within the city and is an active part of their identity work (Hall and Gay 1996). Despite this, my informants also sought to be independent of such mobile applications, such as online maps or translation services, as their familiarity with their surroundings and the local language made them feel like a Berliner.

This research sought to explore the media and communicative practices of recent Turkish immigrants in addressing challenges to their mobility and sociality, and how it comes to shape their sense of belonging in Berlin. Yet I recognize that there is an ambivalence to how immigrants come to think about their relationship to the city, a continuous negotiation of the fuzzy borders between feeling like a foreigner or a local, an immigrant or a Berliner. But can such identity work be reduced to such a simple dichotomy? It is not simply about Turkish

immigrants integrating into German society, as such identity work and belonging is more vivid and multifaceted (Aksoy and Robin, 2000; Duru et al., 2019). Such research needs to embrace the ambivalence that is inherent within such processes. As Bauman wrote, we should highlight such ambivalence as it is “the limit to the power of powerful” as well as the “freedom of the powerless” (Bauman, 1991:179). There are strategies that may limit the mobility and sociality of immigrants in Berlin but, as a Turkish shop owner in the city once told me: “We know how to live here.”

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Appendices

Appendix one: Timeline of the research

One January to 15th February/ Designing the research and literature review: The design of the method took very early on in January 2021. The main concepts of this research changed after the participation in the master symposium on 10th of February 2021 in Lund university. With comments I received I decided to put my focus on identity works of the participants, mobility and digital media. Rewrote a proposal for my thesis by 15 February. The proposal was just for myself and the supervisor to rethink the map of my literature review and analysis plan. The changes after the symposium did not influence my method but rather my literature review direction.

15th February to fifth March / Start of Autoethnography: I moved to Germany for the month of February, stayed 2 weeks in total in Berlin and did my ethnographic encounter while staying in that city during 18th February to 5th March. By 17th February I had finished the pilot run of diary method and interview method on 2 informants. (For more check the section on interview guide). You can as well check the exact date of each interview in the sampling chart.

20th February to 30th March/ Diary collection, Interview process and coding : I finished all my interviews and diary collection in timeline of 20th Feb To 20th March. (for more information look at interview process). I finished the first final draft of my Literature review by 20th March while actively coding/ transcribing the interviews, I analysis each diary right after collecting each diary. and if necessary translated them from Turkish to English. My open coding started with the first interview date at 20th February and ended by end of March.

First April to 15th April/ Theme and reviewing: First week of April I started to categorize my codes into themes. The main themes scheme was ready by 10th April with a reviewing process until 15th April.

20th April to 30th April/ writing analysis, method and conclusion: By 20th April the writing of the first draft of analysis was done. By 25 the first draft of the method chapter with the Analysis chapter was submitted to the supervisor. The conclusion and introduction came together by 30th April.

First May to 15th May/ Redrafting, editing and organizing appendices: The full draft of the thesis was submitted to my supervisor by 3 May. From 3rd May I corrected english and redrafted the different sections until submission. Actively worked on the appendix, reference list and notes.

Appendix two: consent form and Ethics

The informants gave their constant two times on recording the interview and using their diary as part of my research , one time by filling a form that was sent to them and second time orally in the beginning of the zoom meeting after I explained once again my obligation in transcription and note taking then they approved recording. Zoom in itself announce that recording has started the moment I press the record bottom. Informants were given the chance to turn off their Camera if they wish to or speak in Turkish or English. They were also reminded in the beginning of the interview that they don't need to answer any question that they do not like to answer. In the picture below you can see the online google form that was used in Collecting consent. Since my methodology required my informants to take a walk, I made sure as well that they are following the restriction on COVID 19 and are not leaving the house if they have any symptoms. I also used a mask myself in the autoethnography experience and whenever I needed to walk in Berlin. In my method it was important that I make sure I do not ask questions that in any way make my informants insecure in relation to their immigration or political asylum process. I also needed to delete all the information that they wrote in the diaries or was said in interviews that could reveal their place of living or their identity.

Consent Form

This research seeks to explore how immigrants perform in urban environment. This research through a non-media centric approach aims to look at the mediated meanings, to expand on the relation between communication and urban studies. This research consists of two sections. First, I would like to collect a diary of a walk you take in the city and your reflection in a written format that can have picture or any media of sort attached to it (voice, sketch, notes). In terms of observation process, you are given a control over your own action/choices and I do not have any particular advice or choice for the place you walk or style of your writing. Your diaries will only be used for the research matter and your identity will be protected. Please before taking a walk for taking this diary make sure you are following the guideline on COVID 19 restriction and you do now have any symptoms. Read more on that here:

<https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/question-and-answers-hub/q-a-detail/coronavirus-disease-covid-19#:~:text=symptoms>

After collecting the diaries, I will have an interview with you over zoom that last around 30-40 minutes. The data will only be used within the confinement of my thesis work. I would like to record the interview and transcribe it for my thesis project only. I will record the interview only with your consent in this form. Please feel free to say as much or as little as you want. You can decide not to answer any question, or to stop the interview any time you want. I ensure that your identity will remain anonymous. If you agree to this terms please fill this form.

Niloufar Hajirahimi
MSc, Lund University/Sweden
Nilufarahimi@gmail.com

* Required

Your Full name:
Your answer

Your age
Your answer

Your Gender
Your answer

Occupation
Your answer

By checking the box below Please approve your participation. *

I confirm my participation and I agree with recording and using the data for research purposes.

← **Figure one** consent form

The text written in the consent form:

This research seeks to explore how immigrants perform in urban environments. This research through a non-media-centric approach aims to look at the mediated meanings, to expand on the relation between communication and urban studies. This research consists of two sections. First, I would like to collect a diary of a walk you take in the city and your reflection in a written format that can have pictures or any media of sort attached to it (voice, sketch, notes). In terms of the observation process, you are given control over your own actions/choices and I do not have any particular advice or choice for the place you walk or style of your writing. Your diaries will only be used for the research matter and your identity will be protected. Please before taking a walk for writing this diary make sure you are following the guideline on COVID 19 restriction and you do now have any symptoms. Read more on that here:

<https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/question-and-answers-hub/q-a-detail/coronavirus-disease-covid-19#:~:text=symptoms>

After collecting the diaries, I will have an interview with you over zoom that lasts around 30-40 minutes. The data will only be used within the confinement of my thesis work. I would like to

record the interview and transcribe it for my thesis project only. I will record the interview only with your consent in this form. Please feel free to say as much or as little as you want. You can decide not to answer any question, or to stop the interview any time you want. I ensure that your identity will remain anonymous. If you agree to these terms please fill this form.

Niloufar Hajirahimi

MSc, Lund University/Sweden

Nilufarahimi@gmail.com

Your full name, Your age, Your occupation, Your Gender;

By checking the box below Please approve your participation

I confirm my participation and I agree with recording and using the data for research purposes.

Appendix three: sampling

I started with only one focus Turkish immigrants in Berlin that are in their 20s. More details of sampling were cleared out in my ethnography and I left the details to be cleared out by who are the informants that are going to agree to work. I found all my informants online through Facebook. I saw that they are all recent immigrants in Berlin. So I narrowed my sampling to only recent immigrants in their 20s that are less than five years in Berlin. In search of informants I shared a post on my facebook profile and my friends shared with their friends. Some of my Turkish friends that live in Germany shared my post in private groups that Turkish community has online. My sampling was kind of supported through those online communities and it always showed me how engaged they are with these groups. I could see that through almost 17 people that texted me and asked about my research. Many of the people that at first volunteered later on did not show interest in writing a diary so I needed to replace them with another interested person. From the beginning with the amount of methodology work I had in my multi method analysis I just focused on having 8 interviews with 2 pilots. Because each interview would have a diary to analyze as well next to it. That makes 16 documents to analyze.

Why did I choose this sample? I choose the age group between 20 to 29 and only recent immigrants under 5 years stay in Berlin because there have been tons of studies on Turkish workers, their families integration/ assimilation or German Turks that were born in Germany. I believed my sampling had a potential to bring in new ideas since they have very recently moved to Berlin, their experience in relation to the time and their social class can make their stories different and that was actually what at the end I found in my sampling. My informants themselves mentioned very often how different they are than the older generation of immigrants. One point in my sampling was the fact that few of these interviewees hold a political asylum in Berlin. That made the interviewing experience special and also overly emotional for both sides.

On how I did contact my samples, I would like to mention that since I found them on facebook, I always got the message from the informants there first, then I replied back with an explanation on what is my study about and if they have any question. Later on I asked them to give me their email address and I sent them a detailed email as a guide for whatever possible question they might have in writing the diary plus my constant form. Though it was relatively loose guidelines to just get the informants to write the diary because they often did not know what to do in the first pilot run of the diary method with the pilot informants. After the email was sent and consent form was collected, I Gave them approximately 7 days usually to give me the diary with reminders from me during that 7 days. I used one day to analyze the diary and add questions in the interview guide in relation to their diary if it was necessary for the interview.

I kept my relationship with them close and even after the interviewing and diary collecting, I kept going back to them and asking them certain questions. While I did not include those unofficial questions in coding or any other analysis, I believe knowing more about the informants personal experience of immigration and reasons of movement helped me to be more reflective and sensitive towards my data. On another hand throughout my sampling I was challenged because many people would have canceled on me on the first step of writing a diary usually with reasons like “ I do not feel like going outside and taking a walk”. It was an influence that pandemic had on my informants that they did not feel motivated often to take the walk. On another hand I also needed to cancel with a few of those that contacted me because they told me they feel sick so I needed to drop them just be loyal to my ethical roles that follows the guideline on Covid 19 in Berlin.



Figure 2→ my call for finding informants on my facebook

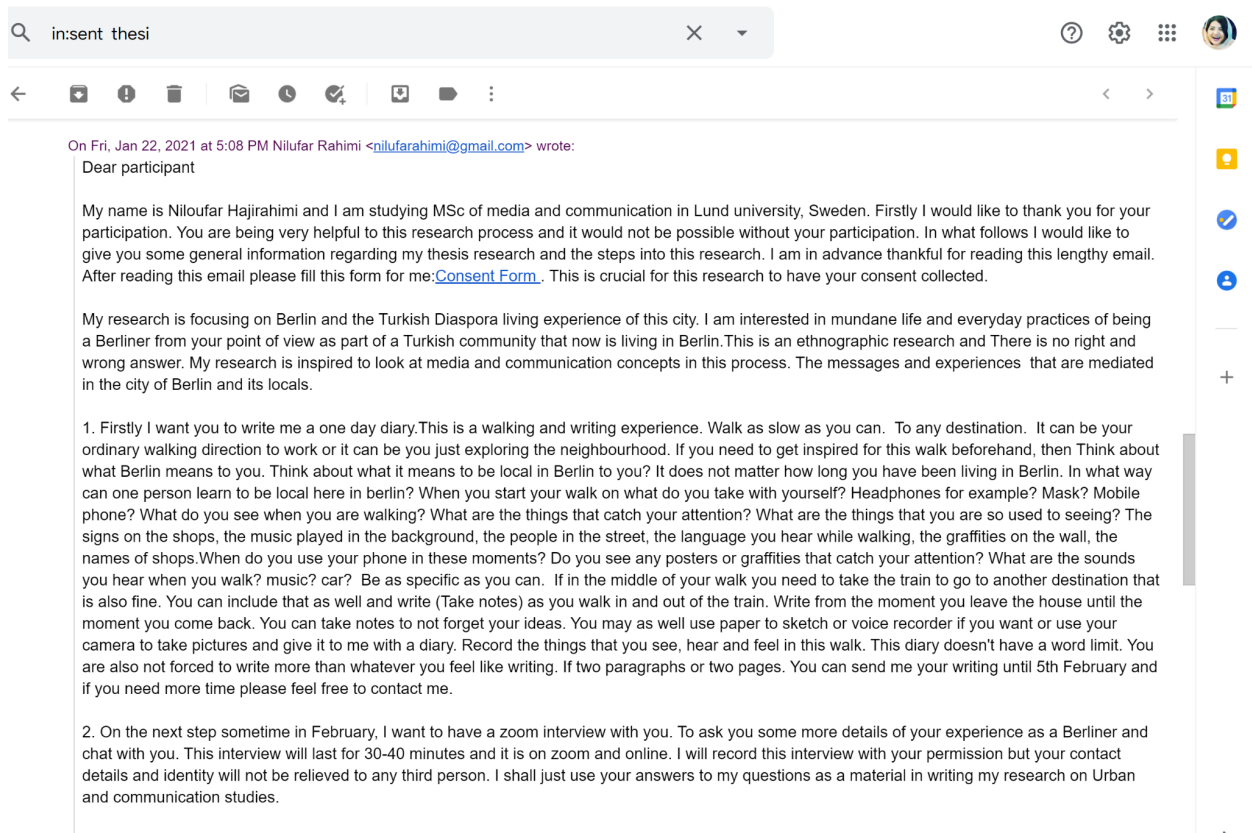


Figure 3→ My sample email to informants as a guide in writing their diary and other information. The deadlin given in the email changed accordingly for each informant based on when they contacted me.

Figure 4 → A chart that gives a short summary of background information on each informant. The names were chosen by me and are not real names in order to protect their identity.

Imaginary name	Age	Occupation	Moving time/reason	Diary submission date	Interview Date	Interview duration
1.Peri	28	Freelance Graphic Designer	Study, work 2 years	23 Feb 2021 Morning	23th Feb 2021 Afternoon	1 hour and 30 minutes
2.Derya	28	Lawyer	Political asylum 3 years	19th Feb 2021	20Th Feb 2021	1 hour
3.Rüya	21	Architect currently working in Turkish supermarket	Family immigration 5 years	1 March 2021	4th March 2021	1 hour and 15 minutes
4. Reha	26	Currently freelance Journalist	Political asylum 3 Years	6th March 2021	9th March 2021	1 hour
5. Yağmur	25	Previously Teacher	Political asylum 3 years	9th March 2021	10th March 2021	1:20 minutes
6.Serkan	28	Previously Lawyer,	Political asylum 1and half year	10th March 2021	15th March 2021	1 hour and thirty minutes

		searching for job now				
7.Özgür	27	Business school graduated, currently working in food delivery with bike	Study and work 1 and half year	16th March 2021	17th March 2021	1 hour
8.Mavi	24	Medical intern	Study 1 and half year	19th March	20th March 2021	1 hour and 10 minutes

Appendix four: Autoethnography material

I stayed two weeks in Berlin from 18th February to 4th March. This was not my first time in Berlin. I speak German at A2 level. But I am a fluent Turkish speaker. My diary and all the ethnographic notes are in total 35 pages in a google document. I had a notebook with me in Berlin and later on I chose to type some of my notes on a laptop which helped me to get more familiar with the data. Sometimes while walking I also recorded my voice instead of writing my notes and transcribing. I am also moving in summer to live in Berlin so this ethnography had a different dimension for me. On one hand I spent the most important years of my life in Istanbul and my 6 years of life in Istanbul really defined me as the person I am today. My autoethnography experience was emotional for me because I was constantly thinking about my own family experience and other immigrants that move to a new country.

Beside my experience in the city I engaged with content about Berlin online. I become member in few facebook groups that were private but they were a place for students to find job, for newcomers to practice German and for housing. I practiced German with the facebook group that was for language exchange through zoom calls that they were organizing. I used to watch a youtube channel often during my autoethnography the channel is: [The sounds of life](#). The youtuber here walks throughout Berlin and films it. It helped me to even engage with the city

when I was in Sweden. I compared the things I saw with the walking direction this youtuber takes. I also engaged with two meme Pages on Instagram that was mentioned to me by my informants. My informants shared these meme pages telling to me that in the beginning when they arrived they did not understand the jokes but now after having experience here they really laugh at the jokes. The two page that I looked at was: “Berlinauslandermemes”(memes of foreigners in Berlin) and “Berlin Muhtari” (Muhtar means in Turkish means chef). I also was actively checking different hashtags of Berlin and I took note of anything that caught my attention. I found a page in Instagram called: Notes from Berlin. This was a page that people share picture of whatever notes they see on walls in Berlin which there is quite a lot. I myself in my ethnography saw one that was announcing: “we hanged our carpet here few days ago to dry and someone has stolen it. Whoever you are, you are ****. Bring our carpet back.” and it was so interesting for me the page was basically about all these random notes in Berlin. so I had a short chat with the admin of the page and he was responsive. He told me that he finds this a way of expression as well next to the texts that are written everywhere. Even though my findings on these instagram pages were interesting, I did not focus on it in the analysis because it would require me to do a content analysis on instagram. But I had these activities indirectly involved when I was analysing the practice of taking pictures and sharing it online. During my whole ethnographic experience I was engaged with applications like google map and google translate all the time. Later on after my informants mentioned the app nebenan to me I also tried to experience the application myself. So my German friend who had a Nebenan account sat next to me and we looked at her application and what was going on in her neighborhood. I could not make myself an account because only persons with registered addresses can have an account.

In what follows I will share only a short part of my autoethnographic diary. It is a mix of poetic approach to writing with walking methodology. I walked very slowly, took notes and recorded my voice.

My diary from my one walk in Berlin

26th February, Night, in my airbnb room:

I am going to walk 25 KM today. I have decided. My street name, where the apartment is located, is Sweden street. Isn't that funny? Maybe this is the sign that I am on the right track. I

will walk from Wedding to Neukölln. From east germany to west germany. I didn't know about Wedding neighborhood to be something for Turkish immigrants but now I am here and there is a doner shop and lokma shop just next to my room here. The last time I saw Lokma it was only istanbul. I don't have a fixed plan for my walk tomorrow. Google maps show if I walk from here to Neukölln, it will take me almost 3 hours. I will have breaks in between and probably not follow the main routes and explore a bit. From Wedding I will go to Mitte first, which is a touristic place. Then from Mitte I walk to Kreuzberg and from there I will walk to a cafe in Neukölln I know there.

27th February, morning, in wedding:

It's still early, around 11 am on a Saturday morning. Streets are gray. This is how it looked when I started walking. full of cars driving fast. I can hear music from the cars standing behind the traffic light. The only music I can hear is very traditional Turkish music. Those that one would just play in a traditional wedding. I saw a few cars like this, with very loud music that I could hear while walking. Somewhere in the middle of the city there are small gardens with tiny houses. Exactly next to very crowded streets that I was passing by. It is like having a garden next to the traffic light and bus station. Surrounded by all the other big tall buildings. This was a very poor way of trying to feel in nature. I thought to myself how people on the other side of the world, from Iran or Turkey would think of these gardens, these tiny tiny houses with tiny tiny gardens, how much of the nature can you grasp in such a big crowded city here? Someone from this garden was cutting wood here. They were turkish. They were cutting wood in front of the door of their garden where there was also a pavement next to a bus station.

I passed by. Every single space on walls and electric boxes are filled with stickers or written texts. Everywhere is filled here. In some places you can not even notice any trace of cleaning up on these spaces. As if the walls, the electric box, the traffic light, the doors and all the other surfaces in this city are a blank paper that needs to be filled. I ask myself "why are they expressing themselves on the surfaces in the city?" most of them are not even considered street art or graffities. They are just written texts. Sometimes jokes, often political statements. "Benim ana dilim Turkece " my mother tongue is turkish. Or in german " merkel should sit down here" on

an advertisement for furniture. "East Berlin is Berlin", Or some hate messages on Turkish political parties that are actually based in Turkey not Germany. So many, so much text. "I was here" style texts or Love messages on the walls as well or simply their name. It was hard to capture everything but I took some pictures here and there from whatever it came to my eyes. I walk and walk and walk. This city sounds so busy, I can hear cars and construction. Some streets or pavements are more narrow because part of it is closed for construction. I took a turn to a street and I felt I could find food inside.

.....

Same day and same walk, In afternoon, Kreuzberg:

It's almost 4 pm already...The feeling of the city again changes where I am at, the windows front are again different, you can see again traces of Hanau's shooting protest, there is a building here that stands for governmental center for workers and on the buildings I can see so many outside posters and words written. About racism or guest workers. On my way walking there is a gallery that is showing pictures of Jewish survivors of the Holocaust on the windows of the gallery so wherever passes by can read their story and see the pictures. I am in Kreuzberg, it is written everywhere the name of the neighborhood. I notice a guy writing on one of the walls next to an abandoned house. I am taking pictures with my old school camera with its low quality when I am noticing him. He is having some sprays in his hand. There is a group of friends standing a bit further than him and talking. He is the one writing. He is a teenager and I ask what he is drawing. In Turkish. He says that he is searching for inspirations but for now he is just writing freedom. I tell him I am doing a research on the city and it caught my attention there is so much things written on the wall, what he thinks about it? He said there is nothing bad about. It is just fun to do it. It also looks nice doesn't it? And he laughs. I ask him if they ever got in trouble writing on walls, he said no, he said people back then used to write on the Berlin wall, didn't they? Now that wall is filled with paintings so we draw ours here. I asked him how often does he draw on walls. He says he doesn't do it often. Buying colors are expensive anyway and if he wants to draw or write something really beautiful he needs more advanced tools. He said it is just when he feels like it. That maybe today he can hang out with his friends and write something on the wall. He said after the Hanau incidents there were many that wrote the names of the victims on the wall.

...

Same day, same walk, close to Neukölln, 5pm:

I continue my walk. I see some turkish words : #özlem ist sehnsucht, longing (missing) in turkish is missing (in German) and another one for işçi: and then in front of it is written “workers” in German. There is another poster about having a right to live in a city that you can afford. I remember seeing some people earlier in the day handing out similar papers to invite people to petition apparently to get the housing power from private companies and give it back to the government for having a more reasonable pricing regarding rent. In both places that I saw handing out the papers I could say it was majority turkish people in my surroundings. I continue on my walk. I notice how even trash bins are full of texts. I look at myself in the windows,I order a tea in a cafe that looks exactly like a turkish coffee in Istanbul, I can see all the products from bakeries to nuts that I could only imagine to find in Istanbul here in this shop. The guy speaks turkish to me. I grab my tea and leave the shops. It is like all the materials have immigrated with the turks. It feels like the place as a whole is here. It got adopted into the city and it is almost not possible to see the borders

Appendix five: Diary process

reflection and summary

For sampling diaries I had 2 pilot runs. At first I made a mistake in not giving a guideline to the first pilot. So I could see if I only leave the informant free to explore their relationship through walking they won't feel very expressive. I took note of the things that were confusing for the first pilot and designed a guide. In the guide which you read in the figure three, I explained how they could write the diary and what to think about while moving around in the city. It is important that informants acknowledge that there is no wrong or right in writing a diary and no detail is a boring detail. The second pilot was more successful with this guide.

There were eight diaries. The longest diary was 1500 words that belonged to Derya and the shortest diary was from Reha that was 600 words. I analyzed each diary right before interviewing each informant. The informants sent me their diary as Pdf through email and I had their permission to translate from Turkish or German to English if necessary. In case of translation I

always contacted the informants to know if the translated line or document matches what they originally wrote. What follows is the first page of a diary from the informant called Derya, 28 years old that was submitted to me on 19th February.

A sample of diary

Berlin Diary

I live in a district a little far from center, closer to south of Berlin, in ***. To go to the center I have a long way ahead. When I leave the house, I first take the bus to go to the center. Even Though Our neighborhood is known to be a German neighborhood, you can always encounter some Turks while walking to the bus station. You can notice which houses are for Turks, from their windows, their curtains, their fences since usually they have longer fences and from their garden. And then Again, you can see many Turkish surnames on mailboxes. This is a game I play with myself to guess whose window belongs to a Turkish family here.

When I get off the bus, I get on the U7 line. This line also passes through stops such as Neukölln and Hermannplatz. There are Turkish speaking people in my wagon every time I take this train. Since I am new here, my ears are drawn directly to Turkish sounds. When I hear Turkish I always unconsciously turn back. For example, now there is a mother who speaks Turkish to her child. But German words always intervene while she is talking. When you are on the U-bahn, You can understand which people might be Turkish... it is very very easy. I can recognize us from our face figures, from our clothes, from the way we walk. I guess it's like this for everyone else. For example, many people come to me and speak Turkish without asking whether I know Turkish or not. Especially when asking for directions. I take my headphones out to watch some videos. I connect to the U-bahn wifi. It is nice to not spend my data on opening youtube. Like this I at least will stop analysing people.

Today I came to Kottbusser Tor. They call this place, Kreuzberg, little Istanbul. I got off the train and will walk in this district. In this district, you are unlikely to be a foreigner. Most people speak Turkish. There is a spice bazaar like Turkey, for example, you see a shop called Istanbul Market somewhere in the square. Baklava, Doner Restaurants and the huge Kreuzberg Center sign... it is a signboard in Turkish. Whatever I miss about Turkey I can find it here.

I wander around the back streets of Kreuzberg. They sprayed on the walls a warning to wear masks. Of course, there is also a warning in Turkish. Most warning signs are written in Turkish after German. Turkish is almost like a second language. I see a shop right away that has a sign on the window writing: we hire! But only in Turkish. It is funny for me to see this. Do they only hire Turkish people? Sometimes when I see the signs Germans write in Turkish I get angry. Are we Turks the only ones that break the law? Why do they sometimes write only in Turkish? I walk the streets, I get lost. Those who understand that I am Turkish, look more carefully at me. I hear the smell of a kebab shop that is so strong. I see some old man sitting in the corner on the stairs in the street. But because of Covid 19, it is not as crowded. I entered a street called "Dresdener Straße". I have entered this street before, but this time something immediately caught my attention. Views from Istanbul ... Pictures of Istanbul are hung on the walls of a few shops, but they are quite large and I am almost falling apart. A terrifying intensity of emotion is pressing me. I do not know whether it is the feeling of being far that is collapsing me or longing. I have passed many times here but today I saw for the first time how oddly everywhere is filled with traces of Istanbul.

I immediately start taking pictures as I do most of the time. I photograph every corner of the street. I have a instagram page called **** and I share my pictures there so my friends can see. I am taking pictures and all the passengers are looking at me. The following line comes to my mind from a poem called "City": "This city will come after you." I think Istanbul will follow me. Even if I'm miles away, he's closest to me, in my heart. But still there are so many traces in Berlin. It could be a grocery store name or it could be the title of the book in any bookstore that reminds me of istanbul. I look around and continue my walk. Somewhere on a shop here I read something that touches my heart: no one flees without a reason...this reminds many of my feelings...

Figure 5→ These three pictures are chosen from 12 pictures that Derya sent.



An example of analysing diary case dependent:The analysis of the diaries happened with case based knowledge and sensitivity towards the diary’s texture. I choose to not code the diaries because first it matches the ethnographic texture of my autoethnography, second it would have lose its context in my understanding with analytical code, Third this was supplementary method to helps the informants reflect upon their practice before interview but as well a way for my as ethnographer to see what are emerged problems in the diaries and bring them in the interviews. The material of the diaries was not only text and pictures. Reha, Ruya, Peri and Yağmur sent as well voice files and videos next to pictures and text.

Diary	Analysis
<p>I live in a district a little far from center, closer to south of Berlin, in ***. To go to the center I have a long way ahead. When I leave the house, I first take the bus to go to the center. Even Though Our</p>	<p>Being far from city center → speaking of long time of transportations →Power Geometry Depending on public transportation</p>

neighborhood is known to be the German neighborhood, you can always encounter some Turks while walking to the bus station. You can notice which houses are for Turks, from their windows, their curtains, their fences since usually they have longer fences and from their garden. And then Again, you can see many Turkish surnames on mailboxes. This is a game I play with myself to guess whose window belongs to a Turkish family here.

When I get off the bus, I get on the U7 line. This line also passes through stops such as Neukölln and Hermannplatz. There are Turkish speaking people in my wagon every time I have take this train. Since I am new here, my ears are drawn directly to Turkish sounds. When I hear Turkish I always unconsciously turn back. For example, now there is a mother who speaks Turkish to her child. But German words always intervene while she is talking. When you are on the U-bahn, You can understand which people might be Turkish... it is very very easy. I can recognize us from our face figures, from our clothes, from the way we walk. I guess it's like this for everyone else. For example, many people come to me and speak Turkish without asking whether I know Turkish or not. Especially when asking for directions. I take my headphones out to watch some videos. I connect to the U-bahn wifi. It is nice to not spend my data on opening youtube. Like this I at least will stop analysing people.

Differentiating her surrounding with herself, differentiating Turks vs. Germans
→approaching something of identity, bordering neighborhoods

Noticing windows→windows as a display of showing peoples identity.

Playing game to find things that are familiar to her during walk → an everyday mundane practice as well as a way exploring the surrounding to find familiar items →Familiar item→ tactics of de Certeau(1984)

Hearing her mother tongue in a crowded train→ the familiar sound that she hears

The informant was not asked to find Turkishness in place but rather she was asked to explore her connection with the place. But the familiar things she sees have a close relation with her connection with the place here.

Being able to tell the difference between Turks and non Turks in Berlin → from material like clothing or practice like walking → styles, material, practices moving alongside immigrants

Finding each other through look and material one carry or wear

Carrying phone and headphone on train ride, watching videos → media habits

Using the public wifi→ saving money in internet→financial concerns →using city infrastructures like wifi connection

First page of my notes on Derya's diary

Appendix six: Interview process

Reflections on piloting and interviewing

Firstly I want to talk about design of the interview guide, I started doing exploratory interview in first two weeks of February 2020 with few friends that are living in Berlin. Later on I took note on possible questions that I could add to the interview guide and what emerged from the explanatory interview that it was not in my plan. I designed a first draft of a final interview guide for 15th February for my two pilot runs of the interview. After the interview I added more detailed questions on different online and offline practices and directly asked if they had felt anything in regard of different practices. Throughout the piloting and writing an interview guide my supervisor as well helped me in formulating a right question. My goal was to avoid asking broad questions that are only giving me general answers.

During the interview I could see that my questions were so intertwined that sometimes I got an answer to many of the questions on the list in one of their answers. I believe my interview guide was at the end very successful because I got my informants to think often on what they did not think about before. I also did not go for the themes surrounding racism and othering but it came up by itself in our discussion surrounding everyday and future. All of my interviews lasted for a minimum one hour. The shortest is one hour and the longest is one hour and thirty minutes.

Interview Guide:

Opening question

- What do you think of Berlin as a city?

Everyday life

- What are your routines regarding the city?

For Example What are the places you often go to in Berlin?

What are the activities you repeat often regarding the city?

- How is your neighborhood, street? Can you explain how it looks like?
- What do you usually take with yourself when you are outside ?

According to their answer: how do you use them outside and what if you forget them?

- Where do you usually go during these days?

- What are the aspects of city life that are important to you despite COVID19 regulations here?

- How often would you walk? What are the paths you usually walk in?

What are pictures, sounds or smells you remember from your daily encounter?

What do you hear and smell while walking? Do you remember anything particular?

Do you consider Berlin a good place to walk around?

- How would you describe the time pace in your daily life in an urban environment?

How would you describe Berlin as a city: a city in rush or a city that is calm?

- Do you have any memory regarding your experience with time in the city to share?

- What differences does it make for your walking experience different timings of the day?

Mediated city

- How would you describe Berlin to an outsider that is about to move there?

- What are the things you would suggest to someone that moved to Berlin to do considering the city life? (before and after COVID)

- What are the things you learnt about the city after living there a while?

(like local places for shopping or groups to be joined.)

- What are things that you can not imagine Berlin without them?

Remediation through media/technologies :

- What are the things you do regarding the city in an online environment?

- How do you use your phone while walking ?

- Are you part of any online groups? Can you tell me about those groups? How do you use those groups?

- Do you often take pictures of the city?

- Is there any particular page you follow online?

- Is there any application you are using regarding the city life after moving to Berlin?

- How would you feel if these groups/ apps didn't exist anymore?

Mediation offline:

- What do you think regarding the written texts on the walls everywhere?

- What do you think about the public transportation in the city?

- What do you do while in public transportation?

- What do you think of the advertisements you see outside? Did something catch your attention recently?
- What do you think of Television screens that are in the city?
- How would you interact online while you are outside? Do you have an internet connection? Do you use public internet connection? How do you use it?
- How do you feel about your street?
- How do you think a Berliner looks like? clothing wise? Is there any specific item that is common to use ?
- What do you think of the constructions in the city?how do you feel about it?

Identity and Socialities

- How do you feel about having a Turkish background and living in Berlin?
- What is home to you? How would you describe the concept of “home” to someone else? Is Berlin home? How?

- What are the places in the city that feel like home?

Or Where is your favorite place (or your place of comfort) in the city?

What are the places you do not like or you don't feel safe?

- What was your picture of Berlin before moving to this city? How did you have that picture? How did it change?

Or

Do you remember what you felt regarding the city? How do you feel “now” regarding the city as an immigrant?

- What do you think of the history of the city Berlin as an immigrant?

How do you feel when you encounter historical places like jewish memorial in the city?

- How do you feel about seeing written things in Turkish in the city? Both shop signs and texts written on the wall. Would something change if they didn't exist in your day to day life encounter with the city? How?

- How do you feel about Turkish markets and Turkish tea houses or any other hub that is a place for Turkish people to gather in one way or another?

Would something change for you if they didn't exist?

- What are the groups or people you try to avoid?

- Is there something you wish it could change in Berlin? Tell me about it.
- How do you imagine your future in Berlin? How do you imagine the future of the city as a whole?

Extra questions according to their diary

Can you read this part of your diary to me and tell me more about how you felt at this very moment?

What is your favorite picture between these pictures you sent me? How come?

How did it feel to reflect on your relationship with the city during your walk?

You mentioned something about (...), can you tell me in more detail now? How come you feel that way?

Leave 10 minutes for what might come up.

- Is there something else you wish to add?

Example of transcription

Interview with Serkan, male, 28 years old, political asylum seeker, lawyer on 10th March .

This interview is translated from Turkish.

7. Example of transcription:

Interview with Serkan, male, 28 years old, political asylum seeker, lawyer.

A: Okay, then it is recording now.. I'll first ask you a very general question. What kind of city is Berlin in your opinion?

B: What kind of city is Berlin ... Berlin... I cannot explain it in a single word or sentence, but Berlin is very vivid in general. An international city. Actually, yes...you know here .. you see things like names of state institutions or simple signs in German, but if they would convert them to English, for example, you would not understand that you are here in Germany. Well .. or some other things like .. wherever they translate the language you think you are in that country.

Because you only understand from the written language that you are in Germany. That's how international Berlin is. Like you hear any other language very often and if they remove all the German language signs then you will lose your sense regarding where you are living. Well. The diversity here, the characterization of people, namely skin color, gender orientation, etc. is really interesting. It is really mixed... You see people of any kind, much more international... some people don't like it... But it is not a problem for me, I'm already from Istanbul, Turkey. Istanbul is already such a city. And more precisely... this aspect of the city... I can say I like it here.

A: Interesting ... how does your routine look like in the city or what are the places you go to a lot? What are you normally doing every day in the city?

B: I guess it would make more sense if I do explain this independently from the corona situation. Corona of course broke everyone's routine. Well .. like this .. Humans unconsciously, have basic needs to eat, or how can I say it... To go to a cinema or a theater next to them ... Besides that, for example, they might be doing groceries for home. Also, unwillingly people cannot get rid of their own roots and culture. For example, having a meal or spending some time relaxing looks different for me. Yes, Berlin has so many touristic places. When I want to have fun, I visit the tourist sites of Berlin or a bit more historic places. But my daily routine is for example: When I want to eat outside, I prefer to go out to Turkish restaurants. Well, part of it is because of my religious belief. I can't trust every restaurant to be Halal. But the biggest part is that I grew up with Turkish food. Going there feels good. Part of my routines here is food. I mean Corona made life a lot more boring. And I am keen on shopping for fresh good quality products from Turkish markets. Apart from that... for my daily routine so ... so ... what else can I tell you ... let me think... Now I am going to a language course because I am taking a German language class. I go and come back every day. During the language course, I have the opportunity to communicate with people of different nationalities. But it has not been a long time since I arrived here. I don't have a close relationship with any friend or I can't say I found a close friend here. So I spend the rest of my day with some people I know from my time in Turkey, I would say. I know some friends from the camp I am living in. They are nice. With some of them, I can not communicate much. Apart from that, my routine is a process of getting used to here ... I am trying to build a life here, you know... I had few problems finding a house and a job here... I found a house

finally... I was homeless for a year ... Next to that ... my daily routine is getting used to life here. My everyday routine is to do the things I need to do in order to build a future for me here.

A: I see. I wonder what do you mean by homeless? If it is okay for you, can you tell me?

B: I live in a refugee camp. I am not homeless like that haha but I don't have my own place. You know... Like that. Camp is not really a home. I can not change anything there as I wish.

A: I can understand it .. you said you have been trying to find a house for a year. How come that long?

B: It is difficult here to find housing ... It is difficult, even for a normal person to find a house in Berlin. It is hard for any foreigner sometimes as far as I heard. Unless your landlord is also someone with an international background. I was a lawyer in Turkey. In Turkey, I planned to buy a house, and all of a sudden I needed to leave the country and come here. Besides my boredom here... you no longer have the same status as in Turkey ..you're not a lawyer... you get the status of refugees and .. and like in Turkey, for example, Syrians are disadvantaged there ... There are a lot of Syrian refugees there... You get treated here like they are treated in Turkey... you get treated like that here... Maybe in Turkey, a Syrian is disadvantaged. But here not only I am disadvantaged, but I also get judged over things I did not choose like my Turkish first name. Because they really see you differently... to be fair here it might be not as bad as the experience of refugees in Turkey but it is a very similar experience. The landlord does not want to give his house, or the company doesn't want to give it to you because you are unemployed .. well here you live on welfare if you are a refugee, and so on. They don't like that. They worry about not getting their money on time and stuff. That's why... it is normally difficult to rent a house here. Especially with a Turkish or Muslim name and... With my refugee status, it gets even more difficult.

A: Earlier you mentioned that your routine now is about settling down, can you tell me more details on that?

B: Normal things. Like I needed to get a ticket for my transportation. Like a card that gives me a discount. When I came it was hard to figure out all the train and metro lines. Now not anymore. They are tiny steps I take every day to make myself familiar to here. I read the German things, I say them aloud to myself when I am outside. I am learning German. I feel it helps.

A: I understand .. well .. can you tell me about your neighborhood now. What kind of neighborhood is that? I mean, how does it look like? Do you remember any sound or image for example?

B: Okey..so like this... I normally ... in Berlin would prefer to live where there are more Germans or Maybe a place slightly out of town... it is much calmer there than in Berlin. I would prefer to live there..., but it is hard to find a house and you cannot think of a second or third option.... I took my first option....You will immediately take any deal someone grants you regarding housing. .. The house I finally found here... I don't have any complaints, but it is also a location where immigrants are in a majority. North of Berlin. Not everywhere in Berlin looks like here though. You know... (He looks out of the window), on one side there is a showroom for motorcycles, on the other side, you can see the 'siemens' factory here. And then there are some markets and private working spaces here. .. I am almost in the center of this neighborhood. You know, in general, around me I am close to the main street with restaurants and markets, which likely are targeting immigrants. They mostly appeal to immigrants. You know... I guess any city has a neighborhood like this... for newcomers, for immigrants... It is a place where there are a little more immigrants than in other places. For example, a Turkish couple is staying in the apartment next to my apartment. Overall there are always people from the Middle East here...From Turkey or Arab countries. That's what I would say...

A: Can you tell me how come you ideally prefer a place with a German majority? If I understood you correctly.

B: It is safer. They take better care of safety and cleaning there. Here people are in search of jobs and there are always struggles. I don't know. On one hand, I also do not have similar political views as some other Turks that live in Germany. I do not enjoy talking about it... I live in

{deleted} .. Close to Wedding area. Like it is further north of Wedding somewhere. Not inside Wedding, but close to Wedding. Wedding is generally a place for immigrants. I didn't want to stay in such a place. But the house was beautiful and when the house was beautiful, I didn't care about the people that live in this neighborhood anymore. I myself as a person, who came from Turkey, wants to be far from people from Turkey and the Middle East in general, unfortunately. I want to have a private life. With no politics in it.

A: I understand ... let's say when you go out to work, what do you usually take with you? Like in your bag/pocket.

B: Well, actually the very first thing I always carry... it can be a reflection of the fact that I am Turkish.... is my ID card. Maybe you know in Turkey you need your ID card always, they will check you sometimes in the streets. "Stop, brother, who are you, where are you coming from? Where are you going?" I don't know... it is a trauma from Turkey for me. The police can stop you anywhere and ask you anything. Not here. It didn't happen to me. Anyway, I always take my ID with me. Of course, you take money or credit cards necessarily with you... Apart from that, I am very connected to digital life and I need to be online all the time. Because the battery of my phone never lasts, I always have my power bank with me. Just to be safe that my phone is always on. I also always take the charging cable with me, in any case. Apart from that, you know, I carry the basics like the house key. I don't take so many things with me actually. I live with a little number of things. I don't carry a bag with me. Ah I forgot to say it, I take my headset with me. Because while I am dealing with the phone outside, I am actually dealing with people. Therefore, I take my phone headset with me to talk comfortably.

A: For example, let's say you forgot your phone or charger or you forgot your headphones. In fact, in such a situation, will anything change for you?

B: I need to have the phone with me because my phone rings all the time. Or I always receive messages, because I still work as a lawyer for some people in Turkey and I give them advice. Headphones are not very important. I can do without the headphones somehow, but this morning I left the house and realized that I forgot the power bank. I did not go too far from here God

forbid... I immediately returned and took the power bank, for example... If the phone goes off nowadays, I can find my way home. I know the street names and other things, that is not an issue. However, not having my phone with me would be a bit traumatic. I really want my phone all the time with me and I believe it is not only me. It's like that for many people that came here like me. I couldn't stay in Turkey anymore, I needed to leave suddenly and now I can't return to my own country, and if something happens to my family in Turkey, I can't get any news from anywhere except the phone. That phone is kind of a door for you to reach every person that you can't reach. It is the same for many people. It is a door I feel obligated to keep open. I feel it is my responsibility towards my family there. I send them pictures... they send me pictures... I let them know I am fine... they also keep me updated with what is going on in the family....

A: I see. Well. Also, for example now because of Corona, since almost everything is closed in Berlin, where do you usually go these days?

B: I say the market here...well... market. Restaurants are open for takeaway. Many places are like that. Or there are cafes for takeaway etc. So for example, if I'm going to hang out with my friends outside and if the weather is good in general, of course, I go out. We go to a restaurant like McDonald's or elsewhere and take our food to sit in the parks. It is very green here. Not only in Berlin but in many parts of Europe. In general, I prefer to sit in parks or by the lake. After going through so many things. I went through a painful process in Turkey and it really hurt me... I need to often calm myself down and I want to stay away from people and chaos... Therefore, these days I like to be in parks, even alone I don't mind it anymore...like last day, there was no event or anything but I bought my coffee and sat in the park. I took a walk by the river all the way... I walked a lot... Corona days look a little more like this.

A: Well, can you tell me a little more details about the walks you take? You can describe it like the ones in your diary, the daily ones. I want to hear it from you.

B: For example, it does not mean much to tell you about my walks to the bus stop since it is very close, but for example, the way to the grocery store, or when I go to my friend's place, and so on. Since I wrote that diary I have been more sensitive about the places around me. I constantly think

about how I am feeling when I am walking. You know the camp I lived in is in West Berlin. Here there is a difference between East and West Germany for everyone and they look at each other with different eyes. The same applies to Berlin. East Berlin and West Berlin are so different from each other, like for example in their architecture. When I was staying in East Berlin from September to August in a different place, I really hated to take a walk there... It felt like the buildings are punching me in the face. .. It felt colder like this, it was pushing me away... whenever I go back there - to that place I used to live - I still feel the same... As if the buildings were racist to me. But when I moved to West Berlin, and I moved to one of the more decent districts in West Berlin, I moved my things from the camp residency to my new apartment... where I live now. In West Berlin, on the roads when I walk, when people pass by you can say hello, or talk. I get a little more sense of belonging here. Because there is a feeling of exclusion in the East. Nothing looked really that welcoming to me. I could not feel I belong here in Europe living in that place... I asked myself what I am doing here. But in the West it is different... it's hard to explain... do I make sense haha... While going to the grocery store, the roads, for example, have quality. The simple things matter to me. Where I live now in West Berlin it is very clean in the pavements and the profiles of the people you see in the street are also more interesting. The houses here look like the way you expect European houses to look like, like those old houses in the films. It looks like Europe on this side. When it feels like Europe I feel freer. It is more tidy and clean and it gives me a feeling of being in Europe. I feel free. Everything here is more tied to nature.

A: What do you think about the time tempo in Berlin? Is it a calm city or a city in rush?

B: For example, I do not know if it would be correct to compare. Can I compare it to Istanbul?

A: Of course, there is no correct or wrong answer. You can compare.

B: As someone who came from Istanbul, Germany is a dead country for me. Time-wise. It is so boring. Maybe because I don't have a job and I migrated in midst of a pandemic. Many places in Europe are. Istanbul is a city that is awake 24/7. Maybe you have gone to Istanbul. Have you been there?

A: I already lived in Istanbul for years.

B: Then you know. I am a fan of Istanbul. I studied at the university in Izmir, but I wanted to study at Istanbul University. However, for some reason, I went to Izmir. As soon as I graduated, I threw myself into Istanbul. I lived and enjoyed my life in Istanbul. If there was a chance for me to live in Istanbul I would never leave. Although, I can say the rest of Turkey maybe is very similar to Europe. But Istanbul is 24/7 open. You can always be outside. If you compare other small cities in Turkey, yes, there is no difference to Europe and Germany. But I can say that Berlin is one of the most vibrant cities in Germany, in Europe. I did not have the opportunity to travel all over Europe. So I was able to go to Strasbourg, and Cologne or to Stuttgart. After a certain hour, even if it is a big city, life slows down here in Europe. But life does not slow down so much in Berlin. People on weekdays, Germans, for example, stick to their life order. Here you can not be loud after 10 pm. But Berlin is more international. I assume in so many places - in like eastern culture... people value time in different ways. I hang out until 3 in the morning sometimes with my friends in Turkey, I can not do the same here. I also came here exactly a bit before Corona started. So I have not seen much, except in Summer when there were more places open. That was actually the time I saw life in Germany. Summer was much more vivid. Everyone was up until very late at night. Especially in central places. So I can say that Berlin is a very fast and vivid city but not like Istanbul.

B: To people coming from Turkey, I usually describe it as little Istanbul. Then I tell them that there are logical reasons to come here to Berlin or Germany. Life is cheap, it is not that expensive compare to other European cities... But then finding a job might be challenging for immigrants and your income is also not that high. You know when I recommend Berlin... I would also say something depending on the age of the person. For example, if he is a young person, I can more likely recommend Berlin. But for example, if it is a middle-aged or an elderly person, Berlin is too active for them and maybe it would be hard for them to deal with the diversity of the people here. Apart from that, Berlin is cosmopolitan. The person shouldn't mind living in a place that is so diverse ...he shouldn't be racist here. He can not be. Everyone lives with each other here. Then, he can enjoy life here. This place is so mixed, that every nation can

live together... it is beautiful... My friends who are living in other places are tired of seeing Germans morning and night.

A: I see... For example, to that person that is moving there... Considering the city life, what would you recommend him to do? Where should he go and what should he see when he comes to Berlin?

B: About the city... One needs to know the history of Berlin well. Maybe it does not matter much in the current social structure, but still, it is good to know the history here. For example, the Berlin Wall was one of the first places I visited. Because to me, it is good to know the past of the place and I think it is necessary to feel it when you are living there... Go to the wall, learn the history of the wall, what happened before the wall fell .. Can you believe that there was a wall passing through the middle of a city, it is very stupid. People used to be separate from their relatives and loved ones. There are a lot of children who wanted to jump over the wall and they died. That's why you need to know the history of the city. There are many historical museums, I know that there are almost 300 museums in Berlin, maybe more than 300. Besides the history of Berlin, Berlin is a cosmopolitan city and it is very international So you should use this chance to see different cultures too... and this starts with their cuisine. Actually, I am not into new foods. I am very open-minded but when it comes to food...I like Turkish food but you know I like to sometimes try the cuisines of different countries. And here are all kinds of things. I would recommend him to try the food from different communities here. There is also Indian cuisine, Central Asian and Middle Eastern, from Afghanistan and Pakistan. I think one should try all of them as much as possible. Besides, he should stay in touch with nature. The surroundings of Berlin are really green... Maybe it is like that everywhere in Europe, I don't know, but... The lakes and forests here are beautiful... You need to get a little bit of nature. I think the calmness that you reach in nature is really nice. I can recommend these kinds of things.

A: How long have you been living in Berlin?

B: It is almost one year and a half now.

A: Well, I would like to ask you about it... After living there for a while, for example, did you have any new information about the people living there? Have you learned something new about the city, about life there?

B: I just learned how to be sensitive to recycle and that people really care about it and if you don't do it you get judged for it. I did not know all the details of how to recycle but I am happy that I know now. It is also a rule of Berlin, generally a rule of Germany or European cities. But these are my experiences in Berlin. The first was this garbage rule. I did not think of it in the beginning. Actually, there is something besides that. I experienced that people really trust my statements. Everything I tell them, even if it was an official institution, they do not want official proof from me. Generally, the state trusts people here. Usually later if what you said turns out to be false and you will get in trouble and they won't be easy on you. But I like that my words are trusted in the beginning. It's not like that in Turkey. You should carry your ID card so they can always check your name. And all the other papers on any official occasion should be with you. Here whenever I want to show a document in the offices, they are like "fine, fine, no need"... There is a trust in people's words here. I noticed that about life. Besides, it is a place that has serious bureaucracy and requires patience. Everything is going very slowly. In Turkey, we used to solve paper works and problems far faster and deal with them. But here no one is in hurry. Everything goes very slowly, but they do their job more calmly and confidently at that speed. So they do not do it fast and maybe it ends up with more quality. I noticed this kind of things. And besides that, people have respect here for each other and are generally calmer than in Turkey.... I haven't seen a street fight either... In Turkey I've seen many fights behind traffic lamps, but here I have seen only a few physical attacks.

A: Since you mentioned that paperwork takes so much time in Germany, do you have a memory of a specific situation?

B: I mean... They are very serious about their appointments. If you miss their appointment, they can keep you waiting for hours. When I first arrived, you know, while applying for asylum and going through the first procedures... I used to just go and say "this is me". They didn't know whether they should believe me and the reasons for my asylum ... There is an institution called

BAMF. Back in the days, I was always there....it is for refugees .. or an institution that deals with migration issues, not only refugees. I spent hours there... I spent whole days there. In other words, it is not an institution that citizens normally go to, but an institution that refugees definitely know. There they get the experience of waiting from morning till night. Besides, for example, in very urgent situations like when I found a house here, I needed to ask permission from the official institution there and update them. I had to contact them. I immediately wrote a letter and send it to them. I was so much in hurry but then I can understand that guy with his ordinary job wasn't in rush for me. He's wasn't even aware of my rush...

A: Okay. Also, is there an application you use on your mobile phone for the city since you arrived in Germany? It can be for photos...online groups, applications, or anything.

B: There is a very common neighborhood application here called NEBENAN. In this app, people from the same location write about themselves, about what they are doing, and their problems. I check this app sometimes to get to know the people and how they are like. I have never posted anything. My German is not that good yet but I observe people. I mainly only look, I just observe what people are doing, how they live here. I just read how the relationship between people here isI try to look at it. Because I will live here from now on and I want to know what might cause problems for others in the neighborhood. I was very surprised actually. You know, you believe that because of modern society and all the bad things that people can actually do to each other no one trusts one another anymore. But here there is trust between people. They give their own belongings to each other. Like if someone needs something they write it there and then someone offers them to go and borrow it from them. They give household items to each other. There are such things in that application. Apart from that... I joined a few groups on Telegram recently and each is for different matters. I joined one that is for refugees helping each other with paperwork and information regarding any aid. I don't remember exactly. Actually, I am at the beginning of my language level now. It seems that as the language level increases, I am beginning to better adapt here. As of now, I am trying to follow through with these few applications.

A: What could have happened if you did not have access to these apps and groups?

B: Maybe not much would have changed at this stage. I do not ask for help myself much. On the contrary, when the first Corona wave came last year, I registered myself there to help others. Well... I did not even know much German at that time, I still do not know it well... And I first wrote my messages in Turkish and translated them into German via Google Translate. I said, I am from Turkey and I ... used to be a lawyer. During Corona, there are too many people who are old and alone at home ... So I wrote "if you can't do grocery shopping, or you are somehow disabled or maybe you can't go out for any other reason I can help with shopping". I wanted to help this kind of people. I also said that I don't speak German and that my English is weak, but that I can help you... anyway. I wasn't supposed to do anything complicated. What should go wrong, I would get a grocery list and buy the things on the list even if I need to translate using google translate... and then I bring them the groceries. It did not involve so much language all in all. I did something like that... People thanked me a lot here. I wanted people to know that we help here. Turks are often subject to racism. We are not monsters, we are not animals. I have a certain mindset for myself. I want people to know people like me and how we are. As I said, I haven't asked for help much myself, until now. On the contrary, I did try to help. For example, I have celebrated their holidays or something like that here. I am starting some conversations. It helps me to take tiny steps into communicating with others. Sometimes internet in general helps me to be more confident. I do not like it when I do not know what is waiting for me. So I sometimes search about different topics and places on the internet and read about other people's experiences for example in different offices. Then I know what is waiting for me.

A: I see ... There are many writings written on the walls in the city. It can be Turkish, or it can be German. What do you think about these texts? Did they catch your attention?

B: Yes, I did. Berlin is actually like a city for protest. Here, every day you see protests, somehow... like people are expressing themselves. They can protest for anything...I feel it everywhere. Sometimes, the protest is about a stupid topic, but the fact that everyone can be angry and go to the streets even for that stupid topic, is good, isn't it? Some actions seem strange to me and people protest for strange topics like being against vaccination, but I think this is freedom of expression and it is important and nice to let everyone express their opinion.

Especially, for example, in very radical discourses... They often hang different flags on the balcony of their houses. Like, some people hang an LGBT flag, and no one says anything to them. Like, they can express themselves freely there even if it's on their balcony haha. Besides, of course, I don't like it when they use their freedom to make racist speeches and write racist things. I hate that and it makes me angry, but apart from the racist stuff - I see sometimes writings from the far-right people - in general when I am walking, and see writings on the walls even though I did not write the things, it gives me a feeling that people are expressing themselves. I feel free, you know.

A: Do you go online while you're out? Is your phone turned on at work or while being outside in the city? If yes, what do you do online outside in the city?

B: Got it. I have used the public internet in cities and subways very rarely / a few times. Generally, I use my own phone. What am I going online for? I coordinate a volunteer project. That project has a social media page etc. I often deal with them. Apart from that, many people call me to ask about legal issues due to my profession. I help them. I'm trying to help out when someone has texted or called me among my friends. Besides, I don't want to do nothing on the road, it bores me... When I am on the subway, for example, I am always reading or watching something on my phone, a column, or listening to music on Youtube. So, I go online for this kind of thing. To fill my times when I am on the way to somewhere.

A: I got it. I have another question. Do you think people have a dress code in Berlin? Is there any object that you think people in Berlin carry /wear a lot?

B: So now it's like this. Since there are people of all nationalities, there are many different styles of clothing. You can't define it exactly. It is common that everyone feels free I guess. But, I can sometimes tell the difference between ethnicities from their clothes: Germans might dress like this, Turks might dress like that, Arabs... etc. For example, in different countries, they tie their headscarves differently. When I see a Turkish person, I can guess from how she ties her headscarf that she is a Turk.

A: Well, I got it. Also, did anything bother you in the streets?

B: A lot... The trains are never on time. When you are in Turkey they always talk about how Germans are always on time and Turks are not. I never remember waiting for the metro in Istanbul for one hour. Here, the metro or the train has often delays and that is so annoying. I am not used to this. Also, I can see how everyone is so calm and is just waiting in the train station. But, how can you wait so much for a train? I sometimes give up. If it is not that far, I also walk instead of using public transportation. Or, for example, in Turkey, in Istanbul, you know maybe the Eminönü Egyptian Spice Bazaar... have you ever been there?

A: Yes, yes. I know it.

B: There are a lot of stands with spices and nuts, on both sides left and right. On the upper side of the Spice Bazaar towards Sulaymaniyah, there is a place called Mercan Slope. There is a place called Kizilca Han. There is a place called Büyük Valide Han... there.... I mean, when you want to buy something specific, you go to the big bazaar in Istanbul, and it already has everything of every kind. If you want to buy a diamond, you can go to the grand bazaar and see all kinds of things there. Or for souvenirs, you can go to Beyazıt for example. There is nothing like that in Germany. Shops are spread in streets, avenues like that... we have that in Turkey too, but if someone wants to have many options of one thing to make a better decision they go to the bazaars. .. How can I say it? If you want to buy something for the house, you don't have many options to choose between different products and to find the cheapest and best quality product. The shopping mentality is very different. This is something I will never get used to. There are bazaars in Turkey. It is like that in many places in the Middle East... There is a trade tradition from ancient times, so there are trade centers in certain places, places we call the bazaars. There is none here, it annoys me very much. When I go somewhere I want to see many different options of one kind. I get nervous about it in the streets.... Apart from that, I can add one more thing. What could it be... In some places, but not everywhere I could not get used to the house structures and architecture here. Because I'm more used to buildings in Turkey.

A: Hmm, I got it. There is also a lot of construction in the city or mendings on the streets.

B: Yes yes... Since I don't have a car now, maybe it doesn't bother me so much. While walking it is annoying sometimes because the streets are narrower and the pavements too... Sometimes I get in the car of my friends who have a car. It is unbelievable how much mending is going on at the same time... there is constant roadwork everywhere and it never ends. Some of my friends that have been living here told me that they are knowingly doing it like this... Sometimes to limit the protests even... But of course, I don't know. I have no proof. But there is a lot of roadworks everywhere. They finish constructions too late. Excavates in Turkey are done in one day. I said it in the beginning. They are very calm, they are in no hurry and I think they are doing the work more solid.

A: We are getting closer to the end. I know made you tired... What is home for you? How would you define the concept of home? What is the house?

B: What is a home... a home... means a lot to me... it is a place for personal and private space. It is where I can be who I am and it is filled with my materials of comfort. I am currently staying in a refugee camp so it is really hard to feel like that here... I think one of the first conditions for me to feel that I belong to Berlin is to have my own space... home. It's not just a place where you sleep in the evening and wake up in the morning. You collect memories there, you chat with your friends, you work there and spend time on it. When you build a home you don't build it from scratch, you only need to put an effort and time into making it better to feel it is your home. For example, I painted 2 rooms of the house I just found..when you put an effort into something that makes you feel like home. Getting tired for shaping a place makes people feel valuable and makes the place valuable. And you built something from the beginning just to yourself. Of course, I did not build the house from scratch, but you create your own order in the house. It also gives you a psychological strength that you have your life in order. It feels good. In all terms, anything is better than a refugee camp.

A: hmm .. I see... You are at the camp now? Will you move out?

B: I am at the camp. My stuff is coming. I will be moving out of the camp in about a week or 10 days.

A: I wanted to ask you what are the places in the city that make you feel like home? Your favorite places? Where do you feel comfortable?

B: There is a place called (Strut Bitte (?)) in the center of Berlin. Quite old German architecture and historical places... it makes me feel good there. I can't say exactly what it makes me feel... but it makes me feel like I am in Europe, it makes me feel free. When I am intertwined with the German History and German backgrounds of this place, I feel okay about being here, I am in Germany. I feel a belonging to this place. Or at least I want to belong. I have the opportunity to think, I say I'm here now. I don't want to deal with Turks except for Turkish Cuisine. That's why when I see things about Germany and German culture, I feel like I'm here, it is all good, I am going to have a good future.

A: Are there places in the city you don't like or feel safe in?

B: Of course there are. For example, I don't trust where there are many Turks. Maybe you will laugh at me or judge me. You will say, does a person hate his own people so much? Unfortunately, it is happening.

A: No, I do not judge you at all. I want to just learn in what way those places in the city make you feel uncomfortable. Would you like to share it?

B: First of all, this place is political. I don't want to discuss my political background in any way. The people that did not have my experience with politics in Turkey will not understand it. I don't think they understand anything at all. Of course, I cannot generalize it but those who I came across were like this. I have some friends from Turkey here and we are good. But there are Turks that haven't even lived in Turkey once and just visit for holidays. I just don't want to be around them. I don't want to live in Turkish neighborhoods. Anyway... Apart from politics, there is no understanding of private life for them, they see you one time and they ask you so many

questions... They have too much curiosity. They ask me constantly "oh, why did you come here?", "Are you here to stay?", "What do you do?". I do not interfere in people's lives and I don't want them to interfere in my life. Normally, I am a very social person. I am not someone who does not want to deal with people, but I don't want to deal with Turks on that issue, I do not like to talk about the topics they are interested in like politics, election, and why I left the country. Besides that, there are some Germans who I guess are homeless and look like they are on drugs or drunk all the time. We have homeless or people that use drugs in Turkey too, but it looks different here to me and I feel scared even though they probably won't harm me. However, I can't understand German well enough, so I feel extra cautious at nights. Of course, they can do whatever they want freely, but I don't feel safe in these places.

A: Okey, did you have an image in your mind before moving to this city? Was it the same as what you expected?

B: I had an image, of course, I had lawyer friends here. I asked them. Before I even thought about moving to Europe, I have met many people from Berlin, Belgium, Holland, England, and many other places, and from their words, I felt Berlin is the place for me. The image they gave me did not change for me, because what I listened to was generally correct. Here I can find anything of my Turkish culture. It is a very complex city - in terms of human structure - and it's a city that I won't feel very foreign in. For example, if I were in other cities in Germany, though I do not have experience with any other city, I would feel more foreign compared to Berlin.

A: Well, I see... You said you can find anything regarding Turkish culture there. What are the things that you mean and would anything change about Berlin for you without them?

B: It depends. Having them gives me a lot of comforts, especially in terms of the cooking and Turkish kitchen. I love food. I like to eat. I don't even feel sorry for the money I spend on food. Here is what I say. It is nice to be able to reach the taste of your country here - everywhere and always accessible. Not only Turks eat Turkish food here. Like to me, it's Turkish, but to anyone here, it is just any food. They are used to see it and smell it. All the cultures have their food cultures here and I like that. It made everyone feel so visible and counted. Although there are so

many things here regarding Turkish food, I can't get what I want sometimes, like a spice we have back home... that pisses me off. If there were no Turkish grocery stores, I would feel even worse.

A: My last question. How can you imagine the future in Berlin or your own future in this city? How will the future look like in Berlin for you?

B: We are currently trying to establish a business in Berlin with a friend. Our job is not a job affiliated with Berlin, but an online business. For example, my circle is slowly growing here, and I am more and more connected with people. I am networking. If I have my circle of connection here, I wouldn't think of leaving to any other city. But if the circumstances require other things, it doesn't really matter. After all, if I do not make friends and connections here I can go somewhere else.... the city is no longer important in a situation where I have been forced out of my own country. I feel I can have a future in Berlin for work and also find my own new family here, if I feel like it. Yes, I am never again leaving Berlin. If I can easily handle all my work here, and people trust me and I feel like trusting people... Because this is what I care about. I think saving people in life is more important than saving money. Well... I think that the people you know and trust in life will bring you more than money. If I feel it here, I think I will build a future here.

A: I hope it will be exactly as you wish.

Appendix seven: Coding and finding themes

The themes chart

Three themes, seven categories and 17 sub categories:

Theme	Category	Subcategory	Description
Imagined Berlin	Being a cosmopolitan person	Conviviality in Berlin	Different communities with different cultures finding a mutual place to live despite differences.(Peri, Derya, Mavi,

			Reha,Serkan). The city accepts you as you are. (Özgür)
		Comparison to Istanbul	A constant comparison between different life styles or city structures in Berlin and istanbul. (Serkan, Ruya, Derya, Reha). Referring to themselves as those who know the two cities very well. (Özgür, Reha, Peri, Derya).
	Imagining city through digital media	Online groups	In absence of access to an offline community for language and confidence reasons, reha, Pari, Yağmur and Özgür reached the online community. Online community as more accepting (Derya). Online community as alternative way to imagine community. Closeness with online community does not speak for the close relationship with offline community for the informants (serkan, Derya)
		Instagram and instant photo	Instagram as a way of showing the connections in Turkey that they are a healthy happy immigrant (Ruya, Peri, derya, reha). Instagram as a way of showing the city the way they see it and want it to be shown (Ruya). Photo as an evidence to memory and motivation to connect to city (Derya)
	Characteristic of Berlin	A chaotic city	Calling Berlin with colors as Green or Gray or both. (Peri, Reha). Berlin as being

			dirty and polluted.(Peri, Derya, Yağmur,Reha, Ruya) Berlin is a city that is noisy, it has traffic and it is always moving (Serkan, Reha, Ruya, peri and Özgür).
		Berlin as rebellious and free city	Berlin is a city of protest and freedom. (Serkan, Peri,Mavi).comfortable clothing that resembles freedom for Mavi, Pari, Derya and Yağmur. Texts and posters on the walls give a sense of freedom to Serkan, Peri, Mavi and Derya.
		Future of the city	Informants had a certain imagination regarding their futures in this city. None of them think they would leave Berlin. Reha, Ruya, Derya and Peri were worried about the future of the city because of racism and attacks on the community spaces in Germany.
Everyday life	Unequal experience of time and place	Mobility and immobility	Feeling not welcomed and comfortable in the upper class neighborhood that the majority of German people live in. (Derya, Reha).”I will never go back there” Derya. Feeling that they have been in more places in Berlin compared to Germans.(Ruya, Yağmur, mavi Reha) informants believe there are certain places in the city that Germans are afraid to go to and they ask them about it. That gives them a feeling of knowing the city better

			<p>than many(Reha,Ruya, Özgür, peri). In time of covid 19 while walking gained much importance for them they started to go to places in the city that they would never go to, like the cemetery. (Peri, Reha) walking in itself was an important part of getting to know the city. (Ruya, Yağmur, Mavi). Being independent from Digital maps play a significant role in being confident to identify themselves from a place. (Peri, Derya)</p>
		<p>Waitings and Boredom</p>	<p>Most informants have experience with waiting months/days or hours for certain everyday life procedures. (Peri, Ruya, Derya, Özgür, Serkan) Boredom for them has financial consequences. (Özgür). They are dependent on public transportation and public transportation isn't punctual at timing. (Derya, Özgür) They believe time and culture are related so they needed to spend some time in Germany to understand the time culture.(Serkan, Ruya, Özgür) Building up a routine needs a great effort from them. (Serkan, Derya, Özgür)</p>
		<p>Housing crisis</p>	<p>Not finding housing based on discrimination or because of holding a refugee status or financial instability. (Serkan, Peri, Derya, Özgür, Mavi)Living</p>

			far from the center and spending hours on the way.(Ruya, Reha) wanting to move out of so called labeled as immigration neighborhoods because of dirtiness or safety reason but they can not find housing in cleaner neighborhood that is labeled as for higher classes(Serkan, Reha, Peri).
	Strategies and tactics	Mobility of goods	The goods and materials that are in most cases imported from Turkey to Germany or produced under similar brand names in Germany resemble a symbolic presence for Turks. (Derya, peri, serkan, Ruya) it carries an importance even if it is the aspects of it just food and products related to the food culture of Turkey. Therefore the Turkish Markets help them to feel more visible. (Ruya, Derya)
		Imagined mobilities	The Turkish signs, graphics, pictures and style of ethnic places that are associated with Turks has so much to do with how things looked like for them in Turkey, Istanbul (Serkan, reha, Özgür, Yağmur) These are ideas and styles that get copy paste from a different city to Berlin Besides the ideas mobilities the informants remember different part of istanbul by encountering different aspects of Turkish culture in Berlin which can

			take them back to a memory. That is another level of imagined mobility(Ruya, Derya).
		Adjusting the city infrastructure and turning it to home	Shops and restaurants in combination to mobility of goods and ideas with use of graphics, pictures, smell and sounds plays a role in changing the ambiance of the city for Turkish immigrants. (Mavi, Ruya, Reha) Balconies and windows are used as a display for ideas of the residents to hang different flags or statements on them that give a rebellious vibe. (Derya, Ruya, Serkan.) use of online apps to find their way in immobile situation.(Derya, Mavi) Using online apps to learn language and translate city on google map while being present in the same space. (Serkan, Mavi, Reha)
Becoming and unbecoming	Belonging	Negotiating borders	They are trying to Negotiate what it means to be European, Turk and Muslim. (Özgür, Mavi, Peri) introducing their culture often to Germans and involving them (Ruya, Derya, Serkan)
		Building block of identity.	They focus on similarity with the new place of living. (Derya, Özgür,...) with positive stories of Berlin they emphasize their similarities with the place and previous experience.(Ruya, Peri)

		The meaning of Home	Their definition of home is focused on two things: their connections and friends (Derya, Serkan, Ruya, Reha, Özgür,..) and their effort into building that place and designing it (Ruya, Serkan, derya, Peri, Derya).
	Socialities	Media and Online community	Online groups on Facebook or other apps meet their daily needs and a place to share advice to each other. (Derya, Ruya, Peri). A place for observations about what it matters in this city. (Serkan, Özgür) Gaining confidence and experience through online platforms as in understanding jokes related to Berlin. (Ruya, Peri, Mavi). Sharing gives thema motivation in moving around (Derya, Ruya).
		Anti socialities	For different reasons they do not want to be close to Turkish community or they did not have much choice in it. Reasons such political reasons (Serkan, Derya, Yağmur, Reha) or having more private life and privacy. (Ruya, Peri, Özgür) Besides that older Turkish community often Lives in immigrants neighborhood that are associated with less safety (Peri).

Reflection and summary:

After transcribing the audio of each interview, I spent some time reading each interview and I printed them all. Then I started the open coding process. On each interview I started marking the open codes with color. I coded both deductively and inductively (Seale, 2018:368). I used similar color for things that were similar in my mind in open coding. After coloring all the interviews, I read them again and named the colors over what I used it for. So I did start my coding with not much assumptions and I was looking forward to whatever emerges which makes it an inductive coding. Then I had 1400 analytical codes in total from all the interviews. I did the coding manually without using softwares like envivo. While it was very time consuming but I got to have a better overlook of my material. So after open coding on actual paper, I designed a chart for code book of each interview and then in each code scheme I found the analytical codes. After each coding of interview I would count the raws to see the analytical codes. In analytical coding and finding theme I approached the coding deductively in relation to my literature review work and research question and aims. Finding themes was the hardest part for me. I wrote the analytical codes on paper, throw away the repetitive ones, placed them in corner of my room and moved them around until it made sense. To see it more clear and making it representable I put all the analytical codes as online stickers in the application called “Miro” to make a mind map for finding themes. This was helpful and eventually figured out the themes and categories. My final coding schemes and themes charts was shown to my supervisor for inter-code reliability (Cornish, 2014:81).

Open coding example:

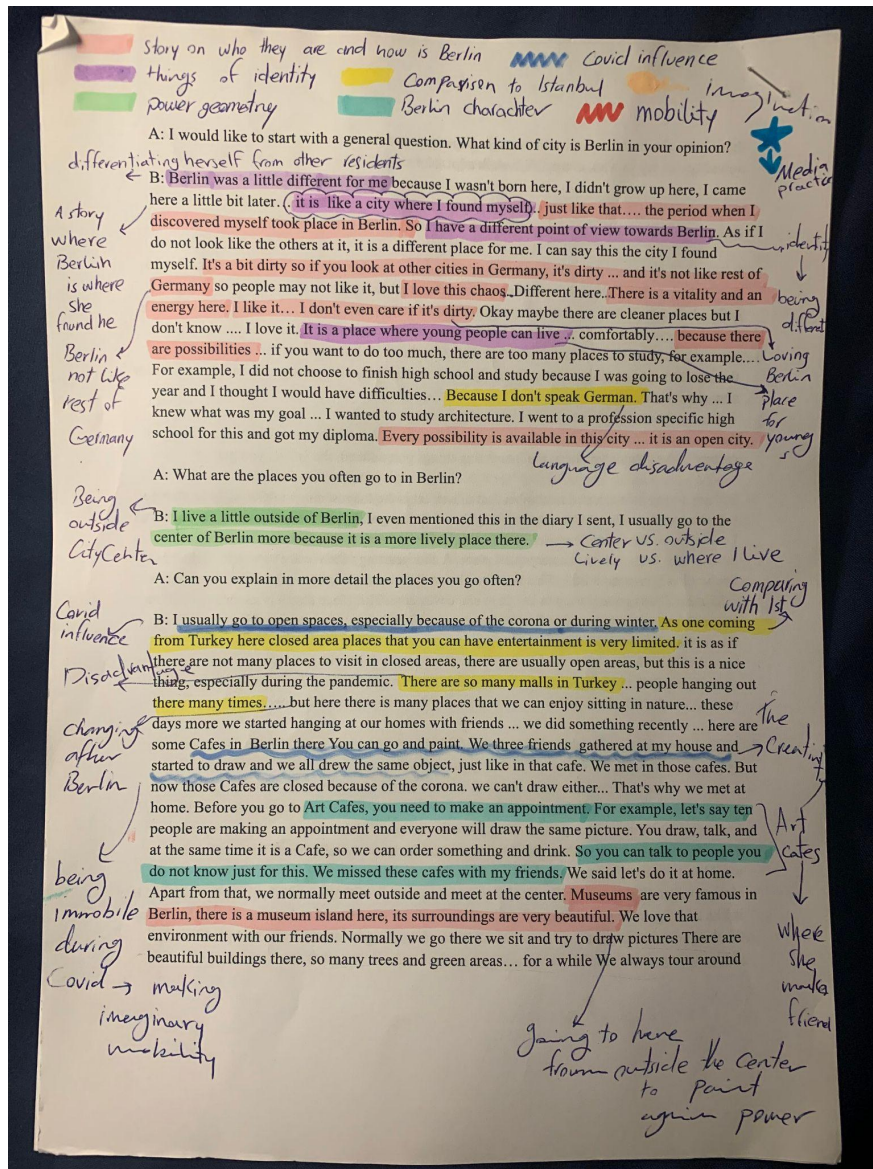


Figure six → First page of interview with Ruya

Example of coding scheme of each informants' interview:

Derya's Coding book ☆ ↗ ↻

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Open code	Description	Analytical code	Possible theme allocation?
Not being a foreigner in Berlin	"I feel much more comfortable as a foreigner here compare to other European countries or in other cities of Germany. this city is a city where I do not feel like a foreigner."	Becoming a Berliner	On identity
Berlin being different than rest of the Europe	"When I first came to Berlin, I was going to live for the first time in Europe. I always dream of sweet little houses, a quiet neighborhood ... but Berlin is not such a city at all."	Berlin being trans-national	On place and translocality
Corona making impact on relationship between person and place	"Things corona made me do...I walked often in that cemetery you know. And maybe even sit there to read. One time i checked the grave stozes Of everyone and read their name."	Immobility of informants and creating alternative mobilities	Mobility dimension
Berlin not being as in rush as Istanbul	"Berlin is actually a much quieter and slower city for me, compared to my life in Istanbul. It is fast and in rush city for some here and for european standards, but it is not for me, it is very slow compared to Istaubul."	Comparison between Istanbul and Berlin	onidentity
Getting to know the ways	I learned the ways actually, Berlin is very big. When I first came, I said I would never be able to solve this place. It seemed very simple to me in Istanbul, probably because I got used to it. this complicated map with all	Making routines	On everyday life
Not needing a Google map	I can find places without using Google maps. I want to visit a place for example, I want to travel by bicycle. I have learned where it is more comfortable and	Becoming A Berliner, A local	Identity work

Figure seven → the first page of analytical coding chart of interview with Derya

The digital mind map:

Here I was on my way to yet figure out categories and themes. I deleted the similar analytical codes and I also deleted the open codes/ analytical that did not serve the topic of study since the limited time and words would not let me to cover everything in depth.

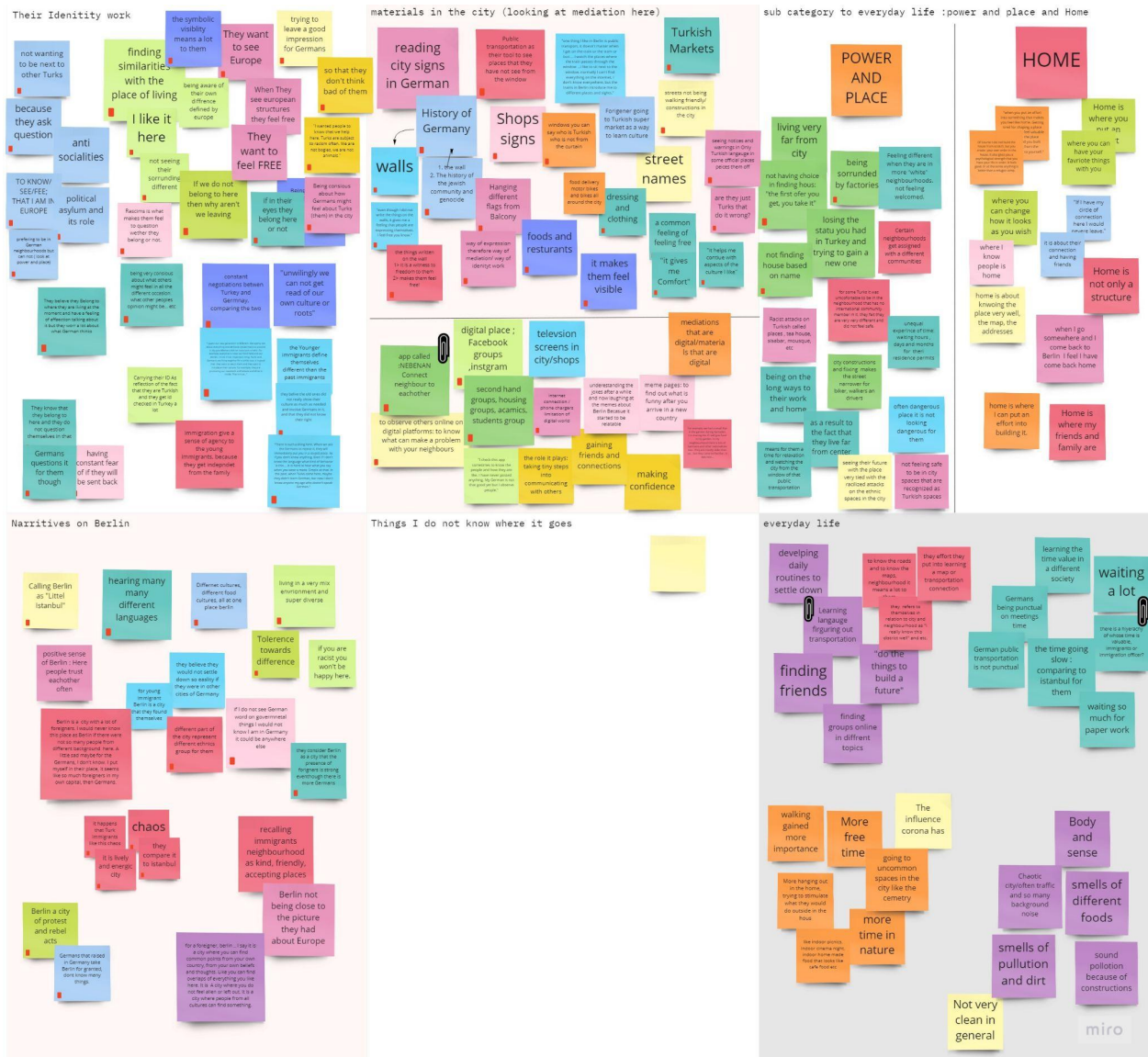


Figure seven → this is a screen shot from the application called Miro and my account in it.

Appendix eight: A photo album about Berlin



All pictures are taken by me during my autoethnography
First picture in first row: A picture of Turkish sweet shop in Wedding Berlin



First picture from left in second row: A name of a victim of hanau shooting was stuck on the name of a street in wedding.



Second picture from left in second row: A picture of victim of Hanau shooting sticking on electric box in Wedding



Third row: A woman with her shopping wheel sitting



First picture, First row:
 "Hunt nazist" on a wall in Kreuzberg

First picture from left ,
 second row: Özgür super
 market shop sign. Özgür
 means free.

Second picture from left,
 second row: A pavement
 in wedding that was
 narrowed with
 construction

First picture form left,
 Third row:
 Random, Wedding
 Second picture from left,
 Third row, Random,
 Wedding





First picture, first row: Random, An office sign in Turkish in Wedding area. A Turkish Teyze (Aunt) is passing by.

First picture from left, second row: Turkish foods picture and Name on the entrance of restaurant

Second picture from left, Second row: "Smash Borders" a text written on wall in Kreuzberg

Third picture from left, second row: Lokma is a Turkish sweet common in Izmir but widely sold in all over Turkey.





First picture, First row: # Women rise up for Afrin Neukölln



First picture from left, second row: Hala meat Market, Wedding



Second picture from left, second row: people hanging statements like flags from their windows, Kreuzberg



Third row: Turkish food pictures printed on restaurant entrance



First picture first row: “Kein Mensch ist illegal : No human is illegal” on a wall in Wedding

First picture from left, second row: A shopping bag/ wheel, Wedding

Second picture from left, second row: A door in Neukölln





Turkish flags hang from a balcony in Wedding



My reflection in the city



The end.