UNDERSTANDING INTERSECTED PLACES OF MIGRANT YOUTHS IN URBAN CONTEXT FROM SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

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ÖZ

Bu araştırma, ağırlıklı olarak genç göçmenlerin gündelik yaşamlarında hayati olan mekanların önemini sosyolojik açıdan kesişimsel bir yaklaşımla incelemektedir. Bu grup, hem çocukluktan yetişkinliğe geçiş sürecinde olmaları, hem de bulundukları ülkenin rutinindeki değişimler nedeniyle diğer göçmen gruplarından farklıdır. Teorik bir tartışma olan bu makale, kentsel mekânın iç içe geçmiş alanlarını inceleyerek bu grubun göç deneyimlerine mekânsal bir perspektiften bakmaktadır. Göç çalışmalarında göz ardı edilen tüm boyutları kapsamak ve gençlik deneyimlerini daha iyi anlamak için genç göçmen kimliği, temel olarak kesişen dört farklı yer olan eğitim (eğitim merkezleri veya üniversiteler), ev, işyeri ve sokak/kamusal alan odaklanarak incelenecektir. Bu mekanlarda girdikleri etkileşimler bugünkü deneyimlerini anlamak için önemlidir fakat onların farklı mekanlardaki deneyimleri farklı toplumsal pozisyonlarla birleşerek değişken ve geçişli konumsallıklar üretir. Sonuç olarak bu çalışma, diğer araştırmalardan farklı olarak, birçok lokasyonun birbirine bağlı dinamiklerini inceleyerek, genç göçmenlerin deneyimlerini bütüncül bir bakış açısıyla anlamaya yardımcı olmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göç, Gençlik, Sosyoloji, Coğrafya, Mekân

KENTSEL BAĞLAMDA GÖÇMEN GENÇLERİN MEKANLARINI KESİŞİMSEL YAKLAŞIMLAŞIMLA SOSYOLOJİK AÇIDAN ANLAMAK

ABSTRACT

This research mainly examines the importance of the intersected places that are crucial in the daily life of young migrants from a sociological perspective. This group is different from other migrant groups because they are both in transition from childhood to adulthood and the changes in the routine of the host country. As a theoretical discussion, this paper examines intertwined places in their daily life and looks at their migration experiences by adding a spatiality perspective. To cover all dimensions and understand better youth experiences, which are underestimated in migration studies, youth migrant identity will be examined by focusing mainly on four different intersected places that are education (training centers or universities), home, workplace, and street/ public space. Their encounters there and their various experiences of them by combining with their backgrounds produce translocational positionalities in their everyday life. As a result, different from other researches, by examining the interconnected dynamics of many locations, this study helps to comprehend the experiences of young migrants from a holistic viewpoint.

Keywords: Migration, Youth, Sociology, Geography, Space.

INTRODUCTION

Immigrants bring a unique combination of cultural characteristics, as well as a specific socioeconomic and legal position, to a new location. The kind of experience individuals are going to have in the new country depends on their language, religion, and skin tone. How well they integrate into the new society and how much they start to feel like they belong there will depend on whether they are wealthy or poor, legal or not. In the end, it boils down to how well the immigrant feels truly "at home" and how much he or she is able to mold this new home to suit their sensibilities. The attachments of immigrants to place are becoming increasingly complex in this new world, as advancements in communication, transportation, and occasionally political systems have allowed for even greater degrees of movement (Kaplan - Chacko, 2015, 129).

Cities become more complex as both natives and immigrants participate in them, for both groups. Young migrants are most affected by this complexity, though, as they are not only undergoing migration but also the transition from childhood to adulthood. Understanding cultural adaptability, the potential for new identities, and their strategies for navigating daily life in terms of language, education, job, and other areas are all made necessary by these changes. Like the dynamism of cities, migrated groups and identities are dynamic as well, so the practices and experiences of youth are more different from their parents. This is because they do not only struggle with the difficulties of migration, but also, they try to meet the expectations of society adults.

The last researches conducted with youths show that there is an intergenerational gap between old and young migrants and young people are more negotiating their multiple identities (Ahmed, 2009; Dwyer, 1998; Lewis, 2007). These youth migrants are challenged against dominant representations of migrants and they try to produce new meanings in the new society. However, identity construction and negotiation are contextual so they cannot be discussed independently from the place in which negotiation appears.

Despite the fact that numerous studies have shown how young people use various public spaces (such as retail malls, streets, parks, and alleyways) as a means of forming and expressing their own identities (Hörschelmann - Van Blerk, 2012), the paper, will be examined youth migrant experiences by focusing mainly four different intersected places (education (training centers or universities), home, workplace and street/public space) which are dominant in their daily routines at the beginning of the life within the host country. As a result, with a holistic perspective, this research contributes to understanding the experiences of youth migrants by analyzing the intertwined dynamics of different places.

1. TRANSLOCATİONAL POSİTİONALİTY

The question that "Why have identities become so crucial in migration studies?" is answered differently in the literature. The large body of literature argues that studying the identities of immigrants is central to understanding the processes of immigrant incorporation, and host-society and immigrant relations (Nagar, 1997; Nagel, 1994, 1996; Jenkins, 1994; Barth, 1969; Neils Conzen et al., 1992; Gans, 1992; Cornell, 1996; Smith and Taralio, 1993). According to Ehrkamp, "most of this research focuses on ethnicity or ethnic identity as a particular form of social identity to describe and explain differences between immigrant group identities and host societies, or between ethnic minorities and an (ethnic) majority" (2002, 20). The studies that conceptualize ethnic identities as socially and politically constructed in the everyday life interactions of individuals and groups with sociological, anthropological, geographical, and historical perspectives are also very dominant in literature (Neils Conzen et al., 1992; Nagel, 1994; Jenkins, 1994; Gupta and Ferguson, 1993; Nagar, 1997; Bhabha, 1994). In one of these studies, Nagel (1994) argues that with common history and experiences of individuals or groups, ethnic identities are created or re/created. However, most studies about identities mainly handle the issue as a linear process and neglect the impact of a hegemonic group on the identities of subordinate groups. These researches assume that the host society is stable and homogeneous, and out of the processes of immigrants' identity construction. Many researchers see that not only do immigrant groups form their identities in dynamic processes but also the native majority is involved

in constructing and maintaining identities with the relation to immigrant groups (Ehrkamp, 2002; Pulido, 1997; Bbabha, 1994; Hall, 1991). However, according to Ehrkamp, reducing group identity to "being other than" another group is still problematic because this approach creates a binary position as "them" and "us". Being part of one group is opposed to membership in the other group. Seeing this kind of categorization is problematic because of "binary oppositions in which immigrants and host societies become fixed into mutually exclusive homogeneous categories" (2002, 22-24).

However, individuals negotiate their identities in different social locations (Ehrkamp, 2002, 28). This research develops this body of work on youth identity by discussing the possibility of negotiations in different cultural settings, so this part takes us from "identity" to the "space" concepts.

The social creation of locations is tied to identity construction, and social settings not only encourage but also strengthen identity expression. However, neither the act of generating belonging nor the manifestation of identities are exclusive to such shared spaces. Public places are also venues for identity expression, which changes entire neighborhoods. (Ehrkamp, 2002). Anthias broadens this topic by inventing the idea of "translocational" positionality and reformulating the rationale for addressing "identities" outside the bounds of the traditional ethnic groups. It refers to a setting that is shaped by the interaction of several locales related to gender, ethnicity, race, and class, as well as occasionally conflicting impacts. To put it another way, "the idea of translocational positionality tackles concerns of identity in terms of locations that are not stable but are tied to context, meaning, and time, and which thus involve shifts and contradictions. As an intersectional frame, it shifts away from the idea of given 'groups' or 'categories' of gender, ethnicity, and class that then intersect, and instead focuses on social locations and processes that are much broader than those signaled by this." (Anthias, 2008, 5).

In a transnational and what Anthias called "translocational" frame that acknowledges that people have multiple locations, positions, and belongings in a situated and contextual way but avoids fully deconstructing or reifying difference, one important question is how to think of belonging and identity. This query is exceptional for illuminating not only personal decisions but also the intersectional implications of class, gender, race, and ethnicity. Processes including a variety of economic, political, and social interests and endeavors are involved in ethnicity, gender, and class. These could create various, unbalanced, and contradicting social identity and belonging patterns. This is due to the fact that a person may be assigned to a different position in the social hierarchy depending on the saliency of a particular category or hybrid category in terms of context, meaning, and time as well as concerning various regulatory practices of the state, as well as in terms of the individual's own understanding of their social location. In terms of how inequalities, identities, and political strategies are conceptualized and evaluated, the political problems raised here have immediate importance. (2008,14).

Because positionality incorporates a reference to social position (as a collection of effectivities: as consequence) and social positioning, this intersectionality gives the translocational positionality its meaning (as a set of practices, actions, and meanings: as a process). In other words, positionality is the place where agency (social positioning/meaning and practice) and structure (social position/social impacts) converge. We learn the value of context, complexity, and changing across locations through the concept of "location." The term "translocational" refers to the diversity of people's positions in relation to gender, age, race, nationality, class, and racism as they interact with different places and displacements. The lived routines and performances as well as the intersubjective, organizational, and representational conditions for their existence can all be understood in the context of positionality (Anthias, 2002). Being a young immigrant should be treated differently than being a member of other immigrant groups from this standpoint, especially when age is factored in.

2. YOUTH AS A SUBJECT OF STUDY

More than half of the world's children and youth live in cities today, so cities are shaped by their activities. They learn, play, work and contribute to a multitude of ways to the making of places. However, at

the same time young is shaped by the diverse ways in which cities are re/constructed (Hörschelmann - van Blerk, 2012, 2). The transition of each youth is correlated and influenced by social class background, gender, race, and ethnicity. With these variables, the transition of youth cultures/identities is concerned with the distinctive everyday experiences that young people have in different spaces of their lives such as education, leisure, work, public, and homes. Although each different place is established as central to the production and negotiation of the identities of youths, the boundaries are not separated but rather are interrelated. These places where young people face conflict, communication, relation, fun, and/or adventure (Skelton and Valentine, 1998, 194).

Before discussing and theorizing different aspects of youth identity and so everyday life, it should be defined clearly the meaning of youth because historically and contextually it has been transformed.

2.1. DEFİNİTİON

A clear definition of young people is needed to understand who is researched and understood. In the literature, there are diverse understandings of it because conceptions of the youth phase are historically and culturally specific. According to Historian Aries (1962), children were treated as a small version of adults in the Middle Ages, so it was impossible to speak about a child as a category. Just after 15. century child has been represented as an independent individual. With the discovery of childhood, it becomes possible to speak about "adolescence" as a new category as well. According to Gillis (1974), the youth as a middle category between childhood and adulthood is interrelated with the rise of Western modernity. Especially last two centuries have made clear the youth as a category "in-between" childhood and adulthood by defining adult citizenship rights, fostering formal education, and ending child labour (Skelton - Valentine, 1998; Cieslik - Simpson, 2013).

Through the last part of the twentieth-century young people have started to spend more time in education and training and they have had fewer responsibilities in family life and work life. With the extension of the school from thirteen- fourteen years of age to eighteen years old and a majority in higher education until twenty-one years old, young people become dependent on their families or state welfare provisions differently from adults. (Cieslik - Simpson, 2013: 4-5).

However, although in Western societies the definition of youth refers to the period from secondary school to the time when the young person gains employment, in many Southern African societies covers people up to 28 or 30 young (Cieslik - Simpson, 2013). This means that the meaning of the youth changes historically and culturally, so the context is so crucial when the youth is used as a category. From this perspective, defining the ages of youth migrants is a controversial issue when social differences are taken into consideration. However, the UN defines youth as the period between 15 and 24 years of age. This international definition was made during preparations for International Youth Year (1985) and General Assembly (A/36/215/ and resolution 36/28, 1981) (Hörschelmann and van Blerk, 2012: 23). However, Article 1 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child defines the child who up to the age of 18 since under 18 still is seen child legally.

Nonetheless, it should be clarified that since social differences change the meaning and definition of youth contextually, the age range will be able to be more flexible in my research as well. Bourdieu argues that there is no clear border between youth and old age, and there is a complex relationship between social age and biological age. Some young people of the same biological age are considered adults, while others are not seen as adults. According to him, the most important reasons for this distinction are educational processes, employment, and economic conditions (Bourdieu, 1996, 130-134).

2.2. GEOGRAPHİES OF YOUTH CULTURE: ANALYTİCAL NOTES

The construction and uses of cities are influenced by the representations of different groups in the city and the places reflect culturally diverse identities. These two dimensions are both interrelated concepts to

understanding the nature of the urban space.

Cities are the scene of conflict, a feeling of inclusion or exclusion. These processes' dynamic components are several groups. Although all different groups have a claim to the city, adolescents are the most significant group since they are the most dynamic and are changing not just their identities but also their lifestyles. In different cities around the world, "discourses of childhood, youth, and city intersect with wider social and spatial structures that set the material context in which young people grow up, without completely foreclosing opportunities for young people to appropriate urban space and make the city, partially, their own through creative spatial and cultural practices," claim Hörschelmann and van Blerk (2012, 40).

This research will be discussed mainly four different intersected places established as central to the production and negotiation of youth identities. These places are mainly education (training centers or universities), homes, workplaces, and street/ public spaces. Each place is under the effect of different relations which sometimes bring relation, inclusion, negotiation, and fun but sometimes exclusion, conflict, and suffer.

2.2.1. EDUCATİON AND TRAİNİNG

Although training and education have been used interchangeably, training has a more wide-ranging meaning and it refers to preparation for specific tasks or skills to have procedural knowledge and knowing how to do (Cieslik - Simpson, 2013, 71). Many youths need to train for the preparation of employment. Lacking education facilities creates disadvantages in work life. Since the school doesn't just mean getting a diploma, this generation also lacks the abilities to learn the language, integrate into society, and acquire the skills needed in everyday life. Today, young people who are trying to integrate themselves into work-life have difficulties because they are lacking these capabilities, so they try to achieve these skills while they are in work life. At this point, in the first step, it should be addressed that the young people who are trying to articulate the informal sector because of their educational disadvantages. Since this group lacks these capabilities crucial for work-life, training stand at the center of this discussion.

Training is mainly based on the improvement of language skills, the teaching of cultural practices, and having market-oriented specific skills. In addition to the training process of youth in the informal sector vital for working life, it will be looked at the relations between university students. Since universities make simple communication with Native people, university students should be examined clearly. Moreover, since this group is the professionals of society in the close future, their cultural practices, exchanges, identity construction, and meanings world are very critical to understanding a new way of life among youths. In other words, universities are the place of social networks and so cultural capital." Social networks have a broader significance as the means through which social and cultural capital are created and maintained. It is through their social networks that groups of people learn socially acceptable ways of behaving and communicating, acquire understandings of the expectations of others within the group and develop relations of trust and reciprocity with them" (Bowlby et al., 1998, 244). In this sense, the term of "cultural capital" used by Bourdieu to explain the importance of the different variables from the economic system is crucial to understand the relationship between migration, education, and place. Migrants do not only use their existent cultural capital but also, create new forms of cultural capital in their countries of residence. According to Bourdieuan approach, the migrant engages in bargaining activities with institutions (such as professional bodies, and universities) and people (such as employers or managers) about the value of these treasures. In the process of bargaining, the migrants' treasures are often undervalued, as they have limited power over the rules of the game (as cited in Karameşe, 2017, 39-41). Yet, they can also add new skills and treasures to their chests that may not be seen as particularly valuable in the country of immigration but are considered treasures in their country of origin, thus negotiating and benefiting from the differential 'exchange value' of cultural resources, practices, and forms in two national contexts (Bauder, 2003, 699-717).

As a result, universities and training centers are the best places in which the process of exchange value of cultural resources is possible so they should be researched closely.

2.2.2. HOME

Living and growing up in the city brings many experiences to the youth. Housing and neighbourhoods, they live in are the main centres of these experiences despite the differences related to gender, ethnicity, poverty, and so on. The characteristics of housing and neighbourhoods, including social relations, directly affect the practices and perceptions of youths (Hörschelmann - van Blerk, 2012, 86). However, migrant youths are the most affected group by this process because poor networks, economic difficulties, and understanding and adapting to the other culture faced by families, directly create pressures on youths.

To overcome all these problems, they produce tactics in daily life as a natural result of migration. According to Abu-Lughod, when migrants come to the city their first contact with their friends or families (1961) so they settle in the place where their relatives, villages, or ethnic groups have settled before. His approach is best examined with the Network Theory. Network theory explains migrant networks as "sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin" (Massey et al., 1993, 448)

These networks make it easy to find work and adapt to the new society. Many young can find work close to their homes and they re/produce new forms of lifestyles within the cities of the host country. This means that by settling in different parts of the city, they do not only create new relations within the home, which will be discussed in detail later but also, transform the streets with the effect of finding labour close to their homes and so to their ethnic networks. According to Ehrkamp, creating a "home" in the city does not only alter the demographic and social landscape but also the material landscape of the city (2002, 107).

The discussion related to creating a home with the conceptualization of network theory and producing a new material landscape corresponds with another concept "Ghetto" in the literature, crucial for this paper as well. "Ghetto" means an area where people of a certain religion, race, culture, or ethnic root live together (Karimi, 2011, 37). In other words, ghetto refers to segregation and a homogeneous place within a heterogeneous city. In other words, despite the possibility of close interaction, there is also the possibility of exclusion and segregation. All of these mean that ghettoization radically changes the demographic, social, and material landscapes while reducing the interaction of identities. So, housing and neighbourhood are critical to reshaping identities and places and determining the limits of interaction. In this sense, it is needed to look at diversity between districts by considering the effect of ghettos.

After looking at this alteration on the streets of the city regarding dynamics within each place, it should be also focused on domestic relations. At this point, understanding gender roles is vital. Migration inevitably re-designs the roles in the home and gives different responsibilities to women and men youth from their own countries, they left. However, expecting a total transformation in gender roles is not realistic. The study of Weinstein Bever also supports this point of view. She finds that while women's gender roles are re-defined with the effect of migration, both men and women continue to defend traditional gender ideology even if they are younger (2002, 226). As a result, to understand the position of youth migrants in the urban context, it should be examined at which points the transformation is possible and at what points there is a continuity in domestic relations. Furthermore, eating habits, food choices, designing of the home, transformations of cultural values to the young generation, TV channel choices, language preferences, and consumption patterns are the components of the new design in the host country.

To conclude, under the part of home, the issue was examined by focusing on two directions. In the first step, the effect of neighborhood was asked in terms of relationships with the new society and then domestic relations have been integrated into the discussion to clarify how migration transforms gender-based roles.

2.2.3. WORKPLACE

Since finding the first paid job is the most crucial sign of the transition from childhood to adulthood, achieving employment is one of the core problems in the sociology of youth. This is because, the modern organization of employment does not only create diversities and differences in young people's lives but

also it is critical for their wellbeing and their future of them (Cieslik - Simpson, 2013). It makes possible them with two different dimensions. Firstly, even if it is a part-time job, it opens the door for an independent source of income because it means the first step toward independence from the families. Second and more important a paid job is a significant point to creating a new adult identity through creating a relation to the existing society and having distinct tastes, lifestyles, and self-esteem (Bowlby et al., 1998, 229-230).

However, youth researches mainly focus on the formal economy in which youths participated in the production of goods and services. At the same time, young people are also paid for employment which is called the "hidden economy". A hidden economy means an informal economy is not declared legally. Especially in urban to survive, young migrants have no other options (Erdogan, 2017). The most important reason for that is the high unemployment ratio and wide range of informality. Migrants did not create any serious competition for local people and did not cause widespread job losses. The reason is that they accept too low wages and less prestigious work, which native people are not interested in. Nevertheless, such a widespread informality and structure leading to labour exploitation is unsustainable. (Erdoğan, 2017, 10)

For instance, when it is focused on the Turkish- Syrian migration context, according to the report of the International Youth Foundation (2018), almost half of the Syrian young population (48.2 percent) in Istanbul is unemployed. This rate is even higher among Syrian young women. One-third of youth stated that they could not access registered employment opportunities. One out of five unemployed young people stated that they were willing to accept jobs that offered less than a thousand liras per month (about $ 214). Today, youth Syrians participating in the informal sector are paid less than their native peers. They work for paid cash-in-hand, especially in consideration of daily wages. Employers instead of adult Syrians prefer to youth ones to be paid less and to let them work more. Syrian youth work longer with lower salaries, 87.7 percent work more than 48 hours per week, and their daily average working time is between 10 and 12 hours. Approximately three-quarters of the youth work for a year or less. Syrian young people in Istanbul are on average less than the minimum wage (1,492 TL / 319,60 $ against the minimum wage of 1,400 liras) and about 20% less (1,883 TL / 403,29 $) than Turkish citizen in the same period It is located. Syrian young women earn 20 percent less than Syrian young men, and three-quarters receive less than the minimum wage. As a result, in the informal sector, the most disadvantaged group is the youth and among them, women are in the worst position not only in terms of finding a job but also in earning money.

By considering this unequal power relation, it should be tried to understand the relation between native groups and youths in the working places. Through asking about the relation with native workers in terms of unseen hierarchical power relations, extending friendship out of the work, cultural exchange in everyday life, and gender effects, the workplace might be explored with its effects on daily life. Since work is the most important place in which each ordinary person consumes a long time, the relationship between two groups is inevitable.

In addition to the informal and formal sectors, many migrants might be the owner of the workplaces. Today, they are not only working places for youth migrants but also native ones, so these workplaces are meeting places for these two groups. Since workplaces owned by migrants do not only reproduce new relations between natives and migrants within the workplace but also reorganize the streets of the city. This is the core point for both migrants and natives because the place and identity memory of the city is being reconstructed.

To conclude, by considering the critical effect of employment on youth life, two different working places can be explored in the urban daily life of young migrants. The first one is based on the ownership of native people in which migrant youths mainly are articulated to the sector informally. This type of work refers to more power relations against migrants. However, it can still be discussed the everyday relations and cultural exchange between two groups within workplaces. The second type of categorization is related to the ownership of the migrant people. This category is not only crucial to understand within work relations but also is so interesting by redefining the meaning of the streets of the city and recollecting the power relations in it.

2.2.4. STREET/ PUBLİC SPACE

In this part, it will be discussed young people's usage and perceptions of streets and public spaces. It is mainly based on how an ethnically mixed group of people negotiate public space within everyday life. In the migration context, despite the divisions and un/seen borders between the migrants and native-born in terms of main settlement places, in the practices of everyday life, it is seen that they were not divided ethnically and they are always in contact in different parts of public space such as shopping malls, cafes, parks, restaurants, squares of the city. These public spaces are turning into meeting places, so the relationship is inevitable. According to the study of Watt and Stenson (1998), based on "Thamestown", a medium-sized town in the southeast of England, despite the tension and different degree of territorialism between Afro-Caribbean and white youth, there are some similarities in the uses of public space among young people. As this research, in further research, it would be asked about the social and spatial borderlines and to what extent these borders are removed by the effect of relations in meeting places.

At this point, the concept of "street culture" stands at the center because meeting places cannot be understood by eliminating streets. Since the culture is dynamic, shifting, and mutable, the effect of migrant culture and identity on the street culture of the city cannot be independent of this dynamism. According to Bourgois, street culture is "a complex and conflictual web of beliefs, symbols, modes of interaction, values, and ideologies that have emerged in the opposition to exclusion from mainstream society" (As cited in Ilan, 2015, 7).

From this perspective, despite the relations between different groups, the "Street culture" concept goes with the social exclusion because migrants who come to a new society inevitably feel excluded from society with the effect of language barriers, lack of social and cultural capital, and economic disadvantages. Many migrant groups have felt these disadvantages, so this exclusion creates directly new tactics and resistance mechanisms especially by starting from the street. These tactics and resistances are changing according to class, gender, race/ethnicity, age, and various factors so positions are taken according to exclusions felt by these different groups. These different positions bring different usage of streets and new street culture.

Youth under the socialization process is an inevitably crucial part of the public spaces and streets because today street cultures are more produced by them. In other words, they have more relations in outdoor activities than children and/or older generations. In many ways, a street is a third place for youths to express themselves away from exclusion and restrictions. The street has cultural importance by offering young people independency and developing a collective identity (Matthews et al. 2000). Migrant youths directly become part of its through not only resisting many spaces under adult control but also having semi-autonomous interaction with other young people in public.

Leisure activities, cafes and parks, shopping centers, sportive activities, new hybrid music cultures, and graffiti arts can be shown as the crucial spaces and activities in the designing process of the streets of the host country. Nomadic kitchens allow communities that have been displaced or displaced voluntarily to re-settle, hold on to life, develop a sense of belonging to a congregation and come together in a physical environment (Tuncer, 2018). In addition to restaurants and cafes, for example, music groups are remarkable to understand the street culture. As the general trend in the world among the young generation, Hip-pop music was the most popular one. Since this music is a way of expressing identities, according to Göle, it is the expression of their emotions as well. Inequalities are best reflected in the words of Hip-Pop. As an example of the Black-power movement, Hip-pop signs the achievement of self- determination for migrant ones (As cited in Karameşe, 2017: 89).

In summary, public space may produce different positionalities for youth migrant groups. In some contexts, they can feel part of the society by coming together with other groups with similar lifestyles. However, they can also experience exclusion by labeling because of their preferences in public spaces.

CONCLUSION

Youth and immigration can be defined as transition processes that include different experiences of their own. When two separate variables are examined as a single research topic, it can be observed that the variables are intertwined. When the experiences of young immigrants are examined, it is difficult to deal with these different components at the same time. Unlike other immigrants, this group both experiences the identity transformation of transitioning from childhood to adulthood and adapts to the conditions.

This dynamic group is in different places at the same time and they interact in these spaces. For this reason, places that are vital in their daily life should be the specific interest areas of migration literature. In this regard, four different intersected spaces were examined in this article. Education places, workplaces, homes, and public spaces stand at the centre of this discussion. With the encountering in these spaces, youth identities are transformed and integrated into the new society, so the bulk of the literature is missing that examines the migration process just identity discussions. Different positions and backgrounds such as age, gender, ethnicity, and race create different localities. From this perspective, translocational positionalities (Anthias, 2008) of youth migrants shed light on their different experiences that sometimes produce difficulties, and sometimes produce integration in the host country. In this sense, understanding how their positions create experiences in these spaces is possible with the holistic point of view that covers each place having a dominant effect on young migrants' everyday life.

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