London South Bank University

School of Law and Social Sciences

Transnational Migration, Integration, and Identity:

A Study of Kurdish Diaspora in London

PhD Thesis

Ayar Ata

March 2017

Table of Contents

Declaration

I would like to present this thesis to London South Bank University, School of Law and Social Sciences (LSBU-LSS) in partial fulfillment of the requirement for my Doctorate of Philosophy Degree in Social Sciences (PhD). I have fully and clearly referenced all the academic contributions of others in my thesis.

The responsibility, as well as the copyright, of this thesis rests with me. Any printing and reproduction may only be done with prior written agreement from LSBU or me. This thesis is 245 A4 pages.

Acknowledgments

Abstract

To understand the Kurdish diaspora in London requires answering two interrelated questions of Kurdish forced migration history and Kurdish cultural identity. Thus, this study firstly examines the history of Kurdish forced migration and displacement, exploring a common historical argument which positions the Kurds as powerless victims of the First World War (WW1). To this end it looks critically at the post-WW1 era and the development of the modern nation state in the Middle East, namely Turkey, Iraq and Syria. This first part sets out the context for explaining and gaining a better understanding of the systematic sociopolitical marginalisation which led to the forced migration of the Kurds from the 1920s onwards.

Secondly, this study evaluates the integration experiences of some members of the Kurdish diaspora in London, who have settled in this city since the1990s.[1]Furthermore, this part attempts to describe the shifting position of the Kurds from victims in the Middle East, with trends in ethnic integration, and their negotiations of multiculturalism in London. This capital city has historically held a promise and attraction for many migrants of becoming Londoners, and this now includes Kurdish-Londoners.

Moreover, the comparison is made between the positions and perspectives of the first generation that came to Britain in the 1990s and the second generation Kurds born in Britain in this period. This allows an exploration of the notion of identity and ideas of home and belonging in light of contemporary changes and concomitant theories of diaspora and refugee studies, and, where necessary, challenges those ideas. Therefore, with the dual questions of history and identity in mind, this study attempts to innovate in terms of its methodology.

The methodological chapter discusses the need for a particular epistemology; that is a more explicit method of combining diaspora history and diaspora identity. Evidence from previous academic work suggests that questions of Kurdish history and Kurdish cultural identity are inextricably linked. This study's research method is based on ethnographic fieldwork and the collection of qualitative data through 25 one-to-one semi-structured interviews, with participants selected from

across different sections of the Kurdish diaspora community(ies) in London. In order to test and clarify complex conceptual issues three focus group meetings were also organised which were held within community settings (one in North London, one in South London, and one in Central London at Birkbeck College, University of London). An important complementary factor in my systematic access to relevant and reliable data about refugee integration in London was my active advocacy and case work, from 2004 to 2014, at an NGO in South East London supporting refugee integration. This work involved 20 Kurdish refugee families and individuals.[2]

Finally, this study attempts to uncover the gaps in existing literature and to critically highlight the dominance of policy and politics driven research in this field, thereby justifying the need for a new approach. This approach recognises flexible, multiple and complex human cultural behaviors in different situations through consideration of the lived experiences of members of the Kurdish diaspora in London. This lived experience approach is useful in gaining an understanding of the complex processes and stages undertaken in becoming part of the diaspora and also part of London. The stages as reflected in the personal narratives include initial arrival in London and encounters with the British state's immigration and integration policies, the actual process of rebuilding individual or family life, and new home making through the on-going challenges, shifts and negotiations of identities. That is, the slow process of becoming a Kurdish-Londoner.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

BL --The British Library in London

CIC – Commission on Integration and Cohesion

COMPAS –Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society-
University of Oxford

DCLG – Department for Communities and Local Governments

IASFM -- International Association for the Study of Forced Migration

ICC – Institute of Community Cohesion

IMI – International Migration Institute

IOM – International Organisation for Migration

IMISCOE --   International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion -
 in Europe

IRC – International Rescue Committee

IRiS -- Institute for Research into Super-diversity, based at -
Birmingham University

Hawler / Erbil-- Capital city of the -
Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) -
in the Kurdish area in Northern Iraq

HO -- The Home Office in the United Kingdom

KCC --Kurdish Community Centre in North London

Khalk-Evi -- Kurdish and Turkish Community Centre in -
Hackney North London

KRG -- Kurdistan Regional Government in Northern Iraq

KSN – Kurdish Studies Network

KSSO --Kurdish Students and Studies Organisation at SOAS

LGA – Local Government Association

LSBU – London South Bank University

LSE – London School of Economics

MRN – Migrant's Rights Network in the UK

NA -- The National Archive in Kew in Richmond (Public Record Office)

NASS – National Asylum Support Service in United Kingdom (UK)

NGO – Non Governmental Organisation

PICUM --Platform for International Cooperation on
Undocumented   Migrants
PoC – Prisoners of Conscience Fund
RC – The Refugee Council in the UK

RRN – Refugee Research Network

RSC – Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford

SDCAS – Southwark Day Centre for Asylum Seekers

SOAS – School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

UEL – University of East London

UK – United Kingdom of England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland

UN -- United Nations

UNHCR -- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

WKC – World Kurdish Congress

WW1-- World War One

WW2 – World War Two

Foreword

The impetus for my research study on Kurdish mass displacement and diaspora was developed gradually over the course of my own life experience as a refugee. During the Iran-Iraq war between 1981 and 1986 I lived in several refugee camps, collective towns and half empty villages alongside the Iran-Iraq border. In July 1986, as the region became increasingly insecure and dangerous for everyone, especially for refugees and displaced people, I took a long walk through an area called '*dyhata sotawakan'* in Kurdish (literally burned villages).

I was leading a group of five other young men who also wanted to escape this war zone. We walked through a stunning but abandoned and eerily silent triangular border area of Iraq, Iran, and Turkey. We walked for days and nights until we reached a refugee camp in Hakkary in Turkey. Unlike the previous camps this one was recognised and supported by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). This was a reassuring factor for us and for the other hundred or so Iraqi, Iranian and Afghan refugees, including families and individuals, who lived in this transit border camp waiting to be documented and fully recognised as a refugee and eventually relocated somewhere else by the UNHCR.

After a month in the Hakkary camp, along with my fellow group members, I was transferred to Istanbul for an interview with UNHCR. In Istanbul I chose not to stay inside the refugee camp and instead found a job in a Greek factory to support myself. At this point I came face to face with the harsh reality of living in limbo and inside a shanty town.

I was lucky and three months later, on the 9th of November 1986, I arrived at Arlanda Airport in Stockholm, Sweden. I was kept at the airport for two nights and was interviewed about my claim for asylum. The Swedish immigration officers were very professional and calm. They provided an immigration solicitor and an interpreter for my long interview. I was held in a clean and tidy room at the airport which helped me to rest a great deal and to reflect on my awful journey. I was released from the airport on the 11th of November to join hundreds of other refugees, some from Africa but mostly from the Middle Eastern countries. This was a large camp in Stockholm, but a few days later I

found myself in a new refugee camp in Sätrabroun village which was covered in heavy snow. This beautiful small village was not far away from Sala, a nearby city.

A new chapter of my life began in November 1986 when Sweden kindly opened a new gate for me to an exhilarating, and yet at the same time an alien, society. In Sweden everything seemed organised and people knew what they were doing. After three years in Sweden I had a chance to get my first ever passport: a refugee passport called a Travel Document. I travelled to London with this magic paper with a suitcase[3]. I arrived at Stansted airport in London on 25 June 1989. To cut a long story short, I am still here, a member of the Kurdish diaspora and a Kurdish-Londoner.

Reflexivity

It is important to document my different positions in relation to this research project. Firstly, as a researcher within the field of Migration and Diaspora Studies. Secondly, that my own first-hand experience as a Kurdish refugee and as a Kurdish-Londoner which makes me an insider. The methodological issues relating to being an 'insider' researcher will be explored fully in Chapter Three where I navigate some of the challenges and advantages of researching my own community.

Perhaps my own formal and most informative steps towards active integration or active citizenship in London began when I completed my undergraduate degree at SOAS, University of London in 1997. During the course of studying for my BA in Social Anthropology and Development Studies, I learned more about forced migration history and contemporary trends of migration as well as theories of globalisation. This helped to shape my initial academic interest in migration and integration in London. I further completed my postgraduate study in social policy and administration at Middlesex University in 2000.

Moreover and as part of my advocacy work with refugees and migrants in London I also completed my postgraduate study in forced migration and international human rights and refugee law at University of East

London (UEL) in 2009. The UEL gave me the skills necessary and the inspiration to continue my PhD study at London South Bank University.

In London, my knowledge and experience in relation to refugee issues was enhanced when I worked part-time 2004-2014 as refugee / migrant's health, welfare, and education advocate at Southwark Day Centre for Asylum Seekers (SDCAS). Moreover, since 2011commuting between my of university and my work has shaped and sharpened my research project.

Prior to that I worked full time as co-ordinator of Hammersmith Refugee Forum[4] in 2001-2003. Thus through working in different parts of London I have come across many migrant families and individuals from different corners of the world, from the Horn of Africa, Uganda, Rwanda, Zimbabwe, Sudan, the Ivory Coast, Algeria, Iraq, Iran, Syria, Turkey and Afghanistan. I have also worked closely with migrant and refugee groups from Armenia and Albania, and with the Roma Community in London. I have seen brave men and women, and also unaccompanied refugee children, who have escaped violence, war, persecution and poverty in their country of origin; some of these people are still living in limbo in London today. The political refugees have something striking and positive in common; their resilient, desire, and need to rebuild, and to move on and hope for a better future. One more common refugee characteristic is that, unlike many other sections of migrant communities within host countries, refugees are often united in silence and their voices are not heard enough. My research sets out to break this silence and to express grassroots views from the perspective of refugees, and more specifically those of the Kurdish diaspora community(ies) in London.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Research Question

This study of Kurdish diaspora in London sets out to explain, examine, discuss, and answer a twofold question of Kurdish history and identity. To this end this thesis deals with the following two core subjects:

a) A brief and general history of Kurdish forced migration and displacements which highlights the systematic sociopolitical marginalisation of the Kurds since the 1920s. This focuses upon the root causes of Kurdish forced migration which in turn explains the steady flow of, often forced, Kurdish migrants from the region and the formation of Kurdish diaspora communities in Europe and elsewhere (Izadi 1992; Bruinessen 2000; Alinia 2004; Ciment 2006; Jongerden 2007; Khayati 2008; McDowall 2010; Bozarsalan 2014).

b) A specific evaluation of the transformation of identity within the Kurdish diaspora community(ies), particularly focusing on those Kurds who have arrived, live, and have been born in London since the 1990s (Wahalbeck 1999; Griffith 2002; Curtis 2005; Holgate et al. 2009; Demir 2012; Tas 2013).

This thesis answers these research questions about Kurdish modern history and Kurdish cultural identity by engaging with the following integral elements of the questions: who are the Kurds? How have they become displaced and been forced to migrate? What is their integration experience like in London? This thesis therefore explores Kurdish cultural identity through recognising Kurdish cultural diversity in its heterogeneity. The main focus is on the history of Kurdish forced migration since the 1920s. Moreover, this thesis concentrates in detail on the transformation of Kurdish identity within Kurdish diaspora community(ies) in London since the 1990s. Additionally, and based on empirical data collected, an attempt has been made to evaluate the significance of the emergence of a new concept of Kurdish-Londoner, as articulated mainly, although not exclusively, by the second generation of Kurds who were born in London (Enneli et al. 2005 D'Angelo 2008; Erel 2013).

In summary, this study analyses the notions of history and cultural identity and ideas of home and belonging by considering how the Kurds view their own history (the past) and how they relate (at present) within their new home, London. Thus an understanding of the shifting position of the Kurds from victims in the region to active and positive citizens in London is developed.

1.2 Definitions

The meaning of the term 'diaspora' has shifted over time, and some migration and diaspora studies scholars do use the terms 'diaspora' and 'transnational' interchangeably (Tololian 1991). In this thesis the term Kurdish diaspora is used to describe first generation Kurdish refugees and those born to refugee parent(s), that is the second generation. The term second generation, or young generation, also includes those children who have come to London with their family from a very young age (under 10). Therefore the use of the Kurdish diaspora as an umbrella term does also include the wider network of Kurdish migrant workers, students, and business people who sometimes commute between London and other places. The Kurdish terms for diaspora are Ravandi *Kordi or Kordi Handaran*, which literally means the Kurds who live outside Kurdistan or their country of origin. This Kurdish term does not imply that the Kurds who live abroad are victims or heroes. This thesis takes the same neutral position with respect to the term.

Notably, the concept of Kurdish-Londoner, two seemingly simple words, is, in reality and in this thesis, conveying complex and multiple meanings. The use of the term Kurdish-Londoner is open to different interpretations in the context of multiculturalism and integration debates in Britain / London. The idea behind the wording Kurdish-Londoner is a reflection of the positive desire or claim of young Kurds to belong to a Kurdish community as well as to London. This study is also a reflection on London as a large, cosmopolitan, and diverse capital city influencing the shaping and re-shaping of the process of integration of all citizens of London, including the transformation of identity within the Kurdish diaspora in a culturally diverse city of London. In this thesis the term cultural diversity in London is referring to all Londoners who are from the

mosaic of different groups and individuals who born in different places and with varying migration experiences, lifestyles, values, beliefs, and perceptions (Appadurai 1996; Griffith 2002; Enneli et al. 2005; Vertovec 2007a; Census 2011). The full academic debate on diaspora and integration will follow in Chapter Five.

1.3 Epistemology

This thesis applies the principles of social constructivist and non-essentialist approaches within contemporary social sciences (Nassari 2007; Ritchie and Lewis 2003). It also draws critically from the inter-disciplinary and general literature on transnationalism, migration, refugees, globalisation, and super-diversity (Malkki 1995; Shami 1996; Joppke 2004; Castles et al. 2005; Anderson 2006; Vertovec 2007b; Chatty 2010). This thesis relies also on postmodern literature on cultural identity (Rushdie 1992; Appadurai 1996; Hall 1996a; Said 2001; Maalouf 2003).

The epistemological approach adopted in this thesis is in line with that of Stuart Hall (1996b) and what he describes as 'subtle' integration. As Hall suggests integration is happening gradually and subtly at a grassroots level and on a daily basis in a city such as London, where individuals and communities mingle, mix and negotiate their identities. However, the interactions that are happening in London at different levels are not always happening within equally socio-politically neutral and peaceful settings. For example, the new migrants often get no or little choice when it comes to choosing which sector they would like to work in, and they often get a rough deal, with migrant workers often not enjoying the support of a relevant trade union or the local community (Bloch 2002b; Holgate et al. 2009).

Taking a similar flexible approach to Hall's above (1996b), which Hall himself labelled a postmodern approach about new realties and new identities, another scholar, Appadurai (1996), argues about 'the process of becoming' and transformation for all migrants. By the same token the academics themselves face new and complex realities when studying new identities. Reflecting on the relationship between reality, the academic world, and the changing emphases of academic study Craib

(1998) states: 'Sociology seems to have a lot to say about identity. At the moment gendered and ethnic identity seems to be the forefront of the discipline's concern while thirty years ago it was class identity' (Craib 1998:1).

Indeed the issue of cultural identity is important for Kurds who live outside their homeland in significant numbers in different countries in Europe. This thesis also reviews and critiques some existing and relevant literature on Kurdish diaspora in some other European countries with sizable Kurdish populations, such as Germany, Sweden, and Finland. This is in order to gain a broader picture and draw some basic comparisons between experiences and views of different Kurdish diaspora communities in Europe, and for better understanding of the Kurdish diaspora community(ies) in London (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003; Candan and Hunger 2008; Khayati 2008; Baser 2012; Alinia and Eliassi 2014; Toivanen 2014; Eliassi 2015). Equally importantly the thesis evaluates the specific place and space of London within the contemporary integration and multiculturalism debate in England / London (Wahlback 1998a, 1998b, 1999; Soguk 1999; Griffith 2002; Enneli et al. 2005; D'Angelo 2008; Baser 2011; Demir 2012; Galip 2012; Tas 2013; Wessendorf 2013; Keles 2015).

1.4 Rationale

The overarching rationale for this study is to start a dialogue on and further develop a comprehensive analysis about Kurdish forced migration history and Kurdish diaspora identity from a Kurdish perspective. The voice(s) and personal narratives of the ordinary Kurdish people are often missing from the official Kurdish nationalist discourse and/or in much of the policy- and politics-driven research on Kurdish diaspora in London. This study is concerned with the ordinary Kurdish population who arrived or were born in London in the 1990s.

Today Kurdish nationalists estimate that there are 30 to 35 million Kurds in total (Gunter 2011). But there are no reliable sources of information about the Kurdish population because of internal political discriminations and tensions in all the countries where the Kurds live (Ahmad 1994; McDowall 2010). Therefore, this study sets out to provide a context and

relevant background history and information surrounding why and how the Kurds became systematically marginalised, dispossessed and displaced since the 1920s by the new nation-states of Turkey, Iraq and Syria. In other words this study has placed Kurdish diaspora history and identity within the broader historical context of the history of the Middle Eastern region (Challand 1992; Jongerden 2007; Chatty 2010).

1.5 Aim

In line with the research question the aim of this thesis consists of two parts:

a) History - to look at post WW1 modern history from a Kurdish perspective, thus contributing to our knowledge and better understanding of the root causes of Kurdish forced migration and the Kurdish diaspora formation (Bruinessen 2000; Chatty 2010; McDowall 2010; Bozarslan 2014);

b) Identity - transcending the dominant policy- and politics-driven nature of much of the previous research on the Kurdish diaspora in London by focusing on the lived experiences of individual members of Kurdish diaspora communities in London and studying their personal narratives (Wahlbeck 1998a, 1998b,1999; Griffith 2002; Enneli et al. 2005).

1.6 Objectives

Again in line with the research question this study is pursuing two objectives:

1. To describe the Kurdish diaspora integration experience in London by looking closely at the (trans)formation of Kurdish identity at two levels:

> a) Starting a dialogue from within the community about the Kurdish history and the on-going transformation of the Kurds from victims in the region to active citizens in London. Hence, presenting multiple voices, for example the voices of men and women from both the first and second generation, and exploring the importance and relevance of the emergence of a new concept (Kurdish-

Londoner) among the second generation of Kurdish diaspora in London;

b) Starting a dialogue with wider community and placing the Kurdish diaspora debate within the broader debate on transnational citizenship, integration, multiculturalism, cultural tolerance and 'super-diversity' in Britain / London (Kundnani 2007).

2. Based on the lived experience approach (personal narrative and case studies), making an academic contribution towards a better and deeper understanding about the transformation of identity within the Kurdish diaspora in London. Equally important is drawing attention to the dynamism, energy and relevance of the ongoing integration debate in Britain[5] today for all of us, and hoping to contribute to a positive change in social policy and community relations in Britain (Appadurai 1996; Bloch and Solomos 2010; Vertovec 2010).

1.7 Personal Narratives: case studies

Adapting a lived experience approach as an alternative to dominant policy- and politics-driven research this thesis is based on ethnographic and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis. Following Nassari (2007) emphasis is placed on the personal narratives of individual members of Kurdish diaspora community(ies) in London. Personal narrative is used as a focal point, including case studies, to tell a story of present circumstances, but at the same time this allows space for the recollection of real stories about the past, and for these to be expressed as freely and independently as possible. Discussing the 'conventional wisdom of the use of the case-study' as a powerful tool in qualitative social research Flyvbjerg (2006: 220) describes some misunderstandings about the usefulness of case studies for providing deep and exploratory answers to 'why' and 'how' questions in a given research project. This thesis therefore emphasises some cases chosen from the 25 in-depth interviews in order to highlight the pattern of similarities as well as differences in the experiences and views of participants in relation to Kurdish identity and integration in London. Thus the case studies are designed to provide some new and in-depth

personal insights into *why* and *how* questions in relation to Kurdish forced migration history and Kurdish diaspora identity in London.

Here it is certainly room for mentioning a worthy critical note about the use of personal narratives to tell the Kurdish history. As pointed out rightly by Bamberge (2004:360), there are 'master' or official narratives which are produced from the top of the society / community, and there are grassroots or 'counter' narratives which derived from individual memories and experiences. The problem is, however, these two types of narratives are not exclusive and they do not cancel out each other completely. Furthermore, as Bamberge (2004:365) argued all sorts of narratives do 'co-exist' within society and therefore noting and recording different narratives in ethnographic methods do help us to understand the bigger picture better. This is a useful note to bear in mind when reading the case studies in Chapter Six.

The case studies add valuable empirical data for discourse analysis. This method includes the use of 'auto-ethnography' which is about personal reflection and includes a voice for the researcher alongside the participants (see section above about my reflexivity). As Nassari (2007) puts it:

> I am not working in a void, so my place [as an insider researcher] is considered, not only in relation to the method of auto-ethnography, but to indicate how dialogically the researcher and the researched together shape the meaning of what gets said; as a consequence the thesis challenges epistemological concerns associated with traditional ethnography (Nassari 2007: 15).

The research method used in this study is defined by its radical and innovative emphasis on the lived experiences and views of the members of the Kurdish diaspora community in London, which is a marked difference from previous, often policy- and politics-driven, research on Kurdish diaspora in London. This radical shift is based on looking at both individual members and the collective Kurdish community and recognising its diversity Barth 1953; Olson 1965). The research method is therefore an attempt to transcend much of the existing literature on Kurdish diaspora in London and to promote a radical epistemology in the study of the Kurdish diaspora in order to produce a new insight reflecting

Kurdish diversity and differing perspective(s). That is, the perspective(s) of Kurdish men and women from both first and second generation.

1.8 Different Perspectives: theory, policy, person

This study represents different perspectives on integration and covers theory, policy, domains and personal narratives in relation to integration in this country. This is built upon; firstly, previous academic studies of refugees' and migrants' real life integration experiences and views on Britain (Bloch 2002a, Lewis et al. 2013; Lewis and Craig 2014). Secondly, the extensive empirical data collected. Thus this thesis argues that:

(a) Integration starts from day one when a refugee or migrant arrives, despite the refugee or migrant's lack of knowledge of newly arrived reception-policy in the United Kingdom (UK) and what exactly to expect from the state and the host community;

(b) Integration is a slow, complex, and, for some people, painful process which could start well with successful physical settlement. Successful settlement means fair and practical access for people with refugee status to reasonable housing, training, employment, voluntary sector, and health services (Mcleod 2001; Bloch 2002a; Sales 2002; Mayor of London 2004). There are also those refugees who are already disadvantaged on arrival because of age, education, health and other issues. According to a refugee charity Southwark Day Centre for Asylum Seekers (SDCAS) which is running in South East London many asylum seekers live in limbo and they often end up destitute and homeless in Britain for several months or years (see Table 5 page 201 for SDCAS 2013 report about the needs of asylum seekers and migrants in London).

The integration debate, as will be demonstrated in Chapter Five, is relevant and important to all BME and refugee groups in the UK. The Kurds are a relative newcomer community and a smaller player, for example, in comparison to Indians, Pakistanis, Arabs, Africans, Jamaicans and many others in London. As such the Kurdish community is yet to make a significant and visible impact on London/ Britain.

In the literature there are a range of words used to define integration. For example, positive participation, successful settlement, acculturation, citizenship, and social cohesion (Cantle 2001). This thesis aims to describe the fluidity of identity or belonging issues beyond acquisition of a British passport, which is ultimately a complex process coloured vividly by individual feelings, choices, decisions, and actions. This is reflected in the empirical data collected and presented as case studies in Chapter Six. The data suggests that membership of a Kurdish group alone does not shape or determine the final outcome of the integration process. But the diaspora community does certainly create a homely space for newly arrived refugees who seek or need to re-establish a link with their community. This thesis also aims to briefly introduce and evaluate the implications of the British asylum, immigration and refugee integration policies in the context of the British multiculturalism discourse (Mayor of London assessment report 2004).

1.9 The Kurds: different perspectives – group and individual, first and second generation

The Group

This group space, as Wahlbeck (1999) describes, is the diaspora's social organisation collective space which provides a starting point and a sense of continuity of belonging to the community in London. Using social capital analysis D'Angelo (2008), who studied Kurdish Community Organisations in London, suggests that these grassroots and voluntary organisations serve as a network for binding their members and helping to enhance community cohesion from within. Moreover, most individuals need and want to learn English and to participate in other social milieu, and therefore move on from the initial welcoming places set up by the various Kurdish social and political organisations. Kurdish organisations in London, again as Wahlbeck (1999) describes, are community centers that have initially been set up by individual Kurdish activists with a social and political mobilising agenda. These encourage voluntary participation and active contribution to the formation of the group as a self-interest and self-help group. For example, the formation of a major Kurdish community Centre (KCC) in north London is a good example of the positive interplay between individual need and interest in advice and

information about integration in London and group interest in Kurdish socio-political mobility. This demonstrates both traditional continuity and changes to adapt to London life (Office of the Third Sector 2009; Tas 2013).

This interplay is happening in the face of the huge and challenging task of meeting complex needs for basic settlement and for gradual integration in London. Thus the KCC is working as a focal point for social networking and for exercising a collective power in the local borough. It is also a place to attend basic English language and computer courses, to find a job through a familiar and informal network (but not necessarily expecting good pay and conditions), to drink tea and have a chat, to watch Kurdish TV, to enjoy Kurdish cultural events, and to give and receive support. The Kurdish community centres in North London are providing a crucial first welcoming one-stop advice and information service for the newly arrived refugees. They are also providing an equally important social and psychological safe space for the elderly through an incredible voluntary and community-based service for combating the social isolation of older Kurds in London.

Moreover the KCC have established complex contacts and communication networks with other voluntary and statutory agencies such as the London boroughs of Haringey, Hackney and Islington, local schools and colleges, and sometimes the wider voluntary sector in London, where they promote the interests of the group (Blunkett 2008).

The Individual

Individuals do act to maximise their own self-interests and there is an interesting and dynamic interplay between the Kurdish individual and the Kurdish group in the context of Kurdish social organisations in London. With respect to the complex and dynamic relationship between individual and group, on a theoretical level this thesis is influenced by social constructionist anthropologists, such as Barth (1969) who has studied the Kurds in the past. Barth looks at any group in a collective sense (macro) as well as at the micro-level (individual). Thus, Barth gives 'primary emphasis to the fact that ethnic groups are categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves, and thus have the

characteristic of organising interaction between people' (Barth 1969: 10). For further generic theoretical discussion about relationship and discourse on individual and group see Olson (1965).

Moreover, for a better understanding of the process of refugee integration, this study has considered at a micro level more specific and personal factors such as age, social and family background, gender, education, and the type of person you are or want to be in the future. Thus, reflecting on the fieldwork, this thesis questions whether previous studies on Kurdish diaspora were methodologically biased towards group identity and group behaviour and were therefore functionalist and static in nature.

First and Second Generation

The literature indicates that previous studies relied heavily on the experiences of first generation Kurdish refugees, who are generally more realist and sceptical towards integration, and they did not consider input from young and second generation of Kurdish diaspora in London who were born in Britain. In contrast to their parents the second generation Kurds are positively and increasingly claiming belonging to London and therefore creating a new social space for themselves there. The most recent research on Kurdish transnational activities suggest that young Kurds (2nd generation) also engage more in issues concerning general Kurdish politics and especially promote human rights in Kurdistan through the extensive community networks and social media spaces available to them (Keles 2015).

1.10 Chapter Outlines

In order to understand the socio-political and historical context of this study, the Forth chapter, following introduction and the abstract subject matters of theory and methodology, presents a brief history of forced migration and displacement of the Kurds in modern times. This time period covers the immediate aftermath of WW1 in the 1920s and the formation of the new regional nation states of Turkey, Iraq, and Syria (Ahmad 1994; McDowall 2010; Bozarsalan 2014).

The second chapter outlines the theoretical framework for this study. It deals with a comprehensive and critical review of the existing theoretical literature on forced migration, diaspora and integration. Following Castles and Davidson (2000) the application of 'system theory' is discussed and used as a loose guide and a general principle and theoretical framework.

The use of system theory is useful because it bridges and critiques two other major modernist and opposing academic tendencies within migration studies. These are Neoliberalism (push and pull theory) and Marxism (socio-economic structure theory) (Marfleet 2006). System theory is concerned with both macro and micro economics within migration studies. This theory looks at the effect of migration on the world and the effect of the world on migrants since the 1950s.

As Castles et.al (2005) describes 'the age of migration' and systematic global movement of people has changed the world. This part then attempts to develop a specific critical discussion considering the relevant literature on Kurdish diaspora, covering diaspora and integration debates and highlighting the limitations of policy- and politics-driven research on the Kurdish diaspora in London. Thus the concept of 'Kurdish-Londoner' is introduced and explained as an alternative and a positive stepping stone for explaining self-definition and the explicit expression of self-identity. This thesis ultimately argues for the existence of a strong desire for active participation and a clear expression of self-identity and self-inclusion among young Kurds in London. This is a desire or claim expressed especially, but not exclusively, by the second generation of Kurds born in London.

The third chapter is a discussion of the research methodology employed in the study, as well as an overview of two contemporary research paradigms and the philosophical approach of 'positivism' versus 'social constructivism' (Bourdieu and Wacqant 1992).

Moreover, this part will describe and justify the research validity and reliability as well as evaluating the use of the qualitative method of data collection and data analysis. Hence in this context the usefulness and relevance of qualitative methods will be fully explored. The emphasis is on the personal narratives, views and life experiences of research

participants, presented as case studies in Chapter Six which designed to aid our understanding of diaspora, identity, and integration issues in London (Nassari 2007; Bryman 2004).

This thesis attempts to put forward a radical epistemology based on the lived experience of members of the Kurdish diaspora in London. An analysis of views and interests of Kurdish diaspora thereby leads to an explicit articulation of a radical and fresh concept of the term Kurdish-Londoner. This concept of Kurdish diaspora community(ies) identity has been explained implicitly by some previous academic work on Kurdish diaspora in London (Wahlbeck 1998a, 1998b, 1999; Griffith 2002; Baser 2011; Tas 2013; Wessendorf 2013).

The use of a qualitative and ethnographic method in this research has been instrumental in opening up a new space for full and meaningful discussions about new social realities and therefore being able to present multiple voices within Kurdish diaspora in London. This includes the use of 'auto-ethnography' when reflecting on the personal experience of the author/researcher involved in this study (Nassari 2007: 50). However, there is also the presentation and analysis of some statistical and official (secondary) data available on Kurdish diaspora in London. An accurate descriptor of the method used in this study is a combined approach and the pragmatic use of:

a) Interview transcripts in two languages - English and Kurdish;

b) Official statistics and public data provided, for example, by the Public Records Office in Kew, the Office for National Statistics (ONS) in England and Wales, the Home Office (HO), and Southwark Day Centre for Asylum Seekers (SDCAS);

(c) A third category has also emerged in the process of the interviews and that is the collective memory of the participants which can help to bridge gaps between past / present and private / public information, also referred to as social history (May 2001; Hirsch 1997).

The fifth chapter covers the development of Kurdish diaspora and transnational consciousness in Europe which includes some brief comparison analyses of different Kurdish diaspora communities living in Germany, Finland, Sweden, and England.

In addition to the formal and official modern Kurdish history which is discussed in Chapter Four, this thesis also considers Kurdish social history as based on collective memories and a variety of individual narratives which presented as case studies in Chapter Six.

The Kurdish social history (memory) is often left unrecorded and untold. As described by (Hardi 2011) personal stories sometimes confirm and sometimes challenge official and recorded nationalist history. Again as Tololian (1991) puts it 'diaspora is concerned with the ways in which nations real or imagined are tabulated, brought into being, made, unmade, in culture, in politics, both on the land people call their own and in exile' (Tololian 1991: 3).

The thesis in this part by use of the case studies reflects on the gap between 'past' and 'present' which seems very narrow; as people reflect on their experience of displacement and remember, and tell the story which led them to leave their home and seek protection in London. When one journey ends there it is the immediate start of another journey into a new society and the beginning of settlement and integration. This includes seemingly separate academic subjects, labelled as refugee journey, arrival, reception, and integration. Most participants, however, remembered and talked as if they were writing a novel, rather than telling unrelated short stories (Nassari 2007). All of these aspects contribute to the formation of one big picture which is often referred to by refugee studies scholars as refugee memory and refugee experience (Zolberg et al. 1989; Hirsch 1997).

Furthermore, Chapter Five signals a progression from the history of forced migration to the present day. It covers current debates and analysis about the Kurdish diaspora and the Kurdish transnational consciousness. This part also looks briefly at the academic work carried out in the past decade on Kurdish diaspora in other European countries, namely Germany (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003), Sweden (Alinia and Eliassi 2014), Finland (Toivanen 2014) and). This is in order to draw some useful comparative analysis and for better understanding of settlement and integration issues for the different Kurdish diaspora communities in Europe.

In Chapter Six the complex and ambiguous micro information and data comes into view through accessing the landscape of personal memories, individual stories, and identity. This approach is explored more fully in this chapter and attempts have been made to bring together the conceptual framework and the empirical data derived from ethnography (Nassari 2007).

The analyses and discussions follow an interdisciplinary approach, as advocated by forced migration and diaspora studies. In this part, as Appadurai (1996) puts it, the transformative meaning of diaspora and the different and uneven 'process of becoming' for members of Kurdish diaspora are explained and explored through personal narratives (see case studies in Chapter Six).

Moreover, Chapter Six demonstrates some clearly expressed and contested views against the essentialist and group-based labelling of refugees by some parts of the host society (Zetter et al. 2005). Some of the individual narratives and insights do also challenge the Kurdish nationalist discourse and collective views within Kurdish diaspora in London, thereby shedding more light on age, generational and personal issues. Analysis of such narratives leads to exploration of the concepts of self-identity and self-definition in relation to a sense of belonging to Kurdistan as well as to London (Aboud 1981). The concept of 'Kurdish-Londoner' is used to articulate and describe the desire of a considerable section within the Kurdish diaspora in London, especially those in the age group of 18 to 38, a group who are expressing most strongly the willingness to integrate and to feel at home in London. The concept of Kurdish Londoner has also underpinned by a strong desire for recognition of Kurdish identity and social justice and equality in London.

It is important to note that the selected case studies are broadly and strongly representative of all the interviews and they should help the reader to understand the main patterns derived from the empirical data, and also to appreciate the differing views on integration in London as expressed by the first and second generation of Kurdish men and women who live in London.

It is equally important to note that the case studies are, therefore, not designed to prove or disprove, for example, the concept of Kurdish-Londoner or any other fixed uniformity among members of the Kurdish communities in London.

Chapter Seven is the final and concluding part of this thesis which includes research findings; contribution to knowledge, research gaps in this field, recommendations for further research in this area, and few final words on researcher's my own perspective.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework: migration, diaspora, and integration

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is designed to look firstly at the general theoretical framework and conceptual analysis on migration diaspora/transnational and integration issues, and secondly at applying theoretical discussions to shed some light on the specific questions of the history and identity of Kurdish diaspora in London. Broadly speaking the debate on diaspora and transnationalism can be analysed through two distinct but not exclusive academic tendencies: The first sees cultural identity as the main thread for understanding diaspora identity, referring to people who identify themselves as belonging to a specific real or 'imagined' ethnic community (Anderson 2006 Clifford 1994; Castles and Miller 2005. The second tendency is concerned with production of diaspora or transnational identities as a result of mixed migration (both forced and voluntary) in the world, especially since the 1950s. This complex phenomenon is also known as 'globalisation' within migration studies. Furthermore, as Appadurai (1996) describes, the diaspora formation involves a 'process of becoming' when people start to settle in new societies. He further talks about the role of 'imagination' (cf. Anderson 2006 as a 'social practice' which, as Appadurai suggests, helps us to understand the complex processes of producing/reproducing and creating/recreating original or new identities in the absence of the old territory. Thus the shared outcome for both tendencies is the study of de-territorialised and distinct cultural communities which, as Malkki (1992) describes, are diaspora communities which still have a strong sense of belonging even outside the given territory of the nation-state. This is certainly important and relevant to a discussion of Kurdish diaspora (see Chapter Four with respect to the diaspora and integration debate).

Migration is a complex subject requiring attention from different disciplines. Thus each discipline contributes from different angles, that is to say, theoretically, methodologically, or empirically. For example, sociologists make us aware of the social and human capital and the challenges of integration into new societies. Anthropologists look at the extensive social networks and importance of transnational communities for understanding culture, and political scientists help to uncover gaps in public policies, with legal scholars drawing our attention to human and refugee rights issues (Brettell and Hollifield 2015).

This important and defining feature of the missing link between cultural identity and territory in the formation of diaspora identity has brought to the fore a new question regarding a well-recognised and essentialist link between national identity and a specific geographical territory which is defined as a nation-state. According to Hobsbawn (1990) this paradox almost undermines the myth of nation-state as a united and uniform entity which would in turn make the notion of people's cultural identity and belonging much more challenging to study and to understand . An interdisciplinary study is required, including insights from social anthropology, political sciences, geography and history in order to deal with the theoretical underpinnings of cultural identity, nationalism, transnationalism/diaspora in the context of globalisation (Joppke 1999). Further, and more specifically, this chapter applies three well-known and interrelated postmodern questions, those of 'definition', 'context' and 'purpose', to the analysis of Kurdish diaspora in London, using the social constructivist paradigm.

The debate about diaspora will inevitably lead the discussion about the relationship between diaspora and nation-state. It is clear from the relevant literature that multiple definitions of the term 'nation' and 'diaspora' could be formed, and based on the perspective you use different meanings can emerge. Broadly speaking there are three main, but not exclusive, tendencies among scholars of nationalism for studying the relationship between nation and diaspora:

1. The culturists are those who see cultural identity as a key for analysing nationalism (Maalouf 2003; Malkki 1992, 1995).

2. Those that see territory as being at the centre of our understanding of a nation-state (Tololian 1991; Lynch and Ali 2006; Marfleet 2006).

3. The advocates of globalisation, which includes host societies (Appadurai 1996 Castles et.al 2005).

This part of the chapter will engage in a critical review of the existing literature on migration and integration theories. I will look at contemporary theoretical trends, including tracing human lived experience, in defining the concepts of home, belonging and exile, thereby dealing with diaspora and integration discourse as a deterritorialised form of collective identity. Here I refer to a collective and diasporic identity which seems functioning in parallel to rather than undermining the notion of territorially centred nation state identity. As Kibreab (1999) argues, 'the assumption that identities are deterritorialised and state territories are readily there for taking, regardless of place or national origin, has no objective existence outside the minds of its proponents' (Kibreab 1999: 385).

The aim herein is to raise new conceptual questions by outlining a need for a new community-based dialogue within the Kurdish diaspora community in London and extending this dialogue to engage with the host society and with the British State. The debates on diaspora/transnationalism and integration will lead to the articulation and presentation of a key synthesis under the term 'Kurdish-Londoner' (literal translation from Kurdish language being Kordi-London). This contributes to the 'multiculturalism' and 'integration' debate, and in this study the spotlight is specifically on London (Gilroy 1992; Hall 1996a).

Castles et al. (2005) argue in *The Age of Migration* that the world has changed most dramatically since the beginning of the last century because of rapid mass migration. In migration studies this contemporary and complex phenomena is often called globalisation and encompasses transnational and diaspora studies. Referring again to a seminal work on citizenship and migration, Castles and Davidson (2000) highlight the challenges of political and working integration in this global era, writing: 'There are increasing numbers of citizens who do not belong, the

challenge is to integrate the global, regional, and local dimensions of belonging into a new political model' (Castles and Davidson 2000: vii).

Since the 1980s and 1990s studying and understanding people and society beyond conventional and official borders has changed to include existing migration processes which have brought about changes in the expression and practices of collective identities across and beyond the conventional state-centric tendency. Thus diaspora and transnational identities seem to directly challenge this tendency, but, as explained above, diaspora/transnational or globalised notions do not eliminate the place of the state in the current well established socio-political and economic world system known as the nation-state (Featherstone et al. 1995; Appadurai 1996; Kibreab 1999; Castles and Davidson 2000; Østergaard 2002).

The academic debates since 1980 within diaspora and transnational studies have more recently become more popular within the social sciences. These developments followed the success of 'Refugee Studies' from the 1980s, recently renamed as forced migration studies. Although, as Hathaway (2005) argues, this is not the same thing and refugee studies should remain a distinct discipline in order to define and defend the rights of refugees under international human rights laws.

There are complex and interesting conceptual overlaps between these interdisciplinary studies relating to the examination of diaspora/transnationalism and the transformation of identity within diaspora communities. Thus it is important to reflect upon the complex contemporary global conditions created by ever growing human mobility and 'mixed migration', with 'mixed' meaning both forced and voluntary migration (IASFM Conference 2013)[6]. This IASFM 2013 conference had also draw attention to refugee protection in global south an issue which has not been covered extensively in the Western countries (Fabos and Kibreab 2007).

2.2 Main Theoretical Trends on Migration

Migration theories derive from a number of disciplines within the social sciences, for example, anthropology, sociology, political sciences, and human geography. There are three main theoretical tendencies within

migration studies, which also include forced migration studies. The general and contemporary trends within migration studies could be divided into the following three schools. This is a very brief introduction in order to lay out the background information.

1. Neo-classical economics which foregrounds the economic reasons driving migration. This school talks about the economic push factors from the global south (poor countries) and pull factors from the global north (rich countries). This tendency is also known simply as push and pulls theory (Marfleet 2006). According to the push/pull analysis migrants are pushed out from the 'global south' and developing countries and pulled towards the 'global north' for many different reasons but primarily those relating to economics. Hence this theory would argue that people move from poor to rich countries seeking better employment, higher wages, and for better opportunities in life. This neo-liberal theory is not characteristically concerned with the complex causes and the historical dimension of the existing divide between rich and poor countries.

2. In direct political and intellectual opposition to neo-liberalism the structuralist approach, which is an implicitly Marxist-inspired theory, looks at the unequal capitalist system in the world by considering a broader historical context. Therefore it is also referred to as historical-structuralist theory. The structuralist theory therefore, again in contrast to the neo-liberals, characteristically uses 'social classes' as a unit of analysis for explaining economic inequalities within a country. It also blames the world's 'capitalist system' for creating and maintaining uneven and unequal socio-economic and political conditions in the world today. Therefore this theory would argue that the 'global south' is deprived of its many skilled and manual workers because they have to seek settlement in the 'global north' in order to survive and the 'north' is ultimately benefiting from these historic inequalities (Bloch and Solomos 2010).

3. The third approach is called 'migration system theory' and it seems to try to combine insights from the above two schools on migration (Castles et al. 2005). Moreover, this system theory covers migration as well as diaspora and transnational theories, and therefore is more closely relevant to the theoretical scope of this thesis. Moreover, system theory

considers both the micro-economy (the informal social and trade networks developed by migrants themselves) and macro-economy (the formal political economy of the nation-states and world markets).

This thesis aims to utilise migration system theory as a guide for shaping the theoretical framework and for reviewing other relevant literature within this frame. For this purpose I will look at the contributions and insights closely related to system theory, for example, the work of refugee and diaspora studies scholars like Malkki (1995), Appadurai (1996), Brettell and Hollifield (2015) which moved away from essentialising refugee or diaspora as an ethnic label or 'victim' model.

Moreover it is important to look at the work of Vertovec (2007b) and Wahlbeck (1999) who advocated a different approach based on a social capital and social mobilising model which seeks to define the diaspora condition whilst keeping in mind the political context and the social mobilisation of diaspora for political purposes (Zetter et.al 2006).

This thesis looks beyond the 'imagined communities' theory of Anderson (2006) by emphasising the complex both imagined and practical realities and shifting identities of migrants often facing multiple and parallel issues. The concept of diaspora seems to transcend the conventional boundaries of history, geography and anthropology, and has created a new discourse, which Gilroy (1992) describes as an 'explicitly transnational' understanding of diaspora experiences.

The theoretical framework adopted by this thesis on diaspora and transnationalism has also been influenced by Rushdi (1992); Brubaker (2005); and Vertovec (2010) who seek to capture the inherent ambiguities and complexities inherent within the concept of migration in general, and diaspora in particular.

The work of Wahlbeck (1998a,1998b, 1999) who studied Kurdish diaspora in London also uses a more positive approach, departing from the conventional and traditional association of diaspora and refugee with 'return' to the 'original homeland' (Safran 1991; Wahlback 1999 1999; Cohen 2008). D'Angelo (2008) has also looked at Kurdish community integration issues in London, using social capital theory as a baseline approach and emphasising the formation of Kurdish social organisations

and social networks in London as positive steps to self-help with respect to settlement and integration in London.

Moreover, and looking specifically at various theoretical contributions made by refugee studies to the debate about refugee identity (Malkki 1992; Zetter et al. 2005), the issue of labelling refugees is important to discuss. Labelling presents itself first in state policies concerning refugees and then in its deeper and longer term implications in either supporting or hampering refugees' integration within the host society. This issue will be explored in chapter five where the state versus refugee policies and their unequal relationship is discussed.

2.3 The Diaspora and Transnational Debate

The academic use of the term 'diaspora' has been changing over time. Within migration and diaspora studies the terms 'diaspora' and 'transnational' are now often used interchangeably (Tololian 1991).

As Shuval (2000) has described, the term diaspora has over time acquired a range of different semantic meanings, and diaspora is used for different purposes. He writes:

> It [diaspora] is used increasingly by displaced persons who feel, maintain, invent, or revive a connection with a prior home. Concepts of diaspora include a history of dispersal, myths/memories of the homeland, alienation in the host country, desire for eventual return – which can be ambivalent, eschatological or utopian – ongoing support of the homeland and, collective identity defined by the above relationship (Shuval 2000: 1).

However, for more clarity within this thesis, the term diaspora is used throughout, bearing in mind the two-fold question of history and identity. Firstly I reflect upon modern historical processes concerning the systematic Kurdish socio-political marginalisation in the Middle Eastern region since the 1920s (McDowall 2010). Secondly the focus is upon looking at the consequences which led to Kurdish forced migration and displacement, and the subsequent diaspora formation outside Kurdistan.

(See the map in Chapter Four page 84 showing the most populated Kurdish areas in 1919).

The period after WW1 in the 1920s marked the beginning of a modern process of Kurdish diaspora formation. Notwithstanding the problematic nature of the term diaspora, which is a subject for a vigorous debate within academia today, and for the purpose of clarity in this thesis the term Kurdish diaspora is used in a reflective and also pragmatic manner. The term Kurdish diaspora, in Kurdish: Ravandi- Kordi or *Kordi-Handaran*, are used as a loose umbrella term to include the first generation of Kurdish refugees, the second generation who were born in the UK, and also students, migrant workers, business people, and those who come to live in diaspora through marrying another member. The use of the term Kurdish diaspora in London will later be merged into a new concept of Kurdish-Londoner, or *Kordi-London* in Kurdish. This type of combined use of words (ethnic identity + place = settlement or home) works well in Kurdish language as it implies a degree of belonging to the place. For more discussion on the notion of home and the sense of belonging to host society for migrants see Taylor (2009). Notably the articulation of the term Kurdish-Londoner, mostly by the second generation of Kurds who contributed to this study, refers specifically to the end result of a relatively successful process of Kurdish diaspora settlement and slow integration in London since the 1990s (see Chapter Six for the presentation of the empirical data as case studies).

Furthermore, in relation to analysing the two interrelated concepts of home and belonging some scholars of migration and diaspora studies describe the complex physical settlement in a new place and the social processes of integration as 'the processes of becoming' (Appadurai 1996: 10). However, Taylor (2009) who studied the Cyprus diaspora community in London clearly distinguishes between the issues of physical settlement and the slow, more complex, and emotionally charged question of belonging to a new society.

From a cultural anthropology perspective Clifford (1994: 306) suggests that there is no 'definitive model' for studying diaspora, but that diaspora is a subject closely related to new global conditions. By considering a historic perspective on human migration and displacements Safran (1991); Tololian (1991); Cohen (2008) attempted to provide a more

detailed analysis and description of the typology of diaspora. They seem to refer to diaspora people in terms of their 'origin' and put emphasis on their 'homeland'. However, from a postmodernist viewpoint Ortiz (1995 [1940]), who studied Cuban society, has used the term 'transculturation' to describe the mixing of the new and old communities, and saw different peoples with different and diverse cultures forming new global cultures. More to the point, Ortiz talked about 'merging' and 'converging' cultures in Cuba. Following Ortiz it seems some scholars shifted from modernist and 'essentialist' definitions of diaspora to describing the migrant communities as 'transcultural' or 'transnational'. Hall (1996b) also uses the term 'trans-culturalism' to describe the Black diaspora experience in Britain.

Moreover with respect to the historical perspective on diaspora as Marfleet (2006) argues the movement of people has existed in many different forms and for many thousands of years, thereby suggesting that diaspora formation is not unique to any part of the world and cannot be assigned to any particular group of people. In Europe, for example, the history of the 'French Huguenots' who escaped from France in the Seventeenth Century and came to England as political refugees is well documented. There were also the 'Pilgrim Fathers' who escaped from England and made a new home for themselves in New England, North America in the same period (Roche 1965).

The term 'transnationalism' is relatively new and often used to describe people who live across different borders of given nation-states, creating and holding onto their many social, economic and active networks and organisations across different countries (Faist 1999). The term diaspora, however, is much older and has been used for as long as migration has occurred. As Tololian (1991) pointed out the history of diaspora and transnational moments can be traced back to the time of 'antiquity', a time when the Hellenic, Roman, Persian and Ottoman peoples ruled. In more recent times Tololian defines diasporas as:

> The exemplary communities of the transnational moment and that the term that once described Jewish, Greek, and Armenian dispersion now shares meanings with a larger semantic domain that includes words like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest-

worker, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community (Tololian 1991: 3).

In order to capture the inherent ambiguities and complexities of diaspora debates and following Vertovec (2007b) the use of the term diaspora in this thesis is intended to be loose and inclusive, and to be used in analytical terms for two purposes:

(1) To include the first and second generation of the Kurdish refugee population in London, also including Kurdish students, migrant workers, those incorporated through family union, and all of those who enter the world of diaspora at different times and for different reasons.

(2) To describe the Kurdish diaspora community as an emerging new community, and as a new positive social and global reality. The Kurdish diaspora is now assuming a degree of collective power and influence over political issues concerning Kurdistan as a whole. More importantly the young Kurds are increasingly engaged and celebrate their successful settlement and positive integration into the multicultural city of London. Thus many have started to identify themselves as Kurdish-Londoners, a new concept mainly articulated by second generation Kurdish diaspora in London, which will be explained fully in the case studies in Chapter Six.

Summarising the diaspora debate so far in the literature there are three different categories of diaspora definitions:

(1)The 'victim diaspora', referring to the forced dispersal of people which is rooted in ancient times and the Jewish experience of forced dispersal in the Middle East. There are also other groups who can fit into this category, such as Armenians, Palestinians, Kurds, Tamils, and Afghans (For a recent best seller novel about Afghanistan see Hosseini (2003). Notably, when there is lack of enough and timely academic study on certain diaspora group such the Kurds and Afghans. Some novelists from these communities do attempt to fill the vacuum of information about their community. For Kurdish analyses about the place of Kurdish novel in writing the Kurdish diaspora social history see Galip (2012).

(2) The 'origin'/return diaspora which refers to massive labour migration in modern times, for example, the Chinese, the Irish, and the Italians who migrated to the USA, and the Bangladeshis, the Indians, and the

Jamaicans who came to Britain in search of employment and new opportunities.

(3) The 'integration' diaspora referring to migrants wanting to settle. This category includes political refugees and others who have migrated voluntarily or those who were forced to migrate for a number of complex economic and environmental reasons. Most people in the third category cannot and would not want to return and therefore they have become the subjects of various studies by the scholars of forced migration, diaspora/transnationalism, citizenship/integration and also globalisation (Safran 1991; Tololian 1991 Braziel et al. 2003; Cohen 2008).

There are a growing number of heterogeneous studies which provide a more up to date overview of the wider diaspora community of Kurds living in Europe. These studies are useful for allowing a degree of comparison between the experiences of different Kurdish diaspora communities in Europe (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003; Alinia 2004; Emanuelson 2008; Khayati 2008; Eliassi 2010; Toivanen 2014). For some comparative analyses on Kurdish diaspora in Europe see Chapter Five.

The above categorising/typology (victim, origin/return, and integration) are useful for an initial analysis of the history of human migration. These categories are by no means exclusive and clear cut, but they help us to understand the complex historic causes of mixed migration of different people in different times and for different reasons. Needless to say no group is fixed so as to fit into only one category. For example, a diaspora group such as the Kurds can fit into all three categories depending on what one is looking for, in what context, and in what period of history. Hence, as Clifford (1994) states, there is no 'definitive and working model' to define all diasporas. Thus attempting to define diaspora requires understanding of the history of the complex human movements and the formation as well as transformation of each specific diaspora group in different parts of the World (see Appendix Five, page 2010 for more information about history of human mobility and movements).

As discussed in Chapter Four, and as most historians would agree, the Kurdish diaspora exists as the consequence of ongoing, complex, and

exclusionary politics against the Kurds in the Middle Eastern region (Bruinssen 1992; McDowall 2010; Bozarslan 2014).

Moreover, Shuval (2000) provides a sophisticated and comprehensive definition of diaspora which is relevant to the Kurds:

> Diaspora is a social construct founded on feeling, consciousness, memory, mythology, history, meaningful narratives, group identity, longings, and dreams, allegorical and virtual elements, all of which play a role in establishing a diaspora reality. At a given moment in time, the sense of connection to a homeland must be strong enough to resist forgetting, assimilating or distancing (Shuval 2000: 3).

Effectively Shuval is referring to the complex nature and ongoing process of diaspora and therefore reinforcing the need for an interdisciplinary approach within diaspora/transnational studies.

More specifically, with respect to the non-essentialist epistemology used in this thesis and following the social constructivist approach, I argue that the process of marginalisation has led the Kurds to flee from their home. They have found newly imagined (Anderson 2006 and real communities away from Kurdistan in order to reconstruct their culture, and in fact re-gain a new culture (that of Kurdish-Londoner). Advocating the social constructivist approach in social science methodology, Eickelman (1989), an American anthropologist and social constructivist theorist, who studies the Middle East, believes that the term Kurd was constructed within a series of systematic socio-political processes, especially since the 1920s, which resulted in marginalisation in the Middle East. Thus Eickelman (1989) in turn raises the important question of the term Kurdish as being more political rather than cultural.

A similar constructivist view is expressed by Vali (2012) who studied the construction of a complex local social and political Kurdish entity in a part of a Kurdish region in Iran which is known as 'Mahabad Republic' in 1946. Social constructivist methodology is very important in helping us to understand the cultural diversity of the Kurds, and the historic Kurdish political disunity. This leads to understanding and recognising the Kurds as a heterogeneous social group in the Middle East, and nevertheless acknowledging their collective and systematic socio-political and

economic marginalisation since the 1920s. The Kurdish nationalists use the term Kurd extensively and interchangeably as a political and cultural term, and in order to assume a degree of shared history and uniformity and a unity in their plight for both political and cultural rights. Paradoxically, the term Kurds has also been used by successive governments in the Middle East, especially since the 1920s, to supress any opposition against them by labelling them as Kurds regardless of their cultural diversity (Besikçi 1977).

The empirical data collected for this study strongly points to the importance of recognising the cultural diversity and heterogeneity of the Kurds. This thesis also attempts to move beyond prescriptive and general labelling of a cultural group in forced migration studies and diaspora studies. Many scholars are now reluctant to employ a commonly used term which would work as a fixed label against a particular group of refugees such as the Kurds in London (Zetter et al. 2005). In addition to problematising the act of labelling, in this thesis emphasis has also been given to studying the lived experiences and emotions of individual members of different diaspora community(ies). For example those Kurds who described their deep feeling of being or belonging to Alvei Kurd, Hawrami Kurd, Zazai Kurd, Faili Kurd, or Yezidi Kurd; therefore, expressing different cultural perspectives (see Chapter Four).

However, as demonstrated in the case studies in Chapter Six the analytical units of age and gender are more significant in relation to studying the integration experience of members of the Kurdish diaspora community(ies) in London. The research carried out and data collected has a gender balance but not a gender specific analytical dimension. Thus positive steps were taken to interview Kurdish women and to include the views of women. The same balance is true for including the views of the second generation. Evidently different gender and age groups provide a wide range of different views and perspectives (see Chapter Six for relevant case studies).

Referring back to the theoretical framework debate and considering the application of system theory to the study of migration and migrants a new understanding and a critical perspective emerged in the 1990s. In relation to categorising refugees, Zetter et al. (2005) described those in

London as being almost permanently 'labelled' according to their ethnicity and original nationality. For example, the Kurds are seen as Kurdish refugees who forever dream of a homeland. The problem with this stereotypical view is that it refers to all refugees in general terms and describes them as outsiders, others, or foreigners who do not seem to want or be able to cross the threshold set for refugee groups. This view is particularly static when ignoring the heterogeneity of refugee groups, such as the Kurds, and not recording the voices of the young and second generation of refugees.

Moreover, Clifford (1994) provides a useful note about the use of the terms diaspora and diaspora discourse which is relevant, and telling with respect to Kurdish diaspora at the present time: 'the language of diaspora is increasingly invoked by displaced peoples who feel (maintain, revive, invent) a connection with a prior home. This sense of connection must be strong enough to resist erasure through the normalizing processes of forgetting, assimilating, and distancing' (Clifford 1994: 310).

Following Clifford it is important to note that psychological factors are important and relevant for better understanding the thoughts and behaviours of members of a diaspora community. In addition there are other real and complex connections including actual and regular commuting between two countries (the country of permanent residence and the country of origin). This is a solid premise upon which to build a valid argument for utilising the term diaspora as a useful analytical tool encompassing human actions, emotions, and beliefs, as well as real life experiences which include the possessing of dual identities and shifting loyalties. Most of the informants for this study stated that they recognised this fine and critical distinction between emotion and reality, and they agreed with this statement explaining their transformation of identity from 'being Kurdish in Kurdistan to feeling Kurdish in London and being a Londoner' (Ozl, focus group meeting in south London, August 2013). The concept of a Kurdish-Londoner as a new medium of analysis will be discussed later in this chapter and explored fully in Chapter Five.

The final point in the refugee studies literature is about critique of state-centred analysis of collective identity (Malkki 1992; Marfleet 2006). As

explained in Chapter Four Kurdistan as a land was formally divided between the three newly formed nation-states of Turkey, Iraq and Syria in 1920s. Therefore most Kurds, who were subjects of the Ottoman Empire before found themselves to be subjects of the new nation-states without any referendum.

The post-WW1 politics in the Middle East demonstrate the conflicting and unjust nature of these new states which planned to homogenise all sorts of people and cultures. The modern nation-state building in the Middle East in the 1920s was carried out mostly by force and under the umbrella of undemocratic and oppressive policies against the Kurds. Again, as we have seen, the new state institutions and state apparatus, for example in Turkey, have imposed all sorts of oppressive tactics and politics on the Kurds in order to assimilate them and deny them their distinctive and ancient traditional and local tribal identities (Bruinessen 1992).

This generalised, imposed, and bureaucratically convenient given identity from the state/above has always been resisted and challenged by the Kurds. Therefore the Kurds have become victims as well as non-state actors in the Middle East. Over time the real contradictions between territorially defined nation-state political identity and the complex realties of different people with distinct cultural identities, such as the Kurds, have forced academics working within social sciences to think beyond state-centric paradigms to understand more complex collective identities. Referring to migration system theory, which looks at the emergence of a new wave of transnational and diaspora people living outside existing nation-states, this rethink is evident, for example, in the work of Castles and Davidson (2000), Featherstone et al. (1995), Appadurai (1996), Hall (1996a) and Malkki (1992).

In short the debate on the relationship between nation and diaspora could be contained within three distinct and sometimes overlapping academic categories, with each category representing a different perspective. Firstly, the scholars who focus upon culture as a key to understanding this relationship (Malkki 1992; Clifford 1994; Hall 1996a). Secondly, those who place emphasis on geographical space or place of territory (Hobsbawm 1990; Anderson 2006; Cohen 2008), and finally the advocates of 'globalisation' (Featherstone et al. 1995; Appadurai 1996).

In relation to cultural identity, within a given nation-state, for example in Britain, people identify themselves as British and claim to belong to an 'imagined community'. According to Anderson (2006) Britain is a large and diverse community which can only be imagined and exists beyond any local community where most people are able to interact face to face and where there is a real sense of community.

Territory refers to a geographical and physical place where people live and it is defined strictly by borders, again some part of it being imagined, for example, from the air or on water but often clearly marked on the earth. Therefore it is real with respect to the land and is called a nation-state. The cultural identity of people living within these borders is both defined by territory and also protected by them. According to Hobsbawm (1990) the nation state is a modern political project which has attempted and been successful in linking cultural identity with territory. This project has largely succeeded through creating some 195 different nation-states (World Atlas Statistics accessed in April 2015).[7]

Globalisation refers to a process of human mobility called migration, both forced and voluntary, across different countries especially since the 1950s.This has created new and dynamic global conditions for people to move from one country to another in search of work, education, safety and security, or simply for better life opportunities. The notion of diaspora with reference to cultural identity and ethnicity has existed since long before the invention of the nation-state and by definition diaspora identity is not linked, like that of the nation-state, to territory. According to Hobsbawm (1990) the use of the nation state as a modern term has created a new paradox which makes people living in one nation-state sound homogeneous because they live in one territory.

2.4 The Integration Debate: global, local and state policies and migrants

A brief overview:

In this global era our more accurate and deeper understanding of a new age of migration is important for the security and wellbeing of everyone living in Europe and beyond (Betts and Loescher 2011). Thus successful integration of new migrants and refugees in different EU countries is not

optional. It is an important key to a better future for the citizens of the whole of the EU and for development in developing and poor countries. According to a report published in November 2015 by Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants (PICUM) based in Brussels there is growing poverty among people from migrant and refugee groups who are European citizens:

> The inclusion of migrants irrespective of their migration status in the broader implementation of the Europe 2020 strategy is crucial as migrants face an increased and disproportionate risk of poverty and social exclusion, human rights violations and discrimination. Due to the multiple failings of labour migration systems in Europe (PICUM 2015: 1)

In an attempt to broaden and give a historical dimension to the contemporary refugee and migration debate Marfleet (2006) describes migration and refugees as a historic and world phenomenon and not a new local problem (Marfleet 2006: 1). Similarly other refugee studies scholars refer to a classic refugee case, for example, the Huguenots in the 17th century who were fleeing religious persecution and were defined as refugees in Europe.

Here an important progress was made within modern states and according to Zolberg et al.: 'the absences of religion persecution became the hallmark of civilized states' (Zolberg et al. 1989: 8). Reflecting on contemporary issues of forced migration Marrus (2002) suggests 'refugees are forgotten people who have fallen into the cracks of history' (Marrus 2002: 12).

This is a powerful statement which resonates in Europe even today. The nation states most of the time have justified their nationalist and exclusionary policies in order to please their own population and effectively deny space to refugees to rebuild a new home. This is an apparent exclusionary approach by the nation-state against migrants in general and refugees in particular. Arendt (1967), in her critique of the nation-state, attempted to theorise human rights through consideration of refugee rights, and as shown above refugees are those who will essentially become stateless first and therefore lose all their rights before entering another country. Again as described by Arendt (1967:3)

describes: the issue of loss of rights to have rights faced by the stateless as a natural right and more importantly the loss a right of belonging to a community within which such rights have meaning in the locus of citizenship.

As stated in refugee and human rights law, both developed and enshrined within international law, post WW2 the term refugee is a legal term[8]. This term has now been used to define all persons who flee conflict zones or political persecution, or who seek safety and security in another country outside their own. Some scholars, like Hathaway (2005), advocate for preservation of refugee rights under international human rights law, and there are others (Betts and Loescher 2011) who use the more general term 'forced migrants' to distinguish them from voluntary migrants.

Broadly speaking, scholars of migration studies do agree on a clear analytical distinction between the two categories of forced and voluntary migrants. However, there is a political tendency to redefine the term refugee and to replace it with more generic term of forced migrants. This political and revisionist approach, highlighted by Mulvey (2010) who has studied the influence of the closed door refugee politics of the New Labour government in the UK since 1997. Mulvey (2010) has also pointed out the restrictive and unwelcome policies for migrants, and especially refugees in the UK. The protection of refugees was a landmark victory and source of pride for the UNHCR and the EU countries who signed the agreement best known as the Geneva Convention of 1951, but this Convention has now been questioned (Hathaway 1991a). The clear evidence for this was, and still is, a negative shift enacted by Jack Straw, as the first Home Secretary after the 1997 election. According to Mulvey (2010),

> Straw began the process of questioning the Geneva Convention. The thrust of the argument made by Straw was that the number of people able to flee regimes and claim asylum was a problem. The Convention was no longer working as its framers intended, and the environment in which it is applied today is one that has changed almost out of all recognition from that of 1951, and numbers of asylum seekers have vastly increased (Mulvey 2010: 440).

Furthermore, looking at the more general global picture and changes in the pattern of forced migration and displacement in the world since the end of the so called Cold War Orchard writes: 'Recent work has shown that in the 103 situations of mass displacement between 1991 and 2006 (affecting some 53 countries), regime-induced displacement was one of the primary causes of displacement in 62 (60 percent) of the cases' (Orchard 2010: 1).

In the world today, according to UNHCR [9], there are '59.5 million' displaced persons and '19.5 million' refugees who are registered by the United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR 2015).

In July 2015 the migrant crisis in Calais, the French seaside port, had reached a critical point, with thousands of destitute and desperate migrants attempting, sometimes with fatal consequences, to enter Britain. The British Prime Minister had described the migrants as 'swarms' and was criticised by the Refugee Council in the UK as well as other humanitarian organisations for using such emotive language: 'human rights groups have rounded on David Cameron, saying his description of migrants in Calais as a "swarm of people" trying to reach Britain was de-humanising' (Elgot and Taylor 2015).[10]

Calais is solely a transit destination and it could perhaps be closed to migrants aiming to cross the English Channel, but this, as we know, illustrates the scale, depth and urgency of ongoing displacement and refugee crises in the Middle Eastern region and North Africa.

Such new and more complex migration patterns, both voluntary and forced should, one hopes, be reflected upon in the work of academics and policy makers alike. Indeed, what is written, as well as the policies already adapted to deal with refugees and migrants will have consequences and effects real lives and real people across all communities in this country. Thus it is important to talk about migrants and refugees in the light of evidence. The problem is that not all social policies are informed by accurate and independent social research and not all social research studies are independent of state policy (Hampshire 2005; Zetter et al. 2006; Philmore and Goodson 2008).

Therefore sometimes major social events affecting integration do happen, and indeed have happened in Britain, and they surprised

academics and policy makers alike. For example, a public enquiry into the race riots and community tensions in Bradford, Luton, and parts of East London in England in 2001 described how people in those areas were leading a 'parallel life' for generations without anyone noticing the dangerous drift which was slowly occurring within a seemingly happy multicultural community in some English cities (Cantle 2001). Another significant event was the by-election in Bradford West in March 2012 which re-ignited some of the old tensions that still exist between different community groups in Bradford (Migrant's Rights Network 2012).

It is important to note that during the time of writing this thesis in winter 2015 there were indications of rising tensions involving further marginalisation of Muslim communities in Britain (See Casey Review (2016): a new review into opportunity and integration in Britian).[11] This is happening as a direct result of recent tragic events in Paris in November 2015 which were clearly linked to the extreme and violent Islamic group (IS) currently operating out of Syria and Iraq. This in turn, so many believe, led to the approval of the British parliament on 2nd December 2015 for extending the British bombing campaign against extremist Islamic group (IS) targets in Syria.

Further developments and the various effects on community cohesion and multiculturalism remain to be seen, but people on the street would tell you that this is not good news for community relations in Britain, at least not now. There is a steady increase of direct attacks against the Muslim community in Britain in response to the recent tragic events that happened in Paris.[12]These are just some of the well documented events and important landmarks for re-considering the question of why community cohesion, cultural equality and peaceful coexistence within a multi-cultural society such as Britain really matters (Commission on Integration and Cohesion 2007).

Looking back at the pattern of the new wave of forced migration since 2011, amid a new war and insecurity in Syria which then spread to Iraq in 2014, and also an increasing influx of mixed migrants coming from African regions, explains how the complex and uneasy relationship between the nation-state and migrants who cross state borders is shifting and how nowadays people move more easily and with more speed.

Migrants are now constantly challenging nation-states, and with respect to these ongoing challenges to the nation-states from different pressing angles a prominent refugee studies scholar, Marfleet (2006), suggests that current nation-states have difficulty to justify the existence of their borders. However, as Joppke (2004) suggests the difficulty of controlling immigration does not mean that the nation-states, for example, the United Kingdom which aims to be "the zero-immigration country" are not using their sovereign power to deny access for refugees to enter their territory" (Joppke 2004:4). This critical observation was made by Joppke (2004) more than a decade ago and this complex, unequal, and uneasy relationship between the British state and refugees still exists today.

The Integration Debate:

In most recent studies the term integration, as described by McPherson (2010), has been used as a positive term referring to successful settlement of migrants/refugees in host countries, and this is a definition used throughout this thesis. Others, like Hall (1996b), used the term 'acculturation' in the context of multicultural debate. There is a body of literature discussing and linking integration, belonging and citizenship and this has happened in the context of 'multicultural' discourse in many European countries, like the Netherlands, Sweden and Britain (Joppke 2004; Korac 2005). Integration debates in Britain have an interesting and long history, which is closely linked to debates about 'multiculturalism'. For example, as Joppke (2004) vividly describes, 'when Robin Cook, Britain's Foreign Minister under the first Blair government, declared that "chicken tikka masala" now rivalled "fish and chips" as Britons' favourite dish, wasn't this a sign that the "plural" model had already arrived?' (Runnymede Trust 2000: 48). A few years later, however, and following the race riots in Bradford in England and the publication of the Cantle report in 2001,

> Britain's move 'beyond multiculturalism' was rigorously pursued by Labour Home Secretary David Blunkett, who in his first years in office broke virtually all the taboos that had sealed Britain's

etiquette-conscious race relations scene from the 'honest and robust debate' called for in the Cantle Report (Joppke 2004: 13).

The key to unlocking the political dimension of the debate on integration, multiculturalism and now super-diversity (Vertovec 2010) is to understand what happened after the tragic events of 9/11 in New York City (Malik 2013), and a few months before that in July 2001 with the riots in Bradford and a few other northern English towns and cities which helped to further heightened existing tensions between Muslim and White communities in those areas (Alexander 2004). The social and economic marginalisation of the Asian/Muslim communities has been explained and discussed by Amin (2003), and as he states in *Unruly Strangers?* 'The thrust of the argument, though, is to argue that the riots should be read in terms of the mature claim of a section of British society for recognition as fully-fledged citizens of a multi-ethnic and multicultural society, rather than as claims of ethnic recognition alone" (Amin 2003:10) . In addition to academic interest in and studies relating to the complex causes and consequences of the British riots in 2001 there was an important public enquiry and a report that followed (Cantle 2001) which concluded that Muslim and White communities have lived 'parallel' lives and been segregated from each other (Amin 2003:11).

Further to Amin's discussion of multiculturalism in Britain it is said that it has often led to segregation, and yet this segregation is also based on ongoing ethnic labelling. Some scholars describe this segregation as a consequence of economic marginalisation with the problem being the economic disadvantage faced by large sections of ethnic groups. This could be interpreted as due to their inability to integrate, which again is in large part caused by the current multicultural divide in Britain, including in some parts of London. One can revisit a historic and important lesson through studying the consequences of different communities living in parallel in the United States of America (USA) in the 1940s. A social psychology study looked at intergroup actual contact and interactions between different groups in a social context, and as Pettigrew et.al. in '*Recent Advances in Intergroup Contact Theory*' argues:

> One of the worst race riots in U.S. history occurred in Detroit in1943. But while Black and White mobs raged in the streets,

Blacks and Whites who knew each other not only refrained from violence but often helped one another. Automotive workers and university students continued to work and study side by side. Families hid neighbours of the other race from threatening rioters (Pettigrew et al. 2011: 2).

In Britain the debate about multiculturalism was picked up and revived by David Cameron, the British Prime Minister, in February 2011. In a speech in Munich about British multiculturalism he used the term 'masculine liberalism' to advocate for greater state intervention to integrate people into British society.[13]

This thesis is taking a critical approach to the British State's ever changing positions. Thus analysis in this thesis is in line with that of Stuart Hall, a leading cultural theorist, and what he describes as 'subtle' integration. As Hall suggests integration is happening gradually and delicately, at a grassroots level and on a daily basis in cities such as London where individuals and communities mingle, mix and negotiate, as well as forming new hybrid cultures.[14]Most recently scholars studying state multiculturalism in Britain have pointed to negative and long-term effects of multiculturalism in separating minority communities from the mainstream (Malik 2013). However, highlighting more positive and the peaceful coexistence of different people from different cultural backgrounds in Britian Lewis and Craig (2014) describe:

> Multiculturalism, broadly a view that members of different cultures can live peacefully alongside each other and maintain important aspects of their own cultures, underpinned government 'race' relations policy from the 1970s onwards. A strong strand in UK debates (and elsewhere) now espouses the view that multiculturalism separated minority ethnic groups from mainstream society (Lewis and Craig 2014: 21).

In addition to understanding the British law and the state policies on social cohesion and integration (Favell 1998) there is a compelling reason for focusing upon the integration debate for the Kurds; and that is the Kurds, as diaspora people, did not want to assimilate in Turkey, Iraq, or Syria for complex historical, cultural, and political reasons. The same reasons can apply to not wanting to assimilate in Britain or indeed in any

other host country in Europe. Therefore, we have this debate about integration which reflects a complex reality of life for diaspora people. Again, as discussed above, within diaspora/transnational studies there has been a shift in emphasis from early notions of diaspora 'victims' wishing to 'return' to their 'original' homeland (Safran 1991; Cohen 2008).

This shift and new focus is now on transnational life, commuting between two or three homes and the making of transnational space (Faist 1999). This process is also studied by 'globalisation' theorists like Appadurai (1996). But local integration is still a policy issue as well as a complex practical challenge for the migrants themselves.

The concept of integration often sparks heated debate in classrooms and public spaces in London, and it seems it can provide a dividing or uniting function for mainstream and migrant communities. According to Ager and Strang (2008) who studied refugee integration in Britain integration is a set of policy driven goals and projects with targeted outcomes for refugees. Other scholars, for example Bloch and Solomos (2010) who studied refugee integration in Britain, offer similar working models explaining the marginalisation of migrants and refugees who often live in limbo for many years before being allowed limited access to resources, advice and information, such that their negative integration experience starts from day one. Ager and Strang's analysis of refugee needs is based on the psychological model of a human's hierarchy of needs and does not do much to distinguish between diverse refugee communities and other social categories within mainstream British society. Nor does this study take into account the views and attitudes of local communities in Britain, some of which we know are traditionally more welcoming, whilst some are more hostile to newcomers.

Furthermore, the debate about integration and multiculturalism has shifted again and social science scholars now talk about 'super-diversity' in Britain, and especially in London. As Castles and Davidson (2000) have explained there has been a steady rise in the movement of skilled migrants within an increasingly globalised world market. This new wave of migrants includes students, family reunions and asylum seekers, and as such is a mixture of voluntary and forced migration. According to Vertovec (2010) this influx of new migrants since the 1980s, who are

joining an already diverse city such as London, as well as other big British cities like Birmingham, have created a multiplicity of everything, including multi-faith, multi-language and multi-cultural urban settings.

Some see this super-diversity as a British success story for having managed to attract new skills and new money into Britain, and some would disagree and argue that Britain is less cohesive because of mass immigration, especially from the European member states. There are also multi-levels of social and economic inequities both among migrants and among the less skilled and manual British workers that need to be addressed, studied and analysed to gain a more nuanced understanding of this 'super-diversity' (Verovec 2007a).

Moreover, as Anwar (1998) discusses, in the integration debate one important emphasis is on the association of assimilation with discrimination and the domination of 'majority' over 'minority' groups. The multicultural debate in Britain and elsewhere in Europe, such as in Sweden, is supposed to deliver social justice to both majority and minority communities and is based on coexistence, communication and cooperation. According to a new report about citizenship in Britain there has been much talk about integration but less in the way of action.[15]

2.5 A New Home

A considerable number of Kurdish refugees came to Europe in the 1990s including several thousand who arrived in London. In the process of settlement and integration all Kurdish families and individuals have faced many new challenges as well as the complex reality of adapting to a new life in London. Most studies use the term integration as a positive term concerning commonly accepted social norms and values (McPherson 2010). The data collected for this study indicates the first measurable steps for successful settlement include access to housing, education, jobs, and the National Health Service (NHS) (SDCAS Report 2014).

Furthermore, most scholars and policy makers share the view that a precise academic definition of the term integration is not possible or indeed necessary. Thus integration as a positive social policy factor and plan has a very important practical value as well, that is, to help to

maintain and enhance community cohesion in Britain. The academic debate about integration and the notion of home, belonging and community cohesion was covered at some length in Chapter Two. This section deals with practical and physical integration; or settlement issues for migrants and refugees.

This thesis argues that successful physical settlement of migrants/refugees in Britain is a first crucial step towards successful integration. The two terms integration and settlement are used interchangeably in this section (for more information on migrants and asylum cases see SDCAS report, Table Five, page 194).

| 2. positive integration | 1. successful settlement |
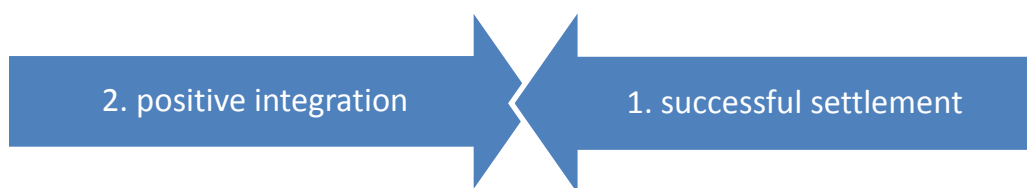
In the debate about integration others, like Hall (1996a), have used the term 'acculturation' in the context of multicultural debate. There is a body of literature discussing and linking successful settlement, positive integration, home/ belonging and citizenship together. These debates are happening in the context of 'multicultural' discourse in many European countries such as the Netherlands, Sweden, and Britain (Joppke 2004). Within the discourse of integration and for identifying and describing the practical settlement needs of migrants and refugees in the UK Phillips (2006) highlights, for example, the importance of housing as a first and defining step:

> The principle of integration underlies UK government policy on immigration and community cohesion, and governs its approach to both the reception and resettlement of new migrants. Both the Home Office and Scottish Executive reports identify housing as a

key dimension in the integration process. The housing conditions and experiences of refugees clearly play an important role in shaping their sense of security and belonging, and have a bearing on their access to healthcare, education andemployment (Phillips 2006: 2) .

This thesis argues that ongoing challenges require even deeper reflection upon the human ability to feel differently and adapt a new identity in a new environment. Thus the articulation of the concept of Kurdish-Londoner should work as an epistemological guide to aid in our understanding of the social construction of identity and the sense of continuity and change which is occurring within diaspora. The construction of identity in the diaspora society beyond nation-state borders is still prevalent as Bhabha points out: 'The traditional conceptualisations of borders as fixed definitions, upon which binaries such as us / them and native/foreigner are ideologically constructed and come into question as the postcolonial subjects stand in "liminal", "interstitial places" and "hybrid" sites' (Bhabha 1994: 4).

These new dual and hybrid identities are both real/practical and imaginative, and they are particularly significant in the context of rich cosmopolitan London.

The empirical data collected for this thesis suggests that there is also a strong undercurrent of desire and hope for achieving social justice which Kurds wish to attain through belonging to London. Thus the integration debate, often one-sided, strongly influenced from above (by the British State) and without much input by different Black and Ethnic Minority (BME) groups, suddenly finds a radical alternative and an aspiration to belong from below (the community). This in turn leads to creating new social spaces for local communities which again leads to the emergence of ongoing narratives and counter-narratives around multiculturalism and integration (Mcleod 2001).

In this thesis the integration debate is presented from the Kurdish diaspora community's perspective. For members of Kurdish diaspora the discourse of self-identity lends itself to a search for new meanings and challenges to social injustice against the Kurds as a marginalised category, primarily in their country of origin (Alinia 2004. Further,

increasingly positive recognition of the Kurdish cultural identity in London sends a positive message to their formal and former countries in the Middle East. The power and politics of diaspora are not new and Kurds do compare themselves with others. For example, comparisons are made with the Jews who managed to put up a united front with the Jews inside Israel and to build a new state in 1948, with similar international support and connections also ringing true, for example, for the Irish and Armenian diaspora (Joppke 2004; Cohen 2008).

At a theoretical level it is important to acknowledge the lack of well-developed Kurdish Studies and that there are no readymade theories about Kurdish culture and identity. The concept 'Kurdish-Londoner' is the closest literary interpretation of 'Kordi-London' where a deterritorialised Kurdish identity seeks and finds a new identity in the space of London. It is not a traditional practice in social research to invent untested terms. However, this thesis argues that, in the absence of a recognised and advanced Kurdish studies as an independent academic discipline, these types of community based articulation are needed to challenge the skewed knowledge produced by the dominant States in the Middle East, often in order to deny Kurdish identity. The Kurds are still struggling to gain cultural recognition, especially in Turkey where since the creation of modern Turkey in 1923 their rights as a Kurdish people have been denied and their political activism has led to persecution and punishment by the Turkish state (Besikçi 1977).

The Kurds in London, like most other people from black and ethnic minority groups (BME), suffer from lack of representation or sometimes misrepresentation. Drawing from a community-based academic study with the black community in London Reynolds (1998) in a positive evaluation of black mothers' voices argues against the dominance of the type of knowledge produced from above/outside the African-Caribbean community and from a position of greater power.

Furthermore, Reynolds writes: 'I constructed a mothering identity which locates this identity within a historical, cultural, socio-economic context' (Reynolds 1998: 82).

In line with Reynolds' approach above and in direct opposition to old negative views from outside the community and from above, with respect to BME and refugee group in Britain, in recent years among the second generation of Kurds the term 'Kurdish-Londoner' has emerged and is increasingly being used positively. Londoners, by definition, are citizens of London who are members of various international and local communities including many from refugee and migrant backgrounds who live and work in London and contribute to its economy.[16]

Reflecting on earlier information about Kurdish cultural diversity, it is important to note that the Kurdish diaspora in London is not a homogenous group and like most Londoners they often inhabit 'multiple identities', both formal (like Iraqi Kurd) and informal (like Alevi Kurd, Badini Kurd, Yezidi Kurd). They also hold British passports which is yet another formal identity. These different identities sometimes clash, sometimes working in parallel and sometimes cooperating, communicating, negotiating and creating new spaces in London.

These dynamic actions and reactions need to be understood in relation to the wider diverse city of London, as well as within its diverse Kurdish diaspora communities. However, in communities and at a micro level the subject of integration should include the specific views and interests of Kurdish individual vis-à-vis the Kurdish community. Moreover, and as Maalouf (2003) and Hall (1996b) describe it, complex new realities do not exist on equal terms, and these complex and changing realties happen and need to be acknowledged by all parties and all sides. Again on a theoretical level and concerning the individual, as Olson (1965), in his famous work *The Logic of Collective Action* argues, group and individual behavior and actions should be studied in the context of 'common interest' and 'individual gain' and benefits. Hence, as these common, and sometimes overlapping, grounds of group interests and individual gains change the behavior of the individual vis-à-vis the local community and London as a whole changes as well.

This study is specific to London while investigating some initial comparisons with other countries in Europe. Again the dynamic of integration and self-identity of members of the Kurdish diaspora in various other European places can be described differently based on the specific situation and context of the study. For example, from the

literature on Kurdish diaspora in Sweden one can draw some comparative insights in relation to the lived experiences of Kurdish diaspora in Stockholm (Alinia and Eliassi 2014).

The Swedish literature showed a strong nationalistic tendency among the Kurdish diaspora in Sweden. The Kurds define their cultural identity against their country of origin and appreciate the Swedish culture but without expressing much positive belonging to Sweden (Eliassi 2015; Khayati 2008; Alinia 2004). The Kurdish diaspora in London display a similar nationalistic mood but their attitude about belonging is clearly different and many young Kurds express a positive sense of belonging to London.

> We think London is very different from other cities in the UK. Some of us lived in Hull and Newcastle before and ended up coming back to London. In London you can find a social space for yourself. We recently started a football team and we are supported by the local sport centre. We feel belonging to our community as well as to London and like this city very much for accommodating all these different people (RBZ, focus group meeting South London September 2013).

In addition to academic materials this study examined relevant policy documents and reports that have been produced by the Home Office and by a number of London boroughs and charities in relation to refugee integration. The national authority dealing with community integration within the Home Office is the Department of Communities and Local Government (DCLG). The official statistics, for example, show the lack of positive strategy and limited data collection by the British government among refugee and minority groups. The official data also shows that some ethnic groups, such as the Kurds, are overrepresented in manual and catering work and underrepresented in local government, the civil service, formal politics, mainstream media, higher education, banking and the financial sector (Holgate et al. 2009; Bloch and Solomos 2010).

2.6 Conclusion

Terms such as 'diaspora' and 'transnational' are sometimes used interchangeably in this thesis. Depending on the context and the specific purpose for which they are used these terms could potentially mean different things (Tololian 1991). The same flexibility is true for the terms 'integration', 'acculturation', and citizenship. They could be used by the state or by the community with a different meaning attached to them, or for different purposes (Hall 1996b; Faist 1999).

The theoretical discourse and ongoing debate on diaspora should be used as a road map towards understanding the real and collective experiences of each community living in transnational settings. Thus theorising integration and multiculturalism should be understood in the context of new and changing global conditions as described by Castles and Davidson (2000) in referring to the systematic migration of millions of people especially since the 1950s.This new and ongoing wave of migration includes both forced and voluntary migration around the globe. This chapter has also dealt with diaspora and integration discourse considering a deterritorialised form of collective identity working in parallel with the notion and the apparatuses of existing nation-states rather than against them (Malkki 1995; Kibreab 1999).

The theoretical debate herein has also illustrated the need for Kurdish diaspora history and Kurdish identity to be studied alongside one another. Thus the focus of this thesis on personal narratives and the lived experience of members of the Kurdish diaspora in London is a way to make the research more specific, grassroots-based and relevant in relation to the discussion of integration and citizenship in London. This study argues that the history of Kurdish diaspora formation and their integration experiences are essentially two sides of the same coin and cannot be treated as two separate subjects. The diaspora experiences encapsulate past and present and, as Said (2001) put it: those who live in exile know two homes and two cultures and they are constantly affected by past memories and events.

It was emphasised above that the Kurdish diaspora in London is not a homogenous group and like many other Londoners they often inhabit 'multiple identities', both formal (like Iraqi Kurd) and informal (like Alevi

Kurd, Badini Kurd, Yezidi Kurd). For some forced migrants their previous formal identity becomes 'former' and often 'original' identity refers to the parents' identities for those who were born in London. In addition the Kurds hold British passports, which is yet another formal and newly acquired identity. Thus in this complex discussion the concept of 'Kurdish-Londoner' is used to highlight the relevance and implications of the social constructivist paradigm in this study about Kurdish identity and history.

On a practical and policy level, in relation to the process of integration, another crucial and analytical point discussed suggests that the process of integration starts from day one of arrival. However, integration does not start on arrival and probably not for a long time afterwards if you feel unwanted and face a poor reception, as has been the policy in most European Union (EU) countries[17], especially since the Dublin Regulation came into force in 2003[18]. This new regulation effectively reinforced the European closed door policy on asylum, and now Britain is competing for having the worst possible ratings for asylum reception.

Finally on the importance of social networks, by the very nature of belonging to a refugee or diaspora community people who live in diaspora need to maintain strong links with their country of origin, simply because the rest of their family live there. They also face upheaval and struggle to survive in Britain as they try to regain their voice and achieve a reasonable level of social and economic life. As discussed the positive feeling of belonging in London among the second generation of Kurds is an ambitious goal and a step towards inclusion and cultural equality.

The concept of Kurdish-Londoner is therefore a positive and creative new social construct of identity. Therefore the term Kurdish-Londoner helps to articulate the beginning of a new process of transformation of identity, which is a confirmation of a new cultural reform happening within the second generation of Kurdish migrants in London. Indeed it also helps to define and keep London as it is, a culturally rich and cosmopolitan capital city, and a positive model for understanding 'super-diversity' in Britain (Vertovec 2010).

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The methodology used herein is based on a reflexive approach, meaning that a central focus is reflection upon my different positions in relation to this research project. Firstly I am a researcher within the field of migration and diaspora studies, and secondly I have first-hand experience as a refugee and a Kurdish-Londoner, thus becoming an 'insider' researcher. I foreground grassroots views from the perspective of refugees, and more specifically my research is a study of the Kurdish diaspora in London, or Kurdish-Londoners. Furthermore I use ethnographic and qualitative data collection and analysis, including 'auto-ethnography', to incorporate my own personal experiences and reflections (Kingston 1976; Ritchie and Lewis 2003; Goring 2004; Hirsch 1997; Nassari 2007).

In choosing which methods were appropriate to this study primacy was given to the use of qualitative methods of data collection by conducting 25 semi-structured one-to-one interviews and organising 3 focus group discussions (Ritchie and Lewis 2003). Qualitative methods are used to answer 'why?' (the philosophical enquiry) about social questions such as belonging, identity and feelings, thereby helping to produce more in-depth and systematic explanations and insights about individual and group behaviors. In contrast quantitative methods are often used to produce 'hard data' and for measuring social questions such as unemployment or housing issues and in order to answer the question 'what?' (the scale and pattern) about social enquiries (Bryman 2004).

The methodology has been designed to further develop a community-based dialogue that has already begun within the Kurdish Community in London.[19] More important still is the involvement of Kurdish individuals who are members of a particular section of the Kurdish community, taking into account their role in relation to the wider and more diverse socio-cultural groups in London. Winder (2004), in his work on the history of refugees in Britain, states that some refugees will become 'British by choice not by birth' (Winder 2004: 12).

This issue of choice is one important aspect of the refugee experience and the relevant argument about choice is that most refugees, especially women and children, do not enjoy access to local resources, information and advice in right time to help them to integrate.

In order to cover different integration issues the case studies are used to open up a new space and present different voices from within and across the Kurdish community(ies). That is the voices of the first generation which in reality is the recording of refugee story and journey through their memory as well as their live experiences in London (Kuhn 2000). The case studies do also include the second generation born in London. In summary, the case studies cover the views of old and young, men and women. The empirical data show that each identity category experiences integration in different ways and the case studies in Chapter Six are presented to reflect these multiple voices expressed by members of the Kurdish diaspora community(ies) in London.

3.2 Methodological Philosophy

The ongoing debate and dilemma of 'positivism' versus 'constructivism' within Social Sciences has been dealt with here by exercising a degree of openness and flexibility in the design of the in-depth and qualitative interviews. Alongside these interviews the hard facts and figures have been respected and the truth and realities noted down as they emerged. According to Cupchik (2001) this pragmatic approach in social research methods is called 'constructivist realism' as opposed to the 'naïve realism' of the positivist tradition which dominated in the past. In this research this flexible approach has been employed to help people put across their views, with other relevant factors such as local politics and policy also considered. The research design is refugee-centered, which is of central importance at the moment in helping us explore openly and fully both forced migration history and matters related to refugee integration and identity (Marfleet 2006; Bloch and Solomos 2010; Tas 2013).

This study aims to explore and understand the liminal position (being on the threshold) or the experience of living with a fixed label given by the host country to refugee or ethnic groups. It is therefore difficult to study a marginal group such as refugees within a society. As Malkki (1995) puts it there is 'no ready-made theoretical and methodological toolkit for refugee studies' (Malkki 1995: 496). Therefore, there is room for open, flexible, and constructive methods enabling reflection on and response to real life experiences. This is in line with the epistemological shift from 'positivism' to 'constructivism' in the philosophy of social research methods, especially since the 1950s and 1960s, which has created a 'dilemma' in this field of study (Clifford 1886a; Byrne 2011; May 2001; Punch 2006).

Moreover with respect to the philosophical debate on social research methods within social sciences it is important to consider the relevance of phenomenology in relation to the lived experience approach which is central to the methodology of this study. Phenomenology refers to the different and complex processes which often cut across different qualitative or quantitative research methods used to study the physical world, social/personal and both collective and individual (Smith and Osborn 2003). Some of the complexities and ambiguities of the process of transformation of identity within the Kurdish diaspora community in London are evident in the case studies described in Chapter Six.

The debate about social research methodology (Bryman 2004) points towards the possibility of using a pragmatic methodology designed to help researchers understand and overcome the apparent shortcomings of some traditional philosophy and methods within the social sciences. Considering the inter-disciplinary nature of refugee and diaspora studies this research method is based on the wide-ranging and relatively open-ended and pragmatic theoretical interdisciplinary framework of migration and diaspora studies that currently exists (Charmaz 2006).

Moreover, the use of some statistical data and information considered necessary for building some bridges between what individuals know, have learnt or believe to be true and the official statistics that sometimes tell a different story. For example, the figure released by Census 2011 of the total number of Kurds who live in London, '47,200', was hotly debated and disputed by most members of Kurdish diaspora community

in London. In one of the focus group discussion in March 2015 at Birkbeck College, University of London when the poor educational attainment and underachievement of Kurdish children in the three North London boroughs of Islington, Haringey, and Hackney were highlighted and discussed the whole meeting seemed to take a deeper breath and consider the importance and relevance of the statistical information given: 'Turkish/Kurdish and Bengali pupils are among the largest ethnic minority groups in Islington primary schools. They are also among the lowest performing groups in maths in Key Stage 2.'[20]

Kurds have also felt empowered to learn about this official knowledge available in the public domain about their community (Modood 2003). People were saddened by the number of young Kurds aged 18-28 who were in prison for drug and violence related offences and also the high number of suicides among young Kurds in North London. In a research report by Güneş (2013) about Alevi Kurds in London describes: 'Undetected by British mainstream media, over 48 young Alevi Kurdish men have killed themselves since 2003 in London.'[21]

Thus selective use of official data is often complementary and useful in informing debates about integration. The central point here is about being flexible in using both words and numbers, especially official data which state some sort of knowledge about a particular community. Moreover with respect to the parallel use of qualitative and quantitate social research methods Cupchik argues: 'To build bridges between different social ontologies, we must engage in a transcendental act of reflection and look for similarities in the midst of supposed differences' (Cupchik 2001: 2). This thesis argues for a need to recognise the importance of space for negotiating identity in terms of age, gender, immigration status, education, and political affiliation both within the Kurdish diaspora and with wider British society. This is in line with what Cockburn (1998) describes '*The Space Between Us'* with reference to negotiating gener and national identity (Cockburn 1998:1).

3.3 Methods: sample, access Issues, and coding themes

There are several justifications for the use of qualitative methods in this study. The following are some of the major points worth exploring in relation to sampling and access to informants, in particular Kurdish women. Included is a diagram (page 71) showing the themes used for coding and later for analysing the empirical data collected.

Samples:

(1) The lack of accurate and reliable data. For example the census in the UK in 2011 produced a figure for the total number of Kurds living in London as 47,200 (see table 1). Apart from this recent official census data there are no other reliable sources of information that researchers can access. Most participants in this study disputed the accuracy of such official data. However, academics and policy makers have long waited to see at least one set of official statistics about the Kurds in London which is unique and helps to provide a starting point for enquiring into more official data which is still missing in London and most other European cities where other Kurdish diaspora live;

(2) The Kurds have a deep rooted sociopolitical consciousness as a marginalised and displaced group and their integration experience is therefore influenced by their past experience. As explained by Eastmond (2007) different personal narratives carry varied, complex, and multiple meanings which can only be captured by in-depth and one-to-one interviews;

(3) Because of experience of exile personal narratives bear the weight of memory of the individual as well as of the collective group. For example, interviews revealed a pattern of feeling in-between for exiled Kurds who came to the UK as political refugees. While political stories do influence the daily program of Kurdish refugee community organisations in London others who were born in London have a much stronger desire to do well, to belong to London and to use London as a platform to campaign for the Kurdish cause. These multi-dimensional exile stories can be recorded and best understood through qualitative research methods. As Said (2001) put it most people grow up and are aware of one home but people in exile often relate to two homes and live with a plurality of views and visions within their exile community.

In total 25 in-depth one-to-one interviews were completed over the course of this project with individuals who are representative of the different social strata of the various Kurdish communities in London, and who originate from the four main parts of divided Kurdistan (see map page 29). There were also two focus group meetings which took place in two different community centers, one in North and another in South London. The concept of social strata refers to a deliberate attempt to choose and interview participants from different layers across the different Kurdish community(ies) in London and also a desire to gain insight across genders, ages, educational backgrounds and employments.

Before the focus group meetings I gathered my observations and thoughts, which were then put to those attending the focus group meetings. Some people agreed to continue their communication by email and answered more specific questions even after the meetings.

Since the start of my research project in 2011 I have been engaged and communicated with 87 Kurdish individuals aged between 18 and 75 who have been living in London for 7 years or more. In this thesis full ethical consideration has been given to the process of data collection, data keeping, and presentation in this thesis.

Although some of the ideas discussed in the preceding paragraphs may give the impression that the methods I used were prescriptive, emphasis was given to maintaining an open mind about the research project and to the possibility of altering methods during the study. Because, as mentioned above, this research did not set out to uncover social laws or reasons behind individual views and actions but rather to unearth the multiple realities and different voices within the Kurdish community.

In developing this research methodology, comprising semi-structured and qualitative methods, consideration has been given to the role of individuals as well as the group. Thus this study's emphasis diverges from similar studies of this kind, which have often focused upon 'group' integration and behavior, such as migrant workers from Eastern Europe or the Muslim community from North Africa (Modood 2003; Amin 2003).

This research recognises the role and responsibility of individuals as important actors, and in this respect literature on structure and agency is relevant. According to Barth (1969), 'ethnic identity is now superordinate to most other statuses'. Barth is focusing on society at both the macro- and the micro-level, such that his analysis is useful to inform a debate about the formation of a diaspora community, such as that of the Kurds, which is based on ethnicity.

As Barth further argues, the widening of contacts and connections between several ethnic groups encompassing a positive and functional social system required other 'complementary features'. Thus, as Barth concludes with respect to the complex relationship between macro and micro levels within a society, 'where there is no complementarity there can be no basis for organisation on ethnic lines-there either be no interactions, or interactions without reference to ethnic identity' (Barth 1969: 10).

Now reflecting critically upon two major research studies carried out in London on Kurdish diaspora communities, namely Wahlbeck's (1999) and Griffith's (2002) this thesis has moved away from the policy- and politics-driven methodologies that primarily defined their research. The baseline methodology of this research study will be the lived experiences of members of the Kurdish diaspora in London. The data for this study was derived from a variety of sources, including written and oral accounts, photographs, and maps.

Considering the inter-disciplinary nature of refugee and diaspora studies this research method is based on the wide-ranging and relatively open-ended and pragmatic theoretical interdisciplinary framework of migration and diaspora studies that currently exist (Charmaz 2006). Thus qualitative methods are primarily used for this research, enabling me to build upon the existing knowledge base, and at the same time helping me to explore and explain the deep and complex subjects of history and identity in relation to my research. The advantage of using in-depth interviews is to help explore personal stories and individuals' 'own opinions' (Bryman 2004: 110). In-depth interviews are used to explore different meanings and provide a better understanding about the real human experiences of those who are forced into exile, and often go on to face many other challenges in the host country. Other relevant and

complementary activities contributed to my extensive and wide ranging notes including consideration of feedback from my paper presentations at three international and three UK social science conferences.[22]

Focus Groups:

The use of three focus group discussions in this research should be treated as a complementary element of my systematic data collection process. Thus the focus groups discussions should be understood in conjunction with the main source of my qualitative data collection, the 25 semi-structured one-to-one interviews, as Ritchie and Lewis (2003) explain with respect to the use of focus group discussion as a social research technique. By using this technique I was able to collect some extra information. I benefited from the insights generated by the participants in three separate meetings in London. The participants interacted with one another, argued sometimes and at others agreed with each other. As a researcher I had a chance to put to them the semi-designed questions such as 'do you really feel London is your home?' In addition I detailed some statistical information, for example, the number of Kurds who live in London based on the Census in 2011; the official figure is 47,200 (ONS 2011). No one knew this or believed it in any of the three meetings. But it was not just the figure, as at the end some started to question their own perceptions and assumptions about Kurdish diaspora communities in London (see table page 194). Some background information follows about each focus group:

1. Focus group in North London: A total of 16 participants (11 male and five female) met at a community centre in North London chosen by the participants. I benefited enormously from the input of a fellow researcher who supported me in organising the meeting and at the meeting also acted as a translator for those who needed it. The atmosphere was very lively and friendly and the women / mothers took leadership when the subject of Kurdish children's underachievement at schools in North London was discussed.

2. Focus group in South London: A total of eight participants who were all male. This group met inside an office space which is also used as a community hub in South London. Some women who were invited refused to attend citing cultural reasons such as not being comfortable

or not being allowed to share a close space with strangers. More importantly some women emphasised the problematic gender dimension of speaking in a public domain and not being able /allowed to talk openly in front of a group of men. The attitudes of the women who attended the other focus meetings, one and three, were much more positive.

3. Focus group in Central London: A total of 28 participants (20 male and eight female). This meeting was organised by students at Birkbeck College, University of London and it was a reaction to the success of the above meetings, where some participants described the positive experience of being able to speak about their real lived experience in London within an open and friendly atmosphere. Some individuals from the previous focus meetings also attended the third meeting, and I noticed they were not very active in talking. They were listening most of the time and on some occasions raised questions very similar to mine. The meeting selected a chair person, who introduced me and my research and decided to call it an open meeting. I was able to take notes and some photos but there was strictly no registration of names. I agreed and complied with all their terms. This final focus group meeting was again very dynamic, with both men and women contributing to the discussions. Thus it was very informative for all of us. As a researcher I was given a great 'listening in opportunity' by my community. It could be said that I was given a honey pot to take away (Ritche and Lewis 2003: 171). Some participants from the one-to-one interviews and the focus group meetings did send me emails to follow up the discussion and clarify their points of view, which I have used to complement the existing data (see list of emails page 198).

Access Issues:

As I am a member of the Kurdish community in London I did not anticipate major problems with regard to overall access to the subjects of my study. However, notwithstanding this advantage, I encountered some critical practical challenges: on the one hand, this was due to the heterogeneous nature of Kurdish communities in London and my somehow ambiguous roles as both an 'insider' and a researcher. One specific difficulty was physically accessing and interviewing Kurdish

women which in turn made me feel an 'outsider' as well. In the process of field work I felt more like an outsider in my community, and I confess when I started my field work, I did not understand, and even underestimated the complex and positive role of Kurdish mothers for providing continuity of the Kurdish culture and their role in helping to 'co-construct' a diasporic identity for their family in London. As Erel (2013) describes the role of Kurdish mothers in London 'co-construct diasporic citizenship, through their mothering work, producing their children's cultural identifications as both British and Kurdish' (Erel 2013:1).

One way I managed to overcome such an apparent difficulty was through the support of Kurdish women colleagues who introduced me to potential informants and sometimes when necessary helped with translation to overcome the language barrier. The use of mixed gender focus group meetings and discussions was particularly useful for testing some sensitive questions such as those relating to religion, political, moral and community matters. The data collected from respondents in focus group meetings enabled me to test my initial enquiries and re-examine my main hypotheses as I progressed.

Coding themes:

As described vividly and critically by St. Pierre and Jackson (2014) the research process involves different and complex stages of linking the empirical data collected. The researcher needs to group the data under main themes and subthemes for clarity of presentation and for the purpose of analysis. The researcher will also be involved in annotating, through reflection upon what others have written in the field. Furthermore, bearing in mind the postmodern dilemmas in social research methodology, as Nassari (2007) has explained in his thesis, I was very aware of the danger of becoming 'caught between science and romance' when coding and analysing my data (Nassari 2007: 55). With the above notes of caution in mind the data collected for this thesis was placed in the following thematic categories:

Themes (main categories)	First Generation (relevant subcategory)	Second Generation (relevant subcategory)
refugee / migrant	decision to leave the	not applicable

journey	original country, memory of displacement	
refugee / migrant **arrival**	expectations	not applicable
refugee / migrant **reception**	real host community conditions, state policies	not applicable
refugee / migrant **integration** (lived experience in London)	home, belonging, identity, education, employment, housing, community group, family, individual	Post-memory (what passed from parents) home, belonging, identity, education, employment, housing, community group, family, individual

3.4 Case Studies: lived experiences

This study justifies the need for taking a radical approach towards studying Kurdish diaspora integration experiences in London. This radical and grassroots approach involves looking at the lived experiences of members of Kurdish diaspora communities in London. Thus it is a study from below and from the perspective of community members. The strength of this approach lies in opening up a new space for dialogue between different voices from within Kurdish diaspora communities. Hence the voices and views of the first generation, the second generation born in London, and also men and women who see and experience integration in different ways are reflected upon. The case studies selected in Chapter Six are presented in order to reflect and represent the multiple voices and diversity within the Kurdish diaspora community(ies) in London. Thus the use of case studies as an effective research tool justified for the following reasons:

(a) The selected six case studies provide empirical and valuable original data which are used as material for analyses for discussing different integration issues concerning, first, second generation, men and women. These six cases are representative of different patterns that emerged in

all the semi-structured interviews, and they are not designed to standardise the lived experiences of Kurdish diaspora members. Thus they should not to be used to prove or disprove, for example, the concept of Kurdish-Londoner;

(b) The cases do provide a critical text(s) to test an existing theory about integration, for example, the landmark finding about refugee integration in Britain wherein Bloch (2002b) suggests that the process of integration starts from day one of arrival, which the case studies proved to be a relevant and valid finding;

(c) Replication of discussions in a number of case studies and comparing different answers to the same question which helps to uncover a pattern or patterns which can then help the researcher to understand group similarities (national sentiments, feelings, displacement memories) and also see the sharp differences between members of the same diaspora community (age, gender, education, and employment factors) (Holgate et al. 2009). For example, the case studies demonstrate the complexity and the dynamism of integration, unlike in the study carried out by Ager and Strang (2008) that studied refugee integration in Britain but ignored refugee history. The case studies in this thesis argue for the study of refugee integration to be extended to include refugee history. Therefore, the framework of case studies provides a space for an individual refugee or diaspora member's voice and the recording of their narratives. However, as Bamberge (2004:360-365) suggested the personal and individual narratives do 'co-exist' alongside other more dominanate and 'master' narratives within a society, for example, about Kurdish history (see Chapter Two). In this thesis there are two more reasons for using case studies in the context of an open and flexible methodology:

(1) To state clearly that Kurds are not a homogeneous group and that their citizenship status has been changing throughout history;

(2) To challenge essentialist views about integration (including the British state's often masculinise and assimilationist approach)[23] and Kurdish Community groups' nationalist views and tendencies. This also aligns with a shift in academic thinking about migrant communities from 'diaspora' to 'acculturation' and from nationalism to 'transculturation' or

'transnationalism'. The terms 'acculturation' and 'transculturation' were used by Ortiz (1940) in relation to the diversity apparent in Cuban society, as well as being used more recently by Hall (1996b) in describing the experiences of Black people in the context of a multicultural discourse in Britain.

Another useful point for the analysis of diaspora experience and identity has been provided by Appadurai (1996: 158) who discusses a 'process of becoming' and the importance of the 'transnational space' of diaspora. Similarly, Rushdie (1992: 124) talks about 'people who root themselves in ideas rather than places'. Analysis of the research data herein suggests that complex processes and an intellectual shift are happening for those Kurds in London who always felt 'stateless' and have now eventually found a new positive identity within the realm of diaspora, thereby entering a new era of 'post national social form' (Appadurai 1996: 158). This thesis argues that the Kurds now claim their new post-national and transnational identity as 'Kurdish-Londoners', through reflection on the actual experience of identity for members of the Kurdish diaspora community in London; and London as an open, relatively free, and diverse social and cultural space.

The essence of the social constructivist approach and that of the notion of experiencing identity can also be found in a study of Englishness in relation to visiting heritage sites. Palmer (2005) discusses 'enabling mechanisms' when, for example, English people visit English heritage sites and actively engage in exploring a culturally significant place. He argues that they are walking to and through their culture and come out feeling they have gained something and thus have experienced identity.

3.5 Ethnography: personal narratives

The analysis of the data collected through 25 semi-structured one-to-one interviews and 3 focus group discussions strongly indicates that the concept of integration needs to be understood as a conjunction between the past and the present in refugees' lives. This insight was revealed by in-depth qualitative enquiry into the lives of real people and their memories, desires and hopes.

The data also points out the experiences of migrants post journey and post mechanical and physical settlement in a new country. Many migration studies scholars rightly emphasise the importance of housing, welfare and employment for measuring and understanding refugee integration (Holgate et al. 2009), but these measures could bear the limitations of comprising too 'mechanical' an understanding of integration. By mechanical I am referring to the Durkheimian sense of 'mechanical' as opposed to 'organic', as described in Durkheim's *The Division of Labour in Society* (Lukes 2014). The term organic is taken to mean a state of complex, positive, and active engagement and a gradual development of a personal sense of belonging to the wider society. Within this study social history, personal memories and lived experiences of individuals are considered to be important components in studying refugee and diaspora communities. Thus in this sense the 'organic' integration means in addition to housing, welfare and employment the development of a gradual sense of a feeling of belonging to the new society. Furthermore, the concept of 'post memory' has emerged for the younger generation of refugees who inherit memories passed down from their parents, through which children are informed about refugee history. This indirect transmission of memories still has the power to influence a new generation and to help to shape their identity (Nassari 2007).

This research study found that most refugees feel they are in a liminal position in Britain. To put it simply, they have been in a 'no way in and no way out' situation for a long time. None of this has been discussed by Griffith (2002) or Wahlbeck (1999) in relation to the Kurds, or by Ager and Strang (2008) about overall refugee experience in Britain.

A further critical point worth noting about the use of groups as the analytical unit in previous studies of the Kurdish community in London is that some migrants, refugees or others who have lost their home or the place they lived in before, also gradually tend to lose their political ideology as individuals. Now these individuals can choose from a wide range of options depending on new and changing circumstances in the host society. Option one is to gain a new ideology and option two is to live in crisis between old and new for much longer. The host society should be made much more aware of the challenges that migrants, and

especially forced migrants, face and they should support integration by providing positive contacts and access to the necessary resources for creating a win-win situation in the long run, both for the migrant and for the society (Bloch 2002b; Modood 2003; Enneli et al. 2005; Holgate et al. 2009; Tas 2013; Wessendorf 2013).

3.6 Auto-ethnography: the voice of the researcher

I describe myself as an 'insider' and therefore my motivations in this research are mixed. I have an academic interest in the subject of diaspora but I also want to empower myself through studying and understanding more about my own community in London. Intellectually I wish to challenge all of the dogmas, unhelpful and often negative and misguided stereotypes and perceptions about migration and refugee issues and refugee integration in London. The key point is that through auto-ethnography the author (researcher) can speak and have a voice among other voices. Equally relevant for this study is that through the lived experience approach members of the Kurdish diaspora have chosen to speak fully and freely and have shared their stories with someone who is interested and who mostly understands and speaks their language. Thus the auto-ethnography approach is empowering through its encapsulation of different voices and diverse experiences and in representing and questioning multiple and contrasting views of history and identity.

Moreover auto-ethnography is based on the methodology of reflexivity and the significance of self-awareness of a researcher of the same ethnicity as the research participants. According to Goring (2004) there are three relevant issues which the insider researcher should consider: the ethnic, the community politics, and the differences of perspectives within the same community, as well as the power relationships (who is asking the questions and who is editing the finished work afterwards), and the psychological aspects of what happens next to the information/data (Goring 2004: 24). This in turn leads me to ask deeper questions about how personal refugee histories are remembered and passed on. The stories I heard and recorded are clearly marked by the gender and age differences of the participants, but they are also shaped

and inscribed by wider social conditions, that is the 'super-diversity' of London (Vertovec 2010).

It is true to say that refugee narratives do not stand on their own or as single stories; therefore, I argue that in employing an auto-ethnographic approach, this project provides a space for everyone, including the insider researcher, to reflect upon their experiences. This method also allows for a multiplicity of voices and the flexibility of the research to be embraced. An important advancement and achievement of using auto-ethnography has been the start of a lively and informative dialogue about the concept of Kurdish-Londoner. At several seminars and public meetings in London and in South Kurdistan (Kurdistan of Iraq) when I presented my research methods to Kurdish audiences in Kurdish language and in the first person there was a sense of empowerment and relief when people could speak in Kurdish, question me, challenge my hypothesis, and provide more insight.

Benefiting from the same creative and critical community atmosphere I witnessed Kurdish women challenging Kurdish men and young Kurds challenging the older generation. Thus, the beginning of a much needed and overdue dialogue was begun among the Kurds about Kurdish people's integration experience in London and I have managed to record different voices from the Kurdish perspective, including my own.

Referring again to Nassari (2007), who used auto-ethnography in his study on the Greek Cypriot community in London, I question essentialist notions of identity. He states:

> As a teenager I would often change the way I described myself. Sometimes, when it suited me, I described myself as Greek. Sometimes I described myself as Greek Cypriot. At other times, I described myself as English with Greek Cypriot parents. A phrase I often used was English Greek Cypriot. Lots of people thought I was Italian. My sense of being Greek (not Cypriot) was confused (Nassari 2007: 150).

A young Kurd who was born in London after the 1990s described a similar sense of confusion and selectivity about her identity. Sheen, a young Kurdish girl who was born in South West London, stated:

I was age 10 at school. I had many friends from all sorts of backgrounds. Irish, Indian, English, Iranian. One day we were playing and one of the girls asked me: are you English? The Indian girl answered for me and said no she is like me she is not white, she is black. Ever since that day I'm thinking I am not white then I'm black. When I went home the first thing I did was to ask my mum: Am I white or black? My mum smiled warmly, hugged me and whispered to my ears you are Kurdish my princes. To be honest I did not tell my friends that I was Kurdish because I did not know what it was. Now I am 22 and I feel I am a proud Kurdish-Londoner (Laughing loudly) (Snur[24] interview 2013).

Furthermore Kingston (1976), who studied race, ethnicity and gender, focused upon different social players and the role of time and memory. She describes vividly and powerfully in her autobiography on race, immigration, memory and family that there are many factors which shape and reshape our identity throughout our lives.

Another important and relevant point is that the social construction of identity is happening all around us and all the time and this thesis is arguing in the same vein to this and similar non-essentialist views and understandings of history and identity. Reviewing literature on ethnicity and identity shows that the essentialist model of thinking is still very common (Favell 1998; Lokman and Maglaughlin 2001; Hampshire 2005).

This thesis is underpinned by the social constructivist paradigm in arguing for a more open and flexible ethnography for academic research and writing. I argue for a paradigm which is more reflective, open and flexible, and less authoritative and hegemonic. Thus I argue that this thesis stands on an auto-ethnographic platform for providing a reflective as well as a critical autobiography which, as Denzin describes, would help to integrate fragments of personal experience into writing about others through ethnographic study (Denzin 1989: 27).

In short, this thesis is a discourse analysis of diaspora which is written like a novel with many players including the author/researcher; a rich and original novel based on real stories and not necessarily containing all the necessary details and critical points. Nevertheless, auto-

ethnography is about telling the stories of transformation of identity of migrants and uncovering human life beyond visible and invisible borders.

3.7 Data Collection and Ethics

The data for this research comes from a number of different sources. The primary data has emerged from twenty-five structured and semi-structured in-depth interviews and three focus group meetings. The secondary data includes relevant statistical information produced by the census in 2011 and within the three London boroughs of Haringey, Islington and Hackney where most Kurds live. The breakdown of statistics based on ethnicity and religion is now available from the Office for National Statistics (ONS) website. It is worth noting that in the design of the Census 2011 two new boxes or categories were introduced for the first time in the census questionnaire. These were an 'ethnic' box and a 'religious' box.

The Census 2011 was designed for people who are permanent residents in the United Kingdom and this was a significant new development for Kurds in the UK. Because the Kurds were given a chance to freely and voluntarily identify themselves as ethnic Kurds if they wanted rather than using their official nationalities, such as Turkish, Iranians, Iraqis, Syrians to name just the few major ones The breakdown of national data into various regional and local authorities and neighborhoods is very useful for learning about education, employment, housing, and crime and prison populations in the UK (Neighbourhood Statistics 2014).

In addition to sources in the English language there are other data sources in Kurdish (sorani) and Farsi such that I could access, or sometimes have accessed, the same information translated in two different languages. I completed a separate ethical form which was considered and approved by the ethics committee of London South Bank University in March 2013. I am bound by the terms of my application to keeping all my interview records safely and respecting confidentiality issues for my participants, as well as acknowledging their contributions without undermining their anonymity.

I have also carefully considered issues of privacy and informed consent in order not to harm people who took time to participate in this research. The consent forms made clear what the research was about, that the information they provided me with would be treated confidentially, and be used for writing up my thesis. I believe this study has already helped to create a meaningful and positive dialogue amongst Kurds by introducing the constructive and sometimes provocative concept of Kurdish-Londoner. The underpinning principle of this thesis is to produce well-researched and evidence-based discussions and arguments. All of which reflects the complex realities, including challenges and opportunities of life, for a considerable number of members of Kurdish diaspora communities in London.

3.8 Conclusion

The methodology is based on a reflexive approach and the use of qualitative ethnographic field work with a cross section of the Kurdish diaspora community in London. The fieldwork consisted of 25 semi-structured one-to-one interviews and three focus group meetings/discussions. This study justifies the need for a radical approach towards studying Kurdish diaspora's lived experiences of integration in London. This radical approach looked at the lived experiences, narratives, and feelings of members of the Kurdish diaspora communities in London. Thus, it is a study from the perspective of the refugee and diaspora community, and therefore radically different from previous (largely policy and politics driven) research about the Kurds in London (Wahlbeck 1999; Griffith 2002).

The epistemological and methodological considerations herein include discussion of the shift in recent academic debates within the social sciences from 'positivism' to 'social constructivism' and the use of an interdisciplinary and open approach in this study of Kurdish history and identity (O'Shea 2004; Vali 2012; Amelina and Faist 2012). Furthermore, life stories in the form of case studies (as presented in Chapter Six) are designed to provide a strong link between past and present, and the informants kept referring to their memories from the past in justifying or explaining their thinking at the present time in London.

The notion of distance in a geographical sense has become almost irrelevant due to speedy, cheap, digital, and mass media communications used by diaspora members.

As a young Kurdish woman explained 'we often attend weddings in our home town [in Turkish Kurdistan] uninvited, everyone laughing […] I mean we are simply watching live video wedding events on our mobile phones and we exchange greetings and even dance with them at the same time, and we would also send gifts through Amazon' (Ozgur, focus group meeting North London August 2013).

Indeed, most informants tended to look beyond the boundaries of London. Thus this thesis argues that any useful analytical and conceptual framework should include all the possible social, emotional, and psychological factors in the daily life of the diaspora community. It is also important to consider the various voices of the young, old, women and men from within the heterogeneous Kurdish diaspora community(ies) in London. This is in order to make sense of the existential and complex relationships of the Kurdish diaspora with their original home; hence, understanding the formation of diasporic identity and diaspora consciousness.

Following Kingston (1976), this chapter focused upon different social players and the roles of time, space, and personal narratives in describing new realities and new identities of diasporic life for members of the Kurdish community in London. The impact of migrant's memory and the importance of the family as a social unit are to be highlighted as important and influential factors which shape and reshape our identities throughout our lives. A relevant point is that the social construction of identity is happening all around us and all the time. This thesis argues alongside this and similar non-essentialist views and understandings about history and identity.

Finally, I reflect again upon my own perspective and assess its impact on my thesis. As clearly stated in the reflexivity section (page 12) I consider myself an insider social researcher because I am a member of Kurdish diaspora community(ies) in London, and I share my experiences relating to refugee memory, journey, arrival, reception, and integration in London with the vast majority of first generation Kurdish refugees who

have settled in London since the 1990s. Thus clearly I am highly influenced by my refugee experience as well as by my lived experience in London. Here I want to repeat what I put in my diary on 19 January 2017, the day I successfully passed my Viva examination in room K-224 at the Keyworth Centre at London South Bank University:

> *Today I celebrate the end of my PhD journey with family and friends. On reflection I must say I thoroughly enjoyed my research on Kurdish diaspora communities in London, and I am most humbled by the privileged access to the life stories of my informants. I have done my outmost care and attention to represent each and every voice and view fully and truly. In my thesis I managed to develop a radical epistemology by combining and explaining the inextricable link and complex relationship between refugee / diaspora history and identity. This fine balance is explained and maintained as fully as possible in the articulation of a new concept of Kurdish-Londoner. An innovative concept and a social discovery which defines my thesis.*

I have also been informed and influenced academically by some great philosophers and thinkers. For example, by Arendt's (1967) definition of human rights through refugee rights, and by Edward Said's poststructuralist articulation of concept of home and I agree with his description of 'the plurality of vision' for people in exile (Said 2001: 186). I am equally influenced by some other postmodern literature on identity and I have benefited from their dynamic analyses of migration and the fluidity of identity. Just to recall a few names; Gilroy (1992); Hall (1996b); Appadurai (1996); Maalouf (2003); Marfleet (2006); Nassari (2007); and Vertovec (2010).

Chapter Four: The Geopolitics of the Middle East and Modern History of the Kurds after WW1

4.1 Introduction

To understand the history of forced migration and the displacement of the Kurdish people it is important to learn about their region in the Middle East and their diverse and ancient cultural heritage. The Kurds now live in different countries; namely Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and in parts of Central Asia.

The status of Kurds has changed throughout modern history and they have been defined as subjects, citizens or minority groups within different countries. This part of the thesis covers the period since the formal partition of Kurdistan following the signing of the Lausanne Treaty on the 30th of January 1923 (McDowall 2010).

Although the map of Kurdistan in 1920 shown below is archive material, it is still a powerful and visible manifestation of Kurdish nationalism. As described by O'Shea (2004), Kurdistan is a complex and highly disputed geographical area. The map of Kurdistan is a clear demonstration of how the Kurds have been 'trapped between map and reality' since the formal partition of Kurdistan as a land after WW1. For more information about Kuristan and Kurdish history see (Table 3 Kurdistan Timeline, page 195).
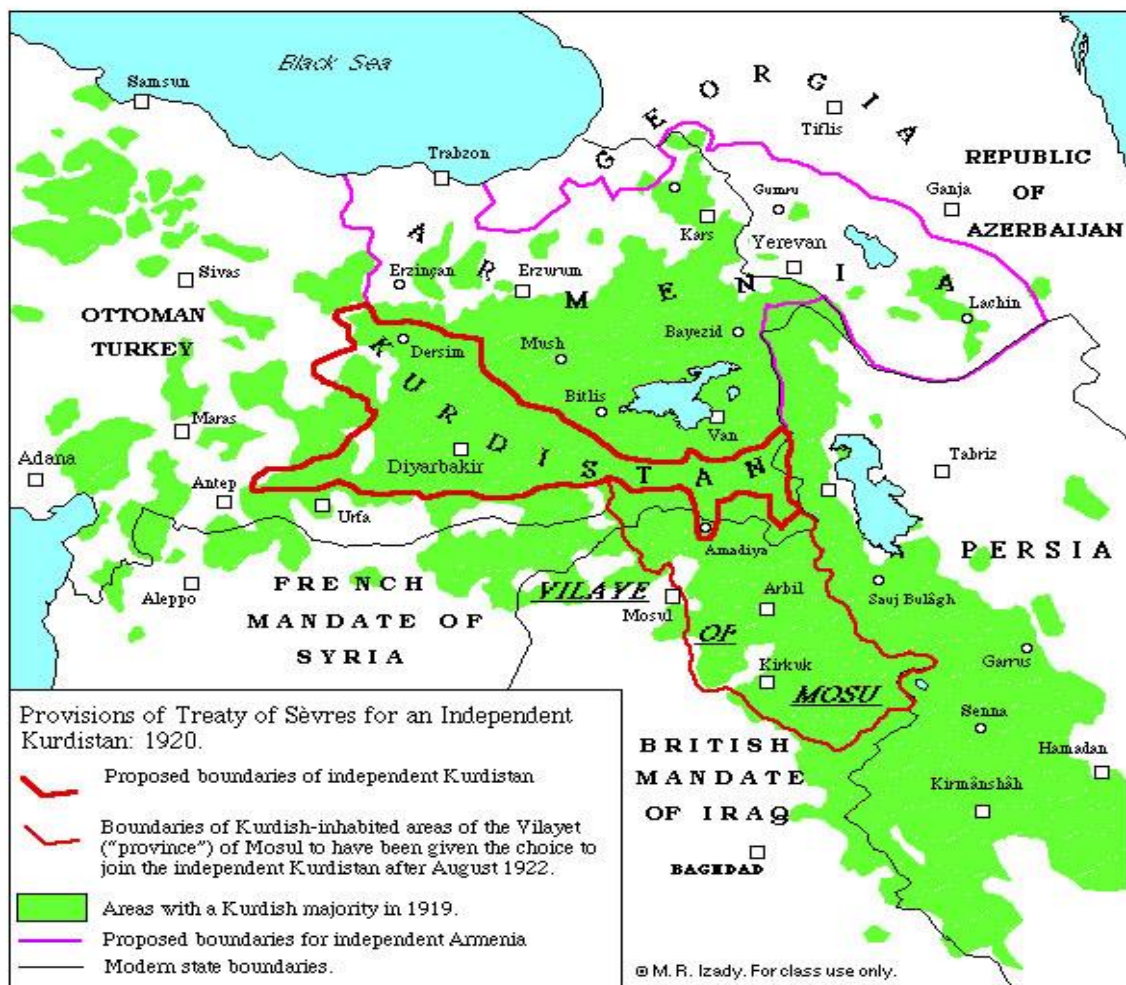
Map of Kurdish majority area before the partition in 1920 (Izady 1992).

This map of the Kurdish majority area was presented to the United Nations (UN) by the Kurdish nationalists in 1948 (Bruinessen 1992).

4.2 Land and Ecology

Kurdistan is a vast and largely mountainous area of about 230,000 square miles. The Kurdish areas are basically consisting of the mountainous areas of the central and northern Zagros, the eastern one-third of the Taurus and Pontus, and the northern half of the Amanus ranges. The close connection and symbiosis between the Kurds and their forbidding and staggering mountains has been so strong that they have become synonymous; a Kurd's home ends where the mountains end. According to (Randal 1997) the Kurds as a distinct people have

survived only when living in the mountains. The highest points in Kurdistan are now respectively Mt. Ararat in northern Kurdistan at 16,946 feet, Mt. Munzur in Western Kurdistan at 12,600 feet, Mt. Halqurd in central Kurdistan at 12,249 feet, and Mt. Alvand in Eastern Kurdistan in Iran at 11,745 feet. Despite its mountainous nature, Kurdistan has considerable arable land (Izady 1992).

4.3 Language

Language is an important indicator of diversity among the Kurds. Most Kurds believe that keeping the Kurdish language alive is a vital component for maintaining their culture, especially within Kurdish diaspora communities. The Kurds are speakers of Kurdish, a member of the north-western subdivision of the Iranic branch of the Indo-European family of languages, which is akin to Persian, and by extension to other European languages. Kurdish is fundamentally different from Semitic Arabic and Altaic Turkish. Modern Kurdish is divided into two major groups: the Kurmanji and the Dimili-Gurani. Kurmanji itself is divided into north Kermanji, also known as Bahdinani, and south Kermanji, known as Sorani. In the far north of Kurdistan and alongside the Murat River a version of Dimili known as Zaza is spoken. In Iraq and Iran a modified version of the Perso-Arabic alphabet is used in the south Kermanji or Sorani language (Hassanpour et al. 2012).

The Kurds in Turkey have recently published their written work in the north Kermanji dialect through their publishing houses based in Europe and they are using a modified form of the Latin alphabet. In short, Kurds do not have a unified spoken or written language; however, many Kurds do enjoy listening to old Kurdish songs or poems from different parts of Kurdistan. These cultural aspects and historical traditions, including poetry, music, dress and dance, have been studied by social anthropologists and developed into a study of the visual and oral traditions of Kurdistan (Kreyenbroek and Allison 1996).

The use of Kurdish language has been highly politicised in Turkey, where the Kurds were labelled as 'mountain Turks', and therefore the use of Kurdish language in public places was forgotten, forbidden until recently or still considered undesirable (Besikci 1977; Randal 1997). Kurds from Turkey, and indeed Kurds from other countries, face a huge challenge in keeping Kurdish language (with all its local varieties) alive. In London, for example, there are number of community based Saturday schools where volunteer teachers often step in to teach Kurdish to children. These informal schools also provide a focal point for community members to meet and support each other (see Table 2 page 185).

4.4 Religion

Most Kurds have eventually converted and are following Islam since the region was conquered by the Arabs in the mid seventh century AD. The majority of all Kermanji speakers are Suni Muslim, of Shafiite rite. There are also followers of Shi'ism Islam among the Kurds, especially in and around the large Kurdish cities of Kermanshah (Kermashan in Kurdish), Hamadan and Bijar in Iranian or eastern Kurdistan. The vast majority of Muslim Kurds follow one of several mystic Sufi orders, namely the Bektashi order of the northwest, the Naqshbandi order in the west and north, Qaderi order of eastern and central Kurdistan, and Norbakhahi of the south. The rest of the Kurds are known to be the followers of several indigenous Kurdish faiths of great antiquity and originality, which are variations on and permutations of an ancient religion that can be reasonably labelled as Yardanisam or the 'cult of Angels'. The three surviving and major divisions of this religion are Yazidism, Ahl-Hagg and Alavism. Minor communities of Kurdish, Jewish, Christians and Baha'is are also found in various corners of Kurdistan. The ancient Jewish community has progressively emigrated to Israel, especially since 1948, whilst the Christian community is merging its identity with that of the Assyrians (Kreyenbroek and Allison 1996; Alison 2001; McDowall 2010).

4.5 Kurdish Cultural Diversity

Historians, cultural theorists and anthropologists, as well as political scientists, have long studied Kurdish culture and history. Thus there is a strong agreement about diverse people who have lived in Kurdistan since the Islamic period. These literatures describe Kurdish heterogeneity and their differing political situation and status throughout ancient and modern history. The Kurds were recognised as subjects under the Ottoman and Safavid Empires. Thus by definition most Kurds are member of the Uma (universal Islamic community). The Kurds became victims of World War One (WW1) and were denied statehood and categorised as minority groups (under different modern state regimes, for example, in Iran, Iraq, and Syria). They have been pushed to assimilate and denied expression of self-identity in Turkey (especially harshly until 2003) and now the Kurds have formed diverse diaspora communities outside Kurdistan, for example in London, since the 1980s (Wahlbeck 1999; McDowall 2010; Vali 2012).

Some scholars who have studied Kurdistan and the Kurds have focused upon Kurdish culture and how it has evolved in the context of the Kurdish socio-political and economic marginalisation in the the Middleastern region, and more importantly what is different and distinct about the Kurds (Lynch and Ali 2006; Bruinessen 1992; Barth 1953). However, Eickelman (1989) suggests that the term 'Kurd' is applied by others as a 'label' indicating the political differences between different peoples in the Middle East. Kurds now have an official cultural and political minority status and identity in the regions in which they reside and are referred to formally as 'Iranian Kurds' and 'Iraqi Kurds', as well as being described by some in Turkey as 'mountain Turks', 'Syrian Kurds', and 'Turkish Kurds' (Randal 1997; Vali 2012).

In social anthropology the term 'Kurd' or 'Kurdish' is used to describe the cultural identity of those who do not identify themselves as Arabs, Turks or Persians. Thus the cultural and political characteristics of the Kurdish people are an important matter for discussion. The issue requiring attention is how they have been treated or 'labelled' as 'Kurds' and marginalised by other dominant cultural groups in the region (Eickelman 1989: 210; Bozarslan 2014). In a recent study Vali (2012) has also

placed emphasis clearly on the constructivist approach and has argued against the primordial existence of the Kurds as a united and fixed social group. This also contradicts the functionalist and static description of the Kurds within the functionalist tradition which is evident in Bruinessen (1992). The functionalist social anthropology of the 1970s typically ignored the historical and external factors in the construction of the Kurds as a sub social category in the Middle Eastern region post WW1 (Eickelman 1989).

Furthermore, in relation to Kurdish cultural diversity people mostly and voluntarily call themselves Kurd, and are referred to locally as 'Kord', 'Kermanj', 'Badiny, 'Zaza' or 'Hawramy, to mention a few variations in different parts of Kurdistan. In English they are represented and known as the Kurds, who live mainly and not exclusively in South Eastern Turkey, Western Iran, Northern Iraq and North Eastern Syria. Under the Ottoman Empire the name Kurdistan was used for part of Diyarbakir. Similarly, in Iran the province of Kurdistan (pronounced Kordostan locally) still exists and comprises only one third of the Kurdish inhabited area. The rest of the Kurdish province was attached to Western Azerbaijan after the Shah in Iran defeated the Republic of Mahabad in 1946 (Vali 2012). There are several estimates about the total number of Kurds and their population in each part. The Kurds believe there are between 30 and 35 million Kurds in total, of which an estimated 3 million live in diaspora (see table one). However there are no independent and official statistics to state the exact figures. The same ambiguity is reflected in the asylum seeking or refugee numbers. For example in the UK, Home Office statistics with regard to the Kurds, state their official nationality as Iranian, Turkish or Iraqi, with Kurdish ethnicity comprising only a footnote in their files. However, in the recent 2011 census in Britain a few new social categories or boxes were introduced - namely with respect to the ethnic and religious boxes. Office for National Statistics (ONS) information indicates that there are '47200' Kurds resident in the Greater London area, although many Kurds in London dispute this figure as very low and inaccurate (Neighbourhood Statistics 2011).

4.6 Kurdistan as a Buffer Zone During the 'Cold War': division, displacement, and dispossession post-WW1

The 31st of October 1918 marked the end of the First World War (WW1). This date has been described by Kurdish nationalists as the starting point of the modern partition of Kurdistan, or what one might call 'Year Zero' in Kurdish history, because thousands of years of Kurdish history and culture was ignored in tearing apart the whole of Kurdistan. The Kurds therefore provide a classic case in which new identities have been imposed and people have been forced to become subjects or minority groups within a new state. Millions of Kurds were also forced to migrate or were systematically displaced in the process of the post-war nation state building project in the Middle East, which was also supported by the British and the French. The Kurds have been trapped inside a complex hierarchy of unequal power relationship both inside the Middle Eastern and inside the unequal post WW1 international order.

Consequently for the Kurds the have become the powerless subjects and victims of WW1. However, they slowly organised and demonstrated their collective power by resisting systematic subordination, and by creating alternative knowledge about their history, language, and land. A discourse of power and knowledge as Foucault (1972) describers *The Archaeology of Knowledge* which is very telling about the unequal construct of a place of the Kurds in the modern history (Yassin 1995; Hilmi 2007; McDowall 2010). For more on the history of the Kurds and Kurdistan see some selected references in Kurdish and Farsi (Noury 1954; Badlisy 1964; Yasami 1990; Resool 2003). However, in this thesis the total empahasis put on using English sources for reasons of reliability and relevance of the data and analyses presented.

The French mandated that Syria receive a piece of divided Kurdistan, with the British incorporating central Kurdistan, or the Mosul Vilayat, and its rich oil field in Kirkuk into their newly created mandate of Iraq. Northern and Western Kurdistan were to be given the choice of independence by the Sevres treaty in 1919 (see the Archive Photo, page 229). But instead they were awarded to the new Turkish Republic under a different treaty: the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923.

The Kurds remained the largest ethnic group in the world with indigenous people represented in three major geopolitical blocs: the Arab world (Iraq and Syria), NATO (Turkey), and south and central Asia (Iran and Turkmenistan), as well as now in new countries such as Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. There are considerable numbers of Kurds who live in the former Soviet states (see Omarkhali 2013).

On the 22nd of March 1919 General Sherif Pasha, the Kurdish president, referred to Woodrow Wilson's twelfth point (of his Fourteen Points)[25] and indicated a degree of hope that the Kurds might eventually govern themselves independently "The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development" (Meiselas 2007: 51).

In stark contrast to Wilson's principles, however, the British Lieutenant Colonel Sir Mark Sykes, in a report presented to the British Prime Minister, stated:

> A consolidated Kurdistan is an impossibility. There is no reason why the distribution of the Kurds should dictate frontiers or why Kurds should be regarded as people who require consolidation. And so it is the powerful, the arrogant and the more developed nations with a modern army and technology that win (Meiselas 2007: 52).

Furthermore, Koohi-Kamali (2003), who studied Kurdish nationalism in Iran, describes how the 'systematic and forced settlement of Kurdish tribes in Iran had commenced in the 19th century'. Koohi-Kamali also writes about an earlier period in which the 'Safavi king used Kurds to guard the borders in Khorasan, in 1600'. Referring to the first formal division of Kurdistan Koohi-Kamali explains how 'after the Chaldiran war in 1514, Safavid was defeated and the Persian/Ottoman border re-drawn through Kurdistan on 23 Aug 1514, Ottoman victory'. The Zohab treaty states that '10,000 members of Jalali Kurds were sent to exile to central Iran, a few hundred returned in 1941' (Koohi-Kamali 2003: 36-42).

4.7 New Nation-States versus the Kurds since the 1920s

Broadly speaking the state versus migrants discourse falls into the following two main analytical categories:

1. The central feature of modern people's identity within a given nation state which is rooted in a specific and defined geographical territory. In this model the state always assumes authority, legitimacy, and political power. This power is exercised by the different institutions of the state (Jenkins 1995). Different states acquire, maintain and use their power and control and manage their population or citizens differently, but not equally harshly. Some harsh states sometimes even impose new identities and label certain sections of the population under their jurisdiction to suit an image of the state designed from above (Jere 1974). For example, in modern Turkey, as shown in chapter two, the Kurds were labelled as 'mountain Turks'. This modern attitude was justified by successive Turkish governments in order to reinforce the so called unity of the new Turkish nation state's singular identity since its establishment in 1923 (Randal 1997; McDowall 2010).

2. Non state-centric identity, for example migrant people who live in diaspora in a transnational setting. In diaspora studies literature this is referred to as diasporic or transnational identity. This is an identity which is not state-centric and more community-based, more fluid, negotiated, constructed, and more importantly deterritorialised. This part of the chapter is concerned with the second category.

According to Malkki (1995) 'the contemporary category of refugees is a particularly informative one in the study of the sociopolitical construction of space and place' (Malkki 1995: 25). Following Malkki (1995) this section is set out to further explore the question of history and identity for Kurds in the context of their diaspora and transnational living.

The notion of identity, as Malkki critically describes it, is presented in much of the sociology and anthropology text books as a 'historical essence rooted in particular places', or as a fixed and identifiable position, for example, in a world order of nationality which is closely linked to the notion of the nation-state (Malkki 1992) . In the case of the Kurds they lack the nation-state and, despite the harsh and systematic

assimilation politics and policies in the region used against them, they have survived and still demand regional and international recognition for their culture and right to self-determination. Ultimately most Kurds dream of achieving their state-hood one day. Most dream about a state-hood being earned after so many years of struggle, suffering and pain. This is a point passionately repeated by most people in both individual interviews and focus group meetings.

Again as many Kurdish Studies scholars argue within a contemporary and complex trajectory of globalisation and modern migration most Kurdish migrants have maintained their original culture or constructed new identities. For example Kurds in London are also forming complex social and economic transnational networks across different countries in Europe and with the Middle East. This is because the Kurds do politically need to maintain and extend their social network, which they do both extensively throughout the whole of Western and Northern Europe (Baser 2011; Baser 2012; Keles 2015).

This thesis aims to further examine the origin of Kurdish displacement and forced migration, exploring the specific geopolitical situation and Kurdish resistance movements in the different countries of Kurdish residence. The Kurds are still fleeing persecution from the countries where they are considered a minority group, mainly Turkey, Iran and Syria. The situation in Iraq has changed. The Kurds in most of the Kurdish area in Northern Iraq now enjoy relative autonomy and self-rule, known as Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG). The Kurdish self-rule initially started in 1991 and the KRG has developed further since the end of the Saddam Hussein era in 2003. The Kurdish refugee crisis at the beginning of the 1990s had a huge impact, raising awareness internationally about the victimhood and marginal position of the Kurds. In addition, the formation of the new and semi-federal Iraq in 2004 has helped in the struggle of the Kurds for self-rule to be acknowledged by the outside world (Hassan 2015).

The complex background conditions of the Kurdish diaspora involve numerous forced migration and displacement events, as well as voluntary travelling and commuting, where complex real and emotional links with Kurdistan are maintained. The history of Kurdistan and the Kurdish people is very much associated with forceful movements of

people and systematic devastations of Kurdistan due to religious and political wars. According to Koohi-Kamali (2003) in the course of the 16th and 18th centuries vast portions of Kurdistan were systematically devastated and large numbers of Kurds were deported to the far corners of the Safavid and Ottoman Empire (see Table Three 'Kurdistan Timeline', page 188).

This period could be marked as the beginning of recorded Kurdish forced migration and displacement. The systematic displacement of Kurds continued well into recent times and scholars who studied the Kurds in Turkey concluded that migration is very much a way of life for Kurds and that they have been forced to assimilate or resettle against their will, with many moving beyond Kurdistan and forming new communities in Europe and the USA (Jongerden 2007; Houston 2008). Scholars and others within refugee studies have argued for the history of refugees to be written, and sometimes re-written, from the refugees' perspective in relation to the nation-state. Marfleet (2006) clearly describes refugee history as a much underdeveloped field within refugee studies. What is clear within the current refugee studies literature is that the definition of who is a refugee is significant in making a distinction between forced and voluntary migration, and more importantly the causes of refugees' problems and their rights.

There are many estimates and not reliable figures about the number of Kurdish population who live in different countries in Europe. According to Gunter (2011) there are an estimated two million Kurds who live outside Kurdistan as migrant workers or refugees and they have particularly formed strong Kurdish diaspora communities in Europe. The largest Kurdish diaspora community is believed to be in Germany followed by the Scandinavian countries and France. In Britain, however, based on the Census in 2011 we have an official figure for the total number of people registered themselves as Kurds in London and that is 47,200 (ONS Census 2011).

The Kurdish diaspora has formed its own cultural and community centres, including some major Kurdish community centres in North London (see Table 2 page 183). They have also managed to re-

establish their extensive social networks both with other diasporas in Europe and the USA and with Kurdistan (Wahlbeck 1999; Griffith 2002; Enneli et al. 2005; Gunter 2011).

4.8 Turkey

Once the new Kemalist State established itself fully in Turkey it started assimilating the Kurds and other non-Turkish groups. Its policies turned very violent and brutal towards the Kurdish organised resistance movement and revolts, and especially the Ararat revolt in 1925-1931, known as the Sheikh Said revolt. The result was a crushing defeat for the Kurds, and for almost two decades after the end of the First World War (WW1) the Kurds were still at war, this time with a centralised and extremely nationalist Turkish state. High numbers of Kurds were exiled to central parts of Turkey and many left Turkey and continued on to Syria as refugees. Moreover, Bruinessen (1992: 191) describes the persecution of the Kurdish people as follows: 'Many landlords (aghas) and sheikhs were executed, put to fight or sent to exile; numerous tribesmen were deported to other parts of the country'. This description of the systematic pressure the Turkish State waged against the Kurds is supported by Randal (1997) who explains:

> In early 1925, in the name of Kurdish nationalism, Sheikh Said Piran led a short-lived revolt in Turkish Kurdistan. But Ataturk put it down handily. The Diyarbakir military prosecutor in a harsh, specially instituted Independent Tribunal told Sheikh Said and four dozen lieutenants, 'you are all united on one point; that is to say, the constitution of an independent Kurdistan which inspired you. For that, on the gallows, you will have to pay.' And so they did. And the consequence of the defeat and persecution of the Kurdish people was that 7,440 Kurds were arrested and 660 executed. Hundreds of Kurdish villages were burned, and between 25,000 and 40,000 peasants died and a million Kurdish men, women and children were up-rooted and shipped to Western Anatolia (Randal 1997: 121).

There were further massive and systematic forced movements of the Kurds in Turkey between 1923 and the late 1930s when the Kemalist

regime was celebrating the centralisation and successful suppression of the Kurds (see Appendix 1 about Dersim massacre page 197). Kurdish displacement and forced migration in Turkey that started in the 1920s continued well into the 1990s, and by the end of the century there had been more extreme persecutions from all corners, and more displacements. Morvaridi (2004) who studied dam development in Turkey in the 1990s explains that 'twelve large dams have so far been completed, displacing up to 350,000 people, the majority of whom are of Kurdish origin' (Morvaridi 2004: 723).

Again, as Randal describes it, 'in 1994 the fighting and insecurity had emptied more than 2,600 hamlets and villages sending some two million rural Kurds into cities near and far, where no meaningful provision was made for their wellbeing.' It was not only that the displacements became a way of life in Kurdistan, but there was more horrific news for those who were displaced in remote shanty towns and refugee camps while waiting for their loved ones and relatives to join them, as 'some 3,200 Kurds disappeared in 1993 and 1994 in so called mystery killings' in Turkey (Randal 1997: 257-258). The Kurdish situation in Turkey is still unresolved and very volatile. According to Matin (2015)[26] in July 2015 there was renewed hostility by the Turkish state against the Kurds in the midst of all the other crises including the rise of the newly formed extremist group, the 'Islamic State' (IS), in the Middle Eastern region.[27] For more about history of wars in the Middle East and the historic events that diretly affected Kurdistan and its diverse inhabitants (see Table 3 Kurdistan Timeline, page 188).

4.9 Iraq

After the creation of Iraq the Kurds remained attached to Baghdad, where the British authorities in Mesopotamia had established contact with Kurdish religious leaders. The famous Kurdish leader, Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji, was appointed governor of Sylaimania in 1918. Sheikh Mahmud had the idea of an independent Kurdistan in his mind and therefore declared himself as the Malik, or ruler, and resisted British policy in Iraq. After a local battle against the British in the famous Berdapan, and a short lived victory, his army was defeated in 1919 and

he went to India to live in exile. This is what the order which started his fight stated:

> May 22, 1919. Under the order and the command of the General Hokemdar of Kurdistan, Mahmud the son of Said, it has been decided that the Kurdish army should resort to arms against the injustice and deception of the Kurdish people by the British, who broke their promises and denied the Kurds their rights. (Meiselas 2007: 70)

The political situation for the Kurds became more difficult after this defeat. The new Kingdom of Iraq was established in 1923 and now the Kurds were trapped between two newly formed and powerful nation states, namely Iraq and Turkey. The question of how many Kurdish families and individuals had to leave their homes and seek refuge elsewhere or simply stay and obey the new administrations is yet to be answered. Some argue that Kurds in their thousands were internally displaced and many sought safety and security in different parts of Kurdistan where they lived in exile. Some returned after many years, with others making a new home where they could.

This initial and short-lived resistance movement by Sheikh Mahmud in Kurdistan in Iraq provided inspiration for a later generation of Kurds to demand their national and cultural rights. Born in 1904, Mullah Mustafa Barzani became powerful an effective Kurdish leader, managing to organise yet another Kurdish movement against the Iraqi government in Baghdad in the 1940s and 1960s and well into the 1970s. The Ottomans hung his grandfather, father and a brother for acts of rebelliousness. His brother Sheikh Ahmad had led a previous rebellion in Iraq in 1932 which was repressed due to the help given to Iraq by the RAF. Later in 1979 Saddam Hussein took to power in Iraq and he is now well known for his anti-opposition stance and the brutal policies against the Kurds as well as Shii'ts in Iraq.

About the destruction of the Kurdish area in Iraq and the internal displacement of Kurds, Bruinessen (1999) states:

> Altogether some 4000 villages (out of a total not much higher than 5000) were evacuated and bulldozed during the period from 1970 to 1990, most of them during the Anfal offensives. An economy, a

culture, a way of life, a society, a moral order have been brutally destroyed (Bruinessen 1999: 6).

Kreynbroek and Sprel (1992) describe the forced movement of the Kurds in Iraq, stating that hundreds of thousands of Kurds were uprooted by the Iran-Iraq war for eight years from 1980 to 1988. The Iran-Iraq was also used as a pretext by the Saddam regime to further physically uproot the Kurds and Iraqi forces did systematically destroy the Kurdish towns and villages (see Appendix Two page 196 about Halabja chemical bombing on 16 March 1988 and Appendix Three page 197 about Anfal genocide between February-September 1988). In addition Iraq implemented its long overdue deportation programme of the Shii't Kurds (Fili Kurds) to Iran, with an estimated 130,000 other Kurds who lived in border villages expelled from their homes and forced to settle in a 'new town' with the local name 'mojam-maa-aah'. The latest and most well documented Kurdish refugee crisis was recorded in December 1991 when 1.5 million Kurds tried to escape Saddam's special guard (Human Rights Watch / Middle East 1994). They feared another gas attack after the first Gulf war and 60,000 Kurdish refugees were put in a temporary refugee camp set up by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and ' a 'safe heaven' was created to protect refugees as well as preventing them to travel further into Europe (Cook 1995). For a comprehensive new assessment and analysis of the current crisis facing Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) in the Kurdish area in Iraq, including recommendations for state-building, peace, and improving human rights in the region see the report by Soderberg and Phillips (2015) published by Colombia University in the USA.

4.10 Syria

In June 2014 everyone was shocked and shaken by the scale and magnitude of the atrocities committed by the newly formed and extremely violent Islamic group Islamic State (IS) against civilians and minority groups, including Yezidi Kurds, Christians, and others, in Syria and Iraq. The militia forces who call themselves the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) have helped to deepen the existing social and political

crisis in these countries.[28] At the time of writing this thesis in Summer 2016 there have been further reports of ongoing conflict between different opposing groups inside Syria with more people forced to leave their homes and become refugees or being internally displaced[29]. The centre of attention has been Kobanê which is one of the three autonomous Kurdish enclaves (part of Syrian Kurdistan) in Northern Syria. People in Kobanê have successfully resisted the systematic military attacks of the IS against their city. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) there were 2,991,593[30] registered refugees in Syria on the 13th of October 2014. The situation of hundreds of thousands of Yezidi Kurds who fled Iraq in August 2014 is still desperate.

Four years on since 2011 when the political unrest started in Syria this country is now, in 2016 fully engaged in a bloody civil war. Consequently, the ongoing Syrian refugee crisis is the most pressing and urgent issue in the Middle East since WW2, with an urgent need for a solution to deal with this huge human displacement. Dionigi (2015) calls for international understanding and a 'regional compact' approach in order to deal with the current Syrian refugee crisis:

> Although the end of the Syrian conflict is not in sight, a regional compact for refugees' protection could be an important instrument for limiting of the damage done by this conflict. It may seem ambitious, and indeed premature, but it is a fundamental policy option which is worth exploring further (Dionigi 2015)[31].

Writing about Kurds in Syria McDowall (2010) explains that Kurdish communities in Syria have different origins, with their presence dating back to various times. There were large numbers of fugitive Kurds who were forced to leave Turkey in the 1920s and those who fought with Saladin, the famous Kurdish Muslim leader, in Damascus in the Middle Ages. Moreover, McDowall (2010) describes the overly marginalised position of Kurds in Syria since the 1950s. According to Lynch and Ali (2006) there are still a large number of Kurds who are de jure stateless in Syria. This means these Kurds have been systematically deprived of gaining full citizenship rights.

Similarly another Kurdish studies scholar, Gunter (2011), explains that many Kurds were denied a Syrian passport and the governing Baath Party marginalised the Kurds, under both Hafez Al-Asad and his son Bashir Al-Asad, who is still, in 2016, struggling to stay in power. In Syria, since its establishment, almost all mainstream Kurdish cultural activities have been banned.[32] However, in Syria under the French mandate, the situation for the Kurds was slightly different. For example, publication in a Kurdish language was encouraged but immediately after Syrian independence in 1946 Kurdish became a marginalised and even forbidden language similar to the official policy against the Kurds in the neighbouring Turkey.

The Kurds in Syria have been influenced by their fellow Kurds in Turkey because many tribes who now live in Syria originated or were closely connected with others who were divided after the partition. The Kurds from Turkey started to use their Kermanji language abroad, using a modified Latin devised by Prince Bedir-Khan in Syria during the French mandate. Bedir-Khan also started the journal 'Hawar' in 1930 that was used to promote the new Latin script that he developed to be used for Kurdish. The publications in Kurdish were never allowed to develop in Syria and Turkey and therefore much of Kurdish literature is only available to the Kurdish diaspora in Europe, and is often transported to the region clandestinely.

4.11 Iran

In the early 20th century Iran was given a new constitution, an army, a flag and a centralised nation-state by the British in exchange for cheap oil and influence in the region. Reza Shah of Iran, the pawn of the British, turned his brutal policies of forced 'modernisation and centralisation against non-Persian ethnic and tribal groups in Iran. This brutality came as the unintended consequence of so called modernisation and centralisation programmes, because prior to this and the period post WW1 leading to the 1919 Peace Conference in Paris, Iranian intellectuals, such as Taghizadeh, attempted to present Iran as one 'homogenous' nation. Ansari (2012) writes about a memorandum prepared by Taghizadeh, a leading intellectual:

Memorandum on Persia's Wishes and Her Aspirations which sought to address these hopes and fears; it offers a useful insight into the manner in which Iranian intellectuals sought to present Iran to the world. After first emphasising the importance of Iran for world peace, the memorandum goes on to stress that the nation is homogenous, 'belonging nearly all to the same race and having the same culture, habits and faith and almost the same language throughout (Ansari 2012: 69)

The first organised resistance movement against Tehran came from the Kurdish Shekaks who were living in the forbidding mountains in the border area of Turkey and around Lake Urmia. The Kurdish leader Jafar Agha, who had successfully resisted the central authority, was killed as the result of a plot by the Iranian state, following which his younger brother Simko took over the leadership of the ever growing movement (Ahmad 1994; McDowall 2010).

Afterwards there were long and bloody battles between the Kurds and Reza Shah's central government who had all the support and logistics needed from Britain to fight tribal and regional rebellious leaders. Reza Shah successfully suppressed Simko and had him killed in an ambush in 1930. Unlike Mustafa Kemal in Turkey, Reza Shah was not able to carry out all the centralised programmes he had planned. However what affected the Kurds in Iran was the forced settlement of the nomadic Kurds, the exiling of the leading Kurdish figures, and the mass forceful migration of the major tribes into different regions, making it easier to police and control them.

By 1941 the Shah himself was removed from power and the British facilitated his exile to South Africa where he died. Reza Shah, who had shown a strong interest in Nazi Germany, was forced to abdicate in favour of his son Mohammad Reza who became the loyal, obedient and close ally of the West, especially the USA, after the Second World War, assuming power in Tehran on the 25th of August 1941. During the Second World War Iran was occupied by the Russians in the north and the British in the South. The Kurds used the opportunity to organise their nationalist movement and the Komaly Jinawey Kurds (known as KJK, which later became the Kurdistan Democratic Party [KDP]) was formed under the leadership of Qazi Mohammad. On the 22nd of January 1946

Qazi Mohammad established the Republic of Kurdistan, which is better known among the Kurds as the Mohabad Republic (Vali 2012).

The Barzanis, who were involved in several uprisings of Kurdistan in Iraq, as mentioned previously, also joined the Mohabad Republic. This unique show of unity by Kurds from two different sides and their demand for self-rule was supported initially by Stalin's USSR but later Stalin abandoned the Kurds as he had gained what he wanted - a concession contract for oil from Iran. In April 1946 Russian troops began evacuating Iran, and the Mohabad Republic was left to fend for itself. Mustafa Barzani, a Kurdish army commander, managed to fight his way back to Iraq through Turkey and later went to live in the Soviet Union (USSR) as a refugee for a decade. This first, and short-lived, Kurdish Republic was suppressed by the Shah's army. Qazi Mohammad and his close colleagues were executed in the central square of Mohabad (in Kurdish called *Maydan Chowar Chera*) where he had declared the first ever Kurdish Republic eleven months before (Randal 1997: 21-22).

The first waves of recorded forced migration of the Kurds in Iran began as early as 1534 when the defeated Safavid army, retreating from the Ottoman troops, systematically destroyed Kurdish cities and villages and burned their crops. Shah Abbas Safavid, later in the century, started the process of uprooting hundreds of thousands of Kurds, and even Armanians, Azeris and Turkomans, and forcing them to live in different parts of the country. In the case of the Kurds they were sent mainly to neighbouring Azerbaijan, but many more were sent as far afield as the province of Khorasan in eastern Iran (Koohi-Kamali 2003). Some historians argue that the Kurds were forcefully sent to settle in the Hindo Kush mountains area, or present day Baluchistan, a similar displacement to that experienced by the Kurds under the Ottomans. Sultan Selim deported the entirety of the Kurdish tribes to central and northern Anatolia and to the south of Ankara, where many Kurds still live today (Randal 1997: 22).

After the defeat of the Mahabad Republic, the Shah of Iran introduced security and military measures to make sure the Kurds did not re-group and rebel again. He continued with the programme of forcible relocation of the Kurdish population and sent many outside of Kurdistan. He also divided the Kurdistan province itself and attached more than half of it to

neighbouring Azerbaijan, including the city of Mahabad, the centre of the Kurdish uprising in 1946. The Kurds, fearing persecution and further pressure, left in their thousands to seek work and to hide in different parts of Iran (Vali 2012).

4.12 Conclusion

As Meiselas has argued:

> Kurdistan, the land of the Kurds, is mentioned by European travellers from the fifteenth century onwards. It was recognised as a distinct region because its most conspicuous inhabitants, the Kurds, appeared so different from their neighbours. For many centuries they have been present in the same region and have had awareness of being a single people in spite of great diversity and frequent conflicts placing one tribe against another (Meiselas 2007: 2).

There are not many written materials about the history of the Kurds as a separate nation, partly because the modern sense of nationhood developed much later among the Kurds as compared to their immediate neighbours. Early records show that Kurds in Iran have lived under Iran's central state since 1514 when the Ottoman Empire (now Turkey) won the historic Chaldiran war against the Safavid Empire (now Iran) and took control over the majority of the Kurds.

In modern times the most significant and disappointing event in the political history of the Kurds is the signing and later abandonment of the Treaty of Sevres on the 10th of August 1921, after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. There was a glimmer of hope for the statehood of the Kurds, but later France and Britain helped to divide up Kurdistan between Turkey, Iraq, and Syria. This division was formalised by the Lausanne Treaty on the 24th of June 1923, which is still in force today (Houston 2008; McDowall 2010).

Since the political partition of Kurdistan, Kurds have been organising resistance movements and often bloody armed struggles against the internationally imposed and locally suppressive and ruthless political regimes under which they live.

In Turkey in 1925 Shaikh Said rose in opposition to the Lausanne Treaty, after which he was hung. The new Ararat revolt, which was not successful either, culminated in 1929-1930.

In Iran in 1946 the short lived Mahabad Republic, backed by the Soviet Union (USSR), was crushed by the Shah of Iran. The Kurds in Syria were subjected to assimilation to the mainstream Arab culture and denied full citizenship because of their ethnicity.

In the 1970s in Iraq there was a widespread Kurdish uprising for self-rule which was suffocated by the United States of America in a conspiracy plan between Iran and Iraq in 1976 (Randal 1997).

Many scholars have emphasised the link between Kurdistan and the West, and Bruinessen (1992), a celebrated anthropologist who studied Kurdish society in the 1960s, suggests: 'The struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union and the conflicts related to the oil crisis affected Kurdistan more directly than my own country, the Netherlands' (Bruinessen 1992: 7).

Consequently, the Kurds in the Middle East have been systematically subjected to marginalisation, frequent displacement and forced migration since the 1920s (Jongerden 2007; McDowall 2010). This process led to political and cultural oppression and the subsequent suffering, pain and displacements that shaped the future of millions of Kurds for generations to come. Consequently we have seen the emergence of Kurdish diaspora communities in Europe, Canada, and the USA (Wahlbeck 1998a).

A Swedish scholar, Emanuelsson (2008), describes these newly emerged Kurdish diaspora communities as a potential force for democratic change and for positive social and economic developments in the region. This positive thinking could turn a huge displacement 'problem' into a development 'solution', an interesting subject for development studies but one which is outside the scope of this thesis.

The Kurdish case has been a complex tale of resistance, often with foreign support and influence, with the Kurds facing several heavy defeats in the past century. The current Turkish and Iranian regimes do in effect continue with the same military attitude and systematic oppressive policies and denials which started in the 1920s.

The Kurds, though divided and exhausted, were still showing resistance and hoping to achieve a political solution with central authorities in Turkey and Iran, that is to say, the accommodation of their rights to self-determination and local government within a semi-federal and democratic model. This model is now operating relatively successfully in Northern Iraq where most of the Kurdish area is now run by an elected Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG).[33]

The human cost of the current struggle for the Kurds is extremely high and it seems unlikely that it will be stopping any time soon, considering the ever complex socio-political situation, especially in Syria and Iraq, today (Bozarslan 2014).

Chapter Five: Analyses - The Kurdish Diaspora: transnational consciousness and integration i*ssues*

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explore and analyse the development of the Kurdish diaspora and transnational consciousness and the transformation of identity within Kurdish diaspora, focusing on the period from the 1990s onwards in studying Kurdish identity and evaluating the integration experience of the Kurdish diaspora in London. As discussed in Chapter Two, Kurdish modern history is very much embedded in the formal and state-centric history of the Middle Eastern region (McDowall 2010).

The full history, including the Kurdish subaltern history and the views of the displaced Kurds, is very much under-documented and therefore under-represented. This chapter attempts to fill this gap as much as possible by bringing into view the voices and narratives of the marginalised, dispossessed, and displaced Kurds (Chatty 2010). This under-documentation is also true for the entire history of forced migration in the world (Roche 1965; Zolberg et al. 1989; Marfleet 2006).

Nevertheless, there has been more recording and documenting of the major displacement of the Kurds, which can help us to study and to understand the bigger picture of the causes of Kurdish forced migration and displacements since 1920s as explained in Chapter Two.

Additionally I have attached the four appendixes and their contents are based on personal information and the memories of those who were themselves or family members, friends, or neighbours were subjected to the events. The information presented in the appendixes are very brief and they have been verified against the official and secondary data and they are included based on request by the focus group meetings. The appendixes are also useful insight for better understanding the personal narratives and the case studied that presented in Chapter Six.

The list of the appendices as follows:

Dersim (1), Halabja (2), Anfal (3), Ghaladeze (4) (page 195-1999).

The history of the Kurdish subaltern, including the social history (memory) of Kurdish migrants themselves, also helps to develop and articulate a specific epistemology of Kurdish diaspora history and identity at the methodological level. More generally, and at the epistemological level, the relationship between history and identity also raises the wider question of the relationship between state and refugee and how it has shaped our understanding of essentialist national/cultural identity, as argued by Malkki (1995):

> The international position of refugees in the system of nation state makes their [refugees] lives uniquely clarifying and enabling for anthropological thinking of nation-ness, of stateless-ness and of interconnections between historical memory and national consciousness (Malkki 1995: 5).

Following Malkki (1995), and others like Appadurai (1996) who studied refugees and migrants, a new epistemology has now been firmly established within this field which transcends the traditional essentialist and reductionist tendencies of state-centric understanding in the study of history and identity. Thus this non- essentialist and non-state centric approach to studying identity informs the basic premises of this chapter for analysing transnational consciousness. Summarising the traditional gap in the study of diaspora Amelina et al. (2012), in their study on diaspora communities in Europe, which includes discussion of Alevi Kurds, point out, 'This double gap the nation-state as the main social context of migration as well as the territorial framework of empirical migration studies determines strategies of research design as well as methods of data collection and analysis' (Amelina and Faist 2012: 4).

In transcending more traditional methods this chapter is an attempt to engage with Kurdish diaspora discourse from the perspective of the community. This is a means of helping to open a new lens about diaspora identity which is not restricted to state-centric ideology and which puts forward the understanding of history and identity as a two-fold question.

As the existing literature evidences the Kurds have been living in the shadow of history since the end of WW1 and within the imposed borders of the nation-states within which they live (McDowall 2010). Now diaspora is presenting a new opportunity to study and understand the lived experiences of people and communities beyond borders. Based on empirical data collected for this study the Kurdish diaspora history is a tale of transformation of history and identity from 'victimhood' to 'citizenship'. As Hassan, a business man in South London put it:

> You know who you are when you are free. It is the time now to tell our history to the world. Everyone should know we were not just victims we were fighting for our human, cultural and political rights but we were and still are less powerful. Therefore we lost the military fight but not the political and the resistance flight, and now in London our new fight for preserving our identity in the diaspora has just begun (Hassan, interview April 2013).

It is this fighting, and resilience of, spirit that keeps the Kurds and their diverse Kurdish culture alive. Hassan and many others who contributed to this thesis argued that the Kurds in the Middle East were not able to fully participate in social, economic and political life as Kurds. But the situation for us [Kurds] as a refugee/minority group in London is different. There are plenty of opportunities here in London. In a focus group meeting in north London one of the participants in a mixed gender group argued: 'We hate assimilation in any country for all good historical reasons, but integration is a positive option, it's at the same time very challenging for most of us especially for the older generation' (Showan, focus group meeting north London August 2013).

5.2 Living in Diaspora: new identities and realities

The development of academic work dealing with Kurdish diaspora and transnational consciousness is relatively new but there has been growing academic interest since the 1990s and many scholars are now studying various Kurdish diaspora communities in Europe. The following are some major works directly concerned with the topic of Kurdish diaspora in different parts of Europe. Some of these contributions will be

discussed in order to make some comparative reviews and for better understanding of the bigger picture of Kurdish diaspora in Europe.

Without attempting to produce an annotated bibliography of Kurdish diaspora studies in Europe this section considers some relevant contributions for better understanding similarities and differences in the lived experiences of members of different Kurdish diaspora communities in some cities in Europe, including London, with a significant population of Kurds.

Now referring to what was discussed in Chapter Two with respect to the typology of diaspora: origin, return/victim (Sheffer 1986; Safran 1991; Cohen 2008) and the integration process (Appadurai 1996), the focus of this section is on integration. The emphasis is on a shift from victimhood and issues of return to the country of origin towards those around building a new home and active participation and citizenship.

Thus the concept of Kurdish-Londoner will be discussed fully, which is based on, firstly, the empirical data collected for this study, and secondly, the newly developed epistemology of diaspora study which contests the dominant nation-state approaches which have often imposed a formal and encompassing identity on all people within their geographical territory. Therefore this thesis does not confine our understanding of cultural identity and belonging to a specific and fixed territorial entity (Amelina and Faist 2012). The relevance and importance of this open and non-essentialist approach will become more evident through considering the views and interests of the second generation of Kurds, who were born in London, as reflected in the case studies in Chapter Six.

The participants described their experience as a combination of a physical, mental and psychological journey from being Kurdish in Kurdistan to feeling Kurdish in London:

> We feel we are Kurdish in London, in reality, we are Londoners. We live and work and raise our children in London. Especially when we come to our community center there is always a warm feeling about being Kurdish. However, after 10 years the young Kurds start to belong more and more to London, and now with the face book (young members laughing) Kurdistan is not very far

anymore (pointing to a small video taken from a wedding in a Kurdish village in Turkey on a personal face book page) everyone laughing again (Hazh-focus group north London 2013).

In addition to few major recent studies on Kurdish diaspora in London (namely Wahlbeck 1998a, 1998b, 1999; Soguk 1999; Griffith 2002; Enneli et al. 2005; Holgate et.al 2009; Demir 2102; Galib 2012; Tas 2013; Keles 2015) there has been a surge of Kurdish Studies in Europe as well.

According to Alinia and Eliassi (2014) the past two decades have seen the emergence of a distinct research field of Kurdish Studies including studying Kurdish diaspora and reflecting on all aspects of life in Kurdish diaspora communities in Europe. Evidently the Kurdish Studies Network (KSN)[34] which was founded in 2009 has now organised itself into a global network of scholars (both Kurds and non-Kurds) interested in this field, and this network now has a strong and leading base in northern Europe.

This new development aligns with Tololian's (1991) ideas, as he explains the reality of the transnational and diaspora community's collective power, their ambitious dreams and interest in change and their desire to make a real impact in the world to their advantage. This idea seems to work in opposition to Anderson's (2006) 'imagined communities' of the nation-state and his 'long distance nationalism' theory of diaspora in which he presupposes a nation defined by geography and therefore that diasporas are separated and disempowered by existing nation-state borders.

The point is that when refugees and other migrants enter the world of refugeeism and diaspora and are granted permission to stay for a long time they tend to form new communities in their new home without completely breaking their links with their original home. Thus this is the birth of a new concept of diaspora experience which helps us to analyse and to understand an ongoing social change in our world. Furthermore, Tololian (1991), writing about the reality of diaspora and transnational cultures and peoples in relation to existing nation-states in the world, explains that 'to affirm that diasporas are the exemplary communities of the transnational moment is not to write the premature obituary of the

nation-state which remains a privileged form of polity'. Moreover, he adds, 'other collectivises [diasporas] strive for nationhood through struggles conducted in both homeland and diaspora (e.g. Eritreans [already achieved their state-hood], Palestinians [still struggling], Kurds [still struggling], Sikhs [still struggling], Tibetans [still struggling], Armenians [already achieved their state-hood]) (Tololian 1991: 5).

Despite the Kurdish diaspora being relatively new to Europe they have had a real impact through their collective and multiple actions in different European cities in response to the crisis the Middle East. The Kurdish diaspora managed to amplify and celebrate the Kurdish resilience and successful resistance in recent years against the so called Islamic State attacks in Syria since 2011, especially through their well-publicised stance in 2015 in the city of Kobanê.[35]

5.3 Kurdish Diaspora: understanding the pattern in Europe

For a better understanding of Kurdish diaspora experience and transformation of Kurdish identity, I now present a brief comparative analysis of the lived experiences of Kurdish diaspora communities in Germany, Sweden, Finland, and England since the 1990s. The research on Kurdish diaspora in Europe is relatively new and there is no consistency in theoretical or methodological approaches to allow affective comparison between different European countries.

There are also growing survey reports focusing on second and third generation migrant groups, including Kurds, in Europe. A report by Crul and Schneider (2009) provides a detailed analysis of this social category and talks about their transition experience, from education to the labour market. This type of generic survey is useful in providing some insights about the overall integration experiences of migrants and refugee groups. In a similar but more in-depth study carried out by Holgate et al. (2009) in London the comparison was made between Kurdish manual workers and three other BME groups. The findings of Holgate et al.'s (2009) report was useful for highlighting the British state's refugee/migrant integration policies and their various impacts on the real living and working conditions of members of migrant communities in London.

In order to understand the broader picture of migration it is useful to refer back to what was discussed in Chapter Three with respect to the theoretical debate about the constant changing conditions of new realties. That is the emergence of complex patterns of migration routes and citizenship in the world today. It is obvious to migration scholars that no single academic discipline can ever cover all the different aspects of migration discourse, including forced migration, migration choices and journeys, arrival, reception and integration experience of different communities in the host societies. In their vivid introduction to and debate about the interdisciplinary nature of migration theories Brettell and Hollifield (2015) explain:

> Migration is a subject that cries out for an interdisciplinary approach. Each discipline brings something to the table, theoretically and empirically. Anthropologists have taught us to look at networks and transnational communities, while sociologists and economists draw our attention to the importance of social and human capital and the difficulties of immigrant settlement and incorporation. Geographers are interested in the spatial dimensions of migration and settlement. Political scientists help us to understand the play of organized interests in the making of public policy; together with legal scholars, they show us the impact migration can have on the institutions of sovereignty and citizenship. Historians portray the migrant experience over time and in all of its complexity, giving us a much greater empathetic understanding of the hopes and ambitions of those who move from one place to another. Demographers have perhaps the best empirical grasp on the movement of people across boundaries, and they have the theoretical and methodological tools to show us how such movements affect population dynamics in both sending and receiving societies (Brettell, and Hollifield 2015: 12).

Following a similar line to that described above by Brettell and Hollifield (2015) and taking into account the interdisciplinary nature of migration studies including diaspora studies, what follows is a brief introduction to the most recent academic studies on Kurds in Germany, Sweden, Finland, and England. This section extends the discussion further , allowing some academic comparisons to be made between different

European countries in relation to the lived experiences of the various Kurdish diaspora communities. More importantly this loose comparison works towards a better understanding of Kurdish diaspora integration in England/London.

Germany

The current Syrian refugee crisis[36] in September 2015 has brought Germany positively to the forefront of politics and policy debates around European refugees and migrants. Although the urgency and magnitude of the Syrian refugee and North African migrants crisis in the summer of 2015 is unprecedented in recent times Germany has been a popular country for Turkish migrants, Kurdish refugees, and many other migrant groups since the end of WW2 (for an update on Turkish-Kurdish refugees in Germany see Baser 2015). With respect to the effect of accommodating diverse refugee and migrant communities in Germany Østergaard-Nielsen (2003) explains 'Germany, complements comparative studies both of one migrant group in several countries [such as the Kurds] and of several different migrant groups in one country' (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003: 4). A large refugee group arriving in Germany, especially since the 1990s, are the Kurds mainly from Turkey, as well as Kurds from other countries like Iran, Iraq and, as highlighted above, most recently a large influx of Kurdish refugees from Syria.

According to Østergaard-Nielsen (2003) the 'Turkish and Kurdish constitute the largest single group of immigrants in Germany, with more than 2.4 million Turkish citizens and former Turkish citizens at the end of 2000' (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003: 2). The exact number of Kurds who live in different parts of Europe is unknown but it is certain that a vast number of Kurds, possibly in their third and fourth generations, now live in Germany.

In addition to the increasing need to study and understand the complex causes of forced migration and displacement from/in the Middle East for Kurds, and indeed for other groups, another pressing need is still the issue of refugee integration and successful settlement. Thus a degree of comparative analysis is beneficial for understanding the patterns of

integration for Kurds who live in various countries in Europe. The main emphasis is, however, in much of the existing literature around Kurdish diaspora in Germany about the transnational ties between host (Germany) and original country (mainly Turkey) (see for an update about a recent crisis involving the Turkish government and the Kurds)[37].

Thus here a critical point to be made is that most migration studies scholars have shown much greater interest in a macro analysis of the practical and digital Kurdish diaspora and the formation of transnational social networks across borders and between different Kurdish diaspora within Europe and with Turkey/Kurdistan, with lesser attention given to integration issues facing members of the Kurdish diaspora community in the host society. For a comprehensive and comparative information and analysis on relationship between second generations members of the Kurdish and Turkish diaspora communities living in Germany and Sweden see (Baser 2012).

Furthermore, with respect to the importance of the Kurdish diaspora in Germany and its influence at an international level Curtis (2005) states:

> The Kurdish diaspora in Germany illustrates the effects a diaspora community can have on its host nation. First, the internal policies of Germany have changed due to the Kurdish activities there. But the German Kurds have influenced world politics as well, putting a strain on the relationship between Germany and Turkey. Often, a major goal of diaspora communities is to influence the politics in their host country. For instance, American Jews in the early 20th century pushed the American government to support an independent Jewish state (Curtis 2005: 9).

Sweden

Several major academic research studies have been carried out on the Kurdish diaspora in Sweden and among these are studies by scholars from a Kurdish background who exhibit a deep first-hand understanding of the historic processes of the forced migration of Kurds. These Kurdish scholars have clearly moved away from the dominant policy- and politics-driven research on Kurdish diaspora in Europe in the 1990s, and

these works focus on the lived experiences of Kurdish diaspora members in Sweden, such that they are relevant and comparable to this study on Kurdish diaspora in London. They help us to understand the integration issues in Sweden from a Kurdish diaspora/transnational perspective). Reflecting on a conference on the *Kurdish diaspora in Europe* which took place in Uppsala, Sweden in April 2012[38]Alinia and Eliassi (2014) write:

> Diasporas are a transnational social phenomenon where a complex social process can be observed characterised on the one hand by dispersion, dislocation, feelings of social exclusion and a homing desire, and on the other hand – and this is what distinguishes diaspora from exile – by movements, mobilisations and politics for location, "home" making (imaginary or real) and belonging (Alinia and Eliassi 2014: 53).

Furthermore, the scholars who studied Kurdish diaspora in Sweden discuss the complex processes of settlement as well as issues of citizenship and belonging in Sweden (Elissi 2015; Khayati 2008; Alinia 2004). Particularly Khayati (2008) in his study, applies a human agency approach and explains the positive mood and desire for home rebuilding among the Kurds in Sweden. His work with Kurds in Sweden and France signals a radical and progressive shift in the Kurdish diaspora studies paradigm from Kurdish 'victimhood' in the region to active 'citizenship' in Sweden. This study represents a clear break from earlier traditional descriptions of 'victim' diaspora and its closed association with the country or place of 'origin' and also with the issue of return to the country of origin (Cohen 2008).

Building on existing contributions to the study of diaspora community(ies) in Sweden Eliassi (2013) puts forward a non-essentialist and pluralist view by considering the heterogeneous experiences of members of Kurdish diaspora in Sweden. Elissai (2010) looks deeper inside the community by considering the age and gender dimension of diaspora experience.

Recapturing the joint work in Sweden among the Kurds as Alinia and Eliassi (2014) explain:

first and second generations, or of experiences of men and women, shows that they experience differently the old and the new homes, which in turn can lead to divided allegiances. [Therefore] family, community, home, homeland, belonging and nation need to be renegotiated and redefined in the light of dislocations and re-locations across different generations, genders, times, spaces and contexts (Alinia and Eliassi 2014: 2).

In a more recent work published by Oxford University Diaspora Programme Elissai (2015) uses sport and Facebook to measure the success of young Kurds in Sweden.

[An] important arena of success for the Kurds is sport. Dalkurd FF is a football club that was founded in 2004 and now plays in the third best football division in Sweden. Although it is a young club, it has become the biggest Swedish football club on Facebook. The Facebook page of Dalkurd's supporters has more than 785,487 likes (as of 11 February 2015). The name Dalkurd is interesting because it connects Kurdish identity with Dalarna, a region in Sweden. This indicates a transnational identity that links Sweden to Kurdistan but also regionalises Kurdish identity in Sweden (Eliassi 2015: 2).

The points raised by Elissai are particularly interesting and relevant to the experience of young Kurds in London. A football team mainly made up of young Kurds in Croydon south London attempted to rebuild the community through sport (not as successfully as DalKurd in Sweden though). They use the term 'Kurdish-Londoner' to connect with other Kurds in different parts of London and to connect with London as their new home. Their sport has also been underpinned by Kurdish diaspora politics as they use their team to gain the attention of a local member of parliament (MP) to help them raise political issues in The House of Commons in London concerning Kurdish issues and Kurdistan.

Emanuelsson (2008, 2013), who also studied Kurdish community organisations in Sweden, writes about 'the constructive role of diaspora transnational political engagements', which don't necessarily involve migrants wanting to return to their original home (Emanuelsson 2008: 144). She further describes the newly emerged Kurdish diaspora

communities in Sweden and in other parts of Europe as a potential force for democratic change and for positive social and economic developments in the region. For example, through the Kurdish campaign in Europe for improving the human rights conditions of all Kurds in the Middle Eastern region. Again this positive thinking aims to turn a huge displacement 'problem' into a huge development 'solution', an interesting subject primarily for development studies but one which lies outside the scope of this thesis which is about integration into the host society.

Finland

According to Toivanen (2014) there has been a considerable increase of the number of foreign born citizens in Finland. She writes: 'In late 2013, 5.4% of the total population living in Finland either had migrant parentage or had migrated in the last few decades, whereas the corresponding proportion of 'persons of foreign background' in 1990 stood at 0.7%' (Toivanen 2014: 12).

In a recent study of Kurdish diaspora in Finland Toivanen (2014) applies feminist intersectionality and personal narrative analysis approaches to gain a better understanding of the changing concept of home, thereby challenging an understanding of home as a geographical space for people such as the Kurds who now live in vast numbers in a transnational situation. Moreover Toivanen (2014) uses thematic analysis to explain the differing experiences of members of the Kurdish diaspora in Finland, including reflecting on the position of the researcher. She explains: 'I examine the intersecting attributes of gender, ethnicity, and age/generation in the analysis of young Kurds' narrations. Furthermore, intersectionality is employed as a methodological tool for discussion and reflection upon researcher positionality' (Toivanen 2014: 17).

Two strong methodological parallels could be drawn between this research in Finland and mine in London. First, Toivanen, in a progressive move as compared to previous studies about Kurds in Finland and England (for example, Wahlbeck 1998a, 1999; Griffith 2002), has looked at the second generation of Kurds. Second, she considers and shows awareness of her own position as a researcher.

My research in London also considers both the first and second generation of migrants (See my reflexivity page 11).

In Chapter Three on auto-ethnography a full explanation was given to justify the use of auto-ethnography as a methodological and analytical tool in this study.

Another major previous work on Kurdish diaspora in Finland is a comparative study carried out by Wahlbeck (1998a, 1998b, 1999) which was concerned with understanding the Kurdish social and transnational networks operating in both Finland and England. It is worth noting that Bruinessen (2000), a prominent social anthropologist and an expert on Kurdish Studies, set the theoretical tone for studying Kurdish diaspora in Europe in the mid-1990s by using Anderson's (2006) 'imagined communities' theory. Thus Wahlbeck in Finland, as well as Faist (1999) in Germany, were primarily concerned with the establishment of Kurdish transnational ties and networks in Finland, Germany and England. This type of work laid the foundation for more work on Kurdish diaspora such as, for example, the new study carried out by Toivanen (2014) in Finland, as well as others across Europe.

England

According to the Office for National Statistics (ONS) and the analysis of the Census data in 2011 there were 47,200 residents living in the London area who identified themselves as ethnic Kurds, and only 15,230 who identified Kurdish as their main spoken language.[39] The Kurds themselves do not pay much attention to the above figures and claim the 'real' figures could in fact be much higher. In order to validate this dispute the Kurds rely on the work of anthropologists who have studied the diverse Kurdish communities. These studies concluded that the Kurds are not a homogenous social group and that there are Kurds who identify themselves as Alveis and speak Zaza and Yezidi Kurds who speak Kurdish, but also some who do not identify themselves as Kurds at all (Bruinessen 1992; Alison 2001; Oglak and Hussein 2016). The point is that, according to new figures published by the BBC in 2015, a total of '8.6 million' people live in London[40]and between them they speak 100 different languages, which is true for almost every London

borough.[41] The fact is there is little known about other non-UK born minority groups and indeed until recently very little was known about Kurdish diaspora community(ies) in London.

Some of the major studies on Kurdish diaspora in London include Tas (2013), Demir (2012), Galip (2012), Baser (2011), Holgate et al. (2009), D'Angelo (2008), Enneli et al. (2005), Bloch (2002a), Griffith (2002), Soguk (1999) and Wahlbeck (1999). These works are going to be evaluated and discussed not individually but in the context of the subject of integration in the following section on Kurdish diaspora integration in London.

Baser (2011), who studied Kurdish diaspora politics and activism in Europe with a particular focus on Britain, described the cultural diversity of Kurds who live in Europe and indeed in Britain: 'The Kurdish diaspora is not a homogenous entity' (Baser 2011: 8). This assertion about Kurdish diaspora's cultural diversity is relevant and important for understanding integration and various behaviours displayed by the Kurds. Following on from this work Tas (2013), who studies legal pluralism in Britain in his work entitled '*One State, plural options*: *Kurds in the UK*', describes the shift of status for Kurds away from their 'victimhood' in the region. In this study Tas is referring to Turkey, and to Kurds becoming 'active' agents/actors in the United Kingdom (UK). He writes:

> After three decades of living in their new home, Kurds in the UK have progressed from being a 'victim diaspora' into becoming more organised, and capable of meeting the diverse needs of their community. Most UK-based Kurds refuse to use the official legal system to settle their disputes, at least initially. Instead, they prefer to resolve their disputes within the community, and for this purpose, they have recreated their own hybridised customary justice system, consisting of the Kurdish Peace Committee (KPC) (Tas 2013:1).

Furthermore, Tas goes on to explain the justification for this group behavior, which stems from promoting and protecting Kurdish 'values' and Kurdish 'norms' which is in clear contradiction to what Baser (2011a) stated previously about the heterogeneity and diversity of the

Kurdish diaspora in the UK. Shedding light on the existence of this community-based legal practice within a specific part of the Kurdish diaspora community is useful, but this practice is not representative or applicable to the wider and diverse Kurdish diaspora community(ies) in the UK/London. Previous studies on Kurdish diaspora in the UK (Wahlbeck 1998a; Griffith 2002) placed a similar emphasis on the active role of Kurdish community organisations, especially those in London where most members of Kurdish diaspora live. According to Griffith (2002) and Wahlbeck (1999) different Kurdish community organisations in London have a double and complementary role of preserving and promoting Kurdish culture, for example by organising the Newroz celebration (Kurdish New Year) on 21st March every year. Equally importantly they help their members to settle successfully in London. However, only a minority of political activists still promote the 'Kurdish village' mentality in the middle of London, which understandably exists to compensate for the massive loss of Kurdish villages and small towns, especially in Turkey in the 1990s (Jongerden 2007).

The problem is that these studies (such as Wahlbeck) seem to be driven primarily by policy and politics research and focused on the Kurds in the UK as 'others' and a 'minority group' or 'refugee group'. Although there is a clear tendency, for example in Wahlbeck's approach, to move away from the more traditional essentialist view on refugees' 'return' to their 'original' country the Kurds are not yet presented as integrated new British citizens or as in a process of integration into London.

This traditional semi-functionalist view becomes more evident in relation to Wahlbeck's (1998a, 1998b, 1999 exclusive group centric methodology. There is little or no mention of the role of the individual in making decisions and acting with agency with regard to integration. Neither is there a place for the second generation of Kurds who were born in London, let alone for the views of women, and Kurdish mothers who desire and work hard to integrate their family into British society. Illustrating and influenced by a semi-functionalist and labelling approach to identity which is very common in the British literature about integration.

For example Wahlbeck (1998a) writes:

> A [Kurdish] refugee from Turkey who had lived for seven years in London had a very good understanding of the meaning of the term 'ethnic minority', but still found it incomprehensible to think of the refugee community in these terms:
>
> Ö: Do you consider yourself to belong to an ethnic minority then, because people in
>
> Britain sometimes talks about ethnic minorities?
>
> R: No, I get really angry when they say Kurdish minority. I do not. Kurdish people,
>
> Kurdish nation I would say.
>
> Ö: But I mean in England, an ethnic minority in England?
>
> R: In England?
>
> Ö: Yes, in England.
>
> R: Hmm -- Maybe we are a minority, but I do not know ethnic minority, I do not like the word minority" (Wahlbeck 1998a: 6).

As discussed in Chapter One, in the minds of the Kurds the concept of being part of a minority group in the Middle East is associated very much with the imposition of new identities upon them since the 1920s, within the newly established states of Turkey, Iraq and Syria. Thus most Kurds resist the idea of being labelled a minority group because in the Kurdish mind accepting the minority label implies compromising their nationhood. Alinia (2004) who studied Kurdish diaspora in Sweden encountered similar problems to Wahlbeck's (1998b) in London. Alinia writes: 'Kurdish diaspora identity is not primarily constructed in opposition to the Swedish identity or Swedish society, but in opposition to the dominant national identities in the countries of origin' (Alinia 2004: 333).

5.4 Explaining the Concept of 'Kurdish-Londoner': I belong and I want to be equal in London

The focus of this section is a specific inquiry concerning Kurdish diaspora community(ies) and their integration experience in London. Based on empirical data collected for this study the concept 'Kurdish-Londoner' is used to suggest a close and localised association of the

Kurdish community to London, reflecting the relatively new construct of Kurdish new home making with traces of belonging belonging in London. As Malkki has stated, 'the idea of a natural link between people and place has rightly been questioned' (Malkki 1992: 34).

However, Kurds who live in London have managed over time to establish a new home for themselves while still holding onto their memories of Kurdistan, their old home. The term Kurdish-Londoner was articulated mainly, though not exclusively, by young Kurds who were born in the UK. The idea of London as a home for Kurds has also been supported by many of the first generation of Kurdish refugees. However, many older Kurds have shown a degree of skepticism about ever wanting to fully integrate or belong to any society outside Kurdistan. One thing must be clarified though, that the concept of Kurdish-Londoner, and London as a new 'home', should not be confused with 'belonging' to Britain or becoming British.

In policy-driven studies Ager and Strang's (2008) work on refugee integration in Britain is significant, as well as Griffith (2002) and Wahlbeck's (1999) studies of Kurdish community organisations in London. The main focus of these studies is Kurdish social organisations in London, with little or no attention afforded the specific views and interests of members of the Kurdish diaspora communities in London with regards to integration and citizenship. Group behaviour and community organisations have been the central analytical areas of interest, and there has been a clear tendency to ignore the rich and complex lived experiences of individual members, which, as this thesis shows (see Chapter Six case studies), can offer insight into questions of identity. The issue of the fluidity of being a Kurd and a Londoner and how these terms come together in being a Kurdish-Londoner seems to be lost in these studies.

Moreover, Kurdish national identity is defined as a statement or demand for political recognition, one closely linked with Kurdistan as an imagined Kurdish homeland. Kurdistan as an abstract form and utopian destination has been re-constructed within diaspora. This utopian ideal is sometimes challenged by those who travel back to Kurdistan and witness how badly the southern part of Kurdistan, the Kurdish area in Iraq, has been governed by the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG)

over the past twenty years. As described by Hassan (2015) there is, perhaps, a better alternative for the young Kurds from the south nowadays than returning to the KRG area. The plan of returning to Kurdistan has in the past ten years shifted from returning or wishing to return to commuting between London and an emergent Kurdistan. There were also some voices in the third focus group in support of returning and reclaiming what they have left behind, and thereby contributing to the rebuilding rather than complaining: 'Well, we need to be in Kurdistan to help to rebuild our country I do not like throwing stones from afar' (Sakar, Focus Group 3).

Since 2003, after the collapse of Saddam's regime, the issue of belonging, for example to London, whilst remaining a Kurd and still dreaming of serving Kurdistan from diaspora or even returning started to gain some momentum among educated young Kurds in London. However, as explained by a participant at a focus group meeting, 'the growing insecurity and lack of expected progress led to more commuting rather than returning to the Kurdish area under the KRG' (Hawar, Focus Group meeting at Birkbeck College March 2015).

The Kurdish diaspora nationalist narrative has also been reflected strongly within Kurdish novelist discourse. Most Kurdish novelists live, for example, in Sweden and Germany, but the Kurdish characters exhibit resilience and freedom seeking not in Sweden or in Germany but in Kurdistan (Galip 2012).

It is logical and understandable that diaspora studies use trans-border citizenship as an analytical tool to make sense of a new global world. This study is, however, designed to challenge fixed group labelling, in-between-ness and even the concept of multiculturalism in Britain when used to implicitly justify inequalities between so called mainstream and minority cultures. This study is original and has been influenced by my own personal experience of being in exile as well as testimonies from nearly a hundred other Kurdish individuals who helped to articulate a new concept, 'Kurdish-Londoner'.

Furthermore, this self-definition stands principally for assuring Kurdish cultural continuity while also embracing change. The change involves a

positive expression of London identity, and more importantly embraces those Kurds wishing to be counted and seen as equals within British society/London. The essence of the discussion about Kurdish-Londoners is primarily about building a new home in London and ensuring Kurdish cultural continuity. As emerged clearly in the in-depth interviews there is a fine line between making a new home in the host society and belonging there. About the dilemma of belonging a retired Kurdish teacher explained:

> One can learn English, work, earn a living, and get a British passport, but what about the attitude of the host society. For example, in a casual conversation and over a cup of a tea they [the English] always ask you that Darwinian question where are you from 'originally'. Now my experience has shown to me that the definition of 'home' could be flexible but the question of 'origin' is not flexible or negotiable. This means you will never be fully accepted to this society or they allow you to belong to this country, simply because of having a different race or origin, this is my idea or better says my dilemma for belonging to Britain (Mamosta, July 2013).

In the semi-structured interviews and several Kurdish public meetings in London an interesting pattern of positive thinking and positive experiences about London emerged which led to the articulation of the term Kurdish-Londoner. This term was then used in three subsequent conferences and has been used throughout this thesis.

The translation of the term 'Kurdish Londoner' from the Kurdish 'Kordi London' is very straightforward and most people in community meetings and follow up interviews in London did not hesitate to use the term. More detailed discussion and explanation is given in the case studies in Chapter Six, but for now I will focus on the definition of the term 'Kurdish-Londoner' itself from a Kurdish perspective.

Reflecting on my fieldwork among Kurds in London in 2013-2014, I found this relevant note which could help to explain the concept of 'Kurdish-Londoner' a bit more and put it in a historical context. In a focus group meeting in South London, after three hours intense exchange

between ten participants aged 19-39 about Kurdish history and identity, the meeting concluded:

> We [Kurds] are trying to think hard and think clearly about the origin of our forced migration and displacement. This is to see through the depths of our history and searching for our identity at the same time. Still after all this discussions the question is what we are you looking for? And what we want to achieve? Honestly, in our case we are talking about a history of a region [the Middle East], where still most Kurds live, die, displaced, disappeared, assimilated, oppressed, fight, fall down and rise up again. The whole region of the Middle East seems like an open prison for most people living there but more so for the Kurds trapped between several bad states.
>
> This region is also an open playground for those with power who keep making oil deals behind closed doors. It's an ongoing game between big international and regional powers. We all know this and we are powerless to stop it. But we must keep arguing and trying for justice, peace and equality for Kurds. One big thing is that we [Kurds] lack any political unity. We are united in silence and we are used to waiting. London is now our home and our children should attempt to build abridges between London and Kurdistan and then they will be real and more successful Kurdish-Londoners at the end, we hope (Hev-Focus group meeting August 2013).

Now the Kurds are classified as a refugee group in London, but this bureaucratic labelling of refugees fails to explain the dynamic and changing nature of identity beyond the state boundaries of the nation-state. Bringing more clarity to discussion about the cultural identity of people uprooted from their original dwelling places Malkki (1995) writes that they are suddenly viewed as someone else, for example labelled as a refugee and placed within reductionist legal/academic boxes:

> The implicit functionalism of much work in 'refugee studies' is especially clear when one is dealing with questions of identity, culture, ethnicity, and 'tradition'. Again and again, one finds in this literature the assumption that to become uprooted and removed

from a national community is automatically to lose one's identity, traditions, and culture (Malkki 1995: 508).

The contribution made by Malkki is very much in line with that discussed in the late 1980s when refugee studies slowly moved away, to a large extent, from semi-functionalism and from labelling approaches (Zolberg et al. 1989). There was another positive shift in emphasis made when refugee studies academics started seeing refugees as actors and not merely as victims of circumstances. This shift from victim to actor was recorded much later by Khayati (2008) who studied Kurdish diaspora in Sweden and France (see above for more information about the Swedish case).

The question of integration or successful settlement for refugees from any ethnicity or nationality is important. Successful integration, as described by many participants, is about individuals having positive feelings about their own self-identity, as well as access to opportunities and the ability to actively participate in the new society. More specifically, learning new things, acquiring new skills, and even gaining a new identity such as that of Kurdish-Londoner are significant factors.

In considering the integration experiences of Kurdish diaspora in London and in order to understand the singularity of London as a 'super-diverse' city it is useful to refer back to the literature, and specifically to comparative studies between Finland and England (London), as well as the studies focused on the Kurdish diaspora in Germany and Sweden (see above). Relatively speaking it is very clear that London as a 'super-diverse' city is quite unique in the UK/England and it stands out as a major and positive model of multiculturalism in Europe/the UK.

Just to give one example as evidence of cultural diversity in London, the Greater London Authority (GLA) and the Mayor's Office have stated that apart from English there are some other 300 different languages spoken in London (Neighbourhood Statistics 2014). [42] London is providing accommodation and opportunities for people from most parts of the world, including Kurdish and Somali refugees (Griffith 2002). Defining super-diversity the Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society (COMPAS) at the University of Oxford in a briefing document (2015) wrote:

Super-diversity is a term increasingly used in both academic and policy literature to indicate not only ethnic diversity, but diversity across a range of interacting indices, including country of origin, language, religion, migration channel, and immigration status, gender, age, and generation (COMPAS 2015).[43]

Although COMPAS attempts to provide a comprehensive definition of super-diversity with respect to London it still lacks a definition of integration between different cultures and of cultural inequalities in London. The concept of super-diversity does highlight a significant characteristic of London as a huge and diverse cosmopolitan capital city, and recognising this historic diversity is important in understanding how London works. This thesis is concerned with integration and also equal access to London's resources for all of London's different communities and citizens, with a particular focus on the Kurdish diaspora in London. Again I am particularly looking at the place and role of individuals to act and to make decisions, to integrate, and how to integrate, and equally importantly considering the role of British state policies with regard to integration from day one, for example, refugee reception, housing, health, training, and employment (Block 2002b; Sales 2002).

It is therefore fair to say that studying Kurdish diaspora integration in London is as much about London and British state policies as it is about Kurdish diaspora living in London. The point is that in the absence of positive state policies it is the community groups with little resources which usually attempt to fill the gap and undertake the complex tasks involved in helping their members with integration, at least initially, by providing basic advice and information to help newcomers (Wahlbeck 1999). There are well over a hundred large and small Kurdish community organisations, charities, art groups, student societies and political associations in London (full list is available from Kurdistan Regional Government KRG's London high representative website).

Moreover, with respect to the dynamic relationship between Kurdish individuals and groups, for example, Kurdish refugee community organisations in London help their members to 'construct or even reconstruct' their political and cultural identity. This is particularly true for those Kurds who have come from Turkey. Griffith (2002) has described the ongoing tension between Kurds and parts of the Turkish community

in North London, and the emphasis is on 'the importance of ethnic identity for refugee studies, as such identities are frequently central to the experience of migrant groups and can influence processes of resettlement and adaptation in a host society' (Griffith 2002: 29). This interplay and mutual cultural interest between group and individual is central to maintaining the political identity of the group as well as the cultural identity of the individual. However, this research indicated that most Kurdish individuals do attend community meetings for both cultural and political reasons. Nonetheless their long-term goal is to benefit from an established sympathetic community network, especially in the early stages of integration. Bearing in mind the lack of interest or adequate policies to help refugee integration by successive British governments since the 1990s.

The above observation runs counter to what is perceived to be the norm or convention for people from a particular refugee or minority group or culture, which is to stay fixed in their group forever. This thesis argues that refugee integration starts from day one of arrival and that this integration is ultimately an individual decision and action. It is part of a slow and complex process and is often difficult for the people involved (Bloch 2002a, 2002b; Sales 2002).

The process of integrating into a new society has been described by Appadurai (1996) as a process of changing and becoming. The case studies in Chapter Six highlight that the British state's refugee policies do not reflect this positive process and, in contrast, policies relating to refugees usually show a diplomatic degree of reluctance to support refugee integration. Despite this the state and part of the media blame refugees for not integrating. British refugee policy is fuelled by, and in turn drives, a common perception widely circulated by parts of the tabloid media for public consumption in Britain, that is 'the more welcoming we are towards refugees the more they come' (Refugee Council Annual General Meeting 2014).

Nonetheless, and against the odds, refugees do use all the community resources available to them and make the most of a difficult situation, surviving and prospering over time and even starting to become imaginative and creative. A Kurdish writer who contributed to this study described the act of writing as a negotiation between self and group and

between host society and his memories of his homeland, in other words a journey between present and past:

> I am writing to return to my homeland with my words and living with my memories to fill in a gap and enlightening me to look forward to my future in London. Hoping to regain, hoping to belong and hoping to reach out beyond existing borders (Nakaroz, Interview September 2013).

Within my field notes I described the role of the individual refugee, which is often overlooked by studies on Kurdish diaspora. Some migrants, refugees or others lose their home as a place/country where they lived before and some also gradually lose their political ideology which led them to become refugees in the first place. Now we all need to choose from a range of options depending on our new circumstances in the host country:

Option 1- Gain a new ideology/make a new home, change/adapt, and live your life;

Option 2- Live in limbo and in-between two cultures for much longer and delay your own progress. I understand the fine difference between building a new home and belonging to a new home.

This is a separate and important study on the psychology of identity with respect to belonging or not belonging to a particular group or culture. As a young participant put it, integration is about whether you are wanted or unwanted by the host society:

> You are not born to be disadvantaged and live in the margin because you are a migrant, refugee, or born to refugee parents. One society once made you move physically and this new society (London) is going to move you from within, if you let her, and you may benefit, and you might integrate but if they [social services] let you (Paywand [age 19] letter summer 2013 to his social worker in South London).

I was moved by the depth of contributions from young people and the ways in which they described the gaps in understanding of the younger generation by their parents and mainstream society. For example, an

illustration of their quest for belonging and negotiating their identity in classrooms was their working harder to prove they are better at Maths to compensate for their poor English and forming a strong peer group trying to play better football in the playground in order to avoid being bullied at school. The young shared another interesting observation: 'if you are from a minority group, you are expected to work harder at school' (Sham, interview May 2013). When first and second generation and entire refugee groups are categorised and labelled as 'foreigners' (Winder 2004) the diversity, vitality and creativity of individuals tends to go unnoticed. Griffith, who studied Kurds and Somalis in London, explained a deeper shortcoming of labelling refugees and effectively undermining the role of the individual: 'A routine criticism of labelling theory is that it underplays the role of individual motivation, focusing on the process of designation from above' (Griffith 2002: 37).

5.5 The Integration Process: diaspora identities

First Generation

The complex and challenging process of integration of Kurdish diaspora in London and their active engagement and communications with their original countries have been increasingly explained and discussed with respect to the connected subjects of history and identity. This interrelationship often brings together local, regional and global issues as increasingly interrelated and connected. But there is also a process of continuity of traditional cultures beyond the boundaries of the nation-state, and communities beyond political and geographical borders (Amelina and Faist 2012).

In the focus group meetings I organised I noticed the attention of members of the Kurdish diaspora in London is often divided between two homes (Wahlbeck 1999; Griffith 2002; Holgate et al. 2009; Demir 2012; Galip 2012; Tas 2013).

Now linking this to the typology described above (origin, return, and integration diaspora) this thesis argues that the integration debate is more than merely a reflection of what the British State wants to happen to new migrants and refugees through their introduction of various policies. The reality of settlement in a new country is much more

complex. The integration or acculturation of different people, for example in London, are to be studied and understood as dynamic social processes involving transformation and the negotiation of identity. As Appaduari (1996) puts it refugee integration is a slow process of emplacement and becoming a new or different person over time and potentially results in people engaging with multiple identities and loyalties.

With reference to the use of auto-ethnography as part of my methodology this is a brief synopsis of my encounter with my host city to start the discussion about integration. I studied for my B.A in social anthropology at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) from 1993 to 1997. I slowly questioned the very fundamentals of my belief in the theory of Marxism. The obvious available intellectual and practical alternative to me was/is social democracy which I have experienced and seen for real in Sweden and in Britain.

In London I became well aware that I had entered a new world of students, foreigners, refugees, and minority groups. Knowing that I had lost both bridges, of a return to my old home (Kurdistan) and certainly of a return to an old and outdated political ideology of Marxism, a theory which I critically evaluated at SOAS and understood to be Eurocentric, positivist, reductionist and too simple to describe Kurdish history and identity.

In my post-Marxist search for new answers in theories of social change I looked up to Hall (1996a) who described his academic criticism of Modernism/Marxism. Following and paraphrasing Hall, I have created more choices for myself from within the panorama of postmodern thought. Among the postmodern interpretations and choices that I have made in relation to writing my thesis is the rejection of 'grand narratives' and 'universal truths'. Comparing modernity and postmodernity Barrett (1997) writes:

> The age of modernity is the epoch that began with Enlightenment about (1687-1789) Isaac Newton championed the belief that through science the world could be saved. Rene Descartes (1596-1650) and later Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), shaped the age

intellectually by their belief that through reason they could establish foundation of universal truths (Barrett 1997: 17).

Thus moving on from old theories of modernity which searched, often unsuccessfully, for reason and universal truths the emphasis of this thesis, as in Mary Klages'[44] discussion of postmodernism, is on the individual stories and mini-narratives that explain 'small practices, local events, rather than large-scale universal or global concepts' (Klages 2012:1). However, this does not imply a rejection of Kurdish history and collective memories of group displacement, struggles and group identity.

As discussed in Chapte Two (above) this thesis attempted to record and demonstrate the Kurdish perspective in the context of the modern history of the Middle East in the post WW1 era. Thus all the major Kurdish displacement events are explained in order to highlight the context of unequal power relationships between the Kurds and their immediate neighbours whom formed new nation states with the direct support provided by the international powers and under the auspices of the Lege of Nations then (McDowal 2010).

Furthermore, with respect to mini and individual narratives and the active and creative role of individuals with regard to cultural identity, Song (2003), who has written about Black-British and Asian-American people declaring self-identities, talks about the importance and centrality of agency and choice for individuals in relation to their own cultural identity. This centrality of human agency is clear in the empirical data and in the articulation of the concept Kurdish-Londoner for two reasons:

1. As a statement of the formation of a new self-identity resulting from experiences of forced displacement and living in exile or in transnational condition;

2. The Kurds have reached a position where they wish to be counted, recognized, respected, and considered as equal citizens within British society. This is a contrasting and corrective measure considering the bad experiences that the Kurd had in the original countries in the Middle East that they left behind. According to Bozarsalan (2014) the Kurds are still suffering discrimination and they are largely mariginalised in the Middle Eastern region even today.

In the existing literature about Kurdish diaspora in London much of the emphasis has been on the politicisation and mobilisation of the Kurds in London. Another important feature of diaspora life is their link with the country of origin, which underpins the traditional definition of diaspora. This aspect has been investigated and scrutinised in great detail and at length in the case of Kurds in London (Wahlbeck 1999; Griffith 2002; Baser 2011; Demir 2012). The problem is the other half of the story of Kurdish diaspora and that is their settlement and integration experience in their new home (London) which has almost remained untouched in academia.

This study is an attempt to uncover this area, with the concept of Kurdish-Londoner used as a platform for members of Kurdish diaspora communities to talk about their integration experience including the challenges of settlement, their desires and their success stories. Needless to say Kurdish diaspora in Europe, including in London, have also been successful in re-establishing their links with the countries they came from. The Kurdish case is therefore a perfect case demonstrating migrants' quest for rebuilding home and for studying the transformation of identity within diaspora. This transformation is especially evident when we consider the second generation of Kurds who were born in London in the 1990s, which signifies the time of the birth of Kurdish agency, with better English language skills, a sharper critical approach to exclusion and discrimination, and more freedom to learn Kurdish and form Kurdish organisations. This is in stark contrast to Kurds elsewhere, and especially in Turkey, where the very existence of Kurdish cultural identity and language has been attacked and ridiculed, which has led to persecution (Besikçi 1977). The second generation was not involved when the majority of the earlier studies were carried out in London (Griffith 2002; Wahlbeck 1999).

Now developing and applying the small scale narratives and active agency model and for a better understanding of the creative role of Kurdish individuals Galip (2012), who studies Kurdish novelist discourse states:

Linguistic diversity and the lack of political and national unity have not only have shaped the fragmented character of Kurdish novelistic discourse, but have also forced the displacement and voluntary migration westwards of many Kurds in search of freedom (Galip 2012: 8).

It is therefore clear that the Kurds, far from being only victims, though politically divided, have been organising themselves to resist marginalisation, assimilation, and victimhood as part of their collective struggle. The Kurds have faced displacement in the Middle Eastern region and many have sought refuge, safety, security and freedom in Europe, as suggested by Galip (2012). The Kurds have also formed new social networks in Europe/the UK as well as successfully maintaining contacts with their original country/Kurdistan.

The complex contacts and relations with family, relatives, and friends are now more possible and speedy with the use of digital communications. In a new study Keles (2015) has looked at the first, second and third generations of Kurdish and Turkish populations in Europe. This timely work demonstrates the different dynamics of migration and settlement processes in each European country with respect to their policies towards migrants and refugees. It also offers an analysis and new insights into the construction of the Kurdish diaspora identity and the use/role of Kurdish digital media and Kurdish social networks within this complex process.

Integration is a slow process, but as Rozh explains it really starts from day one of arrival and it is the refugee self-help groups that help the newly arrived to kick start this process from day one. Rozh, a Kurdish mother and integration advocate, explains:

Since the beginning of 1990s the Kurds in London have started several centres to help themselves even with our little knowledge about our rights, integration policies and about services. I was one of the leaders of this community centres and I knew that we couldn't wait for the state. So our community helped newcomers to start settling in London from day one and without much help from the local council (Rozh, interview May 2013).

Second Generation

Some scholars suggest the second generation of Kurds is far more interested in Kurdish identity and Kurdish politics than their parents. The Kurdish diaspora is at its highest numerically in Germany and has also attracted more research. Curtis (2005) who studied Kurdish diaspora in Germany looked into the changing dynamism of different social categories and identified different categories including 'the second generation, hybrid Kurds, euro Kurds' (Curtis 2005: 12).

In Sweden Eliassi (2015) who studied Kurdish diaspora experience describes the shift from 'Kurdish' [ethnicity] to [nationality] 'Kurdistani', especially with respect to the young Kurds from different parts of Kurdistan who use cyberspace, such as Facebook to construct a national identity that their parents, especially in Turkey, were denied freely in the Middle East (Eliassi 2015: 2).

Now looking at young Kurds in London the primary concern is to understand the transition journey of young Kurds who were born in London or came to London as unaccompanied refugee children. Starting with a positive note this is what one of a group of eleven young Kurdish boys told me:

> In London you can find a social space for yourself. We recently started a football team and we are supported by the local sport center. We feel belonging to our community as well as to London and we thank and like this city very much for accommodating all these different peoples (Shar, focus group meeting South London September 2013).

However, after two hours exchanging of ideas and discussion the group realised that only one of the group members had completed his university education, with three working with relatives doing hard manual work in bakeries, fruit markets, or at a hand car wash, in various locations across London. The remaining seven were classified as Not in Employment, Education or Training (NEET). The British government keeps and monitors statistics and notes about young people doing almost nothing formal in their daily life. The NEET figures are published by the British government regularly and they set out the available

statistics on young people who are not currently in education, employment or training.[45]

One can immediately see the mixed picture of most young Kurds feeling positive about London while at the same time they are being left out of the system and becoming invisible and unproductive, thereby fitting into the NEET category. Despite the problems facing young Kurds there is still generally more optimism in their minds, and this is what a Kurdish young person working within the NHS described as his own understanding and feeling about the concept of being a Kurdish-Londoner:

> I would describe my identity as Kurdish-Londoner. By Kurdish-Londoner I understand a Kurdish person who identifies himself /herself both as somebody of Kurdish ethnicity, but equally feeling that s/he is emotionally, socially a part of London. Almost inseparable, probably feeling that both identities are close to his heart (Nur, interview letter, November 2015).

Living in London has also changed the dynamism of Kurdish families considerably. Among the changes is the leading role of Kurdish mothers, who link the family with schools, social services, housing and health centres. Kurdish girls have benefited from this female empowerment at home, with more and more Kurdish girls completing statutory schooling and many attending university in recent years. After university many are also doing highly skilled graduate level work in London.

In a mixed focus group meeting in North London most fathers admitted that they did not know the name or location of their children's school, while the mothers knew exactly how many bus stops there were from home to school. Mothers also knew the names of the teachers, the head teacher, and the caretaker of the school. The meeting concluded that it was the mothers who attended school events including parents' evenings. Sometimes the Kurdish mothers forced the schools to bring in professional interpreters to help them to communicate to the school about the progress of the children and discuss relevant issues at the parents' evenings.

Moreover, discussing typical challenges faced by the Kurdish families who live in the London borough of Hackney Rozh, a Kurdish mother who

was at that meeting, commented on the different and difficult role of most Kurdish fathers she knew in London, explaining with a strong tone in her voice:

> Most Kurdish fathers I know did not have enough time or chance to see their children during the week, because they are often working from 11am to 1am [13 hours] almost every day. So when the kids go to school in the morning the fathers are asleep, and when the fathers come back home from late night work the kids are asleep. Therefore both parents are very busy and often have no quality time for their kids. Most Kurdish kids struggle with their school homework and there is no one at home who can help them, they lag behind at school and parents do not always notice, and it is unfair (Hev, focus group meeting north London August 2013).

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter the core of the academic debate and the paradigm shift within Kurdish diaspora studies from traditional 'victim' diaspora to 'actor' was introduced (Khayati 2008). This shift emphasised the role of refugee agency which was influenced by prior academic and policy development within refugee studies where the issue of refugees returning to their original country was no longer a defining feature in the refugee and diaspora discourse and the issue of integration and citizenship came to be considered important.

In London some major research looked at diaspora in the light of social capital theory and the creation of social networks with reference to the establishment of several effective Kurdish community organisations in London in the 1990s. However, the primary focus of most researchers has remained exploration of the active relationship between Kurdish diaspora and the country of origin (Wahlbeck 1999; Griffith 2002; D'Angelo 2008; Demir 2012; Galip 2012; Tas 2013; Keles 2015).

It has been argued that modern diaspora is perceived as involving experiencing exile and crossing the geographical territory of one nation state to enter another. Historically speaking the movements of people from one country to another and their settlement is defined as migration.

It is common to refer to modern countries such as the United States of America (USA) as nations of immigrants[46]. The same is true for New Zealand, Australia, and Canada. In recent decades the mixed movement of both forced and voluntary migration has been described by Castles et al. (2005) as the age of migration. This century is indeed the age of human mobility and increased travel opportunities, with many people now willing to cross different nation state borders, to take risks, and to travel short and long distances for safety and security and to gain better chances in life. What distinguishes diaspora people from other migrants is their desire to build a new home in the host country and their willingness to maintain a complex relationship with the country of origin. Thus the issue of territory, both geographically real and/or 'imagined', as described by Anderson (2006), becomes part of the debate rather than an essential part of diaspora identity.

Therefore, people's behaviour and identity become central and again, as described by Clifford (1994), some anthropologists refer to diaspora as people with a new identity but without a country. This description might well explain the Kurdish diaspora experience and their own self-definition of 'statelessness' (statelessness in a political sense because most Kurds consider themselves to be part of a nation). All of these issues have also come to the fore in many studies carried out among the Kurds in Germany, Sweden, and Finland.

Following Said (2001), who in his reflection on exile describes the two questions of history and identity as inextricably linked for forced migrants, this thesis has adopted the same epistemology of studying Kurdish forced migration history and Kurdish diaspora identity together. Thus, I am looking at the social construction and transformation of identity within Kurdish diaspora. In relation to the transformation of identity a strong focus has been on the second generation of Kurds born in Europe. In this context access to and use of digital communication has made it possible to communicate and connect with people's original homes/Kurdistan.

Therefore, as many studies in Europe demonstrate, the Kurdish diaspora is very much an imagined, a digital and a real diaspora. As explained by Eliassi (2015) migrants do express a positive Kurdish identity through sport and a political solidarity with pan-Kurdistani

movements in Europe, and indeed in other parts of the globe where a sizable population of Kurds lives. Again this is thanks to the use of digital technology.

In London the articulation of the concept Kurdish-Londoner is also part of the same diaspora's characteristic of gaining or having multiple identities and loyalties to at least two different countries. It is noticeable that the young Kurds use the term Kurdish-Londoner with relative ease but avoid using the term British as part of their identity. Kurds do generally like London and feel at home there. The Kurdish diaspora's composition, experience, and situations in Germany- (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003; Curtis 2005), Sweden- (Alinia 2004; Khayati 2008; Eliassi 2015) and Finland- (Toivanen 2014) are different, as discussed above.

Finally, it is important to consider the cultural diversity and heterogeneity of the Kurds. The dual social and political orientation and the usage of the term Kurd in different contexts should be considered for better understanding of Kurdish diaspora identity. Thus, the methodological foundation of this thesis, as discussed in Chapter Three, which is a non-essentialist and non-nation-state centric approach to analysing and understanding complex Kurdish diaspora identities, is vital to consider.

Furthermore, and in order to gain a fuller and better understanding of the diaspora discourse, the voice of the second generation is included. The second generation lacks experience of migration or displacement and their understanding of the original home has largely been shaped by transmission of memory from their parents and the community. The first generation, however, has a deep understanding of marginalisation, loss of home and displacement, and recognises the cultural differences between Kurdistan and England /London.

The first generation also appreciates the safety and opportunities provided by the host society. Therefore parents work very hard to build a new home for the family in London. The changing role of Kurdish mothers and their relative practical empowerment in the context of British society is an effective element in supporting the process of family integration, as reflected in mothers' extensive links with statutory and civil institutions, which often results in the establishment of a close bond with the mainstream society.

Over the years since the beginning of the 1990s Kurdish children have grown up and many have already left the parental home, with many of them having started families of their own. This is a powerful symbol of the birth of a new era and of the third generation of Kurds. Surely, this will soon become a fascinating new area for further study on Kurdish diaspora in London.

Chapter Six: Case Studies: personal narratives

6.1 Introduction

> How many times since I left Lebanon in 1976 to live in France, have people asked me, with the best intentions in the world, whether I felt 'more French' or 'more Lebanese'? And I always give the same answer: 'both!' I say that not in the interests of fairness or balance, but because any other answers would be a lie (Maalouf 2003: 1).

The above is a very fascinating and informative statement given by Maalouf (2003) about his personal feeling concerning his dual Lebanese and French identity(ies). Following the same non-essentialist principle as Maalouf (2003) describes with respect to change and acquiring a new identity, and drawing from empirical data collected for this study this chapter is designed to present and analyse six case studies, based on in-depth interviews, as well as three focus group meetings. The purpose of this chapter is to evaluate the articulation of the concept of Kurdish-Londoner as a new concept indicating the transformation of identity and emergence of a dual identity within the Kurdish diaspora community in London. To complement the individual narratives on Kurdish diaspora history and Kurdish cultural identity I also consider findings from three focus group meetings which give an insight into wider and more general integration issues concerning the Kurdish diaspora community(ies) in London (Griffith 2002).

According to Yin (1994), who has written extensively on the use of case studies in social research methods, the case study is a useful tool for exploring contemporary events and issues within a specific group or section of a society. Therefore, the principle use of the case study in this thesis is to open up a new paradigm, that is, a new approach for looking inside the diaspora person's home and mind through studying their lived experiences. In another words the use of the case study in this thesis marks a new and necessary shift from policy- and politics-driven research towards looking at the lived experiences of Kurdish diaspora members in London (see Chapter Three on methodology).

Furthermore, the types of questions asked of individuals in the interviews were designed to bring up the elements of similarities of refugee experience as well as highlight varying and different personal factors such as age and gender. For example, the refugee journey / memory and initial arrival/reception are issues directly relevant for first generation of Kurdish refugees and migrants. But other specific enquiries and issues, such as schooling and social acceptance in the context of growing up in London are more pressing issues for the second generation.

Notably the subject of successful settlement, positive integration, and a feeling of belonging in London cross the boundaries of age and gender. The changing role, structure, and dynamism of Kurdish families in diaspora are not being discussed specifically, because this subject was considered too sensitive and too heavy for the participants to discuss. However, the role of the various Kurdish community organisations is examined, not as a substitute for family life but to demonstrate the collective bargaining power of the Kurdish community as an organised force in mobilising their members for cultural and political reasons (Wahlbeck 2002; Griffith 2002; Tas 2013).

The case studies are designed to highlight at a micro level the similarities and differences in integration experiences of the first and second generations. In summary an open and pragmatic use of empirical data has been chosen for the purpose of manageability of the data collected, comparability of the cases (between the first and second generations and between men and women), and for improving the validity of the research in terms of its methodology (Bryman 2004).

6.2 The Concept of Kurdish-Londoner: dual identity

This thesis argues that the concept of Kurdish-Londoner has its roots in the recent history of Kurdish people, understood as a people who always wanted to be recognised, wanting to belong, and to be counted equally through cultural recognition and ultimately through statehood. This opportunity of inclusivity is now offered in London and the young Kurds are happy to grasp it with both hands. With respect to the trade-off between assimilation and purposeful Kurdish diasporic integration in

London, a retired Kurdish engineer who has been living in London for over 30 years argued:

> When you are stating that you are a Kurdish-Londoner it's practically true, and it also feels positive for the individual saying it. The term Kurdish-Londoner is acceptable in Britain, and it is like a halfway peace house between the British's wish for our assimilation (to become British) and the Kurdish nationalism's desire for ethnic absolutism (a Kurds always remain a Kurd). I like this safe bridge between the two extreme views. I think the young Kurds should learn to claim their fair share of identity and should never assimilate in any other country never (Mamosta[47], Interview June 2013).

Thus the concept of Kurdish-Londoner, which has developed and is still developing among second generation Kurds in London, is a positive response to the negative history of Kurdish forced migration and socio-political marginalisation (Hassanpour 1992; Griffith 2002; MacDowell 2010) (see Chapter Five for a full articulation of the term Kurdish-Londoner).

With reference to the discussions on diaspora and integration in the context of the multicultural debate in Britain (see Chapter Five), the focus of this section is on the complex and dual trajectory between being in exile and re-establishing links (real, imaginary or digital) with the original home (Keles 2015). This complex social phenomenon is further complicated by the feeling of a considerable number of the members of the Kurdish diaspora in London of desiring and working towards belonging fully to their new society.

The aim is to place the individual stories on Kurdish diaspora integration in London within the broader historical context of Kurdish forced migration and displacement history. There are many refugee voices and experiences. Some of them are heard, some are not. The Kurdish case has not been voiced fully yet, either in the Middle Eastern region or in Europe.

In this thesis the articulation of the term Kurdish-Londoner as expressed in the following personal narratives is empowering for the individuals concerned. This is also analytically significant at different levels, which

are set out and explained within a framework of seven main and general points. These points should work to explain the main issues in relation to Kurdish history and identity. Therefore, they provide clues to help us better understand the individual stories and to link them to the wider socio-political contexts as well as the crisis of the nation-state in the Middle East where most Kurds live (Bozarsalan 2014. The framework also allows for reflection on a contemporary debate in Britain which has shifted from 'subtle'-multiculturalism in the 1970s (Hall 1996b) to 'super-diversity' in recent years (Vertovec 2010).

The explanatory framework through which the cases are described is not designed to standardise the stories. This framework, as explained in Chapter Three with respect to methodology, has an overarching aim and that is to apply lived experience methodology to the study of Kurdish diaspora community in London. The selected questions are framed around the shift from victimhood in Kurdistan to citizenship in London. Furthermore, by considering the use of reflexivity and auto-ethnography in the methodology of this thesis and at the theoretical level, as stated in Chapter Three, the emphasis is on the social constructivist paradigm.

Moreover with respect to the application of auto-ethnography, the participants have often arrived at their final answers following a lively dialogue with the researcher, who himself is a first generation refugee and who has spoken mostly in Kurdish to them (apart from the focus group meeting in North London where a colleague acted as an interpreter to help some of the Kurdish participants from Turkey who could not speak Kurdish).

6.3 A Framework: exploring the concept of Kurdish-Londoner

The concept of Kurdish-Londoner signifies a need for a fresh radical epistemology in diaspora studies, as shown in Chapter Two. That is to say the history of the Kurdish diaspora (both formal and within the social memory) and Kurdish cultural identity are inextricably linked and should be studied and understood together. Thus, the expression of dual identity manages the following issues:

A. A historic Kurdish socio-political marginality in Kurdistan/the Middle East (Ahmad 1994; McDowall 2010; Bozarslan 2014);

B. It is a positive reflection of a new reality of belonging to a new place. This is one way in which the Kurds are dealing with their historic loss, divide geography, and their socio-political and economic marginalisation since the 1920s (O'Shea 2004).

Now the Kurds are facing a new reality of living in London. There is a clear choice, especially for the second generation, and that is, as pointed out loudly by a young Kurdish activist in a group meeting: 'Well before we could demand socio-economic equality in London we should belong to London'. He added, 'we know this very well too, that we are very new in comparison to the Black and Indian communities in London. Therefore, we should join their fight for equality and not to start a new one' (Rbz, Birkbeck College March 2015).

2. The articulation of the concept Kurdish-Londoner confirms and even develops an earlier shift in the methodology of diaspora studies, with the Kurds moving from being perceived as victims in the Middle Eastern region to becoming citizens in Europe (Wahlbeck 1999; Griffith 2002; Østergaard-Nielsen 2003; Alinia 2004 Khayati 2008; Baser 2011; Tas 2013).

3. The concept of Kurdish-Londoner stands out positively and challenges the negative public perception about migrants not wanting to integrate into the British society (Sales 2002; Bloch and Solomos 2010; Lewis and Craig 2014).

4. Personal narratives are best understood in light of differences in age, gender, education background, and employment. Additional factors which make people's identity even more complicated include language, accent, skin colour, religion, the different situations faced and above all negotiation skills (Cohen 1996; Eastmond 2007; Nassari 2007).

5. The effectiveness of the policies of central and local governments in relation to the successful processing of refugees with respect to settlement. The influence of the wider community in London is also vital, as reflected in the case studies (D'Angelo 2008; Mulvey 2010; Spencer 2011). See also Table 5 page 201, SDCAS 2013-2014 report about the complex and basic needs of newly arrived migrants in London.

6. Refugees' and migrants' integration starts with their settlement in the new country from day one (Bloch 2002b; Sales 2002; Ager and Strang 2008).

7. Most members of the Kurdish diaspora desire to commute between the UK and Kurdistan rather than to return (Paasche 2016). Thus members of the Kurdish diaspora belong to two places at once both emotionally and practically, as described by Maalouf above where he discusses his dual and non-competing identity(ies) (Maalouf 2003; Emanuelsson 2008; Hassan 2015).

As explained in the methodology Chapter Three, this study has used a migrant centered and lived experience model. Again based on the new evidence and empirical data collected some particular domains of integration are examined which are directly related to the research questions of Kurdish forced migration history and Kurdish cultural identity. In the selection and presentation of the case studies the main focus has been to look at the views and experiences of the first and second generation, and also men and women. Furthermore, attempts were made to interview equal number of first and second generation and men and women. But there were serious access issues, especially accessing Kurdish women (see page 70). These new evidences based on lived experiences of members of Kurdish diaspora in London which in turn highlights the importance of considering the impact of different localities within Britain. For example, London is a very particular and cosmopolitan city which encourages and allows (or tolerates) more diversity. Some scholars now describe London as 'super-diverse' city (Vertovec 2010).

6.4 Deliberate Under-Analysis of the Personal Stories

One more crucial point to be made about deliberate under-analysis of the case studies is that I have largely left them in their original form and under-analysed them for following four methodological reasons:

1. The selected six case studies are largely representative of the all 25 semi-structured interviews that completed for this study. These cases do best reflect the main patterns of different views expressed in the

individual interviews as well as the views of the participants in the three focus group meetings.

2. Based on lived experience approach adopted in this thesis, it is therefore important to leave enough space to individual cases to shine and tell their stories without much interruption, interpretation, and with minimum risk of over analyses and falling into the old and static binary functionalist principle of us/them, Kurdish/English, migrant/host, foreigner/ citizen and so on.

3. Although the emergence of the feeling of belonging to London among the second generation of Kurds born in London has been expressed explicitly and clearly for it to be articulated in this thesis as a new concept of Kurdish Londoner (see page 139), but the six cases as explained above, are not selected to prove or disprove this concept or indeed to support any particular view or concept.

Finally, the case studies are my best representative and available empirical data to support an open, flexible, and non-essentialist dialogue about identity, home, and belonging (Bhabha 1994:2). Thus aiming to contribute to evidence based, positive and constructive dialogue about Kurdish history and identity both from within the Kurdish diaspora community(ies) and with wider British society in Britain / London.

6.5 Practical Considerations: some notes about the presentation structure of the cases

For the purpose of clarity and so that the reader can compare the overall pattern, there are two general questions in each category, and the following presentation structure is used in the case studies. It is also worth noting that the interview transcripts are presented in first person to uphold the originality of the contributions and only edited to preserve the focus of the thesis.

First generation

Q1. Journey and arrival

Q2. Integration in London

Second generation:

Q1. Memory from parents (post-memory)

Q2. Belonging and acceptance in London (Kurdish Londoner)

Focus groups:

Q1. Kurdish forced migration history (both formal official history and social history or personal memory).

Q2. Kurdish-Londoner (identity and integration issues)

Abbreviations used:

AA = Ayar Ata, the researcher

RZ1 = initials, all nicknames, of the participant before each question. The same principle is used for all the individual cases and focus groups.

There were three focus group meetings in North and South London, and at Birkbeck College, University of London (see Table 4 for numbers and information about characteristics of all participants in this study).

6.6 First Generation

Case Study - Number One: Rozh

(Age 47, mother of two children, community activist and translator)

RZ1. Journey and Arrival

AA: Thank you very much Rozh for coming today. Please introduce yourself.

RZ1: I've been living in London for 12 years now. I'm from northern Kurdistan (Turkey).

AA: What is your occupation?

RZ1: I am an advocate and a translator working for a college to recruit students for citizenship test.[48] I can also describe my work as an adviser who helps those members of the Kurdish community in London who are not educated and need advice and information. Particularly I want to

mention Kurdish women who have not been able to learn English. So I help this type of people.

AA: Please tell me about your refugee journey and why you had to leave you country?

RZ1: Really my story is very long. I am 47 years old now and I've been an active/ a woman activist for over 30 years now. I've been a political activist all my life. I started when I was 15 years old. I became a revolutionary. My activities started in 1980s in Turkey. When there was a coup in Turkey things changed in that country. Within our family many people were arrested and put in prison. I started my formal political activities in 1991-1992. There was a political party called HDEP and many Kurds joined that party. I worked for HDEP for nearly 2 years. And there was another party called EMEC party. Leaving my homeland was extremely difficult coming to London was difficult because I really didn't want to leave behind my people. But I was forced to leave my country. To start with London is very cold and Kurdistan is very hot. That's the first difference. Second difference you can see no stars in the sky in London but there are plenty of stars visible in the sky in Kurdistan. People in Kurdistan are close and cooperate but this is not the case in London. Perhaps I cannot describe by words the differences between my own homeland and London. Never mind what other people say I believe no place is like home. And especially it is difficult to leave your own home and your people behind when you like them so much. I truly believe refugee's journey is difficult. It is true in this country people are not hungry and they have a place to live and they are reasonably comfortable. Despite all these I don't want to be here forever. I don't want to die in this land. I really want to die in my own land. I don't want to become old here. Forced migration isn't only happening to the Kurds. In London you can see other refugees from different parts of the world. I think there is a capitalist system responsible for the situation of workers who migrate and work cheaply in another country. For example foreign workers who come to London work for a cheaper rate comparing to the English workers. This is good for the capitalist system, they are exploiting foreign workers.

RZ2. Integration in London

AA: I really appreciate you are giving rich answers to my questions. You are reflecting on your own experience as an activist and I believe you can write a book about your own experiences. Now I want to go to my 3rd question which is about integration. I want to explain a bit, I mean in London as you said we have people from all over the world for example those who come from Asian, Latin America or Eastern Europe. My specific question is about Kurdish integration. How do you see the Kurds are integrating in London? For example I'm asking yourself, do you feel you are a Londoner? How do you describe your belonging?

AA: Do you consider yourself to be a Kurdish-Londoner?

RZ2: I believe the integration of the Kurds is very difficult. I can say that the Kurds were not included in their own land. I was a foreigner in my own land. I am a Kurdish woman and I lived in Kurdistan but I had formal Turkish identity imposed on me. My official language was Turkish. When I arrived here I was still a foreigner and I saw myself among foreign people. An again my language was different. I had to learn Turkish there and in London I had to learn English. I was frustrated that I couldn't express myself and talk about my opinion, my pain, and my problems. You don't know which door is open to you. So let's talk about integration. I want to ask what the state/government has done to help the Kurdish community to integrate, nothing really. There is no place open for the Kurds to help them with their integration in London. But there are few Kurdish community centres which the Kurds have established themselves.

AA: Ok, I understand you mention Kurdish community centres in London. Could you describe what do they do?

RZ2: The Kurds in London have started several centres to help themselves with their little knowledge about London and about services. I was one of the leaders of this community centres and I knew that we couldn't help ourselves that much. We couldn't really. We couldn't really help as we wished because we don't know the system. When I cannot

help myself, when I don't know enough, how can I help other people to integrate?

AA: Yes, I understand. You are making very powerful point about integration. Now tell me about your experience as a mother. You have a young son and you know about young Kurds and their experience. Could you describe how you see the young Kurds live their life here, just tell me a daily life of a young person. How do they see themselves? How do they live in London?

RZ2: This is a very important question. I can tell you that our children cannot live like an English boy or girl does. They are Kurd at home, they speak Turkish or Kurdish at home and they speak English outside. I believe we have difficulty dealing with our young people. For example I cannot help my children with their school homework. If they ask me about the history of England I cannot answer. But if we were in Kurdistan and my children were asking me about our history about our daily life and food, I could have told them something. Parents cannot help their children at all. Our children are achieving low level in education. Many Kurds that I know live in north London. I live in east London and I didn't want to bring up my own children in North London. Because I wanted to protect my children from mixing with others with bad habits.

The Kurds from north Kurdistan who live mostly in North London are 70% Alevi (see Oglak et.al 2016 for more information about Alevi Kurds in London) and 90% of those are Kermanje speakers. In north London there are estimated 400-500 Kurds in prison. Because they are dealing with drugs. In a space of one year 21 young Kurd committed suicide. In the past 4 years 47 young Kurds committed suicide. They are either took overdose or hanged themselves. I think they are suffering outside home and in the society and they cannot deal with it and they kill themselves. My own children are successful and they both are studying at university. But this doesn't mean the young Kurds in London are successful. Sadly they are not. There are families who are not cooperating or helping their children to integrate and to do well. There are several community centre but they can't give enough, because they don't have the resources.

AA: You are an active mother and a community activist and you also know English/British people. I want to ask you for example have you been to any council meetings.

RZ2: Yes, I attended few meetings and I talked to authorities about the Kurds from North who are facing numerous problems. I suggested to Croydon Council to help us to build a community centre in order to assist our young people but Croydon Council did not listen. I mentioned Croydon needs to work with parents to keep young people out of trouble, for example, from drug abuse, theft and things like that. Although they agreed with me but in practice they did not do much. I want to explain that I want to enrich the mind of our young people by giving them advice and information that they need to be successful in this country and to be useful for Kurdistan if they wish.

AA: I appreciate you are really giving me rich answers to all my questions but I realize I need to ask you few more, if it is ok.

We don't know exactly how many Kurds there are in London some say 100,000. You say around 5000 in Croydon. That is a community but I want to ask you about the role of individual Kurds. Could you help me to understand who makes the decision to integrate in London? I hope you understand my question. I want to ask about your role as an individual.

RZ2: About 10-15 years ago, majority of Kurds (our community) thought that if the situation in Kurdistan improves then we can return back to our home. Now, we have realized that return is very difficult or impossible. Probably I can return one day because it is my country but what about our young people? I don't think they would want to return to Kurdistan. If they lucky they commute and act like a bridge between the UK and Kurdistan. These young people we are talking about are born here. They speak the language well. They have grown up here. I think we have realized that this is our home. We have to cope with difficulties. I believe we still need many community centres to help our community to integrate successfully. I cannot remember the name of the university that carried out a research in London about education achievement and attainment of young people. Apart from Somali community the young Kurds are among the lowest achievers. I'm talking about the Kurds from Turkey (North). Yes I remembered it was London Metropolitan

University. After the research they started to help young Somalis to improve at schools and colleges but nothing have been done to help the young Kurdish people. But there is a self-help initiative within Kurdish community in London. For example in Croydon families hire private teachers to help the students to do extra work and these families gather in a place called Jamie. They teach them with Physics, Chemistry, Maths, and English language. I am sure those young people who have done well at colleges and go to higher education have been supported by their families. I give you an example from my own family. I didn't know that my own son needed special attention (special need category). Then we realized my son needed extra help at home so I hired a private teacher to come home and help my son. Because of that my son achieved some 'A's in his A levels and he went to Imperial college and my other son went to Sheffield college. But before I didn't know what I needed to do. This is the case I am sure among many families who are not aware of the education needs of their children, and our children really need extra help.

AA: Yeah, you mean supplementary school. Ok, now I want to develop my question and ask you more, because you are a woman activist and a mother. I'm interested to know how you assess the difference between Kurdish women and Kurdish men. I mean the role of Kurdish fathers and mothers.

RZ2: Majority of Kurdish men do work and probably majority do manual work. Sometimes they work for 12, 13 or 14 hours. When children wake up and go to school they haven't seen their father in the morning and because the father comes back late they don't see them in the evening either. This could continue for weeks and months that children do not see their father. Probably 80% of Kurdish fathers do not see their children often but they might see them once a week. They do hard manual work, long hours. Mothers take their children to school, bring them back, give them food and they are very busy in the house. Therefore mothers cannot go out and study and do anything outside the house. Sometimes some mothers do not even know how to use a bus and they start by asking their own children for direction and for how to use public transport. Mothers go to school and they leave children at the gate and frightened to go inside the classroom because they fear if

teachers or the head teacher might ask them a question and they don't speak the language. So children do not have quality relationship with the family and the families do not have relationship with the schools. I do not see even parents spending quality time together going out for a coffee and talk about the family issues. I think both parents are overwhelmed and exhausted by their hard work. So who is there to help the kids?

AA: So do you think the Kurdish workers who come here are among those cheap work forces in London? Could you give me some examples of what Kurdish workers are doing in London?

RZ2: For example myself when I left Kurdistan I was a university student I studied accountancy. I had three modules to finish my course at university. Until I arrived here I had no work experience. Even those with education cannot work with their qualifications. Another example is those who work in off licenses. Some work for 12 hours there, and they work for a very cheap rate for long hours. The second category of jobs is the catering industry. I mean working in a restaurant, coffee shop. I think majority of us are working in this type of jobs. For example how many Kurds do you think in M&S? I estimate there aren't even 2 Kurdish people working in here. Kebab shop start from 10 am and they finish at 1 or 2 AM the following morning. These long working hours are affecting family life and the fathers often do not see their children enough. This is very difficult for the Kurds.

AA: I really appreciate your invaluable information about the Kurds who living in north London. You have updated me.

RZ2: Yes, I can repeat that Kurdish children are lonely and they don't have enough support. In all societies people see their children as their future. If you don't have your children achieving and successful, you have no future as society. I think we don't have a future in London. But I can see that people wear Kurdish clothes and celebrate Newroz. It is nice but it is not so important to me anymore, because we are not educating our children. Kurdistan and Kurdish culture can still exist without us wearing Kurdish clothes once a year. What is important is education of our children. They don't even learn about Kurdish history. They don't learn about Kurdish culture. Things are seems to me artificial.

I am talking about 2nd generation who are almost lost and if so, I think, there will be no 3rd generation. If the 2nd generation wouldn't learn about their history and do not succeed in life and lost in London, so what is the chance of them keeping anything alive? They have nowhere to learn; therefore I emphasize the importance of the community centres. If for example in Corydon we had a community centre I would have seen you more often. I haven't seen you for years and this is because we don't have a community centre.

AA: I agree with you and I hope with your experience if you want to start a community centre and lead the community I would be happy to support you. Now after talking to you today, I have realized the need for a community centre in Croydon.

RZ2: Community centres now have much more important job to do than celebrating Newroz and helping people with immigration matters. As I mentioned both parents do not have time for their children and therefore community centre must step in and help with integration matters. We discussed about the number of Kurds in London. I can tell you there are 500 that I know from my area. Imagine if one dies we need a community centre to help with funerals and we need a centre to act like a council and raise our voice. We need resources. We need physical space to come together. Some people go to a mosque some people don't and many people would go to a community centre. I don't go to a mosque because I am Aleve but I go to Jamie. Jamie is like a mosque. For example I cannot go to a church and ask for a service. I can't as I'm not a Christian. Therefore we need Jamie or mosque or centre for people to go. As you know all communities are different and they want to keep their traditions.

AA: So you are actually talking about integration and the need for integration. You are also talking about a need for a voice. A voice within the council and a voice within the British society. May I ask you if you are linked to a British political party?

RZ2: No, but when it comes to election I give my vote to the green party. But I prefer to have a Kurdish councillor so can represent my voice. We

need that political voice within the council and how we do it I can't do it and I don't know therefore it is a work of a community centre.

Yes our collective voice is important. We might decide to support a particular part for example the Green party. But if we don't have a place even Green party won't notice us. Few years ago we had a small community centre in Croydon and they would come sometimes and visit us. There are 26 community centers in London that I am aware and a Jamie in Croydon. These community centres represent different villages, towns and political parties. People start their own community centre based on their politics or religion or village. For example I am Aleve and I go to Aleve Centre (Jamie) but Alevis are also political. They are not far from politics. In the Jamie people don't talk about who is right or who is wrong. They try to help each other.

Case Study - Number Two: Hasso

(Age 50, father of three children, businessman)

HS1. Journey and Arrival

AA: Could you please tell me about your journey and why you had to leave your home country?

HS1: Well, it is a long story. I am one of the thousands that had to leave Iraq in the1990s. I left Pishdar area in1999 and I had to leave all my family behind. As Kurdish history tells us we have been becoming displaced and forced to leave our home for a century now. Everyone is aware that the British and the French had played a decisive role in dividing Kurdistan and the Kurdish population after WW1. After that we have been left to the mercy of the Iraqi army, and here I am a refugee in London. But I must also tell you we have not given up on our socio-political rights in the region and we shall continue our fight for freedom.

To be honest I also blame Kurdish party politics for our internal disunity and that is another page of our depressing history. The point I want to make is the Kurds are not just victims of circumstances we are also actors and sometimes acted badly in the world of politics. Let us hope our young Kurds in London do learn few lessons by studying our painful history of our suffering. They should also learn about the history of our

collective struggle too. I hope, one day the young Kurds do represent the best of Kurdish culture in London, and they do eventually mange to build some bridges between Europe and Kurdistan. I am sure they will one day. I am grateful to the British public for offering a safe place and a new home to my family. As you know London has really provided a new home to many other Kurdish families.

HS2. Integration in London

After two years in London I got my refugee status and the first thing I did I started the process of family reunion with the help of a good immigration solicitor in London. That solicitor saved my family because they were displaced in Kurdistan and they were in danger and I could not help them. He understood my pain. Looking back now and to be fear the Home Office (HO) did treat me and other Iraqi refugees well. We were put in hostels and given some support. The main thing for me was that I felt safe in London. One day they took us to a local college in Croydon to enrol and learn English. But I had too much in my mind and could not concentrate therefore I really did not learn anything so I stopped attending.

In short my real life in London began when my wife and two children eventually joined me in 2001. I cannot describe the joy of our reunion the first day in Croydon. I felt safe being with my family for the first time in my life. I did not know to cry or to laugh.

Now I have four children I love them dearly. Two of them are already studying at university; the two younger one attends Croydon College and other one attends the nearby secondary school. The very young one wants to become an artist and I take her to an art college in Islington North London. We need Kurdish artists, writers, business man, and we need Kurdish historians to tell our history to the World. We need to integrate successfully in London for our own sake.

I really feel at home in London. And to answer your question directly yes I am a Kurdish-Londoner (Kordi London in Kurdish). Having said that starting a food business and running a business in London is a big challenge. I did all the hard work for my family. London is like an open sea when it comes to opportunities but London will also make you work like a machine. I now employ ten people working for my food business.

My children do also help me with paper work, but I want them to complete their education before doing anything else.

Other day I paid a 60 pound fine for parking my business van wrongly in the street and over the double yellow lines. I tell you one thing; the fine did not bother me because they were right and I was wrong; I rushed out of my van and did not look where I parked. I tell you something else which did bother me. One day I attended a meeting with the Council and I complained about my business rate to the Council and I did not like the attitude of the officer looking down at me as if I was on or asking for welfare benefits.

I believe integration is a civil right for all newcomers and with any given right there is also a responsibility. This country has helped me to rebuild my life and I am grateful for that, and I am determined to give back as much as I can. I want my children to feel equal and be equal and to be able to contribute to London. Equally important the government and local authorities and local community should play their positive part as well for meaningful integration to happen between different people in London. There is a Kurdish proverb which says "you cannot clap with one hand" and this is what I mean about two way process of successful integration for people like us.

Case Study - Number Three: Hevin

(Age 29, female, university graduate)

HN1. Journey and Arrival

AA: Could you tell me about your migration journey and why you came to the UK?

HN1: To be honest, I do not have any bad memories or experiences. I consider myself very lucky. First of all, I am used to living away from my family. After being raised in Izmir, I had to move to Istanbul to study. So first I departed from hometown, and then I departed from my family. So moving to London was not very shocking change for me. So I can say there has been a soft transition for me. I did not have many difficulties. I knew basic English. I came here as an au pair. I improved my English in a short period because I lived with English families for the next one and

half year. First six months, I was in Essex and then moved to London. I should say that the reason why I love being in England because I had the chance to meet English culture too. I am different from so many Kurdish migrants in that sense. First one and half year, I stayed with two English families. We were like families. They introduced me their culture and way of living. Many Kurds move into Kurdish neighborhood and do not meet any different culture. They do not even know English culture. They live in a closed community. I have never been like that. I think that's why I like being in here. Man Kurds do not know English. They do not know English culture so they are much distanced to them. But I, as I said, lived with English families. I liked their way of life, I mean their time keeping and sense of organization in their home. I liked the way they were raising their kids. As soon as I came, I started to learn about the country, the language and the culture. So I did not have many difficulties. I learned English very quickly. Maybe this is because I could speak two other languages. When I came to London from Essex, I had already sorted out the language barrier.

HN2. Integration in London

AA**:** Do you consider yourself to be a Kurdish-Londoner?

HN2. I do. At the end of the day, I have spent one third of my life in here. I love being here. I am very happy here. I feel myself a part of here. I think I managed to adapt into the life in here successfully. I do not think being in here has assimilated me. I am still a Kurd and live my identity the way I want. I have to mention that I have grown up in Izmir not in my hometown. I mean I did not grow up in Kurdistan but in a Turkish city. You also know Izmir (Western Turkey) is very Republican and nationalist city. I was also a foreigner over there. I am used to living away from my hometown. London was not my first experience as a foreigner. As I said, Izmir is quite different from other Turkish cities. I did not have any Kurdish friends in Izmir. I started to have Kurdish friends in London. To be honest, I feel myself as a Kurd in London more than in Izmir. For example, in Izmir, there are no any Kurdish centres. I mean there is no place like Halkevi. So in London as a Kurd you have a chance to relive your culture and identity. In Turkey, you do not have that chance. After coming here, I can say that I became more Kurdish. What I mean by that, for example, when I went to Turkey, my Kurdish shocked my

relatives. I managed to improve my Kurdish in London. My family was surprised. I met a girl who is also from Mardin like me. In contrast to me, she was raised in Mardin so her Kurdish was very good. After being a friend of her, we started to speak in Kurdish. I did not have that chance in Izmir. Also, I started to work as a Kurdish interpreter. The clients were mainly from Syrian Kurdistan. We spoke in Kurmanji so I improved my Kurdish. Now I can communicate in Kurdish. This is thanks to being in London.

AA: What are your thoughts on individual role/decision for integration?

It depends on the person. It depends on who someone wishes to have a life in London. To be honest, I cannot understand those young people who live in here and could not speak in English yet. They still do not get integrated. I cannot understand those people. They cannot live like that forever. OK they live without integration for many years but I believe they lived in misery. You need to adapt into the life in England. Otherwise how you would be happy? For me, London offers freedom. I have always been very fond of my own freedom so this place has appealed to me. I do not know others. I do not know their expectations. As a Kurd, I enjoy being in here. I live like a Kurd. There is no Kurdish issue in here. You can freely tell others that you are a Kurd. I could not do that in Turkey. When I was saying I was a Kurd, the atmosphere was becoming very tense. I do not have concerns about my Kurdish identity in here. Community centers organize protests or activities. You have the freedom to participate in these activities. But I see many Kurds have integration problem. I am happy not be raised in here as well. I see many Kurdish youths. They are lost. Despite being born in here, they have not been integrated. This is something to do with their families. Families have not adapted into the society in here. So their children also grow up without this sense of integration. Kurdish children are also not offered alternatives by their families. Either they have to live in welfare benefits or they have to run a kebab shop. I am happy that I studied in Istanbul and then came here.

Those who were born here or raised in here do not see any English around them. They all live in their community and do not meet other cultures. I have some friends who were grown up here have been to Central London for a couple of times. They are college graduate but

speak very broken English. I do not know they mix the languages. For example, I either speak in Turkish, or Kurdish or English. I do not mix these three languages. Many Kurds do. I see the generation brought up in here as very lost generation. They do not have any culture. They do not read. I as a person brought up in Turkey read book. We were taught to read books. I do not know. People in here have all the opportunities still do not make use of any opportunities. I do not see any excitement in them. Only social life they have is to have coffee in somewhere. That's all. They do not go to any social or educational activities. So what I believe if they do not get integrated, it is their fault, not the state's fault.

AA: What is difference between Essex and London**?**

HN2: .In Essex, I have not met any Kurds. They were all English. I felt a bit lonely in that case. I had to learn English to communicate. So I was obliged to learn English very quickly to make my living in Essex. If I did not learn English, I would only stuck between school and home. I wanted to make friends and get socialized. So I learned the language. I found myself in a completely different world. I would not feel that way if I moved to London at first as there are many Kurds living in London. It is not like Essex.

AA: What kind of changes you have gone through in London?

HN2: So many. I have changed quite a lot. I drank my first alcohol in London. I have a conservative family. They are not pressuring but I was also very conservative before coming to the UK. I was very religious person before coming. But after coming here, living with English families, my perspective of religion has been changed. They were atheist but they were very good people. So I started to know that even an atheist person could be a good person. Or you do not have to be a religious person to be a good person. I met people from different culture and religions. I started to think of religion as something very unnecessary.

AA: What dreams you had before coming here? Which has not come true?

HN2: I would love to study Psychology. It has always been my dream. I could not because of the high fees. I became British (home student), and then they increased the fee again. Now I believe it is too late to study again. Now, I dream of having a proper and more stable job. I want to

settle down. I keep moving from one house to another. I do not want that. Now I share a flat with someone. I cannot even buy decorations because I know I will move one day. If I get married, I would like to go to outside London. I like outside London. But I would not go alone. I would be bored and feel lonely up over there. But I do not have any intention to go back to Turkey. I will live in England.

Case Study - Number Four: Bawan

(Age 20, male, came to London when he was 15 as an unaccompanied refugee child)

BW1. Journey and Arrival

AA: Could you tell me about yourself, your journey, and why you had to leave Kurdistan?

BW1: I must start by telling you that I am now homeless and have no paper to stay in London. I turned 18 few months ago and social services stopped my support because I have no paper.

AA: I am sorry to hear that you are now homeless in London. Could you tell me a bit about your family and your experience in Kurdistan before coming to London?

BW1: My family first lived in one the collective towns, locally known as (Mojamae) in Kurdistan near the Iran / Iraq border. I was 7 when my father had passed away and after a short while and we moved to a nearby small town which had a school. My mother told me that my father was wounded in a fight and did not survive. I lived with my mother and two sisters both are younger than me. I went to primary school in the town and I was a good student. From age 10 I started working in the fruit market every Friday to help my family. My mother worked as a tailor at home.

In short I was growing up and happy at school and at home but things changed and many young people joined different political parties and there were lots of in fighting. At the time I was not sure which side of politics and loyalty my family was until one day my mother told me it was not safe for me to stay in the town because an Islamic fraction that my father had fought against had showed an interest in me to join them. I

could see and feel fear in my mother's eyes. She tried calmly to persuade me to leave and go and settle in the main town for some time.

AA: Then what happened?

BW1: I did not complete my last year at school and moved to the city and stayed with a close friend of my mother. I started working again in Bazar and earned more money and kept in touch with my mother through that close friend. I remember last time I saw my mother and sisters, they came to visit, and I invited them to a small local restaurant and we had a good time.

A month later my mother came back alone and she was again very fearful and looked desperate. She clearly said the Islamic group want me to join them. My mother hugged me and cried and said you must leave this unsafe country and she arranged my journey to Europe through an agent. I was 15 when I left Kurdistan with tears in my eyes.

I feel I grew 5 year older in 5 month journey to Europe. I had no control over where I was going and staying and for how long. My journey was a nightmare. I lost weight, almost drowned when on the sinking boat from Turkey to Greece. I stayed inside a stable with two Afghani boys for two nights and I lived in a shed outside Athens for three months. Then I travelled among boxes and concealed at the back of several Lorries before I ended up in the jungle in France. I finally I was put at back of the last lorry one rainy night to the UK; a place I know now was Dover.

BW2. Integration in London

AA: Could you tell me about your experience when you arrived and since then in London?

BW2: When I arrived I was taken to a foster family home. It was good, I liked it, I had a room, weekly money and I started attending English classes. That was until I turned 17 and half. My claim for asylum was refused by the HO and everything started to go wrong after that. For a research report on irregular migrant's lived conditions see (Sigona et.al 2012). For an updated report on reforms on welfare support for failed asylum seekers in the UK (see Home Office 2015).

AA: What happened after your asylum claim was refused?

(The following is the translation of BW letter from Kurdish (Sorani) into English in May 2013. A copy was also sent to the children's society in London which eventually had helped BW to get back his support temporarily).

BW2: First I want to express my gratitude to all those who read this letter. My first hope, like all other young people like me, and everything that I have done in the past few years is that I always wished to change and improve my life. I have the dream of self-building and helping others around me even a little bit.

Dear reader when I arrived I thought of Britain as a country caring for justices. I thought there will be no discrimination against me and I will be free. I decided to come to Britain for to become free but this was not the case. Even if you cannot find paradise after leaving your own country still you should have rights and freedom and you should also get respect and equality (non-discrimination against you) People are coming here because they want to[see] build a justice system.

The day and night exist; the starts, moon and the sun exist for humans because humans are the most perfect God's creatures. When one of God's angels did not show respect to human he was locked out of the God's gate-that was Satan. It is not right to show disrespect to humans for whatever reasons.

BW2: Attending Croydon College

When I turned 18 in July 2010, I was attending Croydon college the social services sent me a letter stating that they no longer support me and I must leave my accommodation and if I do not comply they would ask the police. The police came and broke my door and they throw me out of my home. I became homeless and on the street and many unpleasant incidents had happened to me. I was sleeping on the busses, in mosques or sometimes stayed with friends. The time I was homeless on the street was worst. I used to attend Refugee Council and had one meal within 24 hours. The Saturdays and Sundays were even worst. I had to eat old food or forced to steel food.

Some nights I was sleeping on buses, it was very unpleasant experience, my sleep was patchy, when the bus reached its destination I had to leave, and again I had to wait for the next bus. I was asked for

money and attacked several times. I was frightened. There were drank people who asked me for cigarette or money. When I had no travel fee I had to sleep in a park. Sometimes it was raining and I was wet and I had thorn trout and had cough. I was waiting for the night to finish, it was difficult, and I thought I was going mad soon. I could not think clearly and I could not make decisions because I was exhausted and confused. When your leg is broken you cannot walk but what would happen if your heart is broken-without a doubt you cannot think and you do wrong thing.

Those who helped to create such hard time for me were sleeping in their warm bed and had their hot meals and did not know about the hardship I was going through. They were not concerned about me: if it was raining, or snowing, or if I was health or ill, or I had food to eat or not. I think there is someone responsible for anyone found homeless and hungry anywhere in this country. For an update report into the standard of housing provided by children in Need in London (see Threipland 2015).

Many times I had suicidal thoughts for ending my homelessness, and ending living on the streets and on the buses. It was very difficult I was thinking to myself that I had no place to live; I was not going to college like other young people in my age group. I asked myself why I was treated differently by the social services. The nights that I was constantly on the buses I felt very down and miserable, I smelled badly because I had not washed myself some times for 13 or 15 days. Why no one is listening to me, I must have some rights as a human being. I did not know where to go, and I had suicidal thoughts (see (Ward and Palmer (2005) about the provision of mental health serives for asylum seekers in the UK).

BW2 Fresh Claim:

I was advised b Children Society that I should put a fresh claim so that social services would reconsider and offer me accommodation and welfare support. I visited the social services and talked to (Meghan) one the managers. First I was told by Meghan, who had a key in her hand that they restore my support. I was waiting at the reception and after five minutes Meghan returned and asked me where you have been since we cut your services. There were few other young people waiting at the

reception area and I was ashamed of such a direct questioning. I could not answer because I was ashamed and Meghan refused to restore your support and started explaining with heavy English which I could not understand. I was disappointed and left the office in despair. I was sure they have acted illegally I was confident that I had some right for to be supported by law, but those who should implemented the law did let me down.

Christmas

On 25th of [December] which is an important day in Britain I had no food to eat. My solicitor tried to restore my support from social services but it did not work. On 6 January 2011 I attend an interview with my solicitor and my case worker (Aoife) from Children Society who was also present. The Refugee Council and Children Society had helped me by advocating for restoration my support, but it did not work. I tried to find work in order to support myself, instead of steeling, but I had no luck they were asking for work permit. I used to eat at Tesco and took a drink away. I knew this was not right but I had no choice I did not have money to buy food. Later I found a room through a friend but I needed money for the rent. I was steeling clothe from a market and my friend used to sale them for half price. This is how I survived for a month but then I gave up steeling because I hated steeling. I decided to go to mosque for helping me to stay overnight but I had to read Quran in order to stay there and I could only stay until noon when they open the door for people to come in. I called my social worker and asked for support, but I received no reply. I went to stay with a friend called Hywa, and I actively thought of ending my life. I took some tablets that I had but it did not kill me. I only became dizzy and I was not fully conscience for two days. After that I contacted Compass.

I was advised by Children Society to contact social services again and I went there. I talked to Milano, a woman officer, who talked to me in a very rude and unpleasant way. Milano started asking me about my homeless situation and her questions were not worth answering, I thought there was no respect for human rights the way that woman interrogated me. I hated the whole thing 1000 times more and thought this is interrogation not providing support. Is it right to ask someone how many times you have eaten within a month, and when I was asked

where I was sleeping at night and I answered on buses then she was asking for more details about the bus route and bus number and said she could check the CCTV to find out more. At the end I had to wait a month for a decision and I said I had nowhere to stay but they ignored my request for support. I ended up sleeping in a park during Christmas time in 2011. I had no food and this is how I spent my Christmas.

After four weeks Megan's manager called and said we have decided to resume my support with accommodation and weekly money. I went to the office they gave me money but no accommodation and they said there was no vacant place available. I called and asked if they had a place in Forest Hill they said they could not sent me there.   After two weeks I called Megan and asked if there was accommodation in Norbury. I could not understand why they did not help me despite promising money and accommodation. The only gave me money.

After two month I was given a room with a bed and a wardrobe inside it. I could hardly open its door because it was too small. I removed the bed to make my room and I slept on the floor. I asked my social worker to change my room she said my manger does not allow the change to another room. Last time I asked to change my room I was told the room was better than the street. After this incident I regretted coming to Britain in the first place. I said to myself I could have been better off in prison in my own country rather than in living in Britain. Anyway I lived in that room for mine months, we had no gas there. We had only electricity which we bought ourselves. We could not cook there because there was no gas facility there.

Again they cut my support for a month but my solicitor helped me to restore it only after going to court in January 2012. Now I am getting £35 weekly money which is less than other young people despite me being a student. They are getting £45 weekly. I cannot even buy my daily food with this money. Another problem is that social services keep changing my accommodation, for example, last month I was moved four times.

I feel social services have not respected my normal human dignity. Social services never listened or respected what I had to say to them and in addition every time I had to repeat my entire story for them.

For ever thing I said in my story I have relevant evidence and if you need further clarifications contact me. The reason I decided to write my story is to raise awareness and to prevent other young people who are supported by social services going through what I went through. All people should be respected regardless of ethnicity. The biggest problem a society could face is social-economic discrimination against some especially in my experience against young refugees. This is called the policy of "deterrence" and "detain". "Despite Home Office statement that it is not government policy normally to detain unaccompanied [asylum seeking] children, between 1 January 1997 and 2 June 1998 at least 76 such children were detained" (Russell 1999 Amnesty International).

6.7 Second Generation

Case Study - Number Five: Kory Chak

(Age 21, male, university student

KN1. Memory from parents (Post-memory)

AA: What is your memory of displacement?

KN1: My thoughts and memory of displacement are heavily influenced by my father's recollections to me. He experienced it first hand and we have a relationship in which we are very open about expressing our self so much so that my academic interests have also been influenced by him without me knowing.

The KN1's thoughts on displacement are as described by some refugee studies scholars called the post-memory. The term is used by (Nassari 2007) a researcher and himself from second generation of refugees from Cyprus.

'My experience demonstrates that post-memories can be formed in second and third generations, forged in and through the transmission of stories from non-immediate family relatives, stories shaped by cultural or collective traumatic events' (Nassari 2007: 160).

KN2. Belonging and acceptance in London

AA: Do you consider yourself to be a Kurdish-Londoner?

KN2: I do consider myself to be a Kurdish-Londoner. I was born In London and have lived there all my life but only really felt a true sense of being a 'Londoner' when I moved out of London to go to University. I think only then did I truly appreciate what London as a city has to offer. I guess I sort of overlooked it or just took it for granted when it was on my doorstep. As for the Kurdish part – I have always felt that I am Kurdish which I can say is 100% down to my upbringing from both my parents. Throughout my childhood adolescence and early adulthood, I have never really thought about both these two aspects of my identity in unison but more as separate parts of who I am. Events in my childhood which can ignite thoughts of being more than 'just' Kurdish or 'just' a Londoner include my social interactions with other kids my age also born in London (or moved over since a very young age) and are Kurdish.

The biggest scene for these interactions was a Saturday school in which for a few hours every Saturday morning kids my age who predominantly spoke English would learn Kurdish in classes. It was especially significant for me as for a 'while' it took place in my 'normal' English school. None of my school friends would come and none of the teachers were the same so it almost represented my feeling of two identities – both strong and definitely existing – but in parallel rather than together. The biggest attraction of the school to me was the opportunity to play football with other boys. I was too young to realise the importance of being able to read and write in your own language, or maybe even find a nice girl friend! It is only now that I'm older I see the significance of doing such an activity every Saturday for 3 years but at the time, if it wasn't for the direction of my parents, I probably would have rather just not gone if I had that option. Other opportunities to mix with others were always at Kurdish events like family visits, concerts or most commonly family visits. It seems to me the identity of a Kurdish-Londoner does not just happen – it only exists when people take a proactive approach in embracing the two identities. For example if my parents never spoke to me in Kurdish, took me to Kurdish school, cooked Kurdish food for me or made me speak to my relatives in Kurdistan – what, other than the colour of my eyes and hair, would make me any different from any other Londoner?

AA: What are your thoughts on individual role/decision for integration?

KN2: Intuitively I think an individual versus group dichotomy to describe or explain a process as complex as integration is far too over simplistic and reductionist. However following on from my first answer, it was my dad as an individual who decided to take me to Kurdish school. It is my Mum as an individual who encourages me to watch Kurdish television channels and improve my Kurdish vocabulary. How much their actions are affected by a group pressure or identity is another story but they have acted as individuals to make me feel fully Kurdish as well as Londoner. I hope to instil the same feeling into my own children so does that make integration now a group decision because 'we' as a family are perpetuating the process? I'm not sure but the group versus individual idea is interesting on its own so it becomes even more interesting when coupled with the process of integration.

Case Study - Number Six: Naz

(Age 22, female, university graduate, office manager)

NZ1. Memory from parents (post-memory)

AA: Could you tell me about your family and why they came to London?

NZ1: I have heard from my parents who came from Kurdistan of Iraq to London as refugees in the late 1980s. They left the region towards the end of the Iran-Iraq war. They told me how they survived many gas attacks against the Kurdish villages and small towns in Iraq by the Iraqi air forces under Saddam. Sadly many people did not survive the major chemical attack against the city of Halabja on 16 March 1988. Whenever I hear the name Halabja I shiver from inside and my libs become dry and I still cry every time I see the horrible pictures of the dead bodies of people scattered around in the streets of Halabja on that tragic day. In my head I am still frightened to think that two of those bodies could have been my parents and in my heart I pray to God that my parents have survived and managed to escape. So I was born to a Kurdish refugee family in London. My parents always call me gole-*gaziza* at home, which means Iris-Spring flower. Over time I started to deeply understand my parent's traumatic past experiences. I also appreciate their resilience and their hard work which resulted in successfully

rebuilding their life and making a new home for us in London. I am proud of my parents.

NZ2: Belonging and acceptance in London

AA: Could you tell me about your experience growing up in London?

NZ2: During my nursery and primary school I had no idea that I was not English. Looking back now I like that naivety and simplicity and the freedom that goes with it. I had all sorts of friends in school and went to their birthday parties and they came to mine. I remember one day at the playground a girl looked at me and asked: are you refugee? I did not know what to answer. I was rescued by my PE teacher who led us to form a line to play 'chase game'. I went home and I told my mother about my encounter at school with that girl and she smiled and said next time anyone asked you just say you are born in London; my London spring-flower (gole-gazizai-London) in Kurdish. That advice reassured me about my dual identity of being a Kurdish-Londoner and I happily grew up with it.

AA: Please tell me more about your experience in London.

NZ2: I am fascinated by the discussion about first and second generation and just wanted to make another point which says a lot about my own thinking and understanding on Kurdish diaspora integration in London. Indeed I mentioned that there is a major difference between the second and first generation, but it is also important for me to mention that I also believe there is a significant difference within the first generation itself, and I believe this mainly depends on the time in which they came to London. For example, my parents came in 1988 and worked here for over 20 years. Therefore gaining enough experience to understand, to a significant degree, the British society, and if you like the 'multicultural' society in London. But, if you take a look at other parents who came rather recently, say maybe 5 years ago, they have spent most of their maturing age in Kurdistan, and therefore have a rather less open minded mentality in order to understand what is and is not acceptable within this society in London. This can be problematic for their children, because if one day their child behaves in a manner, or acts in a way deemed unacceptable within our Kurdish culture, the parents may react badly which could impose a negative reaction/impact on the child or

even drive the child away OR make their life much more difficult. Especially considering that a child is already trying to cope, understand, and adapt with the differences and challenges they are faced within this society compared to the society they were used to back at home.

For myself, it is different, because my parents came a long time ago and therefore understand much more, and are more open minded to the way society works here. For those who came more recently, this is not the case, which probably explains incidents such as honour killings which occur here, probably many we are unaware of, not just for us Kurds, but also other Middle Eastern cultures. For the first generation, unless you have not been exposed to other cultures and have not worked amongst other cultures, then you will forever have a much more narrow way of thinking- if you like, a Kurdish way of thinking, simply because this is what you were born into. The Kurdish diaspora cannot expect to understand the British society or to adapt unless they reach out and integrate with the people from other cultures in London. Unfortunately, this can be seen as a challenge to some, as you already know there is a huge Kurdish community in London, and when Kurds discover each other, we already feel like family or like we have known each other for years. It is easier to socialise with your own kind, because it makes us feel comfortable and in some way connected with our home, and this I believe is another problem in our diaspora, specifically for adults with children as they will never really understand the western behaviour, which can have a negative impact on their children's life in London.

I really believe that there are many factors which need to be taken into consideration, and probably analysed much more deeply, in order to understand the Kurdish Diaspora in London, and what it is like for the younger and older generation living in London.

6.8 Focus Group Meetings

There were in total three focus group meetings organised for this study. (See page 69 for more information about each meeting).

As stated by Olson (1965) in his subliminal work public goods and the theory of groups: 'Group theories based on the notion that group of

individuals with common interests are more likely to act and behave of their common interests; the rational is self-interest' (Olson 1965: 2).

The principle of self-interest is key to understanding how transformation of identity is occurring within the Kurdish diaspora community in London. This is perhaps one simple way, without assuming any simplicity, in which to look at the complex relationship between the Kurdish individual and the Kurdish group. This dichotomy of individual versus group or society comes up again and again in the focus group discussions that follow.

Another key issue to look for in the group setting is how the group's dynamism works to bring out and even sharpen the less apparent differences between individuals and how the similarities between group members are often exaggerated and politicised in the interests of the group. The Kurdish group sometimes acts as a legal arbiter and some Kurdish community centres in London aim to reinforce the traditional powers that the group had in their country of origin (Tas 2013).

Focus Group Meetings

A summary of the main points discussed

The recent academic shift from multiculturalism to super-diversity (Vertovec 2007a) is interesting when analysing the main points raised and the discussions that occurred among the members across the different social strata at the focus group meetings. Notably a super-diverse city such as London is best placed to bring out the diversities among any given diaspora group. The participants engaged in lively debates about the following four interrelated topics:

1. External: past historic, socio-political and economic factors in the post WW1 period. Consideration of regional and international power politics, and Kurdish socio-political victimhood. Kurdistan as a land having been used as a 'buffer zone' and the Kurds as a 'Trojan horse' by both regional and international powers (see Chapter Two);

2. Internal: present and non-economic factors. Kurdish cultural diversity and Kurdish traditional politics, divisions, Kurdish resistance, and betrayals;

3. Personal narratives and different experiences, journeys and memories;

4. London as home and different lived experiences and perspectives.

6.9 Conclusion

In conclusion the concept of Kurdish-Londoner needs to be understood in the context of:

a) The history of Kurdish forced migration;

b) Existing Kurdish cultural diversity;

c) Collective power and the role of Kurdish community organisations in London;

d) The active role of individuals in facing daily challenges and making daily decisions and negotiations with respect to identity and integration;

e) The impact and role of the British state in supporting or ignoring successful settlement which leads to affective and fruitful integration; and finally,

f) The implications of 'super-diversity' conditions in London affecting everyone living in this amazing city today (Vertovec 2007a).

In the final analysis the academic shift from multiculturalism to super-diversity and its implications for the case studies are important to consider. According to Vertovec (2007a) migration studies scholars, policy makers, and public discourse should now try to look beyond the multiculturalism of the past few decades in Britain/London to consider the increasingly complex terrain of human mobility and interactions. He describes these new post-multiculturalism conditions that have created 'super-diversity' by stating that we should now 'take more sufficient account of the conjunction of ethnicity with a range of other variables when considering the nature of various 'communities', their composition, trajectories, interactions and public service needs' (Vertovec 2007a: 2).

In summary there are two categories of informal and formal variables to be considered in analysing the primary data collected in the study of Kurdish diaspora in London, which are:

A: Informal and personal, related to age (first and second generation), gender, education background, and employment;

B: Formal and institutional, which, by definition, refugee community groups or individuals have little control over. For example, the integration policies of central and local governments, attitudes of local communities and resources available to accommodate newcomers.

This study also considered the group versus individual perspective as demonstrated in the personal narratives and group discussions.

At the end all of the above informal and formal variables, some measurable, such as employment, and some not, such as the attitude of local communities, would at least help to start the process of becoming almost a new person both by facing new challenges and by utilising new opportunities within the complex reality of a new society (Appadurai 1996), and in case of London a new super-diverse city (Vertovec 2010).

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

7.1 Overview of the Thesis

To aid in understanding the Kurdish diaspora community in London this study set out to look at the two inextricably linked questions of Kurdish forced migration history and Kurdish cultural identity. To answer these connected questions the thesis has explored a range of relevant issues which could reside in the following interrelated categories for pragmatic and analytical reasons:

1. External factors –WW1 and its aftermath, which led to socio-political marginalisation and victimisation of the Kurds by international and regional powers (Eickelman 1989; Izady 1992; Ahmad 1994; O'Ballance 1996; Vali 2003; McDowall 2010; Bozarslan 2014);

2. Internal conditions - Kurdish cultural diversity and its complex traditional and local socio-political characteristics and divisions (Barth 1953; Bruinessen 1992; Kreyenbroek and Sprel 1992; Kreyenbroek and Allison 1996; Koohi-Kamali 2003);

3. Economic situations - economic underdevelopment of most of the Kurdish areas, which is still in 2016 creating harsh and unfavourable economic and living conditions for Kurdish populations in Kurdish towns and villages (Randal 1997; Natali 2005; Emanuelsson 2008; Hassan 2015; Lynch and Ali 2006);

4. Non-economic factors - Kurdistan's geography (both real and imaginary), displacement and forced migration, de-jure statelessness, religion, language and literature (Challand 1992; Bruinessen 1999, 2000; O'Shea 2004; Jongerden 2007; Meiselas 2007; Gali 2012; Tas 2013).

The study has explained how the modern nation-states of Turkey, Iraq, Syria, and Iran have since the 1920s attempted, and largely failed, to incorporate semi-autonomous and traditional Kurdish communities into their larger and 'imagined communities' called the nation-state. For nearly a century now these states have imposed upon the Kurdish people, and are still making them go through, a systematic and forceful transition of assimilation (Besikçi 1977; Bruinessen 1999, 2000; Chatty 2010; Bozarslan 2014).

This study of Kurdish diaspora in London reflected upon much in the above four categories. Thus, based on ethnographic data collection, including auto-ethnography and the lived experience approach, it evaluated the Kurdish community's integration in London. Influenced by the social constructivist paradigm this study has contributed to a new understanding of the notion of integration from both group and individual perspectives. It has also looked closely and analytically at age, gender, and generational factors.

Furthermore, with respect to the positive positioning of this study, it was conducted in the context of a shift in contemporary debate about integration and social cohesion in Britain. That is the shift from 'multiculturalism' to 'super-diversity'. There are other scholars such as Malik (2013) who argue against both multiculturalism and its critiques. Malik looks at the subjects of migration, citizenship and human identity from a radical Marxist approach. However, the analytical problem for Malik is how Marxist analysis, which is often characteristically universalist, positivist, Eurocentric, and prescriptive, could help us to understand the complexity of cultural diversity even within one group, such as the Kurds, and how to explain the role of the individual in relation to integration, as this study has done. Moreover, the super-diversity approach advocated by Vertovec (2007a) is a postmodern discourse designed to consider all the possible socio-political, economic, and personal variables and their dynamic interrelationships and effects on one another. Notably these are ethnicity, age, gender, social class, education, employment, language, religion, original place or culture, state policies, and local communities, all of which intersect with one another. These create different and new complex categories to be considered and studied by social scientists. Again this study progressively looked at the relevant factors and considered the complex realities in relation to Kurdish forced migration and the Kurdish integration experience in London.

More specifically this paper looked at the development of the Kurdish diaspora in London since the 1990s and evaluated the process of integration of first and second generation Kurds. The term integration, as explained considered in a new light in Chapter Five referred to:

a) A complex and often unwelcome process of the British state's refugee and migrant settlement and integration politics and policies especially since the 1990s (Bloch 2002a; Sales 2002; Marfleet 2006; Sigona and Hughes 2012);

b) Daily and 'subtle' community-based and often challenging personal decisions and negotiations in relation to identity. In the context the role of human agency in participating in the process of integration in the new societies and host countries was considered (Hall 1996b; Anwar 1998; Winder 2004; Castles et al. 2005);

c) A slow and complex process of integration which Appadurai (1996) describes as 'a process of becoming' a new citizen in a new global world. In the case of Kurdish diaspora members in London, becoming a Kurdish-Londoner in a 'super-diverse' and cosmopolitan city (Vertovec 2007a).

As examined in Chapter Four there is not much written about the history of the Kurds as a separate nation. This is because the modern sense of nationhood developed much later among the Kurds compared with their immediate Persian, Turkish and Arab neighbours. The political significance of the term Kurds should also be traced through the political subordination of the Kurds who are culturally diverse but nonetheless often oppressed and punished collectively by their more powerful neighbours (Eickelman 1989; Randal 1997).

This thesis has shed new light on, and encouraged a new critical reading of, the modern history of Kurdistan as a divided land, and consequently of the mariginalised minorities inside Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. It has been stressed that Kurdistan has been used as a 'buffer zone' and the Kurds as a 'Trojan Horse' by the regional and international powers. Thus the Kurds have often been 'major victims' and 'minor players' in the region (Bozarslan 2014).

Moreover, the Kurdish traditional social and political system, their political disunity and shifting loyalties are also referred to as local and internal conditions and factors considered being important internal factors for helping to better understand Kurdish history and Kurdish cultural diversity which often translated into internal Kurdish political divisions (Bruinessen 1992, 1999, 2000; Gunter 2011).

In Chapter Three the theoretical discourse and ongoing debate on diaspora was used as a guide towards understanding the real and collective experiences of each community living in transnational conditions. Thus it was argued that theorising integration and multiculturalism should be understood in the context of the new and changing global conditions as described by Castles and Davidson (2000).

This part also dealt with diaspora and integration discourse considering a deterritorialised form of collective identity working in parallel with the notion and the apparatuses of existing nation-states rather than against them (Tololian 1991; Malkki 1995; Hall 1996a; Kibreab 1999).

It was noted and emphasised that the Kurdish diaspora in London is not a homogenous group, and like many other Londoners they often inhabit 'multiple identities', both formal (like Iraqi Kurd) and informal (like Alevi Kurd, Badini Kurd and Yezidi Kurd) (see Table 4 page 197 for more information about the characteristics of the participants in this study).

For some forced migrants their previous formal identity becomes a 'former' and often 'original' identity, also referred to as their parents' identity for those who were born in London. In addition the Kurds also hold British passports, which is yet another formal and newly acquired identity. Thus in this complex discussion the concept of 'Kurdish-Londoner' is used to highlight the relevance and implications of the social constructivist paradigm as used in this study of Kurdish identity and history. However, this study noted the significant political difference between the Kurds' formal identities as given and often imposed on them in the post WW1 period in the Middle Eastern region (as explained in Chapter Four), and the element of choice among members of the Kurdish diaspora in London with respect to acquiring British citizenship, and thus claiming a degree of belonging in London which is reflected in the articulation of the concept Kurdish-Londoner, especially among the second generation born in London.

Moreover, scholars who have studied Kurdish community groups in London have stressed the importance of understanding Kurdish social networks and social capital in the diaspora setting (Wahlbeck 1999; Griffith 2002; D'Angelo 2008). Thus the Kurds, by the very fact of belonging to refugee and diaspora community(ies), need to maintain strong links with their country of origin, simply because often the rest of their family live in Kurdistan, in another part of Europe or elsewhere. They also need to re-form their own social networks because they face upheaval and daily struggle, especially at the beginning, in order to survive in the host country and to restart their lives.

The concept of Kurdish-Londoner is therefore a positive and creative new social construct of identity suggesting successful settlement and positive progress in their integration. The term Kurdish-Londoner, which has primarily, although not exclusively, been used by second generation Kurds in London, helps to articulate the beginning of a new and futuristic development in a process of transformation of identity. It is a confirmation of a new cultural reform happening within the second generation of Kurdish diaspora in London. Indeed it also helps to explain the capacity of London as a cosmopolitan 'super-diverse' city in Britain, a city which is shaping or re-shaping the life of all its newcomers (Vertovec 2007a; Malik 2013).

In the methods chapter (Chapter Three) the epistemological and methodological issues discussed and the philosophical shift were noted in recent academic debates within the social sciences from 'positivism' to 'social constructivism'. The use of an interdisciplinary and open approach was discussed for the purpose of this study of Kurdish history and identity (Cupchik 2001; Nassari 2007; Vali 2012; Wessendorf 2013). Furthermore, with respect to methodology this thesis justified the use of a reflexive approach and of a qualitative ethnographic method of data collection. It also emphasised the use of case studies based on a lived experience approach (Bryman 2004; Goring 2004). Thus it justified the need for a radical grassroots-based method in studying Kurdish diaspora integration, thereby attempting to transcend existing, largely policy- and politics-driven, research on Kurdish diaspora in London. This 'radical approach' looked at the lived experiences, narratives, and social history (memories) of members of the Kurdish diaspora communities in London

and presented these as case studies in Chapter Six (Craib 1998; Eastmond 2007). These life stories have provided a strong link between past and present, with informants referring to their memories from the past in justifying or explaining their thinking at the present time in London (Hirsch 1997). The notion of distance in a geographical sense has become almost irrelevant due to speedy, cheap, digital, and mass media communications for diaspora members. Thus, mostly young, Kurds tended to look beyond the boundaries of London (Crul and Schneider 2009; Keles 2015).

It was discussed that modern diaspora involves experiencing exile and crossing the geographical territory of one nation state to enter another. Historically speaking the movement of people from one country to another and their settlement is defined as migration. It therefore worth noting that what distinguishes diaspora people from other migrants is their desire to build a new home in the host country and their willingness to maintain a complex relationship with the country of origin. Thus the issue of territory, both geographically real and/or 'imagined' as described by Anderson (2006), becomes part of the debate rather than an essential part of diaspora identity. Some anthropologists refer to diaspora as people with a new identity but without a country (Clifford 1994), a description that might well explain the Kurdish diaspora experience and their own self-definition of 'statelessness' (statelessness in a political sense because most Kurds consider themselves to be a nation, albeit with a divided land and a culturally diverse nation). Expressing a political and national identity has also been a significant part of many studies carried out among the Kurds in Germany (Østergaard 2003), Sweden (Alinia and Eliassi 2014), and Finland (Toivanen 2014). As explained by Eliassi (2015) the Kurds who live in Sweden express a positive Kurdish identity through sport and a political solidarity with pan-Kurdistani movements in Europe and indeed in other parts of the globe where a sizable population of Kurds lives. Again this is largely thanks to the use of digital technology.

According to the most recent census in England in 2011 there are 47200 Kurds living in London (ONS 2011). Moreover, since the beginning of the 1990s Kurdish children who were born in London have grown up and many have already left their parental home. Many young Kurds have also started families of their own. This is a powerful symbol of the birth of a new era and soon the third generation of Kurds will be emerging in London. As in Germany (Candan and Hunger 2008) the growth of the Kurdish population in London will surely become a fascinating new area for further study.

In London the articulation of the concept Kurdish-Londoner is also part of the same diaspora's characteristic of gaining or having multiple identities and at least dual loyalties to two different countries. The Kurdish diaspora's composition, experience, and situations in Germany (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003; Curtis 2005; Candan and Hunger 2008), Sweden (Alinia 2004; Khayati 2008; Eliassi 2015) and Finland (Toivanen 2014) are different and have been discussed in order to gain some comparative insights.

Furthermore, in order to gain a fuller and better understanding of the diaspora discourse the voice of the second generation was included. The study showed that the second generation lacks the experience of migration or displacement and that their understanding of original home has largely been shaped by transmission of memory from their parents and the community. The first generation, however, has a deep understanding of marginalisation, loss of home, and displacement and recognises the cultural differences between Kurdistan and England/London.

The first generation also appreciates the safety and opportunities provided by the host society. Both parents often worked very hard to build a new home for the family in London. The changing role of Kurdish mothers and their relative practical socioeconomic empowerment in the context of British society is an effective element for supporting the process of family integration. This is reflected in mothers' changing and more empowering roles within the Kurdish family in London and their extensive links with statutory and civil institutions, which often result in establishing early and close bonds with mainstream society (Erel 2013). More specifically, with respect to settlement policies and programmes for

newcomers, and in opposition to Ager and Strang's (2008) generic hierarchy of needs theory, this thesis has argued that:

A) Serious consideration must be given to local resources and the levels of infrastructures available or necessary to accommodate a certain number of migrants and refugees;

B) The views and attitudes of the host community towards migrants should be considered. The perceptions and worries of all sides should be addressed, with unhelpful and overly negative views challenged. Migrants' real stories and their resilience and positive self-help potentials should be identified in order to raise awareness and understanding (Korac 2005; Lewis et al. 2013). A landmark asylum policy reform happened in the UK in April 2000 when the entire country was put to a refugee welcome test. The Home Office started to implement a largely unplanned, hectic, and forceful refugee dispersal policy which evoked a deeply rooted unwelcoming atmosphere towards migrants and an understandable degree of complaints about lack of resources among some local communities (Zetter et al. 2005). The complex and delicate state of community cohesion in Britain has been described by some observers, for example, The Oxford Migration Observatory (OMO) which is using migration figures to monitor the migration situation. Some scholars using the OMO information see the state's sole responsibility as managing both immigration and the number of migrants, as well as dealing with citizenship and integration issues (Spencer 2011; Katwala et al. 2016).

Many migration studies scholars agree with applying a multi-agency and holistic approach to aid migrants in achieving a successful settlement and integration. An ideal situation is one where the central government, local governments, local communities, and the migrants themselves work together to achieve both short- and long-term positive results (Bloch 2002a, b). However, a problem arises when things go wrong in Britain, and migrants are blamed for undermining community cohesion, because most migrants are perceived as not being 'willing to integrate'. Most participants in this study do not identify themselves with such a negative general statement, as put forward by some parts of the British media against all migrants. The truth is that migrants' voices are not fully

reflected in much of the relevant public discussion (Bloch 2002a, b, 2010; Zetter et al. 2005; Phillips 2006; Alcock 2010)

Moreover the concept of Kurdish-Londoner needs to be understood in the context of the following six key points:

a) The Kurdish history of forced migration (either formal and recorded or informal social history or people's memories, which are often unrecorded);

b) Existing Kurdish cultural diversity and political divisions, noting the modern construct of Kurd as a political term from the perspective of the dominant state for understanding Kurdish victimisation and marginalisation since the 1920s. In contrast the use of the term Kurd, both political and cultural, to signify Kurdish resistance and activism (Eickelman 1989; Bruinessen 2000; Vali 2012;

c) Collective power and the role of Kurdish community organisations in London in providing a homely physical space for social networking for their members, and in organising community-based self-help services for accessing basic advice and information for their settlement in London;

d) Unlike many previous studies on Kurdish diaspora in London, this thesis has highlighted the active role of individual Kurds in facing daily challenges when making decisions and negotiating their identities and integration issues (Wahlback 1998a, b, 1999; Griffith 2002; D'Angelo 2008; Baser 2011; Demir 2012; Tas 2013);

e) The role of the British state in supporting or undermining successful migrant and refugee settlement, which leads to effective and fruitful integration or the creation of barriers as the result of unhelpful legislation (Bloch 2002b; Mulvey 2010);

 f) The implications of multiculturalism or 'super-diversity' debates and the effects of real and unequal circumstances and living conditions in London affecting everyone living in London today (Anwar 1998; Modood 2007; Holgate et al. 2009; Katwala et al. 2016).

In the final analysis the academic shift from multiculturalism to super-diversity and its implications with respect to the case studies herein is important to consider.

According to Vertovec (2007a) in relation to public discourse, scholars and policy makers should now try to look beyond the multiculturalism of the past few decades in Britain/London and to consider the greater complexity of human mobility and interactions. He describes this new post-multiculturalism condition that has created 'super-diversity', stating that we should now 'take more sufficient account of the conjunction of ethnicity with a range of other variables when considering the nature of various "communities", their composition, trajectories, interactions and public service needs' (Vertovec 2007a: 2).

In summary there were two categories of informal and formal variables considered in the final analysis of the primary data. They are:

A: Informal, related to age (first and second generation), gender, education background, employment, and personal hopes and desires.

B: Formal and institutional, which refugee community groups or individuals have no control over. For example, the integration policies of central and local governments and community resources available to accommodate newcomers.

This study also considered the group as well as individual perspective, as demonstrated in the personal narratives and group discussions (Olson 1965; Barth 1969; Wahlbeck 1999; Enneli et al. 2005).

7.2 Contribution to Knowledge and Key Findings

A significant contribution of this study is the articulation of a new concept, Kurdish-Londoner, which is based on analysis of the empirical data collected. This has resulted from reflection on the views and aspirations of second generation Kurds born in London since the 1990s. This is a radical and critical attempt, as described in the works of Griffith (2002) and Wahlbeck (1998b, 1999), who have however overlooked the history of the Kurdish diaspora and have not considered the lived experiences of members of the Kurdish community(ies) as British citizens or Londoners. This thesis argues for the need for a new epistemology within migration studies which is based on the lived experiences of members of the diaspora community(ies) in London. Herein I have sought to develop and articulate new insights based on

the lives of individual members as well as the experiences of the group as a whole. This is an approach which foregrounds free will, free self-identity and the ways in which these are socially constructed and embraced in the context of London.

More specifically, this thesis seeks to further evaluate the theoretical literature on Kurdish diaspora in London from the point of view of members of the Kurdish diaspora who live in London as Kurdish-Londoners. Thus it attempts to go beyond the labelling, victimisation and securitisation characterisations of refugees often portrayed in the mass media and in the public domain in Britain (Huysmans 2000; Betts and Loescher 2011).

In short, this thesis presents a fresh, radical, and comprehensive discussion and analysis of shifting diaspora identities and the process of integration under the wider umbrella of citizenship, inclusion and social equality in the context of a diverse city, which in this case is London. Thus, the extent of inclusion or exclusion of the Kurdish diaspora in London is examined (Wahlbeck 1999; Griffith 2002; Demir 2012; Galip 2012; Tas 2013).

This study has managed to condense nearly one hundred years of post WW1 Kurdish history into one chapter (Chapter Four) and it highlighted the victimhood and systematic marginalization of the Kurds. Thus this study has been conducted from the Kurdish perspective and this thesis has managed to record the history of Kurdish forced migration since the 1920s, and provided an opportunity for Kurdish migrants' voices to be heard in the form of personal stories and narratives. This thesis has clearly contributed to advancing a radical epistemology with respect to the study of Kurdish diaspora community(ies) by stressing the inextricable nature of the link between questions of a history of forced migration and cultural identity.

Alternatively, and in contrast to previous mostly policy- and politics-driven research on Kurdish diaspora in London, a radical methodological approach was chosen based on personal narratives and lived experiences. This study used a qualitative and ethnographic method of data collection which was based on looking at the lived experiences of individuals. The case studies used to highlight analytical units such as

age (first and second generation), gender and other personal characteristics including membership of Kurdish community organisations in London for better understanding the concept of Kurdish diaspora integration in London (see Table 2 for the list of organisations, and Table 4 for participant characteristics). Furthermore, this study has ignited a new debate about integration from within the Kurdish diaspora community(ies) in London. The following key points are among the new insights which continue to contribute to the ongoing debate about Kurdish integration:

A) Directly derived from individual interviews and the various focus group meetings organised in different parts of London for this study, the Kurdish community showed a new appreciation and self-awareness about a slow transformation of their identity. That is to say, the Kurdish community's own understanding of transformation of identity and gaining a new and dual identity was explored. For example the following theme was clearly expressed and developed:

The identity journey from **being** Kurdish in Kurdistan in the past to **feeling** Kurdish in London, and now being a **Londoner;**

B) Thus the articulation of a new concept of **Kurdish-Londoner** is a significant original academic contribution to the ongoing debate about Kurdish identity and Kurdish integration experiences in London. It is also a pivotal and innovative contribution to the further development of a subtle model of the negotiation of identity, integration, and citizenship put forward by Hall (1996). This new concept also aligns with the notion of the process of becoming new citizens in this globalised world, as described by Appadurai (1996). It is also reflected in contemporary debates on 'post multiculturalism' and 'super-diversity' in London (Vertovec 2010; Malik 2013);

C) This thesis highlighted the importance and the impacts of the British state and the local government's politics and policies on refugee/migrant housing, training, employment, and health as measurable indicators of their settlement. This is to build on the findings of previous academic studies on integration that good policies could help migrants to start a successful settlement process which should then lead them to persue

and eventually complete a positive and productive integration process (Bloch and Solomos 2000; Sales 2002).

The analytical part of this study built on existing and wider knowledge about the Kurdish diasporas in Europe in order to provide better and deeper understanding about the core of the recent academic debate in other European countries such as Germany, Sweden and Finland. This thesis has built on an important paradigm shift within Kurdish diaspora studies in Europe which have moved away from traditional 'victim' diaspora to 'actor' diaspora, as introduced in the works of Alinia (2004), Cohen (2008), Khayati (2008), Baser (2012), and Eliassi (2015). The fruitful by-product of a comparative study of London and other major European cities mentioned above (see Chapter Five) led to better understanding of the place of London in debates about integration and multiculturalism (Malik 2013).

This study succeeded to a large extent in providing a new and radical opportunity for Kurdish diaspora members to voice their experiences of London. Therefore, this thesis differs radically from previous research about the Kurds in London, which aimed primarily to explore Kurdish community groups' often solely political relationship with their original or parental countries (Wahlbeck 1999; Griffith 2002 Baser 2011; Demir 2012).

Additionally this thesis attempted and managed to include the views of individual members of different Kurdish diaspora community(ies) in London. That is, the views of the first and second generation (more explicitly) as well as the experiences of Kurdish men and women from different parts of Kurdistan (more implicitly) in relation to their integration in London.

Based on the rich empirical data collected, including the case studies, this thesis has argued that state intervention is a necessity from day one in providing first steps to support migrants, and especially forced migrants, to start a successful settlement and eventually integrate successfully. For example, as the mental health case studies indicated there are serious and urgent shortcomings with regard to understanding refugee mental health issues and refugees' access to the NHS in London (Mulvey 2010). It might be useful to generalise the universal

needs of all migrants and refugees. However, the process of deep and meaningful integration and feeling of belonging to a new society differs between different cultural communities.

This study argued that integration levels and expectations are different and vary especially between the first and second generations, and even between men and women from within the Kurdish diaspora in London (see Chapter Six for case studies).

This study has positively shown that there is a strong tendency, especially among young Kurds, to see London as home. This new notion of belonging was articulated through their use of the term Kurdish-Londoner. There is a parallel tendency among most members, both young and old, to commute to their 'old', 'original', 'first' or 'parental' home – Kurdistan - rather than to return and live there, due to various challenging issues facing returnees to Kurdistan, for example, those in the KRG region in the Kurdish area in Iraq. For more information and discussion about issues relating to return to Kurdistan in Iraq see Paasche (2016).

7.3 Next Steps

The first crucial step this study proposes is to facilitate positive and affective participation from members of the Kurdish diaspora community(ies) in any future study about this dynamic and growing diaspora community in London. In this diverse community everyone has an interesting and invaluable story to tell which can inform future research. Hence more ethnographic and personal narrative oriented studies are needed in order to help aid understanding of the place of the individual and the role of the group, and to empower individuals to voice their experiences and views. More importantly to encourage all members to learn English and to encourage local colleges to provide more and better access to quality educational resources. All of this is important to learn new skills, to demand more integration and achieve more equality as citizens in London.

Another good next step would be to implement a recent proposal published by British Future (see Katwala et al. 2016), a think tank

organisation based in London, advocating for more positive and active state intervention in promoting more positive and active integration and equal citizenship for all new migrant and refugee communities and minority communities in London. British Future rightly argues for establishing a new office at the City Hall, the Mayor of London's office.[49] I would argue for similar local integration and citizenship offices to open in most London boroughs, and indeed in other cities in the UK with considerable BME and migrant populations. This would work towards moving beyond the damaging rhetoric of the 'big society'[50] speech made by David Cameron, current British Prime Minster, on 14 February 2011.

This study found that there is an urgent and obvious gap in academic knowledge relating to understanding the politics and psychology of Kurdish identity. Many members of the Kurdish diaspora community(ies) in London expressed their feeling of belonging to Kurdistan as being strong and as important as their real experiences of living, working, and being in London. More research is needed to understand the academic shift from multiculturalism to super-diversity in London. It seems that London is working both as a fascinating live model for understanding super-diversity and better understanding globalisation.

On a practical and policy level, in relation to processes of integration, another crucial analytical point discussed was the suggestion that the process of integration for all migrants can start from day one of arrival (Bloch 2002a). However, integration does not start on arrival and probably not for a long time afterwards if you feel unwanted (see Bawan's interview in Chapter Six). That is to say when you face a poor reception, as has been the case in most European Union (EU) countries, where the EU is not providing protection for desperate refugees[51]. The EU is supposed to share responsibility for refugee protection since the Dublin Regulation came into force in 2003[52].

It is worth noting that the ongoing political and in management crisis and the lack of coordination within the EU in 2016 in dealing with the influx of refugees from Syria and Iraq demonstrated too well that the Dublin Regulation is not working.[53]

The final point to be made in this thesis is that integration and acquiring full citizenship is very complex and often a slow process. To study this

process one should look at migrants' physical settlement as well as their psychology, communication and active participation. Some integration indicators and variables discussed are measurable, such as employment, and some are not, such as the attitude of local communities towards migrants. All these factors and issues would in the end help individual newcomers to start or to delay the process of their settlement and successful integration.

Most newcomers, including the Kurds, have faced difficult situations prior to their journey, but they should not be perceived purely as victims. This thesis demonstrated that they are also actors in their own right.

Migrants and refugees continue to face many challenges, but they also learn to utilise their resilience, and benefit from a host of new opportunities in a new society, eventually learning to adapt to living in such a lively cosmopolitan city such as London. Many migrants from different corners of the world and over centuries have helped to shape London, and London in turn is shaping all Londoners, including Kurdish Londoners (Appadurai 1996; Hall 1996a; Enneli et al. 2005; Holgate et al. 2009; Vertovec 2010).

Tables

Table 1. Kurdish Diaspora in Europe

Country	Estimated Numbers	Notes
Germany	Highest	No official statistics available
France	2nd	No official statistics available
Sweden	3rd	No official statistics available
Netherlands	4th	No official statistics available
United Kingdom-England	47,871	2011 census
Denmark	6th	No official statistics available
Austria	7th	No official statistics available
Switzerland	8th	No official statistics available
Belgium	9th	No official statistics available
Total Kurdish population in the World in 1991 (All figures are estimated)	<table><tr><td>Country</td><td>Kurdish population</td></tr><tr><td>Turkey</td><td>13,000,000</td></tr><tr><td>Iran</td><td>6,600,000</td></tr><tr><td>Iraq</td><td>4,400,000</td></tr><tr><td>Syria</td><td>1,300,000</td></tr><tr><td>Former USSR</td><td>400,000</td></tr><tr><td>total</td><td>27,000,000</td></tr></table>	Sources: (McDowall 2010; Gunter 2011)

Table 2. Kurdish Community Organisations in London

(This table is for proving a general picture about the type and scale of the Kurdish community organisdations and the individual contacts details subject to change)

Details of the organisation	Type of Activity
Azadi Saturday School Kurdish Cultural Centre 14 Stannary Street London SE11 4AA Email: admin@kcclondon.org.uk Tel. 020 7735 0918	A community based Kurdish language school which is also used for networking by parents. Mostly run by community volunteers and supported by a local state school.
Croydon Kurdish Association 73-77 London Road West Croydon CR0 2RS	A small community centre used for socialising. It also provides basic information and advice on settlement issues for newcomers.
The Kurdish Advice Centre St Mary's Community Centre Birkbeck Road Hornsey London N8 7PF Tel: 020 8347 9657 FAX: 020 8347 8669 Email: info@kurdishadvicecentre	A major community centre used for networking and socialising. It also provides basic information and advice on settlement issues for newcomers.
The Kurdish Art Centre Awat Osman Ali 47 Bowood Road London EN3 7LH Email: kac.2009@yahoo.co.uk	An art promotion association. Runs art activities for its members.
Kurdish Community Centre Fairfax Hall 11 Portland Gardens London N4 1HU Email: info@kurdishcentre.org Tel. 0208 880 1804	A major community centre in North London. Provides advice and information on settlement issues for new comers. It also runs English classes and organises regular cultural events such as Newroz (Kurdish New Year on 21 March each year.
Kurdish Cultural Centre Diar Bakir 14 Stannary Street London SE11 4AA Tel: 0207 7350918 Fax: 0207 5828894 Email: admin@kcclondon.org www.kcclondon.org.uk	A major community centre in South London. It provides basic information and advice on settlement issues.

Kurdish Disability Organisation Haji Karim 6 - 9 Manor Gardens London N7 6LA Email: kdoorg@ikurd.com Tel: 07545 696411 Fax: 0207 2729833	As the name suggests it provides basic advice and information for disabled Kurds who live in London.
Faili Kurdish Movement SabahYousif Faili LFKO 307 Elveden Road Park Royal, London NW10 7ST Email: ifk02@yahoo.co.uk Tel: 020 8965 4493 Fax: 0208 9651488 www.shams-alhorreya.com	It is a culturally specific Kurdish community centre. It runs cultural events for Faili members.
Gulan Promoting Kurdish arts and culture to the UK and international community Sarah Panizzo 19 Chelsea Park Gardens London SW3 6AF Email: panizzose@btinternet.com Tel. 0207 351 6212 www.gulan.org.uk	An active and well known art and cultural group working closely with other art / culture related agencies in London. It runs cultural and academic events in different parts of London.
Kurdish Housing Association Dana Abbas Selby Centre Selby Road London N17 8JL Email: info@kurdishhousing.org Tel: 0208 8089954 Fax: 0208 4930163 www.kurdishhousing.org	It is working under the umbrella of housing associations in North London. It is supporting newcomers and others with housing issues.
Kurdish Association Media Zahawi Palingswick House 241 King Street Hammersmith, London W6 9IP Email: admin@kurdishassociation.org.uk Tel. 0208 5637918	A small community centre in West London. Provides basic advice and information for newcomers. It also runs a Saturday School for members.
Kurdish Personalities Association Kamal Chalabi PO Box 63122 London W14 4AU Mobile 07932 016907	It is members only organisation. Not much public information is available.
Kurdish & Middle East Women's Organisation (KMEWO)	An active and well known Kurdish women's organisation. It is supporting

Ms Kharman Caxton House 129 St. John's Way London N19 3RQ Email: waviolence@ukonline.co.uk Tel: 0207 2631027 Fax: 0207 5619594	women in different parts of London. Working closely with other relevant charities and agencies.
Kurdish Medical and Scientific Federation (KMSF) The umbrella organization for Kurdish medical and scientific associations For contact details please see http://www.kmsf.org.uk/board.html www.kmsf.org.uk	A professional (elite) and membership only organisation. Interested in academic and scientific issues. It is set up to support Kurdish professionals in the UK and attempts to act as a bridge with Kurdistan in Iraq.
Kurdistan Refugee Women's Organisation (KRWO) Gona Saeed Unit H Fourth Floor Hannibal House Elephant & Castle Shopping Centre London SE1 6TF Tel: 0207 708 0057	An active Kurdish women association. It supports women and promotes women's rights, and provides basic advice and information on settlement issues.
Kurdish Studies and Students Organisation (KSSO) Dr Janroj Keles Email mc@ksso.org.uk www.ksso.org.uk	A well-known university student's society based at School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). It runs academic seminars and provides networking for Kurdish university students in London.
Support Committee for Higher Education in Kurdistan (SCHEIK - UK) Email: scheik@kurdishscientist.com www.kurdishscientist.com	An education project aims to support young Kurds into higher education in the UK.
Kurdish United Rebaz Osman Email: rebaz-m@hotmail.com www.kurdishunited.com	A small and relatively successful Kurdish football team in Croydon. It was organised by some young Kurds believing they could integrate better in London through football. Their members inspired to join the local Crystal Palace one day.

Source: Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) UK Representative's website. Access made in April 2013. Disclaimer: some of the contact details given above might not be accurate now in 2016. The main aim of the above table is to provide a picture about the overall pattern of Kurdish diaspora activities in London.

Table 3. Kurdistan Timeline

Date	Significant Events causing major forced migration and displacements
1514	Chaldiran war between Safavid (defeated) and Ottomans (won). The Kurds fought with both sides and not benefited from the war. Instead thousands of Kurds sent to Khorasan by shah Abbas Safavid for supporting the Ottomans.
1639	Zahab Treaty between Ottoman and Safavid empire following the Chaldiran defeat of Safavid in 1514 and drawing new borders. These borders still standing between Iran and Turkey. This is regarded by the Kurdish nationalist as the first and formal division of Kurdistan between two regional Empires.
1916	Sykes-Picot agreement between Britain and France on how to divide the Middle East after the WW1.
1918	End of WW1 and beginning of collapse of the Ottoman Empire. American president's Wilson famous 14 points for the rights of different ethnic and religious groups published. But It did not get enough support from the Congress for any positive action.
1920	Small Kurdish autonomous region inside USSR called red Kurdistan which later was abandoned.
August 10, 1921	Sevres Treaty anticipated an independent Kurdish state.
June 24, 1923	Lausanne Treaty ignored the Sevres and agreed the formal partition of Kurdistan between Turkey, Iraq and Syria (the Iranian part remained unchanged since 1639 as mentioned above.
1925	Short lived Shaikh Said uprising in Turkey Kurdish area of Ararat came to an end by Kemalist Turkey. This followed by massive Kurdish displacement inside Turkey.
1933-4	Simko uprising in Kurdistan of Iran crashed by first Reza Shah. Kurds were sent to exile to other parts of Iran and Kurdish tribes forced to settle in designated areas.
1937/8	Dersim massacre by the Turkish state and massive displacement of Alevi Kurds. The Kurdish leader Shiekh Reza was hanged by the state. Many Alevis were forced to migrate to other parts or resettled forcefully by the Turkish state.
22 January-December 1946	Mahabad republic declared in Kurdistan of Iran. It was abolished by the second Reza Shah. The Kurdish leaders were executed, including the republic leader Qazi Mohammed. Thousands sent into exile and Kurdish province divided and some parts are now known as Western Azerbaijan, including Mahabad.

September 1961-1975	Mustafa Barzani, a key player in the Mahabad Republic, went to exile for 11 years in USSR, from 1946 to November 1958. Then he returned and managed to regroup and restart the Kurdish resistance movement in Iraq. First organized clashes between Barzani Kurds and Iraqi regime restarted in Autumn 1961.
25 April 1974	City of Galadezeh was bombarded by the Baath regime and thousands of inhabitants, including university students were killed. The regime later planned mass forced evacuations and displacement of the Kurdish population of the Pishdar area and forced them to live in designated collective towns near Sulymni and Erbil (Hawler).
6 March 1975	OPEC conference in Algiers Shah of Iran and Iraq under Saddam agreed on a peace deal against the Kurds under Mustafa Barzani leadership. Hundreds of thousands of Kurds were forced to exile including Mustafa Barzani himself and had to leave Iraq with his loyal forces for the second time.
1981	Iran-Iraq war began Saddam attacked Iran's oil fields in Southern Iran.
1988	Iran-Iraq war ended One million people reported to have died and much of the border villages and towns destroyed or emptied of people.With estimated one million during displaced because of the War in1980s.
16 March 1988	Chemical bombing against the Kurdish town of Halabja estimated 5000 Kurds were killed and the entire city blasted by Saddam's air gas attack.
April-October 1988	Anfal campaign against the Kurds, hundred thousands of Kurdish men rounded up taken away by Saddam army. They were killed in mass graves or buried alive.
1991-2	The first Gulf war ended and Saddam attacked Kurdistan. Estimated one million Kurdish refugees rushed to the Iran and Turkish borders fearing another gas attack by Saddam.
1992	Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) was created to run a major part of the Kurdish area in northern Iraq. Two main Kurdish political parties, PUK and KDP still shared power in 2015.
1991-1996	Safe haven created by the West for the Kurds against Saddam's air force. Most Kurdish refugees return home. But Kurdish internal conflict made some to leave the area again.
2003	End of Saddam, the Kurds enjoy their first test of freedom and self-government and local democracy. Supported solidly by the UN until today. Now the Kurdish main political parties made peace with each other and the KRG started to flourish.

Sources: (Noury 1954; Badlisy 1964; Yasami 1990; Izadi 1992; McDowall 2010)

Table 4. Lists of Characteristics and mode of data collection: For all participants

Codes: (F2F = Individual Interview), (FG = Focus Group) **updated August 2016**

No	Name (not real) in the order of the interviews	Age	Gender	Which part of Kurdistan	Years in London	Employment	Type of Meeting
1	Hev.N	29	F	North (Turkey)	9	language service	F2F
2	Hezh	59	F	North (Turkey)	10	house wife	F2F
3	Jya,N	53	F	North (Turkey)	7	house wife	F2F
4	Raz	20s	F	South (Iraq)	10	Management	F2F
5	Rozh	46	F	North (Turkey)	12	M&S worker	F2F
6	Sena	40s	F	West (Syria)	12	café shop	F2F
7	Shan	20s	F	South (Iraq)	10	Management	F2F + email
8	Abd.Kh	50s	M	West (Syria)	17	Businessman	F2F
9	Alan. C	40s	M	North (Turkey))	10	Catering	F2F
10	Ali.n	65	M	North (Turkey)	25	retired engineer	F2F
11	Att.E	40s	M	East (Iran)	15	Worker	F2F
12	Josf	34	M	West (Syria)	5	Catering	F2F
13	Emd.y	18	M	South (Iraq)	5	Student	F2F
14	Hasso	50	M	South (Iraq)	10	Businessman	F2F
15	Jms.S	30s	M	South (Iraq)	10	Driver	F2F
16	Jo.A	30s	M	South (Iraq)	15	Businessman	F2F
17	Kasm.H	30s	M	South (Iraq)	7	catering	F2F
18	Korychak	20s	M	Mixed East and South (Iran &Iraq)	20	Student	F2F + email
19	Nail	30s	M	North (Turkey)	21	café shop	F2F
20	Pyw.yn	20s	M	South (Iraq)	7	Unemployed	F2F + letter
21	Raman	36	M	West (Syria)	7	catering	F2F
22	Sar.Azi (Maz)	50	M	South (Iraq)	10	language service	F2F
23	Shano	20s	M	East (Iran)	7	hotel staff	F2F
24	Shar.Y	30s	M	East (Iran)	12	care worker	F2F
25	Ysar	37	M	South (Iraq)	15	car wash	F2F

4.1 Emails

No	Name (not real) in the order of the interviews	Age	Gender	Which part of Kurdistan	Years in London	Employment	Type of Communication
1	Baji,F	50s	F	East (Iran)	17	Business	Email
2	Oz	30s	F	North (Turkey)	7	manager	Email
3	Shan	20s	F	South (Iraq)	20	Manager	Email
4	Abram	40s	M	South (Iraq)	5	Lecturer	Email
5	Abd.pshd	50s	M	South (Iraq)	14	language service	Email
6	Ism.S	40s	M	South (Iraq)	7	Student	Email
7	Mamosta.T	60s	M	Mixed South and East (Iraq & Iran)	35	Lecturer	Email
8	Mar.Sq	40s	M	East (Iran)	15	businessman	Email
9	Sar.Az	40s	M	South (Iraq)	15	businessman	Email
10	Sbh.Y	50s	M	South (Iraq)	8	community centre, chair	Email

## 4.2 Focus Group in Croydon, September 2013

| No	Name (not real) in the order of the interviews	Age	Gender	Which part of Kurdistan	Number of year in London	Employment	Type of Meeting
1	Ak.s	30s	M	South (Iraq)	5	Unemployed	FG
2	Akm.k	20s	M	East (Iran)	6	Student	FG
3	Amd	30s	M	South (Iraq)	6	Unemployed	FG
4	Arm	20s	M	West(Syria)	10	Driver	FG
5	Kak	30s	M	Est (Iran)	11	Worker	FG
6	Rbz.s	30s	M	South (Iraq)	10	Manager	FG
7	Riz. M	30s	M	East (Iran)	8	Manager	FG
8	Siam.A	30s	M	South (Iraq)	7	shop worker	FG

4.3 Focus Group in Hackney, August 2013

No	Name (not real) in the order of the interviews	Age	Gender	Which part of Kurdistan	Number of year in London	Employment	Type of Meeting
1	Hatt.n	57	F	North (Turkey)	24	house wife	FG
2	Nab.n	40	F	North (Turkey)	10	house wife	FG
3	Smra.n	34	F	North (Turkey)	16	Student	FG
4	Yta.n	55	F	North (Turkey)	24	house wife	FG
5	Zb.n	45	F	North (Turkey)	16	house wife	FG
6	Abm.n	35	M	North (Turkey)	8	musician/interpreter	FG
7	Agry	50	M	West (Syria)	4	unemployed	FG
8	Ali	43	M	North (Turkey)	13	waiter	FG
9	Haci	47	M	West (Syria)	27	community worker	FG
10	Hev	20s	M	North (Turkey)	11	Driver	FG
11	Mal	50s	M	West (Syria)	10	Worker	FG
12	MMk	50s	M	West (Syria)	8	Student	FG
13	Mt.n	68	M	North (Turkey)	30	retired	FG
14	Okht	30s	M	North (Turkey)	12	Unemployed	FG
15	Rmz	40s	M	North (Turkey)	15	Worker	FG
16	Sdgh.	52	M	North (Turkey)	11	Interpreter	FG

4.4 Analysis: all participants by gender, age, first and second generation

Interviews	Total	Male	Female	First Generation	Second Generation
Face to Face	25	18	7	15	10
Email	10	7	3	6	4
Focus Group	52	39	13	42	10
Total	**87**	**64**	**23**	**63**	**24**
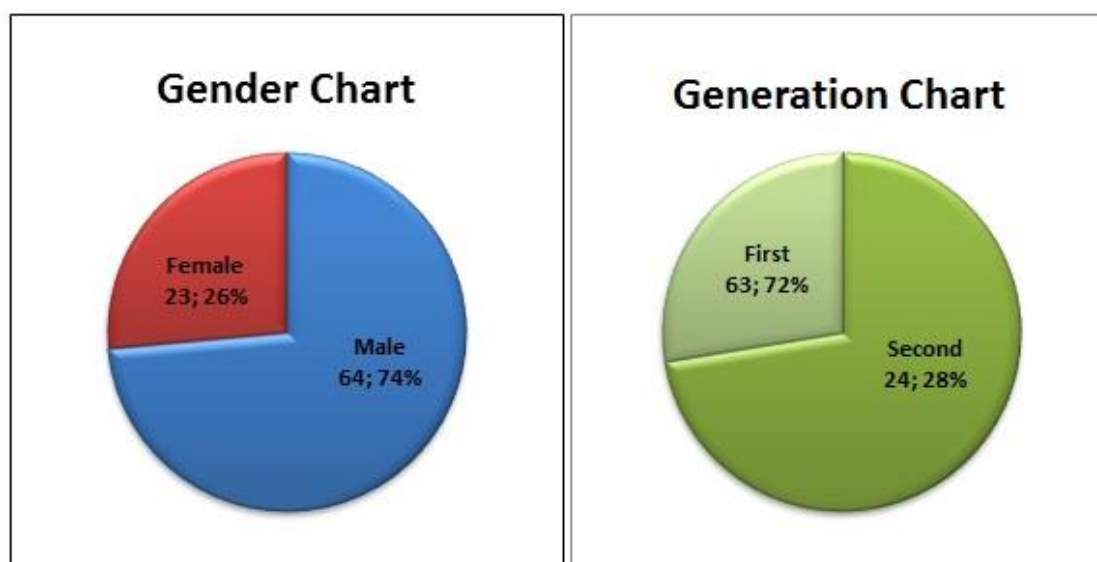
4.5 General Information - Focus Group Meetings

Focus Group	Participants	Venue / date
North London	Total attended 16 (11Male & 5 Female) (for more details see above table)	Kurdish and Turkish Community Centre (Halk-Evi) August 2013
South London	Total attended 8 (All Male) (for more details see above table)	Translation service office September 2013
Central London	Total attended 28 (20 Male and 8 Female) no names or other details provided because it was advertised as an open community meeting.	Birkbeck College, University of London March 2015

Table 5. SDCAS Survey Report 2013-2014:

General analyses about refugee integration issues in London.

Criteria used for the Survey	Outcome of the Survey
Age	The clients were: 50% between 21-40 25% between 41to 50 20 % between 51 and 60 5% above 60
The immigration status	24% had refugees with Indefinite Leave to Remain (ILR) 22% were Naturalised 18% waited for a decision from the HO 12% were visa over stayers 11% refused asylum seekers (undocumented) 9% had Limited Leave to Remain (LLR)
Marital status	51% never married or never registered as same-sex partnership 24% married 13% separated 8% widowed
Having children	53% with children.
Living in Southwark	78 % live or stayed in and around Southwark.
Ethnic groups	53 %African background 22% Middle Eastern background 10% white background 3% Black and white African background 3% Other background 2% White and Asian background 1.1% Pakistani 1% Mixed background
Countries of origin	15% Iran 14% Nigeria 11% Eritrea

	6% Algeria
	5% Ethiopia
	4% Albania
	4% Sierra Leone
	3% Afghanistan
	3% Iraq and Sudan.
	2% Cameroon, Kenya, Morocco, Somalia and
	Uganda, and Guinea
	1% Bolivia, Brazil, Gambia, Ghana, India, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Mali, Mauritius, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Syria, and Tanzania.
How long have the clients lived in the UK?	42% lived in the UK for 6 to10 years
	34% 11 years or more
	20% 1-5 years
	4% less than a year
Sexual orientation	89 % heterosexual
	7% bisexual
	2% homosexual
	1% no answer
Gender	51% female
	49% male
Was gender the same as the one assigned to them at birth?	96% of the clients said that their present gender is the same as the one assigned to them at birth
	3% preferred not to answer
	1% claimed that it was not
Religion or belief	49% Christians
	42 % Muslims
	3% no religion
	3% preferred not to answer
	1% Hinduand or Buddhists
How did the clients find out about mental health advocacy at SDCAS?	72% found out from a friend or relative,
	13% word on mouth
	12% from a Community Mental Health Team (CMHT) or mental professional
	2% from a GP

	1% online
Homelessness and Destitutions in London	58% lost accommodation and support after asylum claim refused
	30% live in temporary or social housing
	12% slept rough for 1-10 nights
Social isolation and mental health problem	67% socially isolated
	15% mental health was not assessed
	10% spent 1-6 month in mental health hospital
	3 suicide (mother of two, father of two and a single man)
Which services did the clients use?	81% hot food and socialising
	46% welfare and health advice (case work)
	40% collected food parcels
	30% collected second hand clothes
	27% English classes,
	19% use the crèche,
	15% cultural events and celebrations and day trips in London or the seaside in Summer
	13% took parenting course,
	18% participate in gardening project,
	15% meeting the NHS nurse
	20% clothes stores.
	14 % of the clients come for the information workshop (health, immigration etc.)
	12% Art and movement therapy
Southwark Day Centre for Asylum Seekers (SDCAS) needs analysis of 100 clients used the centre regularly 2013-2014. SDCAS is a charity supporting asylum seekers and refugees and other migrants. For more information visit: www.sdcas.org.uk (Source: kind permission SDCAS 2014)	

Appendices:

Appendix 1. Dersim Massacre

Dersim was a region in Turkey - renamed by the Turkish state and officially called Tunceli after the 1937-38 massacres against Zaza-speaking Alevi Kurds. As Randal (1997) writes:

'Men women and children were walled up in caves and burned to death. Deliberately set forest fires killed others who had sought refuge there. Those who were expelled from Dersim were allowed home only in 1946' (Randal 1997: 260).

The Dersim massacre marked the continuity of the Turkish state's intolerance policy against minority ethnic and religious groups since its establishment in 1923. According to Jongerden (2007) this systematic and wholesale campaign against the Kurdish population in South Eastern Turkey was repeated in the 1990s when 5000 Kurdish villages and hamlets were destroyed in Kurdish inhabited areas, and there is still tension in Turkey today.[54]

Appendix 2. Halabja Tragedy

On 16th March 1988 the city of Halabja was gassed by Saddam's air force and within hours the entire city was covered by poisoned gas with an estimated 5000 people perishing in the space of an hour. These were mostly women, children, and the elderly who could not escape the poisoned gas in time.

This was the first time the Iraqi regime had used gas against its own citizens on such a massive scale. Previous gassing attempts against small and border Kurdish villages were largely ignored by the international community during the 1980s because the attacks were largely recorded within the period of the Iran-Iraq war. More importantly Iraq under Saddam enjoyed full support from most Western countries, including the UK and the USA (see global policy website for more information).[55] What did the rest of the world do at this critical time for Kurdish people? The short answer is nothing.

Independent reports such as Genocide Watch[56] have recorded this act against the Kurds, which was followed by another systematic and well planned campaign against Kurdish civilians, as attempted genocide by the Iraqi regime and this came out again and again in the trial of Saddam and his close associate and cousin, nicknamed Chemical Ali. The Kurds were subject to mass killings, deportations and destruction of their villages. An Amnesty International report in 1994 concluded that Iraq's 'extrajudicial' forms of persecution of the Kurds had involved all killing and torture methods, including poisoning by chemical weapons and burying people alive. We now know more detail about these atrocities because Saddam kept records, and perhaps this was one of many of the similarities he had with his political mentors Hitler and Stalin who were also fascinated by recording their political and practical projects and achievements.

A Kurdish girl who had survived the Halabja bombing stated:

> 'The only ceremonies that we attended were one funeral after another and the only emotion that filled my emptiness was the penetration of pain. So often did I sit before my window and longed to see those crimson flowers once again, but they had all died, on that day when the sun never rose' (Cklara Moradian 2005).

Appendix 3. Anfal Genocide and Gendercide

The Anfal Operations took place in the Northern Region in 1988. Anfal, the name of a sura in the Koran, is the official military codename used by the Iraqi government in its public pronouncements and internal memoranda. It was a name given to a concerted series of military offensives, eight systematic and concrete in total. They were conducted in six distinct Kurdish geographic areas between late February and early September 1988 (Middle East Watch 1993; Hardi 2011) and resulted in a generation of Kurdish children growing up without an adult male in their life. Ancient Kurdish villages were destroyed in an apparent attempt to eliminate the Kurds and burn their land. Hundreds of thousands of Kurds were forced to become internally displaced, with those who were fit and lucky managing to cross an international border and became refugees.

Furthermore, with respect to the Anfal Resool (2003) writes:

> The infrastructure of life in Iraqi Kurdistan, was left almost totally destroyed by Anfal campaign. By the time genocide frenzy ended 90% of Kurdish villages and over 10% of small towns and cities had been wiped off the map. Over 1.5 million Kurdish peasants had been internally displaced and put in camps. Ali Hassan Majid (Chemical Ali) in his trial thought the killing of over 100,000 Iraqi Kurds and most recently Kenneth Roth, director of Human Rights Watch, referred to 100,000 Kurdish men and boys machine-gunned to death in 1988 Anfal genocide and gendercide (Resool 2003:10).

Appendix 4. Ghaladezeh Bombing

On Wednesday 24th April 1974 the Iraqi Air forces (then under the Baath regime) launched an offensive air strike over the Kurdish city of Qaladeze which resulted in huge casualties. More than 100 people died and many more were severely wounded. These people were mostly university students and civilians. This air strike destroyed many homes and properties including hospitals and schools. This unfortunate catastrophe has been engraved in the hearts and minds of those who survived. As a sign of respect the 24th of April has been named Qaladz Remembrance Day.

Qaladeze is located in the center of Pishdar, a region which is in the North-East of the Iraq-Iran border. It is roughly 1408 square km and its population is now approximately 120,000 people. There are around 100 small towns and villages in th Pishdar area and because of its mountainous terrain it has always been difficult for any administration to fully control this region.

In the spring of 1974, following the unsuccessful political agreement between the Iraqi regime and the Kurdish front, the event which is locally known in Kurdish as *Soresh-Elul* led to massive displacement of people in Peshdar area. The conflict had resumed between the Kurds and the Iraqi forces. Qaladze was one of the places where thousands of people had fled in order to escape the brutal Iraqi attacks on the Kurdish areas.

The region of Pishdar, and particularly Qaladze city, had always been the centre of attention for oppression for every regime in power in Iraq. Again in 1977/8 the regime drafted a plan to displace people from every town and village within 20km of the Iranian border. They were placed in camps closer to the main cities. Subsequently those towns and villages were razed to the ground. Those ruined towns and villages became a 'no go' area, known locally as *dyhata sotavakan* (translation and extract from a paper given by a Kurdish human rights group in London in a public meeting inside the British Parliament on 16 June 2014).

Appendix 5. The Modern History of Human Movements

The modern history of human movements could be summarised in the following four broad categories of both voluntary and forced movements of humans since the 16[th]century:

1. 10-20 million slaves from Africa were forced to serve the early capitalist system in the USA and in Europe. This was a forced movement and included the first wave of recorded refugees within and from Europe. This included, for example, many thousands of French Huguenots who were persecuted in France for their Protestant belief and practice. They crossed the English Channel and sought protection in England Lavender 1990). Similarly some 20,000 'non-conformists', also known as 'pilgrim fathers' were pushed out of England for religious reasons. They managed to build a new home in the USA and called it 'New England' (Winder 2004).

2. A further 5 million temporary workers joined this slave work force from China and India. This was partially forced with little or no rights to settle and make a home of their own.

3. 60 million migrants from Europe went mainly to the United States of America (USA), Australia, Latin America and some other places like South Africa. This was mostly voluntary movement and the migrants were practically promised the building of a new home. The USA is indeed a home for millions of a migrant background but this does not mean the USA national borders are now more open to new migrants and refugees.

4. The fourth movement, which has particularly taken place since the aftermath of WW1 in the 1920s and the end of WW2 in the 1950s, which is a period this thesis is most concerned with. This period is also very important in relation to the refugee problem becoming legalised[57] and internationalised and a UN agency being assigned to protect refugees through the UNHCR in the so-called age of migration (Roche 1965; Hayter 2000).

References

Aboud, F (1981)'Ethnic Self-Identity', in R.C Gardner and R.Kalin (eds) *A Canadian Social Psychology of Ethnic Relations*, Toronto, Methuen

Ager, A. and Strang, A. (2008) 'Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework' *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21(2): 166-186.

Ahmad, K. M. (1994) *Kurdistan during the First World War* London: Saqi Books.

Alcock, P. (2010) 'A Strategic Unity: Defining the Third Sector in the UK' *Voluntary Sector Review* 1(1): 5-24.

Alexander, C. (2004) 'Imagining the Asian Gang: Ethnicity, Masculinity and Youth after "the Riots"' London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Alinia, M. (2004) 'Spaces of Diaspora: Kurdish Identities, Experience of Otherness and Politics of Belonging' PhD thesis, Department of Sociology Goteborg University.

Alinia, M. and Eliassi, B. (2014) 'Temporal and Generational Impact on Identity, Home(land) and Politics of Belonging among the Kurdish Diaspora *Nordic Journal of Migration Research* 4(2): 73-81.

Alison, C. (2001) *The Yezidi Oral Tradition* London: Curzon Press.

Amelina, A. and Faist, T. (2012) 'De-naturalizing the National in Research Methodologies: Key Concepts of Transnational Studies in Migration' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 35(10): 1707-1724.

Amin, A. (2003) 'Unruly Strangers? The 2001 Urban Riots in Britain' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27: 460-462.

Anderson, B. (2006) *Imagined Communities* London: Verso.

Ansari, M. A. (2012) *The Politics of Nationalism in Modern Iran: An Iranian Enlightenment* Cambridge Books online.

Anwar, M, (1998) *Between Cultures, Continuity and Change in the Lives of Young Asians* London and New York: Routledge.

Appadurai, A. (1996) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Arendt, H. (1967) *The Origins of Totalitarianism* London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

Bamberg, Michael (2004), `*Considering Counter-Narratives'*, in Andrews, Molly and Michael Bamberg (eds), Considering Counter-Narratives: Narrating, Resisting, Making Sense, Amsterdam: John Benjamin Publishing.

Barrett, T. (1997) 'Modernism and postmodernism: An Overview with Art Examples', in Hutchens, J. and Sugs, M. (eds) *Art Education: Content and Practice* Washington DC: NAEA.

Barth, F. (1953) *Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan* Oslo: University Ethnographic Museum.

Barth, F. (1969) 'Introduction' in Barth, F. (ed.) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: Social Organisation of Culture* London: George Allen and Unwin.

Baser, Bahar (2015) Turkish-Kurdish conflict spills over into Europe, available at: Bahar Base a fellow at Coventry University in Englandhttps://theconversation.com/turkish-kurdish-conflict-spills-over-into-Europe Around 4m migrants from Turkey live elsewhere in Europe. Some are Turks and some Kurds, and they usually share the same neighborhoods.

Baser, Bahar (2012) Inherited Conflicts: Spaces of Contention between Second-Generation Turkish and Kurdish Diasporas in Sweden and Germany, PhD thesis Department of Political and Social Sciences of the European University Institute.

Baser, B. (2011) *Kurdish Diaspora Political Activism in Europe with a Particular Focus on Great Britain*, report for Diaspora Dialogues for Development and Peace Project, Berlin.

Besikçi, I. (1977) *Kürtlerin 'Mecburi Iskan'I Komal* [The Forced Resettlement of the Kurds] Ankara Press.

Betts, A. and Loescher, G. (eds) (2011) *Refugees in International Relations* New York: Oxford University Press.

Bhabha, H. (1994) *The Location of Culture* London and New York: Routledge.

Bloch, A. (2002a) *The Migration and Settlement of Refugees in Britain* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bloch, A. (2002b) 'Refugees' Opportunities and Barriers in Employment and Training', Department for Work and Pensions Research Report 179, Research Gate.

Bloch, A. and Solomos, J. (eds) (2010) *Race and Ethnicity in the 21st Century* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Blunkett, D. (2008) *Mutual Action, Common Purpose: Empowering the Third Sector* London: The Fabian Society.

Bourdieu, P and Wacqant, LJ.D (1992) An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology, the Chicago University Press, London, Chicago

Bozarslan, H. (2014) 'The Kurds and Middle Eastern "State of Violence": The 1980s and 2010s' *Kurdish Studies* 2(1): 4-13.

Braziel, J, E. and Mannur, A. (eds) (2003) *Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader* Oxford: Blackwell publishing.

Brettell, C. B., and Hollifield, J. F. (2015) *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines* New York and London: Routledge.

Brubaker, R. (2005) 'The "diaspora" diaspora' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28(1): 1-19.

Bruinessen, M. van (1992) *Agha, Sheikh and State* London and New Jersey: Zed.

Bruinessen, M. van (1999) 'The Kurds in Movement: Migrations, Mobilisations, Communications and the Globalisation of the Kurdish Question' Working paper no. 14, Islamic Area Studies Project, Tokyo, Japan.

Bruinessen, M. van (2000) 'Transnational Aspects of the Kurdish Question' Working paper, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence.

Bryman, A. (1988) 'Quantity and Quality in Social Research' London, Routledge

Bryman, A. (2004) *Social Research Methods* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Byrne, D. (2011) *Applying Social Science: The Role of Social Research in Politics, Policy and Practice* Bristol: Policy Press.

Candan, M. and Hunger, U. (2008) 'Nation Building Online: A Case Study of Kurdish Migrants in Germany' *German Policy Studies* 4(4): 125-153.

Cantle, T. (2001) 'Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team'. London: Home Office.

Castles, S. and Davidson, A. (2000) *Citizenship and Migration: Globalization and Politics of Belonging* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Castles, S., Miller, M. J. and Ammendola, G. (2005) *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* New York: Guilford Press.

Challand, G. (1992) *The Kurdish Tragedy* London: Zed Books.

Charmaz, K. (2006) *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis* London: Sage Publications.

Chatty, D. (2010) *Displacement and Dispossession in the Modern Middle East* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ciment, James (2006) The Kurds: state and minorities in Turkey, Iraq and Iran published by fact on file New York.

Clifford, J. (1994) 'Diasporas' *Cultural Anthropology* 9(3): 302-338.

Clifford, James (1986a) Writing Culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography, Berkeley and London: university of California press

Cockburn, Cynthra (1998) The Space between US: negotiating gender and national identities in conflict. zed book, London.

Cohen, A. (1996) 'Personal Nationalism: A Scottish View of Some Rites, Rights, and Wrongs' American *Ethnologist* 23(4): 802-815.

Cohen, R. (2008) *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* London and New York: Routledge.

Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society (COMPAS) based at: The University of Oxford, Breakfast Briefing document 39, February 2015 available at: www.compas.ox.ac.uk

Commission on Integration and Cohesion(CIC) (2007) *Our shared future* [online].Available: from:http://resources.cohesioninstitute.org.uk/Publications/Documents/Document/Default.aspx?recordId=18

[Accessed 7 August 2014].

Craib, I. (1998) *Experiencing Identity* London, Sage.

Crul, M. and Schneider, J. (2009) 'The Second Generation in Europe: Education and the Transition to the Labor Market' survey report, Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES).

Cupchik, G. (2001) **'**Constructivist Realism: An Ontology that Encompasses Positivist and Constructivist Approaches to the Social Sciences' *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 2(1). Available from http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/968/2112 (accessed 11/07/16).

Curtis, A. (2005) 'Nationalism in the Diaspora: A Study of the Kurdish Movement' *Nationalism, Ethnicity and Conflict* Available from http://tamilnation.co/selfdetermination/nation/kurdish-diaspora.pdf (accessed 11/07/16).

D'Angelo, A. (2008) 'Kurdish Community Organisations in London: A Social Network Analysis'. London: Social Policy Research Centre, working paper series.

Demir, I. (2012) 'Battling with Memleket in London: The Kurdish Diaspora's Engagement with Turkey' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38(5) : 815-831.

Denzin, N (1989) *Interpretive Biography* California: Sage Publications

Dionigi, F (2015) Do we need a regional compact for refugee protection in the Middle East? Available at: http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mec/2015/10/30/do-we-need-a-regional-compact-for-refugee-protection-in-the-middle-east/

Eastmond, M. (2007) 'Stories as Lived Experience: Narratives in Forced Migration Research' *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20(2): 248-264.

Eickelman, F. D. (1989) *The Middle East: An Anthropological Approach* New York: Prentice Hall.

Elgot, Jessica (in London) and Taylor, Matthew (in Calais) (2015) the Guardian available at: http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/30/david-cameron-migrant-swarm-language-condemned

Eliassi, B. (2010) 'A Stranger in my Homeland: The Politics of Belonging among Young People with Kurdish Backgrounds in Sweden, PhD thesis, Mid Sweden University.

Eliassi, B. (2015) 'Making a Kurdistani Identity in Diaspora: Kurdish Migrants in Sweden' in Sigona, N., Gamlen, A. Liberatore and, G. and Neveu Kringelbach, H. (eds) *Diasporas Reimagined: Spaces, Practices and Belonging* Oxford: Oxford Diasporas Programme.

Emanuelsson, A. (2008) 'Transnational Dynamics of Return and the Potential Role of the Kurdish Diaspora in Developing the Kurdish Region', Advanced Research and Assessment Group, Defence Academy of the United Kingdom.

Enneli, P., Modood, T. and Bradley, H. (2005) 'Young Turks and Kurds: A Set of "Invisible" Disadvantaged Groups' London: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Erel, U. (2013) 'Kurdish Migrant Mothers in London Enacting Citizenship' *Citizenship Studies* 17(8): 970–984.

Fábos, Anita H. and Kibreab, Gaim, "Introduction," in "Refugees in Urban Settings of the Global South," special issue, *Refuge* 24, no. 1 (2007): 1–19;

Faist, T. (1999) 'Developing Transnational Social Spaces: The Turkish-German Example' in Pries, L. (ed.) *Migration and Transnational Social Spaces* Aldershot: Ashgate.

Favell, Adrain (1998) Philosophies of integration: immigration and the idea of citizenship in France and Britain

Featherstone, M., Lash, S. and Robertson, R. (1995) *Global Modernities 3* London: Sage.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006) 'Five Misunderstandings about Case-Study' *Qualitative Enquiry* 12(2): 219-245.

Foucault, Michel (1972), The Archaeology of Knowledge, Pantheon, New York

Galip, O. (2012) 'Kurdistan: A Land of Longing and Struggle Analysis of 'Home- land' and 'Identity' in the Kurdish Novelistic Discourse from Turkish Kurdistan to its Diaspora (1984-2010) PhD Thesis, University of Exeter, UK.

Gilroy, P. (1992) *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* London: Routledge.

Goring, B. (2004) 'The Perspectives of UK Caribbean Parents on Schooling and Education: Change and Continuity' PhD thesis, London South Bank University.

Griffith, D. (2002) *Somali and Kurdish refugees in London: New Identities in the Diaspora* Burlington: Ashgate.

Gunes, Figen (2013) Alevi Kurdish suicide in London available at: http://bianet.org/english/youth/149224-westminister-university-focuses-on-alevi-kurdish-suicides-in-london

Gunter, M. M. (2011) *Historical Dictionary of the Kurds* Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press.

Hall, S. (1996a) 'Who Needs Identity?' in Hall, S. and du Gay, P. (eds) *Questions of Cultural Identity* London: Sage.

Hall, S. (1996b) 'New Ethnicities' in Morley, D. and Chen, K. H. (eds) *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* London and New York: Routledge.

Hampshire, James (2005) Citizenship and belonging, Immigration and the politics of demographics governance in post war Britain Palgrave Macmillan, London

Hardi, C. (2011) *Gendered Experiences of Genocide: Anfal Survivors in Kurdistan-Iraq* Farnham: Ashgate.

Hassanpour, Amir, Sheyholislami, Jaffer, Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove (2012) Introduction. Kurdish: Linguicide, resistance and hope, Special issue: The Kurdish linguistic landscape: Vitality, linguicide and resistance (eds.) Sheyholislami, A. Hassanpour & T. Skutnabb-Kangas, *International Journal of Sociology of Language* 217, 1-18.

Hassan, K. (2015) 'Kurdistan's Politicized Society Confronts a Sultanistic System', Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, USA Available from http://carnegieendowment.org/2015/08/17/kurdistan-s-politicized-society-confronts-sultanistic-system-pub-61026 (accessed 11/07/16).

Hassanpour, A. (1992) *Nationalism and Language in Kurdistan 1918-1985* San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press.

Hassanpour, A. (1998) 'Satellite Footprints as National Borders: MED-TV and the Extraterritoriality of State Sovereignty' *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 18(1): 53-72.

Hathaway, J. C. (2005) *The Rights of Refugees under International Law* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hathaway, J. C. (1991a) International Research and Advisory Panel, Refugee Studies Programme, University of Oxford, January. Colloquium on Problems and Prospects of Refugee Law, Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, Switzerland, 23 May.

Hayter, T. (2004) Open *Borders* London: Pluto Press.

Hilmi, Rafiq (2007) Memories: Iraq and Kurdistan (1908-1923) Iraqi Kurdistan and the revolution of Sheikh Mahmud , new hope publication , first Kurdish edition, yadasht, in 1956

Hirsch, M. (1997) *Family Frames: Photography Narrative and Post-memory* London: Harvard University Press.

Hobsbawm, E. J. (1990) *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Holgate, J. Keles, J. and Polent, A. (2009) 'Diaspora, Work, Employment and Community', London Metropolitan University, Working Lives Institute.

Hollifield, J. F. (2008). The politics of international migration: how can we "bring the state back in"? In C. B. Brettell & J. F. Hollifield (Eds.), Migration theory: talking across disciplines (2nd ed., pp. 183–237), London, Routledge.

Home Office (2015) Reforming support for failed asylum seekers and other illegal migrants, the Home Office publication pdf

Home Office (2009) Life in the United Kingdom: A journey to citizenship, available online at: www.tsoshop.co.uk

Hosseini, Khaled (2003) The KITE RUNNER: A NOVEL, Berkley Publishing Group, New York, USA

Houston, C. (2008) *Kurdistan: Crafting of National Selves* Oxford and New York: Bergin.

Human Rights watch/ Middle East (1994), Bureaucracy of Repression: The Iraqi government in its own words, New York and Washington

Huysmans, J. (2000) 'The European Union and the Securitization of Migration' *Journal of Common Markets Studies* 38(5): 751-777

Internationl Association for the Study of Forced Migration (IASFM) Conference Report 2013 available at: http://iasfm.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/IASFM-Fall13-Newsletter-2.pdf

Izady, M. (1992) *The Kurds* Philadelphia and London: Taylor and Francis.

Jongerden, J. (2007) 'The Settlement Issues in Turkey and Kurds: An Analysis of Spatial Policies, Modernity, and War' *Iran and the Caucasus* 13(2): 422-424.

Joppke, C. (2004) 'The Retreat of Multiculturalism in the Liberal State: Theory and Policy' *The British Journal of Sociology* 55(2): 237-257.

Joppke, Christian (1999) Immigration and the Nation-State, the United States, Germany and Great Britain, Oxford University Press, New York

Joppke, Christian (Ed) (1989) Challenges to the Nation-State, Immigration in Western Europe and the United States.

Jere L, Bacharach, A Near East Studies Hand book. (1974) Seattle: University of Washington Press)

Jenkins, Keith (1995) What is History, published in London and New York by Routledge

Katwala, S., Somerville, W. and Ballinger, S. (2016) 'Making Citizenship Matter: Why London Needs an Office for Citizenship and Integration', British Future Report, London.

Keles, J. Y. (2015) *Media, Diaspora and Conflict* London: I. B. Tauris and Co. Ltd.

Khayati, K. (2008) 'From Victim Diaspora to Trans-border Citizenship: Diaspora Formation and Transnational Relations among Kurds in France and Sweden, dissertation, Linköping Studies in Arts and Science No. 435.

Kibreab, G. (1999) 'Revisiting the Debate on People, Place, Identity and Displacement' *Journal of Refugee Studies* 12(4): 384-410.

Kingston, M. H. (1977) *The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood Ghost* London: Alfred A. Knopf.

Klages, Mary (2012) On Postmodernism, Available at: *http://www.bdavetian.com/Postmodernism.html,* accessed on 22 October 2015.

Koohi-Kamali, F. (2003) *The Political Development of the Kurds in Iran: Pastoral Nationalism* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Korac, M. (2005) 'The Role of Bridging Social Networks in Refugee Settlement: A Case of Italy and the Netherlands' in Waxman, P. and Colic-Peisker, V. (eds) *Homeland Wanted Interdisciplinary perspective on Refugee resettlement in the West* New York: Nova.

Kreyenbroek, P. and Allison, C (1996) *Kurdish Culture and Identity* London and New Jersey: Zed Books.

Kreyenbroek, P. and Sprel, S. (1992) *The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview* London and New York: Routledge.

Kuhn, Annette (2000) 'A Journey through memory in Radstone Susannah(ed) memory and methodology, Oxford, pp 179-196

Kundnani, Arun (2007) The End of Tolerance; racism in 21st century, Pluto press London

Lavender D.Abraham (1990) French Huguenots: From Mediterranean Catholics to White Anglo-Saxon Protestants, Peter Lang, NewYork

Lewis, H. and Craig, G. (2014) '"Multiculturalism is never Talked about": Community Cohesion and Local Policy Contradictions in England' *Policy & Politics* 42(1): 21–38.

Lewis, H., Dwyer, P., Hodkinson, S. and Waite, L. (2013) 'Precarious Lives: Experiences of Forced Labour among Refugees and Asylum Seekers in England', research report, University of Leeds.

Lokman, I. M. and Maglaughlin, K. L. (2001) *Kurdish Culture and Society: An Annotated Bibliography* USA: Greenwood Press.

Lukes,Steven (ed)(2014) Emile Durkheim, translated by W.D Halls, Free Press, New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, New Delhi. Available at:
https://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=ocyDAAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PR3&dq=Durkhiem+division+of+labour+&ots=DNmR5sSMgV&sig=Ykk7rcl_a0UsYythnwGaY_aA9I#v=onepage&q=Durkhiem%20division%20of%20labour&f=false

Lynch, M. and Ali, P. (2006) 'Buried Alive: Stateless Kurds in Syria' *Refugees International* Available from:
http://www.refworld.org/docid/47a6eba80.html (accessed 25/02/15).

Maalouf, A. (2003) *Violence and the Need to Belong: In the Name of Identity* England: Penguin.

Malik, K. (2013) *Multiculturalism and its Discontents: Rethinking Diversity after 9/11* Chicago: Seagull.

Malkki, L. (1992) 'National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees' *Cultural Anthropology* 7(1): 24-44.

Malkki, L. (1995) 'From "Refugee Studies" to the National Order of Things' *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 495-523.

Marfleet, P. (2006) *Refugees in a Global Era* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Marrus, R. M. (2002) *The Unwanted, European Refugees from the First War through the Cold War* Philadelphia: Temple university Press

Matin, Kamaran (2015) why is Turkey Bombing the Kurds? In Open Democracy available at: https://www.opendemocracy.net/arab-awakening/kamran-matin/why-is-turkey-bombing-kurds

May, T. (2001) *Social Research: Issues, Methods, and Process*, (third ed.) London: Open University Press.

McDowall, D. (2010) *A Modern History of the Kurds* London: I. B. Tauris.

McPherson, J. (2010) '"I Integrate, therefore I am": Contesting the Normalizing Discourse of Integration through Conversation with Refugee Women *Journal of Refugee Studies* 23(4): 546-570.

Mayor of London (2004) Destitution by design, withdrawal of support from in-country asylum applicants, an impact assessment for London, GLA

Meiselas, S. (2007) *Kurdistan in the Shadow of History*, second edition Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mcleod. M Owen (2001) Black and Minority Voluntary and Community, Their role

Middle East Watch (1993) Genocide in Iraq: the Anfal campaign against the Kurds, published in New York and Washington, London and Los Angeles

Migrant's Rights Network available at: http://www.migrantsrights.org.uk/

Modood, T. (2003) 'Ethnic differentials in educational performance', in Mason, D. (ed.) *Explaining Ethnic Differences* Bristol: Policy Press.

Modood, T. (2007) *Multiculturalism* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Moradian, Cklara (2005) The day sun never: For children of Halabja

Available At: http://iranian.com/Arts/2005/March/CM/index.html

Morvaridi, B. (2004) *Resettlement, Rights to Development and the Ilisu Dam, Turkey* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Mulvey, G. (2010) 'When Policy Creates Politics: The Problematizing of Immigration and the Consequences for Refugee Integration in the UK' *Journal of Refugee Studies* 23(4): 437-462.

Nassari, J. (2007) 'Narratives of Exile and Identity: Experience of Turkish and Greek Cypriot Refugees in Cyprus and London', PhD thesis, University of East London.

Natali, D. (2005) *The Kurds and State: Evolving National Identity in Iraq, Turkey and Iran* Iraq: Syracuse University Press.

Neighbourhood Statistics website (2014), available at: http://www.neighbourhoodstatistics.gov.uk/Area Profile)

O'Ballance, E. (1996) *The Kurdish Struggle: 1920-1994* Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.

Office of the Third Sector (2009) *Real help for communities: Volunteers, charities and social enterprises*, London: *Cabinet Office.*

Oglak, Sema& Hussein, Shereen (2016): Active Ageing: Social And Cultural Integration of Older Turkish Alevi Refugees in London, Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs

Olson, M. (1965) *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Omarkhali, Khanna (2013) 'The Kurds in the former Soviet States: from the historical and cultural perspective' in the Copernicus Journal of Political Studies, Edited by Joanna Piechowiak-Lamparska, Manuel Fér issue 2 No (4) pp128-142

Orchard, P. (2010) 'Regime-Induced Displacement and Decision-Making within the United Nations Security Council: The Cases of Northern Iraq, Kosovo, and Darfur' *Global Responsibility to Protect* 2(1-2): 101–126.

Ortiz, F. (1995 [1940]) *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

O'Shea, M. T. (2004) *Trapped Between the Map and Reality: Geography and Perceptions of Kurdistan* New York: Routledge.

Østergaard-Nielsen, E. K. (2002) 'Working for a solution through Europe: *Home* Kurdish lobbying in Germany', in Al-Ali, N. and Koser, K.

(eds) *New Approaches to Migration? Transnational Communities and the Transformation of Home* London: Routledge.

Østergaard-Nielsen, E. K. (2003) *Transnational Politics Turks and Kurds in Germany* London and New York: Routledge.

Paasche, E. (2016) 'The Role of Corruption in Reintegration: Experiences of Iraqi Kurds upon Return from Europe *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42(7). Available from http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1139 445 (accessed 11/07/16).

Palmer, C. (2005) 'An Ethnography of Englishness: Experiencing Identity through Tourism' *Annals of Tourism Research* 32(1): 7–27.

Pettigrew, T. F., Tropp, L. R., Wagner, U. and Christ, O. (2011) 'Recent Advances in Intergroup Contact Theory' *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 35(3): 271-280.

Phillmore, J and Goodson, L (2008) New Migrants in the UK: Education, Training, and Employment, Trentham Books, Stoke on Trent

Philips, D. (2006) 'Moving Towards Integration: The Housing of Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Britain' *Housing Studies* 21(4): 539–553.

PICUM (2015) 'Undocumented Migrants and the Europe 2020 Strategy: Making Social Inclusion a Reality for all Migrants in Europe' Platform for International Cooperation Undocumented Migrants (PICUM), Brussels.

Punch, F. K. (2006) *Developing Effective Research Proposals* London: Sage.

Randal, J. (1997) *After Such Knowledge What Forgiveness? My Encounter with Kurdistan* USA and Canada: Harper Collins Canada Ltd.

Reynolds, T. A. (1998) 'African-Caribbean Mothering: Re-constructing a "New" Identity', PhD thesis, London South Bank University.

Ritchie, J. and Lewis, J. (2003) *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* London, Thousand Oaks, New Deli: Sage.

Runneymede Trust report (2000) available at: http://www.runnymedetrust.org/

Roche, O. I. A. (1965) *The Days of the Upright: A History of Huguenots* New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc. (Archive material accessed at the Huguenots Library at The National Archives in Kew-London).

Rushdie, S. (1992) *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism 1981-1991* London: Penguin.

Russell, S. (1999) 'Most Vulnerable: The Treatment of Unaccompanied Refugee Children in the UK' London: Amnesty International UK.

Safran, W. (1991) 'Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return' *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 1(1): 83-99.

Said, E. (2001) *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* Cambridge: Harward University Press.

Sales, R. (2002) 'The Deserving and Undeserving? Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Welfare in Britain' *Critical Social Policy* 22(3): 456-478.

Shami, S. (1996) `Transnationalism and Refugee Studies: Rethinking Forced Migration and Identity in the Middle East'*Journal of Refugee Studies* 9(1): 3-26.

Sheffer, G (1986) (ed.) *Modern Diasporas in International Politics*, Kent, Croom Helm, 1986.

Shuval, J. T. (2000) *Diaspora Migration: Definitional Ambiguities and a Theoretical Paradigm* UK and USA: Blackwell.

Sigona, N. and Hughes, V. (2012) 'NO WAY OUT, NO WAY IN: Irregular migrant children and families in the UK', COMPAS research report, University of Oxford.

Smith, J. A. and Osborn, M. (2003) 'Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis' in Smith, J. A. (ed.) *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods.* London: Sage Publications.

Soderberg, N. E. and Phillips, D. L. (2015) Task Force Report: State-Building in Iraqi Kurdistan, the Program on Peace-building and

Human Rights, Institute for the Study of Human Rights Columbia University.

Soguk, N. (1999) *States and Strangers: Refugees and Displacement of Statecraft* Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press.

Song, Miri (2003) Choosing Ethnic Identity, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK

Spencer, S. (2011) 'Policy Primer: Integration' the Migration Observatory, Oxford University. Available from http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/policy-primers/integration (accessed 11/07/16).

St. Pierre, E. A. and Jackson, A. Y. (2014) 'Qualitative Data Analysis After Coding' *Qualitative Inquiry Journal* 20(6): 715-719.

Tas, L. (2013) 'One State, Plural Options: Kurds in the UK' *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 45(2): 167-189

Taylor H. (2009) 'Narratives of Loss, Longing and Daily Life: The Meaning of Home for Cypriot Refugees in London', PhD thesis, University of East London.

Threipland, Charlotte (2015) A Place to Call Home: A report into the standard of housing provided by Children in Need in London. Hackney Community Law Centre and Hackney Migrant Centre

Toivanen, M. (2014) 'Negotiating Home and Belonging: Young Kurds in Finland' PhD thesis, Turku, Finland: University of Turku.

Tololian, K. (1991) 'The Nation State and its Others: In Lieu of a Preface' *Diaspora* 1(1): 3-7.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) avaialbe at: http://www.unhcr.org/uk/statistics/unhcrstats/576408cd7/unhcr-global-trends-2015.html?query=number of refugees in 2015

Vali, A. (2003) 'Genealogies of the Kurds: Constructions of Nation and National Identity in Kurdish Historical Writing' in Vali, A. (ed.) *Essays on the Origins of Kurdish Nationalism* Costa Mesa CA: Mazda Publishers.

Vali, A. (2012) *Kurds and the State of Iran: The Making of Kurdish Identity*. London: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd.

Vertovec, S. (2007a) 'Super-diversity and its Implications' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(6): 1024-1054.

Vertovec, S. (2007b) 'The Political Importance of Diaspora', Centre on Migration Policy and Society, University of Oxford, Working Paper Number 13.

Vertovec, S. (2010) 'Towards Post-multiculturalism? Changing Communities, Conditions and Contexts of Diversity' *International Social Science Journal* 61(199): 83-95.

Wahlbeck, O. (1998a) 'Transnational and Diaspora: The Kurdish Example', paper presented at the International Sociologist Conference.

Wahlbeck, O. (1998b) 'Community Work and Exile Politics' *Kurdish Refugee Associations Studies* 11(3): 215-230.

Wahlbeck, O. (1999) *Kurdish Diasporas: A Comparative Study of Kurdish Refugee Communities* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ward, Kim and Palmer, David (2005) Mapping the provision of mental health services for asylum seekers and refugees in London: a report by Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees in the UK (ICAR), School of Science and Public Policy, King's College, London

Wessendorf, S. (2013) 'Commonplace Diversity and the "Ethos of Mixing": Perceptions of Difference in a London Neighbourhood' *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 20(4): 407-422.

Winder, R. (2004) *Bloody Foreigners: The Story of Immigration to Britain* London: Little Brown

World Atlas Statistics available at: http://www.worldatlas.com/nations.htm

Yassin, A Borhanedin (1995) Vision or Reality? The Kurds in the policy of great powers, 1941-1947, published by Lund university press in Sweden

Yin, R. K. (1994) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 2nd edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Zetter, R., Griffiths, D. and Sigona, N. (2005) 'Social Capital or Social Exclusion? The Impact of Asylum-seeker Dispersal on UK Refugee Community Organisations' *Community Development Journal* 40(2): 169–181.

Zetter, R., Griffiths, D., Sigona, N., Flynn, D., Pahsa, T. and Beynon, R.(2006)*Immigration, social cohesion and social capital: What are the links?* Joseph Rowntree Foundation, York

Zolberg, A. R., Suhrke, A. and Aguayo, S. (1989) *Escape from Violence: Conflict and Refugee Crisis in the Developing World* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Selected References in Kurdish and Farsi language:

Badlisy, Amir Sharif Khan (1964) Sharafnameh, published inFarsi with forward from Mohammed Abbasi

Noury, Ehsan (1954) rysha nejady kord (The root of the Kurdish race), Iraq

Resool, Shoresh M (2003) Anfal: the Kurds & the Iraqi State, London (self-published)

Yasami, Rashid (1990) Kord: paywastgy nejady va tarikhy The Kurds: the historic and racial belonging, Ebn Sina press

Other Official Online Sources

Ager, Alistair and Strang, Alison (2004) Indicators of integration finding
http://www.indicatorsofintegration.nationalarchives.gov.uk.pdf
Cantle Report (2001) on Riots in North of England, available at:
http://www.communitycohesionreport.pdf
Hall, Stuart, Radio interview on 16 March 2011 about multiculturalism debate in Britain toady, available at:
http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00zfkfn#broadcasts
Kurdish Refugee Crisis in 1991:
http://www.utube/kurdishrefugeecrisis1991
The Home Office Development and Practice Report 28. London:
Home Office, available at
http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs04/dpr28.pdf.
Also:

http://resources.cohesioninstitute.org.uk/Publications/Documents/Docum
National Achieve in London, access made August 2015 available at:
Eastern Conference, Lausanne: Records. Reference FO 839, access
http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/SearchUI/s/res?_q=Treaty+of+L
ausanne
Neighbourhood Statistics website, available at:
http://www.neighbourhoodstatistics.gov.uk/Area Profile)
http://www.amnesty/kurdish/refugees/iraq
http://www.exilewritersink.org.uk/kurdistan
http://www.genocidewatch/kurds
http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/jul/15/kurdistan-conflict-
kurd-iraq-obama
http://www.humanrightswatch
http://www.kurdish.humanrightsproject/uk
http://www.kurdishstudiesnetwork
http://www.kurdishmedia.com
http:www.maheenproject.co.uk (a small voluntary group started in 2008
as part of Ayar Ata's research; supporting young refugees in Croydon.
See also relevant Facebook page: Kurdish Londoner)
http:www.refugeestudiescentre/oxford
http://www.silhoustofmelpomene/kurds
http://www.sdcas.org.uk (Southwark Day Centre for Asylum Seekers)
http://www.UNHCR/kurdish/refugees/iraq/2009
http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpdyn/content/article/2009/07/26/kurds
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki emileDurkheim
(http://www.rescue-uk.org) accessed 14 August 2014

Additional Information

This part contains some additional relevant information which I have collected in the course of my research. This is for to be used as further supporting information for my thesis.This part contains selected online materials,[58] field work images, and an archive photo. It also includes other supporting documents related to my application and approval letter for the research ethics and relevant invitation and consent letters for conducting my interviews for this study.

List of images:

The Census 2011:

According to the Census 2011the total Kurdish population in London is *47,200.* The Kurds live mainly, not exclusively, in three North London boroughs of Hackney, Haringey and Islington, among 32 London boroughs.[59]

Kurdish Newroz (New Year) celebration in March 2015 in Amed (Dyar Bakir) a major Kurdish city in Turkey. This event was also inspired by the 'peace talks' then (see the end note for reference to the images).[60]

Lyla Zana, a prominent Kurdish woman MP, in Turkey making a speech at Newroz celebration (March 2007)

Kurdish Newroz (New Year) celebration, London-Trafalgar Square (March 2014).

Kurdish Newroz is a cultural as well political event, Jeremy Corbyn (4th from right) the Member of Parliamaet (MP) in Islington North among the guests in March 2014.

London Mayor, Boris Johnson (on the left) visited KRG area in Kurdistan in Iraq in 2015 and having tea with Kobad Talabani, son of Jalal Talabani, former President of Iraq.

Refugee Council Annual General Meeting (AGM) on 27 November 2014, at Toynbee Hall, London. Maurice Wren, on the left, chief executive of the refugee council and Ayar Ata, the researcher (own camera).

International Association for Study of Forced Migration (IASFM) 14th Conference, Kolkata / India, 6-9 January 2013 (own camera)

A PhD study of Kurdish diaspora in London
School of Law and Social Sciences
Ayar Ata, PG conference June 2014

Kurdish forced migration journey-from crisis in 1991-to citizenship in London (Kurdish fashion show in London 2011). Courtesy of Gulan organisation.

Kurdish diaspora in London:
dealing with twofold question of history and identity which are inextricably linked

history of Kurdish forced migration since 1920s the legacy of WW1

acculturation process from day one but
Identity issues such as:
labelling
limbo
citizenship

Some background history:
Most Kurds see themselves as the "victims" of the First World War (WW1). Because after the war: Kurdistan was formally divided between the new centralised nation-states of Turkey, Iraq and Syria. Thus this was the beginning of massive and systematic marginalisation, displacements, and forced migration of the Kurds.
The following are some significant Kurdish forced migration events contributing to the formation of diaspora in the region and in Europe:

1925 Ararat revolt (Turkey)
1938 Dersim massacre (Turkey)
1947 Mahabad republic (Iran)
1975 Barzani uprising (Iraq)
1979 Eastern uprising (Iran)
1988 Halabja and Anfal genocide (Iraq)
1984 1999 Destruction of 3000 Kurdish villages and hamlets (Turkey)
1990s Refugee crisis (Iraq)
2014 Ongoing refugee crisis (Syria)

Methodology: qualitative and ethnography from Kurdish perspective hypothesis: transformation of identity within diaspora thus dealing with:
essentialism versus constructivism
livied experiences approach
looking at:
agency / structure/social history
victim / actor/ transnational identity
second and young generation views
and London as:
a new home, second home, the concept:
Kurdish Londoner, 'super-diversity'
and belonging discourse
policy issues:
diverse communities versus state policies
(one size fits all policy)
32 London boroughs
1 national and central authority

Estimated total number of Kurds 30-40 million

Kurdish diaspora: no reliable figures available
estimated: highest live in Germany,
followed by
Scandinavia, France, Netherlands
England (2011 Census 47,200)
considerable numbers in Canada, USA, and Australia, also in the region
in Lebanon and Central Asia.

Archives Photo

David Lloyd George with other delegates at the 1919 Peace Conference at Versailles©Parliamentary Archives, London Source: the National Archives online catalogue.

At the end of the First World War a conference was held in Paris to negotiate a peace settlement for Europe. The 1919 Paris peace conference resulted in a number of peace treaties. In this conference the creation of a Kurdish state discussed but this proposal was later abandoned by Lausanne treaty in 1923.Many Kurds call this 'Year Zero' in modern Kurdish history (McDowall 2010).

Ayar Ata
Wednesday, February 20, 2013

Direct line: 020-7815 6024
E-mail: dippenas@lsbu.ac.uk
Ref: UREC 1255

Dear Mr Ata,

Re: A Study of Kurdish Diaspora in London
(UREC number 1255)

Thank you for submitting this proposal and for your response to the reviewers' comments. I am pleased to inform you that your application to the University Research Ethics Committee for the above study has been reviewed. The Chair is able to confirm that the study was completed in keeping with the London South Bank University Code of Practice for Research with Human Participants.
I wish you every success with your research.

Yours sincerely,
Sharon Dippenaar
Secretary, LSBU Research Ethics Committee
cc:
Prof Joan Curzio, Chair, LSBU Research Ethics Committee

School of Law and Social Sciences
103 Borough Road
London SE1 OAA

Date 2013

Dear Sir/Madam,

Re: Research Project: A Study of Kurdish Diaspora in London

This is an invitation to participate in my research study on Kurdish Diaspora in London. This research is funded by Prisoners of Conscience Appeal Fund and it has been approved by the University Ethics Committee at London South Bank University. Please find attached some information about the research. If you would like to take part in this research I would be grateful if we could arrange a date and time for the interview/meeting. I look forward to working with you. The information collected is confidential and anonymous and it will be destroyed three months after the research has been completed.
If you have any questions or if you would like to discuss the research further please contact me by email or call on my mobile number.

Yours sincerely,
Ayar Ata
Research Student
Refugee Studies
ataa@lsbu.ac.uk
Mobile:

Consent Form for focus group and individuals

Title of Study: a study of Kurdish Diaspora in London

I have read the attached information sheet on the research in which I have been asked to participate and have been given a copy to keep. I have had the opportunity to discuss the details and ask questions about this information.

The researcher has explained the nature and purpose of the research and I believe that I understand what is being proposed.

I understand that my personal involvement and my particular data from this study will remain strictly confidential.

I have been informed about what the data collected in this study will be used for, to whom it may be disclosed, and how long it will be retained.

I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, without giving a reason for withdrawing.

(I agree to the face-to-face session being audio recorded / Photograph taken)

I hereby fully and freely consent to participate in the study.
Participant's Name:(Block Capitals) ………………………………

Participant's Signature: ………………………………

Date: ……………………………….

As the researcher responsible for this study I confirm that I have explained to the participant named above the nature and purpose of the research to be undertaken.

Researcher's Name: …Ayar Ata……………………………….

Researcher's Signature: ……………………………….

Date: ……………………………….

Participant Information Sheet (individual)

A study of Kurdish Diaspora in London

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Talk to others about the study if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

My name is Ayar Ata and I am a research student based at Refugee Studies at Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences at London South Bank University. I am interested in finding out what is like for you as a Kurdish person to live in London.

My research study sets out to record personal narratives which reflect living experience of members of Kurdish communities who live in London. The interview will be audio-recorded and later transcribed by me. The interview will take between two-to-three hours long and it will be scheduled at your convenient. In addition to the interview I welcome very much if you wish to add letter, photo, object or simply additional comments. I must stress that as this is a completely voluntary task and you are free to withdraw at any point during the interview or refuse to answer any question you do not like.

Moreover about the interview I shall use your interview for the purpose of my research and for writing my final dissertation and relevant future publications. I want to reassure you that your responses will be confidential and your identifying details will be concealed and you may want to use different name or details for the interview.

Before the start of the interview we will discuss together the aim and objective of my research and I will explain briefly about my methodology so that you are fully aware of the context of the interview. This research is part of wider Refugee and Diaspora Studies researches which have been carried out since 1980s in the United Kingdom and in London and I am not aware of any risk in general to the researches and there should not be at any risk to you as a person for participating and contributing to my research study.

You have been chosen to be invited to participate in this study because you are an adult identifies yourself as being a Kurdish person living in London for five years or more and having leave to remain. You are kindly invited to participate in my research. By agreeing to share your thoughts, ideas and real experience you will be contributing to this research project. I plan to interview 30 different individuals who are members of Kurdish Diaspora communities in London. I will also organise 5 different focus group meetings. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part in individual or focus group meeting. If you do, you will be given relevant information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. You are still free to withdraw anytime up to the submission of my dissertation and without giving a reason. You are free to withdraw from the study and not have your information included, at any time

up to the time of completion of the dissertation. However, after that time, it would be impossible for me to comply.

If you are willing to participate, you will be invited to come to (*Croydon Voluntary Action, 82 London Road, West Croydon)* or I am willing to travel to another venue you choose which is more convenient for you. My study is planned to last two *years.* During the interview, I will explore with you *about your integration experience in London* and for ease of later analysis, audio record the conversation, and possibly take individual photo, with your permission as well as take notes. If you do not wish to be audio recorded or photographed but are still willing to participate, I will take notes only. Please feel free to bring old or new photos, objects, maps in order to help you to share your memory with me if you like.

Your participation is voluntary, refreshments will be provided and your travel expenses will be reimbursed if you need it.

It is not anticipated that you will be at any disadvantage or suffer any risk from this study. *However If there is a chance of emotional upset due to the discussing of sensitive situation I make sure you get emotional support from myself or member of the community.*
It is unlikely that you will gain any personal benefit from participating in this research. However, the information you share with me will shape and influence my research and will be recorded in the final thesis, or other forms of published work, and you may also gain some benefit from having the opportunity to discuss your integration experience with me as a researcher and a keen listener.

All information received from you will be handled in a confidential manner and stored in a locked filing cabinet and on a password protected computer in an environment locked when not occupied. Only I and my supervisor will have direct access to the information. Any reference to you will be coded. This information will be held until end of 2014 *for degree to be awarded and papers published.*

My study is being completed as part of a *PhD in Refugee Studies,* at London South Bank University. It has been reviewed and ethically approved by the London South Bank University Research Ethics Committee.

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should ask to speak with the researcher who will do their best to answer your questions *(Ayar Ata, ataa@lsbu.ac.uk Mobile:).* If you wish any further information regarding this study or have any complaints about the way you have been dealt with during the study or other concerns you can contact: Prof Gaim Kibreab at (Telephone) who is the Academic Supervisor for this study. Finally, if you remain unhappy and wish to complain formally, you can contact the Chair of the University Research Ethics Committee. ethics@lsbu.ac.uk

[1] This research is concern with the population of Kurdish refugees who arrived in London and those who have come to settle as migrant workers, students, or for family reunion. Kurdish diaspora in London also refers to the second and young who born in Britain since 1990s.

[2] I worked part time from March 2004 to November 2014 as refugee mental health, welfare, and integration advocate at Southwark Day Centre for Asylum Seekers. For more information see www.sdcas.org.uk.

[3] Ata, Ayar 'My Suitcase'[a poem] In Exile Writers Magazine, issue 9, Spring/Summer (2008) Exile Writers Ink, UK

My Suitcase
Under my bed there it was my seemingly little suitcase.
Inside it my few precious belonging.
A present from My Grand mum, an evenly shaped
Light blue stone with white spots spread all over it.
A familiar piece of early morning sky with tiny stars twinkling in the palm of my hand.
A photo of my mother smiling at me in despair,
waving and wondering.
A broken watch with frozen hands

[4] Ata, Ayar (2002) Refugee communities: Their hope and needs,
a base line study for renewal programme, pp 126-127
on Hammersmith and Fulham Refugee Forum, London

[5] http://www.britishfuture.org/

[6] http://iasfm.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/IASFM13-Conference-Report.pdf

[7] http://www.worldatlas.com/nations.htm

[8] http://www.unhcr.org/uk/1951-refugee-convention.html

[9] http://www.unhcr.org.uk/about-us/key-facts-and-figures.html

[10] http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/30/david-cameron-migrant-swarm-language-condemned

[11] https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-casey-review-a-review-into-opportunity-and-integration

[12] http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/nov/29/north-london-mosque-targeted-in-suspected-arson-attack

[13] https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pms-speech-at-munich-security-conference

[14] (Interview with Stuart Hall, BBC Radio 4 on Wednesday 16 March 2011 at 4pm).

[15] http://www.britishfuture.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Citizenship-report.-Final.26.02.16.pdf

[16] The Census in 2011 showed that one in three Londoners was born outside Britain (http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/index.html).

[17] BBC coverage on 20 April 2015 about migrants death in the Mediterranean Sea:
" A monumental frailer of compassion in Europe" for not doing enough to protect vulnerable migrants set out from Horn of Africa and the Middle East who are fleeing conflict , persecution, and poverty.

[18]Council Regulation (EC) No 343/2003of 18 February 2003 establishing the criteria and mechanisms for determining the Member State responsible for examining an asylum application lodged in one of the Member States by a third-country national.

[19] Kurdish student society organised a meeting at Birkbeck College, University of London on

7 March 2015 where I presented an outline of finding of my research to the participants.

The concept of "Kurdish Londoner" introduced and discussed in a lively debate.

[20] Full report available from: Graham Smith, email: Graham.Smith.camb-ed@islington.gov.uk

[21] http://www.bianet.org/english/youth/149224-westminister-university-focuses-on-alevi-kurdish-suicides-in-london

[22] Kurdish Diaspora Conference in April 2012 in Uppsala/Sweden, 2nd World Kurdish Congress in October 2012 in Hawler/Erbil Iraq, 14th International Association for the Study of Forced Migration (IASFM) in January 2013 in Calcutta/India, "Life Beyond PhD Conference in August 2013 in Cumberland Lodge in England, 3rd World Kurdish Congress in October 2013 in Stockholm/Sweden, Postgraduate Conference at London South Bank University in June 2014, 15th International Association for the Study of Forced Migration (IASFM) in July 2014 in Bogota/Colombia.

[23] Referring to "State of Multiculturalism" speech by David Cameron, the British Prime Minister at 47th security conference in Munich on 5 February 2011.

[24] Pseudonym name used to protect the identity of my informat

[25] USA president declaration after the WW1 recognising the rights of minorities, including the Kurds in the Middle East. This is known as Woodrow Wilson's Twelfth point.

[26] https://www.opendemocracy.net/arab-awakening/kamran-matin/why-is-turkey-bombing-kurds

[27]http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-29052144

[28]Kobanê, one of the three autonomous Kurdish enclaves (part of Syrian Kurdistan) in Northern Syria, on the border with Turkey, is once again under attack by IS and people flee to Turkey where they are not welcome. For more information see: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2772598/Turkey-refugee-crisis-deepens-Islamic-State-besieges-Syrian-border-town.html(accesed 29 September 2014)

[29] https://www.icrc.org/en/where-we-work/middle-east/syria

[30]http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php accessed on 13 October 2014

[31]Filippo Dionigi (2015) Do we need a regional compact for refugee protection in the Middle East? http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mec/2015/10/30/do-we-need-a-regional-compact-for-refugee-protection-in-the-middle-east/

[32]"In 1962 in the Hassakeh governorate under Decree No. 93. An estimated 120,000 people or about 20 percent of Syrian Kurds lost their citizenship, a number which has since more than doubled to approximately300,000 at present. Many persons who lost their nationality also later lost rights to their property, which was seized by the government and used for the re-settlement of displaced Arabs. The Kurds whose land was seized were not compensated for their losses (http://www.refworld.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rwmain?docid=47a6eba80).

[33]The Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) was formed in 1992 by the Kurdistan National Assembly, the first democratically elected parliament in Kurdistan (and in Iraq) following the no-fly zone designed to protect the Kurdistan Region from the violence of Iraq's former Ba'ath regimehttp://cabinet.gov.krd/p/page.aspx?l=12&s=030000&r=314&p=390&h=1

[34] https://www.google.co.uk/#q=kurdish+studies+network

[35] http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/30/kurdish-women-died-kobani-isis-syria

[36] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-34175795

[37]Bahar Base a fellow at Coventry University in England
https://theconversation.com/turkish-kurdish-conflict-spills-over-into-europe
Around 4m migrants from Turkey live elsewhere in Europe. Some are Turks and some Kurds, and they usually share the same neighborhoods.

[38]http://www2.valentin.uu.se/information/kurddiaspora.html

[39] http://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011/QS204EW/view/2013265927?cols=measures

[40]http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-31082941

[41] http://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/census-data-shows-100-different-languages-spoken-in-almost-every-london-borough-8472483.html

[42] https://www.london.gov.uk/priorities/arts-culture/promoting-arts-culture/20-facts-about-london-s-culture

[43] COMPAS Breakfast Briefing document 39, February 2015(www.compas.ox.ac.uk)

[44] Klages, Mary Associate Professor, English Department, University of Colorado, Boulder http: www.colorado.edu/English/ENGL2012Klagespomo.html
Available at: http://www.bdavetian.com/Postmodernism.html,
Accessed on 22 October 215

[45] https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/454401/Quarterly_Brief_NEET_Q2_2015.pdf

[46]http://www.forumonpublicpolicy.com/archivesum07/loupe.pdf

[47] This is a pseudonym used to protect the identity of my informant.

[48] Life in the United Kingdom, A journey to citizenship, a formal test introduced by the Home Office for naturalisation on 1 November 2005 and then for settlement on 2 April 2007, available at ; www.tsoshop.co.uk/uktest

[49]http://www.britishfuture.org/publication/making-citizenship-matter/

[50]https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pms-speech-on-big-society

[51]BBC coverage on 20 April 2015 about migrants death in the Mediterranean Sea:
" A monumental frailer of compassion in Europe" for not doing enough to protect vulnerable migrants set out from Horn of Africa and the Middle East who are fleeing conflict , persecution, and poverty.

[52]Council Regulation (EC) No 343/2003of 18 February 2003 establishing the criteria and mechanisms for determining the Member State responsible for examining an asylum application lodged in one of the Member States by a third-country national.

[53]http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-34131911

[54]http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-35400702

[55]https://www.globalpolicy.org/iraq-conflict-the-historical-background-/us-and-british-

support-for-huss-regime.html
[56]http://www.genocidewatch.org/

[57]The Definition of a Refugee: International legal protection of refugees centres on a person meeting the criteria for refugee status as laid down in the *1951 Refugee Convention*. Under Article 1(A)2, the term "refugee" shall apply to any person who:

"...owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (http://www.geneva-academy.ch/RULAC/international_refugee_law.php), accessed November 2015

[58] https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=kurdish+newroz+celebration

[59]https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=london+boroughs
[60]https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=newroz+in+kurdistan