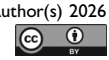
Check for updates

Article

Feminism & Psychology

Understanding a Digital Community Page of Migrant Women From Turkey as a Counterspace

Feminism & Psychology
1–23
© The Author(s) 2026

Article reuse guidelines:
sagepub.com/journals-permissions
DOI: 10.1177/09593535261498971
journals.sagepub.com/home/fap


Yağmur Erdoğmuş, MS[1], Carla Moleiro, PhD[1], Susana Batel, PhD[1], and Özden Melis Uluğ, PhD[2]

Abstract

Digital platforms increasingly shape how migrant women form communities and make sense of transnational lives. Although women's and migrants' engagement with social media have been extensively studied, less attention has been paid to how digital communities of migrant women can operate as counterspaces, understood as responses to distress caused by experiences of marginalization. In this study, *Migrant Women*, a public *Instagram* page created by and for migrant women from Turkey living abroad with over 20,000 followers, is examined. The aim is to understand how multiple subject positions become grounds for a digital counterspace and how care and solidarity are enacted here. Drawing on counterspace scholarship, reflexive thematic analysis is adopted, examining multimodal content shared on *Migrant Women* between 2019 and 2024, including posts, captions, hashtags, co-posts with members, and curated story highlights. The findings identify three interrelated themes whereby *Migrant Women* can be defined as a counterspace: (1) making migrant womanhood a shared subject position, (2) community care as gendered psychosocial infrastructure, and (3) belonging through solidarity and the selectiveness of "we." This study highlights the possibilities of this counterspace for and beyond the community, especially regarding the reconfiguration of community through the digital mediation and transnational reimagination of a counterspace.

[1]Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (ISCTE-IUL), Portugal
[2]University of Sussex, UK

Corresponding Author:
Yağmur Erdoğmuş, Cis-IUL, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (ISCTE-IUL), Edifício ISCTE, Av. das Forças Armadas, 1649-026 Lisboa, Portugal.
Email: nyesr@iscte-iul.pt

Keywords
counterspace, digital communities, *Instagram*, migrant women, transnational feminism, Turkey/Türkiye

Digital platforms have become central sites through which people in marginalized positions such as migrants and women maintain social ties and create and negotiate a sense of belonging, despite dispersed physical localities (Christensen, 2012; Di Masso et al., 2019). Women's and migrants' disproportionate engagement with social media platforms are well documented (Di Masso et al., 2019; Foster et al., 2019; Lee, 2013; Taipale, 2014). Yet less attention has been paid to how digital communities created by and for migrant women can operate as psychosocial settings which raise awareness of shared experiences of marginalization which are collectively coped with and critiqued.

Much of the existing literature in psychology approaches marginalized communities through deficit-oriented lenses, attributing social and psychological difficulties to individual vulnerability or a lack of integration (Case & Hunter, 2012; Pham et al., 2025). Such approaches obscure the structural conditions or contextual factors (such as neoliberal capitalism, patriarchy, and racialized hierarchies) that unevenly shape experiences of marginalization and opportunities for well-being, recognition, and participation (Pham et al., 2025). This oversight creates the need for researchers to situate difference, power, and consequent distress within broader social relations of domination (Case & Hunter, 2012; Katz, 2009; Pham et al., 2025). This need is crucial, especially considering individuals' and groups' varying levels of understanding that we are interconnected in the social, political, and economic contexts of a contemporary globalized world (i.e., politicization) (Gleibs & Reddy, 2016).

Part of this task of contextualization involves understanding how digitalization has reshaped the ways in which groups, communities, and places are constituted (Di Masso et al., 2019). Online environments challenge earlier conceptualizations of community and space as territorially bounded or socially static. Instead, they foreground how communities are continuously produced through communicative practices that connect people and groups across multiple locations and temporalities, blurring distinctions between online and offline, presence and absence (Christensen, 2012; Di Masso et al., 2019). This blurring of distinctions is linked to the need to politicize questions of identity, especially in terms of which differences matter; at what socio-historical, geographical, and technological conjunctures; and in which ways these questions of identity can be understood as politics that work at the intersections of class, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality (Katz, 2009).

Within this line of thinking, while there has been important research focusing on migrant women's use of digital spaces across different contexts (e.g., Calvo et al., 2024; França & Oliveira, 2021; Lee, 2013; Perera et al., 2021), "there is a dearth of gender and consumer research addressing counterspaces in the virtual domain, specifically social media platforms" (Perera et al., 2021, p. 275). It is therefore crucial to understand how different groups of migrant women use social media spaces in this regard. As such,

little attention has been paid to how migrant women's digital communities across different social media contexts can be understood as counterspaces with possibilities for reimagining hegemonic narratives and for engaging in collective critique and caring for one another in constructing a sense of "we" (Calvo et al., 2024; Perera et al., 2021). In addressing this gap, we examine a public *Instagram* page (*Migrant Women*) with over 20,000 followers, sustained by and for migrant women from Turkey[1] who are living abroad. Rather than assuming that migrant women from Turkey constitute a uniquely distinctive case, this study uses the *Migrant Women* page to contribute to the limited literature on the possibilities (and limits) of migrant women's social media spaces as sites for creating counterhegemonic narratives, publics, and spaces.

Attending to the multimodal contents of the page (i.e., integration of visual, textual, and paratextual elements in communication and visibility) between 2019 (the creation of the page) and 2024, the aims of our study are (a) to understand how different and multiple subject positions (i.e., gender, migration, culture, and language) become grounds for communicating a digital community on *Instagram* and (b) how solidarity and belonging are enacted within and beyond this community setting. Drawing on reflexive thematic analysis (RTA) (Braun & Clarke, 2021, 2023), in the analysis we attend to how community is accomplished as a counterspace.

In the following, we will expand on the notions of counterspace as marginalized groups' responses to oppression. After this, we introduce the limits and potentials of counterspace, framed through a lens of affordance (i.e., possibilities) to better account for the digitally mediated dynamics of *Migrant Women*. This is followed by an overview of gendered experiences and communities online for migrant women from Turkey, understood through a transnational feminist praxis.

Understanding Communities for Marginalized Groups: Counterspaces

Informed by critical race and feminist theories (Fraser, 1990; Linabary, 2025; Solorzano et al., 2000), we approach counterspace as a multidimensional psychosocial process that takes place both at the individual and setting levels (Case & Hunter, 2012). Conceptualizing them as "subaltern counterpublics," Fraser (1990) suggests that these spaces "are parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses, which in turn permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs" (p. 67). Such spaces enable responses ranging from individual coping to collective action while resisting deficit-oriented narratives about marginalized groups (Case & Hunter, 2012).

While acknowledging possible differences in the application of this framework across different settings and lived experiences of marginalization, the authors suggest at least three processes that challenge oppressive narratives and structures: (i) narrative identity work, including the construction of resistance narratives and reinterpretation of dominant discourses; (ii) acts of resistance, such as collective critique or engagement in devalued cultural practices; and (iii) relational transactions, through which members foster

empathy, security, and shared strategies via routine interaction and social support (Case & Hunter, 2012; Perera et al., 2021). These processes enable both self-protection and self-enhancement, supporting individuals in coping with and resisting the psychological consequences of power asymmetries (Case & Hunter, 2012).

At the same time, these processes can (re)produce power relations, while also creating new opportunities for social action and change (Linabary, 2025). Informal social control within communities can mirror or exacerbate inequalities (Littman, 2022), and, relatedly, solidarity among marginalized groups may coexist with "indifference and derogation" (p. 3) depending on historically shaped ethnic, racial, religious, and class positions (Pham et al., 2025). As such, it is crucial to approach the digital space as a place "embedded in and shaped by material and social contexts, which enable and constrain its uses" (Linabary, 2025, p. 4).

Possibilities of Counterspaces in the Digital Space

Understanding digital communities as counterspaces requires approaching them as mediated environments for meaning-making, where online and offline realms are intertwined (Evans & Ringrose, 2025). This post-digital lens (Evans & Ringrose, 2025) highlights the blurring of online/offline, private/public, and creator/consumer divides as "our digital sociality is one where the digital and the non-digital are often intertangled, indistinct, or intra-acting, reaching into and out of one another in complex ways" (p. 8). This complexity invites a perspective of affordances, which focuses on how technological features enable particular "possibilities for action" (Gibson, 2014). In digital environments, affordances emerge relationally through interactions between platform design, user practices, and cultural norms (Linabary, 2025), shaping how communication, community, and space are enacted.

As such, counterspaces are "dynamic and precarious—in a constant state of becoming (un)safe(r)" (Linabary, 2025, p. 24). In this sense, informal social control mechanisms are also applicable in digital settings (Littman, 2022) and are inevitably shaped by different formats of communication and participation, requiring attention to how they are digitally mediated. For instance, Marwick (2013) shows how accusations of "oversharing" disproportionately target women discussing feminized topics such as sexuality, relationships, or reproduction, producing a devalued form of online expression. Furthermore, Şener (2021) posits potential factors that can constrain women's solidarity online, which may contribute to the reproduction of existing power inequalities among women in cyberspace.

Thus, while necessary for constructing and maintaining safe spaces for women—especially considering how women's spaces and activism online can be subjected to various forms of surveillance and harassment—informal social control mechanisms can have complex outcomes for reimagining narratives, caring for one another, and building solidarity and critique along the lines of difference (Linabary, 2025; Şener, 2021). These normative thresholds, while important and necessary for the safety of individuals and communities online, can render participatory practices less welcome for members with less positional power and/or social privilege (Evans & Ringrose, 2025; Littman, 2022).

Instagram, a commercial, visual-first platform whose features are designed to privilege visibility, branding, and monetization, can offer controversial possibilities for digital counterspaces (Schreiber, 2024). Its design logics, similar to other social media platforms, are embedded in broader neoliberal regimes of visibility that privilege individual expression, competition for attention, and personalized narratives of success or struggle (Schreiber, 2024; Turley & Fisher, 2018). As a "platformized[2]" environment organized through commercial affordances, *Instagram* thus simultaneously enables and structures how visibility, participation, and collective meaning-making become possible (Caldeira, 2024). These platformized dynamics can create tensions for marginalized communities' responses enabled by social media environments (Caldeira, 2024); while platforms not only enable the circulation of shared experiences, recognition of different worldviews, and extended forms of togetherness and support, they also enable harassment of women and feminist spaces, expanding the proliferation of misogynistic and sexist narratives (Turley & Fisher, 2018). Furthermore, the platformized dynamics, through their regulatory mechanisms, may mask processes of social exclusion among migrant women, circumscribing who can participate in such spaces and how (Astudillo-Mendoza & Cifuentes-Zunino, 2022).

At the same time, it is important not to disregard the transformative potential of social media spaces like *Instagram* and the "everyday" acts they can facilitate, as there is crucial evidence showing that marginalized groups routinely repurpose and negotiate the use of *Instagram* toward community-building, social support and enhancing well-being, political awareness, and inter- and intra-group solidarity (Dumitrica & Hockin-Boyers, 2023; Foster et al., 2019; Lindgren & Johansson, 2023; Perera et al., 2021; Schreiber, 2024). Considering these findings, it is important to examine how the uses of social media platforms are inevitably embedded in neoliberal designs that prioritize individuality, aesthetic self-presentation, and algorithmically amplified far-right narratives, while focusing on how such logics are negotiated by users in ways that go "against the grain" (Lindgren & Johansson, 2023; Schreiber, 2024).

As such, considering how globalization entails the increasing displacement of transnational community formation beyond geographically bounded settings structured through digitalized and platformized cultures and economies (Astudillo-Mendoza & Cifuentes-Zunino, 2022; Perera et al., 2021), it is crucial to understand how social media platforms can become infrastructures for forming and maintaining counterspaces. Approaching social media spaces in terms of their transformative potential allows situating the page as a digitally mediated and platformized response in relation to the varying levels of politicization of gendered, "migranticized,[3]" and (trans)national positions that shape the understandings of how and why individuals are interconnected across sociotechnical, political, and economic contexts (Gleibs & Reddy, 2016).

Situating Migrant Women's Digital Community Places

Ehrkamp's (2012) work demonstrates how young women from Turkey in Germany redefine domestic spaces as self-curated social environments, hosting women-only gatherings and delineating gendered boundaries through everyday spatial practices. Young women's silences around male-dominated spaces as part of their mental representations

of their neighborhoods, such as coffeehouses, illustrate how women actively reshape their social worlds by both articulating and withholding visibility (Ehrkamp, 2012). Similarly, Christensen (2012) found that migrant women from Turkey in Sweden presented heightened reflexivity in navigating different and at times contradicting social roles, having the capacity to sustain both in-group commonality and individual difference. This facilitated the "simultaneously enabling and disabling roles of ethnicity and group identity, geographic origin and everyday spatial settings and gender" (Christensen, 2012, p. 890) in creating and sustaining different community ties across online and offline contexts.

As such, the literature suggests that women began to utilize social media more so than men (Foster et al., 2019), especially in organizing and passing information about protests—suggesting an explosion of hashtag feminism (referred to as information activism, see Clark, 2016) since the Arab Spring (Tufekci & Wilson, 2012). Similar examples include women's call for attention to lack of safety in public transportation in India (e.g., #BoardtheBus, Bowles Eagle, 2015) or women's reporting of their experiences with sexism in public spaces in the United Kingdom (e.g., #EverydaySexism, Bates, 2017). These findings extend to the cases of migrant and racialized women's use of social media to depict and/or resist intersectional gendered oppression, such as Brazilian migrant women in Portugal disclosing their experiences of gendered racism via an *Instagram* campaign (França & Oliveira, 2021).

Similarly, Perera et al. (2021) approach *Instagram* itself as a counterspace, examining how Western women of South Asian descent (WWoSAD) use it to express their gendered ethnic identity. To do so, they examine an *Instagram* page by an Australian WWoSAD (i.e., @browngirlgang), providing an analysis of how counterspace settings are shifting toward social mediascapes and the various ways their findings align with and extend the existing counterspace processes. For example, they point out that, while direct relational transactions are not evident in their data due to the mediated dynamics of relations and communication, social media sites may exhibit indirect relational transactions between users by facilitating the communication and circulation of a sense of kinship and camaraderie.

These insights help explain why women, and migrant women, often engage more intensively in social media environments (Di Masso et al., 2019; Foster et al., 2019; Taipale, 2014), as there is crucial evidence showing that social media environments can provide important arenas for purposive responses against oppressive gendered narratives and structures (França & Oliveira, 2021; Perera et al., 2021). While social media places can offer alternative forms of mobility and sociability when physical, economic, or cultural constraints limit access to public space, this does not imply that the home is inherently safe or empowering nor that digital environments offer greater security and momentum for challenging gendered hegemonic discourses and engaging in collective action (Astudillo-Mendoza & Cifuentes-Zunino, 2022; Lee, 2013). As such, rather than treating "migrant women" as a homogeneous category or social media environments as inherently emancipatory, democratic, and supportive of counterspaces, a transnational feminist praxis (Mohanty, 2013) emphasizes how gender, class, ethnicity, (digital) literacy, and migration histories shape uneven experiences across migrant women's digital community environments.

Within this sense, we recognize the varying levels of politicization of identities (Gleibs & Reddy, 2016) when it comes to the different identifications of the participants, who are assumed to be engaged with the page in different and changing ways. We problematize these identifications as communicated by the *Migrant Women Instagram* page, aligning with our focus on the setting level of counterspaces (Case & Hunter, 2012).

The Current Study

The case examined in this study is *Migrant Women*, a public *Instagram* page created in 2019 and sustained by and for migrant women from Turkey living abroad. At the time of data collection (end of 2024), the page had over 20,000 followers and functioned as a central hub for sharing migration and gender-related experiences, reflections, and resources mainly in Turkish (with occasional English). While the page does not explicitly claim to be feminist, it clearly indicates its exclusive migrant-women-only dynamics and its mission and vision to uplift, inspire, and bring together different voices from migrant women from Turkey living across the globe. The page is curated by administering participants who solicit, select, and publish submissions from the following participants, alongside administrator-produced content. While the participants alone cannot publish directly to the page, community experiences, questions, narratives, and resources circulate through this editorial process, making the page a collectively produced—although moderated—digital setting. Consequently, in our study we did not examine how individual participants received, interpreted, or responded to the contents. Analyzing the public responses and exploring individual participants' subjective accounts of engaging with this setting would be an invaluable future direction, especially through an ethnographic approach that accounts for the ethical dimensions of engaging with individual participants.

As such, in line with our focus on understanding the page as a setting by and for a digital community, the analysis is limited to content publicly shared by (either through admin-produced only or co-produced with a participant) the *Migrant Women* page. Followers' comments, private messages, and interactions on other platforms (e.g., WhatsApp, Facebook) were not included. This exclusion allowed for a focused examination of how community meanings are curated, stabilized, and made visible at the level of the setting. As such, we aimed to explore (1) how the *Instagram* page can be understood as a counterspace and (2) the limits and potentials of this counterspace for communicating solidarity within and beyond the community it comprises.

Methodological Approach

Ethical Considerations

Different ethical guidelines for Internet-mediated research indicate that publicly available online content can be used for research without informed individual consent, provided that potential harm and contextual expectations are carefully and continuously considered throughout the research process (BPS, 2021; Morison et al., 2015; Rooke, 2013). For our study, ethics approval was waived by ISCTE-IUL Ethics Committee (Ref. 26015).

Opting for a waiver of ethical approval aligns with the view that "ethical considerations continue beyond the procedural ethics involved in obtaining ethical approval prior to commencing research" in the study of virtual communities (Roberts, 2015, p. 5). In line with this view, content shared on the *Instagram* page was approached as situated expression produced within specific relational, cultural, and platformized contexts. Accordingly, the analysis is attentive to the blurred boundaries between public visibility and vulnerability that characterize social media environments (Morison et al., 2015).

Since it was not possible to obtain informed consent from all 20,000+ participants of the page participants and contributors, the page administrators were contacted to inform them about the study and to align analytic practices with community norms. This helped engage in continuous reflexivity on the researchers' role in engaging with the online data and what this may imply for the individuals and groups associated with the page, "not as a once-off instance of being passed by an ethics review board but, rather, as an ongoing, reflexive process of negotiation" (Morison et al., 2015, p. 230). Accordingly, no usernames are reported, textual material is paraphrased, and visual content is used selectively to illustrate analytic points, to minimize potential harm and respect contributors' dynamic expectations of contextual integrity.

The curated content and informal governance practices that shape *Migrant Women* page are central to how the space functions, yet we did not examine how these practices are negotiated by the individuals behind the scenes. Our analysis relied on publicly available *Instagram* content and therefore focused on how the community is presented, rather than on internal decision-making processes, or participants' lived experiences. Future research could examine more exclusive (e.g., private spaces with a limited number of participants) or cross-platform spaces (e.g., community presence across different online platforms) and adopt more engaged approaches (e.g., interviews and focus groups with participants) or targeted approaches (e.g., observing the page in a specific time period or in relation to a specific event) to better understand how online counterspaces are negotiated, experienced, and reshaped across time, contexts, and intersecting positionalities.

Data Collection Strategies

The dataset consists of publicly visible content shared on the page between 2019 and 2024. This includes *Migrant Women*-curated 130 page posts that were co-posted with participants (i.e., 108 psychologist members or community members), visual and textual materials accompanied by hashtags[4] (57), and archived story highlights (256). The primary hashtag, #migrationstory (used in 43 posts and later archived in story highlights), served as a key narrative thread specific to the community's use. A secondary recurring hashtag, #migrantwomensuggest, appeared six times and served as a participatory recommendation format, again, specifically tailored to community use. Other hashtags involved one-off uses that inserted themselves into broader struggles and experiences, at times not necessarily directly linked to groups' immediate needs and concerns, including sociopolitical tags reflecting current events like #MahsaAmini (i.e., the name of the Kurdish–Iranian girl killed by the morality police in Iran), #PrideMonth, #8March, #WeStandWithUkraine, #IranProtests, #TurkeySyriaEarthquake, #SagliktaSiddeteSon

(a viral hashtag in Turkey, translated as "end to violence in health," calling to an end to violence against health professionals), globalized local feminist initiatives such as #SüslüKadınlarBisikletTuru/#FancyWomenBikeRide, and transnational gendered struggles such as #expatriarchy.

During data collection and familiarization, reflexive memos served as a means of interrogating how the researchers' ideological and theoretical commitments shaped interpretation (Braun & Clarke, 2021). For instance, early semantic coding grouped textual references to "Turk" (*Türk*) as descriptive identity labels (e.g., a co-produced migration post that indicated "… for us Turkish families [*Türk aileleri*] in migration …). During stages of latent coding, reflexive memoing prompted consideration of these linguistic uses, along with scholarship on their political implications and the researcher's (ideological) positioning (Acar et al., 2025). Thus, we considered how the page's consistent use of *Türk* over *Türkiyeli* participated in particular constructions that potentially rendered alternative positionalities less visible (e.g., migrants from Turkey who do not identify with and/or use the labeling *Türk*, such as some Kurdish or Armenian participants or some Turkish participants who opt for *Türkiyeli*).

Analytical Processes

We adopted a qualitative RTA (Braun & Clarke, 2021, 2023) to examine how a migrant woman's digital community is accomplished as a counterspace on *Instagram*. RTA was particularly suited to this study's feminist and community psychology orientation because it privileges an explicitly interpretive, rather than primarily descriptive, engagement with how shared meanings and practices are constructed in relation to their social, cultural, and political contexts. It also foregrounds researchers' positionality as an integral part of knowledge production (Braun & Clarke, 2019, 2021; McDonald & Braun, 2022).

Our analysis was informed by the first author's ethnographic sensitivity, developed through long-term engagement with this online space as a migrant woman from Turkey. While she has not been involved in administering the page or (co-)producing its content, she has long engaged (through regularly reading, observing, and "liking") with the page as a member of its intended audience over several years. This positional proximity afforded familiarity, while simultaneously requiring sustained reflexive attention to how shared frames of reference shaped interpretation. Rather than treating insider status as fixed or self-evident, positionality was understood as relational and shifting across analytic moments (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2013). This familiarity enabled interpretations to attend to platform norms and culturally situated meanings that may not have been apparent to someone outside the intended audience of this space or to someone who does not regularly engage with this space over time and across contexts. Consistent with RTA, these contextual insights formed part of the researchers' interpretive resources (Braun & Clarke, 2019).

The first author repeatedly reviewed all materials to develop familiarity with the multimodal page content. Following Schreiber's (2024) approach to analyzing discursive communication on *Instagram*, descriptive codes (e.g., "page hashtags" such as #MigrantWomenSuggest, "one-off hashtags" such as #MahsaAmini, "visual migration story narrative") captured recurring features of the content. These were developed into

interpretive codes (e.g., collectivizing migrant womanhood through the shifts from "I" to "we" and visual narratives, legitimizing community care through expert co-posting/tagging, and communicating solidarity through symbolic references alongside accompanying silences) through an open organic coding process that sought to capture all the aspects of how this space was constructed as a counterspace and what possibilities it has for communicating solidarity (McDonald & Braun, 2022).

Consistent with RTA (Braun & Clarke, 2019; McDonald & Braun, 2022), analysis moved recursively between the coded data, the full dataset, and developing interpretations. Interpretive codes were grouped into candidate themes, which were repeatedly reviewed, compared, and refined. While initially the third theme involved two subthemes (e.g., *limits of solidarity* and *possibilities of solidarity*), the processual theoretical framework (Di Masso et al., 2019) employed to situate the counterspace setting resulted in its representation without distinguishing these dimensions. The codes, theme boundaries, and interpretations were reviewed by all authors, and these discussions informed the ongoing refinement of the analysis.

Our recursive process informed the refinement of final themes (Braun & Clarke, 2019; McDonald & Braun, 2022), through which different page contents were grouped and interpreted with regard to their multimodal elements (e.g., the use of "Türk" in the textual captions was eventually grouped together with the visual narratives that praise Atatürk, the founding leader of the modern-day Turkish Republic, as well as with the content celebrating Turkish national holidays). Importantly, a person not familiar with and/or not positioned within the Turkish context is less likely to understand and attend to how Turkishness is present (or not) in this setting, illustrating the centrality of subjectivity throughout the analytical process (Braun & Clarke, 2019). Peer debriefing among the authors functioned as checks with regard to these points, not to achieve consensus (Braun & Clarke, 2019) but to allow analytic decisions to be refined or reoriented. This process resulted in the development of three final themes capturing how this digital setting (1) collectivized migrant women's experiences, (2) provided and legitimized care and support, and (3) negotiated the boundaries of solidarity.

Findings: Digital Community as a Gendered Psychosocial Counterspace on *Migrant Women*

This analysis examined how the *Instagram* page functions as a gendered psychosocial counterspace and what possibilities existed for solidarity within and beyond the community. Across the dataset, three overarching themes were developed: (i) making migrant womanhood a shared subject position, (ii) community care as gendered psychosocial infrastructure, and (iii) solidarity, belonging, and the negotiation of boundaries.

Making Migrant Womanhood a Shared Subject Position

This theme captures how the *Migrant Women* page constructs migrant womanhood as a shared psychosocial position. Across the curated content, personal accounts of migration,

work, language, and everyday struggle are reframed as collectively inhabited conditions. One way this was done was by routinely reframing individual reflections as expressions of a broader "we," enabling personal frustrations to be framed as emblematic of shared migratory and gendered conditions. This was often achieved through shifts from first-person singular to plural pronouns, recurring narrative formats, and circulation under page-specific hashtags. For example, a post caption from a member's narrative reflecting on workplace dynamics states:

> Sometimes, during a meeting, I may feel like going up to the table and shouting, "I am not a flowerpot!" Yes, we are respected while working here, our work is valued—but with a bit more struggle.

Here, while the storytellers' working conditions (in terms of which country and under what labor laws) were not communicated, the narrator's individual sense of invisibility was reformulated as a shared condition of the intended audience of migrant women and their professional lives. The shift from "I" to "we" did not merely "include" others; it performed the constitution of a collective subject defined by needing to exert "more struggle" for recognition, not due to specific work sectors or country-specific conditions per se, but because of the shared positionings the narrator imagined and intended to problematize through sharing this content (e.g., being in the job market as a migrant woman).

Similarly, in another example that reinforced a shared subjectivity, a post featuring an everyday domestic object functioned as a material-symbolic anchor of migrant womanhood for women from Turkey (Figure 1).

The teapot was accompanied by a #MigrationStory caption from a member that reflects on creating familiarity and safety while starting over abroad by buying a teapot immediately and invoking cultural practices of hospitality, routine, and familiarity. Its situated presence allowed transnational mobility to be narrated through continuity rather than rupture. In this sense, familiar domestic objects became resources through which migrant womanhood was communicated through continuity across transnational mobility, contributing to the communication of a shared psychosocial position (Case & Hunter, 2012).

Relatedly, content frequently validated emotions, labor, and delayed aspirations as collectively shared in this context. Gendered migration narratives that highlighted structural patterns, such as a post caption of a member indicating "most new generations of immigrants migrate because the male partner finds work … #expatriarchy," reframed dependency as enduring features of gendered migration rather than personal choices or failures. This was particularly evident in another member's #MigrationStory:

> I married young and moved abroad. I was one of thousands of women forced to postpone their own dreams because of their husbands' jobs … Years ago, while working at community centers to raise awareness among women about "invisible domestic labor," I realized I couldn't fully reflect on what I was talking about … Women are workers in every aspect of life. In a world where women don't support women, it's impossible to make progress on women's rights … Let me end with a quote from feminist writer Betty Friedan: "Women of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your vacuum cleaners."



Figure 1. Teapot symbolizing safety through familiarity in a woman's #MigrationStory. Adapted from *Traditional Turkish Teapot Stainless Steel*, by Turkish Porter, n.d., https://turkishporter.com/traditional-turkish-tea-pot-stainless-steel-3.

By embedding personal experience within feminist critique and referencing Betty Friedan, the narrative legitimized domestic and care labor while challenging dominant models of modernization that equate women's emancipation solely with paid employment (Kandiyoti, 1994). The recirculation of such content on symbolic dates like International Women's Day and the archival organization of posts into story highlights connected these individual narratives to broader temporal and political frameworks. Narrative identity work thus functioned as a mechanism through which gendered and migratory positions were problematized, collectivized, and politicized (Gleibs & Reddy, 2016). Through the combined use of post captions, recurring self-produced hashtags (#MigrationStory), and archived story highlights, *Instagram*'s affordances were employed to keep the narratives visible, searchable, and collectively accessible over time.

Community Care as Gendered Psychosocial Infrastructure

This theme focuses on how *Migrant Women* functions as a gendered infrastructure of care, where emotional and practical support, mental health, and everyday coping are collectively framed and negotiated. For example, a post under the hashtag #MigrationStory shared a reflection on members' post-migration context, "the reduction in my anxiety is due to the mutual respect the people living here have for each other," situated mental well-being within social and relational environments rather than individual coping capacity, signaling the lack of mutual respect among people living in Turkey, which has had implications on their heightened anxiety levels. Anxiety was thus positioned as something produced through everyday encounters and something that is valid to be shared and cared for. Rather than individualizing distress, the content framed mental well-being as relationally produced and collectively inhabited (Case & Hunter, 2012).

This legitimation was also done in forms that frame mental well-being through co-posts with (or tagging) psychologist members of the community. One such post caption, with narration from a psychologist member, advised:

> I can recommend that you invest in feeling more familiar. Only "trust" can fill that void. Always going to the same supermarket and buying the same products, always walking the same route … may seem like small components of life, but these are all meaningful investments in familiarity.

The professional voice (i.e., the psychologist) did not individualize distress, but rather by integrating the psychologist's suggestion alongside their selfie while tagging their account, situated migration-related distress within the everyday realities of migrant women. Well-being was made into a collective concern that was cultivated visually and intimately (i.e., selfie sharing) in terms of what migration entails and how to cope with distress caused by change and unfamiliarity.

Extending this example, in another post, a member who was participating in a transnational event that attempts to draw attention to urban and environmental problems and women's togetherness is tagged in the post on the page:

> #FancyWomenBikeRide will cycle in more than 200 cities around the world this Sunday … This environmentally friendly event, organized by women for women, is a valuable opportunity to encourage more women to choose cycling in cities and to demand safe cycling infrastructure in our cities (if they don't already have it).

Here, care was articulated not only as emotional support but as a political action that materializes caring for collective well-being, gendered safety, and urban space. The event was made visible through the platform, inviting participation across borders. In this way, *Migrant Women* enabled care to move between digital circulation and material engagement, reinforcing community through shared orientation toward (gendered) well-being within and beyond migrancy.

These findings show how direct relational transactions (Case & Hunter, 2012) on the *Migrant Women* page occur in mediated forms, while capable of producing and containing episodic or sustained direct relational transactions. Care, therefore, becomes part of how shared strengths and struggles are collectively and politically understood and cared for (Case & Hunter, 2012), enabling attention to shifting hierarchies across changing contexts. This, in turn, aligns with Perera et al. (2021), who argue that relational transactions in digital environments are found in mediated forms (rather than direct) through the communication of kinship and camaraderie, extending the counterspace framework to digital and transnational settings. We extend these findings by showing the possibilities digital mediation has for materializing care within and through this space.

Solidarity, Belonging, and Selective Construction of "We"

This theme focuses on how the page communicated solidarity as a situated, selective, and negotiated psychosocial practice. A central way this was done is through the page-

specific hashtag use (i.e., #MigrationStory and #MigrantWomenSuggest), functioning as recognizable formats (through their recurrent use) that connect personal accounts into shared social, political, and collective concerns. For example, a migrant mother's account of ableist discrimination was shared with the caption:

> "In my presence; Don't talk about me as if I can't understand, just because I can't talk doesn't mean I don't understand … Autism isn't contagious … Just accept us and be aware of our differences … #MigrationStory"

By sharing this reflection with the community, contributing to community content via a page-specific hashtag, and its later inclusion as an archived story highlight among many other #MigrationStory content, ableist discrimination was positioned as a concern to the community, remaining open to future discussion, and recirculated through its retention via different formats on *Instagram*. While the reflection of the member did not necessarily relate to migratory conditions in direct ways, *Migrant Women* acted as a space made by and for migrant women from Turkey, offering the possibility to connect intersecting forms of marginalization (e.g., migrancy, motherhood, ableism) in meaningful and relatable ways to the wider community. In doing so, the page widened what counted as a legitimate community concern, illustrating how digital counterspaces can redistribute recognition across multiple forms of marginalization (Pham et al., 2025).

In a related way, admin-initiated invitation posts functioned to connect women through transnational and platformed mediations: "Share a story featuring your account … and we'll share it with our followers … we all gather under this post and support each other ?." Rather than positioning solidarity as something administered from above, these invitations constructed it as something collectively produced through members' own participation and visibility. Through such content, the page was communicated as a setting where enhanced opportunities for social and economic visibility for participants are framed as being provided horizontally as part of enacting solidarity.

The communication of solidarity also extended beyond the immediate community, particularly in moments of political crisis or feminist mobilization. Hashtags such as #MahsaAmini, #WeStandWithUkraine, #PrideMonth, and #TurkeySyriaEarthquake connected *Migrant Women* page to the homeland and/or to broader struggles through the multimodal content that signaled affective and political alignment across borders. For instance, an admin-produced post on March 8 reflected on the gendered aspects of the aftermath of the 2023 earthquakes in Southeast Turkey. This involved sharing an earthquake survivor woman's case on March 8, where she had to find shelter at her ex-husband's house due to limited resources in the aftermath of the earthquake and faced gender-based violence (Contributor with Medfeminiswiya, 2023). Emphasizing the disproportionate gendered aspects of security and well-being for women in the region, this post provided informational support (i.e., sharing of women's nongovernmental organizations' phone numbers operating in the earthquake area) as well as emotional and feminist support (i.e., "… So that no more *women* suffer, so that no more are taken from us, today *we* must raise our voices even louder, stand together more tightly …"). Solidarity



Figure 2. Caricature by Asli Alpar (a feminist caricaturist from Turkey), shared in solidarity during the global protests against Mahsa Amini's murder by morality police in Iran. Adapted from [@aslialpar], 2002, Instagram, https://www.instagram.com/p/Ci0H7V6o0la/.

therefore became inseparable from practical information, emotional support, and political critique circulating simultaneously within and through the setting.

In another example, a member's reflection on the unequal conditions of migration was shared, expanding community concerns into a broader political critique on World Refugee Day:

> … For years, I worked with refugees, undocumented immigrants, and those who had been displaced from their homes … To all the beautiful children who were forced to witness things they shouldn't have witnessed, forced to work for 30 TL a week in leather workshops when they were barely old enough to hold a pen, "sold" as children, ostracized in school … selling tissues at traffic lights, and suffering countless undeserved injustices … Not just Syria, but all the children forced to leave their homelands due to war, destruction … Asylum is a universal human right. I wish you hadn't experienced this.

This narrative went beyond the individual member's story toward a political reflection on the unequal experiences of migration. Her past experiences and reflections are inevitably shaped by shared (trans)national experiences (e.g., the use of Syria as an example draws from and reflects on the experiences of Syrian refugees in Turkey), expanding community concerns into broader issues of social justice.



Figure 3. *Time Magazine* cover in 1923 featuring the founding leader of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Adapted from *TIME*, 1(4), March 24, 1923, https://content.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,19230324,00.html.

In another example, a caricature by a feminist artist from Turkey shared during protests following Mahsa Amini's murder publicly positioned the page content within a transnational feminist imaginary (Figure 2).

Being shaped by shared geopolitical proximities and gendered oppression of political Islamist regimes, this content functioned as a declaration of solidarity with Iranian women's resistance, embedding the community content within wider circuits of transnational feminist solidarity (Clark, 2016).

Crucially, the communication of solidarity was inseparable from negotiating boundaries of belonging. For example, the circulation of the 1923 *Time* magazine cover featuring Atatürk (Figure 3) mentioned the reappearance of Atatürk as a cover in 1927 in the same magazine. Narrating this in a celebratory and comparative way that the post emphasized how the magazine addressed the rising authoritarianism in Europe at the time and drew on a secular-modernist imaginary that has historically shaped notions of progress and gender in Turkey (Kandiyoti, 1994). These references normalized a particular secular-modernist understanding of (national) identity as the community's implicit symbolic center.

Similarly, the meme that demonstrates "döner" as the widespread "drunk food" in Europe in a playful way implicitly drew an urban-secular lens, marking the boundaries of who feels more "at home" through this content (Figure 4).

In this sense, rhetorical contrast structures (e.g., modern and European) and visual and textual cues (e.g., Atatürk references, urban humor) subtly stabilized these symbolic

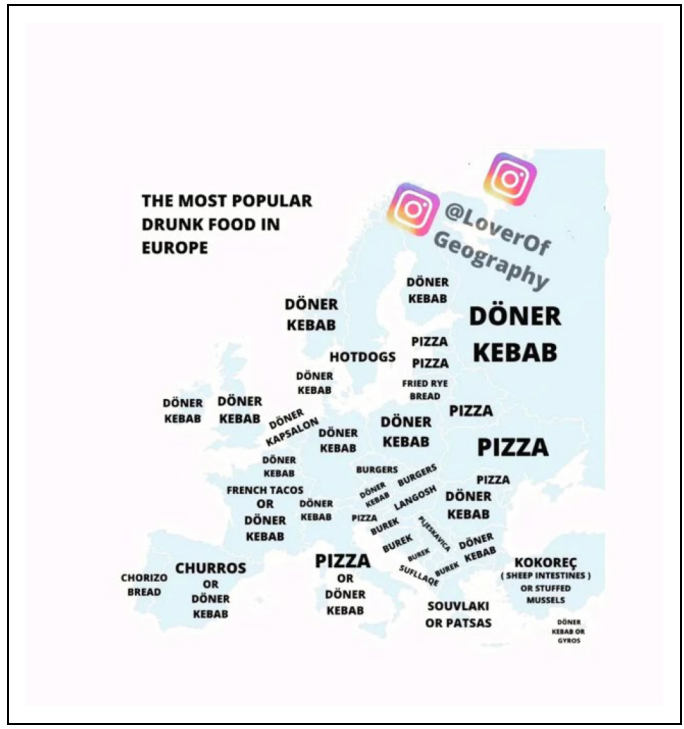


Figure 4. Shared by the *Migrant Women* page borrowed from @loverofgeography, illustrating the most popular "drunk" food in Europe. Adapted from u/loverofgeography, 2002, Reddit, https://www.reddit.com/r/MapPorn/comments/w0i5a0/the_most_popular_drunk_food_in_europe/. Quotes are taken from the public Instagram page of gocmen.kadinlar (translated and/or paraphrased).

centers. These did not function as explicit exclusions, but they nonetheless stabilized a recognizable core for communicating a particular path for solidaristic understandings within and beyond the community. Thus, while the page content aligned with feminist and humanitarian struggles across borders, communication of solidarity circulated unevenly, for example, with visible support for Iran and Ukraine alongside an absence of support (i.e., silences) for Palestine or Sudan.

Relatedly, the formats of communication (i.e., form of mediation, Schreiber, 2024) shaped how solidarity was articulated. For example, LGBTQ+ solidarity appeared once through an administrator-produced commemorative post (i.e., #PrideMonth) retained on story highlights, expressing support at the level of collective and political values without embedding it into a specific participant's #MigrationStory narrative through a co-produced post. While this potentially protected individual participants from the possibilities of LGBTQ+ phobic backlash and surveillance, both from within and beyond the digital community, it nevertheless communicated a particular understanding where LGBTQ+

subjectivities are stood in solidarity with, but not through being embedded in the collective "we" constructed through specific participant narratives.

Across these examples, thus, migrancy and womanhood were repeatedly problematized, while remaining contingent on the national rhetoric on Turkishness (Acar et al., 2025) and broader cisheteronormative norms that shape whose stories and experiences can be more easily embedded within the community's collective "we" (Ahmed, 2006). Turkishness more often operated through national references, historical narratives, modern-secular and linguistic assumptions (e.g., content shared in Turkish and English, but not in historically marginalized languages such as Kurdish or Armenian), functioning as a largely taken-for-granted framework through which community boundaries were organized. While such practices of informal social control enabled self-protection and self-enhancement at different times (e.g., by explicitly opposing sexism and misogyny via public content or by allowing only migrant women from Turkey with migration backgrounds to circulate stories on the page) (Case & Hunter, 2012), they also implicitly defined the scope of solidarity within and beyond the community (Pham et al., 2025).

Conclusion

Our findings highlighted the shared anchors, such as "Turkishness," migratory experience, and gender identity, that stabilize community meanings and practices toward collective well-being and emancipation. This stabilization should be understood as embedded in, and productive of, symbolic and materials flows amid changing sociohistorical, geographical, and technological conjunctures that rework how intersecting modes of belonging are negotiated (Katz, 2009), thus suggesting the centrality of a processual understanding between stabilization and movement (of online places, communities, and practices) (Di Masso et al., 2019).

As such, a visitor to the page may encounter content that constructs migrant womanhood as a shared and politicized subject position, some that normalizes anxiety as a collective response to migration, and other content aligning the community with cross-border struggles. Although these interrelated findings can be found in different moments and in varying formats, together they constitute a psychosocial environment of a place by, for, and of "migrant women from Turkey." Such coexistence situates *Migrant Women* page as a "virtual consciousness-raising" setting that invites meaningful connections with others through sharing everyday experiences and critical reflections on oppression, politicization, and social transformation (Şener, 2021).

In doing so, the study contributes to debates on platformized forms of community formation by showing how social media platforms, such as *Instagram*'s commercial infrastructures, can be employed to form and sustain migrant women's counterspaces without becoming reducible to the platform's dominant logics (Lindgren & Johansson, 2023). These uses expand what becomes possible within and through the setting, allowing narrative identity work, relational care, and collective critique to remain visible, accessible, and productive. Thus, the *Migrant Women* page exemplifies how digital counterspaces, while contingent on platformed conditions, can extend the possibilities for recognition, support, and solidarity.

In this sense, *Migrant Women* page is aligned with Linabary's (2025) characterization of online counterspaces as dynamic and precarious rather than stable containers. These findings support a transnational feminist praxis (Mohanty, 2013) that resists treating "migrant women" as a homogeneous political subject or digital spaces as inherently emancipatory, foregrounding shifting visibility and marginalization within these places (Astudillo-Mendoza & Cifuentes-Zunino, 2022). Thus, digital counterspaces are not inherently democratic and may reproduce exclusions; yet because they emerge in response to dominant exclusions (i.e., gendered), they expand discursive space by rendering previously uncontested assumptions publicly arguable (Fraser, 1990). As such, our findings align with Şener (2021), who argues that "any online group that enables women to get together and share their experiences can be considered as a space for everyday digital feminist activism" (p. 5) while showing the specific contingencies of everyday feminist practice in the case of migrant women from Turkey and their online counterspace on *Instagram*.

Acknowledgments

We acknowledge the presence and labor of countless migrant women from Turkey who have made this community page and thus this study possible.

ORCID iDs

Yağmur Erdoğmuş https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0077-9045
Carla Moleiro https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6722-5472
Susana Batel https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6586-6716
Özden Melis Uluğ https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7364-362X

Ethical Considerations

This article does not contain any studies with human or animal participants.

Funding

The authors disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: This study was funded by the Foundation for Science and Technology under the grant UI/BD/154442/2022.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Data Availability Statement

Data associated with the article and results are on a password-protected computer with the first author. Questions about the data or results can be directed to the first author.

Notes

1. Although the Turkish government successfully requested that the United Nations adopt "Türkiye" as the country's official international designation in 2022, we retain "Turkey" for consistency with the literature cited and to avoid endorsing Turkish state's concerns for domestic power consolidation, regime legitimization, and repositioning within international hierarchies (Secen, 2026).
2. Platformization refers to how "Within platforms like Instagram, feminist practices are embedded within commercially oriented platform structures, existing in a constant negotiation between users' agency and the constraints of platforms"(Caldeira, 2024, pp. 2–3).
3. We use "migranticized" to draw attention to the processes through which migration-related difference is produced and naturalized (Dahinden, 2016).
4. Tagging and co-posting constitute specific practices in terms of their intended design and what they can afford, including the possibility of their providing enhanced visibility and connections for users who collaborate with the *Migrant Women* content. Hashtags, on the other hand, offer different design intentions and thus affordances, such as creating a common thread of content from different users who use the same hashtag. Thus, hashtags were selectively included as part of the data. Only hashtags with repeated and/or discursively significant usage (57 out of 125) were included and generic hashtags (e.g., #migrants) were excluded due to limited interpretive value.

References

Acar, Y. G., Sandal-Önal, E., Şen, E., & Uysal, M. S. (2025). Studying Kurdishness in Turkey: A review of existing research. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *64*(1), e12842. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12842

Ahmed, S. (2006). Chapter 2: Sexual orientation. In *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others* (pp. 65–108). Duke University Press. https://www.degruyterbrill.com/document/doi/10.1515/9780822388074-005/html?lang=en

Astudillo-Mendoza, P., & Cifuentes-Zunino, F. (2022). Mothering on the web: A feminist analysis of posts and interactions on a Chilean Instagram account on motherhood. *Feminism & Psychology*, *32*(3), 376–393. https://doi.org/10.1177/09593535221094251

Bates, L. (2017). *Girl Up: Kick Ass, Claim Your Woman Card, and Crush Everyday Sexism*. Simon and Schuster.

Bowles Eagle, R. (2015). Loitering, lingering, hashtagging: Women reclaiming public space via #BoardtheBus, #StopStreetHarassment, and the #EverydaySexism project. *Feminist Media Studies*, *15*(2), 350–353. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2015.1008748

BPS. (2021). Ethics guidelines for internet-mediated research. *The British Psychological Society*.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2019). Reflecting on reflexive thematic analysis. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, *11*(4), 589–597. https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2019.1628806

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2021). Can I use TA? Should I use TA? Should I not use TA? Comparing reflexive thematic analysis and other pattern-based qualitative analytic approaches. *Counselling and Psychotherapy Research*, *21*(1), 37–47. https://doi.org/10.1002/capr.12360

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2023). Toward good practice in thematic analysis: Avoiding common problems and be(com)ing a knowing researcher. *International Journal of Transgender Health*, *24*(1), 1–6. (world). https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/26895269.2022.2129597

Caldeira, S. P. (2024). "Walking on eggshells": Exploring tensions and ambivalences in platformised feminist practices on Instagram. *Platforms & Society*, *1*, 29768624241284499. https://doi.org/10.1177/29768624241284499

Calvo, A., Aurrekoetxea-Casaus, M., & Borrajo, E. (2024). Virtual ethnography of female migrants: A WhatsApp group as a support tool during their migration process. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *25*(2), 553–571. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-023-01088-8

Case, A. D., & Hunter, C. D. (2012). Counterspaces: A unit of analysis for understanding the role of settings in marginalized individuals' adaptive responses to oppression. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *50*(1-2), 257–270. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-012-9497-7

Christensen, M. (2012). Online mediations in transnational spaces: Cosmopolitan (re)formations of belonging and identity in the Turkish diaspora. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *35*(5), 888–905. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2011.628039

Clark, R. (2016). "Hope in a hashtag": The discursive activism of #WhyIStayed. *Feminist Media Studies*, *16*(5), 788–804. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2016.1138235

Contributor with Medfeminiswiya. (2023, March 22). Feminist solidarity networks in earthquake zones to 'regenerate the cities and hope'. *Medfeminiswiya*. https://medfeminiswiya.net/2023/03/22/feminist-solidarity-networks-in-earthquake-zones-to-regenerate-the-cities-and-hope/?lang=en

Dahinden, J. (2016). A plea for the "de-migranticization" of research on migration and integration1. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *39*(13), 2207–2225. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2015.1124129

Di Masso, A., Williams, D. R., Raymond, C. M., Buchecker, M., Degenhardt, B., Devine-Wright, P., Hertzog, A., Lewicka, M., Manzo, L., Shahrad, A., Stedman, R., Verbrugge, L., & von Wirth, T. (2019). Between fixities and flows: Navigating place attachments in an increasingly mobile world. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, *61*, 125–133. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2019.01.006

Dumitrica, D., & Hockin-Boyers, H. (2023). Slideshow activism on Instagram: Constructing the political activist subject. *Information, Communication & Society*, *26*(16), 3318–3336. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2022.2155487

Ehrkamp, P. (2012). "I've had it with them!" Younger migrant women's spatial practices of conformity and resistance. *Gender, Place & Culture*, *20*(1), 19–36. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2011.649356

Evans, A., & Ringrose, J. (2025). More-than-human, more-than-digital: Postdigital intimacies as a theoretical framework. *Social Media + Society*, *11*(1), 20563051251317779. https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051251317779

Foster, M., Hennessey, E., Blankenship, B., & Stewart, A. (2019). Can "slacktivism" work? Perceived power differences moderate the relationship between social media activism and collective action intentions through positive affect. *Cyberpsychology: Journal of Psychosocial Research on Cyberspace*, *13*(4). https://scholars.wlu.ca/psyc_faculty/106

França, T., & Oliveira, S. P. (2021). Brazilian migrant women as killjoys: Disclosing racism in "friendly" Portugal. *Cadernos Pagu*, e216301. https://doi.org/10.1590/18094449202100630001

Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy. *Social Text*, (25/26), 56. https://doi.org/10.2307/466240

Gibson, J. J. (2014). *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception: Classic Edition*. Psychology Press. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315740218

Gleibs, I. H., & Reddy, G. (2016). The social and political psychology of globalisation and global identities. In C. Howarth & E. Andreouli (Eds.), *The social psychology of everyday politics* (pp. 65–78). Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

Kandiyoti, D. (1994). Identity and its discontents: Women and the nation. In *Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory* (pp. 376–392). Routledge.

Katz, C. (2009). *Key concepts in geography* (pp. 236–250). SAGE Publications.

Lee, E. (2013). Formation of a talking space and gender discourses in digital diaspora space: Case of a female Korean im/migrants online community in the USA. *Asian Journal of Communication*, *23*(5), 472–488. https://doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2013.772216

Linabary, J. R. (2025). Precarious safety: Contradictions in cultivating digital "safe" space for transnational feminist organizing. *Management Communication Quarterly*, *40*(1), 93–124. https://doi.org/10.1177/08933189251349163

Lindgren, S., & Johansson, A. (2023). Getting better? Hegemonic, negotiated and oppositional uses of Instagram for mental health support. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, *47*(3), 268–290. https://doi.org/10.1177/01968599211042581

Littman, D. M. (2022). Third places, social capital, and sense of community as mechanisms of adaptive responding for young people who experience social marginalization. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *69*(3-4), 436–450. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.v69.3-4

Marwick, A. E. (2013). *Status Update: Celebrity, Publicity, and Branding in the Social Media Age*. Yale University Press. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vkzxr

McDonald, A., & Braun, V. (2022). Right, yet impossible? Constructions of healthy eating. *SSM - Qualitative Research in Health*, *2*, 100100. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmqr.2022.100100

Mohanty, C. T. (2013). Transnational feminist crossings: On neoliberalism and radical critique. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *38*(4), 967–991. https://doi.org/10.1086/669576

Morison, T., Gibson, A. F., Wigginton, B., & Crabb, S. (2015). Online research methods in psychology: Methodological opportunities for critical qualitative research. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *12*(3), 223–232. https://doi.org/10.1080/14780887.2015.1008899

Perera, B. Y., Chaudhury, S. R., Albinsson, P. A., & Nafees, L. (2021). This is who I am: Instagram as counterspace for shared gendered ethnic identity expressions. *Journal of the Association for Consumer Research*, *6*(2), 274–285. https://doi.org/10.1086/713288

Pham, M. D., Chaney, K. E., & Garr-Schultz, A. (2025). Strength-based solidarity: Shared strengths as a novel pathway toward holistic and sustained intraminority solidarity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *30*(3), 323–349. https://doi.org/10.1177/10888683251392766

Roberts, L. D. (2015). Ethical issues in conducting qualitative research in online communities. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *12*(3), 314–325. https://doi.org/10.1080/14780887.2015.1008909

Rooke, B. (2013). Four pillars of internet research ethics with Web 2.0. *Journal of Academic Ethics*, *11*(4), 265–268. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10805-013-9191-x

Schreiber, M. (2024). Text on Instagram as emerging genre: A framework for analyzing discursive communication on a visual platform. *Studies in Communication Sciences*, *24*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.24434/j.scoms.2024.01.3882

Schreiber, M. (2024). Text on Instagram as emerging genre: A framework for analyzing discursive communication on a visual platform. *Studies in Communication Sciences*, *24*(1), 141–157. https://doi.org/10.24434/j.scoms.2024.01.3882

Secen, S. (2026). Symbolic statecraft: Reactive and projective renaming in international relations. *International Studies Quarterly*, *70*(4), sqag076. https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqag076

Şener, G. (2021). *Digital Feminist Activism in Turkey* (No. 67; Media@LSE Working Paper Series). London School of Economics and Political Science. https://www.lse.ac.uk/media-and-communications/assets/documents/research/working-paper-series/WP67.pdf

Solorzano, D., Ceja, M., & Yosso, T. (2000). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate: The experiences of African American college students. *The Journal of Negro Education*, *69*(1/2), 60–73. https://doi.org/10.1080/09518390110063365

Taipale, S. (2014). The dimensions of mobilities: The spatial relationships between corporeal and digital mobilities. *Social Science Research*, *43*, 157–167. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2013.10.003

Tufekci, Z., & Wilson, C. (2012). Social media and the decision to participate in political protest: Observations from Tahrir Square. *Journal of Communication*, *62*(2), 363–379. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2012.01629.x

Turley, E., & Fisher, J. (2018). Tweeting back while shouting back: Social media and feminist activism. *Feminism & Psychology*, *28*(1), 128–132. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353517715875

Wilkinson, S., & Kitzinger, C. (2013). Representing our own experience: Issues in "insider" research. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *37*(2), 251–255. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684313483111