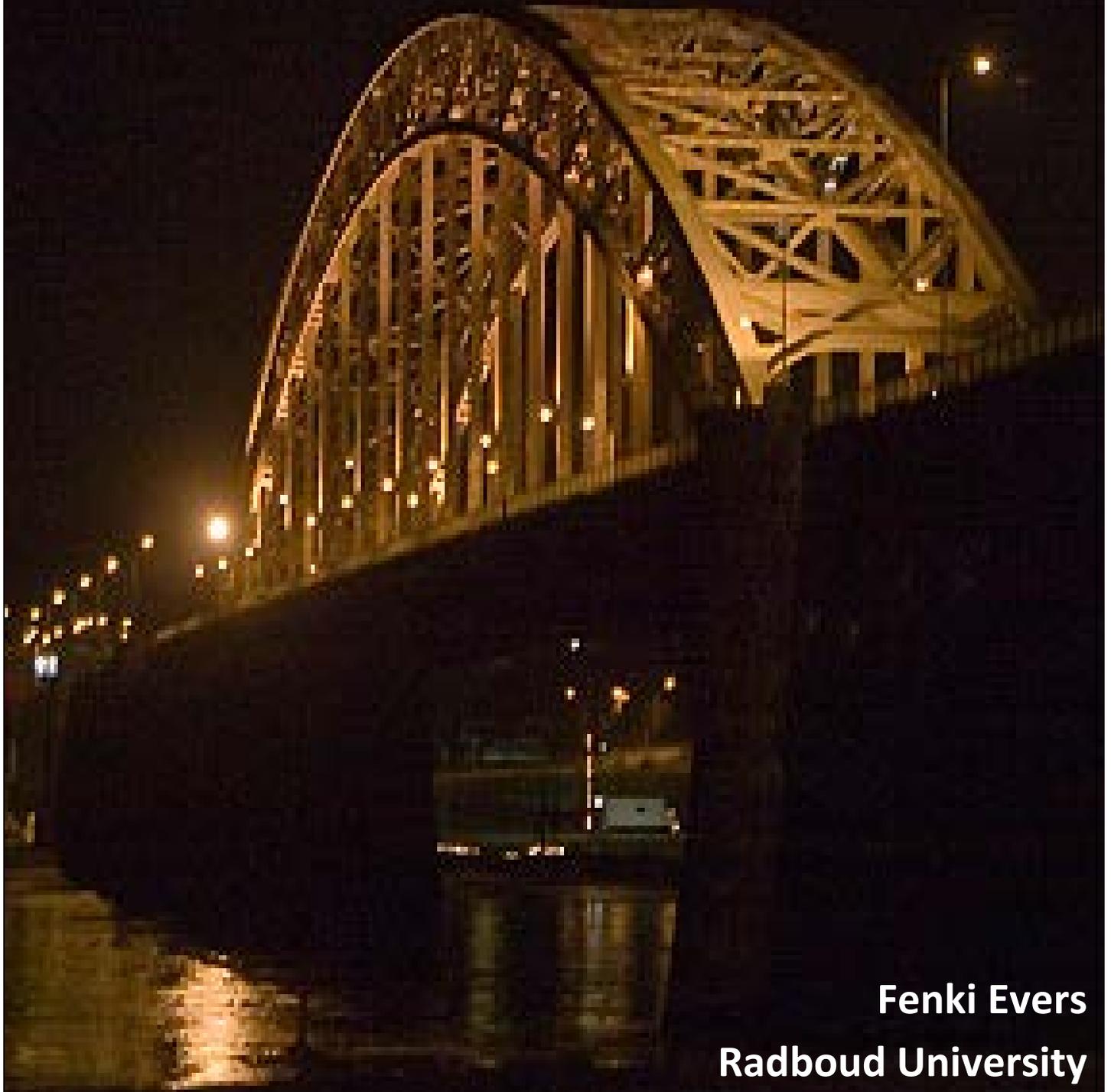


Narrating the city of Nijmegen

Migrants' stories of their trajectories



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Preface

This is it, my bachelor thesis. The last months I discovered a part of the city of Nijmegen from a new point of view. I always was interested in movements around the world, temporary movements or for a longer period of time. Looking for new cultures and trying to learn from it. I think it is interesting to see what happens when two or more different cultures come together and how they are influencing each other. That is one of the reasons I wanted to look at migration in this research. Sometimes I see myself as a migrant, living in the city of Nijmegen. A migrant from a small town in the 'far' eastern part of the Netherlands. Three years ago I moved to Nijmegen and I thought I knew the city, but by doing this research I found out that there is a lot more to learn about it. I also learned about myself, and I am really thankful for that experience. That is why I like to mention some people who helped me and motivated me during the process of writing this bachelor thesis.

First of all I would like to thank all the migrants who wanted to contribute to this research by letting me interview them. It was very interesting and sometimes shocking to listen to the stories. Without those stories, this thesis could not exist. I want to especially thank the six people who told me their stories which I did not directly use in the chapters of this thesis. Despite that fact, I really learned a lot from you in understanding the other narratives and the city of Nijmegen. I want to thank Joris Schapendonk, my tutor, for his guidance and positive comments. His critical view and his thoughts, which he told out loud, were giving me great, sometimes new ideas of how I had to deal with some struggles. And his enthusiasm, every time we met, gave me lots of motivation.

I would like my parents and 'little' brother for supporting me and being proud of me no matter if I was going to finish this thesis or not. I would like my other family and my friends for supporting me and telling me: "You can do it!", or bringing me a cup of tea. I also want to thank them for the necessary distraction, what I needed once in a while. In the last place I want to thank you for reading this thesis, I hope you will enjoy reading it, it means a lot to me.

Nijmegen, August 14th 2012,

Fenki Evers

Summary

The number of migrants who come to the Netherlands and thereby to the Dutch cities is increased the last fifteen years. The attention in the media and the politics is raising and migrants became part of social discussions. In the city of Nijmegen, the municipality tries to identify migrants who live in the city, so they can tell their story to the other inhabitants. Therefore they started a website 'migrantenerfgoed Nijmegen'. But within the information on the website, there is a lack of information. They only focus on migrants who came to the city in one period of time, 1945 until 1985, and they are focusing primary on the countries the migrants are from, without taking into account the diversity of reasons. Because of the growing attention and the gap in the information, it is socially relevant to start this research. A research which will focus on migrants who came to the Netherlands and the city of Nijmegen with different reasons.

It is also theoretically relevant to start this research, because in the recent years, the understanding of the concepts of space and place has changed. We have to look at it in a relational way of processes and networks, networks of trajectories. By focusing on the relation between the trajectories of the migrants and the city, this thesis contributes to a further theorization of space and place in the framework of an increasingly mobile world. So migrants are part of producing and reproducing the city. That is why we have to know more about those trajectories of the migrants, we have to get an in-depth understanding of the stories about their lives. That is why the narrative research method will be used in this thesis. It is a young method and it is not used very often, which makes this research methodologically relevant too. This social, theoretical and methodological relevance leads us to the aim of this research:

The aim of this research is to acquire an in-depth understanding of the life trajectories of migrants, their experiences of Nijmegen and how they produce and reproduce the city, by collecting and analyzing migrant's narratives about their life trajectories and the 'place' of Nijmegen in these life trajectories.

To reach this aim and to examine the relations between 'trajectories', 'place' and 'narratives', a theory of Doreen Massey is used. She talks about three characteristics of space and place. First, space and place as a product of interrelations, so place is produced by the trajectories and their intersections with other trajectories. By looking at the stories about those trajectories, we can understand Nijmegen as a city from the point of view of the migrants. Second, space and place with the existence of multiplicity. It is important to recognize the coexistence of a heterogeneous group of

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individuals and their trajectories. By looking at the stories and intersections of the trajectories of the migrants, with a different social background and different reasons to move to the city of Nijmegen, we can understand the production and reproduction of the city with the existence of multiplicity. And we can understand how those stories and trajectories of one individual can influence those of others. Third, Space and place are always under construction. Narratives about trajectories, spaces and places are always stories-so-far. The future of a place is open, but is for a part depending on the history of the city and the trajectories of the individuals living there. They produce the city and the city produces the trajectories. In this way it is an ongoing process.

To acquire an in depth understanding of the trajectories of migrants and the ‘place’ of the city of Nijmegen, a narrative research method is being used, combined with a case study. The case of this research is the city of Nijmegen. The narrative research method is a qualitative method, which is focusing on acquiring an in-depth exploration of the lives of individuals by listening to their stories about their experiences, which is for a big part the aim of this bachelor thesis. To keep the multiplicity as big as possible, a division of four categories and eight sub-categories is made, as you can see below.

Categories	Sub-categories
Study migrants	Radboud University students
	HAN students
Asylum seekers and refugees	Asylum seekers
	Refugees
Working migrants	High skilled workers
	Low skilled workers
Family migrants	Marriage migrants
	Child migrants

Table 1: Categories respondents

The choice of those categories is mainly based on the division made by ‘Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek’. It is a guide and it is important to understand that an individual will never fit in a fixed category, but the division is used as a guide. In the end fourteen individuals were interviewed and eight stories were analyzed in this thesis. Those eight stories are mainly chosen because of the geographical diversity of the stories and the quantity of details in the interview. So the stories of Jutta (Germany), Marcela (Portugal), Burshra (Iraq), Daren (Benin), Allison (United States), Wayen (Indonesia), Yena (China) and Emir (Iraq), were chosen to be told.

The interviews were focused on the life trajectories of the migrants. Where they were born, until the point of the date of the interview. Their histories and their experiences about Nijmegen played an important role. A typical thing in the narrative research method is the way of analyzing the stories. The stories have to be restored in a chronological sequence, to figure out the actual causality and meaning of them. It is important to keep in mind the role of the researcher in a qualitative narrative research method, because this can influence the results.

By analyzing the stories, we kept the aim and the main question of this research in mind, so we looked at the trajectories of the migrants, until the point they arrived in Nijmegen. We looked at their lives in Nijmegen until the point of the interview, whereby we tried to understand the role of the city of Nijmegen in their lives. And we wanted to understand the city of Nijmegen through the perspective of the migrants, by looking at their opinions about the city and their role in producing and reproducing Nijmegen. It became clear that every story was very different and we have to understand that diversity. Some of the migrants were forced to move, while others did made the choice themselves. Some of the trajectories were almost directly towards the Netherlands and the city of Nijmegen, while others had a very turbulent trajectory. Some of the respondents play an important and big role in society of Nijmegen, because they have a big network, while others networks are limited, because of the short time they live in the city or because they are not able to enlarge their network, for example because they do not have a status. Most of the migrants did have a positive image about Nijmegen, especially because the people who live there.

We also had to come back on the three characteristics of Doreen Massey before we are able to answer the main question. So to conclude the trajectories of the eight migrants are very different, so there is a big *multiplicity*. They did came together in Nijmegen by the *interrelations* of their networks, most of the time without being aware of that. Their stories are very different but we acquired an in-depth understanding about their lives and how they more or less are influencing, producing and reproducing the city of Nijmegen, which is one side of the 'place' of Nijmegen. Next to that, it is also important to understand the influence of the city and her networks on the trajectories of the migrants, the other understanding of the 'place' of the city if Nijmegen. But this is an ongoing process, places will influence trajectories and trajectories will influence a city. That is why, in the end, the production and reproduction of a place like Nijmegen and the trajectories of the eight migrants is an process which will be *under construction* for ever.

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1. Introduction

Project framework

Instead of nation-states, cities are becoming more important in the membership of a society. Cities are seen as the place where the business of modern society gets done, including that of transnationalization (Holston & Appadurai, 1996: 187). The last fifteen years, the number of non-Dutch migrants who came to the Netherlands and thereby to the Dutch cities is increased (CBS, 2010). Also in the city of Nijmegen, and nowadays, a big part of the inhabitants are migrants (Migrantenerfgoed Nijmegen, 2011). In Nijmegen and her environment there are also a lot of organizations that want to help migrants to start an independent life in this region (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2011a; Willighagen-Brand, 2008: 2-8). It shows that migrants are an important issue in Nijmegen. They are a part of the city and the city-life, and in that way they are making Nijmegen the city that it is today. In fact, they are, together with all the other inhabitants and visitors of Nijmegen, producing the city and giving it its shape (Massey, Allen & Pile, 1999: 12).

This also became clear out of the fact that in 2011 the municipality Nijmegen started a new archive about migrants living in the city. All those migrants that are present in the archive are from different countries and the website is showing a lot of different documents about these migrants (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2011b). But the website 'migrantenerfgoed Nijmegen' is mostly focusing on the geographical diversity of the migrants, not on the social diversity of the migrants and the different reasons for them to move to the city of Nijmegen (Migrantenerfgoed Nijmegen, 2011). For example, they ask for more material of migrants from Suriname, Antilles, Moluccas, Italy, Spain, former Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey and Morocco (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2011b). While they do not think of the different reasons of those migrants to come to the Netherlands and the city of Nijmegen. When I looked further on the website of 'migrantenerfgoed Nijmegen' it is obvious that most of the material is about migrants who came to Nijmegen for work (2011). In this sense, it looks like all the migrants are taken together which creates a one-dimensional picture of migrants in the city of Nijmegen.

Another lack of information about migrants in the city of Nijmegen is the period of time they collect material from. The archive is mostly focusing on migrants who came to the city in the period from 1945 until 1985 (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2011b). This, while it is also interesting to look at migrants who came more recently to Nijmegen, because of the growing number of migrants who came to the Netherlands the last fifteen years. Next to that, there is a big focus on migrants in the media and also the political attention towards migrants is growing, most of the time not in a positive

way. Like the quote of the 'Partij voor de Vrijheid': "Wat doen ze hier eigenlijk? Wie heeft ze binnengelaten en moeten we er nog meer hiernaartoe halen?" (PVV, 2012: 34).

So there is a lack of information about migrants who came to Nijmegen with different reasons and in different periods of time. This combined with the growing amount of migrants and the large attention to migrants in cities, in this case Nijmegen, makes it socially relevant to start a research about migrants in Nijmegen. Thus, this research will question, why and how in the first place did migrants come to the Netherlands and the city of Nijmegen, what choices did they make, how do they feel about their identity within Nijmegen and how do they produce the city of Nijmegen?

To examine that, this research needs to focus on Nijmegen as a city and on the migrants who came to Nijmegen. To grasp the interaction between migrants and cities, a theorisation of space and place is an excellent starting point. The recent years, the ontology of space and place has changed. Space and place where most of the time seen as limited territories within one scale (Amin, 2002a: 285; Massey, 1994: 152), but the globalisation and the increasing transnationality is forcing us to rethink space and place (Amin, 2002a: 285-286). According to Amin, we have to look at them in a way of relational processes and networks (2002a: 290). Doreen Massey also has made a contribution to this alternative approach of space in which she argues that there are three characteristics of space which are important (Anderson, 2008: 228). Space as a product of interrelations, space as a sphere with the existence of multiplicity and the fact that space is always under construction in which political actions play a big role (Massey, 2005: 9). But not those political actions are important, the unpredictable movements play even a bigger role (Barenholdt & Granas, 2008: 2). A place in that sense is a meeting place, like an intersection point of all the networks of social relations, movements and communications (Massey, 1994: 154). In other words, place is an unpredictable intersection of the trajectories of people and most of the time a city can be such a meeting place. The trajectories within those places do not have a beginning or ending point of the journey, but are "various movements that reach multiple points and go in several directions", it is like the mobility and the process of the movement (Schapendonk, 2011: 8-9). By focusing on the relation between migrants' trajectories and the city, this thesis contributes to a further theorization of space and place in the framework of an increasingly mobile world. This makes this bachelor thesis theoretical relevant.

But this does not mean that the trajectories of people are the only producers of a city. Doreen Massey is arguing that we have to look at the future and places as open as possible and she does not agree with the Marxist approach, which is saying that the future can be predicted by the history (Massey, 2005: 11). But the future is not totally open, in some ways the history plays an important role in producing the city, because history also plays an important role in the trajectories

of people. Human activities within a place become events of the past and they give meaning to events, activities and trajectories in the future (Cronon, 1992: 1349).

So “the relation between mobility and place works both ways. Places facilitate mobilities, but mobilities also give meaning to places” (Schapendonk, 2011: 198). The two cannot be seen separated and the one is not more important than the other, but you have to look at place and mobility at the point they come together (Barenholdt & Granas, 2008: 1) and how they reproduce each other. As mentioned before, a city can be such a meeting place. But what is a city? It was considered as ‘a spatially bounded entity with a distinct internal spatial and social division of labour, a particular relation with the countryside, nation and the outside world, and an evolutionary linearity’ (Amin & Thrift, 2002: 8), but nowadays there is no such thing as one definition of a city anymore. However, just as the definition of place, the view on cities changed in the same way, towards an open, multidimensional place where movements come together (Amin & Thrift, 2002: 9). You have to look at how elements of a city are produced, how they interact and what the consequences of their actions are (Massey, Allen & Pile, 1999: 12). In fact, mobilities are very important, they are central to understand how a city has developed since the origin of it centuries ago (Bridge & Watson, 2011: 157), they are giving meaning to a city.

If we look at the city of Nijmegen and her migrants with that knowledge, we could argue that those migrants are also giving meaning to the city of Nijmegen and her social diversity. To get to know more about these migrants a narrative research about their life trajectories will be a good method. This because the narrative research method is focused on an in-depth exploration of the lives of individuals by listening to their stories of their experiences (Creswell, 2007: 53-57). Next to that, this method will be good way to acquire more information about, the case of this research, Nijmegen. In that sense we are able in getting to know more about the city and how it is shaped by its migrants. The narrative research method became more and more popular in social sciences since the 1970s (Dormans, 2008). But it is a young method, thus so far, it is not being used very often. This makes it interesting to study migrants in the city of Nijmegen in a narrative way and makes it also methodological relevant. Next to that, Stefan Dormans in his PhD thesis already did a narrative research about two Dutch cities, his focus laid on the planners’, marketing, external and local stories (2008: 9). But, to my knowledge, there is not a lot of information about migrants living in the city of Nijmegen, especially not when the information is gathered by doing a narrative research.

Aim of this research

As discussed above it is socially relevant to start a research about migrants in the city of Nijmegen, because there is a lack of information about migrants who came to Nijmegen with different reasons

and in different periods, combined with the growing amount and the large attention to migrants in cities. Next to that, to my knowledge, not a lot of research about place, space and mobility is done with a relational approach, which makes it theoretically relevant. Because it is done by the relative 'young' narrative method, it is also methodologically relevant. This is why the results of this research will contribute to the knowledge about migrants in Nijmegen as well as to the use of the narrative research method. As an outcome, we arrive at the aim of this research:

The aim of this research is to acquire an in-depth understanding of the life trajectories of migrants, their experiences of Nijmegen and how they produce and reproduce the city, by collecting and analyzing migrant's narratives about their life trajectories and the 'place' of Nijmegen in these life trajectories.

By doing this research, I want to get to know more about different kinds of migrants who live in Nijmegen nowadays, migrants who came to the Netherlands with different reasons. I did choose to examine migrants who live in Nijmegen, because this city already is interested in the stories of migrants, which becomes clear out of all the information already available on the internet. But on those websites, the focus is on migrants with geographical different backgrounds. Instead of that, this research wants to focus on migrants with a social divers background, because I think there is a gap in the information which is interesting for me to examine. Next to that, I myself also live in Nijmegen, this makes it personally interesting to listen to the stories of migrants about Nijmegen.

In this in-depth study, a limited number of migrants will be involved, which makes it even more important to choose the migrants carefully. Because of this, I will collect the stories of migrants from four categories, namely labour migrants, asylum seekers and refugees, family migrants and study migrants. These four categories will be useful as starting point of this thesis, but they are not intended to be a strict distinction. The explanation for the choice of these categories will be in chapter 3 where the method will be outlined. I am aware of the fact that the results of this research do depend on the specific stories of the studied migrants and it is not possible to write a conclusion which can be applied on every migrant that fits in the category. Still I think, in this case it does not really mind, because we want to acquire an in-depth understanding on the stories which are told, a narrative research is most of the time focusing on the stories of individuals (Creswell, 2007: 54). Next to that I think every addition to this field of research will be valuable, because today there is not done a lot of research about the life trajectories of different kind of migrants in Nijmegen, and every addition will be one more.

The last point I would like to make clear about the aim of this thesis, is the fact that I used the term 'place'. By using this term I want to point out the two sided relation between the city of Nijmegen and the life trajectories of the migrants. Those trajectories do have their influences on the city of Nijmegen, but Nijmegen also has influence on those trajectories. Besides, we can also understand the city of Nijmegen by those narratives about the trajectories of migrants. This relation will be explained further in the next section, 'Research model'.

Research model

So this research wants to examine three concepts, namely trajectories of the migrants, narratives of the migrants and a place which is in this case the city of Nijmegen. I want to develop a research model to make the relation between the three concepts more clear. The first part of this research model will consist of the relation between trajectories and place. Because a place can be seen as an intersection point of trajectories, the first arrow should go from 'trajectories' to 'place'. But we already did discuss that places also do have their influences on the trajectories of migrants, so the arrow should not only go from trajectories to place, but also vice versa. Together this makes the first part of this research model looks like this:

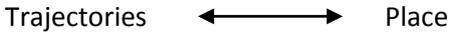


Figure 1: First part research model

Next to this, narratives are also important, because by those narratives we can get to know more about both, trajectories and place and the relationship between those two concepts. But it are not only narratives that have their influences on trajectories and place. Trajectories and place do also have their own influence on the stories of migrants. According to everything as discussed above, the entire research model of this research looks like the following:

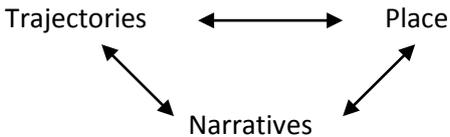


Figure 2: Research model

Main- and sub-questions

The main question which follows from the aim of this research is:

How do the life trajectories of migrants with various social backgrounds come together in the city of Nijmegen and what is the 'place' of Nijmegen in these life trajectories?

There will be three sub-questions linked to this main question. The first one is:

What are the life trajectories of the migrants with different social backgrounds?

By this sub-question I want to focus on the journeys of the migrants. It is not only about the movements itself, but it is about the relationships between the movements (Adey, 2006: 75). I want to examine what the reasons were they left their home in first place, how their journey went and what choices they did make. In the academic world there was a shift towards a more mobile world, in which there is more attention to the real movement of migrants, instead of the beginning and ending point of their journey (Schapendonk, 2011: 9). That is why in first place I want to get to know more about the trajectories of the migrant.

Next to that, I want to take a closer look on the 'place' of the city of Nijmegen in those trajectories. This can be understood in two different ways. First of all I will focus on the role of Nijmegen in the life trajectories of the migrants with different social backgrounds. According to Joris Schapendonk (2011: 8) "a destination can become another place of departure". So place and mobility are reproducing each other (Barenholdt & Granas, 2008: 6). That is why we want to figure out how migrants live in Nijmegen, how they produce Nijmegen and how the city reproduces mobilities. Do they see the city as their final destination, or do they look at it as a temporary living place. If the second one is the case, after their living period in Nijmegen, do they want to go back to their beginning place, or will they move onwards and why? This leads to the second sub-question:

What is the role of the city of Nijmegen in the life trajectories of the migrants with different social backgrounds?

The third sub-question is related to the second one. The second sub-question describes the role of Nijmegen in the life trajectories of the migrants. The third question describes the other understanding of the term 'place'. By this question I want to find out how the life trajectories of the migrants are playing a role in the city of Nijmegen, so how the respondents experience and feel

Nijmegen. In this way we can understand the city of Nijmegen by the stories of its migrants. The third sub-question will be:

What is the role of the life trajectories of the migrants with different social backgrounds in (understanding) the city of Nijmegen?

Before we can answer these questions properly, we have to discuss the theory of trajectories, based on the work of Doreen Massey, in section 2 of this research. In section 3 we will turn to the explanation of the narrative research method which will be used to reach the goal of this bachelor thesis and the choice of the migrants will be explained. In section 4, we will take a look at different trajectories of migrants until they reached the city of Nijmegen. In section 5 the role of Nijmegen in the lives of the migrants will be discussed and in section 6 we will take a closer look at the role of the migrants in the city of Nijmegen. The conclusion, you can find in section 7, where we answer the main question and we talk about the relation between the trajectories and Nijmegen as a migrant city. In the last part of this research you can find the epilogue the bibliography and the list of figures and tables.

2. Theory

Theoretical framework

To continue with the research model as discussed above, we have to look for a theory or approach which fits the three concepts trajectories, place and narratives and the relation between those three concepts. As mentioned in the introduction of this research, globalisation and the increasing transnationality are forcing us to rethink space and place (Amin, 2002a: 285-286). It is not that space and place are looking very different nowadays, but we have to take a look at them in different ways (Clarke, 2006: 116). We cannot look at space and place as fixed and strictly framed with borders, like in the modernistic approach (Soja, 1989: 10), but we have to look at the concepts in a more relational way. After the Enlightenment, in the late 1980s, the postmodern approach did arise and this can partly be seen as a cause of globalisation (Kumar, 2007: 423; O'Donnell, 2003: 6). Postmodern thinking can also be seen as a reaction on the modernist simplification and generalisation, there is not one truth, but you have to look at all the different aspects (O'Donnell, 2003: 8-9). Postmodernism is arguing that things like borders do not exist, because everything means something else for everyone (Clarke, 2006: 107-108). Next to that, Postmodernism allows us to look at the coexistence of a range of very different features (Jameson, 2003: 4). For this research, it is in fact important to look at a range of very different stories of migrants, to encourage the diversity of this thesis. So this research fits into the postmodern approach, but we need to look to a more specific approach to fit the three concepts together.

I think Doreen Massey has made an alternative approach to space and this will be the basis of the theory which will be used in this research about migrants in the city of Nijmegen. She argues that there are three characteristics of space which are important, space as a product of interrelations, space with the existence of multiplicity and space which is always under construction (Massey, 2005: 9-12; Anderson, 2008: 228). Next to that, she talks about trajectories and stories, both concepts are always referring to space and they are positioning themselves in relation to other trajectories and stories (Massey, 2005: 12). They can be from a living thing, but also from a collectivity or a scientific attitude (Massey, 2005: 12).

A product of interrelations

First of all, Doreen Massey talks about space as a product of interrelations. Space is not an already existing entity, but constructed by relations of things. And not only those things and their relations are important, in fact, the relations between them and space, which could be seen as trajectories, are important (Massey, 2005: 9-10). Like this quote of Stefan Dormans also makes clear:

“A city can have different meanings to different people in different times and different places, and consequently a city can be represented or imagined in many different ways. Currently, in a world of movement and migration, it seems to be increasingly crucial to pay attention to these differing meanings and different perspectives (2008: 5).”

I think this quote shows the first relation of the research model, the relation between narratives and places, in this case Nijmegen. By taking a look at the different stories told by a diverse group of migrants, we can get to know more about the different meanings and perspectives of those individuals about the city of Nijmegen. Next to that, those places do also have their influences on the stories told by individuals.

Trajectories are important in this first characteristic of place. Intersections of those trajectories are the interrelations and they do make place. Places make you aware of the trajectories of others, which can change your own trajectory. So a place is an arena where people are likely to meet (Barenholdt & Granas, 2008: 2). But we cannot look at those trajectories only in a local way like Doreen Massey. Trajectories and their connections of mobility are much more complex, dynamic and multidimensional (Barenholdt & Granas, 2008: 2, 6). This is why it is interesting to look at the trajectories of migrants, because they go far beyond the local. But as argued above, we have to take place and trajectories together and this makes clear the twofold relation between trajectories and place in our research model.

So trajectories produce space and place, now what role is left for migrants? The trajectories of migrants, coming together in a place, makes this place, in this case the city of Nijmegen, more multicultural (Amin, 2002b: 1). The outcome of this we can find back in the city on several ways. For example the institutions in the city working with migrants (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2011a), but also in the food market (Pike, Rodríguez-Pose & Tomaney, 2006: 90). In the city of Nijmegen a lot of shops and restaurants are responding on the multicultural society living in Nijmegen nowadays. This is a quite good outcome of the multicultural, but also negative outcomes do exist. In cities, the existing cultural differences are producing racism and discrimination (Amin, 2002b: 20). And this is only a small amount of results migrants could have on a city. In this research we will focus on several stories of migrant who will have different influences on the city of Nijmegen.

The existence of multiplicity

Second, another characteristic of space is that it has to be seen as a sphere of the existence of multiplicity. We have to look at the different trajectories and stories of a heterogeneous group of

individuals. It is important to recognize the coexistence of others and their trajectories and stories (Massey, 2005: 9-11). For example, a migrant does not exist without the existence of native inhabitants. This is why I take a look at the narratives of a socially diverse group of migrants who live in Nijmegen. I want to know more about their experiences of their life trajectories and the city of Nijmegen. The fact that the migrants do have a different social background, for example the one is a refugee and the other is a high skilled labour migrant, the stories also will be very different. This raises the multiplicity of this research. The only thing they all have in common is the place they live in, the city of Nijmegen.

It is important to take into account the fact that, as a person and as a migrant you are always connected to other networks (Schapendonk, 2011: 25). This makes the whole world one big network, but at the points where the concentration of the interconnections is the biggest, places exist (Barenholdt & Granas, 2008: 2). By examining this second characteristic of space we can explain the relationship between narratives and trajectories, as mentioned in the research model, because stories do make clear the trajectories of migrants. Vice versa, this is also happening, because trajectories do change the stories.

Always under construction

At this point we have discussed the theory of all three relations of our research model in figure 2. But it is also important to keep in mind that according to the postmodern approach, space and time are never completely separable (Clarke, 2006: 109). "The ways in which people are placed within 'time-space compression' are highly complicated and extremely varied (Massey, 1994: 151). This leads us to the third characteristic of space according to Massey. This third characteristic is the fact that space is a process which always is under construction, the future is open (Massey, 2005: 9 -11). In this sense, narratives about trajectories and places are always stories-so-far (Massey, 2005: 24) and the social field is always understood as ongoing (Levitt, 2001: 211). So we cannot predict the future, but history does always play an important role in the trajectories of people, those who will make the future (Cronon, 1992: 1349). In this way, Massey wants to break with the modernistic approach in which most of the future is determined by the general directions of the history (Massey, 2005: 11).

So in this research I use the explanation of space according to Doreen Massey as a way of looking at migrants living in the city of Nijmegen. Looking at the three characteristics of space, namely, space as a product of interrelations, a sphere with the existence of multiplicity and as a process which is always under construction. A place in that sense can be seen as a process of the intersection of multitude of interrelations, an intersection of trajectories, known by the stories about

those trajectories. I will focus on the three characteristics of Doreen Massey, where the research model is based on. In the end, the three concepts can be explained and the main question of this research can be answered.

Conceptual model

To visualize those characteristics of space, based on the theory of Doreen Massey, I designed a conceptual model which looks as follows:

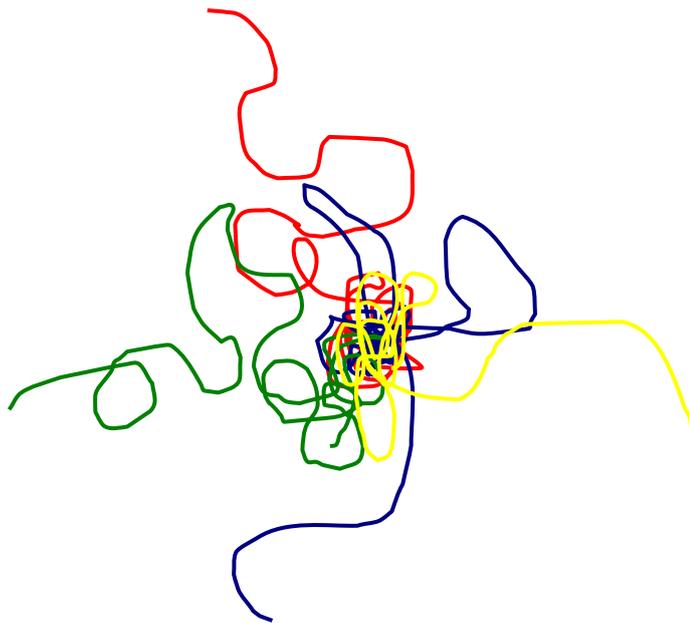


Figure 3: Conceptual model

To summarize, space consists of interrelations, multiplicity and process. Every line in figure 3 represents an individual, in case of this research every line represents a migrant. Every intersection of the lines could be seen as the interrelations made in space, like a meeting between two or more individuals. The intersections, in that case do also make the individuals aware of the trajectories of others. The fact that all those lines have different colors, stands for the multiplicity of the individuals, the social diversity. All the migrants do have different background, that becomes clear out of the different stories of the migrants. The process of space is more difficult to visualize, but I did try to do this by making one fuzzy place in the middle of the model. In this place it is, almost, impossible to see where the lines are ending and that is exactly what I tried to do. 'Making' space is an ongoing process and is always under construction. With an open future, because you never know how it will develop over time.

We can also relate this conceptual model to the research model of figure 2 and the three most important concepts that are coming forward out of that research model. The lines could be seen as the trajectories, in this case those of the migrants. The fuzzy point in the middle could be seen as a place, in this case the city of Nijmegen, made by the intersections of the trajectories. And finally, the colors do represent the different narratives told by all those different migrants.

3. Methodology

Choice of the method

In their book about designing a research, Verschuren and Doorewaard talk about five important research methods, a survey, an experiment, grounded theory, desk research and a case study (2010: 161). In this chapter we will discuss why some of those methods are or are not applicable.

A survey, wants to generalize it's results (Verschuren and Doorewaard, 2010: 162), that is not the goal of this research. An experiment is about testing your hypotheses (Verschuren and Doorewaard, 2010: 162-163), but I do not want to test in one field on one moment of time, I also want to learn more about the history of the migrants before they came to Nijmegen. By using the grounded theory, you want to acquire a new theory (Verschuren and Doorewaard, 2010: 163), instead of that, this research wants to acquire an in-depth understanding of the stories of migrants. A desk research does not use empirical material (Verschuren and Doorewaard, 2010: 164), while this research is based on empirical material. In a case study one or a few cases will be discussed in detail (Verschuren and Doorewaard, 2010: 163), this research method fits the best of the five. Because it is focusing in detail, on getting to know more about migrants in Nijmegen. Despite this, it also is the aim of this research, to acquire an in-depth understanding of life trajectories of different kinds of migrants and to study them, only by the narratives of those migrants that will be collected. This is in contrast with a case study, because a case study normally uses multiple data sources (Creswell, 2007: 78-79).

So this study will be an in-depth study, which is qualitative and empirical (Verschuren and Doorewaard, 2010:164). At this point, we could argue that a case study fits the best, but is not the perfect method for this research. That is why we have to look for a method which will fit better to the aim of this bachelor thesis. In his book *Qualitative Inquiry & Research design*, John Creswell describes five qualitative research methods. One of them is the narrative research method. According to him this method is focusing on acquiring an in-depth exploration of the lives of individuals by listening to their stories about their experiences (2007: 53-57). And this is for a big part the aim of this research, because in this research the narratives of the different migrants are the central issue.

According to Czarniawska "a narrative is understood is a spoken or written text giving an account of an event/action of series of events/actions, chronologically connected" (2004: 17), and these narratives of the migrants will be the data material to inquire. Creswell mentions in his book that most of the time a narrative research will be about one or some individuals (2007: 78), but it is also possible to focus on narratives from more individuals. Stefan Dormans, for example, used a

polyvocal approach to examine the tales of two Dutch cities (2008: 291). So in this study I will analyze the different and diverse stories of the life trajectories of the migrants living in the city of Nijmegen.

To take everything into account, a combination of a case study and a narrative research will be the best method to answer the main question of this bachelor thesis. A narrative research will be helpful to examine the collection of the narratives about migrants' life trajectories. Next to that, this study is focused only on migrants living in the city of Nijmegen, and this makes it a case study. That is why, for this research I will use the narrative research method within a case study. In which the case study only refers to the fact that this study is located in the city of Nijmegen and not in some more or other cities.

Narrative research method

Before we can use the narrative research method, we have to discuss the five main topics of this method. Those topics are based on the topics described by John W. Creswell (2007: 55-57), who used the approach of Clandinin and Connelly (2000). First there has to be a research aim which fits the narrative method, this is already done and explained.

Second, different individuals have to be selected. According to Massey, in a place there is always an existence of multiplicity. Trajectories and stories are living next to each other (Massey, 2005: 9-11). In this research I want to emphasize the diversity of the narratives of the migrants and that is why I have chosen to work within several categories. I will start with four categories and all those categories will exist of two sub-categories. The choice of these categories is based on the division made by 'Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek'. They made a distinction between labour migrants, asylum seekers, family migrants, study migrants, internship migrants and au pairs (CBS, 2010). This already looks like a good division, but I think there have to be some changes. First of all, I do think internship migrants, au pairs and study migrants do look a lot like each other, because most of the time they contain young people and they will stay only temporary. Next to that, au pairs can also be seen as working migrants. This is why I only want to examine study migrants. Within this category I want to examine two sub-categories, students who study at the Radboud University and students who study at the HAN in Nijmegen. Both of the schools are having the ambition to attract more and more students from abroad (Baele, 2009; Cloin, 2006: 2). And besides, among students this also becomes more and more popular to study abroad, because of the positive development that students experience when they do it (Kauffmann, Martin & Weaver, 1992: 3). The difference between the two sub-categories, besides the fact of the educational level, is the range of English courses, which is higher on the Radboud University than on the HAN (Radboud Universiteit, 2012;

HAN. 2012). That is why I think it is important to look at the different stories of the students from aboard.

The second category I want to discuss, are the asylum seekers. I like to make this one of two sub-categories, in which the other sub-categories contains the refugees. I want to make this distinction because I like to know if there is a difference in the experience of Nijmegen between asylum seekers, who are still waiting if they can stay in Nijmegen and refugees, who already do have a residence permit. I think it is important to hear the stories of those people, because of the existing prejudices of the Dutch inhabitants, encouraged by the media (Vluchtelingenwerk, 2011).

The third categories are the labour migrants. I think, in the sub-categories, a distinction has to be made between highly educated and low educated labour migrants. This because the attitudes towards the two are different. Unconsciously, most of the time, high skilled migrants are related to welfare and our attitude towards them is more positive. While in the meantime we relate the low skilled working migrants with poor and most of the time negative (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2010: 61). Next to that, it is still important to show as much different stories about the lives of the migrants and their experiences of the city, in this case Nijmegen, so this research will be as diverse as possible.

The fourth and last category I want to discuss are the family migrants. I would like to understand the stories of people who came to the Netherlands because of their partner. This because it is a phenomena that becomes more and more common. And the partners are coming from countries even farther away (Heyse, Pauwels, Wets & Timmerman, 2007). But, I do not only want to understand the stories of the people who chose by themselves to migrate because of a marriage, I also want to understand the stories of the children who had to come with their parents and did not had a choice. In this way the diversity of the different narratives will be emphasized.

Categories	Sub-categories	Respondents
Study migrants	Radboud University students	2
	HAN students	2
Asylum seekers and refugees	Asylum seekers	2
	Refugees	2
Working migrants	High skilled workers	2
	Low skilled workers	2
Family migrants	Marriage migrants	2
	Child migrants	2

Table 2: Choice of respondents

In the end we are left with four categories and eight sub-categories, as you can see in table 1. This division is primarily focused on the social diversity of the migrants who live in Nijmegen these days. That makes the narratives about the city of Nijmegen various as well, whereby the multiplicity of the city becomes clear. The websites of 'Gemeente Nijmegen' does not show such a kind of division. They only focus on the geographical background of the migrants and do not take into account the division of the social background of the migrants.

As you can see in table 1, I did add the amount of respondents I wanted to examine in this table. In every sub-category I wanted to get to know the stories of two individuals. During the research I was able to find low skilled labour migrants, so in the end I did interview fourteen migrants. The reason this did not work out, you can find in chapter 7, in the reflection part. In the division of those fourteen migrants, I wanted to have a social and geographical diversity as much as possible. I liked to take into account the geographical diversity, in which I wanted to focus on the different continents, Europe, Africa, the Middle East, Asia and America/Australia. America and Australia are taken together, because they are both part of the so called 'western world'. The division of these distinctions was not made in advance and was not the first reason in the division of the migrants.

The third topic of a narrative method is collecting data from the individuals about their personal experiences, culture and historical contexts. So the research materials used in this inquiry are exclusively the stories told by individuals which is collected by interviewing those individuals. The interviews focused on the life trajectories of the migrants, so not only on their stories from the point they did arrive to Nijmegen, because we want to understand the historical context. Before I took these interviews, I told the respondents the aim of this research and I asked them to tell me more about their lives. Where they did grow up, why they did leave their country, how their journey was, what they thought of Nijmegen and how they see their future. I wanted to keep the interview as open as possible, because every story is different. So the respondents started telling and I asked my questions every time I wanted to know more about a subject.

Fourth, we have to analyze those stories, by restoring them in a chronological sequence. By doing this, you can figure out what the meaning of the story is and the causality. There has to be a three-dimensional inquiry space: "the personal and social (interaction) along one dimension; past, present and future (continuity) along a second dimension; place (situation) along a third dimension" (Clandinin, 2006: 47). I did this by looking at the interviews while I kept the three sub-questions of this research in mind. So I selected data that belonged to the background of the respondent and the trajectory, the role of Nijmegen in the lives of the respondents and the role of the respondents in the city of Nijmegen.

The fifth and last topic according to Creswell is the relationship between the researcher and the researched and how the researcher gets his/her insight in the stories which are told. This qualitative research is based interviews and there is a certain kind of interaction between the researcher and the individuals that are interviewed (Fink, 2000; Vennix, 2009: 105). Next to that, the researcher makes use of his/her own knowledge and experiences by analyzing the stories and this influences the results (Fink, 2000). A more specific and concrete elaboration about this part of the narrative method you can find in chapter 7, in the reflection part of this thesis.

Finding the respondents

I started looking for respondents in my own network. By collecting email addresses and phone numbers through people I know. The first migrants were easy to find and through them I had access to contact information of more migrants. Some migrants I could contact, by help from people of the municipality of Nijmegen and the HAN. It was most difficult to find two people who did fit into the sub-category low skilled labour migrants. In my opinion I tried everything to find two of those people, but in the limited time I had to finish this research, it was not possible for me to find them. In the reflection part of this research, you can find the more specific reasons of this.

In the end I interviewed fourteen people and they all had different stories. Because of the limited space in this research, have chosen to show only eight stories of migrants. To keep the diversity as big as possible, one story will be analyzed from every sub-category. Because I do not have a story from a low skilled labour migrant, I chose to tell an extra story of a child migrant. This child migrant, Wayen, had a father who had to come to the Netherlands because of his work in the army. In this case the story fits for a part in the category of low skilled labour migrants. As mentioned before, I also wanted keep in mind the geographical diversity. This is the main reason, where my choice of the eight narratives is based on. Below, you can find the stories of two European migrants, two migrants from the Middle East, two from Asia, one migrant from Africa and one from America. Next to that, the most detailed stories were chosen. A narrative with more details will result in a better and more in-depth understanding of the stories. Before the stories of the eight individuals will be analyzed, I will introduce the individuals. Because of privacy, all the names are changed.

Jutta is a twenty-three year old woman from Wuppertal, Germany. She lived for some shorter periods in other countries, before she decided to move to Nijmegen in the summer of 2009, to start a study Human Geography. Nowadays she just finished her bachelor.

Marcela is a twenty-two year old woman from a small town nearby Lisbon, Portugal. She is an only child and her parents both died some years ago. In 2012 she went to Nijmegen for half a year

to study dietetics on the HAN. In the end of June 2012, she moved back to Portugal, three days after the interview.

Burshra is a thirty year old woman, from the capital of Iraq, Kirkuk. Her mother died of a heart attack when Burshra was very young and her brother died because of his kidney. So Burshra grew up with her father and after all, she had a happy childhood. Her father found a nice man for her, Heydar, and they married in 1999. He had his own shop. They stayed in Kirkuk and had three children there. The day they left the country, those children were only seven, three and one years old. At this point they are asylum seekers, without a status.

Daren is a twenty-five year old man from Benin. He has a younger sister and brother. By the birth of his youngest brother, his mother passed away. When Daren was fourteen a fight started in his town and his father died during the conflict. His brother and sister went with a friend of their mother, but Daren went, with help from a man from the Red Cross, by boat to the Netherlands and tried to start a new life.

Allison is a woman from the United States. She is forty-nine years old and she moved to Nijmegen because of a job at the Radboud University. In 1999 she came to the Netherlands for work and in 2007 she moved to Nijmegen. She has a partner living in Berlin where she spends most of the weekends.

Wayen is a seventy-one year old man from the Moluccas, a group of islands in Indonesia. His father worked in the army and in 1951. Wayen was ten years old, when his father was sent to the Netherlands and the whole family went with him.

Yena is a twenty-seven year old woman, living in Nijmegen with her Dutch husband. They were married in 2009 in Shanghai, China, where she comes from. From that moment on they were busy to move to the Netherlands and in 2010 they came over and started a life in Nijmegen.

Emir is a twenty-three year old man from Iraq. In 1997 he came to the Netherlands with his parents, because his father had to sell his business to join the army and because of a better future for Emir and his little sister. Nowadays Emir is studying in Nijmegen.

4. Migrant's trajectories

In this section the trajectories of the migrants will be discussed. We are trying to understand why the respondents left their country and we are getting to know more about the journey they did make towards the Netherlands until the point they did arrive in the city of Nijmegen. In the end, the first sub-question will be answered.

Jutta

My whole childhood I lived in Wuppertal with my parents. I went to school there and slowly the desire emerged to go aboard. My parents always did have exchange students living with them and I thought, I want that too. So the first time I moved aboard was at the age of sixteen. I wanted to go to South America, but my parents thought it was too dangerous, so I decided to go to the east of Europe instead. There was a place for me in Slovakia, in a small town in the southern part of the country. I lived with a very kind host family, I do still have contact with them. It was very different than Wuppertal and it was a very special cultural experience, because I lived in a place with a lot of Roma's, the minority of Slovakia. After one year I returned to Wuppertal, to finish my 'abitur' and in 2008 I went to Buenos Aires to do volunteer work. I still wanted to go to South America, because I liked the nature, the language and the style of living. I also heard a lot of positive experiences of other people. During that period of eight months, I worked with poor families in the slumps. I saw a lot of things I recognized from the course geography in my 'abitur'. I thought it was interesting and I wanted to study that. But in Germany you only have a study that combines human and physical geography, that is why I decided to study in the Netherlands. A friend of mine told me about the possibilities to study in the Netherlands, because she did study in Nijmegen herself. I first wanted to go to Amsterdam, but before you can follow a Dutch study, you have to do a course in the Dutch language. This course was much more cheaper in Nijmegen and that is why I went there, instead of Amsterdam, in the summer of 2009. Next to that, it is closer to Wuppertal and my parents.

Jutta did made the choice to go to Nijmegen herself. It was not her first intention to study in the Netherlands, but she wanted to do a study which was not available in Germany. A friend of her made her aware of studying in the Netherlands. Without that friend, Jutta could have made a whole other decision. That is why this friend played an important role in the life of Jutta, even if it was one single, small event. Because of practical reasons, the language course, Jutta went to Nijmegen instead of Amsterdam. The decision to study aboard was not a big deal for Jutta. Two times before she was aboard for a longer period, so probably she is not that attached to her home in Wuppertal. Next to

that, in Nijmegen, she was able to go back home to her parents and friends much easier. That makes the step to study and to move abroad less hard.

Marcela

I was born in 1988 and I lived in a little town in the centre of Portugal, nearby Lisbon. I went to school in another town and there I met my friends. My father passed away 14 years ago and my mother 8 years ago. It was awful when they died. After my mom died I lived with godparents in another town, but I still went to the same school. I did not accept their deaths for 3 years after my mother died and my head was not into school that time. I always wanted to go to math school, but I did not like it. When I was in my first year of university I started to know what I really wanted. When I was eighteen, I did quit my study on prostheses and I started with studying dietetics. I studied on the university in Lisbon and I also lived there in student residents. It was a good time and I met nice friends there.

I always wanted to go aboard, because I think it is important to change you environment and to meet other people. To be far away from your family and friends and to actually live in another country. In 2004 I already was in Roermond for an exchange program. And when I had the choice between different countries I thought, I will go to the Netherlands. I knew more or less how the people were. I went with a friend and we arrived at the 26th of January in the Netherlands. A teacher took us from the airport and brought us to our house in Nijmegen.

Just like Jutta, Marcela did make the choice to go to Nijmegen herself, but it was not because of practical reasons. In the first place she wanted to study aboard and the second question was where she should go. The fact that she was already in the Netherlands before, played a big role. More or less she knew the way the people lived, so it was not a surprise what she would find in Nijmegen. For her journey, Marcela did not had to figure out how she came in Nijmegen by herself. She went by plane and a teacher waited for her and her friend on the airport, to bring them to their new home.

Burshra

One afternoon in 2007, Heydar was working in the shop and I went looking for my three year old child, that was playing outside the house. I could not find him. My husband came home from work and we were searching everywhere. In the middle of the night, a phone call came. The terrorist had my son and my husband had to meet them. Heydar went to the place they should meet, an abandoned field. A car came and the terrorists took him blinded to another place. He had to wait for an hour before he could see our child. The terrorists wanted Heydar to work for them, to make bombs. Heydar had a shop, so we were very rich in Iraq, the government would never figure out that

Heydar was working for the terrorists. They had a big pistol, not small, really big, but Heydar did not wanted to work for them. At that point our child came into the room and they did cut off one of his little fingers. They told Heydar that they would cut off all of the fingers of his son if he did not wanted to work for them. Heydar was afraid, so he said 'yes', but he only said so.

They came home, covered in blood, I really had to cry. Our neighbour helped us to go to the doctor. Because Heydar and I were very rich, the doctor could operate the hand of my three year old kid immediately. The same night, we paid 60.000 euro to a man who helped us to run away. In one day, we were in Turkey, by plain. In the back of a big truck Heydar and I drove with our three children, from Turkey, all the way to the Netherlands. It took us 6 days, in which we could stop one time a day, in the night, to go to the bathroom and to eat a little bit. It was very difficult with three kids and the youngest, the one year old, was asthmatic. We were dropped at Schiphol and we had to wait for another car. A green care came and took us, but suddenly we had to step out of the car and the car drove away. We did not knew what to do. A policeman came, he did not understand us, but he took me, my husband and our children to the police office. A translator helped us and we were send to Ter Apel for eighteen days. After that we had to go to Eindhoven where we had to stay a short time to wait for the interviews. The interviews were in Zevenaar, so we had to go there. But the youngest child was so sick, because he still was asthmatic, so eventually, we were sent to the AZC (Asylum center) in Nijmegen, where a hospital was nearby the place we lived.

Burshra and her family did not had a choice to leave their country. She liked it there, that is what she said: *"Mijn hart ligt nog steeds in Kirkuk, je eigen land is veel beter, maar we hadden zoveel problemen daar"*. If they had a choice, they would have stayed, but they had to run away. Next to that, the reason they left was not a confluence of circumstances, but it was one single event. This is why they could not prepare their departure. The fact that they paid all that money to a man, who would help them to go out of Iraq, made them very dependent of that one person. From the moment they left their country, or actually from the moment the terrorists kidnapped their child, they could not longer control their own life. Even the choice to live in Nijmegen, Burshra, Heydar and their three children, could not make by themselves. They were send there to the AZC and still they do not even know who send them there. The fact, that they were/are not longer able to make their own decisions, is a very important point and that will affect their opinion about Nijmegen.

Daren

I was born in Benin, Africa. When I was fourteen years old a fight started in my town between the tribes. I do not know exactly how it started, but we had a market in our town and one person wanted

to build another new market, but someone else said that the old market was better. This is one reason why the conflict started, but there were a lot more other reasons. No one in the town was safe anymore and a lot of people died. Also my father, so I was alone, because my brother and sister were by a friend of my mother. Soldiers of an humanitarian mission from the Red Cross came and they told me that it was not safe for children, for me. A Dutch man said I could have a future and go to school. So he brought me here, in the Netherlands. First I had to go to the capital city Cotonou and after that I went on a boat to the Netherlands. A big boat, not the ones you see on the television. There were no other refugees on that ship and during the trip they gave me a different name. I do not know exactly, but we arrived in Amsterdam or Rotterdam. The people there, I could not trust. They told me: "you are not welcome, you cannot come".

In the meanwhile I became fifteen and directly after my arrival, I went to Zevenaar to ask for asylum. I was there for one night, after that I had to go to Amsterdam for two nights and to Ermelo for two months. Just to wait for the interviews, which were in Ter Apel in June 2002. After the interviews I had to go to Heerenveen, to the AZC and they did some medical tests and to start with school to learn Dutch. I was healthy and after some months I was send to Nijmegen by train, with two other boys and a man who helped us. The reason we were sent to Nijmegen was an organization, Nidus, that takes care of underage asylum seekers. They had a room for me in a house in Nijmegen.

When Daren left his country, it was not safe for him anymore, so on the one hand he was forced to move somewhere else. On the other hand he had a choice, his life was not directly in danger, but the man from the Red Cross told him he should run away, because of his future. His parents were passed away, his brother and sister were somewhere else, he was all alone. Daren did not knew what to do, so he listened to the man and went on the ship. The fact that he ended up in the Netherlands was a combinations of circumstances. The man from the Red Cross was Dutch and the ship went towards Amsterdam or Rotterdam. From the moment Daren did arrive in the Netherlands, his life was depending on other people, mainly from the migration services, he was send from place to place and eventually he moved to the city of Nijmegen, because he could live in a house from Nidus.

Allison

I was born in Florida in 1963. Both of my parents were in air force. My father was a pilot and my mother was a nurse. my father was from the mid-west, he's from the west of Illinois an my mother is from new jersey so different parts. When I was five, we moved from Florida to New Jersey because my father became a commercial pilot, a job with a airline. We lived there for five years and then we moved to Virginia, so I usually say I'm from Virginia, that's where I feel like I grew up, because I was

ten years old when I moved there so it had the biggest influence on me. And then I studied in Virginia on the university, but I was always kind of interested in some kind of international career and traveling. So when I was in my bachelor I went to Sweden for half a year, to study, which was very common then and it is very common now. I was always interested in Scandinavia and I also had a Swedish friend from high school. And my mother's parents were from Scotland.

After my bachelor, I went to Sweden for two years, working in a library. Back in the United States, I started with a master program of Scandinavian studies in Seattle. When I was twenty-five, in 1988, I did a PhD program in Seattle and I stayed there for ten years. In the US it is difficult to get a job at an university, because the competition is very strong and I always wanted to go back to Europe, to do something international, so I applied for a job in Twente, as a Post Doc. Thinking that the Netherlands were very similar to Scandinavia. But it was fine, just trying out to live in Europe. In 1999 I went to Enschede, but I did not like that city. After three years I started to like the Netherlands and I went to Leiden, as an Assistant Professor. I realized I would always be an Assistant Professor if I would stay in Leiden, so in 2005 I started working in Nijmegen. In 2007 I got a permanent contract, so I decided also to move to Nijmegen.

There were two main reasons why Allison decided to move to the Netherlands. First, there was a career aspect. In the US, it is very difficult to get a job in the academic world and you have a lot of competition. In Europe this competition is less, so Allison applied for a job in Enschede, because there was a place for her. Second, Allison was always interested in Europe, especially Scandinavia, and before she moved to the Netherlands, she thought the Netherlands was quite similar to Scandinavia. That was not true, but she started to like the country and eventually she ended up in Nijmegen. She did not chose for the Netherlands because she wanted to go there so badly, it is just the fact that she had a career opportunity in Twente and she wanted to live in Europe. Also the choice to move to Nijmegen was not because she wanted to go to that place, but it was because there was a job for her. So on the one hand it was a planned decision, but on the other hand it was a coincidence she ended up in the Netherlands and eventually Nijmegen, mainly because of the career aspects.

Wayen

I was born in 1941 on the Moluccas. My father was in the army, he always was. In 1995, the Moluccas wanted to be independent from Indonesia and from the Dutch power, because Indonesia was colonized by the Netherlands. But Indonesia did not want to make us independent. We wanted to go to New Guinea, because New Guinea also wanted to be independent. But the government of

Indonesia did not want the Moluccans on New Guinea, because we were fighters, so they send us to the Netherlands, until there was a more peaceful situation. As a kid, I was used to go to different places, from the one island to another, the group of soldiers was always the same, so it did not matter where we went. As a kid, I did not know what was happening exactly, I thought it was temporary. I can remember the journey with the boat, we went through the Suez-canal, it was exciting, but also normal to travel. And I could just play with the same boys, the group of people did not change. Not even when we were in the Netherlands.

When we arrived in the Netherlands, first we had to live in a camp nearby Genneep, Pasmolen. They called it 'duwkampen', we were put there to work. Because my father had a different position, we had another house to live in, but there was a big shared building which was used for the school, but in the evening activities were organized. The primary school was in the camp, but when we went to high school, I had to go to Nijmegen. In 1965 we had to go somewhere else. The wooden camps were broken down and we had to go to houses of stone. That is when we were placed here, in Hatert, in Nijmegen. At this moment we knew that we would not go back to Indonesia and we would stay here.

Because Wayen was a child, he had no decision by himself to move to the Netherlands, he was dependent from his parents. Wayen was already used to move around in Indonesia, so it was not a big difference in his life to move to another place, in this case Nijmegen. Next to that, the people he traveled with were always the same, so his natural surrounding stayed the same. First they were put in a camp in Pasmolen, there they lived with the same society, without Dutch people. They even thought it was a temporary stay. Wayen went to the primary school on the camp. When he went to high school, he had to go to Nijmegen, with Dutch people in his class. In this way he became more integrated in the Dutch society. At the point the whole group of Moluccans had to move to the houses of stone, and it became clear they should not go back to Indonesia, the society fell more or less apart. They lived all together in the same neighbourhood, in Nijmegen, but there were also other people living there, besides the Moluccans. The fact the family had to go to Nijmegen was made for them, they did not had a choice for themselves, and as a kid, Wayen just had to go with the family.

Yena

I was born in Shanghai and grew up there. Because of the single child policy in China I did not have brothers and sisters. My mom is not working and my father was working in a steal company. We lived in an apartment. The educational system is very different than here, we started with school when we were seven or eight years old. I did all the schools and went eventually to the university to do a

finance study. In the last year of this study, I met my husband. He is from the Netherlands and came from Malden, a small village nearby Nijmegen. He was also studying in Shanghai, learning about the Chinese culture. I met him through a shared friend in 2007 and in 2009, in December, we married. We started to think about moving to the Netherlands because in my job I had a lot of pressures. And we were thinking about a baby in the future. Shanghai is not a very good place for a kid to live, because they are always in a competition. They go to school from 9 until 5, after that they have to do their homework until 11 o'clock. In the weekends you have to learn other things, like extra math or piano lessons. You go to a playground only once every two months and then you have to wait in a line to go on the slide. In the Netherlands, kids have a slide and a swing in their own backyard. That was one of the main reasons we wanted to go to the Netherlands. It was difficult to tell my parents about it. I am their only child and they were worried and a little bit conservative, but later they supported me. It is a good decision, it is wise to come over here.

I was been in Malden two times before, with a tourist visa. But before I could actually move to the Netherlands I had to wait for a living visa. I had to pass a Dutch test in China and my husband was very busy with the papers. We could not see each other for five months. The procedure is very complicated, we had to wait for the municipality and the Integratie en Neutralisatie Dienst (IND), so it is very frustrating. Now I have a visa for five years. When I came in the Netherlands we first lived at my husband's parents home in Malden, after that we searched for a house in Nijmegen and we live here for one and a half year now.

The life of Yena did really took a turn when she met her current husband, there was an intersection of both their trajectories. If she did not met him, she probably stayed in China. The fact that they did fall in love and they thought about the future, made them decide to move to the Netherlands. They learned about the other culture and Yena saw that she had a lot of pressure at her job. Next to that, it was important for both of them to give their kids a carefree childhood. In Shanghai this was not possible. This is why the idea emerged to move to the Netherlands. Because the husband of Yena lived in Malden, they moved there. When they searched for a house, they found one in Nijmegen, which was close to her parents-in-law. It was not a real choice to move to Nijmegen, but it was the most obvious decision.

Emir

I grew up in Iraq and I mainly have beautiful memories about it. Saddam had the power, but as a child you do see the bad things, but it was safe. My father had a good business. We had a big house, nice neighbours and a lot of family. In 1997 my parents decided to run away from our country. The main

reasons, I heard afterwards, was the fact that my father had to sell his business to join the army. Next to that, there was not a good future for me and my sister. If I became twelve years old, I had to join the army and I had to be a child soldier. So my parents wanted to go to Australia. We paid a lot of money to a man who could help us and who went with us. My father wanted us to go with the whole family at the same time, so he sold everything to pay that man. When we were on our way to Australia we came in Bangkok, Thailand, and we heard there was a family from Iraq sent back to Iraq by the border police of Australia. Because the border police would be more alert the next days, there was too much risk for us to go there. So we had the choice to go to the United Kingdom or to the Netherlands. A lot of family of my father lived in the United Kingdom and my mother did not like that. One of my uncles lived in the Netherlands and he told us it was better to go to the Netherlands, because it is good for immigrants and you can get a passport quite quick. So first we had a fake passport and we went to Turkey to stay there a few weeks. After that, we flew to Amsterdam in June 1998.

As a child, you do not know what is happening. It is just like a holiday. There were some weird things, like we had to be quiet, but later you figure out why that was the case. On the airport in Amsterdam we were taken to a small office and my parents had to tell our story. We were sent to Leiden for the interviews and after that we could stay in the Asylum Center in Amersfoort. As a child this was a nice place, a lot of kids to play with, but of course it was a big difference to go from a nice and big house to only one room. You do not have your own toys and the luxury, but I was not a whining child. We stayed there four years, until we got a status and we could live in Amersfoort. In Iraq, I already was a very good pupil and when I came in the Netherlands I was also very motivated to learn a lot. I finished the primary school and worked hard on high school. I wanted to be a dentist, just like one of my uncles in Iraq, so I worked very hard to go to the university. A friend of mine already studied in Nijmegen and he told me to come there, because it was a nice city. I also visited him a few times. I also wanted to live by myself and Nijmegen was far enough from my parents to do that. Eventually I succeeded to go to the university and I moved to Nijmegen in August of 2010.

Emir could not decide by himself to move to the Netherlands. His parents made the decision to move away from Iraq because of a combination of several reasons and the future of Emir was one of them. His parents could choose by themselves to which country they wanted to move, but because of an incident in Australia they had to change their plans and after some considerations, they ended up in the Netherlands. For Emir it felt like a holiday in the beginning, but he already thought there were some weird circumstances. During the journey they had to be quiet, they had to live in a small room and he did not have his own toys. But Emir integrated himself into the Dutch society very soon and

he learned the Dutch language quite quick. It was Emir's own decision to move to the city of Nijmegen because of his study. The fact that a friend of his already lived in Nijmegen was an important factor. Emir visited him a few times, so he knew the city. Next to that the location played an important role in the choice. It was far enough from Amersfoort, because Emir wanted to live by himself. If he went to Amsterdam or Utrecht to study, he should still live with his parents.

Conclusion

In this part we are trying to answer the first sub-question:

What are the life trajectories of the migrants with different social backgrounds?

At this point we can understand the different life trajectories of the migrants before they arrived in the city of Nijmegen. Out of the stories represented above, it becomes clear that every story is different and one answer on this sub-question cannot be given. That is why I will summarize the most important aspects of the stories, while keeping the first sub-question in mind.

First of all we will focus on the reason why the migrants left their country. Some of them were forced to leave their country, some of them made the decision by themselves. Jutta left her country because Germany did not have the study she liked. Marcela left Portugal because she wanted to study abroad. Burshra, Daren and Emir were forced to move away from their country because of a war. In the case of Burshra this was one single event, Daren was supported by a Dutch man from the Red Cross and Emir was taken by his parents. Allison left her country because the opportunities for her career were not that good. Wayen, just like Emir had to come with his parents, but the parents of Wayen were not forced to move by a war, but by the government. Yena left her country after she met her husband. They saw that the life for their future child would not be good and careless if they should stay in China.

Second, the journeys towards Nijmegen were diverse. Some of the routes were straight towards Nijmegen, like Jutta and Marcela, who came to Nijmegen because of their study. However, Jutta already traveled a lot and she lived at several places, so her life trajectory has a longer history. But the rest of them went through other places, from the point they left their country until they arrived in Nijmegen. Burshra went from Iraq to Thailand and to Turkey by plane and in the back of a truck she and her family were transported to the Netherlands. When she arrived in the Netherlands she had to go to the AZC and she was sent from place to place in the Netherlands, just like Daren and Emir. Daren arrived in Amsterdam or Rotterdam by a boat and ended up in Nijmegen. Emir flew to the Netherlands with his family and lived in Amersfoort. It was his own decision to move to Nijmegen

because of his study. Allison's way to the Netherlands was straight on, because of her job in Enschede, but within the Netherlands, she moved to Leiden and eventually to Nijmegen, both because of her job. Yena's way to the Netherlands was also straight on, but the paperwork she and her husband had to do before Yena could move, was a lot of work. They had to live separated for a long time. The first period she lives with her family-in-law in Malden, until they found a house for the two of them. Wayen's way to Nijmegen was first of all by boat, like he was used to travel with, between the islands of Indonesia. They were placed in Gennep and after it became clear they should stay in the Netherlands forever, they were placed in a neighbourhood in Nijmegen.

Third, we have to know why the migrants ended up in Nijmegen instead of another city. We already know that Daren and Wayen did not have a choice to move there. For Burshra this is the same, but the fact that her child was sick and there was a hospital in Nijmegen, played a role. Allison moved to Nijmegen because of a career opportunity. Jutta and Marcella came to study, but the choice of Nijmegen was because of different reasons. Jutta did like a study that was not available in Germany and was in the Netherlands. A friend of her made her aware of the possibilities in the Netherlands. The choice of Nijmegen was mainly because the cheap language course and the location of Nijmegen. It was a well informed and practical decision. Marcela's choice for Nijmegen was because she already had some positive experience in the Netherlands, compared to the other cities in other countries that were offered by her study. Emir's decision to move to Nijmegen was also because of his study. He wanted to live by himself and a friend of him already studied in Nijmegen. Yena ended up in Nijmegen because there was a house available and it was close to her family-in-law.

5. The arrival in the city of Nijmegen

In this section the role of Nijmegen in the trajectories of the migrants will be discussed. We are focusing on the life of the migrants from the point that they did arrive in Nijmegen, until the moment of the interview. In the end, the second sub-question will be answered.

Jutta

When I moved to Nijmegen, first I started with a course to learn the Dutch language. A lot of German students took part and I met a lot of friend those weeks. I also have a lot of friends in my house, but within my study I have less friends. Most of them are Dutch and they went home every weekend, because they have a OV-card and they can travel for free. I do not have that card, which makes me unable to get to know more from the Netherlands, it is just too expensive. Next to that, there was an age difference between me and the Dutch students, I was older, had some more experiences and I already came from a big city. The life as a student was not that exiting for me, as it was for most of the Dutch students. In the beginning period, I got to know Nijmegen quite well, because I ran through the city and I went climbing with a German friend of the language course in the indoor climbing hall, but still the people I knew were mainly students. Nowadays it changed a little bit, because I give dance classes to children from the local ice-skating association and a have some families where I do babysitting. In this way I was getting to know more inhabitants from different ages of Nijmegen. I also do capoeira in Nijmegen and I had several jobs. But I did not have a contract for eight hours, so I cannot get 'studiefinanciering'. The study itself is very busy for me. I think the pressure is high and that is why I went to Morocco for half a year, this was possible within my study. I never have the feeling that I am finished before an exam. In Morocco this was different. I could find some rest. Now I am back in the Netherlands to finish my bachelor and master. Four times a year I go to my parents, it is two hours driving to Wuppertal. But I really try to live in Nijmegen.

At the moment Jutta made the decision to study in Nijmegen, the city did already play a role in her life, even before she actually moved there. The Radboud University had a policy about the language course, which was eventually much cheaper compared to Amsterdam. This did influence the choice of Jutta to start a study in Nijmegen. The city of Nijmegen plays a big role in the life of Jutta, she uses a lot of facilities that are available, like the environment to run, the indoor climbing hall, the associations of ice-skating and capoeira and the Radboud University where she is studying.

Next to those facilities, the inhabitants of Nijmegen also play a big role in the life of Jutta. In the first period after she moved here, she mainly knew students, German and Dutch. But because of

several jobs she was getting to know more different people from several ages. Because Jutta is very active in Nijmegen and because she really tries to live in Nijmegen, she goes to Germany only four times a year. The city plays a big and important role in her life nowadays.

Marcela

When me and my friend arrived in Nijmegen I was very tired, because I did not sleep the night before. I can only remember that it was raining, as usual. But I did not have a real first impression, I do not know it anymore. The next day I went to the school, the HAN, and I thought it was very big, maybe too big for me. I do not know a lot of people in Nijmegen. We lived in a house with two Spanish girls, but it was a small house, not a student residence like Vossenveld. So I had less people to get to know. From my study I knew some people, but they are mostly from abroad and most of them are back home now. The city itself is very small, compared to what I am used to. There are no enormous and glass buildings, it feels more like a village to me.

Accept for the school and her home, Nijmegen does not play a big role in the life of Marcela. She liked the Dutch people, but they were not really part of her life. The friends she had were mostly foreigners and also temporary students. Nijmegen was the place where their trajectories crossed, but they all move away from each other after (half) a year. The fact that she went abroad for her study will probably be important for her own development, but Nijmegen as a city did not play a big role in this. It was only temporary stay and she will pick up her old life in Portugal.

Burshra

When we arrived in Nijmegen, in the AZC, we only had five beds and one closet in one room. The room is not bigger than 30 square meters and the kitchen and the bathroom we have to share with other people living in the AZC. This while in Iraq, we were used to a big house, with two floors. Me and my husband had to finish the interviews of the immigration department, because they were not done in Zevenaar and in the meanwhile our youngest son is in the hospital because of asthmatics. I am visiting him as much as I can, but I also had to do the interviews. After all the interviews, the immigration department did not believe that me and my family were from Iraq, even though we had a lot of proof like pictures, drivers license and a marriage lines. I think it is because we are Muslims, because I saw a lot of Christian people getting a status much faster.

Heydar cannot work at all without a status, like he did in Iraq for eight hours a day, so now he is waiting all day long and checking the post twice a day, it is very stressful. The children are going to school, but their friends are afraid to play at the AZC. And when the children do want to play inside or

outside the home they are not allowed by the COA, because they are afraid the children break something, or because of the other people living in the AZC. We cannot go on a holiday because of the money, we just have to wait until we have a status. At this point, two of our kids are going to the GGZ, because of mental problems. The oldest is so angry about the fact that we do not get a status, that I am afraid that my twelve year old is hurting himself. He walks through the room every night. And my eight year old son, the one that was kidnapped, is very afraid. When he is drawing, he only draws people with big pistols and bombs.

Out of this story it becomes clear that the lives of Burshra and her family are still depending on others. The one thing that can interrupt this is when they get a status. In this case, the role of the city of Nijmegen in the live of Burshra is not very big. Her live and that of her family, like the fact that all they can do is wait and they cannot work or go to school, is more determent by authorities. Authorities like the AZC, the COA, the GGZ and the immigration department, that are all regulated on a national scale. On the other hand, on the micro level, Nijmegen does have an influence on their lives. Their home, the small room, is in Nijmegen and it makes Burshra's live difficult. Just like the fact that she has to share the kitchen and the bathroom with all the other inhabitants of the AZC, that are also inhabitants of the city of Nijmegen. The schools and the friends of the children play also an important role, it makes Burshra sad that the school kids do not want to play in their home.

Daren

So I could live in a house from Nidus and I could stay there until I was eighteen. After that I moved to another neighbourhood in Nijmegen and in 2010 I moved to this place where is still live. My contact person took me here. When I arrived in the Netherlands, I got a visa for a year. In 2007 they told me I had to go back to Benin. My contact person wanted to adopt me, but that was not possible, because I was older than eighteen. So for two years I had to go every single week to the police office to show I am still here. It is not easy, but I went every week. At that point I thought, I am ready to go back, but then in 2010 I got a new visa for one year. In 2011 I got another one and now I have one for the next five years, I only have to pay the bill. And after those five years I have to apply again, but for a passport and then I can stay forever.

When I came here, in the Netherlands, I directly started with school. First in Heerenveen to learn Dutch. After that, in 2010, when I got a new visa, I could study. I wanted to study logistics, but there was no place for me anymore, so I started studying 'care and welfare' on the ROC. After that I also studied facility services, but next year I will start with my favorite study, logistics. After I finish that, it is my dream to ride on a truck in the Netherlands. Nowadays I do not have a real job, I get my

money mainly from student financing, but when I have the visa for the next five years I will find a part time job.

Daren is in many ways dependent from different factors and people, mainly from the immigration services. He could not chose the places to live by himself, Nidus took care of the fact that Daren moved to Nijmegen. Next to that, two years of his life, he had to go to the police office every week. In this way Nijmegen played an big role in the everyday life of Daren. But also national authorities are important, mainly about the question if he gets a status or not. This is a very important point, because it gives you a lot of possibilities. It made Daren able to study and now he has a visa for 5 years, he can also search for a job. This decision, made on a national scale, is also influencing the way in which the city of Nijmegen has an influence in the life of Daren. Daren was studying on the ROC of Nijmegen, and so the school was part of his everyday life.

Allison

I moved to Nijmegen in 2007, when I had a permanent contract. It is different to find a house here, compared to the US, where you can open a newspaper, read the advertisements and you will find an apartment to rent. In the Netherlands you can only rent an house by an housing association. But when I had a house and moved to Nijmegen, it is funny, because when I lived in Leiden, the neighbours did not know each other. Here, I know my neighbours, I can ask them to bring in the garbage container and I can give them a key to my house. But I do not knew if this is the difference between Leiden and Nijmegen, or the different neighbourhoods. So I feel al little bit integrated, but not one hundred percent. I think the fact that I do not have a Dutch partner plays an important role in this. When I was on a research trip to Berlin, a friend of my introduced me to her friend, a little bit of matchmaking. It worked out and now we are in a relationship. Every other weekend I go to her in Berlin, a lot of mobility. I also go back to the US three or four times a year. It almost feels like I live in three counties the same time. But it is easier than the years I lived in Sweden. You have much more possibilities to stay in contact, by the internet.

At my work, we really have very good working conditions in the Netherlands. As a PhD you get paid and you have vacation days. In the US there is a lot of competition, so you do not even have the time to take a break and go on a holiday. Me and my colleagues are sometimes joking that we can do everything, because in the end, we cannot lose or job. It is political and we are laughing sometimes about the fact how many rights we have.

It was her job, which made Allison decide to move to the city of Nijmegen. The way she had to find a house was different compared to the US, so the housing association in Nijmegen had a big influence on the life of Allison, because for a part, they decided the places where Allison could live. The neighbourhood where she came to live is important for her social network, she knows her neighbours and trusts them, by giving them a key to her house. But the main part of her social network in Nijmegen, is formed by the university and the colleagues who are working there. Somehow, during the interview, the talk always turned back to her work, so it makes clear that the role of Nijmegen in the life of Allison, is mainly influenced by the Radboud University. Most of the time, when she is in Nijmegen, Allison spends on her job and most of her spare time she tries to go to her partner in Berlin.

Wayen

When we lived in Nijmegen, still we were in a group of people from the Moluccas, but there were also other people in the neighbourhood. For us there is no problem, we just wanted to have all the stone houses together, with a church. We will integrate, but in our own way. We have our own religion, which is very important for me. We just wanted to keep our own identity, our own culture and habits. We really had to fight for that. Still, the housing association cannot choose who is living in the empty houses. They are from our community.

But the Dutch people are good. As a boy I did always play soccer outside the house with Dutch boys also. And many people did marry Dutch partners. I also have a Dutch wife. That is not a point, but the culture is ours. Although, I can see that the times are changing, the younger people have other things to do, but I will support that, people have to make the decisions by their own.

Wayen lives in Nijmegen the main part of his life. He met his wife here, so in this case Nijmegen determined a big part of his life. But on the other hand, the society of the Moluccans did always stay together. They had to fight for that, but it worked out and all the people were sent to one neighbourhood in Nijmegen. They could keep their own culture and habits, so in that way, there is not a big influence of Nijmegen on the lifestyle from Wayen. Of course there are some differences and also the times are changing for the younger people, but for Wayen, not a lot is changed.

Yena

When I came here, it was very difficult, because everything is different. And I really miss home, my parents. But it is a good decision, the life is better. In Nijmegen there are more people living,

compared to Malden, which is a good thing. My neighbourhood is close to the city centre, the school and the sport centre, which is good, because I cannot cycle.

Now I am living in Nijmegen, I want to work or study. The boss of my husband offered me a place to start an internship in his company of mortgages. In this way I can have some more experiences in the financial world in the Netherlands. Next to that I will study something Dutch myself, part-time on the HBO, but I am still looking into it. I also hope I will get a passport soon. I now have an ID for 5 years, but I did a 'staatsexamen'. If the results are positive I can apply for a passport already next year.

The Dutch culture has a big influence on Yena's life, because it is not so much focusing on the achievements of people, and there is not that much of competition. When Yena talks about Nijmegen she calls about three important locations in her life, the city centre, the school and the sport centre. Next to those places, her family-in-law is important, but most of them live in Malden, so in that way, Nijmegen does not play a big role. Probably when she starts her new job and a study, she will also get to know more inhabitants of Nijmegen, who are going to play an important role in Yena's life. Finally, the national government also has influence on her life, about the question if she gets a passport or not, but again, the city of Nijmegen is not really important in this.

Emir

When I came to Nijmegen I wanted to become a dentist, but there was not a place for me in the study, it was already full and my marks were not high enough. So the first year I went working and I did some other stuff. When there was not a place for me the second time, I decided to study something else, a kind of a management study. I know I am not that motivated now as when I should study to become a dentist and you can see that in my grades. But I want to go for it now, because I did my first year and it is a shame if I should not continue. Also because of the support of my parents. One of the reasons they decided to run away was because of my future, so I feel like I have to work to have a good future for myself. Together with that friend of mine I already knew, I rented a house. It was a big house and we had a lot of parties. Unfortunately, after a year we had to move, so I moved to another place in Nijmegen from the same real estate agency. After two months the house was sold. I could stay there, but the price was raised, so I searched for a roommate and now I live in the same house with two other persons. Next to my study I go party in the city every week and I also have several jobs and I play ice hockey and soccer.

Almost every Friday I go back to my parents in Amersfoort. Before the economic crisis, both of them were working. But because of the crisis, my mom was fired and there was no work for my father

anymore. That is why my father stopped his own business and went working in the Middle East. There they want him very badly, because he is from Europe and he can speak Arabic. My sister is also studying.

We already know that Emir was integrated in the Dutch society very soon, times before he came to Nijmegen, so in that case Nijmegen did not have a big influence. But the city has an influence on his life nowadays and his future. First of all the Radboud University, Emir wanted to study to be a dentist, but the study did not let him in. That is why Emir had to choose another study. This determines his life nowadays, he is less motivated and it also determines his future, because his dream to become a dentist will never come true. The friend who influenced his choice to move to Nijmegen also had an influence on the first year of his life here, because they lived together in the same house. The broker had to sell the house and Emir was forced to find another one. The same broker found that house and this is why the broker played an important role in the life of Emir. Later on, his roommates were important, next to all the people he knew from his study, his work, the sports and the partying in the city center. Next to the people, the activities itself, and the places where they are practiced, do play an important role, because they are part of Emir's everyday life. All together, we can argue that Nijmegen has an important role in his life. But that is not all, because Emir goes to his parents in Amersfoort every weekend. His parents do have an big influence in his life in Nijmegen. They give Emir the motivation to study and to make something from his life. This is why it is important to keep in mind that a big part of his life is still determined by his parents in Amersfoort, outside the city of Nijmegen.

Conclusion

In this part we are trying to answer the second sub-question:

What is the role of the city of Nijmegen in the life trajectories of the migrants with different social backgrounds?

Again I want to emphasize that every story is different, so I am not able to give one answer on the second sub-question. Before we can give concrete answers about the role of the city of Nijmegen in the life of the different migrants, it is important to explain the stories of the lives of the migrants from the point they did arrive in Nijmegen until the moment of the interview. Some people live in Nijmegen for a long time and others just moved there and some people do have a busy life within Nijmegen, with many different activities, while others live a quite quiet life. Jutta and Marcela live

the life of a student, but Marcela knows it is temporary, while Jutta wants to integrate. That is one of the reasons Jutta practices sports, she works and she meets her friends a lot. Burshra's life is most of the time within the AZC and her surroundings. When Daren moved to Nijmegen he did not have to go to the AZC, but he lived on several other places within the city. Before he had a status, he had to go to the police office every week, but now he has a status and he goes to school. Wayen was also forced to live in Nijmegen, but he lives there now for a long time. He met a Dutch wife, but he kept his own culture. Allison spends most of her life in Nijmegen on her job, while in her spare time, she visits her partner in Berlin. Yena lives in Nijmegen with her husband for a short period. She sports and she visits the city center sometimes. The life of Emir in Nijmegen is very busy. He studies, sports, works, meets friends and he goes out a lot.

Now we know the life of the migrants in the city of Nijmegen, we can figure out the role of the Nijmegen in their lives. Sometimes this influence is big and very important in their life, while for other migrants it seems like Nijmegen did not have a significant influence. But we can argue that in almost every life, the people who live in Nijmegen, the direct environment of the migrants, and the people who work at the different authorities that are important. In the life of Jutta, the role of Nijmegen is for a big part decided by the Radboud University, it determines her everyday life. Next to that, the people she met at school and during her other pursuits, are important in her life. Just like Jutta, school, in this case the HAN, plays an important role in the life of Marcela. The influence of the rest of the city on her life is not that big, because she lives with the idea that it is a temporary stay. The AZC and the people, who live there, play an important role in the life of Burshra. Next to that bigger national authorities have their influence, but they are not specific from the city of Nijmegen. For Daren those national authorities are also important, because they determine if he gets a status or not. In Nijmegen, association Nidus was important for Daren's first home in Nijmegen. The police office also played a big role in his life, because he had to go there every week. Finally, the ROC, where Daren goes to school has a big influence. Her work on the Radboud University and her colleagues there, are the main part of the role of Nijmegen in Allison's life. Other important aspects in her life are the housing association, they played a role in the place where Allison came to live and her neighbours, who are part of her life and formed a new society around her. Wayen stayed in the same society as he lived in back in Indonesia. Because of this he could keep his own identity, culture and lifestyle. The rest of the city did not have a big influence, except for the material environment and his wife, who he met in Nijmegen. Until the point of the interview, Nijmegen plays not a real big role in Yena's life, but the Dutch culture does. It changed her way of thinking a bit. But this is not typical from Nijmegen, just like her family-in-law, who are important, but live in Malden. The broker in Nijmegen had a big role in the life of Emir, because he decided the places where Emir could live. Emir

is a busy man and all the activities he practices, fill in an important aspect of his life. Next to that he knows a lot of people in the city who play a role. Finally, the city of Amersfoort also is important, because his family and friends live there.

6. A Migrants experience of Nijmegen

In this section we are trying to get a better understanding of the city of Nijmegen viewed by the migrants living in the city. We are looking at Nijmegen and how the people think about this city and what kind of feeling they have, the time they live in Nijmegen. In the end, the third sub-question will be answered.

Jutta

The study in Nijmegen is very busy, but it is a nice city, a little bit small compared to my own town, Wuppertal. I am very active and I know the city quite well but I do not feel very integrated. I know a lot of students, but they are not the permanent inhabitants of Nijmegen. I think it is difficult to integrate, because people in the Netherlands are not very open to meet new friends, compared to people in Argentina and eastern Europe. But in Germany it is not very different. But eventually I like it here, there are a lot of possibilities. I do have a lot of international friends, maybe I prefer international people, I do not know. My boyfriend is also an Italian.

I like the freedom in Nijmegen. When I was in Morocco I realized how restricted you feel when you cannot walk over the streets alone as a woman after nine o'clock in the evening. The help from the university, I think, is really good. You can get individual help if you want to and you are not a number, which you are in Germany. The only thing I miss is the pure nature in the Netherlands. All the nature is artificial and most of the landscape is flat. In the future I do not know where I want to live. I do now have a boyfriend and he wants to stay in the Netherlands because of the working conditions, so I just try to adjust. But it does not mean I want to stay in Nijmegen forever.

When I asked about Nijmegen, Jutta directly started about the study, so the first thing she thinks of when she thinks of Nijmegen is the study. By taking part in a study of the Radboud University, Jutta is part of this institution and she plays a role in the city of Nijmegen. After that she talks about all the facilities she uses and the people that she knows, those factors are very important for her and her image of the city. Jutta is part of a social network, formed by all the intersections of trajectories from other inhabitants of Nijmegen, a lot of them are also international. In this way, she is making parts of the city. Generally, she has a positive image about Nijmegen, she also can imagine that she would live and work here after her study. The only thing she misses is the nature. She says: "a little bit utopian, but if you could combine the landscape of Morocco and a land like the Netherlands, which is social and has good working conditions, it would be perfect".

Marcela

Nijmegen as a city, I like to live in, because it looks not like a city. The people are very nice. For example, when I lost my bag, some kids found it and brought it to the gas station, everything was inside! In Lisbon this would never happen. Maybe it is because Nijmegen is so small. I do not like the restaurants, because they close so early. At this point I finished my degree, I will go back to Portugal. I do not think I will live in the Netherlands again. The people are very nice, that is important, they say hi to you on the streets, even when you do not know those people, but the weather is awful. And there are some differences between the life in Portugal and in the Netherlands. Like the discount in transport, this is better regulated in Portugal. There are some good things about the Dutch culture, but I am a Portuguese.

Marcela thinks there are a lot of good things about Nijmegen, the way it looks like a village, but mainly the people, she thinks they are very friendly. But she is very attached to Portugal and its culture and if it is possible, she will stay there. That is why her influence on producing the city of Nijmegen is small and temporary. She is a part of the HAN, but besides that, her network is small and exists mainly out of foreign people who are also temporary in Nijmegen. When they all move out of the city, the network will disappear. It will be part of the history of the city, but this part is too small to play a big role in the making of Nijmegen.

Burshra

Nijmegen is a beautiful city, but my heart still lays in Kirkuk. I think the life here is very hard and difficult without a status. The only thing we can do is wait, we cannot work, even though we speak Dutch. My children are so important (Burshra starts to cry) and it is so hard to see that they cannot play at home. I also want to bake cookies with my children, but it is not possible for me. Sometimes the children are saying to me that they do not want to be like this anymore, someone without a status. I am afraid most of the time, especially during the night times. The other people in the AZC are also making it hard for us. Sometimes in the middle of the night, at two o'clock, they start cooking and they forget, so the fire alarm starts making noise or there are people fighting in the hall and the next day there is a broken window and blood everywhere.

Because her life is mainly determined by other people and she does not have a status, Burshra's role in the city of Nijmegen is not that big. She has her influence on her direct environment, the AZC, but it does not go that much further. When I asked Burshra about Nijmegen the first thing she says is that Nijmegen is beautiful, but very quick, she returns to the fact that having a status is very

important for their lives. Next to that, she talks about the place she and her family are living. Her true feelings did appear, she felt afraid, sad and she was even crying. She feels very unhappy in Nijmegen as her home. This is not because of the city itself, because she calls it beautiful, but it is because of the people who live in her direct surrounding. But that is also a part of Nijmegen, which makes me conclude that Burshra has two images of Nijmegen, the abstract one of the city and the concrete one of her environment.

Daren

I am very glad I live in the Netherlands. I went to school here and learned the Dutch language. Nijmegen is very good for immigrants, the people from the municipality and also the people on the streets. Not only for me, but I heard it also from other persons who could compare it with other Dutch cities. The society is good, we try to fit in it, because we came here. I also have my own culture, but here, there is another culture, so it is important to fit in. I am planning to go back to Benin once, I miss the land. I also miss my brother and sister and I do not know where they are. In 2006 I tried to find them through the Red Cross in Benin and in cooperation with Cordaid, an organization which helps people that want to go back to the country they come from. I want to go back for a short time to search for them, because the people from the Red Cross could not find them. But before I can go back, I have to save some money and I have to wait before I actually have the visa. Nijmegen is my home, I feel at home, but I also miss Benin, especially the fact that in Benin you never feel alone. In the Netherlands, everyone is very individually and everyone sits alone in their homes. In the future I hope I can visit my land, but I do not want to live there. First I have to see what is happened there and what is changed.

Daren is happy about the fact he lives in the Netherlands, but he is also missing a lot of things from Benin, like his family and the culture. He thinks Nijmegen is a good place for immigrants, even a better place, compared with other cities in the Netherlands. He feels at home in the city and this is most of all because of the people, especially the people who work for the municipality of Nijmegen. Daren lives in Nijmegen for ten years now. He goes to school there, lives in a house with other people, he has his own network of people he knows. In this why he is really a part of the city and he has a quite positive image about it. The only part he does not like, is the individualistic culture of the Dutch inhabitants.

Allison

The first time I arrived in the Netherlands and went to work, I thought, where are the woman? Apparently Dutch woman do not want to have an academic career, but I think that is nonsense. It is an easy country to live in, if you speak English, but I do not try to take advantage of that. The people are quite open and international, but not everyone, if we are looking at the people who vote on Geert Wilders. I do not understand the extreme value of the freedom of speech, even when a politician says something racists, he or she does not even have to take back what he or she said. Also the students are very direct and brutal, I am not used to that and it is different than in other countries.

The working conditions are very good and the other thing I like is the fact that I can chose between my bicycle, the bus, the train and the car. So I have a car, but I do not use it very often. Probably it is important that I was thirty-five when I came to the Netherlands, because I do not feel fully integrated in the society. I was already comfortable in my own identity. On the university, the atmosphere is very open and international, but in the everyday life I still do not understand everything around me. I do not understand the words sometimes, when they go fast or speak very 'Nijmegees'. It is also important, as mentioned before, that I do not have a Dutch partner, when you have, it makes you more or less more integrated. My partner is from Berlin and in the future I really like to be with her, my position is more mobile, so probably, if I have the opportunity, I will move closer to her. There is no reason to stay here, if I am not happy of where I am professionally. But I will only move to a place I like, Germany or Scandinavia, where I know the people and the language. Not the US, because same sex couples do not have rights on national levels. My partner would never get a green card. For now, I really like Nijmegen, I like my colleagues, I want to make that clear, but I am not able to move up. I would not want to leave Nijmegen, but I would.

In the end of her story, Allison emphasizes that she really likes Nijmegen. But by saying that, she directly refers to her job and her colleagues. We could say that the role of life trajectory of Allison is mainly influencing the university. She likes her job because of that and because of the rights she had as a worker. The thing she does not like, and makes her unhappy, is the fact that she is not able to move up and get a higher position at the university. That is why she should move to another place if she has the opportunity, but most of all she wants to live closer to her partner. There are some other things she likes about the Netherlands, like the possibilities of transportation, and some things she does not like, for example the extreme value of the freedom of speech. Those things are more on the national level, but they do take place in Nijmegen and they are influencing the image of Allison about the city.

Wayen

I do not have any feelings about Nijmegen. I live here and that is fine. It is just normal. I went to school here and I have a lot of friends. That is why I said, you have to be aware of the changes. The younger people have to do it next, I support that. That is also why I am the contact person. For example, when the police has a question about the society, they come to me. Everyone comes to me, because they know I manage everything, the eldercare, the church. Religion is very important to me. I also started the foundation of religion and life, were all the different kind of religions in the neighbourhood came together. But it are the younger people who have to take over now, they are the future. The society is different, we are different, but you live in a society, so you have to customize. But religion is the basic, not only believing, but you have to act like a good person also.

I have been back in Indonesia. I have a project there, where I help people. They want me to move there, but I do not want that. I grew up in the Netherlands, but you must not make the comparison. I just stay in Nijmegen.

Wayen played a real big role in the city of Nijmegen. Especially in the neighbourhood he lives in. He has a big social network, mainly formed by Moluccans. But also for other people and associations, he is an important man. He is the contact person for the police and he was one of the founders of the foundation of religion and life. So Wayen already has achieved a lot in the society of Nijmegen and he has a big influence on the city. He does not have a concrete image of the city. He likes the city to live in, but it is just normal for him and he does not have any feelings about it. But in the end, he says that he will stay in Nijmegen.

Yena

When I was in the Netherlands the first time, Malden, I thought it was quiet and peaceful. The people are very nice. Because I am from a city, I think the Netherlands has a lot of nature, trees and flowers. The people do really have the privilege to do whatever they want to do. They have the change, the opportunity, if they want something, they go for it. Compared to Malden, I do like Nijmegen, it is a younger city, because there are a lot of students. It is nice, those people and the age of the people. There are also things I like less, for example the 'gezelligheid'. Because it is so small, you always see the same people. And the transportation, that is bad, here you are always delayed and you have to wait for half an hour most of the time. This is difficult, because I do not cycle. For now I want to stay in Nijmegen, but in the future, maybe we will go to Amsterdam or Rotterdam. Because there is more work and it is more international, but I will stay in the Netherlands. When I go back to Shanghai, it is

nice to travel, to see all the family and friends. However, I will never live there again, I feel like I do not belong there anymore. Maybe I am already used to another kind of life.

The role of Yena in the city of Nijmegen is not very big right now, she only lives here for one and a half year and she talks not a lot about her activities. In chapter 5 we saw she goes to the sport centre and the city centre, so there she will have her influence on the making of the city. When she starts to work and study next year, her role in the city will be bigger, and it will grow during the period she stays in Nijmegen. Yena's image of the city is quite positive, but this is mainly her opinion about the Dutch culture and the Dutch landscape. What she likes about Nijmegen as a city, is the fact that it is so young. There are also some specific things she does not like, because she is used to a bigger city. That is one of the underlying reasons why she wants to move to Amsterdam or Rotterdam, compared to the reasons she mentions in her story.

Emir

I think Nijmegen is a nice city. It is full of students and that is great. The city suits me well, because I like to party and I go out almost every week. In the house where I live right now, it is nice that we can eat together sometimes. I also like the sport, I practice soccer and ice hockey. Further, I am very busy with my colleagues and other stuff. I work in a multinational company where I do the financial administration. But my contract is not extended, because they do not need me anymore. However, I learned a lot and I met nice people. I think the future is good, because with me, so far, it has always been good and I think if you just have a certain view on life that it goes well. We do not know what the future brings, but if it is not successful here, then somewhere else. You are Dutch, so you are free to go where you want and that is where my parents have fought for. I want to be as successful as possible for them, to make them proud. There is no real pressure on me, but they have left everything there, family, money, to give me a future. So I will do everything to make it a success. I like to move and I do not know where I want to work, but I do not want to go back to Iraq. Maybe when I am sixty years old, as a holiday, but I want to wait until the country is build up again. I never went back, because I have a beautiful image of Iraq and I want to keep it that way. I miss my family, but in the Netherlands I also have a lot of friends and my own life.

Emir's impression of the city of Nijmegen is nice. He relates that to the fact that a lot of the inhabitants are students. He likes the people he knows from his work, sports and house. So those people are important in Emir's experience of the city of Nijmegen. But Emir is not that bounded to a place like Nijmegen. He likes to move around, so he likes Nijmegen for his life as a student, but where

he would end up in the future is not clear. Emir is a busy person, he joins a lot of activities in Nijmegen, that is why his role in the city is quite big. But this role is mainly in the students' life in Nijmegen, and not much further.

Conclusion

In this part we are trying to answer the third sub-question:

What is the role of the life trajectories of the migrants with different social backgrounds in (understanding) the city of Nijmegen?

Again I want to emphasize that every story is different, so I am not able to give one concrete answer on the third sub-question. But the aim is to understand the migrant's view on the city of Nijmegen. Before we can do that, we have to look at the role of the migrants in producing the city. Sometimes the migrants are very active in different aspects of the society in Nijmegen, while others are mainly busy with one or two aspects. Of course it is not possible to mention all the small things in which the migrants have an influence on the city, like their everyday walk to the supermarket. That is why I only focus on the most important things in the life of the migrants, which emerge during the interviews. Because Jutta, Marcela and Emir are students, their influence on the city is mainly on their schools and the student life. Marcela's stay is temporary, so her role in the city is not that big. Emir and Jutta do have a role in other facilities and networks of Nijmegen, next to the university. In the case of Emir, this mainly takes place among the students, except for his job. Jutta's network consisted mainly of international students, but now she lives in Nijmegen for a longer period, she had several jobs and she plays a role in a bigger social network, including the networks of other people than students. The role of Allison in Nijmegen is mainly influencing the university and the life of her colleagues, because she works there and she spends most of her time on it. When we look at Burshra and Daren, you can see that having a status is important. Because Burshra does not have a status, she is not able to have a big influence on the making of Nijmegen, besides in her living place, the AZC. Daren's role in Nijmegen became bigger after he got a status, he could go to school and he was getting to know more people besides his roommates. Because Yena does not live in Nijmegen for a long time, her influence on the city is not that big. But if she starts working and goes to school next year, her network will be enlarged and her role in the city will be bigger. Wayen lives, in contrast with Yena, for a long time in Nijmegen. His influence is big, because he has a large social network and he plays an important role in many associations in the city and in the neighbourhood.

Most of the migrants have a positive opinion about Nijmegen, but the reasons are different. It became clear that the people who live in Nijmegen are almost in every story play an important role in the image about the city. Jutta likes Nijmegen, but her image is for a big part depending on the university, the only thing she really misses in the Netherlands and in the city of Nijmegen is the real nature. Marcela likes Nijmegen because it looks like a small city and the people are very friendly, but she mentions that she will always feel like a real Portuguese. Burshra has a two folded image of the city of Nijmegen. An abstract image of a beautiful city and a concrete image on the micro scale of her direct surrounding, the AZC, in which she feels sad and she lives a hard life. Daren thinks that Nijmegen is a good place for immigrants, the people from the different authorities and the people on the streets are nice, the only thing he does not like, is the fact that the Dutch culture is that individualistic. When I asked Allison about Nijmegen, she directly started to tell about her work and her colleagues. She likes her work, besides the fact that she is not able to move up. Wayen likes Nijmegen to live in, but he says that it is just normal for him and that he does not have any special feelings about it, maybe this is because the fact that he lives in the city for such a long time. Yena likes the fact that the people who live in Nijmegen are so young, but the city is too small for her to live in. But she loves the Dutch culture and nature that also occur in Nijmegen. Emir likes Nijmegen because the people who live there. Most of the people he knows are students. But he is not that attached to the city itself.

7. Conclusion and reflection

Conclusion

This research was attempted to contribute to a further theorization of space and place in an increasingly mobile world, what made this research theoretically relevant. It tried to understand the trajectories of migrants with several social backgrounds, who live in Nijmegen and came to the city with different reasons and it tried to understand the 'place' of Nijmegen in those trajectories, what made this research socially relevant. Finally this research is done by the young narrative research method, what made it methodologically relevant. The main question of this study was therefore:

How do the life trajectories of migrants with various social backgrounds come together in the city of Nijmegen and what is the 'place' of Nijmegen in these life trajectories?

In this part of chapter we try to give an answer on the main question to achieve the aim of this research. The main question was set up in three parts. We looked at the trajectories of the migrants, until the point they arrived in Nijmegen. We looked at their lives in Nijmegen until the point of the interview, whereby we tried to understand the role of the city of Nijmegen in their lives. And we wanted to understand the city of Nijmegen through the view of the migrants, by looking at their opinions about the city and their role in producing and reproducing Nijmegen. All of this based on the stories told by eight migrants with social different backgrounds, who moved to Nijmegen because of several reasons.

To give an answer on the main question we have to look at the three characteristics of Doreen Massey (2005: 9-12). First, space and place as a product of interrelations. Trajectories produce places and places produce trajectories. All of the eight migrants came to the city of Nijmegen with several reasons. Some of them were forced because of war, like Burshra and Daren. Some of them because they had to go with their parents, like Emir and Wayen. While others could make the decision by themselves, to study, like Jutta and Marcela, to work, like Allison or because of the life for a future child, like Yena. Every reason is based on one of more events, circumstances or people, within places, that did influence the trajectories of the migrants. Like for example, Yena met her Dutch husband in Shanghai. They were thinking about the future and they concluded that the circumstances in Shanghai were not good for their future child. So the place Shanghai, the circumstances there and the intersection of the trajectories of Yena and her current husband, did reproduce the trajectory of Yena and the decision to move away from China towards the Netherlands. Some of the migrants directly moved to Nijmegen, like Marcela, who decided to study

on the HAN for half a year. Some of them decided to move from another city in the Netherlands towards Nijmegen, like Allison and Emir. While others were forced by different authorities, like the fact that Nidus had a place for Daren to live in the city of Nijmegen.

So at the point the migrants became an inhabitant of the city of Nijmegen, they already had their own history that they took with them, a whole trajectory. Not only the journey from the point they left their country, but the whole trajectory from the point they were born. When the migrants arrived in Nijmegen, their trajectories made a lot of intersections with the trajectories of other people. For example Jutta, who had to do a Dutch language course in her first week. She met a lot of people and their trajectories crossed and left their influence on the city. With one of those friends from the language course she went climbing in the indoor climbing hall. Her trajectory crossed with the other attendees and Jutta became a part of the environment of the climbing hall and. In this way, Jutta's trajectory and the interrelation with the trajectories of others are part of the production of a place, in this case the climbing hall within the city of Nijmegen. Another example, even a more concrete one, can be given out of the story told by Wayen. During his life in Nijmegen he met people with other religions. His trajectory became interrelated with their trajectories and they decided that it was important to start an initiative whereby the different religions in the neighbourhood could come together. It worked out into the 'foundation of religion and life', which is a concrete part of the city of Nijmegen. In this way a place can be seen as a product of interrelations.

The second characteristic of Massay is that space and place have to be seen with the existence of multiplicity, because it is important to be aware of the existence of the life and trajectories of other people who live in the same city. I decided to study migrants who live in Nijmegen, which is only a small part of the city. But by doing that I wanted them to be as diverse as possible. That is why I started with a categorization of migrants with different social backgrounds, study migrants, refugees, labour migrants and family migrants. By doing that, we have to take into account that not one of the eight stories can be placed only in one of those categories. We cannot place them in a fixed 'box', because every person is part of a big network, which is connected to other networks. For example, the story of Emir, who run away with his parent to the Netherlands can be seen as a child migrants, because he did not have his own choice, but at the same time he is a refugee. When he moved to the city of Nijmegen, he wanted to study there, so he can also be seen as a study migrant in his own county, the Netherlands. Unless those considerations that had to be made, the categorization served as a guideline to keep up the multiplicity of the stories. Next to that categorization, the eight stories were for a big part chosen because of their geographical diversity. Two people from Europe, two from the Middle East, two from Asia, one from Africa and one from the United States.

All those different stories are one way of looking at the multiplicity of the city of Nijmegen. Another way is by looking at how the networks and trajectories of the different migrants, because one story cannot be told without the existence of the other (Massey, 2005: 10). For example migrants were not called migrants if there was not the existence of the native inhabitants of the city of Nijmegen. Let's take the Radboud University, Jutta, Allison and Emir, all three of them have a network which is part of the university and the university is part of their network. Emir is just an ordinary Dutch student, but without those ordinary students, foreign students like Jutta could not exist. Allison teaches some of the students on the university, but without students, there were no jobs like the one of Allison and vice versa. So without knowing each other, they are somehow part of each other's life. So you always have to be aware of the existence of multiplicity within a place or space.

The last and third characteristic of Massey is that space and place are always under construction. Places and trajectories are always producing and reproducing each other. Together they form a history which will play an important role in choices that will be made in the future, but that future is always open and everything can happen. For example the story of Jutta. Before she decided to study in Nijmegen, she already lived for longer periods of time on several places. There she found out what interested her and what she wanted to study. The fact that it was in the Netherlands did not matter to her, probably because she was already used to learn other languages and to live in other cultures, quite far away from her hometown. All those aspects did play a role in her decision to move to the Netherlands. Now she lives in Nijmegen and as mentioned before, she is one of the producers of the city. And the city is also constructing her trajectory. She became involved in several networks and by one of them she met her boyfriend. This intersection of their trajectories is producing Jutta and will have an influence on her future and the decisions she will make. Those decisions will play a role in the construction of Nijmegen, and so we can go on. By this we can argue that space and place is always under construction, just like trajectories. It is an ongoing process.

At this point we have discussed the three characteristics of Doreen Massey and we are able to answer the main question. Because of the multiplicity of the migrants and their stories it is not possible to give one answer which we can apply on every migrant who lives in the city. But this was not the aim of this research, because we wanted to acquire an in-depth understanding of life trajectories of the migrants and the 'place' of Nijmegen in these trajectories. The eight individuals moved to Nijmegen because of several reasons and somehow they all ended up in the city of Nijmegen. They became involved in all the different networks the city counts, but in the end we can argue that all of those networks are linked to each other by several intersections. If we look at a national level to the stories of the migrants, it becomes clear that Nijmegen is the point where the

concentration of interconnections of their networks is the closest and this is where a place exist (Barenholdt & Granas. 2008: 2). And this can be seen as the 'place' of the migrants and their trajectories in producing and reproducing the city of Nijmegen.

On the other hand there is also a 'place' for Nijmegen in the life trajectories of the migrants. We already discussed the fact that this is influenced by the intersections of trajectories who can play a role in the future life on an individual, like Jutta who met her boyfriend in Nijmegen. Next to that the city plays a role in the life of the migrants in the way how they feel about the city. In this way we are able to understand the city of Nijmegen by the view of the migrants who are inhabitants of the city. Most of the migrants like the city, the environment and the people who live or work there. However, for every person this image is mainly independent from the others, because they live in a different environment within the city. Burshra lives in the AZC for example where she does not like her concrete environment. The room she lives in is very small and the people who live in the same building scare here sometimes. Daren and Allison do like their roommates or neighbours. But those are different people, so unless the fact that they have the same feelings about their neighbours, their images about it are independent.

So to conclude the trajectories of the eight migrants are different, so there is a big *multiplicity*. They did came together in Nijmegen by the *interrelations* of their networks, most of the time without being aware of that. Their stories are very different but we have an in-depth understanding about their lives and how they more or less are influencing, producing and reproducing the city of Nijmegen, this is one side of the 'place' of Nijmegen. Next to that, it is also important to understand the influence of the city and her networks on the trajectories of the migrants, the other understanding of the 'place' of the city if Nijmegen. But this is an ongoing process, places will influence trajectories and trajectories will influence a city. That is why, in the end, the production and reproduction of a place like Nijmegen and the trajectories of the eight migrants is an process which will be *under construction* for ever.

Reflection

Unless the fact that the aim of this research is reached and the main question could be answered, there are always things that could have been done better or different. In this part of the chapter a reflection will be given about the progress of this research and the resulting recommendations for further research.

As mentioned in chapter 3, the relation between the researcher and the researched is very important in a qualitative research, because of several reasons. It starts by finding the respondents. I started to search for respondents within my own network. So the choice of the respondents is for a

part depending on the people I knew, or friends of my did knew. This could be affecting the research because in some cases I already knew some parts of the stories of the migrants. The reason for this, is because the case of this research is Nijmegen, the city where I live by myself. For a next research I would recommend to choose to do a narrative research in a city or region where you do not live or come from yourself, to keep the choice of the respondents as random and objective as possible. Next to that the social, cultural and political background of the researcher is important to know, because it can influence the image of the research (Creswell, 2007:57). That is why you can read my life trajectory in the epilogue of this thesis. But it is only my life and my trajectory from my personal point of few. To make clear the background of the researcher even more clear, it would be nice to ask a family member, a friend, or even a total stranger, to write a piece about the life of the researcher, next to his or her own description.

The background of the researcher is important to keep in mind because it is the researcher who interprets the stories within a narrative researcher. And in this case it was only one researcher, me, who analyzed the stories. So the conclusions about the stories of the migrants are for a big part formed by my opinions and thoughts. There are always important aspects you miss or you do not interpret the way they should be. That is why I recommend, if it is possible, to have one or two other researchers who give their opinion about the narratives.

Next to the role of the researcher in a (narrative) research, there are other specific points of improvements in this thesis. By only looking at the stories of the migrants, you cannot know if they tell you everything that happened and was important in their lives. You have to do it with the information that the respondent gives to you. I already made sure that the respondents would have an anonymous identity, but it stays difficult to find a solution to this problem. You have to find a reason for the respondents, so they want to tell you everything because of their own interest. In this research, I chose to look exclusively to the narratives of migrants. It is not possible to give every inhabitant in Nijmegen a voice, so I had to chose one point of view, the view of the migrants. The effect of migrants in the city of Nijmegen is hard to figure out, because I was not able to look at the 'native' inhabitants of the city. I can imagine that it would also be interesting to compare the stories of migrants and native inhabitants. This could be an recommendation for further research. In addition to the choice to look at migrants specific, I also chose to look at one city, in this case Nijmegen. For further research, it would also be interested to look at one or two more cities, so you can compare them. It would be interesting, for example, to look at one big and one small city, within one country, or even in two or more different countries. So there are a lot of possibilities in this direction.

To find the migrants I liked to interview, I searched for sixteen individuals, within four categories and eight sub-categories. In earlier chapters I already told that it is not possible to fit a migrant in one fixed box, because all migrants are having a network that goes far beyond one categorization. Despite of that fact, I used it as a guide to keep the stories as diverse as possible. For further research it is possible not to work with categorizations, but maybe with characteristics of the individual, on which they have to confirm. Finding the respondents was quite possible, but it was hard to find low skilled labour migrants. Within the time I had, I tried everything to find two, or at least one individual who would fit in that sub-category. But it did not work out. Most of the people who came to the Netherlands as a low skilled labour migrant, does not live in a city as Nijmegen, because there are not that many jobs for them. I think I would have been more successful if I could also look at migrants who lived in the smaller villages around Nijmegen, but this did not fit within the aim of this thesis. Next to that, there were a lot of people from a younger generation. I talked to some children of low skilled labour migrants, but their parents did die already. Another important issue was the fact that people who do the jobs, typical for low skilled labour migrants, came to the Netherlands because of different reasons. They were a refugee or moved because of their partners. I think that if I had some more time, I would be able to find at least one low skilled labour migrant, but in this half a year it was not possible for me.

If I had more time, I also would like to analyze the other six stories I gathered, or even more, to enlarge the multiplicity of this research, this is could be done in a follow-up study. Finally, the completion of my bachelor thesis is slightly delayed, because of my work in the board of the study association. That is why I was not able to finish my thesis before the deadline in June.

Epilogue

My life trajectory started at the 3th of July in 1991. I was born in the hospital of Hengelo and after a few days my parents, Jos and Leoni, took me with them to their home in the centre of a small town, Goor. I grew up there and some years later, my brother, Kai, was born. We always had and still have a nice and warm family. I went to preschool and primary school there. The first three years of my secondary school I could also do in Goor, but for the last three years I had to go to Holten. A town about fifteen kilometres away from my home. During my years at the secondary school, I met a real nice group of friends, where I still have contact with. After I finished my secondary school, I began with the study Human Geography on the Radboud university and I moved to Nijmegen.

With my parents and brother, we went on holiday every year to several places. We always stayed in Europe, but somehow I became interested to travel more, to discover more parts of the world and other cultures. I took every opportunity to travel. My mother always says: “you were born with a backpack”. The most wonderful experience was my trip to Australia with a friend of mine and her parents. I think, during those journeys, my interest in the world grew and it became clear for me in what direction I wanted to study. Together with a friend of mine, Suzanne, who I met in fourth grade on the secondary school, I went to several information sessions about this and other studies. Independent from each other we eventually decided that we wanted to study Human Geography in the city of Nijmegen. So our ‘adventure Nijmegen’ started.

Before this decision I already knew that I wanted to live by myself. I heard stories from my cousins and I wanted to experience that. My parents supported me, because it is good for your development, to be independent and to learn how to arrange things, without someone helping you. And it worked out. From the moment I moved to Nijmegen my life changed in a positive way. I really liked the city, the people, and it directly felt like home. Where I used to be shy and a little reluctant to meet new people, I became much more open. Suzanne always tells me that it was funny to see me change and that she was proud of being a part of it. From the beginning I have a close group of friends in Nijmegen, who I met through my study and the study association, Mundus, which plays a big role in my life. Next to the people I met, I also joined nice activities and last year I even was one of the members of the board of Mundus. It was a great experience and I learned a lot from it.

At this point I am finishing my bachelor thesis. It is a product of the things I learned throughout the last three years. Not only the academic information has influenced this product, but also, and maybe even more, the other things I learned these years. I hope that in the next years of my time as a student, I can learn a lot more about life. And I hope my dream to be a migrant myself, and live in another country for a longer period of time, will become true.

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