

the case of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands and their meaning of 'home'

Home is where the heart is

by Isis Boot

Bachelor thesis

Geography, Planning and Environment (GPM)
Nijmegen School of Management
Radboud University Nijmegen

Augustus 2013

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under guidance of

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They say home is the place where your heart is
then I am home now though I am far away
for so long I've let deep forests guard it
and now it's begging me to stay
and I'm trying my best to be tough
to pretend I am strong and can siphon it off
but I'm not who I wanted to be
in my heart I belong in a house by the sea

they say home is a place where you're needed
then I am home now but I am leaving
to feel my feet being kissed by the seaweed
and I'll be silent and kiss it back
this is not who I want you to see
it's just adding on weight to the darkness in me
and from the little I have understood
I believe that a house by the sea would do good

they say home is a place you can choose to be
and I've decided to carry home inside me
so it's not really as if I am leaving
it's more like something pulling me

'cause behind everything that I do
I just want to forget, want to carry this through
fill my lungs with the sweet summer air
in my heart in my mind I am already there
yeah behind everything that I do
I just want to come home and lay down beside you
and then I'll be who I wanted to be
in my heart I belong in a house by the sea

Pål Moddi Knutsen, 2013, *House by the sea*

Preface and acknowledgements

This bachelor-thesis that is in front of you, was written in context of my one year of pre-master, which I took in order to enter the master of Human Geography at the Radboud University in Nijmegen. Coming from a completely different environment at the Design Academy Eindhoven, this year has brought me a lot of new insights and tools to approach my research. It has been very fast, intensive and rich of valuable information and inspiration, which holds a promise for the coming year, which I am looking forward to. I am very grateful to have received the chance to deepen my previously acquired education and experiences in this setting. Therefore, I hereby would like to thank the admission committee of the faculty to give me this opportunity.

Moreover, this research would not have been possible without the support, willingness, time and interest of many people surrounding me. Therefore I would like to spend some lines within this thesis to thank these people explicitly.

First of all, I want to express a thank you to the respondents who have been so generous to share their personal stories with me: Abdullah, Orse, Fidan, Arif, Deniz, Esra, Elif, Yildiz (whose names are fictitious because of privacy reasons). I thank them for their openness and hospitality, the great tea and their trust in me. It was a pleasure to take note of all of their particular personal stories, which every now and then brought a smile during long days of work. Without their contribution this thesis would not have been possible. Teşekkür ederim.

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Last but not least I would like to thank my stimulating tutor, Bianca Szytniewski, for her time, flexibility and above all her constructive feedback and clarity. Writing this thesis has been an inspiring and enriching process thanks to her guidance.

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Summary

This research revolves around the experience of migration and its effect on the meaning of 'home' for the transmigrant. More specifically, this is investigated within the case of Turkish guest-labourers in the Netherlands. Turks are one of the largest groups of migrants within the Netherlands and within their relatively short history in this country they still have made a large impact on Dutch society.

Over the past decades, scholars have come to the realisation that immigrants are transnational and “live their lives across borders and maintain their ties to home” (Glick Schiller et al. 1992, p ix), rather than gradually integrating in their new environment until they are completely 'absorbed' and adapted, while disconnected from their original roots. Through transnational networks migrants are influenced by both their original and current environment at the same time. Transnationalism therefore adds a level of complexity to the concept and practice of migration. The migrant does not only become a stranger, foreigner or alien at his place of arrival, moreover he is also removed and, hence, becomes estranged from the friends and family, the culture and place that he left behind but that had, up till now, always been 'home'.

Within the current era of globalism and mobility, it is both of scientific and of societal relevance to go deeper into the experience of migrants 'home' feelings and to place this study in a time frame in which internet and telecommunication have added an extra dimension to our world. It is an era in which communication technologies have quickly developed and people are becoming more mobile, hence, it becomes relatively easier to maintain relations with transnational social networks, making processes of migration become more complex and multi-located. Since 'home' is a concept that could be typically referring to a locational place as well as a non-physical feeling, it is a valuable subject of studying transnationalism from the perspective of human geography. This research will specifically go deeper into the practices of transmigrants on the individual level of the experience, researching meanings of 'home', feelings of belonging and experiences of transnational networks of Turkish guest-workers in the Netherlands.

The focus of this study is phenomenological, but especially from the perspective of the societal relevance as described, it also has a potentially practical side to it. Shortly, the aim of this research is:

To acquire an in-depth understanding of migration experiences of Turks in the Netherlands and more specifically the effects of integration and/or estranging processes on their feeling of 'home', in order to gain insights of Turkish migration processes.

In this research only the specific case of first generation Turkish guest-workers in the Netherlands will be studied in order to be able to go more in-depth within the limited time-frame. The central research questions that will be giving direction to this research are given below:

What is the meaning of 'home' to Turkish migrants in the Netherlands as a result of processes of estrangement and integration, influenced by old and by new (transnational) social networks these migrants sustain and develop in both the homeland and the receiving country?

Deriving from the central research question, there are four most important theoretical subjects within this research: 1) social networks within migration studies, 2) integration processes and 3) estranging processes. Together these three theoretical concepts combine into the scope of and input for the fourth theoretical frame: 4) feeling 'at home' (or 'belonging').

Social networks play a central role in this research, not only since on a small scale (transnational) social networks define the migrant's personal environment and therefore the context of 'home', but also on a larger scale of national and even global society. The debate on and the (developing) concept of transnationalism pays attention to shifts in migrants' experiences over the past decades due to transnational ties with the homeland becoming and staying increasingly important for migrants. Although geographical distance and integration into the host country might result in a process of estranging from the country of birth, transnational networks can reinforce ties with the home country over time.

Migration processes might result in feelings of estranging as well as feelings of belonging. This interaction between the connectedness to the homeland on the one hand, and the country of settlement on the other, results in a reconsideration of the meaning of 'home'.

Within this research, use will be made of qualitative methods in which told stories of the respondents form the core of the data analysed, derived from in-depth semi-structured interviews. The method of analyses that was used is thematic narrative research which puts "an emphasis on what is said rather than the way it is said" (Bryman 2008, p577). This is a suitable method since this research revolves around understanding processes of change and identity. As is typical for this strategy the interviews are seen as a co-production of the interaction between researcher and respondent. The main part of the respondents was selected from the adult group of the first generation of Turkish guest-workers, both men and women. However, since finding

respondents willing to participate appeared to be hard to find, some exceptions have been made, however all respondents have personally experienced the process of migration (although in different life-stages).

The narratives have been coded and thematically ordered in order to gain a better understanding of the underlying practices and motivations. To add an extra layer of analyses to the results, the narratives are firstly grouped into three categories based on different perspectives as a result of age and gender:

- 1) 'Men' (the male migrants or guest-labourers themselves);
- 2) 'Wives' (the female migrants following their husbands);
- 3) 'Children' (the infant migrants that moved with their parents).

In the final conclusions the perspectives of all categories are combined, first by the themes of the three sub-questions posed and finally in an attempt of answering the main research question.

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En aan de overkant van de Waterweg lag Turkije

Hans Nauta

Het is alsof het water Turkije minder ver maakte. Als kind dacht Fidan Ekiz dat haar ouders met de veerboot naar Nederland waren gekomen, en dat aan de overkant van de Waterweg niet Maassluis maar Turkije lag. Haar moeder Muazzez en vriendinnen vergeleken de veerpont van Rozenburg met de Kabatassteiger in Istanbul, en zwaaiden naar Turkse schepen die voorbijvoeren. Haar vader Yüksel, gastarbeider sinds 1966, werkte als lasser op de scheepswerf van Verolme. Hij bouwde schepen waarmee hij nooit naar Turkije zou terugkeren.

Ook al gingen ze van Nederland houden, van koningin Juliana en André van Duin, het hardnekkige idee om ooit weer terug te gaan leidde tot een uitgesteld leven. 'Het is alsof ze nooit echt zijn aangekomen. Toch horen ze hier nu thuis', concludeert Fidan Ekiz (34) in haar vijfdelige documentaire-serie 'Veerboot naar Holland', (...)



Afbeelding : Muazzez toen ze nog maar net in Nederland woonde.

deVerdieping 13
Trouw donderdag 21 april 2011

Figure 1. Turkey was on the other side of the waterway. *Trouw* (2011). Fragment of an article about the release of *Veerboot naar Holland* (*Ferryboat to Holland*), a tv-documentary on the migrant's experience of Turkish guest-labourers in Rozenburg, the Netherlands.

1. Introduction

The figure (figure 1) on the previous page shows a short fragment from a Dutch newspaper that announces a documentary on Turkish guest-labourers that moved to the Netherlands, as many did during the second half of the past century recruited by Dutch firms and tempted by promises of (easy) money and luxurious, western lives. Most of them planned to return home once the goal would be achieved, however the way back turned out to be not as easy to find. The documentary is a portrait of some of the many individual but similar stories, which are probably all worth to be told. This research is inspired on and dedicated to all of them.

It is as if the water made Turkey less distant. As a child, Fidan Ekiz thought that her parents had come to the Netherlands by ferry, and that on the other side of the Waterweg was Turkey instead of Maassluis. Her mother Muazzez and friends compared the ferry of Rozenburg with the Kabatas ferry docks in Istanbul, and would wave at Turkish ships that sailed by. Her father Yuksel, guest worker since 1966, worked as a welder at Verolme's shipyard. He built ships with which he would never return to Turkey.

Although they started to grow fond of the Netherlands, of queen Juliana and André van Duin, the persistent notion of ever returning to Turkey led to a delayed life. 'It is as if they never really arrived. Yet they belong here now.'

Fidan Ekiz (34) concludes in her five-part documentary-series 'Ferry to Holland',

(...) (Translated from: Nauta, H., 2011. Figure 1)

1.1 Project frame

This thesis revolves around the experience of migration and its effect on the meaning of 'home' for the transmigrant. More in specific, it will investigate this process within the case of Turkish guest-labourers in the Netherlands. Turks are one of the largest groups of migrants within the Netherlands and within their relatively short history in this country they still have made a large impact on Dutch society. Moreover, recent (political) debates in Dutch society about multiculturalism, nationalism and migration raise the question: where do these people actually 'belong'? Where do they feel 'home'? Should we actually still reflect on them as strangers? Or do we need to think *beyond* the idea of defining people by their nation of origin.

With the word 'stranger' we often refer to the foreigner, the alien, the traveller, the one who is not at home within his current context – it often connotes to someone who has come from far and is different from 'us': he is the 'other' (see: Stichweh 1997; inter alia). Those who migrate start from the position of being a stranger in their new country of residence. Within this new context the 'stranger' is still unfamiliar with the national cultural and social values, politics and often language and religion. He does not yet know the local ways of getting what you need and where to get it, and local networks yet have to be built. However, the migrant does not only become a stranger, foreigner or alien at his place of arrival. Moreover he is also removed from, and hence, becomes estranged from the friends and family, the culture and place that he left behind although it had, up till now, always been 'home'. Can this 'home' be replaced? And in case nothing appears to be able to replace it, could one go back? Or is one once a stranger, always a stranger?

1.1.1 Scientific context: Transnationalism

Conceptually, in time the more the migrant gets 'settled', the 'stranger' will become less of an alien, but starts to integrate within his or her new environment. On the other hand, new behaviour and newly developed values and perspectives on life and society which derive from the exposure to a new cultural context will increase the experienced distance between the 'homeland' and the country of current settlement.

However, over the past decades, scholars have come to the realisation that “immigrants live their lives across borders and maintain their ties to home, even when their countries of origin and settlement are geographically distant” (Glick Schiller et al. 1992, p ix; see also: Kearney 1995; Gielis 2009), they are transnational. This adds a level of complexity to the (already complex) processes previously mentioned, as through transnational networks migrants are influenced by both their original and current environment at the same time. “The manner in which transmigrants conceptualize their experiences, including their collective identities, is very much shaped by both the political and economic context of the country of origin and the countries of settlement of the transmigrants” (Glick Schiller et al. 1992, p x; inter alia). Which makes processes of integrating and estranging even more complex and dynamic. Moreover, the concept of transnationalism addresses “the complex ways in which the various social networks to which transmigrants belong (...) interact and interrelate in the migrants' everyday lives” (Gielis 2009, p272). For a good understanding of these processes and hence, contemporary society, it is therefore of relevance to go deeper into researching the practices of transmigrants on the individual level of the experience (idem).

Within this frame work this study will focus more specifically on the following questions: What is the meaning of 'home' for these transnational migrants, on the level of the individual and the experience? And, are processes of integration and estranging (as subject to the transnational experience) static and irreversible? Or are they rather dynamic and flexible?

1.1.2 Societal context: Globalisation and digitalisation in a network society

To place the research on the experience of migration within a contemporary context it is important to keep in mind the characteristics of our current society. For instance, migration patterns, structures and experiences are highly affected by contemporary processes of globalisation (Castells 2010; Bauman 2011; Kearny 1995; inter alia). "Transnationalism overlaps globalization but typically has a more limited purview", as it is "anchored in and transcend one or more nation-states" (Kearney 1995, p548). However, "to conceptualize transnationalism we must bring to the study of migration a global perspective" (Glick Schiller et al. 1992, p19).

By opening the internal borders in Europe and globalisation in general, one could say that the (western) society has become increasingly transnational. Geographical distances have become easier to overcome in both the physical and the non-physical sense. Globally, people are increasingly mobile, covering large(r) distances for their work, holidays and family visits, which makes their experiences more and more transnational (Bauman 2011; Castells 2010; Kearney 1995; inter alia). Hence, in these days of globalization it seems obviously relevant to take another close look at the subject of migration.

Since the start of the debate on 'transnationalism' (Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Kearney 1995) digital or virtual social networks became more and more prominent. Particularly within the context of current processes of globalization, it is relevant to place this study in a time frame in which internet and telecommunication have added an extra dimension to our world. Rigg (2008) views at globalization as a composition of networks that 'operate across scales', in these networks in which digitalization processes play a fundamental role. Although these processes seem to be rather non-physical, they do have a very strong spatiality to it. Under the influence of digitalization, perceptions of scale, borders and distances change. This might mean that existing boundaries between local and global shift or become obscured. Relative distances within terms of communication and information flows decrease through telecommunication, mobile networks and social media. This results in an era in which essential geographical concepts are in process of being 'reviewed'. Through the digitalization of the world's society, space is becoming what could be called 'hybrid' (Kluitenberg et al. 2006). Moreover, in a time in which communication is largely digitalising, it becomes relatively easier to maintain relations with transnational social networks.

1.2 Relevance

Within the current global and digital era, it is both of scientific as of societal relevance to go deeper into the (evolution of) the experience of migrants 'home' feelings. In the following paragraphs I will explain why.

1.2.1 Scientific relevance

In the contemporary global and transnational era processes of migration, and in particular processes of integration and estrangement became more complex and multi-located (see: Ernste et al. 2009; Gielis 2011; et al.). “Transnational migrants, although predominantly workers, live a complex existence that forces them to confront, draw upon, and rework different identity constructs-national, ethnic and racial”(Basch, Glick Schiller and Blanc-Szanton 1992, p 5). Moreover, “the lives of transnational groups and individuals are marked by a spatial and imaginary split: a phenomenon wherein identity, belonging and representation have become increasingly elusive concepts, and the realm of the ‘cultural’ vastly important” (Christensen, 2011, p888). For a good understanding of these processes and hence, contemporary society, it is of relevance to go deeper into researching the practices of transmigrants on the level of the experience (Gielis 2009, 2011; Christensen 2012; inter alia).

A focus on transnationalism as a new field of social relations will allow us to explore transnational fields of action and meaning as operating within and between continuing nation-states and as a reaction to the conditions and terms nation-states impose on their populations. (Glick Schiller et al. 1992, p 19)

To be more specific, in the Annals of New York Academy of Science (Glick Schiller et al. 1992), a list of questions (a selection can be found in attachment 1) was published in order to set up an agenda for developing the concept of transnationalism. With this research I aim to modestly contribute to a response to some of these questions posed conceptualizing the understanding of transnationalism and developing a more “transnational perspective on migration”(Glick Schiller et al. 1992), especially on the level of the transnational experience.

This “fluid and complex existence of transnational migrants compels us to re-conceptualize the categories of nationalism, ethnicity, and race, theoretical work that can contribute to reformulating our understanding of culture, class, and society” (Glick Schiller et al. 1992, p5). Since then, the need and relevance of this transnational re-conceptualisation has only increased as, due to globalisation and developments in the field of digitalising communication technology,

society has only become more mobile and fluid (see also: Bauman 2011; Gielis 2011; Ernste et al. 2009; Christensen 2012) and these processes are currently still in fast motion. Hence it is worth to continue research on the effects of these developments in order to keep up to date and to enhance insights to the impact of changes within the recently passed period of time.

More recently, Ruben Gielis pleads that in migration literature, transnational experiences, meaning “the personal meaning migrants give to their life in-between two (or more) national societies”, are still “a relatively understudied concept” (Gielis 2011, p258; also: Christensen 2012; Kearney 1995). According to him, within the past two decades “one of the most important research tasks has been to grasp theoretically this social complexity of migrant transnationalism” (Gielis 2009, p272), this has mostly benefited the study on 'internal complexity' of social networks, meaning the “spreading out of social networks (...) and the complex relationships between members of the network that result from this” (idem).

However, Gielis (2009) pleads that more research should still be done on the 'external complexity' of social networks as it occurs in the 'everyday life' of transnational migrants. In addition, Christensen (2012) argues that “the lives of transnational groups and individuals are marked by a spatial and imaginary split: a phenomenon wherein identity, belonging and representation have become increasingly elusive concepts, and the realm of the ‘cultural’ vastly important” (Christensen 2012, p888). Consequently, the meaning of 'home', being a good, if not ultimate, example of a 'place' in which (feelings of) identity, belonging and representation are reflected as well as (partly) being (re-)constructed, seems to be the right 'place' or subject for further investigation. Understanding the transnational meaning of 'home' might add in particular to this 'external' understanding of the complexity of social networks. Furthermore, since 'home' can be considered to be a concept that could be typically referring to a locational place as well as a non-physical feeling, it is specifically a valuable subject of studying transnationalism in globalizing times from the perspective of human geography. Conceptually this 'placelessness' of the meaning of home will increase owing to globalisation. This would probably fit in the line of thought of Anthony Giddens, as he was quoted by Duyvendak:

...globalisation and the increasing pace and impersonality of post-modern life (...) have led to a sense of rootlessness and meaninglessness. People lack a sense of belonging and a sense of purpose in their lives, which is leading to a search for a sense of identity and belonging in the private sphere of the home. (2011, p10)

In his reflection on the universalist view on the concept of 'home', Duyvendak (2011), describes how scholars have expressed their concerns on the changing meaning of and attachment to places, which might result in “a generalized condition of homelessness” (Saïd in Duyvendak 2011, p9), as a “consequence of people's increased mobility” (idem). This research could be seen as an evaluation of this process and, consequently, reflect on the validity of these concerns that suppose (negative) future effects on society.

1.2.2 Societal relevance

Besides the more theoretical debate on (transnational) migration, there might be a practical value in researching meanings of 'home', feelings of belonging and experiences of transnational networks of Turkish guest-workers in the Netherlands, as in this case, more specifically.

The Turks are one of the largest groups of migrants in the Netherlands and their relatively short history (among that of other groups of guest-workers from the same period) in this country has made a large impact on Dutch society and still does (see: Østergaard-Nielsen 2001; Doornik 1995; Castles 2006; Rath 2001). At the time guest-workers were being recruited, the government of the Netherlands aimed to 'import labour but not people' (Castles 2006). However due to political and economical developments in both Turkey and the Netherlands, Turkish migrants over time did “gradually lose their primary orientation towards a future life in Turkey and instead seek to realize their expectations in their new environment” (Doornik 1995, p48). This changing future perspective asked for a re-positioning of the Turks in the minds of both the migrants themselves as Dutch society and politicians (see: Doornik 1995; Castles 2006; Rath 2001). This process has had great impact on the role Turkish migrants in the Netherlands still have nowadays.

To what result have integration processes of former guest-workers led after a period of fifty years? And how did this affect their sense of belonging and hence their loyalty to Dutch society (and the other way around)? Is real integration actually possible and do we (need to) want it? Or is integration a goal that is old-fashioned in these global, hybrid and transnational times?

To understand how the 'history' of Turkish migration has affected and still affects feelings of belonging for these migrants (and in particular the way these notions have changed over the past decades) might be useful in further developments of policies and integration programs for this specific group of migrants, but moreover programs and policies addressing other guest-workers such as Moroccans and, more recently, Poles. In addition, further research on this matter would hopefully lead to a better understanding for the Dutch fellow-citizens and politicians of the (Turkish) transnational experience of being here (and there) and hence, to more acceptance.

Especially since Turks are known for their cultural tradition with a strong emphasis on social networks (Gerholm in Grillo 1994), current digitalisation processes in communication technologies and increased mobility of people and society more in general might have a substantial impact on their transnational experiences and their sense of belonging. As integration of guest-worker migrants has been a recurrent subject of debate in Dutch society and politics, it might be of help to be aware of actual movements within these processes to adequately guide integration processes (for as far as this is possible).

Besides all this, studying the case of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands could also be placed in context of current debates on a possible membership of the European Union for Turkey. One of the prominent arguments within these debates emphasizes the definition of Turkish culture versus the so-called 'European culture'. According to van Houtum and Pijpers in the European reality “the “deviant Other” is often the Muslim migrant, who is generally depicted as a stranger coming from a pre-or even anti-modern society”(van Houtum & Pijpers 2007, p 296). Possibly, gaining closer insights of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands, and through them of transnational and transcultural linkages between Turkey and the West, could contribute to the construction of a more nuanced and up-to-date notion of Turkish culture. However, political reflections such as these are not the main focus in this thesis.

1.3 Objective and questions

1.3.1 Research goal

The aim of this research is to improve the understanding of migration experiences of Turks in the Netherlands and more specifically the effects of integration and/or estranging processes on their feeling of 'home', in order to gain insights of Turkish migration processes and migration processes in general; and to add to currently available knowledge. Herewith this research hopes to modestly contribute to debates on migration, transnationalism and the experience of 'home'.

As “transnationalism is grounded in the daily lives, activities, and social relationships of migrants” (Basch, Glick Schiller and Blanc-Szanton 1992, p 5), this research will mainly focus on the role social (transnational) networks play in processes of estranging as well as integration, in the (construction of) the home feeling of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands. In this, aiming for an insight at the level of the experience, it will start from the livelihood perspective as described by Rigg (2008), in which people within their (social) environment are placed central. Although Rigg argues the relevance of such approach specifically in context of studies in and on the Global South, his argumentation could be also applicable to Turkish migrants in the Netherlands.

Since this research is not starting from a specific practical question or problem in context of policy development or specific societal issues, this research will be more theoretically and phenomenologically oriented. As previously, I explained to be mostly interested in transnational experiences of 'home' the main focus of this study is phenomenological, however, especially from the perspective of the societal relevance as described, it also has a potentially practical side to it. The overall goal is to give insights into the lived experience of transnational migrants. In this research I will study only one specific case of first generation Turkish guest-workers in the Netherlands in order to (within the limited time frame of a bachelor thesis) be able to go in-depth to the contextual characteristics of this case. Because of the complex history of this group of Turkish migrants, due to the specific character(s) of guest-workers' policies, this case will not be particularly representative for all transnational migrants experiences. However, it may be comparable to other cases of first generation guest-workers within Europe. Therefore, conclusions and results will be quite specific to this case and are not automatically generalizable to all transnational migrants. Nonetheless, there still can be “general lessons learned from studying the case”(Creswell 2013, p99) which, after a critical analysis, might provide valuable insights to more general transnational migration processes. As in most cases, the (theoretical) results and/or conclusions will probably, and hopefully, support and add to the more practical approach of related issues as well, such as policy development addressing migration and integration issues of

specifically Turks or other guest-workers in the Netherlands or migrants in general.

In addition, the results of this research could be used to broaden the understanding of the way in which communication technologies are used in sustaining (transnational) networks by guest-workers, other migrants, or even more in general.

In conclusion, the aim of this research can be shortly summarized as follows:

To acquire an in-depth understanding of migration experiences of Turks in the Netherlands and more specifically the effects of integration and/or estranging processes on their feeling of 'home', in order to gain insights of Turkish migration processes and migration processes.

1.3.2 Main and partial questions

As was mentioned before, this study will focus on the development of the meaning of 'home' for transnational migrants? How dynamic are processes of integration in the new country and estrangement of the country of origin? The central research question that will be giving direction to this research is given below:

What is the meaning of 'home' to Turkish migrants in the Netherlands as a result of processes of estrangement and integration, influenced by old and by new (transnational) social networks these migrants sustain and develop in both the homeland and the receiving country?

This main research question is linked to and supported by three partial questions. These sub-questions are linked to and partially derive from the conceptual model that was based on theoretical research. Both the conceptual model as the description of the theoretical framework of this research can be found in chapter 2. The sub-questions also provide structure within the analyses and the reporting of research results in chapter 4. All paragraphs in this chapter can be linked to the sub-questions. The sub-questions are as follows:

1) What role do transnational social networks have in transnational and integration processes of Turkish transmigrants and how have these networks developed over time and in a changing society? ((transnational) social networks → (transnational) processes of estrangement/integration)

*2) How do processes of integration and processes of estrangement interact with regards to both country of origin and country of settlement; are these processes static and irreversible or rather dynamic and flexible?
(estrangement/integration \leftrightarrow home country/country of settlement)*

3) What is the (subjective) meaning of 'home' according to the transmigrants and how has this feeling of 'home' developed during residence in the hosting country? (meaning of home)

The relations as shown between the addressed concepts will be further elaborated in paragraph 2.3 on the conceptual model.

1.4 Case description

Within this research, I will go deeper into these processes through researching the case of Turkish 'guest-workers' in the Netherlands. Since this research is not starting from the perspective of a specific country but focusses more on the process and the experiences of the people themselves, I will speak in this project of 'migrants' rather than 'immigrants'.

The Turks are one of the largest groups of migrants in the Netherlands. Although most of them came in the sixties until the early seventies when the country first opened her doors to migrant workers without the intention of staying but just temporarily (Østergaard-Nielsen 2001; Doomernik 1995; Castles 2006; Stads, Spapens & van Doremalen 2004), currently, four to five decades later, the largest part of them is still living in the Netherlands. Children were born and raised and gave again birth to grandchildren. And, especially since Turkish culture is known for its cultural tradition with a strong emphasis on social networks, or as put by Gerholm, "an authentic Muslim life demands an extensive 'infrastructure'.." (Gerholm 1994 in Grillo 2004, p 863), this makes the Turks an interesting case within this research. Do these people still want to return to their land of birth and could they? Has their basis shifted, or do they still feel like guests? What has happened with their sense of being at home? In other words: where or what is 'home' to them?

Since Turkish guest-worker migrants initially had no intentions of staying permanently in the Netherlands, they did not explicitly invest in adjusting to Dutch society. Additionally, as the government of the Netherlands aimed to "import labour but not people" (Castles 2006, p742) Dutch politics had no benefit in stimulating this. However due to political and economical developments in both Turkey and the Netherlands, Turkish migrants over time "gradually lose their primary orientation towards a future life in Turkey and instead seek to realize their expectations in their new environment" (Doomernik 1995, p48). At the starting point of this process, the institutionalisation and hence integration process of the Turks "was mainly characterized by the desire to live a life like the one at 'home'" (idem, p59). However, when migrants began to realize that their future prospects were shifting, "conditions for 'home' were created in [...] The Netherlands" (idem, p48). Further institutionalization of their own culture as well as further integration within Dutch society followed and became more and more interrelated.

As a result, Turkish migrants started to develop different demands on their quality of life in the Netherlands. "As the prospect of going home receded, a life of nothing but hard work, frugality and social isolation seemed less acceptable" (Castles 1986, p770). The first major change in the Turkish integration process came as a response to this, by the import of guest workers'

families, existing of women and children. "These children attended school which embedded them in the host society [which, among other factors] made returning home more and more complicated" (Doomernik 1995, p 47). In this situation integration and estranging processes are causally related to each other, as integration (bringing over the family to settle for an extended period of time) resulted in estrangement in the form of an increased barrier to returning (children attended Dutch school and hence, became 'less Turkish'). Not only did the reunification of these families have an emotional and social impact on Turkish guest workers and their integration practices, it also brought a new economical situation for the guest workers. "Family housing and other needs raised migrants' cost of living, reducing savings yet further" (Castles 1986, p771). Another step further in integration of the Turks was the institutionalization of important parts of their 'home' culture, such as Islamic schools and broadcasting. Which made their integration (and the acceptance of staying more permanently) more visible (see: Doomernik 1995; Stads, Spapens & van Doremalen 2004; inter alia).

2. Theory

2.1 Theoretical framework

Basically, as will also become visible in the conceptual model that follows, there are four most important theoretical subjects for this research that derive from the central research question: 1) social networks within migration studies, 2) integration processes and 3) estranging processes. Together these three theoretical concepts combine into the scope of and input for the fourth theoretical frame: 4) feeling 'home' (or 'belonging'). In the following paragraphs each of these theoretical frames or concepts will be specified and placed within its theoretical context. Since processes of integration and estranging are highly interrelated, these subjects will be combined within one paragraph.

2.1.1 Social Networks and transnationalism

Social networks play a central role in this research, not only since on a small scale (transnational) social networks define the migrants personal environment and therefore the context of 'home', but also, and equally as relevant, on a larger scale of national and even global society, networks seem to become more and more prominent, if not dominant (see: Ernste et al. 2009; Castells 2010; Bauman 2011; Gielis 2011; et al.). Castells (2010), preferably calls our current world a 'Network Society', "because it is made of networks in all the key dimensions of social organization and social practice"(idem). This view is supported by sociologist Zygmunt Bauman who states that "...'society' is increasingly seen and treated as a 'network' instead of a 'structure' [...] It is being conceived as a matrix of coincidental commitments and fractures, and of an endless amount of possible permutations"(Bauman 2011, p17).

The debate on and the (developing) concept of transnationalism pays attention to shifts in migrants' experiences over the past decades due to transnational ties with the homeland becoming and staying increasingly important for migrants (Kearney 1995; Gielis 2009, 2011; Ernste et al. 2009; inter alia). "A new kind of migrating population is emerging, composed of those whose networks, activities and patterns of life encompass both their host and home societies. Their lives cut across national boundaries and bring two societies into a single social field" (Glick Schiller et al. 1992, p 1). Although geographical distance and integration into the host country might result in a process of estranging from the country of birth, transnational networks can reinforce ties with the home country over time.

We called this immigrant experience “transnationalism” to emphasize the emergence of a social process in which migrants establish social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders. Immigrants are understood to be transmigrants when they develop and maintain multiple relations- familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political- that span borders. (...) multiplicity of migrants’ involvements in both the home and host societies is a central element of transnationalism. Transmigrants take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns within a field of social relations that links together their country of origin and their country or countries of settlement.. (Glick Schiller, N., et al., 1992, p ix)

Clearly, as “it is almost a truism to say that the world of today has become increasingly interconnected” (Ernste et al. 2009, p 577), the possibilities in maintaining these relations have improved through digitalisation and technological developments (mobile phones, the internet, etc.) over the past decades to the point at which they can take a more frequent and prominent place in everyday life.

The shift from traditional mass media to a system of horizontal communication networks organized around the Internet and wireless communication has introduced a multiplicity of communication patterns at the source of a fundamental cultural transformation, as virtuality becomes an essential dimension of our reality. (Castells, M., 2010, p16)

Under the influence of digitalization, perceptions of scale, borders and distances change. This might mean that existing boundaries between local and global shift or become obscured. As in parallel happens through transnationalism. Relative distances within terms of communication and information flows decrease through telecommunication, mobile networks and social media. This results in an era in which essential geographical concepts and research methods are in process of being 'reviewed' (see: Kluitenberg et al. 2006; Ernste et al. 2009; Gielis 2009, 2011; Christensen 2011). Which is of course also relevant in debates on geographical processes such as migration, particularly within the context of current processes of globalization. Moreover, “hence that [mobile people and migrants] find themselves neither here nor there, but in several places at the same time, has important consequences for spatial container concepts like place, nation and identities” (Ernste et al. 2009, p 577). In addition, and relevant to this study, to these spatial concepts the concept of 'home' could be added, as (traditionally) it is often associated with a specific, space containing place, which might change within transnational conditions.

As formulated by Khagram and Levitt (2008), there are five intellectual foundations of transnational studies: 1) the more descriptive 'empirical transnationalism'; 2) the 'methodological transnationalism' which emphasizes on breaking open the border-centred notions of places, scales and nation states; 3) the more explanatory 'theoretical transnationalism'; 4) 'philosophical transnationalism'; and 5) 'public transnationalism' which “involves an open ethical, prescriptive and critical approach to scholarship” (In: Ernste et al 2009, p 579). As it is focussing on (the process of) transnational migration from the level of individual experiences, reflecting on the practical, experiential as well as a possibly more abstract and philosophical meaning of 'home', a concept that can be seen both as a 'place' and as being 'placeless', this research could be in fact linked to all of the last mentioned dimension of transnational studies, in various extends. More specific, it refers to the following:

...to take a transnationalist view on social life is expected to create new spaces to imagine options for transformation and development, which would otherwise be overlooked, if one would assume borders and boundaries to be structural givens instead of dynamic social constructions and resources for social action. (Khagram and Levitt 2008, in: Ernste et al. 2009, p 579)

This perspective on the meaning of a 'place' (such as for instance the 'home') is particularly important in framing this research as it opens up the possible pre-set notion of 'home', and hence the reflection and discussion on its meaning. Moreover, it allows the more hybrid (see: Kluitenberg et al. 2006; Duyvendak 2011) interpretation of spaces, places and the 'home', which was argued to be relevant within a globalising and digitalising society.

2.1.2 Integration and estrangement processes

Transnational migrants arrive in their new country of residence with certain practices and concepts constructed at home. They belong to certain more or less politicized populations and hold particular class affiliations. They then engage in complex activities across national borders that create, shape and potentially transform their identities. (Glick Schiller et al 1992, p 4)

At the point of arrival in the new country of residence, migrants bring their own social and cultural 'luggage', which could be called ethno-cultural characteristics. Although it may be appealing to the 'stranger' to cling to the familiarity of people, food, products and behaviour from the 'home'-culture, “the maintenance of ethno-cultural characteristics is not without its obligations”(Rath

2001, p3). As by not adapting to the majority culture within the new society that they have come to “they are putting their social position at risk” (Rath 2001, p3). According to van Amersfoort (1982), newcomers that “fail to adapt adequately” to the (social) patterns of their new fellow citizens “are labelled as 'ethnic minorities' [which] can only make up for the disadvantages in one way; by a process of integration controlled by the 'majority'...” (van Amersfoort in: Rath 2001, p3).

Stichweh (1997) describes four analytical levels in which the concept of strangeness could be analysed: 1) the “self-description of society”; 2) the “constitution of persons as strangers carried out on the basis of experience and by acts of social attribution which may be handled by one side only or by both sides, in the same direction or conflictually”; 3) the “explicit institutionalisation of social roles and that of a corporative status for strangers”; and 4) the “macrostructural patterns of integrating strangers in modern societies” (all Stichweh 1997, p7). Starting from this analysis, I will go deeper into the third level of institutionalisation, presenting it as a way of integration:

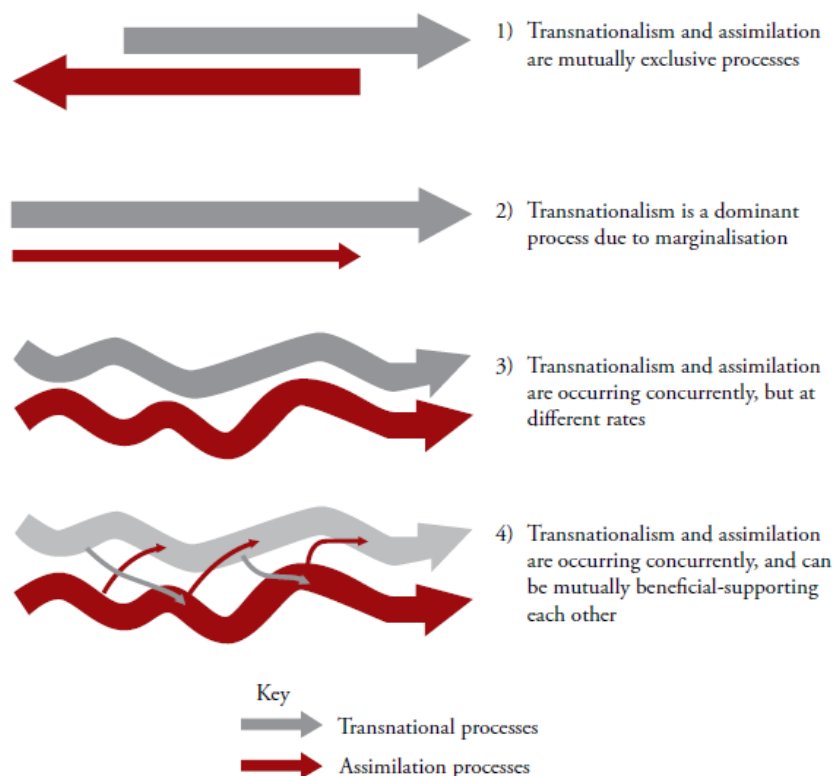
All immigrant communities have the desire to institutionalize their common culture. The types of institutions and especially the functions they (seek to) fulfil are indicators for the relationship between the immigrants, their countries of origin and their host societies” (Doomernik 1995, p 47)

In other words, institutionalisation of the stranger or, in this case, the (temporary) migrant may be a result of or may result in a further acceptance of a more permanent residence in the hosting country, and thus can be seen as a step of further settlement and integration (see: Doomernik 1995). Examples of such institutions could be (specific) schools; public broadcasting; shops and/or markets (that e.g. sell food and products of the migrants' country of origin); religious institutions e.g. a church, a mosque or synagogue; etc. However, on the other hand, these constructed institutions may also strengthen ties with the original 'home' country through its omnipresent representation in the every-day environment. This way, such institutions could also be seen as indicators of transnationalism.

In a research on integration 'versus' transnationalism (studying Turkish-German transnational space, at different stages of the migrants' lives), Sert (2012) recalls to four hypotheses regarding linkages between transnationalism and integration, formulated by Oeppen (2009), which are schematically represented in figure 2.

According to Sert, although scientifically rejected, the first situation is “still present in some popular media claiming that transnationalism and integration are mutually exclusive processes and that migrants cannot both maintain ties to their old country and become part of their new society” (2012, p 94). The second hypotheses, based on empirical research, “evokes the ideas about ethnic enclaves and ghettoisation” (idem). The last two possible scenarios are related to each other although in the third, integration and transnationalism are stated just to be 'not mutually exclusive' while in the fourth they are supposed to be even supportive to each other (idem). According to results of the empirical research of Sert, the latter scenario was best applicable (to his selection of respondents). Meaning that “transnationalism and integration are mutually supportive processes, suggesting an interactive relationship rather than a mere co-existence” (idem, p 99). Still the question can be posed whether this is actually the most 'positive' outcome from the perspectives of both the migrant and the hosting society?

Figure 2. Four hypotheses of Oeppen (2009) on transnationalism and integration
(as found in Sert 2012)



Source: (Ceri Oeppen, *A Stranger at Home: Integration, Transnationalism and the Afghan Elite*, DPhil thesis, Brighton, University of Sussex, 2009.)

2.1.3 Home and belonging

According to Mitchell, “theorising ‘transnationality’ emphasises thus, in a very general sense, relations between things and movements across things and forces us to rethink concepts like ‘identity’, ‘subjectivity’ and ‘space’ and ‘time’” (in: Ernste et al. 2009, p 580). The term 'home' can be linked to all of these concepts of which probably most in particular 'identity'. In fact the concept of 'home' could as well be added to this list, as through theorising 'transnationality' its meaning may become more relative and less spatially bounded. The conceptual meaning of home could be placed in context of the recently developed transnational paradigm in which, in contrast to “space as a container [,] relativist space is increasingly important” (Ernste et al. 2009, p 582). This approach would also be able to do justice to a 'hybrid' interpretation of place and 'home', derived from the idea that a less physical but virtual space is more and more interweaving with the physical space (see: Kluitenberg et al. 2006). This is a result of digitalisation processes and enhanced ways for communication and mobility (see: Ernste et al. 2009; Kluitenberg et al. 2006).

To go a step further in this re-conceptualisation of space and the relations to space, Ernste, van Houtum and Zoomers state:

“Until something better has been found, we propose to use the term ‘trans-world’, as this relates to the aspect of ‘trans’ on all spatial scales and comprising a more rich understanding of the relationship between the borders of the self and the environment or place of dwelling. Seen in this light, the ‘trans’ then becomes a fundamental way of understanding basic human activity of relating to the environment and the continuously transgressing borders between the self and the spatial environment (Ernste 2004, in: Ernste et al. 2009, p580).

It would be interesting to (re)view the concept or the meaning of 'home' from this perspective, as it ultimately seems to be the 'place' in which boundaries between the self and the environment come to fade. According to many scholars a sufficient description of the concept of 'home' would be “a safe and familiar space, be it a haven or shelter, where people can relax, retreat and care”, moreover, “feeling at home is not only a familiar sentiment to us all; familiarity is one of its key-defining aspects”, the inhabitant is basically 'bound up with it' (Duyvendak 2011, p27). In this phenomenological approach, the concept of 'home' is “fixed and rooted, impervious to change” (idem, p28). However, the 'culturally created' conception of home (Bourdieu in: Duyvendak 2011) is more and more becoming deterritorialized and de-attached to place by an increased mobility of global society (Christensen 2011; Ernste et al. 2009; Duyvendak 2011). As is obviously also the

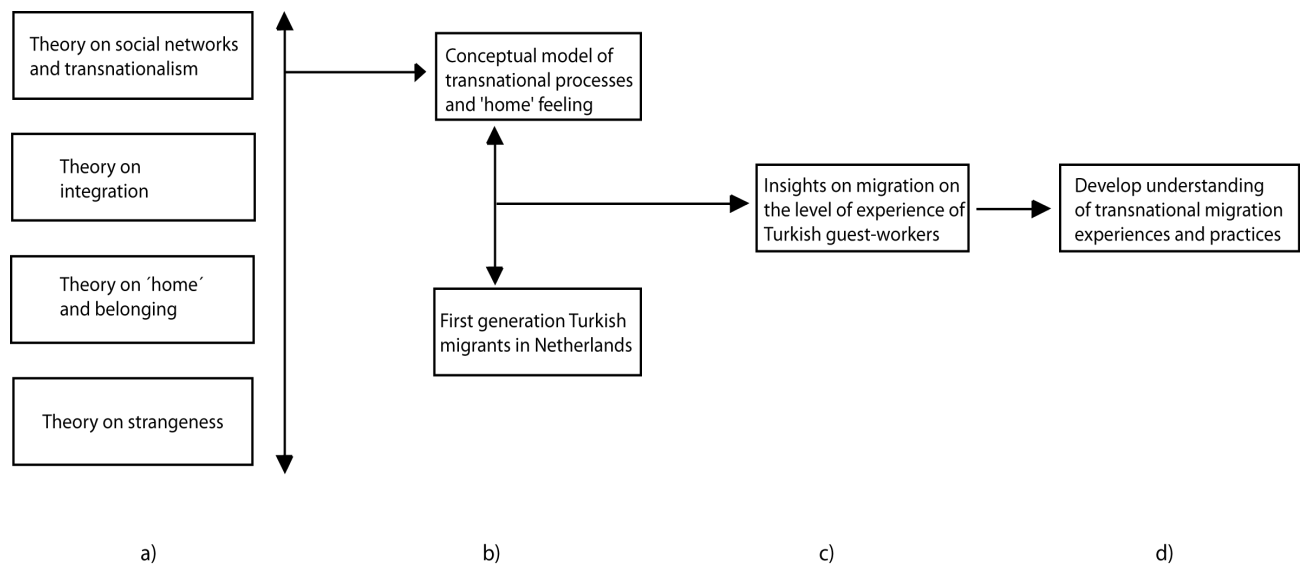
case in the transnational migrant's experience. Therefore “a much more plurilocal concept of home” is needed (Morley 2000, p46) as to pay respect to the value of 'home' feelings is crucial for a healthy society (see: Duyvendak 2011; Morley 2000; inter alia). What is in this perspective (the meaning of) the ('trans') 'home' to transnationally living people?

For a better conceptual understanding of the matter, this question can be a little more elaborately placed in context of theories on 'strangeness'. Next to social and cultural connectedness to the environment of residence, the feeling of 'home' or feelings of 'belonging' is affected by relations of inclusion and exclusion on multiple levels at the same time (see: Stichweh 1997; Gurevitch 1988; et al.) which are regulated by the concept of the stranger (Stichweh 1997). Instead of the more traditional binary relation to the other, that either includes or excludes based on membership, Stichweh argues that “modern society is no longer a membership organization” (idem, p1). Nowadays “the third status (...) has become constitutive of our everyday experience of other persons” (idem). We therefore need “to revalorize the membership criterion of citizenship as a valuable good and as a constitutive criterion for an effective social system” (idem, p4). As transmigrants “develop identities within social networks that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously” (Glick Schiller et al. 1992, p 1-2), theories that address the construction of a third status or a third space (Soja 1996) are also relevant within this case. Possibly, as both countries of former and current residence no longer suffice in their home-feeling, transmigrants create a more abstract and hybrid 'third home' to identify with. This process form a parallel to the hybridisation of the public space as described by Sassen inter alia (Kluitenberg et al. 2006) which was mentioned in the introductory description of the research context from this project. The question is however, how this hybrid 'third home' can be defined and constructed?

2.2 Research model

This research will be based on literature studies that will provide a theoretical framework in which hypotheses on the matter can be formulated. Results of in-depth interviews with Turkish migrants will be confronted to these hypotheses and placed within the context of this theoretical framework, which should result in a deepened understanding of the transnational experience of these migrants' meaning of 'home'. In the following scheme the expected research process was visualised.

Figure 3. Researchmodel



The above research model can be formulated as follows: (a) Researching a variety of theoretical concepts in the field of strangeness, 'home' and belonging, integration and transnationalism and social networks will result in (b) a conceptual model of transnational processes and their effect on the meaning of 'home' to transmigrants which will be confronted to empirical results of interviewing first generation Turkish migrants in the Netherlands. This will (c) provide insights in the specific (transnational) experiences of these migrants. From this (d) more general assumptions on transnational migration experiences and their meaning in contemporary society can be made.

2.3 Operationalization and conceptual model

Migration processes might result in feelings of estranging as well as feelings of belonging. This interaction between the connectedness to the homeland on the one hand, and the country of settlement on the other, (through social networks) result in a reconsideration of the meaning of 'home' (and as a next step, in the personal identity of the migrant).

Although geographical distance and integration into the host country might result in a process of estranging from the country of birth, transnational networks can reinforce ties with the home country over time. Improved communicational technology that provides an improved accessibility to these networks could contribute to this process. As a result, estranging can again occur within the host country, along with or after a process of integration. Because of this dynamic, the meaning of 'home' may be constantly shifting and subject to change.

As derived from the above theories and assumptions, the (causal) relations between these processes are visualised in the following conceptual model:

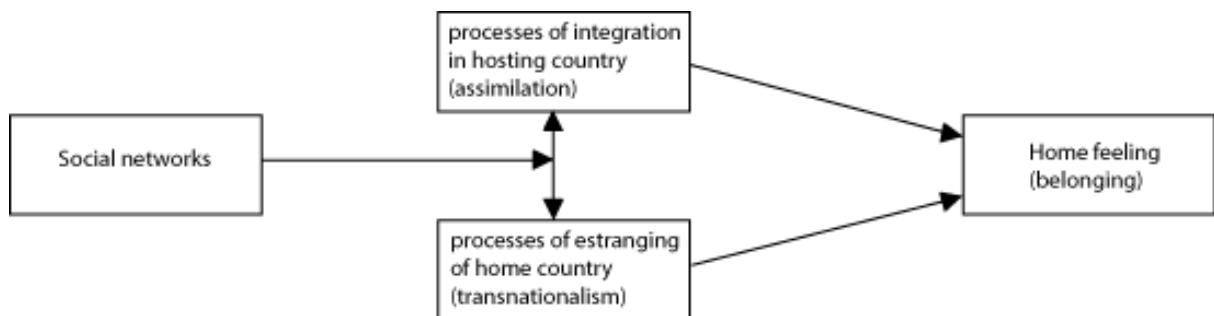


Figure 4. Conceptual model

In this conceptual model it is shown that feelings of 'home' (or 'belonging') are being influenced by processes of both integration in the receiving country as it is through processes of estranging of the homeland. These processes hypothetically also interact with and affect each other. Social (transnational) networks (both within the homeland as the country of settlement) play a crucial role in this interaction.

3. Methodology

3.1 Research strategy

Within this study I will make use of both qualitative research methods in actively collecting empirical data, as well as literature studies (theoretical research). This non-empirical research will be used as a support and framework to reflect and confront my own findings. However, in-depth interviews supported by visual data, will form the basis in generating input for analysis. Qualitative research will therefore be the main strategy of this project. In the following paragraphs it will be explained what the process of analyses has been and how it has been constructed and defined.

3.1.1 Choice of method

Existing approaches of data analysis have provided basis in the construction of a way to draw conclusions from the empirical data gathered in this research. As different approaches have specific features to offer that would benefit the reaching of the research goals described, the method of analyses used in this research will be a combination of different strategies. Leading in the selection of these strategies and their features have been the research goal as well as the research questions and the type, amount and quality of empirical data that has been collected.

In order to create an insight in the requirements to the method of choice, the aim of the research will here be shortly recalled:

To acquire an in-depth understanding of migration experiences of Turks in the Netherlands and more specifically the effects of integration and/or estranging processes on their feeling of 'home', in order to gain insights of Turkish migration processes and migration processes.

Based on theory and sub-questions, three main themes can be appointed to be leading being: 1) Social networks and transnationalism; 2) Estrangement and integration processes; and 3) Feelings of 'home' and belonging. It is important for this research to distract insights on all three of this theme when analysing the interview results. Therefore analytical strategy of choice should make this possible.

As the aim is to research migrants experiences in a broader context of an era of globalisation and digitalisation processes, it could also be relevant to place the research within a discursive context which can be done through critical discourse analysis. However, since this research did not derive from a critical point of view towards certain specific societal problems that should be

solved -although such problems probably do exist they are not the pith of the matter in this research-, critical discourse analysis will not play a key role within this research (Wagenaar 2011).

3.1.2 Case study research and single-site ethnography

In Creswells approach to case study research, the method is typified by “detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information” (Creswell 2013, p97). In this study the interview questions are (in some cases) supported by and supplemented with images or (domestic) objects, as not only they can function as a tool to start the conversation, moreover these objects can be “useful analytical tools to study transmigrational experiences” (Gielis 2011, p261). The interviewees are asked to show an object or picture that illustrates their meaning of 'home', this could be anything varying from e.g. an household item, to a piece of clothing , a (food) product, a picture or a recipe, as “*anything* that can be found in the house has the potential to carry transnational experiences” (idem). Placing domestic objects or 'things' in the centre of the conversation can be linked to what Gielis describes as a 'neo-version of single-site ethnography'. Although, according to him, more classical ethnographers have argued that in these times of globalisation and digitalisation transnational patterns and relations became too complex to study through single-sited ethnography. In the opinion of Gielis, (developing) a 'neo-version' of this method would be a valuable addition to geographers' ways of researching also, or especially, in a global and mobile era.

...the main task of the researcher is to search for the domestic things that are important in migrants' transnational experiences (...) and to try to tell the story of these things. (...) It is the entirety of these stories of domestic things that provides insights into the complex and diverse ways migrants experience their transnational lives... (Gielis 2011, pp261-262).

As the respondents select their personal 'things' themselves this prevents the interviews from being influenced by presumptions or perspectives of the interviewer (as would be the case when the researcher would give visual input from own perspective). Moreover, in this way the object is not only a tool for conversation, but an object that holds valuable information in itself that can add to the understanding of the migrant's transnational experience and meaning of 'home'. Hence, the object will be subject to analysis itself as well.

However, although in this argumentation linkages are being made to ethnographic research methods, the aim in this research is not to fulfil a complete ethnographic study with the end

product of a 'holistic cultural portrait' as described by Creswell (2013). Rather this will be a case study as I want to “explore an issue or problem using the case [first generation Turkish migrants in the Netherlands] as a specific illustration” (Creswell 2013, p97). Still, the approach of ethnography as argued by Gielis seems relevant to be aware of and methodological elements can be 'borrowed', such as the analysis of domestic objects which means that “the researcher carefully observes these things and interviews the migrant about them, and by doing so constructs thematic life stories” (Gielis 2011, p261).

3.1.3 Thematic narrative research

After explaining the value of the use of objects and visual data analyses in this context, it must be stressed that the told stories of the respondents (in context of an interview or conversation) will still form the core of the data analysed and the objects remain tools to improve the quality of these interviews.

Selecting the object and explaining about it might bring the respondent into a different 'sense-oriented' mindset which triggers the respondents 'senses' and memories and helps the respondents to revive and describe their experiences. The interview might reach a different level of in-depth experience and conversation might become more vivid and animated than without. Besides, using these visual tools might provide a level of comfort and recognition which can be helpful to bridge (respondents' fear of) possible language gaps during the conversation.

Still a strategy to analyse the results of these interviews has to be defined or chosen. Since, within the limited amount of time available for this bachelor research and due to certain difficulties finding respondents (as will be further explained in the reflecting part of this thesis), it was only possible to gather nine respondents (see also paragraph 3.2.1 Finding respondents). Therefore the amount of interviews taken is limited. However, the semi-structured interviews that have been used were extensive, in-depth and contained a lot of valuable information, which is the more relevant conditions of data used in qualitative research. These characteristics should be taken into account and lead in this case to a consideration of the options within narrative research methods.

According to Creswell, narrative research “begins with the experiences as expressed in lived and told stories of individuals” (2013, p70). The method is specifically sufficient when only few individuals are being studied in-depth, which is obviously the case in this research. Although narrative research is often linked to biographical or life-story research, it can also be applied to other forms of qualitative research. As is described by Bryman, Rhodes & Brown (2005) identify, in the context of organizational research, five principal research areas from which becomes clear

that narrative review is also very suitable for, amongst others, analysing feelings of identity and experiences of change (Bryman, 2008, p577) that are of course very much present and relevant in this context. Since this research revolves around understanding processes of change (in the sense of migration, integration, estrangement or the development of feelings of belonging) and identity ('home' feeling and belonging) it will be also a useful strategy within this context of research. Although Rhodes & Brown (2005) argued the value of these principal research areas specifically within organizational investigation, these principles can be applied to other contexts as well. And in a certain way it could be argued that a country and society in which (the Turkish) migrants need to find and manage their ways, could be seen as forms of organizations in a more abstract or philosophical sense.

Moreover, thematical narrative research is a valuable approach as it specifically places personal experiences, of in this case Turkish transmigrants, in context of a life history or life course (Creswell 2013; Bryman 2008). In this research however this life course will be just concisely discussed, focussing only on details related to the specific theme of research: the migration process, and the function as (an impression) of the context in which this process took place, giving insight on the perspective of the specific respondent. Within this method, open structured interviews can be used as narratives that will be the subjects of analyses (Bryman 2008). These interviews are typically a co-production of the interaction between researcher and respondent (idem).

More specifically, I will make use in this study of thematic narrative research, which puts “an emphasis on what is said rather than the way it is said” (Bryman 2008, p577). As this specific approach might be most helpful in extracting and uncovering the three underlying themes of the sub-questions that need to be answered.

Next to this, the phenomenological perspective will be a valuable addition. As it is a strategy that is very useful focusing on experiencing processes and can add a more philosophical approach which might add an in-depth level to the ideas of 'home' presented (Creswell 2013; Bryman 2008).

Hence, this research will be based on the results of in -depth open-structured interviews (interview guide to be found in Attachment 2) in which a thematic narrative will be co-constructed through the interaction between the interviewee and the interviewer (whose influence, input and personal perspective should be taken into account (Creswell 2013, p71). These narratives will be coded and thematically ordered in order to gain a better understanding of the underlying practices and motivations. To add an extra layer of analyses to the results, the narratives are firstly

grouped into three categories based on different perspectives as a result of age and gender: 1) the male migrants or guest-labourers themselves (referred to as 'Men'); 2) the female migrants following their husbands (referred to as 'Wives'); and 3) the infant migrants that moved with their parents without having the option of choice (referred to as 'Children'). In the final conclusions the perspectives of all categories will be combined, first by the themes of the three sub-questions posed and finally in an attempt of answering the main research question.

3.1.4 Steps of analysis

Since the technique of thematic narrative analyses has not yet been thoroughly structured in a step by step way by experts or methodologists (Bryman 2008, p554), the analytical steps taken within this study should be more specifically outlined to give an insight in how results and conclusions are achieved. I have in this process taken the following steps:

- Coding the interviews and adding memo's
- Distract chronological life course of each respondent, to introduce respondents and provide a personal context in which the narrative should be placed
- Create thematic narratives for each respondent (according to sub-questions/themes)
- Relate the results of different sub-themes to each other per individual respondent
- For each category (Men; Wives; Children), draw conclusions from comparing the narratives of different respondents within this category with each other. These conclusions will be the answers to the sub-questions.
- For each theme, draw conclusions from comparing the narratives of different respondents of different categories with each other. These conclusions will be the answers to the sub-questions.
- Confront sub-conclusions to theory as described in chapter 2 and combine conclusions from sub-themes, formulating an answer to the main research question

Since not all respondents connected their 'home' feelings to objects (or the specific objects were not around) and the use of objects was particularly meant as a supportive tool for deepening the conversation, results on this will not strictly be found in each narrative.

3.2 Research material

Turks represent a large group of migrants in the Netherlands. Although originally most of them came to the Netherlands as guest-workers, nowadays, Turkish population in the Netherlands exists for the greater part of second and third generations, meaning children and grand-children of the guest-workers, who were all born in the Netherlands. For this research it is important that respondents have the experience of (consciously) leaving their country of birth. Therefore, in this research, the main part of the respondents was selected from the adult group of the first generation of Turkish guest-workers, both men and women. However, since finding respondents willing to participate appeared to be hard to find, some exceptions have been made. Two of the respondents were actually born in Turkey, but migrated with their (guest-worker) parents to the Netherlands during their childhood. Although this may result in a (somewhat) different experience, I think it is still valuable to add these perspectives. Moreover, since the children of these guest-workers have often played a very active role in the integration process of their parents, the experiences and perspectives of these migrant's children can provide a meaningful addition to the stories of the adult migrants .

3.2.1 Finding the respondents

Originally, the aim was to have in-depth semi-structured interviews with about ten representative Turkish migrants. Although some more (Turkish) people have been present during some of the interviews, only nine of them added complete and in-depth perspectives to the data, which have been the criteria of selecting the respondents mentioned and thoroughly analysed in this thesis. In the end six interviews were held, three of which were individual interviews. The other three interviews took part in couples or little family groups, with more than one respondent at the time. In some cases children were present during the interview. Although some of them were partially involved in the conversation, most of them have been excluded from the analysis. Mainly because of age (most children were too young) and/or because their participation was not intensive and extended enough to distillate a complete story out of their answers.

Besides, other than expected, it turned out to be fairly difficult to find respondents through the so-called 'snowball effect'. Therefore, I had to find other ways, starting from my own network, to get in touch with possible participants. Since there was a risk that results would be influenced by gathering respondents through the snow-ball effect, as they would all be connected to the same network and thus, to each other, in the end this forced change of tactics has probably been more of an advantage. Still, some of the respondents are linked to each other through family-bonds, in

all cases related participants took part in the same interview/conversation.

All respondents are Turkish migrants and in all cases the reason of migration was guest-labour in the Netherlands but still the respondents represent a variety of perspectives and situations within this limited frame of the case. Although the prior idea was to only interview first generation guest-workers that at least had the age of 15 at the time of migration, a lack of respondents slightly stretched these conditions. However, in the end allowing also younger (at the time of migration) respondents (with a somewhat different perspective and perception of the migration process) in the selection gave an even better understanding of the matter and has, in my opinion enriched the results of the empirical research. Instead of a very homogeneous selection of respondents, there are now different angles on the matter that can also be compared. The difference in perspectives result e.g. from differences in age (currently as well as at the time of migration), gender or the place of birth (city or rural).

In the following overview participating respondents are listed in the order of dates on which I met them. The table provides an overview of several characteristics and gives an insight on the variety within the selection of respondents, a more extended version of this table can be found in the attachments (attachment 3). In respect to the respondents' privacy, all names are fictitious throughout this research.

Next to the overview, a map is shown on which all of the birthplaces (as mentioned in table 1) can be found providing an idea of the specific geographical locations and the way they are spread out related to each other.

Table 1. Overview of characteristics per respondent

Pseudonym	Gender	Year of birth	Year of migration	Age at time of migration	Place of birth	Current place of residence
Orse	Female	1973	2012	38/39 years old	Yozgat	Eindhoven
Abdullah	Male	1971	1979-1981 en 1989	8 years old, 18 years old	Elazig	Eindhoven
Deniz	Male	1941	1963	23 years old	Istanbul	Tilburg
Elif	Female	1966	1975	8 years old	Rize	Vlijmen (soon Istanbul)
Arif	Male	1962	1977	14/15 years old	Sivas	Eindhoven
Fidan	Female	1963	1979	+/- 16 years old	Sivas	Eindhoven
Esra	Female	1986	1998	22 years old	Bursa	Eindhoven
Yildiz	Female	1970	1972-1982 en 1988	2 years old, 18 years old	Antakya	Eindhoven

A more extended version of this overview can be found in attachment 2.

Figure 5. Map of birthplaces of respondents.



4. Results

In this chapter, the results of the interviews of each respondent will be described. Since the experiences of migration are partially dependent on the (social) position of the respondents, e.g. defined by gender or age, the interview-outcomes are grouped into three different clusters: 1) Men; 2) Wives; 3) Children (at the time of migration). Within these clusters, each paragraph, which covers the results of and is named after one of the respondents, is subdivided into five sections. First there is an introduction, which provides an insight in the life course and environment of the interviewee. Then there are three sections that relate to the three sub-questions that this research is based on. Finally there is a concluding part in which the main outcome of the particular interview is discussed. These outcomes will be compared, combined and further elaborated in chapter 5.

Since all interviews were taken in Dutch, the quotations within the paragraphs beneath have been translated and are therefore not exactly literal. Nuances in meaning are transferred as well as possible but may still slightly differ due to this.

4.1 Men

4.1.1 The story of Abdullah

Abdullah was born in 1971 and spent his youth in Yozgat, a small community in the heart of Turkey, east of the Capital of Ankara. At a young age he first travelled with his family to the Netherlands in 1971, he stayed for a year and then returned to Turkey. A few years later he moved to the Netherlands again, this time with the intention of staying for a longer time.

When in the Netherlands, Abdullah starts a job as a guest worker, he marries, starts a family and buys a house in Eindhoven. The marriage doesn't last and results in a divorce. Abdullah loses his house and only sees his children in the weekends when he takes them to the park or, if the weather is bad, to the cinema. Abdullah also struggles with other problems for a while: he gambles in the café, but he manages to overcome this. In 2005 he buys a house which he begins refurbishing entirely. Abdullah inhabits his new house on his own for over 6 years, then his new wife, Orse, travels from Turkey to move in with him in 2012. They met on the internet.

I met Abdullah and his wife during a tour of the van Abbe museum in Eindhoven, especially organised for 'new Dutch people' in which they participated along with their language coach.

Social networks and the level of transnationalism

Since his arrival in the Netherlands, Abdullah frequently revisited Turkey. This was often on the

occasion of family affairs, such as a passing. He also regularly goes to visit his family in Turkey on holiday, but due to his financial situation he cannot visit as frequently as Abdullah would wish.

Abdullah describes himself as a rather introverted type of person. Therefore his social network is limited and he is not very active in communicating with it. However, he primarily uses the telephone to keep in touch with his transnational connections in Turkey, mainly family, and the frequency of using this depends mostly on events in his or their lives that need to be shared (e.g. marriage, death of family members, etc). The financial expenses are also a factor that limits the frequency and endurance of communication. Nowadays, former phone-calls are regularly being replaced by conversations over a webcam using msn. But the phone is often still used to 'warn' each other and make a 'digital appointment'.

Although Abdullah recognizes major changes in society as a result of increased mobility and ways of communication, according to him this did not change his communication behaviour specifically. However, he did meet his new wife Orse, who lived in Turkey at the time, through a dating site on the internet. The development of this medium of communication resulted for Abdullah in a marriage and put an end to the loneliness he felt within his home.

In the Netherlands, Abdullah's network consists of his ex-wife and children, some friends and acquaintances he met (and meets) at the mosque, at work, etc. Currently, he is not in touch with his children (a son and daughter of respectively 16 and 21 years old) on a regular basis. With his other contacts, the ordinary way of keeping contact is through visiting. Sometimes Abdullah is introduced to new people by his wife, but 'since her contacts are primarily women', this does not happen very often. From this it can be assumed that his cultural background (being Turkish and a muslim) is also partly determining Abdullah's social network (since within this culture men and women do not interact that much).

Abdullah also feels limited in his communication with Dutch people due to his relatively poor knowledge of the language. It is an issue that returns regularly within the interview. He explains that he feels restricted in his ways of expressing of what truly is on his mind and in getting a conversation to the next level. Moreover, he sometimes feels misunderstood, especially in some occasions in the past (e.g. by the judge during his divorce trial in which he lost parenthood over his children). These outstanding experiences may also tinge his interpretation of other social interactions. It could be that these negative experiences still have an effect on the size and intensity of his Dutch social network.

Estrangement and integration processes

During his life in the Netherlands Abdullah became more and more aware of how important language is to his process of integration as he feels very much limited by his lacking skills in Dutch. However, according to Abdullah himself, he had previously done little to improve on this. Nonetheless, he is currently taking a language course along with his wife. Not only does he aim to improve his Dutch speaking skills by this course, within this programme he and his wife, guided by a personal language coach, are undertaking activities to better become acquainted with Dutch culture.

Moreover, there have been different events in his life that have partially determined his own perception of his level of integration and feelings of 'strangeness'. One of them for example being his divorce. As in court Abdullah realised just how much of a stranger he still is/was in the country he has lived in and was a citizen of for so long, "the judge did not understand what I meant and that's why she gave the children to the mother." This moment made him explicitly aware of his limited knowledge of the Dutch language and organization structures. Besides, because of this moment Abdullah lost parenthood over his children.

However, in the end, this confrontation with a language and cultural gap offered him a different view on his traditional idea of a family. During his marriage, based on his original traditional Turkish view, Abdullah worked a lot while his wife stayed at home to take care of the children: "I have always said that one of the both of us has to watch over the children." After his divorce he reflects how they could have organised their family situation differently (which would have possibly resulted in a different situation and relation with his children now).

In Abdullah's case, there also is a process of estrangement from Turkey to speak of, manifesting mainly in the way his original fellow countrymen misunderstand the reality of a life in Europe and develop unrealistic expectations towards him. Abdullah therefore also feels misunderstood in his native country which creates a cultural gap in between Abdullah and his birth country. Frustrated about this, he detests the term that Turks use for 'European Turks': "Allemandzje".

However, the misunderstandings of the Turks, according to Abdullah, might have to do with a change that has occurred in recent years. Because life in Turkey is improving, whereas in the Netherlands the political climate is becoming more rejective towards foreigners, Dutch Turks are no longer at an advantage, whereas this may have been thought to be so in the past. This reflection on Abdullah's estrangement of Turkey shows therefore a dynamic and flexible quality.

These qualities also apply to Abdullah's experience of integration and estrangement within the Netherlands as lately he feels more (or more often) foreign in the Netherlands compared to

before. While he used to be welcomed with open arms looking for work, he now often feels rejected and discriminated against while searching a job.

On a different level, Abdullah experiences estrangement or distance from Turkey due to a lack of communication (it is more difficult to keep informed about family events). Although Abdullah notices that society has changed as a result of increased mobility and networks of communication, it does not make him feel as if Turkey is more nearby, to travel there “has become easier, but it is still a 3000 kilometre drive.”

Feelings of belonging and 'home'

To Abdullah, ‘home’ is the place with four walls that is his house. It is an important place to him and this is apparent from the fact that he invests a lot of time in refurbishing it. Fortunately he likes to do this type of odd jobs, but still the house is not yet quite ‘what it should be’. At the moment he is still not quite satisfied with the state that his current house resides in, this is temporary and partly caused by the fact that his new wife is still settling in.

In a less physical sense, Abdullah thinks that language is the most essential tool to feel at home (in a foreign country). Aside from language, he maintains that the most important thing is to have a job, a house, and self-sufficiency. “Wherever you have that is your home.”

Abdullah has dual citizenship and, since he has spent half of his life in the Netherlands, he calls himself a “49+ Kaaskop” (Kaaskop is a nickname for Dutch people), the 49+ standing for the level of his ‘Dutchness’ in percentages. But although Abdullah has lived in the Netherlands for a long time he still regularly experiences incomprehension (from and of Dutch people) which impairs his possible feelings of home. The feeling that certain Dutchmen still perceive him as a stranger still prevents him, according to Abdullah, from feeling ‘at home’ in the Dutch nation. He also takes issue with the way in which the country, the society and the government (nowadays) handle strangers, which makes it harder for him to connect to and identify with Dutch culture. Even so he says that he would miss certain aspects of living in the Netherlands if he were to, hypothetically, return to Turkey.

When Abdullah describes feeling homesick of Turkey he mentions, among other things, missing his native language. He also believes his homesickness of Turkey is related to the fact that his family lives there. But his feelings of homesickness are not very constant, they are very much depending on his mood. “Sometimes I feel very happy to be here. Sometimes I think I should be in Turkey.”

As his 'home object' (picture can be found in attachment 4), Abdullah puts forward (after I introduced an example of my own, being a small jar of an herb that is an important flavour in a family recipe of my own memory) an extraordinary heirloom: his grandfather's pocket watch. It is extra special to him because his grandpa gave it exclusively to Abdullah, despite the fact that his wife and kids also hoped to inherit it. The heirloom that represents home to Abdullah (ironically) remains in Turkey. As an alternative, he shows me his rosary, 'Tespi' in Turkish, which also used to belong to his grandfather and which he uses in prayers.

Further on, Abdullah has learned not to attach too much value to possessions. After his divorce for example, he had to leave behind all his (fruit) trees which had a special meaning to him as he had taken them from different places, brought them together in his own garden and took care of them for a long time. "It is not always possible to take the things with you that you want to keep. That's where it ends." Although this is not necessarily impossible with certain smaller things, his memories and thoughts became even more important to him as "it is always possible to take those with you".

Concluding notes

During the interview Abdullah often speaks about his process of integration relating to language. This might be influenced by the language course he recently started (after about 23 years of residence in the Netherlands). According to his story, language seems to be a thread that is important in the development of both Abdullah's social network, his integration process and his home-feeling.

Abdullah lives a somewhat sequestered life, which could be attributed to his character and the result of his life experiences. Next to this, the little social contacts he does have are mainly (Dutch) Turks and little Dutch people. This might be due to cultural differences, but also to the language barrier he experiences. Moreover, apparently Abdullah still adheres to his Turkish roots in a way that might prevent him from developing a 'Dutch' social network. This may as well colour the course of his integrating in Dutch society. According to himself, language has been an important limitation in this process, but the way he describes his attempts in developing a social network also show a reticence in getting in touch with e.g. women. This seems to be a matter of course in Abdullah's experience, but does not connect to Dutch culture and manners in which no (intended) distinction is made between men and women. From this point of view, a better integration in Dutch culture could positively affect the scope of his social network and vice-versa.

Despite the fact that Abdullah's life is not so much socially oriented, family however, seems to be very much important. This reflects also in his choice of an heirloom as (both of) his 'home-

object'. Although he has little contact with his own children, they are very much present in the conversation and plausibly in his every-day thoughts. And the absence of his Turkish-rooted family is brought forward in direct relation to his (lack of) home-feeling in the Netherlands. This should again be placed in context of (his bonding to) Turkish culture which traditionally pedestals the family. Additionally, the moving in of his newly wedded wife (who can be considered a new family member) has been an impulse to his network, his integration process (or more specifically the language course he started) and the validation of the 'place of home'. Moreover, he leaves her the 'room' to co-define this place with him.

Although Abdullah's feelings seem to have become less materialistic, the demarcated place of home appears to be important for him. This might be supported by his previously mentioned sequestered life-style, in which his house is some kind of 'shelter'. It remains of value to Abdullah to invest in this place with money, time and attention.

4.1.2 The story of Deniz

Deniz was born in 1940 and grew up along what was at the time the edge of Istanbul. Deniz comes from a family of workers. His dad died at a young age, leading to financial difficulties for the family. As a young man, Deniz worked in a shoe factory in Istanbul. Here he was recruited by a Dutchman who was looking for shoemakers to work in a factory in Oisterwijk, near Tilburg. As the only bachelor in the company, Deniz was the designated candidate. His adventurous attitude made the choice easy: "I want to see!". His expectations were sober: "working over here or working over there is all the same", Deniz was more interested in the adventure than he was in the money. In 1963 he boards the steam train to the Netherlands at the age of 23 and starts working as one of the first guest workers in the shoe factory 'Vedeha' in Oisterwijk.

In Oisterwijk, Deniz lives in a guest house with some people of the same fate, but he soon attracts the interest of the Dutch girl next door. One year after his arrival, in 1964, Deniz takes her to Istanbul to meet his native country, his culture and his family. Much to the surprise of her family the couple returns as husband and wife to the Netherlands, where they marry a second time before the Dutch law. The family establishes itself at Waalwijk, but moves to Sint Oedenrode after twelve years. They have two children. After working at the shoe factory, Deniz, comes to work at (among others) Michelin as a metalworker. Also, Deniz starts working as a volunteer in first-aid and he teaches swimming to the handicapped and elderly. After three years in St Oedenrode Deniz and his wife move to Tilburg and here he joins the Red Cross. Next to this voluntarily provides first-aid at Tilburg's football club Willem II. As a worker of the Red Cross, Deniz saved two lives.

Ever since his wife died after a long illness of about 6 years, Deniz lives alone, with his dog

and cat, in his senior apartment in Tilburg Reeshof. He has a small garden and uses the shed as a workshop. Deniz' stair well is filled with certificates, thank yous and medals bequeathed by, among others, Queen Beatrix and princess Margriet. His photograph could also be seen among other extraordinary Dutch volunteers in bus stop shelters.

I got in touch with Deniz through a friend who is a photographer and had previously photographed Deniz for an issue on 'new Brabantines'. Through this friend I also met Paul Spapens, the author of this publication, who became a good friend of Deniz.

Social networks and the level of transnationalism

Since social contacts are very important to Deniz, he associates with a great group of people, both Dutch and Turkish, and many people 'know' him. When asked if Deniz knows many Dutch people, he responds: "I am famous in all of the Netherlands". He has been on national television several times and has been interviewed for papers and publications. Although he is greeted by many on the street, Deniz states he does not maintain close contact with many. He misses people who come to pay a visit and drink some coffee. He regularly feels lonely.

Because of a great desire for social contact and an outgoing character, Deniz actively builds up and searches for social networks in the Netherlands. "I like people, I like animals. (...) That's why I studied to be a nurse, for the social contacts with people." Through, for example, volunteering in first aid and the Red Cross, Deniz has met many Dutch people. Because of these social contacts, he also volunteers in the local home for the elderly, helping out with many chats and odd jobs "I want to help people."

Deniz enjoys making contact and has little trouble doing so, he likes to chat with strangers he meets on the street. He feels less limited in this in the Netherlands than he does in Turkey. He experiences it to be pleasant that the Dutch (especially the women) are somewhat easier and more informal in social intercourse (in his experience). However he does find it pleasant to discuss Turkish politics with fellow Turks. Although he does not like politics very much, he does want to stay informed on what goes on in Turkey. However, he notes that these conversations with fellow Turks must always be so serious, to his regret.

To his regret, Deniz is not in touch with his family in the Netherlands (his children and grandchildren) as often as he would like. Although he describes various visits in the recent past, it seems that him and his (grand)children have different expectations. Deniz especially perceives his contact with his grandchildren to be minimal. This is possibly a result of a cultural 'gap' between him and his grandchildren who are (only) a quarter Turkish and were fully raised in the

Netherlands (Turkish family traditions vs Dutch culture of 'independence'). His wife has passed away six years ago, which leaves Deniz alone in his house, although together with his pets.

Because Deniz does not like being home alone and loves animals, he has a dog and a cat who live in his house. On the one hand, these animals provide him the companionship that he misses ("That [dog] is my best friend"), but at the same time they create a gap between Deniz and his Turkish acquaintances in the Netherlands. "I can't help it, I like animals. Turks don't, I have a dog, I have a cat, so they won't come to my home." The contact with other Turks is (therefore) limited to meetings in the mosque, where it does not go beyond trivial conversations. Other differences in attitude and interest, such as manners and sense of humour, between Deniz and 'other Turkish men' limit the intensity of his Turkish network in the Netherlands. He does enjoy discussing Turkish politics with Turkish men of his own age, "but it must always be so serious" with them.

The first time Deniz returns to Turkey is about a year after his arrival when he takes his Dutch bride to introduce her to his country, culture and family. In 1967, when Deniz receives his driver's license, he buys a car and travels to Turkey. Since then he regularly visits Turkey, the first years by car, later by air plane. Deniz still regularly visits Turkey on holiday (during the interview, the suitcases were already packed) to visit his family. Most of his luggage consists of gifts to hand out, mainly to children. Also, on occasion, he has taken Dutch people with him and has given them a tour of his city of birth, but these things did not turn out too well for him. He prefers to spend more time with his family during these weeks.

From the Netherlands, Deniz keeps in touch with his family in Turkey (two sisters, a brother, nieces, nephews) through the telephone. Regarding the frequency of this contact, he notes: "If it is important and I have something to say I will call. Otherwise I won't." Although he has one, Deniz knows nothing of handling computers. "The computer looks at me, I look at the computer... I do not understand the computer."

However, over time ways of communication to Turkey have intensified and improved according to Deniz (as a result of increasing mobility and digitalization of communication technologies in a globalising world): he 'no longer has to write a letter and wait three days to get an answer'. "The telephone is faster". And as the use of these technologies has become cheaper in recent years, communication happens more frequently. Furthermore, Deniz listens to a Turkish broadcaster, and watches Turkish television to stay informed of events in Turkey. "I have my satellite antenna on the roof." Now that his wife has passed away and since he feels lonely, Deniz is thinking of remarrying. Looking for a new wife, he watches a Turkish dating programme on TV. Deniz thinks he could marry a Turkish woman as well as a Dutch again. However, he thinks marrying a Dutch wife might be 'easier' because her family would at least live nearby. This shows

how (despite his age) life-choices remain very much transnational for Deniz, supported by communication channels that make this possible, although physical aspects of the geography are still of relevance.

Estrangement and integration processes

Because Deniz married a Dutch woman shortly after his migration he was quickly and intensively exposed to the Dutch culture. This has apparently influenced his integration in several ways. On the one hand, he has picked up and taken over much of Dutch culture at home, on the other hand, he seems to be very aware of himself as being a 'foreigner'. Deniz has therefore actively and consciously 'adapted' himself. Reflecting on his own process of integration he refers to what 'the' Dutch people told him when he just arrived: "You are now in the Netherlands, no longer in Turkey. You will have to adapt."

Deniz took this advice and pretty much 'dedicated' his life to his own integration. He decides that, next to his day job, he wants to do something good for the Dutch who also financially supported Turkey (after the big earthquake in 1976), he wants to help people. Colleagues and friends advise him to get a first-aid certification. Deniz' wife is sceptical about his chances of success as Deniz speaks Dutch reasonably well, but can not write. However, Deniz perseveres, arranges an oral exam, and passes to his pride, with full marks. He becomes a volunteer primary as a first-aid helper and later with the Red Cross. He takes several courses at the Red Cross, but is not satisfied, he wants to become a nurse and undergoes education with the nuns in the Hazelaar, a nursing home for the elderly. He has also teaches swimming to the elderly and handicapped for 24 years and he works at the medical department of Tilburg's soccer club Willem II since 8 years. Currently he is still available as a district nurse.

Deniz gets a lot of satisfaction from his volunteering activities and is also proud of his achievements which to him are a proof of his integration "In this way I have adapted". To underscore this, Deniz' stair well is filled with certificates, thank yous and medals bequeathed by, among others, Queen Beatrix and princess Margriet. Also his picture was among about 40 other extraordinary Dutch volunteers shown on posters in several bus stop shelters. "I did my best". Deniz is visibly proud of these accomplishments, and is pleased with his own commitment and achievements. "I've done well. (...) I am 80% adjusted. Look at all the activities I do." Also his family in Turkey is, according to Deniz, proud of these achievements in the Netherlands.

However, language remains an issue for Deniz. Shortly before the interview he excuses himself: "I have been here for fifty years, but I remain an immigrant. My Dutch is not very good." Although Deniz manages to make himself perfectly understandable during our conversation, he does need

to look for ways to express what he wants to say. Deniz can also neither read nor write and when he wants to give me his home-address, he cuts it out of an envelope directed to him. Deniz has, however, managed to overcome the limitations of his limited knowledge of the language (he managed to obtain a first aid certificate). Funnily enough, Deniz uses many expressions in the regional dialect, both consciously and subconsciously, and a 'Brabantine' influence can also be heard in his pronunciation.

Additionally, Deniz is very much aware of Dutch traditions (examples of these are often mentioned in the conversation, such as greetings and manners of congratulating) and he thinks it is important to respect these traditions, maybe even more than the Dutch themselves. Sometimes he even alerts Dutch people of this ("It is your tradition!"). And he desires to participate instead of being excluded.

Nonetheless, there are typically Dutch phenomena that Deniz does not like, such as homosexual marriages. However, although Deniz is not an advocate of gay-marriage (he gives arguments related to religion – both Muslim and Christian based). He has, however, agreed to be a witness at the wedding of two men. "I already knew this man from very long ago." Apparently Deniz is willing to 'adapt' or make exceptions in his morals and values. He chooses friendship over principles.

When it comes to his personal connection to his birth country, Deniz takes pride in the current modernisation in Turkey. He says that because of current developments in modernisation in Istanbul (for example, the renewed subway, or the cycle racing event 'the Tour of Istanbul') he feels increasingly connected to Turkey and could possibly feel more at home there in case of a hypothetical return. Turkey is internationally relevant again in his eyes and is becoming more similar to (Western) Europe, which he still perceives as an example.

He does however register certain changes in Turkey, and especially Istanbul, which he feels disconnect (estrangle) him from his native country. His place of birth, for instance, has expanded massively and the population is becoming more and more diverse. "You need to be able to speak so many languages on the street nowadays". Aside from foreigners, more and more of the rural population is moving towards the city, where they have difficulties adjusting to the urban habits. Deniz finds this disturbing which prevents him from considering a return to Istanbul.

Other, more physical changes (stores have been closed down and his house of birth has meanwhile been removed to make room for a bridge over the Bosphorus) make him perceive Istanbul as less of his own city. "Everything is strange". Partly because of these feelings, serious plans of a return to Turkey are not on his mind. However it seems that feelings of connectedness to Turkey can alternately increase or decrease over time and in respond to various reasons.

Similarly, within the Netherlands feelings of strangeness variously increase or decrease in certain situations. The feeling of strangeness becomes stronger, for example, when Deniz gets the impression of people not trusting him because of his foreign appearance such as happened during a collection for the Red Cross (whereas ironically, he does this work to 'adapt' and integrate into Dutch society). During the interview, Deniz describes more similar experiences. Although some memories seem to irritate him, generally, Deniz thinks such a reaction is 'understandable', as at the end of the day 'he remains an immigrant'.

Feelings of belonging and 'home'

The concept of 'home' at first stimulates a negative association: 'tedious'. Deniz does not like 'sitting at home' by himself. In his current situation, he experiences his house as quiet and 'boring'. Whether or not Deniz feels at home somewhere is largely determined by his social contacts. 'Cosiness' is a very important concept to Deniz in relation to his sensation of 'home'. "If it is cosy at home, then I feel at home." In this context he again refers with 'cosiness' to a harmonious (and lively) social setting. When I ask him if there is any object that represents this feeling or meaning of 'home' to him, he shows a duo of cuddly toys that is positioned on the dining table: "a Dutch cow... and an American dog". When he pinches the animals, music starts to play (an American Christmas song) and they start to move (for the image see attachment 4). He immediately starts to smile. "See, that's cosy". When Deniz feels lonely or bored at home, the musical duo offers some distraction. "I will laugh a bit".

In his current situation he for example states that he misses being in touch with his neighbours. He therefore does not like his current residence in Tilburg. Related to his desire for company, there is another object at home that he explicitly mentioned in the interview: a red carpet strip at the entry of his home. In this way, his guests (being very important to Deniz) are welcomed graciously. Also, it is some kind of status symbol to him, "a red carpet at home is for rich people".

To the idea of Deniz, the feeling of home (for a man) is significantly influenced by a good marriage. When there is no acceptance and balance of giving and taking between a man and his wife, (a man) no longer feels at home and does not enjoy coming home. He will, according to Deniz, turn away from his situation at home. This shows that Deniz strongly associates the word 'home' with the place that is shared with your wife and family.

That Deniz keeps pets in his home can on the one hand be seen as a sign of integration in the Netherlands where it is commonly accepted to have animals at home, while in Turkey it is much less so. On the other hand it can be related to his childhood memory of 'home'. Despite living in a

city, his mother kept a number of animals, including a goat. As a child, Deniz took this goat to the hill opposite his house for grazing. In that sense, Deniz might be trying to reproduce this feeling of 'home' through his bonding with animals. Moreover, the pets provide a feeling of 'cosiness' at home and not being alone. "They are so happy every time you come home".

Memories of Turkey (his "own country") also evoke a feeling of 'home' in Deniz, because "everything is Turkish". He alludes to for example the language, the people, specific shops, Turkish products, shoe shiners on the street and the (different) taste of Turkish food. The street scene of Istanbul evokes memories but also confronts him to what has changed, both physically and socially. This sometimes makes him feel less at home in his city of birth.

Of the places he has lived in, Deniz says he felt most at home in Sint Oedenrode, where he has lived for three years. As for the most significant reasons of this, Deniz again points to social contacts: the people were friendly, the village was small and everyone knew each other. This was also the place where he received his first aid diploma and the admiration of many of his fellow villagers because of this. This might have considerably reinforced these positive memories.

When comparing his feelings of home in the Netherlands with his feelings about Turkey, Deniz refers primarily to the different characteristics of people. He states that he feels most at home amongst friendly, honest and social people with a sense of humour, "innocent jokers". However "Turkish people do not like jokes, they are serious people. (...) Dutch people aren't, they laugh with you. I like that."

In both cultures, Deniz finds aspects with which he cannot and does not want to identify himself, and aspects with which he does. In this context Deniz describes multiple anecdotes that express a connectedness to Dutch social manners, Dutch characteristics such as their openness, their expression of emotions, Dutch humour and self-mockery and the informal means of communication (for example between husband and wife or in the way young people are free to express their feelings). Next to this, Deniz feels that Turkish men are generally too aggressive and Turkish women too materialistic.

All in all, when in Turkey Deniz misses the Dutch 'cosiness'. On the other hand, he does struggle with certain cultural morals and values, such as the way in which homosexuality is accepted in the Netherlands.

If, to breathe some new life in his lonely situation at home, he were to marry a new wife again, it would not matter to Deniz whether she were to be Turkish or Dutch (as long as she doesn't smoke or drink). From practical (geographical) considerations, he thinks a Dutch wife would be better and 'more convenient' for him because they "wouldn't need to travel far to visit

her family". According to Deniz, a more important issue would be whether she hailed from the city or a more rural area. "Urban people are more developed. (...) A farmer does not suit me."

In addition, regarding feelings of 'belonging' it is noticeable how Deniz attaches a lot of value to exterior attributes that show to which 'group' you belong to, to him a "uniform is important". Because he himself attracts attention because of his Turkish appearance, this kind of exterior proof of identity (uniform, identification) is extra meaningful, "without a uniform you will be in trouble". Recognition by appearance (as a sort of proof of integration) is therefore crucial and provides (mutual) trust.

Concluding notes

Within Deniz' story his accomplishments of integration in the Dutch culture seem to play a rather important role. This may be affected by the fact that he was married with a Dutch woman and therefore much more (and from within his 'home' environment) 'exposed' to and confronted by the Dutch culture and the awareness of being a 'stranger'. (To illustrate: he has been the only respondent who did not offer me a traditional Turkish cup of tea, but a 'regular' English tea blend from a tea bag instead, as is commonly served in the Netherlands). It is also remarkable in this respect that, in his education of becoming a nurse, Deniz accepted guidance of a nun (being a male Muslim himself) in order to 'do something in return to Dutch society'.

In his process of integration and 'adjustment', recognition and appreciation of the Dutch also seems to be of explicit value to him. The stair well with the various rewards and certificates that he obtained (and several of the anecdotes he told) reflects this. He likes his accomplishments and dedication to be noticed and rewarded and this even seems to be a factor in his home feeling. Of course, feelings of belonging towards a social group or culture (and therefore feelings of 'home' within this group or culture) are positively related to the acceptance of this group or culture.

When it comes to his Turkish connectedness, it can be said that Deniz became somewhat estranged from his compatriots. On several aspects he claims to have more in common with Dutch and their manners than he does with Turks of his age. However, he does still share a lot with Turks as well and in a certain way he feels familiar and 'home' with them too. All in all, his preferences are not specific or static, and depend on the occasion or evolve over time. In the end, Deniz is individually reflecting on the difference between both cultures and creates his own identity by choosing or combining specific values, principles and attitudes. In this it is remarkable that cultural differences of urban versus rural appear to be more relevant to him than national cultural differences.

4.1.3 The story of Arif

Arif was born in Siwas, a place in the heart of Turkey, about 300 kilometres from the capital of Ankara. In 1977, he moved to the Netherlands when the entire family (three girls and six boys including Arif) followed his parents who worked in the Netherlands as guest workers. The goal was to make a lot of money together in the Netherlands and to all return to Turkey after a few years. After three months in the Netherlands, Arif's dad made him start working as well. He began at a chicken factory, but started looking for a different kind of job because he didn't like it. Arif started working at DAF, a fabricator of trucks in Eindhoven. After a few years, Arif's parents married him off to Fidan, the daughter of an acquaintance in his place of birth. She also moved to the Netherlands and they soon got a daughter. However, Arif had to return to Turkey to fulfil his military duty, since he did not want to lose his Turkish nationality. For a period of 2 years he left his wife and daughter behind in the Netherlands at his parents place. After his duty was completed Arif went back to work at DAF again. He and his wife eventually had another two sons (with amongst them a difference of over ten years in age). Arif still works at DAF and meanwhile became a team leader. He has been living in the same neighbourhood all these years, but moved to another (rental) house that is slightly bigger, a few houses further at the corner. The oldest two children have now (according to Turkish tradition) been married off by him and several grandchildren were born.

I know Arif from my (early) youth when we were neighbours. Their oldest son is about my age and we sometimes used to play together. My parents regularly helped Arif and his wife at the time, for example with translating letters.

Social networks and the level of transnationalism

In the Netherlands, Arif has a large social network. His family is particularly dear to him, especially his children. Arif's family and his wife's live across several countries in Northern Europe, (such as the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, Belgium). He maintains contact with them through telephone and text messages, but they also meet at holidays, during the Ramadan and at special occasions such as weddings and funerals. The family members also visit each other at weekends sometimes.

Additionally, Arif has many friends in the Netherlands, especially Turks. About 2200 guests attended their daughter's wedding (people from the neighbourhood were also invited). They meet at home, at unions and at the mosque. He also spends a lot of time texting and calling his friends in the Netherlands. Arif does however make a distinction between close friendships, his "direct environment" and acquaintances.

Arif is also in touch with many Dutch people and people of other nationalities (Poles and Germans), mainly through his work where he and one other colleague are the only Turks. He does however like to keep his work and private life separated and is only close enough with a few colleagues that he would call them 'friends'. His contacts at work are however very important to him, and he feels at 'home' at his job where his supervisor manages to understand him very well. Being a team-leader himself, good relations at work are specifically important to him and his career as well.

Since Arif moved to the Netherlands with his entire family (including his grandfather and grandmother) he does not have many next of kin left in Turkey. Therefore he actually knows very few people in Turkey himself. "In Turkey I have few friends because I have been gone for many years actually." However, once every two years, Arif goes to Turkey for four weeks to visit his family-in-law, who still resides in Turkey, at the same place where he himself was born. Besides them, he stays in touch with former colleagues from his time spent in the military. With them, he has developed a close relationship during those two years. In fact, these are the only contacts in Turkey that he sometimes sincerely misses.

Estrangement and integration processes

Arif had already developed a large circle of friends within just a year after his migration on which he actively relied in his first years of integration. He would come to them for advice on his career and integration (for example, a friend gave him the advice to apply for a job at DAF when he wanted out of the chicken factory). He also often visited the Turkish community centre, which also played an important part. Arif's social network was therefore very essential to his integration process.

Work is very important to Arif both personally as it is within his integration process. Before starting at DAF, Arif followed several necessary (technical) training courses and language classes. Additionally, in order to increase his chances of being hired at DAF, he enlisted in a language class at the Notenboom institute. In order to be able to function well as a team leader, Arif still regularly attends courses through DAF (at the time of the interview he is nearly done with a 'coaching/guiding training'). Sometimes his (adult) children help him, for instance in using the computer. In that sense, they still support him with his (continuing) integration. Work being important to Arif is also due to his view on society: "...as a human we need to do something for society. Society does something for us as well. So that's how I raised my children. That's why I have been working up until now." Indirectly, this vision has motivated Arif to integrate well.

It is noticeable how, in his private life, Arif primarily associates with Turks and strongly inclines towards Turkish traditions and culture. Marriages and other feasts are an expression of this. Because of the way in which work and private life are separated, Dutch contacts are not a part of his private life. Which may mean that his integration is also split between his work and private life. Arif is, however, well adapted to his life in the Netherlands and especially feels at home in his own neighbourhood where he lives among other labourers and feels understood in his way of living.

Nonetheless, in his environment he notes how many other migrants are returning to Turkey or other countries where there is (more) work and where they'll be more 'welcome'. They have "fortunately never experienced it" themselves but Arif has heard unpleasant stories about discrimination practices from others (especially friends and family in Germany). The fact that he is slightly worried about this is one of his arguments to partake in my interview. Hence, a certain feeling of 'strangeness' can be assigned. According to Arif, discriminating behaviour is also related to the general level of development of people. He states that highly educated people are more aware of the social situation and history and, because of this, more tolerant. He also observes how it has become more and more complicated for Turks to move to the Netherlands over the years. He does however think that the atmosphere and social provisions for Turks in the Netherlands is still better than, for example, in Germany.

Despite the fact that he remains an 'immigrant' in the Netherlands, Arif actually feels even more of a foreigner in Turkey. This is mainly because other Turks do not properly evaluate or understand his situation in the Netherlands "they think that we are rich". He also does not know a lot of people in Turkey (any more), making him feel like an outsider.

Feelings of belonging and 'home'

Arif's experience of 'home' is largely determined by the family's welfare and a harmonious marriage. "If everything is going well [in my life] then I will feel at home". This also applies to matters outside of the familial situation, for example concerning his job: "If my colleagues do well, (...) show each other respect, respect each other; then it is all good, then I will feel at home".

Since family is as important, Arif did not feel 'home' during his military duty in Turkey. "How could I feel at home over there when my wife and kids were all over here" he says, "It is my country, but here [in the Netherlands] is my home as well (...) I left half my body behind really".

Even nowadays, Arif still misses the Netherlands when on holiday, "when I am on vacation in Turkey, I miss the Netherlands. (...) Because it is very different over here from there. Because my friends are here in the Netherlands". Being a father, he also worries about his children when he is away from home for a long time. However, he could himself imagine living part-time in Turkey when retired, "one can never know about the future".

In accordance with the foregoing, Arif does not clearly prefer an object that represents 'home'. Photographs would come closest as they represent memories to him. As an example, he mentions photographs taken at his children's weddings. At such events "the whole family comes together" he says, at the latest feast "all family members were here with us. (...) we were very proud".

Concluding notes

In Arif's story, there is a clear relation between the role of his social environment, his process of integration and his feelings of 'home'. Although through his wife he is still socially connected to Turkey (his family-in-law lives there) most of his social contacts live spread over Europe. It could be said, that Arif's transnational life is not strictly in between Turkey and the Netherlands. His transnational life is spread over multiple countries, of which his direct neighbourhood in Eindhoven seems to be the core. To this so-called core feelings of home seem to be attached, although even those are mostly defined by his social contacts. As he describes, the ultimate 'home' experience to Arif is therefore when all his transnational contacts gather in his personal *and* geographical environment. Although feelings of strangeness or processes of integration do seem to affect his 'comfort zone', these seem to be subordinate to the 'social home' that he has created.

4.1.4 Conclusion

Although all three men interviewed appear to have very different characters and life courses, it seems that in all their stories, feelings of 'home' are rather directly related to the quality of their social lives and networks. It occurs that although estrangement processes decrease and increase and feelings of 'strangeness' fluctuate as a result of integration and societal development, feelings of home and belonging are mainly determined by their social situation. In this the quality of the social network seems to be more relevant than its size.

All of the male respondents (did) have jobs (as guest-workers) in which they were exposed to and confronted with Dutch culture and its social structure. Whereas Arif and Abdullah tend to keep their professional and private life preferably separate, in Deniz' case these aspects seem to much more interfere. It could be even said that Deniz is actively trying to create one 'blend' of backgrounds, cultures and people. This difference can be explained by the fact that Deniz was the only respondent who actually married a Dutch partner, which directly creates a different 'home' and family situation than other respondents have experienced. Also it should be noted that while Arif and Abdullah migrated mainly to make money, Deniz' motivation was in fact mere adventurism. It is very much assumable that this difference may lead to a different approach of

the migration process accordingly. In this line of thought it also can be seen as rather logical that Deniz seems to be more exposed to somewhat conflictual situations due to cultural gaps. Moreover, despite that he is very communicative and outgoing, he kind of struggles in developing a social environment that he feels really deeply connected to. However, from all three men, he is the most connected to Dutch people (in his private life). Also, he is most determined about his choice to stay in the Netherlands.

4.2 Wives

4.2.1 The story of Orse

Orse is from Elazig, a small community in the mountains of Eastern Turkey. She was born in the summer of 1973, but is legally over four years younger: her father did not register her birth until 1977. Because the nearest city was such a long walk away, this formality was at the time often delayed for a long time. Recently Orse met her current husband Abdullah, who had already been living in the Netherlands for a long time (see §4.1.1), through the internet. They married a year and a half ago (2012). Orse moved to the Netherlands to unite with her new husband and to build a new life in 'his' country. Orse's knowledge of Dutch is still very limited, but currently she is enthusiastically following a language course. She is still in the process of exploring the Netherlands and building up a network.

I met Orse and her husband during a tour of the van Abbe museum in Eindhoven, especially organised for 'new Dutch people' in which they participated along with their language coach.

Social networks and the level of transnationalism

Since Orse has only come to the Netherlands 1,5 year ago, her social network in Turkey is still relatively extensive and she has had only relatively little time yet to build new networks in the Netherlands. Nonetheless, she claims to already know more people in her new place of residence than her husband Abdullah does. Social contact is very important to her and fortunately, she makes contact easily, "I like talking, talking, talking". Both agree that she has better social skills than her husband does.

Although her Dutch language skills are still very limited, she is anxious to make contact with local people as well. Next to networks of mainly fellow-Turks and especially women, Orse meets new people through the network of the language course she is participating in. People of this network have a mixture of nationalities, ranging from Dutch (the coaches and organisers) to non-Dutch Europeans, Arabic's, Asians and Americans (North and South), the intensity of these relations however was not discussed during the interview. .

The people in Turkey that Orse is still in touch with are mainly family (e.g. her sisters). She maintains these transnational relationships using the internet and in specific facebook and msn. Phone-calls are regularly being replaced by conversations over a webcam using msn. But the phone often still functions in this to warn each other and make a 'digital appointment'. She also uses telephone to contact the two of her sisters who do not have an internet connection, with them phone-calls are the exclusive way of communication. Within a couple of days at the time of

the interview Orse and her husband will leave to a holiday in Turkey for the first time since her arrival. They want to visit her family and especially want to be present at the wedding of her sister.

Within the Netherlands Orses social network exists of people, mainly women, she meets at the mosque or at special gatherings or activities for (Turkish) women. Also she got to know the friends and acquaintances of her husband, although there are not many, as well as his family (children of Abdullah and his ex-wife) with whom there is less contact than desired.

Estrangement and integration processes

As Orse is of all respondents the one who migrated most recently to the Netherlands, she is the only one who, required by the government, had to accomplish a Dutch integration course in order to be able to stay in the Netherlands. The language course she is taking is part of this.

Besides the officially regulated steps of integration, Orse has developed some of her own. One of them concerns (literally) finding her way in her new city. Despite the fact that her husband has lived in Eindhoven already for a long time, Orse has been very independent in her 'research' so far. Only once, at the very first day of her arrival, he showed her the locations of the basic places a Turkish (female) migrant needs to know: the city centre, the market, the bazaar and of course their own house. From then on, Orse went out to discover the routes and city structure on her own, by foot. Her personal guide was (and still is) the local tower, that marks the area of her home even from a distance. Therefore, the couple calls it 'our church' although, ironically, the tower belongs to the local Catholic church and Orse and Abdullah are both Muslim.

In context of estrangement processes, Orse's period of residence in the Netherlands had been not quite long enough yet to observe relevant changes in the societal situation of either one of her countries since her migration. However, she did observe major changes in the Turkish society, politics and life-style during her life. In comparison to the country that other migrants left behind when moving to the Netherlands, according to Orse many things have changed in Turkey. This might have as a result that the cultural switch that she makes is different than the one her husband had to overcome. It should be taken into consideration that this difference will lead to a different migrant experience accordingly.

Feelings of belonging and 'home'

Orse states that she could feel at home at any place in the world, as long as she was to have her own place. However, she does admit feeling homesick when on vacation, or visiting family. But Orse argues that it is a very different experience to visit someone at a place that is not yours. She desires to be able to do her own things. Additionally, she does prefer going on holiday to Turkey,

even when not visiting family, because the landscape is beautiful, it is cheap, the weather is good and the food is tasty (instead of other discussed vacation-destinations such as Italy, France or Thailand). Still, if she were to live in one of these countries, it would 'not be a problem' as in that case she would have her 'own kitchen'.

In first instance, the way Orse is exploring and outlining her new home is very physical and geographically oriented: exploring the road in her new city. Other acts that give her the sensation of being 'at home' include very typical female home activities, such as cleaning the house and cooking (Note: it is possible that in this case Orse answers according to what she perceives to be socially desirable for a (newly married) housewife, possibly due to her husband being present, but perhaps also as regards to myself).

As for Turkey, Orse misses her family most, especially in extraordinary, often family-related events (deaths, weddings, etc.). Also the different climate is something she has to adapt to, she misses the Turkish sun. Aside from that, Orse seems to be quite pleased with her transnational status so far: "little bit of this, little bit of that" she says cheerfully. However, to Orse the primary country she 'belongs' to is still Turkey, the Netherlands coming second.

Concluding notes

Feelings of 'home' to Orse are related to a level of independence and freedom in 'doing your own thing'. She describes 'home' in terms of activities rather than physical objects. However, Orse's meaning of home is relatively much related to the geographical location of her house, as is also evident from the way in which Orse designates the church tower that is the landmark in her neighbourhood as 'her church' and a symbol of 'home'.

Although she is a socially oriented type of person, a very direct relation between her social network and her home-feeling is not clear from the interview. However, building (and sustaining) her own social network is an important part of her settling and integration process. What is furthermore remarkable, is that Orse (and her integration process) seems to give a new impulse to her husband's integration, who after about twenty years, has now restarted to learn Dutch and is participating in a language course with her.

4.2.2 The story of Fidan

Fidan was (just like her husband) born in the core of Turkey in a village called Siwas. She was married off by her parents at a (according to Dutch standards) young age. She married Arif who, at the time, had already been living in the Netherlands with his family for a couple of years (see

§4.1.3). After their wedding, Fidan joined her husband and moved to the Netherlands, where she and her husband soon have their first daughter. When after about two years, Arif has to serve in Turkey's military, Fidan stays in the Netherlands along with her daughter. She lives with her parents-in-law at their place. This period has been a very difficult time for her. As soon as her husband returned, she started to explore her new country on the back of his moped and started to build a life of her own. They soon had another child, a son, and ten years later, their third and youngest child arrived, another son. By now, Fidan is a mother as well as a grandmother. Her two oldest children are married, independent and became parents themselves. Fidan's life largely revolves around taking care of her husband, children (especially the youngest one, who still lives at home), grandchildren and her house. Next to this, she used to work at the 'Kipcentrale' (a local poulterer) for a while. Fidan still lives in the same neighbourhood in Eindhoven as where she started, although in a different house. Her parents, brothers and sisters still reside in Siwas, Turkey, and own a farm with livestock and agriculture.

Just like her husband, Arif, I got to know Fidan when she was my neighbour during my (early) youth. My parents and them shared their front gardens where I played with their oldest son (their youngest son was not yet born).

Social networks and the level of transnationalism

When Fidan first came to the Netherlands, she knew no one except for her parents-in-law. In that time, her husband was her most important (if not only) link to the outside world. Only when he returned from his service in the military, her network in the Netherlands slowly started expanding.

Currently she knows a lot more people in the Netherlands and has (along with her family) built a very large social network. This network is very important in Fidan's (daily) life. She also keeps in close touch with her two oldest children, who no longer live at home with her. Fidan's oldest son has bought a house in the same neighbourhood where his parents live. (Also during the interview, many family members are visiting, sitting in another room but occasionally entering the room in which the interview was being conducted.) Furthermore, Fidan visits family members in several Northern European countries (The Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, Belgium) just like and along with her husband. She meets these people at, for example, weddings, funerals or during the Ramadan. They also visit one another on occasion and stay over during the weekends. "We have a very strong family bond".

Although Fidan has more friends in the Netherlands than she does in Turkey, most of her family, contrary to her husband's, still lives in Turkey. She only has contact with them through telephone or text messaging, or when they meet on holidays once or twice a year. Although part

of her family has spread out over Europe, there is just one household that also lives in the Netherlands.

Dutch people Fidan primarily met through her job and her neighbourhood (such as my parents). The relationships with these people tend to vary in quality and intensity. She says that some of them know how to “handle” Turkish people better than others.

Estrangement and integration processes

It wasn't until her husband returned from military service in Turkey that, together with him, she started to actively explore the Netherlands. Before then, she rarely went outside the house and she did not speak the language. Nowadays, her Dutch is quite decent, and although her vocabulary is not as extensive as her husband's, she does not think of the language as a limitation. This can be due to the fact that her social network mainly consists of Turks.

Just like her husband, Fidan feels to be a ‘foreigner’ in both the Netherlands and Turkey. “We are foreigners over there too, you know. And here, we are also foreigners.” Even so, she would in contrary to her husband, prefer to return to Turkey because of her family who no longer feels at home there.

Still, Fidan is satisfied in the Netherlands although certain aspects of Dutch culture do surprise her: “sorry, but Dutch people just do not know what it means to share”. This type of cultural gaps or conflicts have caused misunderstandings and disappointments in the past, “in Turkey, people are really hospitable (...) I think Dutch people are all greedy.” However, it has caused her to know better “I learned”. Integrating for Fidan may therefore enclose gaining a level of understanding and evaluating expectations of 'the other culture' more than developing and searching for a way to participate.

However, both Fidan and her husband do not experience major problems integrating and are quite comfortable in their current country.

Feelings of belonging and 'home'

In order to feel at home, it is most important to Fidan that there are no major issues within her family. “I have good kids, healthy kids and a good husband. (...) we help each other.” Actually she does not need much more to feel 'home'. Since her family is as important to her, during her holidays in Turkey with her husband, she does badly miss her children in the Netherlands. “We are father and mother; we always think of our children; we do not dare to leave them alone.” She does however also miss her native country: “my head is still in Turkey”. This is mainly because another part of her family still lives there. Especially at times in case something is going on with

them (such as an illness) she misses Turkey the most.

Fidan also describes how her feeling of homesickness is partly related to the dreams she nurtured as a child in Turkey. Those future plans were never brought to realization, at least not in her own country, which can make her melancholic from time to time.

Her (close) family being divided over two countries, Orse feels torn accordingly. She stands between both countries, her family and memories in Turkey on the one hand, and her children and her life here on the other hand. However, although she feels connected to the country through her family, there is also a certain estrangement of Turkey to speak of. Fidan does see the Netherlands as her primary 'home' country by now, "now this is my country and over there is now foreign to me. Over there is abroad to me".

Furthermore, she reflects on Turkey as a country that is beautiful and pleasant to stay in, in which the climate also plays a part. "Not because it is my country, but Turkey is really a beautiful country".

Concluding notes

It is notable that within Fidan's social network, there is limited input of Dutch culture. However, in comparison to her husband, Fidan seems to be more actively taking initiative in approaching Dutch people in her private life. Because her (close) family is most important to Fidan, her life and home-feelings are very much revolving around them. She aims to protect her children from negative influences from the outside world. Her contact with them is therefore very intensive. From this somewhat protective attitude it could be understood that Fidan (and her husband) still do not completely feel comfortable in their (Dutch) societal environment. On the other hand, it may as well be a personal (or cultural) interpretation of good parenthood and pedagogics.

Also it is remarkable that this does not necessarily negatively affect Fidan's home-feelings as Fidan states to presently feel more connected to her life in the Netherlands as to Turkey. Her strongest link to Turkey is still the part of her social network (her family) that is still living there. All in all she seems to be ambivalent about her feelings about her birth country. These feelings can be seen as both related to a sense of 'belonging' and a sense of estrangement.

4.2.3 The story of Esra

Esra was born in Bursa, a city near the Sea of Marmara in western Turkey. She grew up there, along with her two sisters. When she was about twenty-two years old, Esra married and joined with her husband, who already lived in the Netherlands and worked as a guest-worker. Soon she became a mother for the first time. The couple bought a house in Eindhoven where they currently

live. After living in the Netherlands for about two decades, Esra now has a family of three sons.

I met Esra through friends of friends who live in her neighbourhood. We did not know each other beforehand. Her eldest son is present during the entire interview and assists his mother by translating the parts she does not understand. Later on the smaller kids come home from school and join us out of curiosity.

Social networks and the level of transnationalism

Esra, by now, knows many people in the Netherlands, of varying nationalities. Family and friends are very important to her. A part of her family (sister, aunt, cousins) lives in the Netherlands but not in the same region (The Hague, Alkmaar), another part (including her parents, uncles and aunts) still lives in Turkey. She and her husband also have family in France and Germany.

Esra also has friends in both countries. In Turkey, these are primarily friends she knows from when she still lived there. In the Netherlands, she knows both Turks and Dutch people, and a single Moroccan. She met her contacts through her children's school, the community centre, her work and in her neighbourhood. Despite her limited knowledge of Dutch, she easily makes contact with people "such is my character".

With her Turkish contacts she keeps in touch through the telephone and the internet, using the webcam. Within the Netherlands, she relies mostly on the telephone to keep in touch with her network, but also "often meets with the neighbours". Now and then, she visits her family in The Hague or Alkmaar for the weekend, 'when I have time'. Next to this, Esra and her husband sometimes visit their families in France or Germany, or vice versa.

When she goes to Turkey on holiday, about once every two years, Esra, her husband and their children drop by the people they know. Just to "see each other, talk for a bit, that's enough for me". They visit family in both Bursa, where Esra was born, and the city where her husband comes from and where his family still resides. With her Turkish friends, Esra gets together in the city centre to "drink coffee, sit in the park", or they visit each other for dinner. Generally, her friendships (aside from a single exception) have not really changed since she left Turkey, although in specific friendships a certain 'distance' may have come to be and friendships became overall a little less intense.

To Esra, the arrival of the webcam has made relationships from afar a lot easier and more pleasant. Especially the fact that she can see the other persons while talking to them has changed the experience, and brings the other person definitely a little 'closer'. You can not touch each other, but you still feel as if you are in "the same room". Moreover, these improved technologies in

communication have made contact a lot more frequent than before. It is remarkable that Esra seems to have little difficulties sustaining her transnational friendships, in which the webcam may be a valuable tool for her.

Estrangement and integration processes

Keeping in touch with other people is very important to Esra. Esra's process of integration therefore is closely related to developing her social network. The most important way to achieve this is through her work, but also the community centre, the neighbourhood itself and the school of her children are valuable sources of social contact. Esra regularly helps at school-activities, where she meets many other mothers. Another accessible social group to Esra are the elderly. She meets them at the community centre, for instance.

Her elderly acquaintances have also been very much supportive to Esra in improving her Dutch language skills which is very valuable to her. Still, her Dutch is very limited, the language remains "difficult" and in more complex conversations Esra requires assistance of her eldest son (who is also present during the interview to translate). However, according to Esra, the Netherlands became more of 'her own country' from when Esra first started learning the Dutch language. She is still taking Dutch classes. If necessary, however, she can rely on non-verbal communication skills, by communicating "with eyes and hands".

Esra also states that 'habituation' has been important in her integration process. The level of habituation can also decrease again (estrangement) when residing somewhere else for a long time. For example, if she were to return to Turkey, she expects to "have to get used again". Presently, Esra feels she has become 'accustomed' to the Netherlands, "a hundred percent solid".

Since her migration, Esra does experience a sense of 'strangeness' in both the Netherlands and Turkey. Her kids also (or even particularly) experience this. To a certain degree, they feel as if they are outsiders in both countries, 'foreigners', and as such do not feel entirely included. Noticably, Esra experiences this to be more disturbing in Turkey than it is in the Netherlands, because: here (in the Netherlands) it is 'justified' since she is in fact a foreigner. As long as it is not a matter of discrimination, it feels to her as if it is "valid", at the end of the day, she is from another country. However, she experiences the same in Turkey, although she is Turkish which frustrates her more.

Besides this, Esra feels quite at home with Dutch culture. Although she misses Turkish food, such as the shoarma that is available anywhere on the street in her native country, Esra even has taken over certain Dutch recipes, including several variations of 'stamppot', "very healthy".

Furthermore, the Netherlands has become 'her country' to a degree, "my own country is

Turkey, but the Netherlands is also a second country to me, I feel like that". Turkey remains at number one, however, "always", she says whilst smiling, she was born there after all. However, ironically, she prefers to be in the Netherlands. "When I go to Turkey I feel like a visitor" and "when I return to the Netherlands I feel good", because "my own home is here now". This is again related to the fact that "many friends and acquaintances are here". Moreover, Esra says: "Your country is where you live". Which leads to a concise conclusion "my country is here".

Feelings of belonging and 'home'

Esra associates the word 'home' with the feeling of coming home to your own house after a period of absence, "I become happy". The location of her house is really not that important to Esra. Feeling at home is primarily determined by the presence of her husband and children "eating together or doing something together", and having a place where you are free to do your own thing. Home is also the place for relaxation. Her house is, however, important to her and is, besides her friends, one of the things she missed when on holiday in Turkey, "own house yes, own bed".

The city of Eindhoven also evokes a feeling of home in Esra. "To me, Eindhoven is a very beautiful city". This is primarily caused by the fact that she knows her way around. She knows where to find everything she needs (park, shops, school) and it is all nearby. Also she feels connected to her neighbours.

As for Turkey, Esra misses her friends and family, especially her parents, but also the food and the climate. Having to choose for one of both countries would be hard. "When I am with my family over there I miss here, and when I'm here I miss them. (...) Difficult". She could (and would want to) return to Turkey someday, but she expects it would take time to get used to everything over there and to make new friends again. Esra would however never consider permanently living in Turkey without her children, and since they feel more at home in the Netherlands there is little change she will ever return. However, Esra would perhaps like to alternate between the Netherlands and Turkey at some point. She says, however, that she would "never" be able to live fully separated from her children.

Good memories are more important to Esra than objects, when asked about her favourite 'home' object, photographs are the first 'things' that come to mind. Esra describes the core of her feeling of 'home' in non-physical aspects: friends, family and the freedom to 'do your thing'.

Concluding notes

To Esra, social aspects are most relevant in (creating a) feeling of 'home'. This sensation is not

determined by physical or material matters and can not be translated to an object. Photographs are closest because they represent a memory, a (social) moment. However, she does describe missing certain physical aspects of her 'home' when she is not around that are 'familiar' to her. This seems to stroke with the value Esra attaches to 'habituation' in order to feel 'home' eventually.

Because she never expected to live close to her parents for the rest of her life (when you get married, you never know where you might end up, Turkey being a big country), Esra can accept that she no longer lives in her place of birth relatively easily and she is open to her new environment. She feels welcomed and, thanks to her network, she is capable to fill both her house and her life with whatever she needs to feel 'at home'. It seems that feeling 'at home' (in her case) largely is or requires a 'state of mind'.

It is remarkable that from her story, language does not significantly seem to bother Esra in her social life nor her bonding to her Dutch environment and society, while from all respondents her skills were most limited.

4.2.4 Conclusion

In daily life, all three wives (of guest-workers) interviewed are mainly active around the house. Therefore they rely much more on their own initiatives in building up their social networks. Generally, they develop their networks rather close to home (neighbours, mothers from classmates of children, etcetera) especially when it comes to their Dutch contacts. To all three, family and friends come at first place. The feeling of 'home' is therefore very much affected by the quality of their social networks. Seen in that perspective, it is not surprising that they seem to have more difficulties leaving their Turkish relatives behind.

Although language appears to be a useful tool, the focus is not so much on integration (and related achievements) as it seems to be for their husbands.

Although the wives all spend a great deal of their daily lives taking care of their (physical) homes, they seem to agree that the experience of 'home' is not defined by materialistic factors. Independence, well-being, social contacts and (social) activities are more important.

4.3 Children

4.3.1 The story of Elif

Elif was born in 1966 in Rize, a small community along the black sea in the east of Turkey. Her parents were farmers, cattle-breeders, and were making progress in building a new house when a Dutchman visited the village looking for workers for his company in the Netherlands. Elif's dad enlisted, expecting it would be a help to finance his new house more easily. A few months later, he departed along with several other recruited men. By the time the house was finished, Elif's father had obtained a job and a driver's license in the Netherlands and the entire family decided to join him in 1975. Elif herself was about 8 years old at the time.

Her parents bought a house in Vlieberg from her father's employer. However, after two years, Elif's mother wanted to return, she couldn't get used to the Netherlands. The house, which turned out to be too small for their large family, was already sold, but they were to stay for another year. During that time however, a more spacious rented home was offered to them in Vlijmen. The plan to return home was halted under pressure of the oldest children and Elif's family stayed in the Netherlands after all. The kids, among them Elif, grew up and went to school in the Netherlands. Meanwhile, her father used the profit from selling the house in Vlieberg to build a new house in Istanbul. When he retired early, he and his wife returned to their native country, but Elif, who had just started living on her own, decided to stay. Elif met the man she would marry whilst on holiday in Turkey. Because Elif refused to live in Turkey, he too emigrated in 1979. Together they have two sons.

For the past two years Elif's husband has been unemployed. Because he does not like to stand still and presently the couple does not believe there is a lot of future to be had in the Netherlands, they have decided to follow the example of Elif's parents and move to Istanbul. Their children have not yet reached an independent age and this is a stimulant to Elif (who remembers her own difficulties staying behind in the Netherlands without her parents). Their plan is to start a farm in Istanbul.

At the time of my interview with Elif they have acquired permissions and their house is largely empty. Every possession that the family wishes to take with them is already on its way to Turkey, they would themselves leave about a month later.

I got in touch with Elif through a fellow student, his mother has known Elif since she came to the Netherlands as a child. She has been a coach to Elif in finding her ways in the country and the language and the families remain very in touch to this day. During Elif's interview, her youngest

son (of 17 years) is present as well and occasionally partakes in the conversation.

Social networks and the level of transnationalism

Elif has been living in the Netherlands from a young age and the social network she has built in her life therefore consists almost entirely of people who live in the Netherlands. It spreads across Vlijmen, her place of residency, and its near surroundings, including the villages where she used to live and attend school. Because her family was one of the first Turkish families to arrive in the area, she does not have many Turkish friends. Her network consists for example of people she met in her youth through school and the neighbourhood(s) where she used to live. Additionally, Elif met a lot of people through her kids' schools, parties, (hobby) clubs, etcetera.

Elif for instance has green fingers and loves cooking, she spends a lot of time in her vegetable garden and is a member of a club of biological gardeners. This club (consisting mainly of Dutch people) is a significant part of Elif's social network. Exchanging knowledge regarding her hobbies, plants and cooking, has been an important tool in connecting to (Dutch) people.

It is remarkable however, that Elif met her husband in Turkey during a holiday. Despite the 'Dutchness' of her network, she did not marry someone from her network in the Netherlands, but let her husband move from Turkey, reinforcing and affirming her ties with Turkey.

In Turkey, Elif's social network is currently still limited to family members: her mother, uncles and aunts, and only few acquaintances. Up till now, she and her family have visited Turkey every year to go on holiday and stayed for about six weeks. During these weeks they went to see their family and acquaintances, but according to Elif this has not provided enough time to build an elaborate network of friendships over there. Regarding her upcoming departure for Istanbul she says: "it will have to start all over again over there", this process will need a lot of time because "contact needs to grow".

Because Elif has built a lot of memories with her friends she will leave behind, they have become very significant to her. After her return to Turkey, she expects to stay in touch with these people through for example skype, like she currently does with her family in Turkey. Whatever happens, presently she can not imagine losing contact with her friends here. "It remains your past. (...) You won't just forget."

Estrangement and integration processes

Because Elif has come to the Netherlands as a child and has therefore spent part of her youth at a Dutch school, her process of integration is closely related to her growing up. The more she built up here, both practically and socially, and the more she learned the language, the more Turkey

became a 'holiday-land' to her. According to her story, integrating had not taken very conscious efforts from Elif, except for the first years in which she still had to settle into her new school and learn the language.

By marrying a Turkish man however, Elif experienced the process of integration and migration another time, although from a different perspective. Moreover, Elif states that especially her husband's problems with integrating in the Netherlands (as influenced by their financial situation as a result of his unemployment) is reason to return to Turkey. Now that there is not a lot of work (for 'foreigners') and he has to take relatively large steps to bypass the limitations of his 'strangeness' (such as acquiring diplomas) they expect to find a better future in Turkey, where they will become self-employed entrepreneurs (as farmers). A feeling of being treated differently as a Turk then as a Dutch person seems to filter through all this, as the result of negative experiences at work and during the search for work. Possibly, this is more of her husband's experience as it is Elif's however.

Elif realises that leaving the Netherlands and 'dismantling' their existence here might result in becoming estranged from the Netherlands. If life in Turkey does not go as expected, she expects it not to be easy to take up their old lives. "Breaking down is difficult, but building up is even harder." The decision was therefore not taken lightly. Although the idea of returning to Turkey has been on the table more than once, it remained too big of a step to take and was at first cancelled.

Although the regular visits to Turkey were just meant to be nice holidays, those experiences will now according to Elif, lower the threshold in the integration process that they will have to face. The fact that language is not expected to be a problem upon their return to Turkey is another advantage. It will be easier for the family this time around than what Elif and her husband experienced when moving from Turkey to the Netherlands. This puts Elif at ease regarding the future and her expectations of the process of integration over there (which confirms how important language has been in her earlier migration process) and the future for her family.

Still she expects to have to relearn a lot of things, especially regarding 'arranging stuff' such as banking or governmental issues. "I do not have the basis there". Elif feels she will not have to adjust very much regarding her appearance or social behaviour, the greatest adjustment will be practical. When comparing her life in the Netherlands and Turkey, Elif notes: "in certain things you are taking a step back and in other things you are moving forward." Economically, however, they expect to become more independent, since her husband will have more chances to develop his qualities and ambitions in his 'own' country where he knows what paths to take.

Feelings of belonging and 'home'

Despite the fact that she'll be moving to Turkey soon, Elif (presently) regards the Netherlands to be her 'home'. It is the land of which she knows 'everything', it is 'familiar' to her. "Wherever you are, you know everyone on the street. It is just home." This feeling is also determined socially as for instance the relation that she has built with her neighbours makes Elif feel at 'home'. "We have each other's keys and we can just walk into each other's homes". It is also important to Elif to have her family around.

In fact, in the past, when her parents left the Netherlands to return to Turkey, Elif decided to remain in the Netherlands where she was building her own life at the time and felt more at 'home'. Apparently, by then there were factors that overruled the presence of her family in her definition of 'home'. However, as a result of this decision, Elif has experienced the difficulties of staying behind and lacking her parents to be around. This was a very important reason to no longer postpone her migration/return to Turkey, now that she still takes responsibility for the moving of her own sons.

To Elif, the feeling of safety is important in the experience of 'home'. Her creation of 'home' is therefore a parallel process to learning her ways in Istanbul (as a big city) and how to 'arrange' practical matters properly. The 'home-feeling' of Elif is therefore closely related to the degree of her (practical) integration. Additionally, the difference between life in a city and life in a more rural environment is relevant to Elif and her feeling of 'home'. Again, feeling safe is an issue here, moving from a (Dutch) rural village to a (Turkish) metro-pole is a big step to her.

Within her own house, her kitchen and her (vegetable) garden (for image see attachment 4) are Elif's favourite spots. Elif treasures the things she has collected in life and is glad to be able to take most of it to Turkey. These things hold memories and she has worked hard to gather it all (another reason to take many familiar things with her is because her oldest son is mildly autistic, it is important to him that his environment remains recognisable). As the most important 'objects' in her home, Elif mentions her plants. Many plants (also from the garden) have been moved to Turkey as well.

Concluding notes

The conversation with Elif (and her son) revolves primarily around their upcoming departure for Turkey. For part of their family, it will be a return to the land of birth, for others (the children) it will mean moving to a foreign country, a holiday destination. The different perspectives within the family show what part age plays in the effect of a migration. Elif's experience as a young girl who arrived in the Netherlands is very different from her husband's, who moved here because of their

marriage when he was already an adult. Different motivations also seem to have significance. Elif's husband, for example, moved to the Netherlands because Elif did not want to live in Turkey at the time. Because of this, a possible return to Turkey has remained a theme within the family (and marriage) "if I can do it, you can do it too" (...) "it is give and take". Nonetheless, the financial situation is (again) the deciding factor.

It is noticeable how Elif primarily mentions things and spaces that are related to her hobbies when asked about objects in relation to her 'home-feeling'. These hobbies (or 'home-activities') seem to be an essential link between her social network, her integration process and her 'home' feeling.

Remarkably, Elif's family is still intensively in touch with the woman (and her family) who taught Elif Dutch when she first arrived in the Netherlands. Here, integration has resulted in friendship.

4.3.2 The story of Yildiz

Yildiz was born in Antakya, a place in southernmost Turkey. Her father found a job in the Netherlands and when at the age of two, Yildiz and her mother followed him. They went to live in Roosendaal where the family expanded with brothers and sisters for Yildiz.

Since Yildiz' parents thought it important that their kids would attend high school in Turkey, when Yildiz reached the age of twelve, she, her mother and siblings returned to the place where she was born. In the second year, her mother temporarily did not live at home and Yildiz' grandparents moved in. When she finished high school, Yildiz married a Turkish man. She wanted to study and passed the entrance exam of a university in Ankara. However, before she started she travelled to the Netherlands, where her father still lived. She turned eighteen and had to take care of her Dutch documents in case she ever wanted to return. During this visit to the Netherlands, she decided to change plans and stay in Emmen (where her father lived) to attend the Pabo. This was more convenient, as in Ankara, she would have had to study far away from her family and the environment she had become accustomed to. Her newly married husband would come over to the Netherlands during the four years of her study, after which they would return to Turkey together. However, during this time the marriage failed and Yildiz divorced her husband. Going back to Turkey was, at that point, no longer an option. As now they had a child, her ex-husband wanted to stay near and also remained in the Netherlands. When Yildiz' sister married and settled in the province of her youth, Yildiz decided to join her and moved to Eindhoven. She still lives here today.

I met Yildiz several years ago through work. She was running a temporary tea-garden (after a Turkish concept) with her sister at the time.

Social networks and the level of transnationalism

Although Yildiz' direct family (mother, brothers and sisters) mostly live in the Netherlands, the majority of her family still lives in Turkey. She hails from a region of which, she says, not many others have migrated to Western Europe, but she does have two uncles in Germany.

Yildiz' social network is very important to her, as it "makes you just a bit more human (...) it brings you closer to yourself actually". Her social network is extensive, both in the Netherlands and Turkey. A large portion of this network consists of family members. She says that this is related to her background: "Family is very important to Turks, of course. It is different from here in the Netherlands. They are also sort of your friends as well; cousins, second cousins, third cousins..." She does not have many unrelated friends in Turkey, especially because she is so far away, "it dilutes".

Yildiz maintains her relationships with people in Turkey through telephone, social media and visits them during holidays. According to Yildiz, these channels of communication have very much changed (transnational) communication within the family from the way before social media, "back then it was a different factor that was important. Imagine if, you obviously did not go on holiday every year, but imagine if my sister had gone that year and we hadn't, she would fill us in on what happened over there, and vice versa. But of course, it's a lot less like that nowadays, because of facebook, twitter, and...". The arrival of social media has made staying in touch easier for Yildiz and expanded the amount of people she remains in touch with "we got back in touch through facebook". Also Whatsapp is a popular means of communication within the family. Through a shared family 'group', messages and photographs are shared from across the world. Because of the new ways of communication, Turkey seems closer to Yildiz. Contact has increased, "the bond becomes stronger... and plans are being made".

The more 'unplugged' ways of contact (visiting someone) are different in Turkey than they are in the Netherlands, Yildiz states: "People really visit. Also, mostly without prior warning, they ring the doorbell and come for a cup of coffee. It doesn't really happen here in the Netherlands. Even your own family calls you in advance".

Estrangement and integration processes

However young Yildiz was, she felt as though she had to work hard on her and her parents' processes of integration, "I pulled the wagon". This was mostly due to her parents' language barrier, "especially my mother's, she still does not speak Dutch very well, but she did not at all at

the time. I was her, how to put this, her translator". Because Yildiz was the oldest child, she felt to have 'a big responsibility' early on, and was actively involved in the process of integration from a young age.

This was very different from the time in which Yildiz lived in Turkey with her mother. "She could do everything by herself, she wasn't dependent on me." This also changed Yildiz' role "My mother could take care of herself over there. I was allowed to be a child."

These experiences have clearly marked Yildiz' sentiment with both countries. "I feel like the child of Turkey. (...) In the Netherlands I feel different. Over here, I feel (...) more like the adult." Still, she really stands between both countries "because when I am in Turkey, I really miss here, and when I am here I miss Turkey".

Moreover, Yildiz thinks her process of 'integration' in the Netherlands has shaped her in her personal views on norms and values: "For example, the fixedness in the Netherlands, the fixed rules. Those were very difficult to me at first; like why does everything have to be so punctual. Nowadays, I value those things a lot myself and I think that it all has to indeed just correspond. It has to be like that. It is good that it is like that."

This change of thought has in a certain way caused an estrangement from Turkish culture, "as an example: here, everything is an appointment, we are used to it. We demand it, too, when we are in Turkey. It is changing a bit now, you know, but a year or ten ago, you had an appointment, but nobody stuck to it. So we, being Dutch Turks, insisted upon these appointments, like it is two a clock, it is our turn now." The term 'Dutch Turks' is remarkable in this, and reveals ambivalent feelings of 'belonging' on the one hand, but is also a sign of the transnationality of her self-created identity.

However, Yildiz sometimes still feels 'strangeness' in the country in which she lives: "At the moment a racist statement is thrown at me, at that moment I really feel myself the foreigner". But even this feeling has been subject to change during her life: "when we had just arrived from Turkey, I took everything that was said as a racist statement, or discrimination. Now I also notice that it is not always meant to be discriminating. It is also a matter of interpretation."

Feelings of belonging and 'home'

"For me, home is not bound to a location" Yildiz explains, "to me home is safety. A safe environment, wherever it is". To Yildiz, her parents still are a symbol for the safety that creates her 'feeling at home'. "I feel safest at a place where my mother is." In this respect she refers to the year when her mother was away and she was living in Turkey with her grandparents: "back then I had sort of lost that home. While we were all living in our own house." Another thing that is

important for Yildiz in order to achieve a feeling of 'home' is independence, the freedom to be able to "decide for myself". To feel at home somewhere is, according to Yildiz very much an internal mode "It is not related to other people as much as it is in myself." However, it is not necessarily controllable as she reflects to homesickness as a very powerful emotion "that can really limit your life". Consequently, Yildiz' feeling of 'home' is not so much related to physical, materialistic objects. Although she likes having books around, because reading imparts a (again) safe feeling that is related to 'home'.

However, Yildiz' view has changed somewhat as she became a mother herself. Since then, the value of material matters has become clearer to her. Additionally, her home-feeling became less attached to her parents presence, "I have started associating feeling at home with my own home". Over the past years, she has slowly started to attach herself a bit more to a physical place, something that used to be difficult for her in the past. She has now spent a lot of time, energy and money in her garden to create "just my own place".

Memories of Turkey impart a 'warm feeling' to Yildiz, "literally *and* figuratively of course". She describes her experience when seeing her old house in Turkey again: "it gives a lot of recognition yes, it is very emotional actually. (...) It looks different, but the feeling is still the same. And when you walk there, you see the old neighbours again. Yes, they have changed as well of course." Still, her ties to the house of her youth in Roosendaal are even stronger: "we cried and cried over there, you really wouldn't want to know. You can still see my room from the outside. It has a window in the roof. Yeah, I spent many hours staring outside."

From a cultural point of view, her ties to Turkey go deeper "the history of Turkey as well. Yes, I can feel a connection with that. Not with Dutch history; with the Netherlands, it is more about the now.". In this context, Yildiz explains to miss sharing her culture on a national level when in the Netherlands, "everybody goes to his own job, while we have parties. It is not fun".

However, to Yildiz meaning of 'home' is not geographically bound: "In the past I used to think there is only one place where you can really feel at home. That's not true. You can just as well feel at home at several places at the same time".

Yildiz likes to place her own experience within a more societal and contemporary context "I think this is really a recent development. It is like a modern, a modern feeling or something like that." She tries to use what she learned through her migration experience and feels that it has in that sense 'enriched' her life, as it provided her with "the privilege to know both cultures that well that I am able to compare them, to bridge between the two of them."

Moreover, Yildiz places herself and her generation within the context of a globalising world in

which she (modestly) feels more of a “World citizen”. She states:

I think that people in my generation are rather unique as it will disappear. (...)

The world becomes smaller due to social media and things like that. At that time, it was still very different, hence we have experienced it in a different way. (...) I think the intensity [of the experience of migration] becomes less, as the world becomes smaller, one could go back and forth more easily. There is more of a choice now.

Concluding notes

The experiences of Yildiz seem to be very much influenced by the role she had towards her parents and within her family. This role shifted when back in Turkey, where her mother did not need to lean on her within her integration process. Yildiz makes the connection between these experiences and her ('home') feeling associated with both countries. The meaning of 'home' in her case is therefore strongly influenced by processes of integration.

Although social contacts are very important to her, besides her parents Yildiz' social network seems to be less present in the determination of her home-feeling. This may be (partly) due to the ease modern means of communication are being used within her family, which makes it possible for to be in touch easily from every location she wishes. In the extension of this, it is remarkable that Yildiz places her own experience in a wider societal and even global context.

4.3.3 Conclusion

Both the respondents that were children at the time of migration that were interviewed seem to have the experience to stand in-between two cultures. They more or less bridge between Turks and Dutch in an almost natural way. Elif does this by exchanging her knowledge about Turkish food and gardening. She introduced many of her Dutch fellow garden club-members to various kinds of vegetables that at the time were not being grown in the Netherlands yet (such as red peppers or eggplants). Yildiz describes in a more general way how she functions as a link between Dutch and Turkish culture, it even became some-kind of a mission to her.

Additionally, for both to feel 'safe' is essential in the experience of 'home'. Home functions as a safe haven, but does not necessarily have to be seen as a physical location. It can also be achieved by the presence of beloved and trusted people or the feeling of independence. Besides the role intimate family members (children, mother) can play, it seems that the feeling of 'home' is less dependent on the physical presence of a social network, although social contact is still very important to both Yildiz as Elif.

Especially Yildiz, who is the eldest child in her family, has taken an active role as a child to support her parents in their integration process. Although this was less specifically present in the case of Elif (who has several brothers and sisters before her), it does show through the interviews that Yildiz is not an exception in this (also Esra called in the help of her eldest son to translate and also the children of Arif and Fidan have been a support to them).

5. Conclusion and reflection

5.1 Conclusion

Now that all stories of the participating respondents have been discussed, offering different perspectives on the matter, an attempt can be made to answer the research question as it was introduced in the first chapter of this thesis. However, before it is possible to come to a well-founded conclusion, firstly the three sub-questions that were posed should be answered, based on the empirical findings in the interviews.

When articulating conclusions, it should be taken into account that all respondents, their backgrounds and their present situations are (very) different. Therefore none of the results should be generalised or taken as a fixed truth. However, reflecting and comparing the different stories of the respondents to each other could highlight certain observations, questions or experiences that seem to relate. Through their similarities *or* differences, insights in understanding of the experience of migration can be deepened, as was (part of) the aim of this research.

5.1.1 Social networks and the level of transnationalism

The first sub-question posed was again:

What role do transnational social networks have in transnational and integration processes of Turkish transmigrants and how have these networks developed over time and in a changing society?

According to the results of this research, to most respondents the social network is very important and hence, extended. Pretty much all of them still have relatives in Turkey, with whom relatively intensive contact is being sustained. 'Transnational' friendships however, generally seem to be less successful and often fade. Most respondents keep in touch with their distant relatives by the use of the telephone. Also, a lot of them use the internet (in particular facebook, skype, msn, the webcam, and only once whatsapp was being mentioned) to keep in touch with each other. These digital means of communication however, appear to be more popular and accessible to younger respondents. However, most respondents reflect that communicating has become cheaper and the frequency therefore increased, which confirms the presumption that increased global mobility affects the transnational connectedness of these migrants.

Within the Netherlands, social networks are more extended but in most cases still contains a lot of, or mostly, Turks. However, especially the 'children' do have a much more culturally mixed social network. Apparently, age at the time of migration seems to matter (see also integration and estrangement). This is also when it comes to ways of communication.

In most stories, the social network is not just important in the joy of life, it even seems to be predominantly determining the home-feeling of the respondents. This should be placed in the context of Turkish culture in which, generally, social networks and family in particular is highly important (Gerholm in Grillo 2004).

Remarkably, *all* of the respondents regularly travel (about once every two years) to Turkey to visit their relatives. In some cases there are other ways as well in which their practices cross borders ((Glick Schiller, N., et al., 1992). For instance, Abdullah, who found his Turkish bride through the internet; Yildiz, who went back to Turkey to take her high school education and returned to the Netherlands again for university; Elif, who is actually returning while remaining in contact with her Dutch network, and the example of her father who built two houses while making money in the Netherlands. Since “involvements in both the home and host societies is a central element of transnationalism” (idem 1992, p ix), it can be said that there is indeed a (varying) level of transnationalism to speak of in the case of these respondents.

In fact it seems that the respondents that migrated when they were still in their childhood are in a certain way more transnational than their parents are, in the sense that they seem to move back and forth in between 'their' two countries more easily (not for holidays but for a longer period of residence) and, on a more abstract and emotional level, developed themselves both within Turkish and in Dutch culture and networks, actively combining knowledge, traditions and personal preferences in establishing their own identity and daily practice, or in other words “take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns within a field of social relations that links together their country of origin and their country or countries of settlement” (Glick Schiller, N., et al., 1992, p ix). Although at first instance they seem to be less (compared to the older generation) intensively connected to social contacts in Turkey, this connection becomes stronger again through enhanced communication which makes it easier and more lively and enjoyable for them to stay in touch.

However, from the Netherlands, the 'parents' or adult migrants generally seem to retain stronger ties to their country of origin but not always across (Turkish) borders, as they often develop large and intense networks of Turks that also migrated (both to the Netherlands as other western European countries). Their level of transnationalism seems to be more socially and practically oriented.

5.1.2 Estrangement and integration processes

The second sub-question is:

How do processes of integration and processes of estrangement interact with regards to both country of origin and country of settlement; are these processes static and irreversible or rather dynamic and flexible?

Based on the stories within this research, in the perception of estrangement and integration processes age at the time of migration seems to matter as younger migrants have less difficulty learning the language (e.g. through school) and yet more easily interweave their integration process with their personal development being confronted to it in a different life-stage. Moreover, especially the oldest children in the household seem to play an active role in supporting their parents in their integration process and as translators. As a result, children seem to relate to both cultures differently, but in equally important ways.

It is remarkable that in *all* interviews the respondents noted (without being specifically asked) that they felt in a sense in-between both countries as to a certain extent, they are seen, or seeing themselves as 'foreigners'. This points to a process of estrangement from the 'home' country, although all respondents do feel still very much connected to their Turkish roots, it provides a reflection on their integration processes as well.

These processes of integration as well as estrangement are predominantly being reflected on as dynamic and flexible rather than static and irreversible. And very much depended on specific moments and affected by many different factors such as friendships, society, language skills and specific life-events. Moreover, feelings of 'strangeness' are partially an internal mind set as was posed by Yildiz: "there is a choice in what to believe (is true)".

Language is mentioned as the most important tool of integration (although sometimes underestimated at first arrival). Overall it seems that men are more focussing on achievement and acknowledgement within their integration processes. This could be affected by a more result-oriented environment at work.

Whether complete integration is possible is hard to say, it seems that the respondents that feel or seem to be most integrated, are the younger migrants who have been 'raised in two cultures' so to say. However they are preferably looking for ways to interweave these cultures instead of completely adapting to one and disregarding the other. Most of the older migrants tend to

connect to other Turks rather than Dutch people and keep their (Turkish oriented) private life mostly separate from their working lives in which especially the men are mostly exposed to Dutch society. Although none of them shows to be feeling negative about Dutch society in general (apart of certain specific issues), (complete) integration to Dutch society (apart from learning the language in order to better communicate) does not seem to be their goal.

However, within this context Deniz would be an exception, being very active in, to his own words, 'adapting, adapting' to Dutch society and looking for manners to connect (such as voluntary work). This difference might be due to the fact that he is the only one who married a Dutch partner, which placed him in a different position from within his private life. However, even Deniz shows a certain connectedness (as well as estrangement) to Turkey.

5.1.3 Feelings of belonging and 'home'

The third and last sub-question is:

What is the (subjective) meaning of 'home' according to the transmigrants and how has this feeling of 'home' developed during residence in the hosting country?

Home-feeling is to all respondents for the greater part based on non-physical aspects rather than physical. In some cases the feeling of home can be connected to an activity rather than an object. This seems to better reflect the non-physical meaning of 'home'. Moreover in most stories feelings of 'home' were very much dependent on or related to the quality of the social environment, more than the physical place of 'home'. What is mostly remarkable is that, since family and in fact social networks are as important to all the respondents, they also have a large impact on their home-feelings. The respondents seemed to feel most at home around their friends and family. Hence, social interactivity, but also activities turned out to be more important than physical or locational factors. Which might confirm that the meaning of 'home' would become more and more 'placeless' (Duyvendak 2011) and abstract due to globalisation and digitalisation of social networks. Feelings of belonging seem to be as well flexible and dynamic and are not necessarily bounded to national identities, but can be for instance more connected to differences between rural and urban culture (as was argued by Deniz). This could be seen as confirming that national borders become less important (Ernste et al. 2009).

When (within this research) compared to the adult migrants, creating a home-feeling to the 'children' rather seems to follow the process of creating a personal identity (this could be placed in

context of theory on network society). This identity construction revolves to a large extent around the positioning in-between the 'culture of the parents' on the one hand and the culture of the presently surrounding society on the other.

5.1.4 Answering the main research question

Now that all the sub-question relevant in this research have been answered, final conclusions can be made in respond to the following research question:

What is the meaning of 'home' to Turkish migrants in the Netherlands as a result of processes of estrangement and integration, influenced by old and by new (transnational) social networks these migrants sustain and develop in both the homeland and the receiving country?

In all stories it seems that processes of 'integration' and 'estrangement' and feelings of 'home' and 'strangeness' can change, as a result of a changing environment, situation, or mind-set. Although they may in some cases steadily develop into a certain direction, these directions are never really fixed. Therefore it could be concluded that these processes are rather dynamic and flexible than being static and irreversible. Confirming theories on the deterritorialization or placelessness of 'home', respondents predominantly reflect to the meaning of 'home' as being not specifically physical and highly depending on the perception of quality of their transnational social networks. Since these networks can be more and more sustained through digital means of communication, they are indeed becoming increasingly dislocated.

However, described feelings of 'in-betweenness' and estrangement to the home-country, reveal that this dis-located perception of 'home' does not yet answer to the need of 'belonging' (e.g. to a social group or culture).

In addition, in some cases as previously described a link can be made between the motivation of migration and the 'acceptance' of staying which results in a different mindset for people who have been planning to go back and people planning to stay. For instance the story of Deniz, who was aiming for adventure more than money and, as the only one, married a Dutch partner (and hence, did not expect to return to Turkey).

It is in fact questionable whether complete integration is wishful (and to whom). In fact it seems as if the respondents more focussing on their Turkish networks, which was in a way more familiar

to them, felt actually more 'home' in the Netherlands than the ones (Deniz in specific) focussing on integration.

“ Transmigrants take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns within a field of social relations that links together their country of origin and their country or countries of settlement..” (Glick Schiller, N., et al., 1992, p ix) the possibilities in maintaining these relations have improved through digitalisation and technological developments (mobile phones, the internet, etc.) over the past decades to the point at which they can take a more frequent and prominent place in everyday life. As was confirmed by the results of this research, although it seems to have more impact on the younger generation. The 'older' people (that do not regularly use internet applications) however do make use of improved communication technologies as they state to have more contact over telephone, since it became cheaper.

5.2 Discussion and reflection

5.2.1 Critical remarks

In reflection to the previous research and its results, I want to note some critical remarks on the limitations and imperfections of this research. These should be taken into consideration to correctly interpret the outcomes as well as conclusions and can be seen as possible input for further improvement and research.

First of all the research was of course based on a limited group of respondents, due to the amount of time available and the fact that it occurred to be remarkably difficult to find Turkish respondents that matched the 'prescribed' characteristics *and* were willing to participate. (...), of which all stories are particularly personal and individual. One should be very cautious in generalising conclusions, especially since this research was focussing on the level of experience, which is in fact inherently individual.

Moreover, these personal stories have been affected by many individual 'side-effects' of which most of the, we probably do not know of, such as for example family issues which of course can very much mark experiences of 'home' or social contacts. However, in case such situations were recognized during the research, it has not lead to exclusion of the story. After all, in most cases we will not know about it and hence not be able to base our selection on this information. It is therefore more 'objective' to include all stories. Information on specific situations provides in this perspective more additional information that can be taken into account, which is in fact an advantage. However, certain issues will not become subject of investigation and are hence (and in respect to the respondents privacy) not specifically mentioned.

Besides, we can never 'know' whether respondents tell us the complete 'truth'. Besides, since currently due to political debates on 'foreigners' and nationalism (about especially Muslims), they might feel sensitive and be cautious with their answers. It should take probably more time (in a next research) to comfort the respondents more in order to win their trust (and their honest answers).

The idea to search for possible objects that held meaning of 'home' to the respondents, did not turn out be as useful as expected. However, in some cases it did lead to interesting new perspectives on the meaning of 'home' and provided a better understanding as such, next to the information that was obtained from the rest of the interviews. As 'home' was predominantly perceived as neither locational nor material, it seems rather logical that for example activities

turned out be a more suitable 'metaphor' or carrier of the experienced. In forthcoming research it would be interesting to, in a similar approach, search for 'home-activities' rather than 'home-objects'.

5.2.2 Recommendations

In an attempt to get out the most possible of this bachelor research, full use has been made of the available amount of time (in the previous paragraph, I already reflected on the points of improvement within the process and outcomes of this research). However, as is probably inevitable, there remain a lot of things related to the researched subjects that have not yet been (fully) discussed although they hold still valuable opportunities of further investigation. Within this paragraph I would like to highlight some of them as input or recommendations for further research.

I would like to note that, seen the complexity of the matter and the amount of information that are actually contained by the relatively few interviews taken in this research, it would be even worth reviewing them with different approaches of analyses or with differently posed sub-questions as a starting point.

First of all, it would be a valuable addition to, next to Turkish migrants in the Netherlands, do similar research to other groups of migrants from other countries or with other economic positions to obtain a more complete insight on the transnational migrant's experience of 'home' more in general. This, would probably also put this research in a different light, as it will become clearer what outcomes are more typical for the Turks compared to differently originated migrants.

The same thing could be done with different generations of migrants, Turks or others, as to see to what extent the 'effect' of migration continues to be recognised, in order to gain insights in the longer term consequences. This would probably have a more political relevance within debates on 'nationalism' and 'multiculturalism', as well as it could add to a further understanding of the effects of global mobilisation which results in a growing amount of transnational migrants.

To take this even a step further, it might be even interesting to relate the previous to psychological insights in the development of a child, in a more interdisciplinary research, in order to understand why the migrant's experience is so differently perceived at different life stages. Although this would call for a completely different set-up of research.

Furthermore, if there would be more time, it would be interesting to go deeper into the narratives of the respondents through multiple interviews, in different settings (with and/or without family members, husband or friends and on different locations). Moreover, it could be of value to have as well group discussions, for example mixed groups, in groups categorised by gender, or in addition to the

results of this research, in focus groups by categories similar to the ones used in this research (Men, Wives and Children).

Besides, it would be interesting to, when searching for 'home-activities' instead of 'home-objects' as was already elaborated and recommended in the previous paragraph, as well do observations of these activities, and use those observations as empirical data for further analyses.

Finally, from the conclusion it derived that younger migrants seem to more intermingle both cultures they were raised in compared to the older migrants. It would be interesting to see how this would compare to second generation migrants (children of transmigrants that were themselves born in the Netherlands). This could be relevant also in respect to the debates on integration, multiculturalism, nationalism and the concerns of a homeless society due to global mobility, as described in the theoretical part. Does this intermingling of cultures increase or decrease over generations? Or does it not continue at all? And, moreover would it in fact result in a different process of creating (cultural) identity and of course, 'home'?

To close of I would like to end with another question: should we actually (still)reflect on these as strangers? Or do we need to think *beyond* the idea of defining people by their nation of origin. My answer would be the latter.

Epilogue

In a more personal reflection to this research I would like to add some comments on what this research was rooted in. Since, in narrative research method it is said that the outcome of the interview (and therefore the narrative research) is very much a result and co-construction of the interaction between interviewer and respondent (see: Creswell, 2013; Bryman, 2008), it seems just logical to at least explain a little more about my personal perspectives and motivations as a researcher to go deeper into subjects of migration, belonging and home-feeling. After all, my own life course and background must have influenced choices within this research process, either subconsciously or consciously.

Since I was a child I have been wondering what it means to 'be Dutch' or to have any other nationality. Maybe I was just a curious child, or maybe I was made aware of this question because my appearance is not typically Dutch (I am not tall, neither do I have blond hair, blue eyes or a pale skin..). Ever since I went to school for the first time, fellow-classmates frequently posed me the question: "What country are you from?". This question always made me feel somewhat flabbergasted, 'why would you ask me that'?

However, it triggered me to ask myself the type of (rather philosophical) questions a child can ask, such as: "Why do people *belong* to a country?" "What does a border mean? Who decides where this borderline is being drawn? And, how does this line on a paper map affect my feeling of where I 'belong' or what is in fact 'home' to me?" I discovered that I did not feel attached to images about the Netherlands that were found in tourist-shops, as in *my* city (Eindhoven) there were no such things as windmills nor did people wear wooden shoes and white lace caps. "Maybe", I thought, "I will have to migrate once I am older. I probably belong somewhere else".

It was not until I started to travel a little bit, that I realised how much I was in fact connected to Dutch culture and how much the Netherlands are representing a great deal in my experience of 'home'. Even during a relatively short and relatively close residence abroad I already experienced a certain rootlessness, as a lot of things that I had taken as a matter of course turned out to be not that strict or solid. I started to realise that a lot of me and my views is anchored in this country that apparently actually *is* my 'home' basis, up till now at least. But what does one do when one can not reason from all the 'truths' that have defined one's reality or culture, one's safeness or comfort-zone, one's identity or 'home'?

All, and even more, of these questions might have been the basis of my ongoing interest in

migrants' experiences. At least, questions similar to those remained to stay on my mind ever since, as has been proved by the subject of this thesis and my choice for human geography more in general.

I hope my findings will please other curious minds as well.

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Attachment 1. Glick Schiller et al. - Questions for research transnationalism

From the Annals of New York Academy of Science (Glick Schiller et al. 1992), a list of questions in order to set up an agenda for developing the concept of transnationalism.

the particular (partial) questions that were posed and that are relevant in context of this study:

How does the emergence of this new transnational subject reflect the major recent technological leaps in the areas of communications and media that put the world in much more immediate interaction technologically as well as facilitate transnational processes?

What are the implications of current day transnationalism for kinship relations, family organization, and the form and content of social networks?

Under what conditions do transnational media develop and how do such media serve to develop the transnational social field?

Capital and labor are global yet the world is still very much divided into nation states, and internal and external oppositions are expressed in nationalist terms. To what extent does transnationalism perpetuate nationalist identifications or will it lead to more encompassing forms of identification?

(Glick Schiller et al. 1992, pp xii-xiii)

Attachment 2. Interview guide

Note: As the interviews were held in Dutch, this interview guide has been translated.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Name:

Date:

Year of birth:

Place of birth:

Current place of residence:

Contact:

General background respondent:

For how long have you lived in the Netherlands?

Why did you come to the Netherlands?

Did you come to the Netherlands on your own or with your family/friends/colleagues?

How often do you return to Turkey? When you do, where do you go?

Meaning of 'home':

What does the word 'home' mean to you? (a place, a sensation, a thought, a friendship, etc)

Can you show me something (a photograph, an object, a recipe) that represents 'home' to you the most?

What is it? Where does it come from? What is its history?

Why did you choose this?

Networks in the Netherlands (determining the level of transnationalism):

Do you know many people in the Netherlands?

How do you keep in touch with them? (telephone, visits, e-mails, etc)

Are your friends and acquaintances in the Netherlands mostly Turkish, Dutch or from other cultures?

Who among these people (both in Turkey and the Netherlands) are closest to you or the most important to you?

Why?

Networks in Turkey – determining the level of transnationalism (and digitalisation):

Are you still often in touch with family and/or acquaintances in Turkey?

Do your friends and family from Turkey still live in Turkey? If not, where do they live now?

Which means do you use to keep in touch with them? (email, social media, telephone, visits, etc)

(When) Has this changed?

Which means did you use in the past to keep in touch with them? (telephone, visits, emails, etc)

Has the amount of contact with friends and/or relatives in Turkey increased, decreased or remained unchanged over time.

Has this been a continuing process or has it changed at a certain point?

How often do you see and talk to you acquaintances and relatives in Turkey on average?

Estrangement from the land of birth

When you think of Turkey, what do you think of? What sort of sensation does this evoke?

When did you last visit Turkey (and for how long did you stay)?

What did you do there?

How did you experience being back there?

How did you experience going back to the Netherlands?

Do you ever feel homesick for Turkey?

When you do, what do you miss the most?

Integration in the Netherlands:

(How well does the respondent speak Dutch?)

How do you experience living in the Netherlands? Are you accustomed to life here? In what way?

Meaning of home:

Do you feel at home in the Netherlands?

Do you feel at home in Turkey (for example when on family visits/holidays)?

Where do you feel most at 'home'?

What place would you describe as 'home'?

What sensation would you describe as 'home'?

Attachment 3. Complete overview of characteristics of respondents

Pseudonym	Year of birth	Year of migration	Age at time of migration	Place of birth		Current place of residence
Orse	1973	2012	38/39 years old	Yozgat	rural	Eindhoven
Abdullah	1971	1979-1981 en 1989	8 years old, 18 years old	Elazig	rural	Eindhoven
Deniz	1941	1963	23 years old	Istanbul	city	Tilburg
Elif	1966	1975	8 years old	Rize	rural	Vlijmen (soon Istanbul)
Arif	1962	1977	14/15 years old	Sivas	rural	Eindhoven
Fidan	1963	1979	+/- 16 years old	Sivas	rural	Eindhoven
Esra	1986	1998	22 years old	Bursa	rural	Eindhoven
Yildiz	1970	1972-1982 en 1988	2 years old, 18 years old	Antakya	city	Eindhoven

Pseudonym	Gender	Motivation	Children	Married to
Orse	Female	Marriage	no children	Abdullah
Abdullah	Male	Parents / Work	2 adult children (1 st marriage)	Orse
Deniz	Male	Work (adventurism)	2 adult children	Widower
Elif	Female	Parents	2 children	not participating
Arif	Male	Parents / Work	3 children (2 adults)	Fidan
Fidan	Female	Marriage	3 children (2 adults)	Arif
Esra	Female	Marriage	3 children	not participating
Yildiz	Female	Parents (later: studies)	1 child	Divorced

Attachment 4. Pictures of Home-objects

Picture a. Abdullah - Tespi



picture b. Deniz – Singing dogs



picture c. Elif – Vegetable garden



