

FEELING AT HOME: QUALIFIED TURKISH IMMIGRANTS WORK IN THE
SUBCONTRACTOR COMPANY IN ATHENS

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PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

The migration of young and qualified individuals abroad is a subject being discussed in the literature. Migration in Türkiye has also increased significantly due to social, economic, and political factors. For this reason, individuals have started to migrate to Europe, the USA, and Canada through student, work, and refugee ways. Since the target of most individuals regarding external migration is developed countries, migration to developed countries has also been focused on in the literature. However, the migration of skilled individuals is a topic that has received little focus within the framework of work anthropology. Also, there are not enough studies in the literature on the migration of individuals to developing countries such as Greece. This study discusses the reasons for the migration of qualified Turks who migrated from Türkiye to Greece. In addition, the participants' sense of belonging, their understanding of home, the similarities, and differences in working life between Türkiye and Greece, their social structures, and cultural and geographical proximity factors between the two countries were discussed in the light of in-depth interviews. As a result of this study, it was concluded that the participants left Türkiye due to social, economic, and political reasons and considered Greece as a step to Europe. The residence card they will obtain after five years also symbolizes capital power. The relevant data revealed that the participants felt at home in Greece due to the cultural similarity between Greece and Türkiye, working life, and alienation from their homeland. Another result of the study is the uncertainty arising from the short contracts of the said subcontractor company to its employees. In this research, the phenomenon of globalization is discussed based on Appadurai's (Appadurai, 1996) culture flow model.

Key words: Capital, cultural flows, globalization, Greece, migration, subcontractor company

ÖZET

Kalifiye gençlerin yurt dışına olan göçü literatürde ele alınan ve tartışılan bir konudur. Türkiye'deki göç de sosyal, ekonomik ve politik etkenlerden dolayı kayda değer bir şekilde artmıştır. Bundan dolayı da bireyler gerek öğrenci gerek çalışma gerek de sığınmacı yollarıyla Avrupa'ya, Amerika'ya ve Kanada'ya göç etmeye başlamıştır. Dış göç ile ilgili yoğunlukla bireylerin hedefi gelişmiş ülkeler olduğu için literatürde de gelişmiş ülkelere olan göç odaklanmıştır. Ancak kalifiye bireylerin göçü iş antropolojisi çerçevesinde az odaklanılmış bir konudur. Bununla beraber, bireylerin Yunanistan gibi gelişmekte olan ülkelere göçü ile ilgili literatürde yeterli çalışma bulunmamaktadır. Bu çalışma Türkiye'den Yunanistan'a göç etmiş kalifiye Türklerin göç etme sebeplerini tartışmaktadır. Bununla beraber, katılımcıların aidiyet duygusu, ev anlayışları, Türkiye ile Yunanistan arasındaki çalışma hayatındaki benzerlik ve farklılıklar, sosyal yapıları, iki ülke arasındaki kültürel ve coğrafi yakınlık faktörleri derinlemesine görüşmeler ışığında tartışılmıştır.

Bu çalışmanın bir sonucu olarak katılımcıların sosyal, ekonomik, ve politik etkenlerden dolayı Türkiye'den ayrıldığı ve Yunanistan'ı Avrupa'ya açılan bir kapı olarak gördüğü sonucuna varılmıştır. 5 sene sonra elde edecekleri oturum kartı da bir kapital gücü simgelemektedir. İlgili verilerden, Yunanistan ile Türkiye arasındaki kültürel benzerlik, çalışma hayatı, kendi vatanlarına karşı yabancılaşmaktan kaynaklı katılımcıların kendilerini Yunanistan'da evde hissettikleri ortaya çıkmıştır. Söz konusu taşeron şirketin çalışanlarına kısa sözleşmeler yapmasından kaynaklı ortaya çıkan belirsizlik, çalışmanın bir diğer sonucudur. Bu araştırmada küreselleşme olgusu Appadurai'nin (Appadurai, 1996) kültür akış modeli baz alınarak tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: *Göç, küreselleşme, kültürel akışlar, sermaye, taşeron şirket, Yunanistan*

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1. INTRODUCTION

When I first came to Greece in 2020, the research topic was different. However, when I started working at the subcontractor company to continue my research, I witnessed the stories of the Turks, their reasons for coming, the concepts of the community, and their goals. Another point that caught my attention was that most of the employees were university graduates. As an immigrant and an employee in this subcontractor company, I became interested in this research topic and after seeing the lack of migration studies in the literature on migrating to developing countries, I decided to change my thesis topic to "Feeling at Home: Qualified Turkish Immigrants Work in the Subcontractor Company in Athens". I aimed to understand their identities, their cultural and social structures, their sense of belonging, and what pattern globalization creates in the context of this mobility.

1.1. Research Questions and Aim of the Thesis

Many studies focused on immigrants and refugees in Türkiye, their identities, motivations, decision-making, integration and adaptation process, and societal place. One of the standard studies is also about internal migration in Türkiye, especially from rural to urban areas. 'Emigration' is also a central topic in the academic world. Although the main route of migration from Türkiye abroad is observed in Western developed countries such as Germany, the United States, and Canada, there are not enough studies in the literature on migration to "developing countries" of Southern or Eastern Europe (like Greece, Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, etc.). They focused on more developed countries such as Germany, Ireland, the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, France, etc. My aim of the study is to understand the reasons for the migration of working qualified Turkish people who migrated to Greece as subcontractor company employees.

Moreover, there are not enough ethnographic studies on work anthropology in Turkish literature (Özbay, 2018). Another aim and importance of this research is to examine both the employees of the subcontractor company in Greece and the differences between Türkiye and Greece in the context of work anthropology.

This research aims to determine why qualified Turkish youth prefer to leave their lives in Türkiye and work in a subcontractor company in Greece. I also seek to understand the feelings of belonging and motivations of the Turks who moved to

Greece with labor migration. With the development of technology, it is much easier to find or search for a job compared to previous years. Until 20 years ago, people used to find employment from job centers or newspapers. Nowadays, people can easily access job opportunities worldwide through career sites (most commonly LinkedIn) or social media. Therefore, people who want to leave their country for various reasons can find a job using the tools of technology -especially social media- or find opportunities to continue their education abroad. This is a result of the globalized world. Therefore, how they found the job in the subcontractor company will also be investigated.

The main questions:

- “Why did Turkish migrants decide to move?”, “How was their decision-making process?” and “Under which conditions did they decide to move?”
- “What does it mean to be Turkish in Greece?”, “How are their identities in Greece?”

Also, because of the interviewees’ answers, “the meaning of home” appeared. That’s why I asked:

- “Which reasons related to time and place influence migrants' sense of feeling at home?”

Thus, my main idea of the thesis is shaped as a “sense of home,” “the meaning of home,” and “the understanding of home” of the participants who live and work in Athens. Moreover, I also aimed to understand:

- “What are the reasons for migration from Türkiye to Greece?”, “Do the similar and differentiating elements in the social structure of Greece and Türkiye affect migration?”

In addition, I aim to understand the effect of Covid-19 as an immigrant, such as working from home rather than going to the office. Moreover, Whether the conditions are reasonable compared to Türkiye in terms of wages and working hours is one of the essential aims of this thesis.

When the employees were asked to compare the working conditions between Greece and Türkiye, they stated that 8-hour work in Greece is a great advantage, and that Türkiye has no such situation. Yet, the subcontractor company where they work in Greece, stated that the contracts were short and, therefore, their future was blurred. All these will be examined from an anthropological point of view in this study.

This research is based on Turkish people between the ages of 24 and 41 who lived (and still live) 6 months to 5 years in Athens. This is because the Turks working in the

subcontractor company are in this age range. All interviews were conducted between 2021 and 2023, so the Covid-19 period coincides with when it taps and decreases.

Appadurai's culture flow model constitutes the theoretical framework of the research (Appadurai, 1996). The *ethnoscape* effect will be based on Turkish immigrants who migrated to Athens to work in a subcontractor company in the hope of leading a better life. Pierre Bourdieu's capital systems were also used in the study (Bourdieu, 1986).

Participants consider Greece as a gateway to Europe and could work anywhere in Europe after receiving the 'full market' card, which is a 5-year card, or travel to Europe with the 'specific purpose' card provided by the subcontractor company. Here capital is a power rather than money. As in Bourdieu's theory, capital reproduction of the social order (Bourdieu, 1986). Capital here is a capital that creates new job opportunities, or a power that improves living standards. In other words, dwelling in Europe and obtaining the 'full market' card is capital, and the resulting social satisfaction is social space.

In the related study, the studies of Arjun Appadurai, who has conducted remarkable research into globalization, were used. Appadurai's understanding of the “global cultural flow” model will be evaluated considering the findings. Appadurai's models were included in the network understanding of the Turks, the prevalence of Turkish serials in Greece, and the communication approach in the Facebook group 'Living Turks in Athens', and the multinational subcontractor company in Athens as a mobile form of capital, and Turkish immigrants in Greece who left Türkiye due to differences of opinion as *ideoscape*. (Appadurai, 1996).

It is common for subcontractor companies to give short contracts to their employees. Because of these short-term contracts, subcontractor employees find themselves in a transition and do not see themselves as fully integrated. In this study, uncertainty arose in the participants with the conclusion of short contracts in the relevant subcontractor company. Particularly in the answers they gave during the interview, the participants stated that they did not know what the future would be.

When respondents were asked about the difference in working conditions between Türkiye and Greece, the most common answer was 8 hours of work in Greece, which includes breaks within 8 hours. In addition, if the participants work overtime, their overtime pay is given. On the other hand, when we look at the answers given by the participants in general, flexible working hours are valid.

In the answers given by the participants, it was revealed that they felt at home in Greece. Both the similarity between the two countries and the factors that remind one of their own countries are the reasons for this. Therefore, these data have been examined in depth from the sense point of view.

Another aim of the thesis is to analyze the causes of the brain drain from Türkiye to abroad, particularly in Greece. This can be considered a brain drain because the qualified Turks migrated to another country. The reason for this migration will be discussed and analyzed in depth.

In the second chapter, the literature review and the theoretical framework will be examined because of the interviews with the participants and in the light of the facts representing the research questions.

The third chapter will state the research methods, the field, self-reflection, and ethics. In the 4th chapter, the findings that emerged as a result of the research will be discussed. All the titles in Chapter 4 were titled according to the most common answers given by the participants in the interview. In the findings section of Chapter 4, it was first discussed why the participants preferred Greece. What emerged here is that it is a door opening to Europe, that the employees work for 8 hours in this subcontractor company that the employer does not communicate with the employee in any way after the shift is completed, and that Greece and Türkiye are geographically close. Afterward, it was examined why the participants migrated from Türkiye, regardless of Greece. In addition, the language skills of the participants in Greece and how they communicated with the Greek people were investigated. Then, the social environment of the participants and how they adapted to Greece was discussed. In addition, the Turkish community that emerged in Greece and being an immigrant during the Covid-19 period were examined. After that, as a separate title, the relationship of Turkish participants with the Greek people and the effect of Turkish TV series, as a result, were discussed. This was followed by the short contracts of the participants in the subcontractor company and the feeling of uncertainty. In addition, the differences between Greece and Türkiye are examined in a separate title. The most common answer given by the participants is that the bureaucracy and the operation in Greece in general are slow. Also, because of the participants' feeling at home due to the fact that there are some similarities existing between the two cultures in Greece, was examined in the light of senses and feelings.

They were examined anthropologically with the literature review and the cases in the theoretical framework title.

In the 5th chapter, the results of the problems in the thesis will be summarized.

1.2. Turkish Emigration

Historically, large-scale emigration from Türkiye started in the early 1960s; Türkiye commenced-sending Turkish workers to West Germany as labor migration with the Turkish-West German Agreement (31 October 1961). Due to the post-war recovery of Europe in the 1960s, many Western European countries needed a labor force. This agreement allowed Turkish people to move to West Germany with temporary work contracts, but this limitation was lifted years later. (İçduygu, 2014). Afterward, similar deals were made with countries such as France, Belgium, Austria, the Netherlands, the Middle East, and Southern Africa, but not as large-scale emigration as in Germany. These mobilities increased because these labor migrants moved to these countries with their expanded families.

With the globalization of the world, migration has become more complex. People started to migrate for educational purposes, student exchange programs (Erasmus, Work and Travel, etc.), work, for asylum, or just to be able to travel entirely. Thus, Turkish migrants can be seen everywhere in the world as a student, a refugee, an employee, a digital nomad, or an entrepreneur. Today, Türkiye is both a significant emigration and immigration country and a transit country. One of the most important examples is Syrian refugees as a transit country as a bridge to Europe. In early 2016, the EU reached an agreement with Türkiye to deport refugees who came to Greece from Türkiye and send them back to Türkiye in exchange, contributing to financing costs for Syrian refugees in Türkiye (European Council, 2016).

Moreover, emigration has also significantly increased because of unemployment, conservatism, high inflation, and political issues in Türkiye. As a result of this situation, many people (especially the young) decided to leave the country because of the pressure of the economic and social life, low life and job satisfaction, and mobbing. They began to search for a better life elsewhere, especially in the West. However, many Turkish people move to Southern Europe to work, study, or find refuge. In Greece, most Turks moved from Türkiye to work in the subcontractor company. As Türkiye is a non-EU country, Turks need a residence permit or working visa to move to Europe. They seek opportunities to move to Europe or the United

States to increase their quality of life. They try to find companies that provide visa sponsorship, or they prefer to find universities after graduation, find jobs, and stay there.

1.2.1. Turkish Emigration in the Turkish Press and The Results of Data

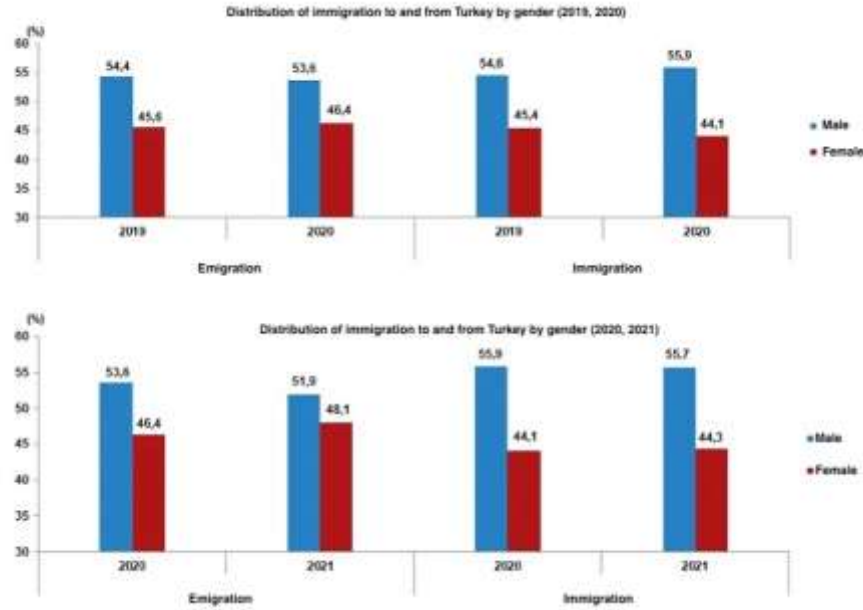
The graphic shared below is made by TÜİK (Turkish Statistical Institute) and shows both emigration and immigration (the right side shows emigration) from 2019 to 2020 and from 2020 to 2021. According to the graphic, men immigrate and emigrate more than women. In 2019, the number of people who migrated from Türkiye reached 1 million 38 thousand. Moreover, According to TÜİK data, 286 thousand young people between 20-29 migrated from Türkiye in 2019, 2020 and 2021. ¹



Figure 1

Distribution of Immigration to and from Türkiye by gender (2020, 2021) and 2020,2021 in TÜİK

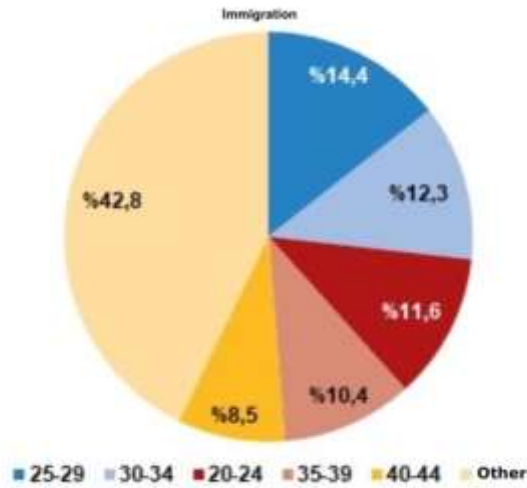
¹ <https://data.tuik.gov.tr/Bulten/Index?p=Uluslararası-Göç-İstatistikleri-2021-45814>



Moreover, according to the TÜİK results, considering the age groups of the population immigrating from Türkiye, it was seen that those who migrated from Türkiye mostly 25-29 age group with 14.4%. This age group was followed by the 30-34 age group with 12.3% and the 20-24 age group with 11.6%. According to the chart shared below, it can be said that mostly the 25-29 age group moved from Türkiye to abroad.

Figure 2

The first five age groups with the highest immigration from Türkiye, 2021 in TÜİK



To access specific more particular data, I also checked the Google Trends results.² Starting from 2018 to June 2022, these keywords are searched by people who live in Türkiye: “go abroad,” “how can I go abroad,” “conditions to go abroad,” “move to Europe through a language school,” “application of Green Card,” “move to abroad as a refugee,” “dream of going Europe.” Moreover, when I checked the results from the 12th of May to the 12th of June, it seems that these keywords increased: “What is the meaning of refugee,” “Application of asylum for Canada,” “work and travel,” “application of migrant for Canada,” “how can I escape abroad,” “application of asylum for Switzerland,” “application of asylum for the USA,” “application of asylum for Germany.” According to the Google Trends result, the topic of the “right to seek a political asylum” is dramatically increased by one year as %450. Furthermore, it is essential to mention that inflation is a highly used keyword in the Google search.

In the OECD 2021 report, it is discussed that in parallel with the economic stagnation experienced in the last three years, especially young people were significantly affected by the inability to find jobs. Because of that, unemployment began to increase dramatically. Hence, it is unsurprising that young Turkish people prefer to move and work abroad rather than in their homelands (OECD, 2021).

However, it does not mean young people always prefer immigration. Many doctors prefer to migrate abroad as well. In Türkiye, medical doctors who want to continue their profession/study abroad request a "Good Conduct Certificate" from the TTB. According to the statement made by the Turkish Medical Association in 2022, the number of doctors who requested and issued a Certificate of Good Conduct increased

² Google Trends: <https://trends.google.com/trends/>

dramatically (Türk Tabipleri Birliği, 2022). Economic instabilities, salaries, political situations, and many more factors influence their decisions. In an interview with a doctor published in the Euronews newspaper, he stated that most doctors left their countries so as to live in better conditions. Another doctor noted that the assistant doctors plan to learn foreign languages and go abroad and that there is a huge brain drain in Türkiye.

Figure 3

Mapped: 2023 Inflation Forecasts by Country in Visual Capitalist

Country / Region	Projected Annual Inflation % Change 2023
Zimbabwe	204.6%
Venezuela	195.0%
Sudan	76.9%
Argentina	76.1%
Türkiye	51.2%
Islamic Republic of Iran	40.0%
Sri Lanka	29.5%
Ethiopia	28.6%
Suriname	27.2%
Sierra Leone	26.8%
South Sudan	21.7%
Haiti	21.2%
Ghana	20.9%
Pakistan	19.9%
Nigeria	17.3%
Yemen	17.1%
Malawi	16.5%

According to the article “Mapped: 2023 Inflation Forecasts by Country,” published in the Visual Capitalist, Türkiye ranks 5th in the world regarding inflation.³

In the research conducted by Yeditepe University in 2020, 76% of young people between 18-29 stated that they wanted to migrate abroad for a better future. In addition, while one out of every two young people expresses unhappiness, 77 percent believe getting a job by push is more effective than talent (Yeditepe Üniversitesi, 2020).

³ Visual Capitalist - Mapped: 2023 Inflation Forecasts by Country:
<https://www.visualcapitalist.com/mapped-2023-inflation-forecasts-by-country/>

According to the results of the Habitat Association's 2023 Youth Well-Being Report, it is revealed that 28% of the youth want to continue their education in another country, and 43% want to settle in another country. These rates, 23%, and 25%, respectively, in 2019, have recently increased significantly. Germany comes first among the countries targeted by young people who want to continue their lives abroad, followed by the USA, France, and England. The most important reason for wanting to settle in another country is to get a better job. and better education opportunities (Habitat Derneği, 2023).

In the Euronews newspaper, interviews were held with young engineers, doctors, and academicians about moving abroad and working as waiters and dishwashers. The interview with young people emphasizes that the deprivation of rights and freedoms, as well as financial reasons, play an essential role in their migration. In addition, young people express that when they do their jobs in Türkiye, they will not get the place they deserve (Euronews, 2018).

One of the most common options for young Turks who want to live abroad is Work and Travel and Erasmus programs. Many forum sites are looking for ways to move abroad and reside there permanently (legal or illegal ways) through Work and Travel and Erasmus. In an article written in Evrensel Newspaper, it is argued that Turkish youth perceive being able to live permanently in the USA, the 'Land of Freedoms', as a 'saver option.' It is stated that Turkish youth who prefer Work and Travel work under harsh conditions and even work in two jobs simultaneously to save money. It is explained that young people who left Türkiye to live in better conditions also work in Work and Travel under heavy conditions, but they are looking for ways to settle there permanently (Evrensel Gazetesi, 2022).

One of the most common problems in business life in Türkiye is mobbing and long working hours. For example, a young man working in a good position at the bank committed suicide by throwing himself out of the window due to mobbing and long working hours (Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 2023).

1.3. Southern Europe, Greece, and Migration

Russell King introduced a significant contribution to the academic world about the Southern Europe migration, called the “Southern European migration model.” According to the model, various factors played an essential role in this transformation

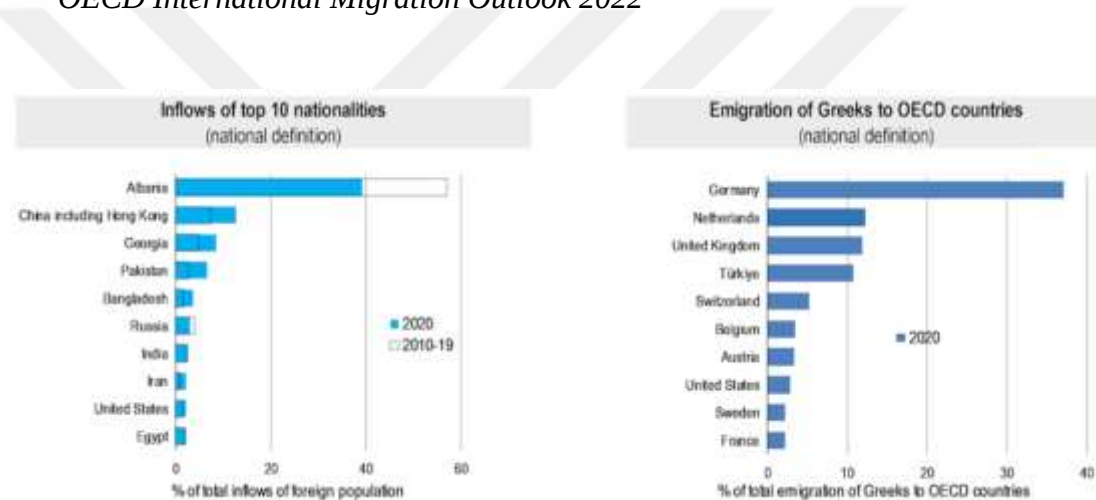
in the specific form of the Southern European economic process. Opposite of the economic and social developments in Northern, Central, and Western Europe, Southern Europe experienced these developments later. Their major economic activities mostly depend on agriculture, marine, trade, shipping, and tourism (Cavounidis, 2006). Russell King addresses that even though Greece experienced a high economic crisis, it was balanced by the rapid growth of the foreign population due to the births of immigrant parents (King & Debono, 2013). Southern European countries, including Greece, as it is mentioned above, received various numbers of immigrants during the 1980s and 1990s. The state characteristic of a European country with or without a southern coast is the concept of transit migration. Immigrants who reach Southern Europe and stay for a while prefer to move to the North if they find the opportunity. King stresses that many opportunities for immigrants are created by the character and evolution of the South European economy through duality, flexibility, and the dynamism of small industries (King & Debono, 2013). These immigrants primarily work with low salaries in tourism, industry, construction, and agriculture. Moreover, one of the mutual features of Southern Europe hosts significant numbers of Northern Europeans, many upon retirement, or the reasons of weather and sea (Benson & O'reilly, 2016) (King & Debono, 2013).

Also, Greece had a high emigration rate between the 1940s and 1970s due to economic, political, and family issues, mostly in European countries, especially West Germany. The emigration destinations followed the United States, Canada, and Australia. Moreover, it was another high emigration in the mid-1970s and 1980s, mostly returning migration. Greeks were sent back to their countries from Greece. However, due to the economic crisis in Greece in 2008, push factors caused Greeks to immigrate because of the high unemployment rates, inflation, and corruption. As Greece is part of the European Union, Greek citizens have been allowed mobility in the European countries since 1988; the number of Greek students and labor workers has increased significantly, especially preferred by young and qualified Greeks. (Union, 2020) (Labrianidis & Pratsinakis, 2016) (Triandafyllidou & Marouf, 2008) Greece received a significant number of immigrants between the 1970s and 1990s. Migrants from Pakistan are accepted first time in the Greek labor market with the agreement between Greece and Pakistan during the 1970s. At the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, Greece received immigrants from socialist countries

in Eastern Europe, such as Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, and Poland. After that, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the Albanian Civil War, especially the migration of Albanians to Greece, significantly increased. Many of the migrants present in Greece from the end of the 1980s were also unauthorized, illegal entry and asylum-seekers. Greece has been a crucial flow of refugees from Pakistan, Afghanistan, Syria, Iran, Iraq, and Türkiye. In 2022, more than 37,000 asylums applied to refuge (European Union Agency for Asylum, 2023).

Figure 4

Inflows of Top 10 Nationalities and Emigration of Greeks OECD countries in OECD International Migration Outlook 2022



According to the data, Albanians, Chinese, Georgian, and Pakistani immigrated to Greece with a higher percentage. On the other hand, Greeks migrated mainly to Germany, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and Türkiye.

1.4. Greek and Turkish Relationship

Turkish and Greek cultures have always been intertwined historically and have a complex relationship. In the early 1990s, Orthodox Greeks lived in areas of today's Turkish territory. Many Turks also lived in today's Greek lands. After the Greco-Turkish War of 1912-1922 ended, Lausanne Agreement was signed on 30 January 1923. One of the articles of the agreement is the “Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations,” which means Orthodox Greeks in Türkiye and Muslim Turks in Greece will be exchanged as a forced migration on May 1, 1923 (Oran, 2009).

Today, minority Rums in Türkiye and minority Turkish people in Western Thrace. Because of some issues, such as Cyprus and islands issues and other political situations, there is a belief that Türkiye and Greece are total enemies. Even today, it is stated in the Turkish and Greek press that tensions between the two countries are rising. The interview results will also show how Turkish immigrants feel in Greece and whether they encountered any hostile behavior.

As an example of the stereotype of enmity, there was a huge earthquake in Marmara on August 17, 1999. The Greeks were one of the nations that came to first aid. Then, on September 7, 1999, a significant earthquake occurred in Athens. This time, the Turks were one of the first to come to aid. Many years later, a massive earthquake happened in Kahramanmaraş on February 6, 2023. Greeks were also one of the first to come to help. As they lived together for years, it is unsurprising that they share common culture, history, and traditions.

Besides, as I mentioned below, Greeks and Turks historically had a long relationship owing to the fact that there is a long history of cultural interaction. Even though these two countries differ in religion and language, the long relationship caused many similarities such as food, dance, familiar words, markets/bazaars culture, similar living and values, common family surnames, and gestures.

Moreover, as the Turkish series is serialized in many countries, it includes Greece. As interview results will show, this affects the Turkish-Greek relationship as well. I will also discuss the similarities, familiarities, and stereotypes in my thesis.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. International Migration, Globalization, and Appadurai's Understanding of Dimensions of Cultural Flow

2.1.1. Interational Migration

Migration is generally a collective process, causing the facts of social, environmental, economic, and political change and affecting societies for sending and receiving countries. In the globalized world, migration is likely to result from social and economic growth. That means migration can help the improvement of economic and social circumstances, but it also can cause inequalities (Castles, 2000) (Castles, De Hass, & Miller, 2014). Anthropologists generally describe globalization as large-scale changes and transformations such as the impact of industrialization, the increase of

the global economy, and the expansion of capital, labor, and technology across national borders. (Scupin & Christopher, 2021).

Especially in the 1980s, researchers began questioning whether cultures were homogenous or heterogenous, and criticism of the homogenous ideas appeared. And as the globalization process and technological era have increased, migration types also have started to be various. Migration movements occur voluntarily or compulsorily. Or, if the reason for migration is voluntary, there may be factors such as brain drain, arbitrary migration, political migration, or economic migration, or if it is compulsory, factors such as political migration may play a role. The fundamental migration types are below:

- Lifestyle migration: Lifestyle migration is a new area of study, contributed by Benson and O'Reilly. They defined lifestyle migration as “the relocation of people within the developed world searching for a better way of life” That means lifestyle migration is about the lifestyle preferences cause to decide for mobilization and an outcome of individuals’ aspirations, preferences, and values rather than socially shared traditions and customs. These immigrants are not motivated by economic hardships or searching for jobs for financial facilitation. Here, the choices are “how” to live and “where” to live. It can be associated with tourism, geographical features, and weather conditions to have a “better life. For example, retired Northern European (mostly German and British) destinations can be Southern Europe because of slower life, more leisure opportunities, and better weather conditions. (O'Reilly, 2007) (Torkington, 2010).
- Labor migration: One of the migration reasons can be labor migration. It is a transnational labor practice that people want to migrate for higher income, better working conditions, professional development, and a better career path. It can be temporary labor migrants as guest workers or temporary contract workers. In this type of migration, immigrants migrate for a limited period, from a few months to several years, especially to work and send money to their homes. It can be either low-income or high-income. On the other hand, highly skilled/ entrepreneur/ business migrants migrate to work with qualifications such as managers, professionals, and academicians whose people move within the labor markets of international organizations or wish

employment in multinational companies to improve their skills and career. (Castles, De Hass, & Miller, 2014) (Castles, 2000).

- Transnational migration: Nina Glick-Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc contributed significant ideas to the transnational migration studies. They suggest the term “transmigrant” to identify migrants who join international communities about migration. Transnational migration is the result of global capitalism. It can be described as the process of immigrants involving relationships and ties from the immigration destination and the origin of a statement in the light of globalization. (Schiller, Basch, & Blanc, 1995). They argue that immigrants have adapted to the destination country after leaving the country's origin. Also, they can have simultaneously sustained multiple ties to their origin of the country that they came from. These cross-border connections can be social, political, economic, cultural, etc.

- Irregular migration: People who enter a country usually search for jobs without necessary documents and permits. Many labor migrants are undocumented migrants (Castles, 2000).

- Refugees: A refugee residing outside of the origin who cannot return because of race, religion, nationality, or political reasons. (Castles, 2000)

- Return migration: People who return to their country of origin or moving another destination after a period. There are various studies about “return migration.” However, with the globalization of the world, the “return migration” also began to be diversified. One of the forms of return migration is “onward migration.” Onward migration can be described as mobility that involves extended stays for two or more countries. After living in one destination country for a while, an immigrant might decide to move to a new destination. In the literature, the migration style can be seen in various types, such as “transit migration,” “stepwise migration,” “post-migration movement,” “secondary movement,” “serial migration,” etc. However, according to J. Ahrens and R. King, the onward migration is more open-ended as there is no limit to the number of moves and mobilities or suggested continuous relocations. (Ahrens & King, 2023).

2.1.2. Globalization, and Appadurai's Understanding of Dimensions of Cultural Flow

For global anthropology, Arjun Appadurai also contributed significant works. According to Appadurai, with the globalization of culture, it has become more complex and divisive. Appadurai considers this process as a continuous, uncontrollable, and highly intense cultural, political, intellectual, financial, technological, and human flow process between the global and the local and between different local areas. More importantly, among these numerous factors, there is an uncontrollably large and varied interaction or flow. As a result, these complex global environment factors can be understood with five dimensions of global cultural flows:

- 1) "*Ethnoscapes*" landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live. The characteristic of all the *ethnoscape* is that people begin to spread across borders into large or irregular areas as a global power. Examples of these include people migrating to other countries to lead a better life, migrating for compulsory reasons such as refugee status, or traveling for holiday purposes (Appadurai, 1996).
- 2) "*Technoscapes*" consist of technologies, which means the fluid movement of technology across borders with its variable global configuration. Especially the cultural interaction that comes with the internet is the most important result of this. The information network, which is becoming more global day by day, is a new tool as a global power (Appadurai, 1996).
- 3) "*Mediascapes*" represent the distribution of information dissemination tools in the globalized world. Because of all these information tools, individuals build "imaginary worlds". Nowadays, all this information flow takes place across borders at a faster rate due to globalization. Newspapers, magazines, television sector, and movie production could be examples of the "*mediascapes*" (Appadurai, 1996).
- 4) "*Finanscapes*", are a result of global capital becoming faster and more fluid than ever before owing to globalization. Therefore, a flow of money occurs across political borders (Appadurai, 1996). Currency markets, and national stock exchanges can be examples.
- 5) "*Ideoscapes*" involve the flow of some ideas. Nevertheless, they are mostly political or opposition movements. It can be state or non-state such as

freedom, welfare, rights, public good, etc. (Appadurai, 1996). Missionaries or sharing opposing views on social media can be given as examples of this.

The suffix of *-scape* represents the idea of international capital as done for international clothing styles. Appadurai uses the English word 'scape' to emphasize the fluidity of these processes that are constantly in motion, and constantly changing.

Appadurai aims to understand all these spreading fluids as 'imagined worlds', which he developed inspired by Benedict Anderson's theory, and defines imagined worlds as follows: "multiple worlds that are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of people and groups spread around the globe" (Appadurai, 1996: 33).

Appadurai notes that the five cultural flow models have both heterogenization and homogenization features that the world by changing into a global culture (Appadurai, 1996) (Dalan Polat, 2016). Also, Appadurai highlights "cosmopolitan ethnography," which focuses on new research strategies that provide an understanding of the reterritorialized world where we live. With the mobilities and movements, he also tries to understand imagination and its diverse representations (Appadurai, 1990). In my study, I aim to apply Appadurai's theories of scapes to understand the Turkish community in Athens as a network pattern, the effect of the Turkish series on the Greeks, the reasons why Turks left Türkiye, how they viewed Europe and the multinational subcontractor company in Athens as a mobile capital form.

Like Appadurai, the complex structure of culture with globalization was also discussed by John Tomlinson. Tomlinson defines the mixing of cultures because of globalization with the concept of complex connectivity. This concept represents the bonds of globalization that represent modern life (Tomlinson, 2004).

2.2. Work Anthropology in Türkiye and in the World

When we look at the writings of Marx, Engels, Durkheim, Weber, and Simmel, who are the cornerstones in the field of sociology in the literature, detailed observations and deep theorizations are encountered on how the work, workplace, labor, or money economy is organized in the modernizing society. The founding anthropologists of the same period were preoccupied with kinship relations, language use, religious fetishes, sorcery and healing activities, or gift-exchange ceremonies of "local" tribes. Business ethnography began to rise in the world in the 1980s. Researchers began to study the workplace, its environment, and conditions in factories, stores, and more. Cenk Özbay states in his article "*İş Antropolojisi*" that there is a small group of researchers who

research the social structure of the business world in Türkiye with the ethnographic method (Özbay, 2018).

In 2011, an ethnographic study was published about white-collar unemployment in “Türkiye: “Boşuna mı Okuduk?” “Türkiye’de Beyaz Yakalı İşsizliği” by Tanıl Bora, Aksu Bora, Necmi Erdoğan, and İlknur Üstün. Moreover, in this book, he emphasizes that public opinion is vital in this business subculture (Bora, Bora, Erdoğan, & Üstün, 2011).

Gamze-Yücesan Özdemir, on the other hand, examines call centers in Türkiye in the light of class struggle and talks about heavy exploitation and job insecurity. In the related study, based on fieldwork, deals with the issues of youth, class, and resistance in call centers through the labor-capital relations (Yücesan-Özdemir, 2014).

“*New Sociology of Work?*” written by Lynne Pettinger, Jane Parry, Rebecca Taylor, and Miriam Glucksman aims to redefine the study from a sociological point of view. In his book, he approaches the concepts of contemporary conceptualizing of work, paid employment, boundaries of the workspace, and social meanings of occupations written by various researchers. With the globalization of the world in the 21st century and the emergence of new questions in the sociological field, research topics have changed accordingly. The aim of this book is to come up with a new definition and answer these questions (Pettinger, Parry, Taylor, & Glucksmann, 2005).

Jennifer Parker Talwar worked in a hamburger shop for 4 years to observe for her doctoral thesis and examined the business environment, the immigrant employees working there, and the dialogues with the customers there as a business ethnography and published *Fast Food, Fast Track: Immigrants, Big Business, And the American Dream*. In his work titled, he described the whole process in a narrative language (Talwar, 2002).

Christine L. Williams, on the other hand, worked in various toy shops and she observed as a business ethnography. In this remarkable study, Williams analyzed consumer culture as a social organization and addressed shopping as a social inequality (Williams, 2006).

There are also ethnographic studies containing CSCW (Computer-supported cooperative work) as a subject of work anthropology. With the CSCW process, which started in the 1980s, the "nature of work" research also changed its shape and the change in business life caused by computer technologies became the subject of research under the name of workplace (Blomberg & Karasti, 2013). With the rise of

CSCW, the remote customer service sector has also increased. The concept of the workplace of employees, their sense of belonging, and many other things have been the subject of research from an anthropological and ethnographic point of view (O'Neill, Tolmie, Castellani, Grasso, & Roulland, 2011).

"The Liminal Worker an Ethnography of Work, Unemployment and Precariousness in Contemporary Greece" book, written by Manos Spyridakis, considers 3 ethnographic case studies of the work experience of contemporary employees in Greece as a liminal experience. The concepts of the post-industrial period of employment tertiarization, the relations of exploitation, and inequality during and after the labor process are pointed out. These experiences also cover employment, employment insecurity, unemployment, and crisis periods in Greece (Spyridakis, 2016).

2.3. Community Concept: Migrant Network, and Social Capital

Especially in the immigration process, the sense of community, migrant network, and social organizations play a significant role. Immigrants can prefer, develop, and maintain relationships with co-ethnic migrants within and beyond the host country.

Pierre Bourdieu addresses that capital is not wealth in the form of money but power: the merit of different types of capital. One of the capitals is social capital. Here, Bourdieu sees social capital as a set of potential resources associated with powerful networks or relationships as a collectively owned capital, such as to gain membership in a community. On the other hand, cultural capital consists of three forms: in the embodied state; in the form of the long-lasting body, in the objectified state; in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc., and in the institutionalized state, a form of objectification, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee. In the theory of economic capital, he addresses that some material wealth that is "directly and immediately convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights," such as cultural capital and social capital. It can be a landholder, have a source of money, etc. (Bourdieu, 1986: 16). Lastly, symbolic capital is a representation, or recognition as a social form, as existence for others (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu's idea highlights how states are centrally and complexly involved in different capital perspectives, transformations, and legitimations for migration goals.

Stating that capital represents power rather than money, Bourdieu's view and understanding of capital are identical to this study. Here, too, the session card will be treated as a power, a resource. In addition, factors such as social and human capital will be discussed in the findings section.

One of the significant contributions of Bourdieu is “habitus.” Habitus is a form of “systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them.” (Bourdieu, 1992:52). The theory of habitus shows as an internalized structure that individuals’ forms of acting, habits, and dispositions can differ according to the everyday life of the social community, groups, or family. Thus, it can be said that it is part of the individual history but also represents the collective history of these groups. These dispositions represent attitudes of being, thinking, seeing, and behaving. From his viewpoint, class and everyday life are connected to forming conditions of capital, which produce habitus. (Oliver & O'Reilly, 2010).

Homophily is discussed sociologically in the article “*Birds on a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks*” by Miller McPherson, Lynn Smith-Lovin, and James M Cook. Homophily is based on the idea that interaction between similar individuals arises more frequently than between dissimilar persons. Because homophily is so widespread, cultural, behavioral, genetic, or material information that passes via networks will likely remain localized. Homophily is based on contact between similar individuals at a higher percentage than dissimilar people (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & M Cook, 2001). According to the idea, social support comes from homogenous connections such as ethnic group, gender, religion, region, family, kinship, etc.

On the other hand, the concept called ‘networked individualism’ is “that people function more as connected individuals and less as embedded group members” (Rainie & Wellman, 2012: 12). Contemporary personal communities are likely to be linked, varied, and not depended on local networks such as families, relatives, or village. Here, individuals trust specialized relationships to complete their needs. Thus, networked individuals have semi-relationships with multiple communities and prefer fewer permanent groups, depending on their needs. The reason networked individualism’ arose is mostly the technological era. Due to technology such as the

internet, social networks have occurred in more complex and diverse ways. (Vacca, Cañarte, & Vitale, 2021) (Rainie & Wellman, 2012).

The social ties of immigrants and social networks in the country they live in have also been examined and discussed by many researchers. Migrant networks are a kind of capital where individuals can get information and resources elsewhere. It helps migrants' adaptation process, such as bureaucratic procedures, work, emotional support, etc. Migrant networks are social ties that link sending countries to receiving communities. In this way, migrants can move to the host country within their power of social capital. The migrant network affects the migrant's decision to move (Castles, 2000), (Massey, et al., 1993).

The concept of social capital has a significant role here. Bourdieu described social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu, 1986: 21). James C. Coleman described these ties as a social capital based on obligations and trust. Social capital comes with changes in relations that facilitate action that contains trustworthiness and trust within closed networks (Coleman, 1988).

According to Putnam, the source of social capital is 'lean and mean'; it is "features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit." (Putnam, 1993:36).

Social capital can consist of 'bonding' social capital, which means connecting to similar individuals or communities, and 'bridging' social capital, ties to persons or groups in different (Putnam, 2007).

Putnam and Coleman support the idea of stability and cohesion in social interaction and relationships. However, Coleman addresses that independent mobility is ruinous of social capital. On the other hand, Putnam highlights that social capital is 'negatively correlated with immigration' (Putnam, 2007: 156)

Portes defines network ties of the social capital as "the capacity of individuals to command scarce resources by their membership in networks or broader social structures." (Portes, 1995:12).

Also, 'network capital' is the form of social capital that makes resources accessible through communal connections. These network members provide emotional support, material assistance, and information. These networks are heterogeneous and diverse. Thus, it varies from community to community (Wellman & Frank, 2001).

2.4. Sense of Home, Place Identity, and Memory

Considered concretely, a house means a home to be sheltered and a building with rooms, furniture, windows, roof, and door as a physical structure. However, it has a much deeper, abstract, sensory, and semantic meaning than the house itself. Sometimes, a person can feel connected to his/her home even if it is far from home. Or he/she can count the home by making sense of the temporary place he is in. There may be many reasons for this; these feelings are a heterogeneous phenomenon; for example, they may find similarities between their place of residence and their hometown, they may feel at home closer to cultural or linguistic features, or their comfort zone may make them feel at home, it is more than physical factors or basic explanations like security, family, privacy, etc.

In the academic literature, there have been significant studies about the home. Because of transnationalism, social theorists have also started to consider the concept of home as an abstract idea rather than a concrete concept and break the ice of the idea of a “fixed place.” Especially “meaning of home” for international migrants is more complex and dynamic, changing, progressing, and evolving daily.

In the Western languages, Germanic words for home, “*heim*,” “*ham*,” “*heem*” evolved from the Indo-European *kei* meaning lying down and something beloved. According to Hollander, the German meaning of house means a building where people live, or a dwelling place, including the sense of home. Historically, The Greek word *nostos* means a homeward journey as a safe return, symbolically a return to the past, and *algos* mean pain. And then, the term “nostalgia” is derived from these two words. In English, the word “home” comes from the Anglo-Saxon period as “*ham*” means village, town, estate, or possession (Hollander, 1991) (Mallett, 2004). In Turkish, “home” means “*ev*.” According to the historical resources, *ev* was used in Old Turkic in the Orkhon inscriptions as “*eb*,” meaning house or tent. According to Turkish Language Association (TDK), *ev* means a building that families can live; place, residence, a household in which a person or family lives; family; or ancestry, generation (Türk Dil Kurumu Sözlükleri, 2022). In Turkish, “home” is used in various proverbs, idioms, and compound words, and it contains more meanings than a simple home. For instance, “*evlenmek*” (to marry), “*eve çıkmak*” (to leave the parent’s house and live separately), “*evde kalmak*” (remain a spinster), “*evlerden irak/uzak*” (may it not happen to anybody). These are just a few examples; the Turkish language has

much more usage of the term “ev.” As it can be seen, home has a much deeper meaning depending on the culture.

Place identity can be defined as an explanation of self that uses environmental senses to locate identity as places are connected to social, personal, and cultural meanings, and this identification reconciles with features people conduct to businesses and the structure of their experience with places (Cuba & Hummon, 1993).

Ahmed (1999) addresses that “home is here a matter of how one feels or how one might fail to feel.” (Ahmed, 1999: 341). For her, home should also be considered as a memory of the discontinuity between past and present. The term home does not mean only a fixed place; home can include both movements and strangers; moreover, it is possible that locals may not feel at home in their country of origin (Ahmed, 1999). For example, when a migrant visits his/her origin, the country, they may feel guest rather than a local or resident. Ahmed’s point of view is harmonious with Mary Douglas’ understanding of home. Mary Douglas says, “Home is in the space, but not in the fixed place all the time. It is a place where time and space are controlled because it has a structure.

Moreover, it has aesthetic and moral dimensions, a store of the past, and an imaginative form for the future (Douglas, 1991:289). According to Massey and Nowicka, places’ identities are also unfixed. They also support the idea that home has more meanings than security, boundness, boundedness, and safety. (Mallett, 2004) (Nowicka, 2006).

With the rise of immigration in the globalized world, it is not surprising that memory studies have emerged. When immigrants travel, memories also travel at the same time. Astrid Erll made significant contributions to the term “traveling memories.” She developed James Clifford’s “traveling cultures” metaphor for “traveling memories.” Clifford defines traveling cultures as “... twentieth-century ethnography as an evolving practice of modern travel” (Clifford, 1997:19). Memories are alive all the movement. According to Erll, all these memories are part of the culture, tradition, habit, language, media, contents, and practices that come from the origin country of the migrants. She claims that all memories must travel and be kept in motion to stay alive and affect individual minds and social contexts. He believes “traveling memories” can better understand memories in the globalized world (Erll, 2011).

Some of the studies focused on traveling to seem familiar to the migration countries to connect them back to their previous homes as the migrants encountered in-

betweenness. According to the research, every migration carries local, cultural, transactional, and social memories that implant themselves in new contexts. Thus, it can be said that “the feeling of home” may appear as a shape of familiarity that arises in more than one place. (Roberts, 2018) (Kennedy & Nugent, 2016).

Nadia Seremetakis contributed important studies about integrating memories, senses, emotions, and material cultures (Seremetakis, 2019).

In the Turkish literature, the immigrant study, which examines the concept of a sense of belonging and the Turkish immigrant profile, was discussed in the study “*Sense of Belonging Among Highly Skilled Turkish Immigrants' Ireland: The Dublin Case*” (Sheridan, 2019). This remarkable doctoral thesis examines the migration process of Turks from an anthropological point of view, considering the problematics of identity, belonging, values, work, class, and meaning of home.

3. FIELD AND METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

3.1. The Field

This study aims to consider the Turks who migrated to Athens via the subcontractor company's relocation package and sponsorship offer. This subcontractor company covers the visa fees and flight tickets, providing all the necessary documents for visa application and hotel accommodation for 15 days. In addition, they arrange for real estate agents to find apartments for the employees. In addition, the company provides a 1-month training to all its new employees, and the salary for this 1-month training is also paid. After completing the 1-month internship, the employees start to work.

This subcontractor is an international company with over 8,000 employees from various countries, of which half are foreigners, and the rest are Greek. This subcontractor company provides project-based jobs with short-term contracts and renders a service for big companies, which are big international companies. The short-term contracts are because of meeting increased demand and reducing costs to support large-scale companies (Kalleberg, 2000).

The duties performed by the employees of the subcontracted company are mainly call centers. These employees provide technical support, sales, and after-sales services in project-based departments serving large-scale companies. However, there are also departments related to the content moderator. Since the relevant subcontractor provides services to multi-large companies, it attaches great importance to

confidentiality and customer security. For example, when employees work in the office, they are prohibited from bringing their belongings such as phones, smart watches, and papers. As will be explained in detail below, employees are not allowed to indicate which project they have served on their CVs or to indicate this outside of work, and they have signed a contract on this subject.

These project-based jobs have multilingual departments such as Turkish, Greek, German, French, English, Romanian, Polish, Russian, etc. Employees' salaries vary depending on the language they work. This depends entirely on the prevalence of the language they serve and the difficulty or ease of finding employees who know that language as a cultural capital. Employment contracts are determined to be six months to 1 year. These contracts are extended according to the employees' performance and the company's needs. The subcontractor company hires these employees temporarily to increase the employer's control and not to compensate its employees if the employee's contract is terminated. In 2007, the OECD concluded that migrants were mostly hired in temporary jobs rather than their native citizens (Castles, De Hass, & Miller, 2014).

As a workplace, employees started to work from home as of April 2020. Before that date, it was working entirely from the office. Some participants had never worked from the office, and some could only go to the office for a few months.

Turkish employees are one of the most common employees in this company. Even though many foreigners preferred this company just 'experience' and 'vacation' temporarily, most Turks preferred this subcontractor company in Greece with the idea of a door to Europe.' Citizens of the European Union have the right to work in another member of a European country and reside there for any purpose. European Commission and the European Parliament described European Citizens' movement as "mobility," while non-European citizens' mobilities can be called "migration" and refers to "third country nationals" (Salazar B. N., 2018).

As well as most non-European countries, Turkish citizens need a working permit to work abroad, and not all companies provide sponsorship efficiently. Here, it supports Thomas Faist's opinion. Faist discusses that "mobility" can thus be viewed as a form of 'first-class' migration, without the time-consuming controls, visas, or residence restrictions characteristic of "international mobility or migration," between the EU and third countries." (Faist, 2014: 211).

The question would come to mind: “Why does this subcontractor company provide sponsorship easily?” “Why does the company hire people to support foreign languages in Greece instead of the languages’ mainland?”. The answer is easy: skilled labor needs with low salaries and the country's attractiveness due to the climate, natural beauty, and sea. After the economic crisis in 2008, Greece looked for foreign investments by providing international companies with valuable business benefits. As mentioned above, due to the unemployment rate in Greece, Greek youths prefer other countries, especially Germany. Because Greece’s economic actions are based on tourism, agriculture, and marine, industrialized sectors are not improved as much as the West. In Greece alone, this company has one of the biggest employees from over 90 countries. In the globalized world of the 21st century, this kind of mobility significantly contributes to the national accounts of many emigration countries and could aid in funding development investments (Castles, 2000). Thus, unsurprisingly, they have a strong relationship and agreement with the Greek government. That’s why this company can provide many opportunities, such as sponsorship.

The company helps with the bureaucratic process and gains a temporary residence card. The type of residence card is “specific purpose.” This card allows employees to work only for a few subcontractor companies in Greece and travel across Europe without a visa. However, the “specific purpose residence card” is not valid to work for other companies except these companies. “Any kind of certification provided by Greek authorities, which allows a third-country national to reside legally within Greek territory for a specific purpose and a specific period related to the fulfillment of this purpose, and the work entry visa only allows work for a specific purpose.” (Official Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic: 2014). First, the temporary “specific purpose” residence card is received for two years. Then, the card can be renewed after three years. In order to gain the “full market card,” immigrants must work and live in Greece for at least five years. After that, they must pass Greek language and culture exams. Then, they would be able to acquire “full market card” in order that they can work everywhere in Europe and Greece.

However, if the employee is fired or resigns and cannot find a job in any subcontractor company within this period, within a few months the company will notify the government that the employee is no longer working, and the government will terminate the residence card as the company has a strong relationship with the government.

Moreover, Greece established strict economic criteria for naturalization in 2021, requiring that foreign nationals who wish to acquire Greek citizenship prove an adequate standard of living equal to at least the national minimum wage for all years of prior legal residence upon which the application for naturalization is based. This change follows amendments to the Greek Citizenship Code passed in 2019 and 2020 that required applicants to demonstrate knowledge of the Greek language and political life and be integrated into Greek economic life. (International Migration Outlook 2022 | en | OECD, 2022).

The research is conducted with 12 in-depth interviews, taking field notes of my observations during the field “as an insider and an employee.” All interviews were conducted with a voice recorder. While some interviews were conducted by telephone and from countries such as Skype and Zoom, some were conducted face-to-face. It can be said that most of the participants were interviewed online. This is because the participants were unavailable due to their work and Covid. They especially stated that online meeting is much more convenient for them. Objectivity was ensured as a voice recording was made to transfer the data obtained in the interviews. All audio recordings were transcribed, and the transcripts of each interviewee were filed separately. While the analyses were made in the findings part, the relevant elements were translated from Turkish to English.

3.2. Method

The in-depth interview method aims to understand other people's lived experiences, meaning this experience and the context of the behavior. Moreover, the method's interest is in other people's stories because they are worth (Seidman, 2006). I preferred the in-depth interview method to understand the migrant's life stories, discover the coding, and understand their experiences deeply, rather than asking closed-ended questions.

For my research, I mainly used structured interview methods and sometimes semi-structured interview methods, depending on the interview. Initially, my concern was whether the interviews would be too formal and artificial. However, as I was also an insider known by the people, the discussions were not formal. All consultations are conducted smoothly. It included 38 questions overall. The first questions began as an

introduction to warm interviewees up, such as age, origin, relationship status, and abroad experiences. After that, the questions followed to understand job life, decision-making process, integration, life place, and future.

As a method, I preferred to use the participant observation method, which guides the researcher to take part in the daily life, interactions, and events of the group of people to understand their life routines and cultures. The method of participant observation is designed as a defining method of ethnographic research and is foundational in cultural anthropology and sociology. The science of anthropology aims to understand the culture and know others; I believe this method is useful. Spradley says, “Once we learn the cultural rules, they become tacit, and we hardly think about our actions. A participant observer would see all the outward appearances as an ordinary participant.” (Spradley, 1980) Thus, it would make it easier to understand the cultural contexts as an insider. Thanks to the participant observation method, the interview answers can be correlated by the observations with figuring out their everyday interactions. Thus, I would say the answers to the questions are coherent with the reality (Russell & Gravlee, 2015).

The interviewees are found through Facebook Groups and the snowball technique. Also, as an insider, finding interviewees in my job environment was not hard.

I also worked in the subcontractor company and followed the emic approach and participant observation. This method allows one to understand the culture as seen from the eye of the cultural insiders, and comments can be made with rich qualitative form, causes avoiding the imposition of the researcher’s bias. Moreover, through the emic approach and participant observation, other cultures can be interpreted with ethnographic findings with original constructs easily, such as strange or incomprehensible things outside of the home culture of the researcher. (Morris, Leung, Ames, & Lickel, 1999).

The qualitative method helps to discover the inner experience of the participants, how meanings are formed, find data that has not been studied yet, and take a holistic and comprehensive approach (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

Also, I used “grounded theory” in my interviews, a qualitative research methodology that Barney Glasser and Anselm Strauss developed. The most important part is the theory comes from data collected during the research process, not preferred before the

beginning of the research. After data collection and reflection on the issue of concern, the researcher creates categories that fit the data. Thus, it can be said that the research concepts are derived from data during analysis rather than at the beginning of the research. After that, further research can be continued until data saturation is achieved, meaning the researcher is satisfied with interpreting the identified categories. Then, hypotheses about the connections between categories are formulated to identify patterns and themes in the data. Coding also plays a vital role in the theory. It is called by Charmaz (1983) “simply the process of categorizing and shorting data” (Bryman & Burgess, 1994: 5) (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

3.3. Self-Reflection

Reflexivity can be described as returning to oneself, a process of self-reference. In social research, research of the contexts can be interpreted in the light of the individual experience and emotions of the researcher. As a result of the participant observation of *insider*, with the self-reflexivity method, the researcher can express subjective experiences as a main part of the research. And it shows the researcher’s awareness of the field’s connection as the author’s voice. In this way, the researcher, anthropologist, and ethnographer are more visible in the product of the idea, and they separate the understanding of the “author” only. Researchers can avoid superior interpretations and provide a more realistic context with self-reflection, self-consciousness, and self-criticism. Bleicher explains that “our understanding of texts and authors allows us to criticize and go beyond the 'truths' contained in them because we are in possession of the idea of a more truthful way of life.” (Bleicher, 1980:151). Thus, we can say that with the self-reflection method, we can see more than the analyzed context. We can also discover the hidden truth. But also, a researcher must be careful when they follow the method with individual control so as not to lose objectivity, as it was also my concern in the beginning (Davies, 1999).

In July 2018, I attempted to attend an anthropological summer school in Greece. As I completed some ethnographic studies there, I decided my thesis topic for “Turkish people who live in Western Thrace as a minority.” In 2020, I moved to Greece to carry out my fieldwork. Due to Covid-19, all borders were closed; I could not travel outside the country and city. Even it was not possible to leave 2km away from my home. I began to work in the subcontractor company to save money while waiting for the borders to open. I worked with Turkish people in a multinational company.

However, I just went to the office for two months because the company sent all the employees to the home to work as a home office. We were not able to go outside; we were not even able to see our families. As I spent time with the Turkish employees, I changed my thesis topic. Because I saw the Turkish community as solidarity, all these employees moved for a purpose, most of whom were qualified. I began to ask about their motivations and their goals for the future. I was curious and wanted to investigate these questions, so I changed my thesis topic.

It was an exciting experience because I was doing this fieldwork as an “insider” from the beginning. Moreover, I was a migrant, and as a migrant, I decided to study Turkish immigrants in Athens. In my first months of research, I was worried that I could do this study objective enough. Also, I was interested in studying the Western Thrace area as I had prepared all the literature review, research questions, key informants, and accommodation. Thus, it would be a new topic for me. After I prepared my interview questions and methods for my new topic, I began the interviews. To avoid bias, I mostly found my interviewees outside of my environment.

From January 2020 to November 2022, I worked as a call center advisor in the subcontractor company. In the beginning, handling demanding customers was a challenging experience for me. We were working for 8 hours, while 45 minutes of this working hour were on break; we were getting calls for 7 hours and 15 minutes.

Although the fieldwork experience was enjoyable, its challenges were compounded by the closure of the Turkish-Greek borders for 1.5 years due to Covid, which prevented me from seeing my family. Fortunately, thanks to technology, I could easily communicate with my family via Facebook Messenger and WhatsApp platforms. Moreover, the lockdown caused restrictions on travel, even to the city center. Nonetheless, the process was ultimately fulfilling, resulting in valuable data on the chosen topic.

During the first months of my research, I was disappointed. While most Turkish employees were eager to be participants and voice (according to their sayings) in my research, a small number of Turkish employees were worried. The reason is that the company's name would be shown in my research, concerns about anonymity, and fear of losing their jobs. I assured anonymity. However, they preferred to survey or answer my questions without a voice record. I did not want to insist and focus on the majority. In the middle of the research, my worries are gone.

3.4. Ethics

In anthropological research, ethics play a significant role. These ethics are applied to participants, research, and researcher. Due to ethical considerations, prior permission was taken from the Human Resources department and team manager of the subcontractor company before conducting the research. To maintain ethical application, the company and project names are not disclosed in the study as these names were not authorized in the external resources. Even the employees cannot determine which projects they work on in the subcontractor company. For instance, if an employee works on the Amazon project of the subcontractor company, they would be required to write the subcontractor company's name rather than Amazon's on their CV.

Most of the participants expressed a preference for anonymity and therefore refused to disclose their names. As a result, numerical identifiers were used to refer to the participants throughout the study to ensure their confidentiality and privacy.

4. FINDINGS

Table 1

Participants' number, age, gender, city of origin, marital status, experience abroad, work experience, length of stay in Athens, knowledge of Greek, and the interview date.

NAME	GENDER	AGE	CITY	MARRIED - SINGLE	EDUCATION	ABROAD EXPERIENCE	JOB EXPERIENCE	SINCE ATHENS	GREEK	INTERVIEW DATE
1	M	31	Tekirdağ - İstanbul	Single	Graduated	Only travel	Architecture	2.5 years	N	14/3/22
2	M	30	İstanbul	Single	Graduated	Only travel - Conference	Tourism sector	6 months	N	11/2/23
3	M	41	İzmir	Partner	Graduated	Only travel	Sales	5 years	N	12/2/23
4	F	26	Kırklareli	Partner	Graduated	Erasmus	-	1.5 years	N	12/2/23
5	M	28	İzmir	Single	Dropped	Only travel	Customer Support	2.5 years	N	5/2/22
6	F	29	İzmir	Single	Graduated	Erasmus	-	1.5 years	N	23/3/21
7	F	24	İzmir	Single	Graduated	Only travel	Customer Support	1.5 years	N	4/3/21
8	M	29	İstanbul	Partner	Dropped	Only travel	Part-time	1.5 years	N	17/3/21
9	F	27	Ankara	Married	Graduated	Course and travel	Teacher	2.5 years	Y	13/2/22
10	M	32	İzmir	Married	Graduated	Only travel	Architecture	2.5 years	N	13/2/22
11	F	29	Antalya	Single	Graduated	Work and Travel	Tourism sector	1.5 years	Y	18/3/21
12	M	26	İzmir	Single	Graduated	Only travel	IT	1 years	N	4/2/22

As stated above, twelve individuals were interviewed, with a majority coming from Türkiye's Aegean and Mediterranean regions (specifically, İzmir and Antalya), while the others come from İstanbul, Tekirdağ, Kırklareli, and Ankara. The interviewees ranged in age from 24 to 32 years, with only one participant aged 41. All participants had been in Athens via a subcontractor company's relocation package.

All 12 participants have resided in Greece between six months and five years. Two individuals dropped out of university, while the remaining ten had graduated.

Additionally, only two of the interviewees were able to speak Greek, while the other ten were still in the process of learning the language. All participants speak English well. Of the 12 participants, seven were female, and six were male.

Ten interviewees had prior work experience before arriving in Greece, whereas two participants worked for the first time.

Two of the participants are married, two of them have partners, and others are single. As can be seen from the table below, all the interviewees have lived in Greece for six months and five years.

The dominant words in the interview will be titled and analyzed according to Appadurai's concepts:

4.1. Ethnoscape

4.1.1. 'I Feel Good to Socialize with Turks in my Comfort Zone': Turkish Community in Athens with Ethnoscape and Technoscape and Working at Home in the Covid-19 Period

Individuals support each other with the communities they have formed in the places they have migrated and thus facilitate the adaptation process to the new places they migrated to. These communities are not always physical; migrant individuals reach each other by using computer and internet-based environments from time to time.

Also, 'Turks Living in Athens' have a sense of solidarity and community.⁴ Through the 'Turks Living in Athens' group on Facebook, Turkish immigrants can easily sell their belongings, find a house, and ask questions about bureaucracy in Greece. Even before immigrants come to Greece from Türkiye, they post to the relevant Facebook group to get information. Even socialization activities in the Turkish community in Athens take place through this group. Many of the 'Turks Living in Athens' group consists of Turkish people who came to Greece with a Golden Visa, Turkish refugees working in the subcontractor company with relocation packages, or university students. There are around 4000 Turks in this group, which has been active since 2015. The main aim of the "Turks Living in Athens" group is to get advice and help on many issues based on the experience of the people in the group. Like *technoscape*, with the development of information technologies, the spread of communication is a result of the development of technologies (Appadurai, 1996). These developments

⁴ See the following page:
<https://www.facebook.com/groups/126037660767341>

have also contributed to the acceleration of the mobilization of capital, commodities, information, and individuals, which are transferred through migration networks. For the creation of a transnational social space, the acceleration of the circulation of information and individuals is extremely important, as is the acceleration of the transfer of capital and commodities. Here, *technoscape* is playing a role as a tool of information, cultural values, and network.

"I meet with Turkish people more. Because our mother tongue is the same, I can communicate with them more easily. A better social environment can be provided. We can understand each other better. After all, we have the same experience as immigrants. That's why it's better to be with my colleagues because we can speak the same language. After all, there is a nicer social environment. That's why I think I meet more with my colleagues." (12)

"I usually have friends who are Turkish. I think I can express myself better in my language. That's why I spend more time with Turks than with foreign friends. Also, I don't know, I miss my friends in Türkiye anyway." (5)

Participant number 5 stated that he missed his friends in Türkiye and could express himself more easily with his Turkish friends in Athens. This means he continues his social life in Türkiye in a social and symbolic way. This is in line with what Appadurai calls *ethnoscape*. This concept is formed by the migration network. With the creation of *ethnoscape* areas, the phenomenon of immigration is included in the process of transnationalization. The existence of new groups of immigrants from the homeland supports the tendency of immigrants to close themselves to the outside. Benefiting from the socio-economic environment created by the pioneering groups, these groups form their own bonds. Thus, the social, political, and economic ties established with the homeland increase rapidly (Appadurai, 1996).

Particularly, participant number 5 below said that she could not be friends with her colleagues even in Türkiye, but that there is an atmosphere of solidarity in the current environment. Other participants also stated that since their workplace environment is Turkish, it is easy to speak Turkish after studying Turkish and especially after working intensively.

"I have more Turkish friends. So, we can't find anything to make friends with Greeks because we work from home. There is no environment where I can meet the Greeks; I may be a little refusing too (...). I have almost no environment, but speaking English is tiring after talking to customers all day;

I avoid it, and because I avoid it, I cannot socialize with foreigners. I feel good to socialize with Turks in my comfort zone. That's why almost all my friends are Turkish.” (4)

These participants address the importance of speaking their language with the people in the migrated country. It can be an example of *homophily*. “Homophily is the principle that contact between similar people occurs more than among dissimilar people. The pervasive fact of homophily means that cultural, behavioral, genetic, or material information that flows through networks will tend to be localized.” (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & M Cook, 2001: 416). Here, migrants take support from their local networks, which carry similar features socially and culturally. According to this principle, people are keener to contact others who are culturally similar. Also, Turkish people working in the subcontractor company receive the same salary if they work in the Turkish project or are not promoted. As mentioned in the previous sections, salaries for projects in the subcontractor differ according to the language. Thus, homophily also includes the salary as a material resource resulting from living and working conditions.

“So, for example, I'm co-workers with people I can't be friends with outside. But.... We have an atmosphere of solidarity here because we are all abroad. It's good for me too. So, on the other hand, I am not very happy to be in the environment. Because of thing. Too many Turks... So here we are in Greece, but we are all from Türkiye, and we are in such an environment. I don't think we can focus too much on Greece, we can't be friends with a lot of Greeks, on the other hand, everyone is well-educated working here, not a very low profile in general, but everyone seems to have escaped something, a little bit of mental health, everyone crazy at one point. I'm happy, but I'm not with too many people I would choose and be friends with if they were in Türkiye one day.” (4)

There is an example of social capital. Participants continue to communicate with Turks from their homeland. According to the participants' responses, these facilitated the adaptation processes in Athens. Notably, according to the answer given by participant number 4, there is solidarity and support in the Turkish community. Social capital is the elements of social networks that provide individuals with certain resources, such as power. Here, social capital is in line with Appadurai's concept of *ethnoscape* (Appadurai, 1996). The *ethnoscape* covered by the migration network and

social capital, which is social power, are intertwined. they form their own bonds. Here, social capital is a power of relationship that helps their own well-being and development (Bourdieu, 1986). All these personal networks and social supports affect the migrants' union in the migrated country. Groups on Facebook are also social capital. This group provides social networks and ideas to Turkish immigrants as a power, like finding jobs or apartments. Social capital is a form of reciprocity, trust, and comfort solidarity for the Turkish community. Thus, as a part of social capital provides money to finance moves. They also "provide food, shelter, job information and contacts, information on health care and social services, recreation and emotional support." (Boyd, 1989:651)

"Yes, we're meeting. All that time, you can get to know people, your colleagues. Before Covid, everyone was already working in the office. I saw everyone face to face; I knew them. We have such a group of friends. We have friends that we love. We also meet with them outside. "(9)

"When I came before Covid, our Turkish friends at work were more active. We worked side by side to spend more time with each other. When I started working from home with Covid, I could now meet with people I met from that moment. Unfortunately, since we work in an online environment, we do not have many opportunities to meet new people, since we work in a computer environment. That's why I'm seeing my friends I met before." (1)

The examples above show that mainly the participants have a Turkish friendship. Both the convenience of expressing himself in his language and the fact that employees work at home instead of the office due to Covid have caused this. Covid-19 affected everybody's life, such as lockdowns, restrictions on international travel, closing borders, working from home instead of the office, etc. Due to the pandemic and its result of various degrees of isolation and travel restrictions, different countries have limitations on daily activities. To keep people safe, many workers started to work from home. Greece was also one of the countries with harsh restrictions to keep the public safe during the pandemic.

"Since my environment is Turkish, I spent time with them. If they have foreign friends, I talk to them. I didn't have any adaptation problems because there were a lot of Turks around me anyway. (8)

While some emphasized that having a Turkish environment is comfort and solidarity, others stated that Covid caused it and would be friends with the local people if they

could. In the summer of 2022, Covid has decreased significantly, and many companies have started to work from the office. However, employees in the relevant subcontractor company still work from home.

“Currently, I have the most Turkish friends, my local friends. I would love to have Greek friends, but I don't have many. (...) This is all about the pandemic. Because we didn't have the opportunity to go out and meet new people and we couldn't socialize. I keep in touch with the people I started with when we first came here and who I met. So, I think it's like this because we don't have the opportunity to go out and meet new people. (...) I think the reason for this is most probably because of the pandemic. We were mostly at home because we did not have the opportunity to go out and socialize. We couldn't socialize because we were working from home, and there was a lockdown.” (11)

Working from home because of the pandemic, the home is now emerging as an office. People who work from home conduct their business meetings from in-house social platforms such as Zoom or Microsoft Teams and complete all their work at home through the computers provided to them. As a result of working from home, concepts such as public and private time and space management inevitably occur.

These answers represent the ‘transnational communities’. Transnational communities mean immigrants are connected by strong social and symbolic relationships over time and space to patterns of networks in two countries. Community ‘encompasses all forms of relationship, characterized by a high degree of personal intimacy, emotional depth, moral commitment, social cohesion, and continuity in time. Community is founded on man conceived in his wholeness rather than in one or another of the roles, taken separately, that he may hold in the social order. It draws its psychological strength from levels of motivation deeper than those of mere volition or interest, and it achieves its fulfillment in a submergence of individual will that is not possible in unions of mere convenience or rational assent.’ (Nisbet, 2017:47). Communities that are connected through reciprocity and solidarity to reach social solidarity and collections of symbolic and collective representations (Faist, 2000). According to these ideas, the community is counted as a dynamic and significant issue and unit of belonging.

The interviews held after 2022 stated that even if Covid is over, working from home prevents meeting local people. In addition, some participants prefer to meet with their

colleagues because they work in the Turkish department, which is their mother tongue.

"I have friends from different nations, different cultures. Because we can't go outside since we came, we can't go out; I prefer not to go out, especially because of Covid; I couldn't make many Greek friends. Other than that, I am more friendly with my housemates. One Turkish person is in my house now, but he will be moved. Apart from that, I always have a foreign roommate." (6)

According to the participant's answer above, he mainly has friends from foreign nationalities. Although the participant works in the Turkish department, the fact that her housemates were foreigners caused this. However, the participant also stated that they did not have a local Greek friend and noted that it was because of Covid. However, the participant has more mixed social groups than others.

4.1.2. 'I Feel at Home in Greece': The Reason for Similarities, and Ethnoscape

As mentioned in the previous chapter, a home is not a fixed place; it is rather dynamic, changing, and not always concrete. It is also a phenomenon that reflects some memories and represents identity.

Home is not necessarily a fixed place, rather, it might be one's country or city, and these homes include various symbolic meanings. The identification with the place is experienced as a sense of being at home, being comfortable, and familiarity with the cultural context (Ahmed, 1999) (Mallett, 2004) (Cuba & Hummon, 1993) (Moore, 2000).

"I feel at home in Greece. It's like I lived here for many years, went to Türkiye, and returned here again. I think the warm-blooded people and the long social and cultural structure similarity also contribute to this. I feel very comfortable here." (12)

Here, the concept of home has experienced similarities, representative images of nostalgic memories, and comfort. Fully inhabiting a locality is not just about living in a space that can easily be left without change. Instead, the sense of place pervades one's senses and shapes how they perceive smells, sounds, tactile sensations, emotions, and memories. (Ahmed, 1999)

"And we (In Izmir) even have a mutual word: asfalya. Most of the people in Türkiye do not know; in fact, that means electricity insurance or cutout switch. Or

in the kitchen, bango means kitchen countertops (tezgah), but we call it bango. It is the same in Greeks. Thus...I feel at home. Maybe that's why I am so comfortable here; maybe I do not seek Türkiye. If I was in another country right now, where there are much greater cultural differences, maybe I would miss Türkiye more; I could seek about Türkiye. But I can say that Greece is where I feel like home.” (7)

Here, we see a linguistic discourse as a sense of memory and representing feeling at home. The word “*asfalya*” comes from the Greek language *asfalía* (ασφαλία), etymologically from Ancient Greek, and the word is used only in Izmir. (Etimoloji Türkçe, 2020). “*Bango*” is also used in Byzantine Greek as *πάγκος* (pánkos), but etymologically comes from the Italian “*banco*” and the word *Bango* is used only in Izmir as well (Wiktionary - EN, 2023).

All the common Turkish-Greek words are collected in the “Turkish and Greek Common Words, Terms and Proverbs List” written by Herkül Millas. The book contains 4600 Turkish and Greek common words. The list does not only include the original Greek-Turkish words but also other languages also, such as French or Persian, which are used in both Greek and Turkish languages (Millas, 2012). As mentioned, the relations between Turkish and Greek society are based on a long historical background. They have lived to the present day within the same geographical boundaries or as neighboring societies. After Greece gained its independence, Turkish-Greek relations continued. Thus, the common words are unsurprising as the Greek and Turkish languages share many common words.

“Where you earn money, wherever you live, it is your own home. When I come back from Türkiye, I feel like I came home.” (4)

“I feel pretty much like anyone living in Greece, like a Greek, they don't live in such luxury either. As the Greeks are, so are we. I feel good. We have many things in common: songs, folk songs, dishes, food, I can buy every product I buy from the market in Türkiye, or I can find everything I buy from Türkiye here. I am not struggling here; I feel very belonging to the culture of this place. (4)

As can be seen, we encounter the saying of “feeling” and “belonging” at home as a place identity and the object of the feeling. It is an emotional and relational experience based on the cultural similarities of both countries. That's why I focus on my research “place identity” in terms of emotional and symbolic meaning. Sociologists and social psychologists discussed the saying “feeling at home” and the

differences between “emotions” and “feeling.” Emotions mirror feelings. They are away from their homelands, physically and symbolically “out of home.” However, emotions and feelings are on the move dynamically. They evolve across conditions, life circumstances, and cultures.

Emotions emerge from people’s participation in social structures formed by culture. As if emotions are built across socio-cultural contexts, migrants’ emotional situations are also expressive of these various circumstances and their predominant combinations during daily life (Boccagni & Baldassar, 2015). Besides the feeling and emotions, shared interests, and values play an important role in the sense of home and place identity of being comfortable, familiar, and me here. (Cuba & Hummon, 1993). I aim to address those emotions that mirror feelings, which are part of cultural context. Migrants feel at home in Greece due to the similarities of their homelands, reminding their cultures as songs, folks, traditions, and mutual words. In other words, Greece reminds them of their homelands.

“... It would be a slightly different culture for me if I had come from Eastern Anatolia, Central Anatolia because Izmir is already close to me in terms of culture. But they already have very similar and common aspects with Izmir; we have the same words, so nothing is very different for me. The only difference is that instead of the sounds of a mosque, we hear church bells.” (5)

“Like at my home. As I said, because the culture is very similar, the people, their sincerity, their warmth. I never felt like in a foreign place. Sometimes I feel it, but when? When I see the signboards. Different alphabet, different language...” (6)

“I feel like I'm from my own country; if you visit Taksim, there are tourists because Taksim is a touristic place; I continue to feel like I'm in Türkiye as long as you don't speak and I don't hear a Greek voice, there is an incredible similarity.” (2)

This example shows the sensory part of feeling at home, such as sounds and sights. Even though bodies travel physically, senses also create meanings. Interestingly, they feel in their homelands until they see some senses like the Greek voice, Greek signboards, Greek alphabet, church bells, etc. These immigrants see the forms as similarities and the memory they leave behind. As I mentioned above, the English word “nostalgia” comes from Greek as “*nostalghia*”; the verb “*nostalgho*” is mixed with *nostho* and *algho*. *Nosto* means back to the homeland, and the noun *nostos* means return or travel. *Algho* means “I feel pain,” and *alghos* indicates one’s pain in

soul and body. Thus, nostalgia can be described as the wish or yearning with burning pain to travel. That's why *nostalgia* is connected to the meaning of the personal outcome of historicizing sensory experience, which is a painful and emotional journey. According to Seremetakis, "memory is a marked meta-sense transport, bridges and crosses all the other senses," including involuntary experiences (Seremetakis, 2019:9). Mnemonic processes are encountered with the sensory order and offered each perception as a re-perception. Reperception means creating meaning during the cross-metaphorization of a co-implicated sensory pattern (Seremetakis, 2019).

The case of mnemonic sensory suggests that the artifact sustains within the layered commensal meaning, such as shared material, item reciprocities, and histories. Also, it can play a significant role in mobilizing the perceptual effecting of history. The sensory forms cause the awakening of the layered memories and, thus, senses carried within it (Seremetakis, 2019).

"The food is the same, the same. It is the same even the Greek marketers yell in the Greek and Turkish bazaars. Our successful musicians are already shared. I look that... And I say myself... Are there these songs too? I see that the original version is Turkish. Then I saw another song; it was originally Greek. It was adapted into Turkish, and so on. Our songs are the same. Sometimes I check Greek channels; I see Turkish with Greek subtitles. They love it because there's a big follower here... People who like Turkish TV series have the same mindset. Except for laziness, people have the same mentality. I can say we are the same. The version of Türkiye in the European Union. A slightly improved version of Türkiye." (9)

".. the food is the same, even if there are different flavors; even after Türkiye, a few flavors generally differ, but there are no extreme differences. For example, everyone who goes abroad has a crisis of not being able to find a simit. My sister (who also lives abroad) used to say send it to me. But there is kaluri here. It looks like a simit." (1)

These interview results show that the common food and music connect Greece as an immigrant and Türkiye as a homeland; it causes one to feel at home as a pattern of nostalgia. The memories travel in the immigrants' minds, reminding the Turkish culture. Here, the nostalgia does not appear as yearning or missing

something. Rather, it is something that reminds their homelands. There is an analogy between home and memories.

As a result of this chapter, it is seen that the reason why most participants feel at home in Greece is the cultural similarities between the two countries. This is reminiscent of Appadurai's concept of *ethnoscape*. Appadurai defines the concept of *ethnoscape* as follows: “the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and individuals constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect “the politics of (and between) nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree” (Appadurai, 1996:33). Using Appadurai's concept as “landscapes of group identity”, I understand that immigrants, with their mobility as a result of globalization and cultural flow, create a space for themselves and experience a sense of nostalgia and a sense of 'home' by finding the cultures of the country they live in similar to their own.

In addition, immigrants in the Appadurai ethnoscape concept establish their own locality as a result of a structure of feeling as a result of the dispersion of neighborhoods (Appadurai, 1996). Here, participants built their own local “landscape” in the country where they live. For example, participant number 11 below states that he feels like a Greek as a part of feeling local:

“I feel like a Greek.” (11)

On the other hand, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, it is also possible to feel not at home in one's home as a sense of alienation from own home, feeling at home in more than one country, or traditions or cultures. The experience of leaving home and being a stranger refers to the cause of a new community of strangers, a common tie between these people who have similar experiences of living in abroad (Ahmed, 1999).

“There is no sense of belonging to the place where I was born; there is no feeling like a constant missing, even now, you know. “I miss Türkiye so much, let me go to Türkiye,” I don't feel the situation.” (1)

4.1.3. ‘This Job was Useful to Me as The Step of the Door that Opens to Europe’: Reaching to West and Europe as a Capital and Ethnoscape

Arjun Appadurai states one result of globalization as follows: “More persons in more parts of the world consider a wider set of possible lives than they ever did before”

(Appadurai, 1996: 53). While people can reach many things thanks to media and technology, because of globalization, people have also begun to think and imagine beyond borders. As a result, people have reached a new awareness and understand what is culturally distinct and what is not (Hannerz, 1996). Moving to Europe and the West became an attractive choice for migrants, especially for young people with a way of working or studying or entrepreneurs who want to establish a company or investment. The wish to live in the West results from political choices, and economic, social, and cultural factors. Also, human mobility and migration are inevitable in the globalizing world. Because of this, new destinations have appeared. While European citizens can move and work inside the European Union and Schengen area as a free movement of labor, non-European citizens must have a residence permit or working visa. The non-European citizens who want to work legally in Europe must provide the necessary documents to the consulates and convince officers in the visa department. Also, non-European citizens must find sponsorship to support getting a work permit to work in Europe. However, it depends on the immigrants of the sending countries' human capital, such as education, working experience, language skills, and job offer requirements. Thus, it can be said that labor migrants should meet the human capital criteria. Suppose the criteria do not meet the job offer. In that case, immigrants may seek to migrate to other countries for a while and then move to their final destinations for better opportunities. It is called transit migration. Moreover, the host country's human capital plays a significant role in hiring immigrants and providing sponsorship to work legally.

The fact that immigrants constantly face the borders created by the nation-state is also a subject of research. During the migration process, immigrants are bound by the rules and bureaucratic processes given by the created borders. Therefore, this process brings with it limits that need to be overcome. Here, too, while the participants are looking for ways to move to the West, they find a multinational subcontractor company and come to Greece as employees to work in the Turkish department in line with the opportunities provided by this company. In the concept of *ethnoscape*, Appadurai emphasizes that individuals are not bound to a specific area but should be seen in a global context. Moreover, he states that these spaces are shaped by the flow of migration (Appadurai, 1996). As can be seen in detail from the answers of the participants below, the participants migrated to Greece as a flow due to the

opportunity to pass to Europe, and there is a spatial, social, and cultural flow because of globalization.

Labor migration is also a result of globalization and capitalism internally and internationally, such as low-skilled and high-skilled workers.

“And the plane ticket is paid, the visa money is paid, the hotel is paid for the first 14 days. I liked it because I had never seen or heard of it. Apart from that, I find the salary sufficient; I also find the working conditions sufficient. So, it's fine for me.” (12)

“Accommodation for two weeks, you start with training at the beginning, you don't start working directly, these are very nice and encouraging things during the adaptation process, it was very nice for me when I was thinking of going abroad when the company provided extra opportunities, and then I started working.” (2)

As it can be seen, one of the biggest reasons the participants prefer the subcontractor company in Greece is the visa sponsorship provided by the company. As stated in the previous sections, the company covers the work permit, the documents required for the work permit, the flight ticket, hotel expenses for two weeks until you find a house, and the real estate agent fee. The participants prefer Greece because the company easily handles the whole process. In addition, it is seen as an advantage that the employees receive training before starting to work.

“I am here right now, and crossing to different European countries is possible. Some companies are still able to accept residence permits in Europe. Developing countries can provide working visas and residence permits. Maybe I can think of these countries in the future, but I don't have any thoughts about going to Türkiye right now.” (12)

“I said to myself that I would no longer work in Türkiye. And I started looking for a job abroad. The easiest way to come abroad is to find a job in subcontractor companies like we are currently working with.” (3)

As can be seen from the answer given by the participant above, finding a company that will provide the residence card and sponsorship is not easy, depending on the individual's human capital. As the participants stated, the easiest way to move to Europe is through sponsorship by such subcontractor companies.

The examples above also prove the advantage that the multinational subcontractor company provides to its employees. Participant number 3 added that the easiest way to move to Europe is through subcontractor companies.

“Freedom of travel. Normally, we need to get a visa in Türkiye to travel.” (6)

One of the motivations of the above participant to come to and be in Greece is freedom of travel. As explained in the previous chapter, Turkish citizens cannot travel EU without a visa or residence permit.

“I was going to either here or Dubai. Then I chose this place. So directly, I wanted to try to live abroad. That's why I was searching. (...) I didn't choose Dubai because it's a society that doesn't appeal to me religiously, and the place that everyone imagines in our minds is not Arabia but Europe. For me too.” (5)

In the examples above, participant number 5 states that he was looking for a job to live abroad and found a job opportunity in Dubai, but he did not find it suitable for him in terms of religion and social aspects. He also adds that the place everyone dreams of is Europe, not the Arab country. Here too, as the world becomes more globalized day by day, we see the formation of 'imagined worlds' because of both technological and media flows (Appadurai, 1996). Imagined worlds can be described as "The multiple worlds constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread across the globe. Such worlds are fluid and irregularly shaped." (Lash & Urry, 1994: 307).

“In other words, it is a great comfort that there is a comfortable transition to Europe in a way (...) As I said, the doors to Europe have been opened somehow.” (10).

“(...) But this job was useful to me as the step of the door that opens to Europe.” (2)

Here too, migration to Europe, job opportunities there, freedom, and many other things seen in the media certainly led to the shaping of the dreams and thoughts of these individuals. Here, 'imagined worlds' is a point to be reached entirely with the influence of 'scapes' and flows.

“Even if I was thinking of returning to Türkiye, I would consider waiting for at least five years, obtaining the residence permit in Europe, and then returning to Türkiye. Up to 5 years, I will have a good experience. If I go back, I will come back with that card. This permanent residence permit provides a residence permit in Europe; I can go and work in any European country I want; such an opportunity is nice. If I must go abroad again, I will go again. I won't get this opportunity another time.” (8)

As explained above, foreigners in Greece get the 'full market' card instead of a 'specific purpose' by taking an exam after living for five years. With this card, they can both work wherever they want in Greece and find a job in Europe because immigrants living in Greece can only work in subcontractor companies in Greece with a 'specific purpose' card. In the answers that came predominantly, the participants stated that they saw this card as a target and that after receiving it, the doors of the European country they wanted would be opened. Many of the participants know this subcontractor as a step toward Europe. They state that after moving to Greece, a European country, they lived in better conditions than in their home country.

“After completing five years, they can apply for permanent residence. After getting a permanent residence, this special residence permit thing I mentioned at the beginning disappears. I don't know if I can find a place outside of Greece at the end of 5 years, but I aim to complete five years in Greece right now.” (10)

As the participant above said, some see this place as a step and want to move to another European country after getting their residence card. This means that the participants have reached a certain capital. According to Bourdieu, capital is the reproduction of the social order (Bourdieu, 1992). Coming to Athens with the company's relocation package, the freedom to travel with the 'specific purpose' card, and the freedom to work in other jobs and other European countries after completing five years are all capital. Capital here is power, not money, as in Bourdieu's theory. Capital, which is Bourdieu's theory in the examples here, represents the power of the 'full market' residence card and living in Europe. Even a step towards Europe can be counted as capital because it gives power, opens doors to more job opportunities, or enhances living standards.

Living here in a European country and getting a 'full market' card is a resource (capital), and this brings a system of social satisfaction, that is social space. All individuals have portfolios representing different powers, economic, cultural, social, or symbolic capitals. These steps emerged as a power in transnational social space with financial and other forms. And it is a result of different societies and individuals. For social space, Bourdieu addresses that “The sense of position occupied in social space is the practical mastery of the social structure as whole that reveals itself through the sense of the position occupied within that structure.” (Bourdieu, 1985: 728). According to Bourdieu, physical and social spaces are associated. He asserts, "Social space tends to be translated, with more or less distortion, into physical space,

in the form of a certain arrangement of agents and properties. (Bourdieu, 2000: 134). He explains that social space is a fundamental structure of symbolic categories defined and generated by the places and relationships between habitats in physical space (Bourdieu, 2000). However, space does not cite only physical space but also greater chance structures, social life, and values that immigrants associate with their specific and constrained location. Spaces have a social significance beyond simple territoriality; they only have meaning when there are apparent social or symbolic relationships for immigrants (Faist, 2000).

“It could be Greece, another European country; my goal was to get away to the West. (...), I’m thinking of moving to a better country in the future, in terms of prosperity and economy, which is America.” (2)

“You know, when I first came here, I considered it a step to pass to other European countries. So, five years at the most. To get the residence card. Of course, I don't want to get old here.” (5)

As the example above shows, the participant aims to move to a "better country" than Greece. It can be counted as "onward migration" if the participants stay in Greece for a certain period and aim to move to another country. As explained in the literature review section, "onward migration" is also used in the academic world with the names "transit migration," "stepwise migration," "post-migration movement," "secondary movement," and "serial migration" in different ways. According to this type of migration, migrants can decide to move to another country after living in one country (Ahrens & King, 2023). Here, after receiving the "full market" card, which is a capital, the migrants will move to another country as in the "onward migration." According to the participants' opinion, Greece is a door or a step towards Europe for them. Just like in the 'stepwise migration' term, they are also targeting Europe step by step here.

4.2. Mediascape and Technoscape

4.2.1. ‘Greeks Always Find a Common Point’: Greeks Understand the Turkish Language because of the Turkish Series with The Perspective of Mediascape, and Technoscape

This section will discuss the integration, relationship, and communication of Turkish immigrants with the Greek people. As mentioned above, the Greek-Turkish relationship has a long history. However, the Greek-Turkish relationship is

complicated for political and many other reasons. Whether this complex relationship will affect the lives and integration processes of Turkish immigrants in Greece will be discussed according to the participants' answers.

The first problem to come to mind in this confusion is racism. Therefore, in the questions asked to the participants, open-ended questions were asked about whether a migrant could easily adapt to Greece, how being a Turkish immigrant in Greece, how they felt in Greece, and how the adaptation processes were.

“In general, Greeks really like Turks, I think. Especially when they hear about Izmir and Istanbul, they behave very differently. To those who ask me where you are from, I always say the city's name in Greek, and they like it very much. For example, although it is not in their own language, they know the word komşu.” (12)

In the Turkish language, ‘komşu’ means neighbor; it represents the border between Turkish and Greek such as ‘sınır komşusu’ (neighbor country). Participant 12 is from Izmir and uses Smyrni, which means Izmir in Greek. Although the word komşu’ is not in Greek here, intimacy is seen since they are border countries and share similar cultures and histories.

“I don't think the Greeks are against the Turks. After hearing that he speaks mostly Turkish, they may ask a few political questions to determine your thoughts. When they hear that I am Turkish, there is nothing more than use the words they know in Turkish; that is, they say what they heard on a Turkish series or something. For example, I had a Greek teacher who had migrated to Greece from Edirne; he was saying some Turkish rhymes he knew.” (1)

“I feared there would be an exclusion just because he came from Türkiye. As far as I have observed, no Greek has a problem with the Turks. The main problem of the Greeks is with the state, the government, the president, the prime minister, etc. In other words, when I say that I come from Türkiye, they always try to say the Turkish words they know like that. They always find a common point; they say, 'My grandfather also immigrated from here. I love this Turkish TV series and this song too,' 'I went to Istanbul,' etc. It was nothing like I feared.” (9)

The most common answer given by the participants is Turkish TV series. According to the participants' responses, when Greeks hear people speaking Turkish, they use the words they learned from Turkish TV series and chat. Here, Turkish serials are a tool that enables Turkish immigrants to communicate with the Greek people.

“The positive aspects of being a Turk may be due to Turkish TV series, as I can see. Because, even while walking on the street, someone who hears that we speak Turkish immediately wants to chat. They ask where we are from or try to get information about the TV series they watch. That's why they're friendly. (11)

With the effect of globalization, factors such as the internet, telephone, and media are rapidly crossing borders and sharing without geographical borders. For example, some television shows, series, or movies are broadcast in different parts of the world. Or, Netflix, a streaming service operating in many countries, can be given as an example on this subject. Although the programs broadcast varies from country to country due to contracts, people can easily access the content of different countries through dubbing and subtitles because of Netflix. Turkish TV series are also broadcast in many parts of the world and are watched with interest. Here the boundaries are unclear and there are pervasive cultural contexts. All these fluid culture contexts are in harmony with Appadurai's mediascape and technoscape concepts. According to Appadurai, “*Mediascapes* refer both to the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information (newspapers, magazines, television stations)” (Appadurai, 1996: 35). Appadurai defines *technoscape* as: “The global configuration, also ever so fluid, of technology and the fact that technology, both high and low, both mechanical and informational, now moves at high speeds across various kinds of previously impervious boundaries” (Appadurai, 1996: 34). That's why *technoscapes* can connect different people, groups, or communities without borders. Here, *mediascape* is a tool to spread cultural contexts worldwide, and *technoscape* plays a role in rapidly carrying contexts. Here, in addition to the tension between Türkiye and Greece reported in the press, a socio-cultural interaction can be seen because of the Turkish TV series. These examples show that this shared culture is much more than in the press such as political tensions. The fact that people can access many contents through Netflix and watch programs from different countries through television channels are examples of the concept of glocalization. Roland Robertson addresses the “interpenetration of the universalization of particularism and the particularization of universalism” (Robertson, 1992: 100). As can be seen in the examples above, Turkish TV series with particular cultural contexts are universally accessed by various countries. The point to be emphasized here is that there is a cultural sharing that exists with the effect

of cultural flow and glocalization, and thanks to this sharing, a relationship is built between two different cultures.

One of the most cultural products is Turkish series such as Turkish soap operas. Turkish series has spread widely to Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Asia, Africa, Latin America, etc. According to the *Hürriyet Daily*, Turkish media exports its series at \$ 350-400,000 million annually. It is expected to exceed \$600 million in TV series exports (Hürriyet, 2022). One of the countries with a large audience is Greece. In 2005, the Turkish TV series ‘Yabancı Damat’ began to be broadcast on Greek channels and reached a large audience. And this continued with the broadcasting of many Turkish series in the following years and was watched with interest by many Greeks (Βήμα, 2010). Especially during the crisis period, the showing of Turkish TV series in Greece started to increase. Because buying soap operas from Türkiye was much cheaper than filming their own. According to the news in Reuters, the broadcasting of Turkish TV series in Greece has positively changed the perspectives on Turks. Also, according to Reuters, Turkish TV series evoke nostalgic feelings for Greek people, and forgetting their problems and worries (Tagaris, 2012).

As in the answers given by the participants, Greeks use words they learned from Turkish TV series and talk about their past (such as population exchange or Turkish rhymes they learned from family members).

“In the neighborhood, I live in, mostly Greek people live, and this is one of the most fascist neighborhoods. But I've never experienced any racism. Even Turkish-speaking Greeks try to speak Turkish to me here. Some hear that we speak Turkish on the street and come back and say what they learned from two-word Turkish serials.” (3)

Turkish serials are so common in Greece that there are many active Facebook fan pages, and thousands of users are members.⁵ Users on these pages discuss series and chat.

⁵ See the following pages:

<https://www.facebook.com/@%CE%A3%CE%BF%CF%85%CE%BB%CE%B5%CE%B9%CE%BC%CE%B1%CE%BD-%CE%BF-%CE%9C%CE%B5%CE%B3%CE%B1%CE%BB%CE%BF%CF%80%CF%81%CE%B5%CF%80%CE%B7%CF%82> Muhtesem-Yuzyl-Greek-Fans-100072217573998/?paipv=0&eav=AfbUAijbFbWsJGU2aD21thBIL0vz-jQIBc8vN3se9E7zeh0AMJFi0bMqbbb5MggoLO8&_rdr

<https://www.facebook.com/p/Top-Turkish-series-ex-Kara-Sevda-Kemal-Nihan-Fan-Club-100044344453278/>

https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100068901715029&locale=el_GR

https://www.facebook.com/AgelaTsolakidou3/?locale=tr_TR

As can be seen below, 2 participants state that some Greeks may be racist even though they have never encountered racism:

"I think it is a hidden racism, but in general, I have not witnessed such a concrete example with my own eyes; I have not heard or seen it. I don't feel uncomfortable; it's like I'm in my own country." (2)

"This is the first thing that everyone wonders about because we came from Türkiye and the recent tension between Türkiye and Greece. I have never encountered such a problem except for the very old people." (5)

As can be seen above, participant number 2 stated that although he did not encounter any form of racism among the Greeks, he felt that there was a hidden racism. However, she added that she felt comfortable and like she was in her own country. On the other hand, participant number 5 stated that before coming to Greece for the first time, he was worried that he would face racism due to the political tension between Greece and Türkiye, but he did not experience any problems regarding this issue. However, he added that it can be encountered in very old people.

4.2.2. 'Most People Speak English': Language Skills of Immigrants

Language is the most critical factor in adaptation to migration. Therefore, the questions asked to the participants included whether they knew Greek and how they got along with the local people. Most of the participants state that they do not know Greek. The most common answer respondents give is that Greeks do not need to learn Greek because Greeks speak good English. According to them, the fact that Greek is a difficult language is another reason they do not know Greek.

"I've attempted to learn a few times. It's hard to learn the language. I learned the alphabet, but there is so much to learn. The deterrent is that most people here speak English, so we don't need Greek. Since everyone speaks English, we can handle everything. I won't learn Greek before I start seriously considering citizenship." (7)

"I know straightforward Greek words like 'thank you' and 'good morning.' Apart from that, since I think this is a step, I will not stay settled here in my mind, so I continue my life here with English." (8)

Participant number 7 states that learning Greek is unnecessary unless one acquires citizenship. Participant number 8 states that he does not need it because he thinks of

Greece as a stage, a door to Europe, and that English is sufficient to communicate with the Greek people. The example below shows that Greeks speak more English than some European countries.

“I know very simple things, such as ordering a beer when I go to a restaurant, saying half a kilo when I'm going to buy yogurt, or saying good morning, good evening, etc. Apart from that, for example, I went to Italy to travel, and I had the chance to see it. Compared to there, the number of English-speaking people is much higher in Greece. So, it is much more comfortable for me.” (5)

“There is already something called bodily language. It's universal, after all. It is always okay if I am in a difficult situation, whether it is sign language or common words. I've never had any problems with English either. We can already use technology in terms of communication. In such a situation, also we can use translation programs.” (12)

The answer given by the above participants is remarkable. Participants state that they use translation applications such as Google Translate and body language when communicating with Greek people if English is not enough to communicate.

“I do not know Greek. But I don't have any communication problems. I use body language.” (6)

With the development of technology, translation applications have developed as well, and tourists or immigrants abroad can express themselves up to a point thanks to these applications, even though they do not know the language of that region. Here, language barriers are tried to exceed via Google Translate and hand gestures to communicate. As can be seen, we see another example of the concept of *technoscape* (Appadurai, 1996). Here, Google Translate is a tool that moves across borders because of technology and helps connect two different cultures without language barriers.

*“I can say that I am not known in Greek. When I first came here, I started Greek very enthusiastically. I went for six months but came to a new place; I wanted to explore, the weather was nice, it was 8 hours and Greek... (...) Greeks generally speak English, young people, and old people. Many of them know. But... In other words, where it is not enough, someone who knows helps, or you can find a common word, you can try your luck like *fırça-fırçadaki*, for example. Also, there is Google Translate already. Also, I use my hand signs to communicate.” (4)*

They also express themselves by using common words in Greek and Turkish. They try their luck by adding the letter "-i" to the end of a word to see whether a Turkish word is also used in Greek. For example, the Turkish word called ‘çörek’ means large bun. In Greek, it is called tsoureki (τσουρέκι). Or ‘kapak’ means cover in the Turkish language. In Greek, it is called kapaki (καπάκι). As explained in more detail in the next section, there are 4600 common words between Greek and Turkish (Millas, 2012). This is not surprising given the common historical background between Türkiye and Greece.

2 out of 12 participants are trying to learn Greek; they are enthusiastic about it and have enough knowledge of Greek to express themselves.

“I have always had a fascination with Greece since I was thirteen. Before I came to Greece, I constantly listened to the radio and the news, even if I didn't understand it. I was collecting albums. That harmony in their languages. I can't even express what attracts me. That's why I've always been interested in their culture, their similarities with ours, the history of ancient Greece, the current situation, and previous political situations. (...) I know enough Greek to introduce myself when I go out or shop at the market. But I'm still trying to keep taking the lessons.” (11)

“I grew up listening to Greek songs. I learned the alphabet at a young age. I've always had a passion for the Greek alphabet. To Greek or Greece. (...) . One year I went to a Greek course here. My Greek is much better now, but I'm still learning. (...) I can say that my Greek level is around B1.” (9)

The common aspect of the above 2 participants is that they were interested in Greek culture from their childhood and intimately involved with their culture. It is noteworthy that the motivation of the two participants out of 12 who speak Greek to learn Greek comes from this.

4.3. Ideoscape

4.3.1. ‘I Thought I Could be Freer Abroad’: Moving Reasons from Türkiye Before Deciding to Migrate to Greece as a Part of Ideoscape

This section will examine why the participants planned to migrate from Türkiye to another country before deciding to move to Greece.

“I have always had a fascination with Greece since I was thirteen. I wanted to come all the time, but I never had the opportunity. (...) My purpose for coming was not to

work in this job anyway. It wasn't. My purpose in coming was to live and gain experience here in Greece. So, I am still of the same opinion. This job only allowed me to live in Greece.”(11)

Participant number 11 states that he has admired Greece since his childhood and wants to live in Greece. Compared to other participants, this participant aimed to live in Greece rather than living in another foreign country.

It was observed that some participants were not happy with the negative change in Türkiye. Some of the statements of the interviewees are as follows:

“I thought I could be freer abroad. So, of course, Türkiye is my own country, and I would like to live there. I wish the conditions were better, and I would have taken my life to live there. But I took such a step thinking that better job opportunities, easier life, and financial means of living would be easier. I have no regrets for now.” (9)

Here, participant number 9 states that she has much more freedom abroad, but that she would like to live in Türkiye if the conditions improve. However, she prefers to live in Greece, as there are better job opportunities, an easier life, and better economic conditions in Greece.

“Due to the country's economy and people's lack of education, I decided to go abroad to not be in a disrespectful society. There was no reason to keep me in the country; I am unmarried, have no children, and have no work order to bind me. After all, I do not own a business, so I made this decision.” (2)

“The reason why I wanted to live abroad was the economic situation. There is no other reason. The economic conditions in Türkiye are not very good. Even if your salary is good, you have a lot of expenses. Owing to the economic situation from the taxes paid. This pushed me, and I wanted financial freedom.” (8)

Participant number 2 stated that he left Türkiye for economic, social, and educational reasons. He added that there was nothing holding him back in Türkiye and that these factors played a role in making this decision. Participant number 8 stated that he left Türkiye due to economic reasons and the desire to have economic freedom.

“I was planning to live abroad to have more purchasing power, to see places I have not seen, and to lead a better-quality life.” (5)

“The reason is freedom. But it's not a matter of freedom or frustration caused by my family's restraint. There is a different pressure in Türkiye. So not only your family,

your relatives, friends, people around you, and even people you don't know have the right to comment on you in Türkiye. This puts a lot of pressure on you. Apart from that, there are also political situation in Türkiye.” (7)

As seen in the examples above, the participants decided to migrate because they were unhappy with their lack of freedom, education, and economics in Türkiye. Unemployment in Türkiye is another reason for them to migrate to another country. The political situation in Türkiye also played an important role in moving to another country. The participant, who defined freedom, expressed that she was uncomfortable with being alienated by others rather than by family pressure.

“There were no job opportunities in Türkiye anyway; it was a pandemic. I wanted to leave the family home and work and find a job. I had a litigation process due to politics in Türkiye, so I thought I wouldn't be able to find many jobs in Türkiye. Thus, this seemed a great opportunity to me.” (4)

In this example, we see that one of the reasons for moving to Greece is the pandemic. The participant states that she could not find a job in Türkiye due to the pandemic and that it became difficult to find a job due to the political litigation process.

Ideoscapes usually consist of concatenations of images but are generally mostly political and often include concepts such as freedom, democracy, rights, representation, etc., and are images that bring together opposing views or reconstructions of ideological ideas (Appadurai, 1996). In the examples given above, there are participants who left Türkiye for political reasons and stated that they could not be free in Türkiye. Participant number 4's statement that he left on account of the political litigation process is an example of this. As a result, these participants created a space for themselves in Greece. The participants' ideas traveled with them and influenced their social lives in this field. All these also include democracy, freedom, rights, and many other factors. In the examples here, the participants leave Türkiye and live in Greece, the country where they live, to host their political or other opposing views in the areas in Greece and create a space for themselves beyond the border.

“I was looking for a job and wanted to gain different experiences, and at least it was a short-term job for six months. If I didn't like it, I could return to Türkiye, and I wanted a change in my life because I hadn't lived abroad before.” (1)

In this example, the participant stated that he had planned to move abroad so as to gain experience. The participant explained that he wanted this experience because

he had never lived in another country. In addition, the participant emphasized the convenience of the subcontractor company to sign a 6-month contract at first. After six months, if not satisfied with the job, the participant is comfortable returning to Türkiye.

4.3.2. ‘I Just Missed My Family’: Future Goals, Economic, and Political Reasons as Ideoscapes.

In this section, the plans of the participants are examined. To understand this well, the participants were asked whether they wanted to return to Türkiye, whether they missed Türkiye and their plans. As can be seen in the answers given by the participants below, their reasons for leaving Türkiye are in harmony with their answers about whether they miss Türkiye and whether they would consider returning to Türkiye one day.

Remarkably, almost all participants do not want to return to Türkiye. However, there are some underlying reasons for not considering returning to Türkiye. The data will be examined considering the participants' answers below, and the reasons will be discussed.

“There is no need for me to go to Türkiye; I can also meet my needs here. For example, if I need a Turkish book, I can find it online. (...) I miss my family, being at a distance... For example, when there was a pandemic, the borders were closed... Except that, there is nothing I feel lacking.” (1)

According to the answer given by participant number 1, the participant does not miss Türkiye, except for the participant's family, because they can find many things the participant needs in Greece. In the example in question, the participant can order the Turkish book he wants from Türkiye, thanks to the internet. Thanks to the increasing rise of technology and digitalization day by day, it affects people's lives fundamentally and as seen in the relevant example, they can reach the product they want across borders as a part of the *technoscape* (Appadurai, 1996). The fact that many participants can also meet their needs by going to Turkish markets or Turkish restaurants in Greece is also a result of globalization. The answer of participant number 7 below also supports this:

“There is nothing I could-find in Greece other than family. If I miss Turkish foods, I can find the ingredients in Turkish markets or I can buy ready-made. There are people who cook and sell many Turkish dishes on social media.” (7)

As can be seen in the examples below, they state that they do not consider returning to Türkiye due to political, economic, and other aspects that they are not satisfied with:

“I always think that one day I will return to Türkiye. Maybe in my old age, in a few years, I'm thinking of returning to Türkiye, after the earthquake; I was quite sure of this. Living here does not alleviate my anxiety about my country; on the contrary, not being in that struggle makes me feel worse, and I have such a guilty conscience. At some point, I think I will go to Türkiye, maybe I will save money, maybe after the election if the government changes...” (4)

Participant number 4 states that even though she is abroad, she continues to worry about Türkiye and feels guilty for not being in Türkiye. She added that one day she would return to Türkiye and that if the government changed, she might consider it. Participant number 4 has a political case in Türkiye and the biggest reason for leaving Türkiye in the first place is political factors.

In the previous section, the reasons for leaving *ideoscape* Türkiye were discussed. Those who stayed here also received similar answers when asked whether they missed Türkiye or not. It can be said that the participants' *ideoscapes* are kept in Greece and they live together in relation with the Turkish community. When the participants were asked questions about whether they missed their country, the keywords "democracy", "freedom", "economy" and "rights" appeared. It is both remarkable and a part of the *ideoscape*.

“Of course, there is nothing better than living in one's own country to work. Only when the necessary conditions are met can I take this action, which is to improve society and economic conditions. This was the aim when the Republic of Türkiye was established, but since history has been repeating itself for years, it makes more sense to live abroad.” (2)

Here, participant number 2 stated that he would prefer to work and live in his own country if the opportunities were there, but due to social, political, and economic conditions, he would not consider returning to Türkiye unless the necessary conditions were met. He also strikingly emphasizes that ensuring these conditions was the primary goal at the time the Republic of Türkiye was established.

“I miss my parents; all my friends are there, and I live in a city like Istanbul. I miss it very much, both its environment and my surroundings. (...) But Türkiye's economy is bad.” (8)

In the examples above, we see the perspectives, feelings, and thoughts of the participants that they bring from their country of origin. Their homeland, Türkiye, does not satisfy the participants' expectations in political, economic, and social terms. However, especially the participants added that they missed their families and relatives.

"I don't miss Türkiye. I had a pleasant life, but I also have a pleasant life here; I stand on my feet. But why not for a vacation? Just visit." (6)

Participant number 6 stated that she is satisfied with her life in Greece and that she aimed to come to Türkiye only for holiday purposes. She added that she is pleased to manage herself independently.

"It must be a very attractive job for me to return to Türkiye. If I go, I think maybe I will start a little above the minimum wage. So, I hope it doesn't happen right now. That's why I never want to." (9)

Participant number 9 also states that when he returns to Türkiye, he will start to work slightly above the minimum, which is not enough. However, he emphasizes that he will consider returning if he finds a good job condition.

"I don't miss Türkiye at all. (...) I am quite happy with my life here. It's like I'm on the clouds because I'm living my dreams" (11)

Participant 11 added that they made their dreams come true by living in Greece, so they did not want to return to Türkiye. As mentioned in the above chapters, participant number 11 has always been fascinated by Greek culture since her childhood and realized her dream by moving to Greece.

"I just missed my family and loved ones. Otherwise, I don't miss Türkiye very much. I will only consider returning to Türkiye if I am unemployed here and cannot find a job." (12)

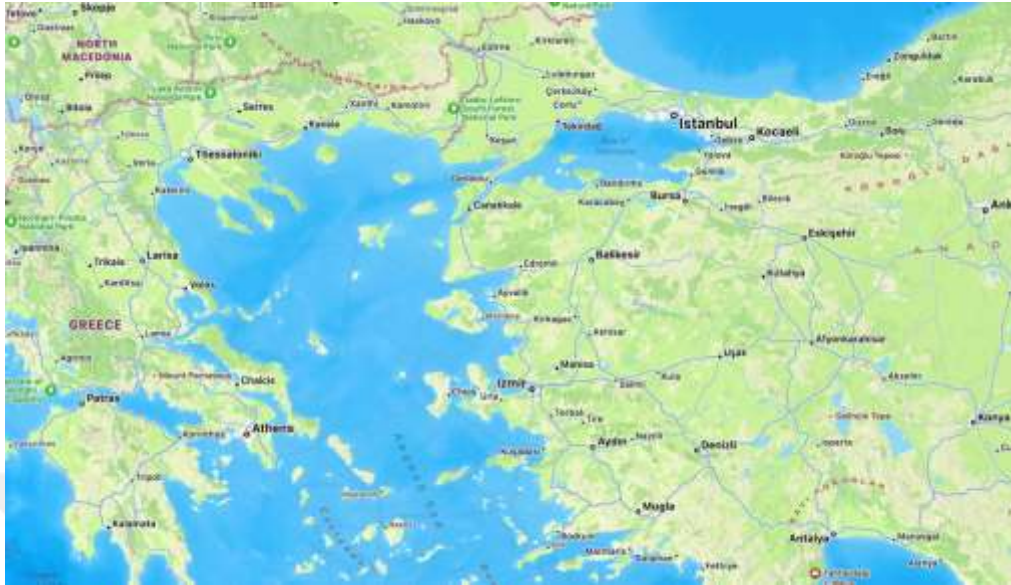
Participant number 12 emphasized that Türkiye was the last option and that he would only consider returning to Türkiye if he became unemployed in Greece.

In general, the participants either miss their families or acquaintances in Türkiye, or they miss Türkiye but do not want to return because of poor economic and political conditions.

Another result of the chapter, participants were asked whether they missed Türkiye or not, and why they specifically chose Greece to move to, the most common answer given was that Greece is geographically close to Türkiye:

Figure 5

The map focuses on the borders of Greece and Türkiye Google Maps.



As seen on the map above, Greece and Türkiye are border neighbors. There are ferry services from Athens, the capital of Greece, to Izmir. In addition, it is possible to reach Türkiye in about 10 hours by road, car, or bus from Athens. There are also direct flights to Istanbul and Izmir, and the flight time is approximately one hour:

“Greece is a country close to Türkiye. One worry is that if something happens, I will be able to go to Türkiye immediately. With its proximity to Greece, it is in a position where Türkiye can be easily reached by road, air, or sea route. It was a plus; there is a closeness regarding culture, which was also a plus.” (2)

As can be seen in the examples here, even though the participants leave their countries, they continue to maintain their relations with their homelands.

“I also have a family in Türkiye. I hope not, but in the unlikely event that I'll be there by plane in an hour or two. This was the biggest factor. Being close to my country.” (12)

As seen in the examples, the geographical proximity of Greece to Türkiye is an advantage for the participants. They can visit their families comfortably and reach their country in case of emergency.

4.4. Financescape

4.4.1. 'What Will My Future Be?': Short-Term Contracts in the Multinational Subcontractor Company with Financescape

Short-term or fixed-term contracts can be seen in most countries. These contracts provide lower employment security, especially in the subcontractor companies who work for international large-scale companies and fulfill their demands. Such companies employ their employees on a contract basis and make short or long contracts with their employees upon the demands of the large-scale companies they serve. Subcontracting means that the goods and services produced in a workplace are given to sub-employers in return for a certain employment contract. In subcontracting, the works are divided as much as possible and then given to separate subcontractors and labor costs are reduced. In other words, subcontracting means the production is carried out outside the relevant company. Hiring employees or firing 'which employee' is also entirely the subcontractor's decision. In addition, to increase the surplus value, avoid various responsibilities, and make labor cheaper, production is divided into parts, and that part is transported to where it will be produced cheaply. The same large-scale companies prefer subcontractors in other countries to make this worker production cheaper. In this way, the contracts can be made upon the demands of large-scale companies, and factors such as salary and job security will be cheaper. As explained in detail above, the relevant subcontractor company is an international company, and the employees here provide international labor to multinational organizations. Employees from various countries provide services in various languages to large companies under subcontracting companies. The salary they receive varies depending on the language service they provide, and therefore the language the employee knows, which is his cultural capital, is also important here. The phenomenon here is identified with Appadurai's concept of *financescape*. (Appadurai, 1996). *Financescape* represents the rapid movement of money and global business networks across borders. In other words, *financescape* is here mobile form of capital. Thus, it can be said that here, the flow of 'human capital' of the employees and other types of capital moves across nations and borders. I underline 'human capital' here because employees of subcontracted companies provide services to multinational companies under the name of subcontracted companies in various languages, as stated in the chapters above.

While most employees on the interview are satisfied with their jobs, it is a downside to the company that the company keeps contracts short. Whether or not the contract is renewed depends on the employee's performance and the client's decision responsible for the relevant market and project. It was discussed that if the employee in the field division was laid off or quit, the company canceled the residence card. Another concern of employees is that their residence cards will be revoked if they become unemployed.

"It's not the stress of the job itself; it's the stress of the contract. I have now been given a one-year contract. But before that, contracts were always made for a few months. I always think about what my future will be. This is probably the main fear of workers from all over Türkiye." (9)

It is important to note that the company specifies in the terms how long the contract will be before hiring and does not guarantee whether these contracts will be extended. Yet, participants who want to live in Greece or abroad accept this job for a specific purpose and aim to stay long.

As can be seen below, the participants stated that their future was uncertain, and they did not know what would happen tomorrow due to short-term contracts:

"Contracts are very short. I can only say this about the company. Also, you don't have a lot of promotions or something to improve yourself." (1)

"I remember the thing about the company. In the subcontractor company in Greece, some people rebelled about the mass dismissal in 2019 (...). I could be fired anytime because it is contract-based; they use people as performers. (...) I have an indefinite contract right now; I'm afraid again." (4)

As the participant stated above, there was a mass layoff by the company in 2019. Many participants also have anxiety and uncertainty about the future while working.

"My contract has not been renewed. I am unemployed and currently waiting for a job." (8)

Participant number 8 was re-employed in the same company a few days after conducting this interview. But of course, it is quite uncertain whether the contracts will be renewed or not.

"For example, we do not know what we will be tomorrow. We may be out of work tomorrow. They usually make very short-term contracts anyway. At the end of that contract period, they can say, 'Come on, that's enough, go.'" (10)

“Unfortunately, there is no guarantee of working here. It is not contracted for many years or not for a year. The contract is much shorter. I think it's much better to be here anyway.” (12)

As seen there in the working class, the rigid divisions and hierarchies reproduce the conditions of oppression. The pressure here is the fear of unemployment and not renewing the contract. In other words, it is a lack of worker security. Because the contracts are short, the employer does not need to pay any compensation.

4.5. Work

4.5.1. ‘No One Calls Me Outside of the Work, Working 8 Hours Only’:

Comparison of Working Conditions between Türkiye and Greece

Time-use patterns are defined by society. They are formed by cultural norms, features, and traditions that have allowed or restricted work according to their demands, and powerful people shape all these factors. All the working conditions have also changed and evolved due to the use of technology, innovations in industrial structure, and redefinitions of human skills, capacities, and abilities. Communication technologies can destroy the boundaries between work and nonwork. Employees still work mentally even if they return to their homes. Thus, for employees, social media and cell phones can function as control from their employers. For example, social networks such as Skype, Zoom, and WhatsApp make it possible to work at night and during the day (Horst & Miller, 2012) (Pertierra, 2018).

Working with overtime conditions is a common experience in the industrialized world and technological era. Under the name of "flexible working hours," employers can demand a working performance of 10 hours or more from their employees. As a result, stress is a common issue in modern work institutions. Modern time results from capitalism as a debt, exchange, and labor component. These components cause conflict with experiences and social patterns of time.

Capitalist power has bought labor power by paying its daily value. The use of labor power during the working day, the employee belongs to the capitalist system. However, Karl Marx tries to find the answer that what constitutes one day. It is certain that it is less than 24 hours, but the exact time is still uncertain. In this context, the employee consumes the labor power that he sells to the capital system which the capital system buys. If the employee uses his remaining time only for himself, he is out of the capital. Thus, labor also has a maximum limit and cannot be extended

beyond a certain point. The individual also needs time to meet his physical, intellectual, and social needs. People use their efficient skills to complete tasks and produce goods for compensation during surplus labor hours but are not fully paid for our energy expenditure. (Marx, 1990)

Various studies proved that long working hours affect health, motivation, and well-being. According to Harma, two work-stress can influence the overtime experience in a good way: control over overtime and rewards for the overtime. Overtime control could be defined as the employee's chance to control the position, duration, and balance of the overwork. As a result, overtime control can cause a good home-work balance, which can be understood as a rewarding work factor. On the other hand, rewards for overtime play a significant role in working motivation. Being paid for overtime could be an example of the rewards for overtime. There is a theory called the "Efford-Reward-Imbalance (ERI) Model" by Siegrist. According to this theory, employees' hard work is a part of the social exchange process in which employees seek reciprocity or compensation to respond to their endeavors. Thus, it is presumed that the lack imbalance between hard work and reward may cause a lack of motivation, dissatisfaction, and unhappiness in the job as a result of high-effort/ low-reward (Beckers, et al., 2008) (Siegrist, 1996) (Härmä, 2006).

One of the common issues is the mobbing phenomenon in Türkiye. Mobbing comes into play in working life as a form of violence that makes it difficult and prevents from being present at work. Mobbing is also called the systematic intimidation behavior that isolates and excludes the employee, targeting both men and women (Bora, Bora, Erdoğan, & Üstün, 2011).

Here, we also see the high-effort/low-reward balance, and we will see similar results in the interviews below.

"I was not given overtime in any of the jobs I did in Türkiye; no one gave me extra work even if I stayed until 11 PM; it is nice to be given overtime even if I stay here for half an hour. They force them to work overtime in Türkiye." (1)

"In other words, while a person works for a minimum of 9 hours under normal conditions in Türkiye, you work for 8 hours while in this company, and if you work overtime at the end of 8 hours, you receive all kinds of wages. There is no problem with it. So good for working conditions." (10)

As can be seen in the example below, there is a significant difference between working in a call center in Türkiye and working in a call center in Greece. The most

important of these differences is having time to spare as leisure and salary. It is noteworthy that although there is a crisis in Greece, there are better conditions than Türkiye.

“There is a big difference between working in a call center in Türkiye right now and working in a call center here. There's plenty of time to spare for yourself after work or on your days off. But this is not the case in Türkiye. Working hours in the call center, tourism sector, or any other service sector are both more and more tiring, and their salary is insufficient. In other words, no time is left to improve himself or devote to his hobbies. Although they say there is a crisis in Greece, I understood better when I came here that the situation in Greece is much better than in Türkiye.” (11)

We see that the common point in the answers given by the interviewees is 'working hours' and the importance of time. While working hours in Türkiye are 9 hours, and this period is longer with shifts, working hours in Greece are 8 hours, including breaks. Remarkably, even half an hour is paid in Greece, while overtime is not paid in Türkiye.

“If you have a break in Türkiye, it is not included in the overtime while you are working. If you have a 1-hour break, you are working for 9 hours, but here your break is in the shift.” (4)

“We were working six days a week in Türkiye. Five days here, 9 hours in Türkiye, 8 hours here. This allows people to spend more time in their life for themselves. Apart from that, of course, there is a huge difference between the purchasing power of your salary in Türkiye and the purchasing power of your salary here. That's why I think it's better to be here anyway.” (5)

In addition, overtime in Greece depends on the employee's wish. Although no interviewer works on weekends, extra payment is made when employees work on Sundays (the demand depends on the country of the country that is supported). Because, under normal conditions, while one cannot work on Sundays, a call center employee serving other countries can also work on Sundays. However, this is not the case in Türkiye. Also, due to Greek law, employees receive 14 months' salary rather than 12. Along with 12 months' salary, there is also a bonus for Christmas (as much as a salary), Easter and Summer bonus (half salary).

“Having regular hours is one of the advantages of a lot of work for me; it is one of the reasons why I work here because when I work long hours in Türkiye, there is no moral or financial reward for me.” (1)

Especially in the answer given by the above participant, exemplify Harma's theory about control of overtime and rewards for overtime. These employees work overtime or during the Christmas / Eastern period and get paid extra. Also, they get a bonus for a summer holiday. These factors are part of the motivation to work there (Härmä, 2006). Moreover, the theory of Siegrist called “Efford-Reward Imbalance ” is also evidence of motivation's importance. The hard work is reciprocity and compensation because of their effort (Siegrist, 1996). As the participants compare the working life between Greece and Türkiye, they highlight that in Türkiye, the efforts are not paid off as they should. It causes a lack of motivation, and they don't have time for themselves even though they work hard because of the high-effort/ low-reward (Siegrist, 1996) (Härmä, 2006).

“In other words, while a person works for a minimum of 9 hours under normal conditions in Türkiye, you work for 8 hours while in this company, and if you work extra at the end of 8 hours, you receive all kinds of wages. There is no problem with it. So good for working conditions. “(11)

This also proves the Efford-Reward Imbalance theory. Participant number 11 states that if any overtime is requested after 8 hours of work, the overtime will be paid.

The important point here is that the salaries of the relevant subcontractor company have not increased for ten years. However, the fact that the inflation rate in Greece is low compared to Türkiye and that working hours are paid and getting a salary for 14 months increases the motivation of the employees. Unfair working conditions can be understood as a reflection of societal power imbalances. Here, 'time' is a border between 'labor,' in which labor is sold as good, and 'leisure time outside the shift.

“After turning off the computer here, no one contacts me, so I don't have to work again. I have my own private time; no one interferes with it (...) When I was in Türkiye, my boss was able to question me until my last viewing on WhatsApp; even when I had to open that message, my boss felt comfortable enough to say it because my boss gave me my salary” (1)

“No one calls me outside of working hours. This is good, and it was not like that in Türkiye. In my previous job, there was no concept of time. My phone

would always ring at night or on the weekend, and something would come, even in my private time. But there is no such situation here.” (12)

These answers that time is precious are also very important here. The fact that the concept of time is special proves the intertwining of business life and private time in Türkiye. Turkish people working in the subcontractor company can spare more time for themselves due to the 8-hour time frame and regular working hours. Here, not only the payment of overtime wages but also the moral importance of time emerges.

“The day and time I worked in Türkiye was not certain. They gave you a phone, and whenever the phone rang, you were working. If I compare it to the current company, I work as I must, and more is not required of me. Even if it is wanted, I can say that it is worth money.” (3)

According to the experiences of these participants, in their previous jobs in Türkiye, their phones rang during their working hours, but this consumed the participants energetically. In Greece, their working life proceeds straight; all their work effort is within 8 hours, and the rest is theirs. Leisure and working linearly allow employees to increase motivation and productivity, focus on their interests, and spread a proper work-life system. Leisure with a global workforce increases job satisfaction and motivation and provides employees with happiness and creativity.

“They expected a performance above working in the tourism sector in Türkiye, and I saw that the efforts of university students were exploited, and then I switched to a corporate tourism company. I worked there for three years, but when I saw that the management rewarded the labor, I decided to go abroad to avoid being in a disrespectful society because of the country's economy and people's lack of education.” (2)

Here, the relevant participant has also talked about injustice and not being paid for their labor force. There is a lack of job motivation, and they are not getting what they deserve.

“As Turkish people, we are more hard-working than the Greeks (...) There is a bit of a slave system in Türkiye. Let's say we have adapted ourselves as slaves now. But on the one hand, when I think about it, I guess it is something brought by genes. As Turks, I think I am, but in Greece, you get more for your hard work.” (9)

The participant above stated that he found the Turks more hard-working than the Greeks and added that the Turks had a slave system in working life.

However, like the participants above, he emphasized that he received the reward of his labor in Greece but could not receive the reward he deserved in Türkiye.

4.6. Differences

4.6.1. ‘Life is slow here’: The difference between Greece and Türkiye

The participants' similarities between Greece and Türkiye were discussed above in depth. This section will discuss what the participants found different between the two countries. Terms of the differences in working life between the two countries have already been discussed in the above headings. In this chapter, these differences will be analyzed culturally.

“Everything is running smoothly in Türkiye; the health system is difficult here. But as the joy of life, it is experienced in an Aegean town in Türkiye, and it is experienced in the same way here. (...) But bureaucracy is slow here.” (4)

According to the 4th of participant, he addresses that even though the health system and bureaucracy are slower than Türkiye, the lifestyle looks like the Aegean part of Türkiye.

“Life is slow here. Slow people. everything is done very slowly. They do the work slowly; they do everything slowly.” (8)

“Greece is a lazy country. A country that does not like to work in general. Sometimes I'm even surprised. How do these people survive, how do they make money. We are more hardworking than the Greeks.” (9)

“They're too lazy. While in Türkiye something would normally be done in ten minutes, there are times in Greece where we wait one day for that thing.” (10)

According to the answers of the above participants, the most common difference they found between Greece and Türkiye is that they are lazy. They state that bureaucracy, banks, and government offices are handled slowly. And when I asked to explain the differences between Türkiye and Greece, participant number 9 explained that many things are solved in 10 minutes, however in Greece it takes time.

“Everyone is nervous in Türkiye; they are in a worse situation. He's not here. It's a little more comfortable here. They're calm; they don't fight or yell a lot. I can say that it is a quieter place in terms of culture.” (3)

The above participants also expressed another difference between Türkiye and Greece. Participant number 3 said that Greeks are calmer and more relaxed than Turks. He stated that especially in Türkiye, everyone is nervous and in a bad situation. The answers given by the participants remind us of Russell King's theory of the 'Southern European migration model.' According to him, in contrast to Northern, Central, and Western Europe, Southern Europe experienced development later. This is why bureaucracy, bank, or government office jobs can be slow. (King & Debono, 2013). The following examples also prove this:

“Since the changes and dynamics in Türkiye have not been experienced here in 20 years, I can say that it is like Türkiye's 20 years ago.” (2)

“It is more less developed compared to Izmir. The buildings are older, the streets are neglected.” (5)

According to the data obtained from the interviews, participants find Greece less developed than Türkiye. Particularly participant number 5 added that it was more neglected than Izmir.

5. CONCLUSION

Migration is an inevitable phenomenon with the effect of globalization. As a result, researchers are expected to turn to the phenomenon of migration. People migrate for many reasons, whether for work, education, lifestyle, or asylum. However, researchers mostly focused on immigration to developed countries. There are few studies on immigration to developing countries, especially in Eastern and Southern Europe.

With this research, in the example of Athens, it has been tried to describe the qualified Turks who immigrated to Greece and worked there in a subcontractor company, the profiles of the Turkish immigrants, and the reasons for their arrival in Greece. In addition, one of the other research problems is how the working life in Greece and the difference compared to Türkiye. Another problem in this study is that most participants are university graduates. Those who do not graduate from university are those who leave the university.

Participants reside in Athens as the subcontractor company is based in Athens. Currently, employees live in Athens even though they work from home. Therefore, this study is limited to Athens, the capital of Greece.

This study is particularly based on Appadurai's culture flow model: *ethnoscape*, *mediascape*, *technoscape*, *ideoscape*, and *financescape* (Appadurai, 1996). In addition, Bourdieu's theories of forms of capital were used (Bourdieu, 1986). Both the broadcasting of Turkish series on television channels in Greece and its cultural impact and the creation of a network by the Turkish community represent Appadurai's model. In line with the answers received from the participants, the 'full market' session card received in Greece after 5 years was interpreted as a power on Bourdieu's capital (Bourdieu, 1986). In addition, the concept of social capital was used because the Turks living in Greece are a community and it is related to social capital. The fact that subcontracted companies provide services to international companies and have a fluid nature across borders also represents the concept of *financescape* (Appadurai, 1996).

As a result of this study, the reason why Turkish immigrants prefer Greece is that it is a European country, it is a country close to Türkiye, and cultural similarities can be counted. In some cases, it was observed that the participants had a long-standing interest in Greek culture and preferred Greece as a fascination. The reasons for the emigration of the participants from Türkiye can be listed as long overtime hours, low job opportunities, and economic, political, and social reasons. As a result of *ideoscape*, there are also participants who left their countries for political reasons and live and create a space with their common views where they are (Appadurai, 1996).

When the respondents were asked why they chose Greece in particular, it is crucial that most of the answers they see as a step toward Europe. Immigration of non-European citizens to Europe is a procedural situation. However, since the company in Greece provides the necessary conditions, Turkish immigrants can easily work in Greece. On the other hand, the common goal of many participants is to get their residence card after completing five years and to be able to work in other European countries. Applying Bourdieu's capital system, the transition to Europe and obtaining the 'full market' residence card were perceived as a resource and capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The capital in question here provides social satisfaction and power. In addition, due to the concept of 'stepwise migration,' the participants see Europe as a step and target Europe (Ahrens & King, 2023).

Since this study was conducted between 2021-2023, it coincided with the Covid-19 period. In particular, the meetings held in 2021 took place during the lockdown process. As a result, as in many companies worldwide, the subcontractor in Athens has started to work from home. This, of course, will inevitably affect the adaptation

process. Particularly, the participants stated that due to the pandemic, they could not go out and socialize and especially could not integrate with the Greek people.

It is because of the community in the business environment where the same language is spoken. Many of the participants state that they have Turkish friends. However, in this finding, Appadurai's. The concept of *ethnoscape*, which is the ethnic area where immigrant mobility takes place, has been seen in the findings (Appadurai, 1996). While some stated that it was due to the pandemic and that they would have made Greek friends if there had been no pandemics, some participants stated that the ease of communication with Turks, finding commonalities, and making friends from their nation was a comfort zone.

Another remarkable point in the interviews' findings is that most participants do not know Greek. Many participants also cited the reason that most of them speak English in Greece. In addition, the participants added that if the other party does not speak English, they easily maintain their communication through translation applications such as Google Translate and body language. Some participants try to express themselves by using the similarities between the Greek and Turkish languages as a result of technology and globalization. Only 2 out of 12 participants can speak Greek. The most common aspect of both participants is they have been interested in Greek culture since they were little. However, as they stated in general, their lack of knowledge of Greek does not pose a problem with any adaptation problem since the Greeks knew English.

When the participants were asked about their relationship with the Greeks, the most common answer was Turkish TV series. According to the common response of the participants, when they talk to Greeks, they try to use Turkish sentences they learned from Turkish TV series and those TV series. Participants refer to this as a positive effect. The common answer given by the participants is that they do not encounter widespread racism in Greece, although the opposite is seen in the press. The broadcasting of Turkish TV series in different countries with Greece, and because of the concepts of mediascape and technoscape, these patterns are the effect of these patterns when Greeks talk to Turks about sentences, they hear in Turkish TV series (Appadurai, 1996).

As a result of the negotiations, the concept of 'home' emerged. However, the house concept here is more than just a physical building; it has a completely dynamic and symbolic dimension. As a result of the interviews, the participants emphasized that

they felt at home due to the intense similarities between Greece and Türkiye, and that some things reminded them of something due to similar cultural contexts in a nostalgic dimension. In addition, a participant feels at home in Greece because that's where the money is made at home. In addition, a participant's feelings of alienation and belonging to their hometowns, Türkiye.

When I asked the participants to describe their work life and compare the working conditions between Türkiye and Greece, they answered that working for 8 hours in Greece was comfortable and that no one called after work. No matter how complex the job in Greece was, it was underlined that he worked in much better conditions than Türkiye. They also emphasized the importance of having time to spare for themselves.

Another common answer the participants gave is the short contracts made by the subcontractor company. The shortness of these contracts is specified prior to employment, and no guarantee is given regarding the contract extension. However, employees accept this condition to be able to move to Greece, a European country, and live in the hope of extending the contract. As a result of flexible working conditions, short contracts give rise to feelings of anxiety, anxiety, and uncertainty in employees. As a result of this uncertainty, a transition process emerges. Employees aim for a permanent contract and some participants want to move to other European countries after working in Greece for 5 years and obtaining the 'full market' card.

Subcontracting companies providing services to large-scale companies and subcontracting companies and their employees providing international labor by crossing borders through Greece are examples of the concept of *financescape*. Just like Appadurai's concept of *financescape*, mobile forms of capital are at issue here (Appadurai, 1996). Therefore, both seeing 8-hour work as a luxury, the intense working conditions in Türkiye mentioned by the participants, and the short contracts made by the subcontractor company in Greece.

When the participants were asked whether they considered returning to Türkiye, they mostly stated that they did not plan to return. Some participants also emphasized that they might consider returning when socioeconomic and political conditions change. When asked whether they miss Türkiye, most participants added that they only miss their families and relatives, but they can visit easily because Türkiye is close. Apart from that, they emphasized that they mostly do not miss Türkiye. They also stated

they obtained the concrete things they missed about Türkiye from places such as Turkish markets in Greece.

Although many migration studies in the literature and the concept of 'home' are also discussed together, studies on the migration of skilled workers to developing countries are quite limited. There is not much in the literature that qualified employees migrate to Greece to work in the subcontractor company. This study will shed light on this subject and set an example for the world of literature. Besides, this study is a source about the Turkish immigrant profile. In addition, although there are not enough ethnographic studies on business anthropology in Türkiye, it will shed light on the business anthropology literature in Türkiye.

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7. APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

INTRODUCTION

1. How old are you?
2. Where are you from?
3. What did you graduate from?
4. Are you married? Do you have children?
5. Have you ever been abroad before?
6. Have you ever lived in another foreign country before?

WORK-LIFE

7. Which job do you work in?
8. Did you work in Türkiye before you came here (if so, in which job)?
9. How did you find this job?
10. How is your work environment? Are you satisfied with your job? Can you tell us about the opportunities it offers you?
11. Have you faced any difficulties in your job?
12. Do you meet with your colleagues outside?
13. What are the differences or similarities between the working conditions in Greece and Türkiye and the working conditions in Greece?

DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

14. How long have you been living in Greece?
15. How did you decide to come here?
16. What was your specific reason for choosing Greece? Why did you decide to leave Türkiye?
17. How was your process of coming here?
18. What was your expectation about this place when you came? Is your reason for staying here different than when you first came? What did you hear about this place before coming here?
19. How long did you intend to stay when you came here?

INTEGRATION:

20. What do you think about Greek culture? What do you think are the aspects that you find similar and different from Turkish culture?
21. What are the positive aspects of being a Turk in Greece?
22. Do you think an immigrant can easily adapt to the Greeks?
23. How was your adaptation process when you came here? Did we encounter any difficulties during this process? If it's, why?

- 24. How do you feel in Greece (like belonging here, like a citizen or other, like a second-class citizen, etc.)
- 26. How was your life in Türkiye? How is it in Greece? What changes have occurred in your daily life?
- 27. Do you speak Greek (if the answer is no)? Do you have any communication problems?

LIFEPLACE

- 27. How is the neighborhood you live in? Is it a neighborhood with Turks or mostly Greeks?
- 28. How is your daily life? How would you describe your life outside of work?
- 29. Are you more Turkish, or Greek, or have friends from other nationalities?
- 30. Is your salary enough for you?
- 31. Who do you live with?

FUTURE PLANS

- 32. What are your plans?
- 33. Are you considering getting Greek citizenship?
- 34. Do you miss Türkiye?
- 35. How long do you intend to stay in Greece?
- 36. What do you think about returning to Türkiye?
- 37. Do you plan to move from Greece to another country?
- 38. Do you miss your life in Türkiye? If so, what aspects of it?

