Food and Cuisine: Part of the Migration Process

Sylvia Oussedik. Writer and professor, Spain

The typical cuisine of a place is always the result of an evolution based on contributions of the different peoples who have passed through the place in question. Thus, the products that are today considered essential in Mediterranean cuisine are, in fact, borrowings from other lands that have been assimilated with the passage of time. This process, always inevitable and enriching, continues today thanks to the migration movements between the two shores of the Mediterranean. Immigrants travel with their culinary practices and habits, while acquiring new food customs that they adapt naturally to their new life and, occasionally, import to their countries of origin. This mixing takes place, therefore, in both directions, as a reflection of human beings' need to share and dialogue, expressed through food.

Food is an important element in the definition of cultures. We can still trace in each country and each region of the Mediterranean area their traditional and ancestral dishes, food habits and table rituals, enabling us to recall the history of both shores and each one of its islands. Since their origin, all cuisines were the result of mixing and are unfailingly the result of an evolution. There is no recipe, however old it may be, that does not contain within its list of ingredients, techniques and utensils the contributions owed to the different peoples that have passed through those lands.

The products are first imported, integrated and incorporated progressively into consumption and, at a later stage, are adapted to the agriculture of the place. The climate, agricultural techniques and other factors lead to their modification, even improvement, and on more than a few occasions these products are re-exported.

However, many of the vegetables considered essential to Mediterranean cuisines come from other latitudes: in origin, tomatoes, potatoes and peppers were American; oranges and citrus fruits, Asian; aubergines, spinach or artichokes came with the Arabs… and thus we could revise the long list of products that today we consider inseparable from our cuisines to realise that, although we talk about local cuisines, almost all their ingredients have an arrival date. There are a few exceptions, such as wheat, whose grain has been modified considerably since Antiquity; the vine, with an equally eventful history; the olive tree, present in the countries throughout the Mediterranean since Antiquity; and, of course, other products which, from their wild state, were adapted to agriculture and have evolved.

Culinary methods and, consequently, the utensils required have also evolved. For

example, cookers and energy sources have changed. Throughout the Mediterranean, the first hearths used wood and they can still be seen in different parts of the region, whether in Spain or Turkey, the Balearic Islands or the Atlas mountains. Later, coal stoves were used until gas ovens arrived and today we can enjoy induction heat or a microwave oven in the remotest place.

Wooden spoons, ladles, sieves, bowls, plates and other equipment of ancestral cuisine, although it is true they can still be found and acquired with relative ease, are equally being substituted in everyday use by other utensils often not as beautiful, but certainly more practical. We are in a moment when we can admire a beautiful ceramic piece in a museum and then see another of identical use in a private house.

Other equipment of ancestral cuisine, although it is true they can still be found and acquired with relative ease, are equally being substituted in everyday use by other utensils often not as beautiful, but certainly more practical

Earthenware pots, pans, couscoussiers and tagines have also given way to stainless steel and modern designs. By way of example, we can quickly recall the transformation experienced by couscoussiers. The oldest, almost unknown now, were probably made of basketwork, and these were followed by others made of clay. To seal the two parts that made up this pot, a paste of flour and water was prepared which, once dry, made the two parts compact and the steam from the boiling water in the lower part would pass through the couscous deposited in the upper part. Thus, the cereal cooked perfectly. The next couscoussiers, made of cast iron, were sealed using a long cloth tape, *aseqfel*, soaked in water. Today, this tape is being replaced with a band of silicon which adjusts perfectly.

Consequently, after these modifications in terms of products, utensils and methods, the recipes have been reinterpreted and progressively gone through changes. The traditional recipes continue to be an inestimable heritage that should be conserved, studied and not forgotten, but renewal is inevitable and the desire to innovate is legitimate.

Cuisine in the Migration Process

How have all these food products, utensils, methods and habits travelled along the Mediterranean coasts? In the history of the Mediterranean basin, the population movements have formed an intrinsic part of its future. Sometimes for commercial reasons and, on other occasions, military or of another kind, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Turks and Europeans have contributed to this rich mixture. The arrival of peoples bringing with them their culture, expressed in diverse forms (arts, music, clothing, cuisine, and so on), has happened almost ceaselessly since the most remote Antiquity.

In more recent history, from the middle of the 19th century the migration movements were reactivated and, in recent decades, they have intensified even more. This is not the place to examine the political or social dimension of this phenomenon, but to look at how far it is changing food in the Mediterranean basin.

Immigrants' culinary practices and food habits travel with them. Perhaps they do not form part of their primary luggage, scarce or non-existent, but once settled they do not delay in recovering them. As demonstrated by different studies, at first those who arrive are usually relatively young men, unused to cooking, who live alone or in shared flats. Their diet tends to be deficient: they eat something in the bar below, convenience food, etc. But, once minimally settled, they start to recover the habits

Quaderns de la Mediterrània 17, 2012: 55-60



Doner kebab, Barcelona (Josep Robles).

and practices of their places of origin. Seemingly, in many telephone boxes the conversations with their homes include cooking advice and recipes which they then attempt to put into practice. In later migrations the women arrive, generally through family regrouping but increasingly on their own. Some have cooking skills, although some of the very young have hardly been in the kitchen in their homes and have learnt to cook here. They also consult relatives by telephone and, apparently, internet is equally useful for these purposes and is used to send them home cookery recipes and advice by e-mail. Therefore, it is undeniable that the presence of women changes the type and quality of food in the homes they move into, and even more so with the arrival of the children.

When on holiday they return to their countries of origin, one of the things that these immigrants usually do is take the opportunity to learn some homemade dishes and return with mixtures of spices, herbs, special products or cooking utensils. But let us not forget that, at the same time, they take with them customs and recipes learnt in their host country. The mixing happens in both directions.

Markets

The markets of the Mediterranean are clearly centres of a very interesting commercial activity where we find a display of the local products that define the territory. Moreover, they

are clear indicators not only of some exotic products that will pass through them temporarily, but of others that, responding to a real demand, are generally destined to remain. Fruit, vegetables, pulses, spices, herbs, but also meats and their derivatives, show us that the rooting of new cultural forms is on the increase. Given the growing demand for a product, after a tentative appearance, it becomes stronger and consolidates, until the point when its origin is forgotten and it is fully assimilated.

Small Supermarkets

Moreover, some years ago small shops began to appear, generally run by immigrants, which supplied the public with products from their countries of origin. At first, they offered small cooking utensils and imported packaged foods; now, increasingly, they are packaged or fresh products but produced right here. In the last few years they have proliferated considerably and their impact is acquiring great importance. But, along with the products they offer we must also take into account the way in which these shops are changing other aspects of everyday life. Opening hours and days vary from traditional outlets. From Monday to Sunday and with much longer hours, they supply not only big cities but also increasingly smaller places. Not without a degree of reticence, they are starting to be integrated into the citizen network.

Restaurant Menus

It is certainly difficult to know where we are in terms of the modification of food in the private sphere. In other words, knowing which products and which recipes are present and to what extent. However, the study of restaurant menus offers us immediate information about this. Let's take as an example a product and dish from North Africa: couscous. Today, it is one of the dishes most eaten by the French. In France, it forms part of school menus and is found on restaurant menus. It is akin to the place occupied by paella on Thursdays in Spain. Magali Morsy, professor of History of the Arab World at the Sorbonne University and author of the book *Le monde du couscous*, explained that, on one occasion, having stopped to eat in a restaurant in Bourgogne, she was given a menu of foreign dishes and another with French dishes. The latter included, of course, couscous. The degree of identification of the French with this dish is such that perhaps it is why in New York it is called *French couscous*.

Some years ago small shops began to appear, generally run by immigrants, which supplied the public with products from their countries of origin

In Spain, couscous, practically forgotten since the Golden Age, has been rediscovered only over the last fifteen years. It started being sold in diet shops as a healthy product, although at high prices. Then came the first Arab outlets that supplied immigrants at more moderate prices. Today, it is easily found in any big supermarket and not only the base product, which is now marketed by national brand names, but also the couscoussier and other ingredients that accompany it. Gradually, couscous has appeared on the menus of non-ethnic restaurants and as an optional accompaniment instead of rice, potatoes or pasta in popular restaurants. Increasingly fewer people ask what it is and on radio programmes in Barcelona I have had the occasion to talk to listeners who asked if it could be made in a frying pan or even a wok. The traditional dish, prepared following well determined methods, with the help of appropriate utensils and using a broad repertoire of recipes, will in part be lost. It is true that a

28. Migration, Food, Memory, and Home-Building

Ghassan Hage

Everything which is eaten is the food of power.
Elias Canetti, *Crowds and Power*

The relation between home and food is an essential one. Its ideological power is constantly exhibited in various items of everyday life such as the status of the "homemade" on the food market. That a quiche, for example, is labeled "homemade" at one's local delicatessen distinguishes it from the mass-produced. It makes it ooze that specifically homely goodness: intimations of sound nutrition, careful choice of ingredients, and careful labor (of love). That is, it becomes a bit of "mother's cooking"—which, at an important level, is, of course, a continuation of breast-feeding, the most homely of the homely yearnings and fantasies. In much the same vein, the myth of being handed a "mother's mouthful," *lu'mit 'umm*,[1] is among the most powerful gendered structuring themes of the yearning for *lib-blehd* or *blehdna*, "the national home," "our national home," or "back home," among the Lebanese in general, and certainly among Lebanese migrants in Sydney. The yearning for a "mother's mouthful" is one and the same as the yearning for "back home." Both yearnings involve a specific form of remembering of an imaginary state of well-being.

This essay aims to emphasize that diasporic nostalgia as a memory of "back home" should not be always treated as a form of homesickness. Homesickness is, as its name suggests, a sickness: a state where one's memory of back home plays a debilitating function and produces a state of passivity, where the subject is unable to "deploy" himself or herself in the environment in which he or she is operating. This is why nostalgia should not be conceptually collapsed with home-sickness as it can readily be conceived in a far more positive light as an enabling memory.

I had been here for around six months, and I was driving back home to Punchbowl from Liverpool, where I had gone to see the owner of a petrol station who had advertised for a job. I can't remember exactly where now, but it was pretty deserted. And I got this flat tire and I had no spare. I couldn't speak English . . . not that there were many people driving by. I started walking. Then it got dark and, as I was walking, I started to think of myself heading to the village. Sometimes when I returned late to the village from Tripoli, I used to have to take a bus that stopped a fair distance out of the way. So I had to walk the rest of the way home. But invariably I meet someone I know driving up and they give me a ride. And that's how I began to think of home. I started thinking that soon someone I know was going to turn up. I started remembering all the people with whom I took rides. I could even remember the details of their car, the sound of the horn, what they said to me. I got so engrossed by my thoughts that I really thought I was home. And when I heard a car coming I turned around hoping it will be . . . for some reason I just thought it was my brother. But it wasn't. . . . [He has a tear in his eye. The story he was telling happened ten years ago.] I had to walk all the way home. I arrived home around three o'clock. I couldn't speak to anyone the next morning. [He sighs] . . . *Su'bi el'hijra* [migration is a difficult thing].[12]

"Migrant memories articulate the relation between space and time in a unique way"

Türk Çayına Süt Katmak: Londra'da Yaşayan Türkiyeli Göçmenlerin Gündelik Hayatları*

Ayşegül Sili Kalem**

Article: ***Adding Milk to Turkish tea: The Everyday Life of Londons Turkish Immigrants.***

Öz: Gündelik hayattaki en sarsıcı değişimler göçmenlerin yaşamlarında meydana gelmekte, özellikle uluslararası göçle birlikte tamamen farklı bir dünyaya adım atan bireyler, kimi zaman yaşam tarzlarını bütünüyle değiştirmek durumunda kalmaktadır. Göçmenin başlangıçta kültürel bagajında disipline edilmiş formlara sahip olan gündelik hayat pratikleri, zamanla göç edilen kültür içerisinde bu bagajın boşaltılması suretiyle yeni yüklemelere açık hâle gelmektedir. Bu araştırma Londra'da yaşayan Türkiyeli göçmenlerin gündelik hayatlarını konu edinmektedir. Göç süreci ve sonrasında göçmenlerin getirdiği gündelik yaşam kalıplarındaki değişimler ve hayat stratejilerini nasıl oluşturdukları araştırmanın temel sorularıdır. Nitel metodoloji çerçevesinde 2014 yılının Kasım ayında başlayıp 2015 Temmuz ayına kadar sürdürülen çeşitli gözlem ve otuz yedi derin görüşme çalışmasının veri setini oluşturmaktadır. Veri analizi sonrasında özellikle Kuzey Londra'da yakın ve yüzyüze ilişkiler içerisinde yaşayan göçmenlerin, gündelik hayatlarını neredeyse Türkiye'deki gibi yaşadıkları, giyim, yemek, seyredilen TV kanalları, komşuluk ilişkileri gibi gündelik tercihleri ve sosyal ilişkilerinde ciddi bir dönüşüm geçirmedikleri sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Bireysel olarak göç edip Kuzey Londra dışında yaşamayı tercih eden göçmenlerin ise gündelik hayat tercihlerinin göç öncesi dönemden büyük ölçüde farklılaştığı görülmüştür.

Anahtar kelimeler: Gündelik hayat, göç, Londra, Türkiyeli göçmen.

Abstract: The most traumatic developments in everyday life occur in the life of immigrants; particularly individuals who step into a totally different world through transnational migration sometimes having to completely change their lifestyles over. At the beginning, an immigrant's everyday life practices with their own disciplined forms take place in immigrant's cultural baggage; in time have become open to new loadings by unloading this baggage within the migrated culture. This research is about the everyday life of Turkish immigrants living in London. The fundamental questions of this research are the changes in everyday life patterns during and after the migration process that are brought by immigrants and how do immigrants create their life strategies. In the framework of the qualitative methodology, various observations and thirty-seven in-depth interviews that were conducted between November 2014 and July 2015 have composed the data set for this study. After the data analysis, especially immigrants who live close to North London and in face to face relations are found to almost live their everyday lives as if they were in Turkey and they have not experienced a serious transformation in their everyday preferences and social relationships such as clothing, food, watched TV channels and neighbourhood relations while significant changes in everyday life preferences of immigrants who preferred to live outside North London by migrating individually are observed.

Keywords: Everyday life, migration, London, Turkish immigrant.

* Bu araştırmanın gerçekleşmesinde desteklerini esirgemeyen Middlesex Üniversitesi'nden Prof. Louise Ryan ve Dr. Tunç Aybak'a teşekkür ederim.

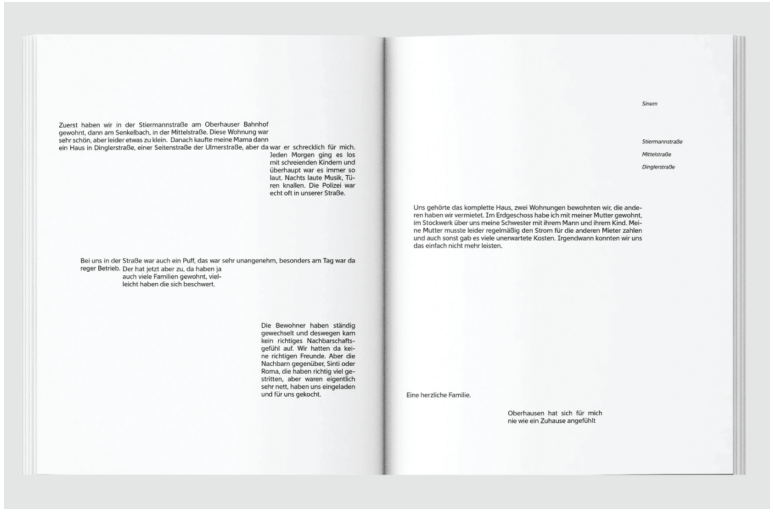
** Yrd. Doç. Dr., Necmettin Erbakan Üniversitesi, Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Fakültesi, Sosyoloji Bölümü.
E-posta: siliaysegul@gmail.com. Adres: Necmettin Erbakan Üniversitesi Köyceğiz Yerleşkesi Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Fakültesi, Sosyoloji Bölümü, Dere Aşklar Mah., Derneç Sok., No:42, Meram /Konya.

DOI: dx.doi.org/10.12658/human.society.5.10.M0150
İnsan ve Toplum, 5 (10), 2016

"Ben kendimi her iki ülkede de gurbetçi hissediyorum çünkü Türkiye'deyken Almancı, buradayken Türkiyeliyim. Evet, Almanya'da kendimi huzurlu hissediyorum genellikle, temelli dönmek gibi bir arzum da yok…Annem ve babamın Almanya'da kendilerini evde hissetmediklerini biliyorum, onların hep bir yanı Türkiye'de. Ben kendimi Türkiye'de de gurbetçi hissediyorum sanırım ve bunu Türkiye'deyken Almanya'yı, Almanya'dayken Türkiye'yi özlemeye başladığımda anlıyorum" (Görüşmeci 10, Yaş 22).

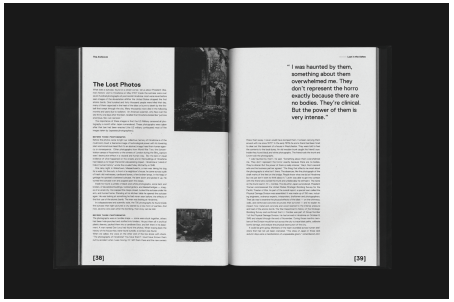
"I dont feel like I belong to neither of those countries because when I'm in Turkey I'm a German turk (gurbetci) , and when Im in Germany I feel like Im Turkish. Yes, I feel more peaceful in Germany and I dont want to move back to Turkey but I know my dad doesnt feel like at home here he has one part that is always missing Turkey. I feel like a gurbetci when I'm in Turkey becauase when in Turkey I miss Germany and then in Germany I miss Turkey."

Theoratical Research





Typography/Experimental



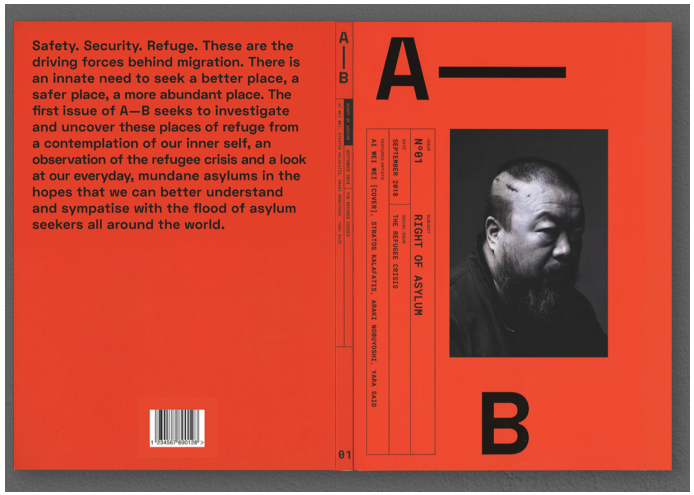


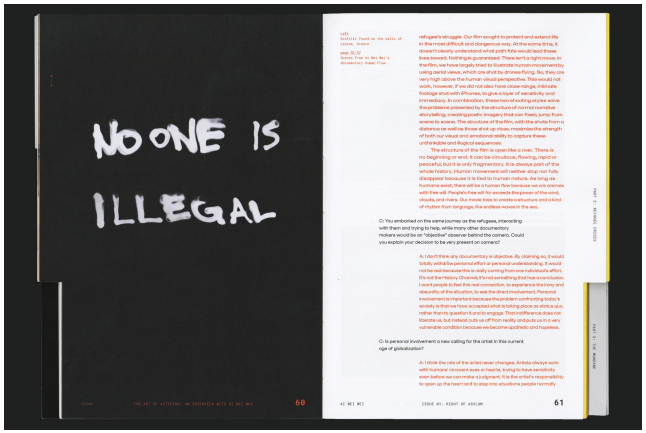


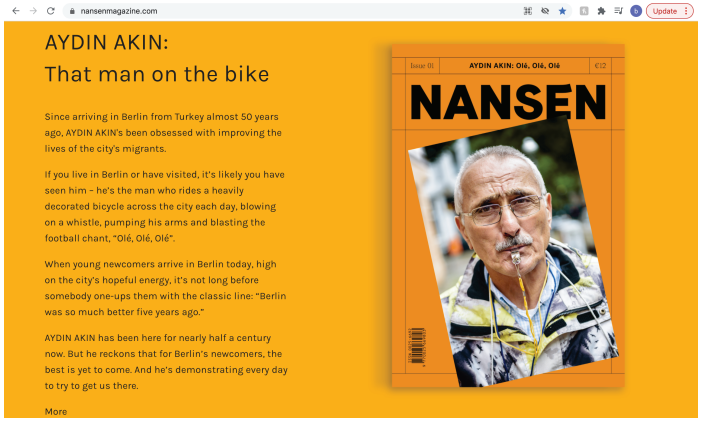
Above Jungeun Lee: I Am Sick of Being a Prude, publication, 2019 (Client: Nanhee Kim) (Copyright © Jungeun Lee, 2019)



ISTD Projects.



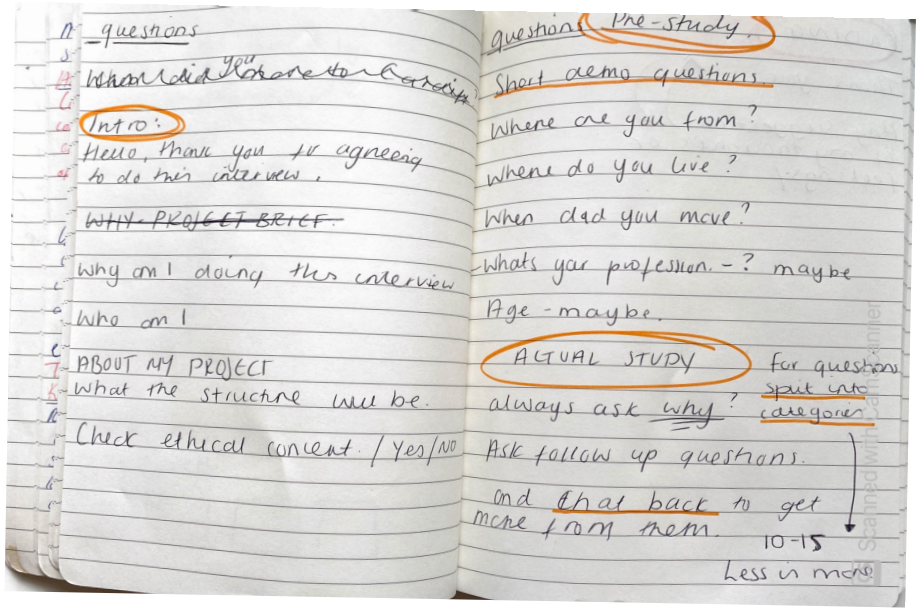




Editorial Visual Research

Preperations for the Interviews.

Michal Iwanowski - Photographer
Melin Edomwonyi - Designer
"Lia's Kitchen" Founder of the Organisation.
Eylem Yildiz - Migrant, Mother
Nejdet Yildiz - .Migrant, Father
Memet Ali Alabora - Actor
Halime Yetik - Mother, Migrant



Interview questions.

Pre-questions

Where are you from?

Do you live in Wales, If yes when did you move here?

What was the reason for the movement work, education etc ?

HOME.

Where do you consider as home or do you consider Greece as back home?

Please describe what the word "home" means to you?

Can you describe your thoughts and feelings when you first moved away from your home land?

When you were adapting to the new place, did you have any negative moments where you felt like you didn't fit in or felt "this is not my home" ?

In those moments, how were you able to feel at home?

LANGUAGE.

What is your first language ?

Can you speak fluently? if yes, where do you speak your first language the most at home, work, with friends, with partner.

As Wales is very multicultural especially Cardiff, how does it feel when you hear …… language randomly when you walk past people maybe like when your in Tesco or in city center etc.

Does it evoke an emotion?

Does it remind you of your home land, what kind of memories do you think about?

FOOD.

What's your relationship with food do you enjoy cooking?

Do you cook traditional …… foods regularly? If, yes what's your favorite ……dish?

How do you feel when you are cooking these dishes, are there any memories related to those dishes?

Community feeling makes us feel like home, family meals such as they are many peoples favorites.

Do you have gatherings with your peers or family where you cook traditional foods?

How does that make you feel?

Is there a particular dish or recipe where it evokes a specific time that connects you back to home land?

Does it have any special ingredient,

is there any ingredients or like a smell or flavor that reminds you of ……

What kind of things do you believe are connecting us back to home land other than food and language ?

Zoom Interview Transcript - Annotations

After 4 Interviews with different individuals from wide range of demographics. I writing out the interviews and listening over the audios, I was able to annotate the similat sections and differences. I made a key which circles out the important and interesting quotes related to home, belonging, food and language. After the third interview I realised, the answers was diffferent or more like the experiences was different, they were all migrants and I thought they would have similar experiences which in fact there was similar points but overall they were excited to be in UK, they wanted to explore and be adventouries. Speaking to Lia, she mentioned our parents how probably experienced similar things as first generations.

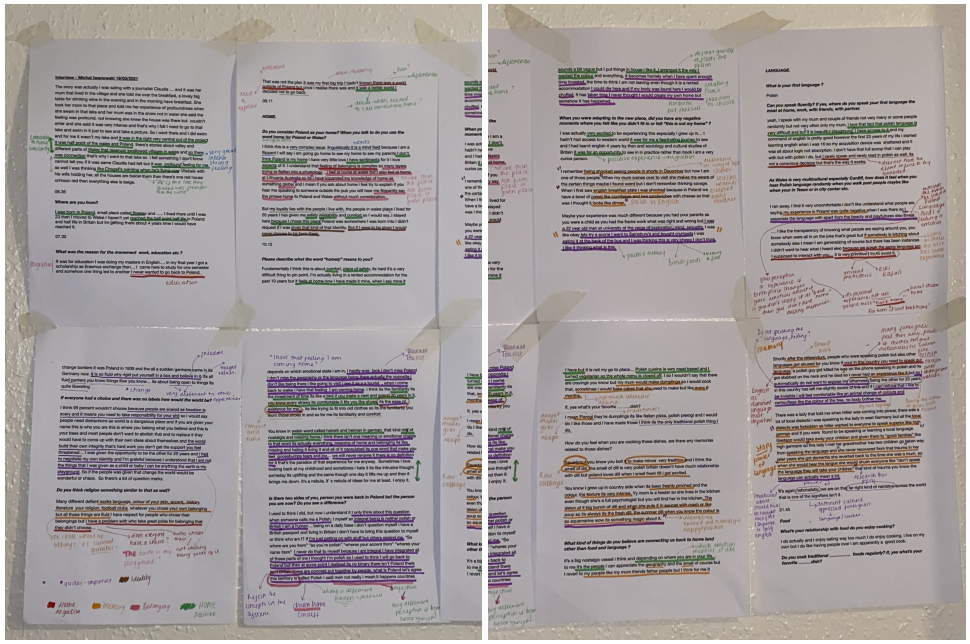
I realised the people I have interviews dont share the experiences I have or my community has because they migrated for education, they come from different social and economic class. All these differences had a huge impact on their feelings of home, none of them have the "missing home" feeling as I experienced with people around me. I realised I was trying to communicate notion of Gurbetci. This is a term used in Turkey. I identified there's different categories as

Gurbetçi- someone with a Turkish origin who lives and works in another country, especially in Germany.

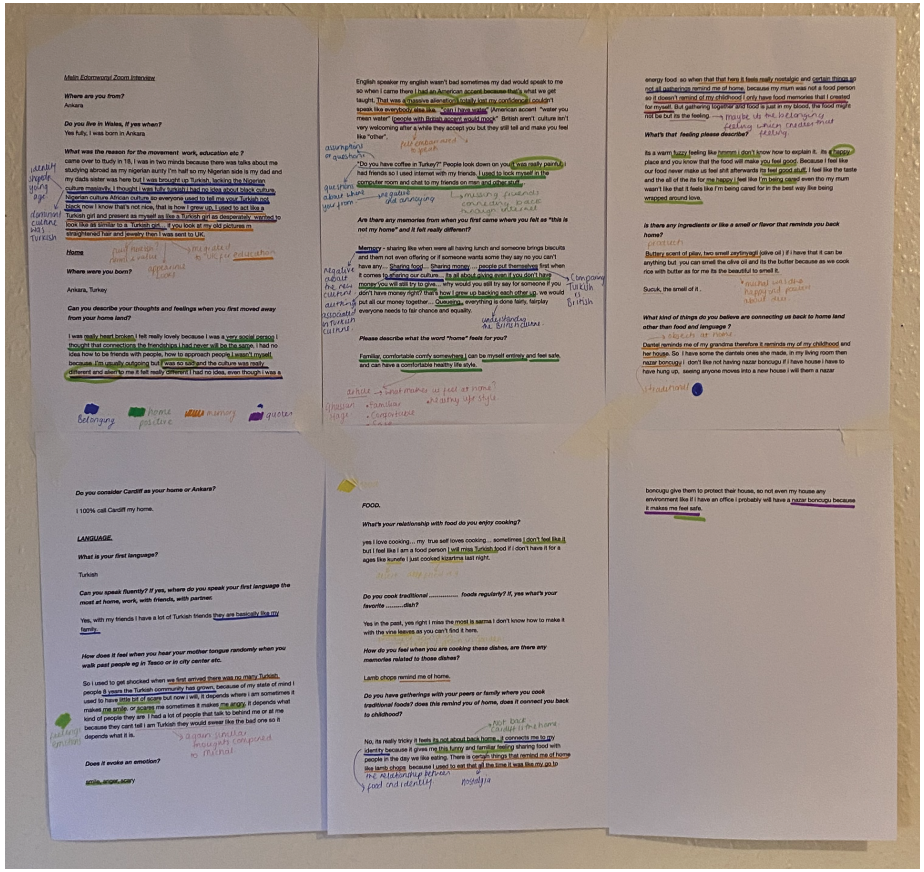
Gurbet - The state or feeling of being a stranger and/or longing for one's homeland.

(Turkish) Gurbetci - Expatriate (English)

Interviewee 1



Interviewee 2



Before

Exploring Migrants feeling of home through memory.

1. Meaning of Migrant and Migration.

2. Exploring the word home with photographs

3. Interview quatations and photography.

4. Article "Memory, food, migration and Home- Building"

5. Memory - Food recipes interviewees mentioned including photographs.

After

Exploring the notion of Gurbetci and reflecting on migrants belonging and "missing back home" through food and language.

1. Meaning of Gurbet and Gurbetci

2. Interview quatations and photography related to home land and cultural objects mentioned.

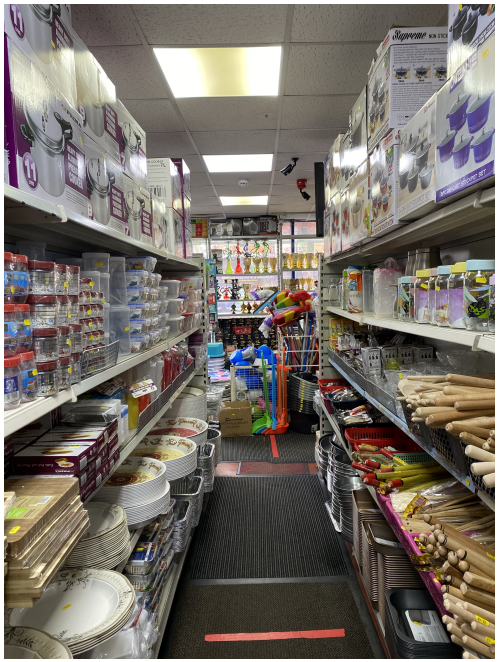
3. Article "Memory, food, migration and Home- Building"

4. Food recipes interviewees mentioned including photographs that hold memories and connection to home.

Objects/Food



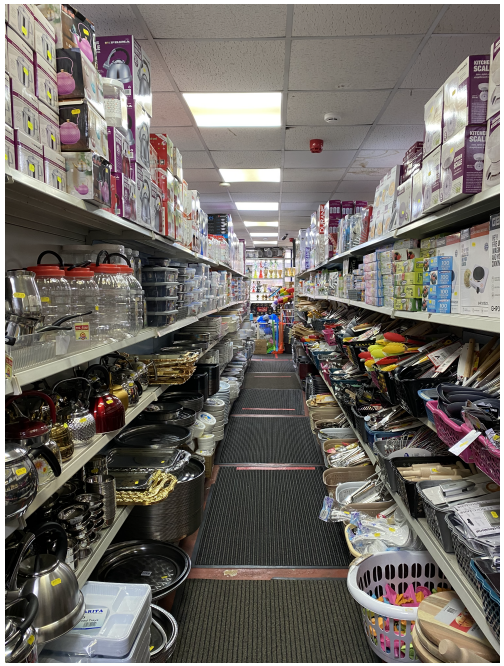








Flanuese/City Road





Designing spread layouts/article

"Migrant memories

articulate the relation

Migration, Food, Memory and Home-building.

Ghassan Hage

Göç çalışmalarında yaşanan kuramsal değişimleri ortaya koyan ve yine Almanya'da yaşayan Türkiye kökenliler üzerinde çalışmaları bulunan Birsen Şahin de benzer saptamalarda bulunmaktadır. Şahin de, göçmenler konusunda yapılan ilk çalışmalarda daha çok asimilasyon teorisinin kullanıldığını ve bu teorinin göçü daha çok itici-çekici nedenler üzerine dayandırdığını, ancak göç çalışmalarındaki merkez paradigmanın son 20 yılda değişime uğradığını belirtmektedir. Şahin'e göre; göçmenlerin yeni toplumun bütün değer ve kurallarını kabul ederek geldiği ülkenin kültüründen uzaklaşması yaklaşımının yerine zamanla, hem yeni toplumun hem de geldiği ülkenin kültürünü birlikte devam ettirebileceği entegrasyon yaklaşımı daha çok kabul görmeye başlamıştır (Şahin, 2010: 56).

Göçmenlerin göç sonrasında yaşadıkları etkileşimlerin ve göçün etkilerini siyasipolitik ve hukuki anlamda tartışan göç çalışmalarına ek olarak, mevcut göç literatürüne "ulus-ötesi" bir bakış kazandırmayı amaçlayan yeni bir "Ulus ötesicilik Paradigması" da göç sonrası etkilere odaklanan bir diğer önemli paradigmadır. Özellikle küreselleşme tartışmalarının ivme kazanmaya başladığı 1980'lerin sonuna tarihlenebilecek bu yeni paradigmanın öncüleri Portes, Glick Schiller, Basch ve Blanc-Szanton'a göre, göçmenlerin gündelik yaşamları sadece bir ülkenin sınırları içindeki ilişkilerle yaşamadıklarının altını çizmek önemlidir

Bu çalışma kapsamında amaçlanan, Almanya'da yaşayan Türkiyelilerin, Türkiye'de kendilerine dair üretilen "Gurbetçi" ve "Almancı" söylemlerine ve "Almancı" algılarına dair düşüncelerini ortaya koyarak, özellikle Türkiye'de romantize edilen Avrupa'daki Türkiyeli imajına dair eleştirel bir bakış açısını ortaya koymaktır.

Yaz aylarını ve yıllık izin dönemlerini Türkiye'de geçiren Avrupalı Türkiyeliler için bu seyahatler, aile ve akrabalarla bir arada olabilme imkânı olduğu kadar deniz tatili için de fırsat olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Ancak, her ne kadar Türkiye'ye dair "vatan" kavramı ilgili çalışmalarda egemen olarak kullanılsa da, Almanya'da yaşayan Türkiyeliler için, Türkiye'de geçirilen zamana ve kendilerine dair tutumlara ilişkin değerlendirmeler, yaklaşık 50 yıldır süregelen "vatan hasreti çeken" ve "mağdur olan" algı ve söylemlerinin bu kişilerce olumlu karşılanmadığını ortaya koymaktadır. Benzer bulguları tartışan Ayşe Çağlar da, farklı bir bakış açısı geliştirerek, Almanya'da yaşayan Türkiyelilerin, Türkiye ile ilişkilerini sosyal sermaye, "itibar", "Almancı, Gurbetçi" kavramlarına dair görüşleri analiz etmiştir. Almanya'da yaşayan Türkiye kökenliler ekseninde ve özellikle Berlin'de yaşayan Türkiye kökenlilerin sosyal dışlanma ve sosyal hareketlilik stratejileri üzerine çalışan bir diğer sosyal bilimci Ayşe Çağlar, araştırmasında9 hem Almanya'da gerceklesmis olan hersey icin kendilerini suclamalari gereksizdir.

Almanya'da yaşayan Türkiye kökenlilerin sosyal sermaye açısından Alman toplumu içerisinde eksik bulunmasının yanı sıra, aynı zamanda Türkiye'deki orta sınıflar tarafından da bir takım yaftalamalarla kabullenilmedikleri Çağlar'ın araştırmasının bulgularından biri olarak ortaya konulmaktadır. Özellikle "sonradan görme, eğitimsiz, cahil ya da medeniyetsiz" sıfatlarıyla Türk toplumu içerisinde de bir ötekileştirmeye maruz kalan Almanya'da yaşayan Türkiye kökenliler için sosyal hareketlilik ve sosyal kabullenilme oldukça sıkıntılı alanları oluşturmaktadır. Bu nedenle Almanya'da yaşayan Türkiye kökenliler özellikle "Almanyalı" ya da "Alamancı" yaftalamalarından ciddi rahatsızlık duyduklarını ve benzeri ifadelerin kendilerinde kabul edilmeme ve dışlanma algıları yarattığını ifade

Journal of Ethnic Migration Studies, 21:3, 309-323. etmişlerdir (Çağlar, 1995:316). İronik bir biçimde, araştırmanın önemli saptamalarından biri olarak, Almanya'da yaşayan Türkiye kökenlilerin yine de yıllık izin zamanlarında tatillerini Türkiye'de geçirerek, Türkiye'de orta ve üst sınıfa ait mekânlarda tatil yaparak, üst gelir grubuna hitap eden yerlerden yazlık satın alarak, ya da bu zümreye yönelik ürünler satan yerlerden/mağazalardan alışveriş yaparak, Almanya'da sahip olamadıkları sosyal hareketlilik ve sosyal kabullenilmeyi sağlamaya çalıştıkları ifade edilmektedir.

between space and time

in a unique way."



"Migrant memories

articulate the

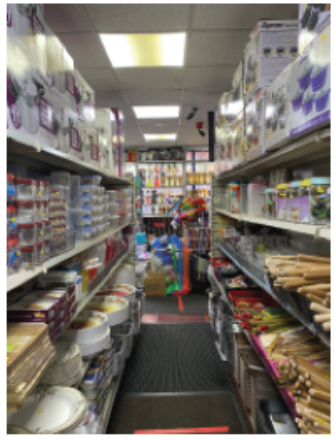
relation



between space



and time



in a unique way."