

A Sense of Belonging:

The case of the Greek diaspora in the Netherlands

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Abstract:

The Greek diaspora in the Netherlands experience varied levels of complexity when it comes to their sense of belonging, living in a perpetual condition of "in-between." These types of migration-related circumstances are complicated since they are connected with issues of "identification" and "belonging." Consequentially, leading to a creation of a “new” remodelled culture, surging from the combination of chosen favourable elements. This new culture is a way in which Greek (descending) migrants cope with the multicultural experience of living transnationally, in order for them to foster an environment in which they can feel like they belong.

Keywords:

Belonging, Diaspora, Greece, Netherlands, Remodelling Culture, Transnationalism

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Introduction

People experience belonging in different levels of complexity. This is also the case for the Greek diaspora living in the Netherlands, who similarly to other people who undergo a process of migration, experience life in a constant state of “in-between”. Migration-related situations such as these are complex because they are intertwined with themes of “identity” and “belonging” – concepts that are used interchangeably to describe a feeling of being part of a location or social group (Black, 2002). For the sake of this paper, I boil down the definition of “belonging” to the essential social ties and links, as well as feelings of emotional safety people experience at “home”, of which a further conceptualization can be found in the section *Migration through the lens of concepts* (Yuval-Davis et al., 2005). Although this might seem like a relatively common-sense understanding, it is still of great importance to be considered in the realm of migration, as to gain a better understanding of what belonging is like for people living transnationally, and thus divided between two or more places.

This thesis sheds light on the relationship between migration, transnationalism, and belonging by focusing on the (migratory) experiences of the Greek diaspora in the Netherlands. I argue that the Greek diaspora’s sense of belonging is much more complicated than what meets the eye. Although these individuals are physically situated in the Netherlands, they remain to maintain a strong cultural, historical, and familial connection to their original roots in Greece. This leaves the Greek diaspora frequently facing dissonances when their broadened bi-cultural perspective brings up things they dislike about their culture(s), while simultaneously wanting to be part of them.

When looking at previous literature on this topic, it can be concluded that their main focus has been on documenting the transnational lives and return-migration actions of Greek emigrants in the United States (U.S.), Australia, and Canada. It makes sense that much effort is placed on these locations, considering that these countries are home to approximately half of the Hellenic diaspora worldwide (Georgiades, 2015). Nonetheless, it also demonstrates that there is little known about the Greek diaspora on a global scale. As a result, there is room for an increase in knowledge about the sociocultural dynamics and processes that shape the Greek migrants’ experience, as well as a need for it.

Qualitative and ethnographic research was used as a way for this thesis to delve into the research question: *What are the (migratory) experiences of the Greek diaspora in the Netherlands, and how do these relate to their sense of belonging?* This is a relevant question to ask, since it is

unclear how effectively and satisfactory Greek migrants adapt to their transnational lives between the Netherlands and Greece.

To give a general overview of what types of migration Greece has faced over the last century, a brief section is included as well as an elaboration of important definitions. In order to include all purposeful information from the interviews, the thesis is thereafter arranged as follows; First, the paper zooms in to the lives of the participants while still living in Greece. I argue that no matter the distance between their country of origin and destination, the Greek diaspora will consistently be chained to the family bonds and collective national history they share. In Chapter 2, a focus is placed on the emigrants' overall acceptance in and adaptation to the Netherlands, while also keeping an eye on the embrace of the intermingle of the Dutch and Greek cultures. The last Chapter, continues by documenting that when the Greek migrants were confronted with contrasting perspectives on both cultures, they found ways to remodel culture entirely.

A brief exploration of Greece in respect to migration

In order to understand the context from where the stories in this thesis stem, this section will briefly acknowledge the migratory flows that Greece has encountered in the last century. However, it must be acknowledged that the following summary is merely a general overview of the topic at hand.

Overall, Greece has experienced three major periods of emigration from the start of the 20th century (Cavounidis, 2015). One at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the second in the post-World War II era, later on in the thesis these people will be referred to as “pre-2000 migrants”. Both were mostly made up of low-skilled people looking for work abroad (Ibid.). It was estimated that a mighty 5% of the Greek population emigrated during the first exodus, and another 14% during the post-war wave (Stark, & Boom, 1985). These people migrated for the most part to West Germany, Australia, the U.S., and Canada, which, as mentioned earlier, explains the cluster of literature about Greek migrants around these countries. By the 1970s, Greece had changed into a migrant-receiving country thanks to a stronger domestic economy combined with an interest for incoming labour migrants (Cavounidis, 2015). However, this duration of enrichment did not last long, since Greece once again became a country of emigration as a result of the Greek economic crisis (Ibid.). However, the composure of this migration wave was in fact completely opposite to the first two flows. This time around, the group of emigrants existed of young, high-educated people looking for better job opportunities (Ibid.) A process that has continued up till today, with a main reason being the skyrocketing numbers of unemployment in Greece. To give an example, and estimated 51,9% of the rate of young people in Greece were unemployed in 2015 (Eurostat, n.d.).

Migration through the lens of concepts

It is beneficial for the reader to understand the meaning of the central concepts used throughout the paper before diving deeper into the topic. Thus, this section will highlight the definitions of “diaspora”, “transnationalism”, “belonging”, and their interconnectedness.

Diaspora. Fittingly enough, the word “diaspora” finds its origin in the Greek language, which is in and of itself a sign of the concept’s prominence in the Greek world. The term originally translated to dispersed people across spatial boundaries (Roudometof, 2000). Over time, the term has received scrutiny from the academic world for its limited definition. A more inclusive explanation of the people that fall under “diaspora” has arisen since then, which includes; diasporas have a collective memory of their homeland, and their awareness and consensus are shaped by their ongoing relationship with their ancestral homelands (King, &

Christou, 2010). This more encompassing version of what “diaspora” entails will be implied in the rest of the paper.

Transnationalism. The diaspora and transnationalism are closely connected, since transnational linkages foster dialogues in the diaspora, and draw attention to the existence of diaspora life in both home (origin) and host (destination) countries (Christou, 2006). According to the Britannica online dictionary, transnationalism can be defined as processes that extend beyond the borders of nation-states in terms of economic, political, social and cultural aspects (Huff, 2014). Except, this is a very broad and yet simplified expression of the term “transnationalism”. A reason for this might be because the amount of research done on transnationalism has been booming since the 20th century (Roudometof, 2000). The high display to academic scrutiny, has put the term in risk of becoming laden with meanings and expectations (Boccagni, 2016). After doing extensive research into the manifold of explanations of transnationalism, Roudometof (2000) chose to settle for a broad term. He identifies transnationalism as a process including cultural activities and experiences that are no longer restricted by state borders and local, territorially linked traditions (Roudometof, 2000). Furthermore, transnationalism includes both persons moving across national borders, and the movement of objects as well as subcultures and the behaviours that keep them alive (Ibid.) For the remainder of this paper, I will continue to use the word transnationalism as with the specified interpretation above when describing the modern Greek transnational identity.

Belonging. The question of what “belonging” means, particularly arises when people wonder about where they belong. The need to belonging in this case describes how people see themselves in connection to others in their community (Amit, & Bar-Lev, 2015). However, at present, “belonging” lacks a clear and universally recognized definition (Jones, & Krzyzanowski, 2008). And this is challenging, because literature about migration cannot exclude the (lacking) sense of belonging migrants experience. As said before, this paper boils down the definition of “belonging” to the essential social ties and links, as well as experiences of emotional safety people experience at “home” (Yuval-Davis et al., 2005). Accordingly, when migrants are faced with exclusionary dynamics, it shapes their sense of belonging to the destination country (Katartzi, 2018). As a result, the feeling of being an outsider, as is often the reality for immigrants, negatively reflects on their sense of belonging (Amit, & Bar-Lev, 2015), after which affective bonds between co-ethnics are looked for (Katartzi, 2018). This process can be perceived for the Greek diaspora in the Netherlands in Chapter 2, *putting down roots*.

According to Amit and Bar-Lev (2015), a characteristic feature of today's diasporas, is that immigrants tend to create transnational groups that push the boundaries of national borders.

Methodology

As proposed in the introduction, the goal of the paper is to answer the research question: *What are the (migratory) experiences of the Greek diaspora in the Netherlands, and how do those relate to their sense of belonging?* This is done by going through the ethnographic research performed - based on a literature analysis, six interviews, and observations – in a chronological order. The structure is based on the eight main codes that emerged from the interviews, which are identified as *migratory causes, positive Netherlands, positive Greece, negative Netherlands, negative Greece, sense of belonging, discrimination, and culture* (for more information, see Appendix 2).

For my research I thus documented the bicultural perspectives and experiences of a sample of Greek migrants in the Netherlands through a variety of ethnographic material while also presenting a thorough individual analysis of literature

Data collection. Concerning the data collection, I chose to make use of informal semi structured interviews. Both the informal and semi-structured aspects helped me to continuously apply a patient and flexible working style, while also being able to gain a greater and more detailed understanding through in-depth discussions, and by probing certain themes (Reeves, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008).

Next, in accordance with my interviews, I used a written list of topics and questions to take up during the meetings. The interview guide can be found in Appendix 4.

I interviewed a total of 9 which consisted of parent-child duo's, partners, colleagues, and individuals. The participants were found by approaching former contacts through social media accounts, and later by a created snowball effect between interviewees and acquaintances. My intention was to speak to persons from different migration generations, for it would sketch a greater and more inclusive storyline. To safeguard the anonymity of the research participants, they will be referred to under a pseudonym. A table depicting the demographics of the interviewees is included in Appendix 1.

Data analysis. In order for me to analyse the interview results, I made use of inductive coding. This is a bottom-up approach with which I derived the diverse themes from the data, and grouped them into themes (Delve, n.d.). In the case of this thesis, it means that rather than starting with preconceived ideas of what the codes should entail, the codes emerged from the narrative of the interview transcripts themselves. By means of colour coding different sections, I was able to arrange, categorize, and construct the qualitative data systematically into patterns

and topics qualified for evaluating. Thus, inductive coding helped me to examine the data collection, while also increasing the legitimacy of my analysis.

Additionally, I included location observations due to their highly informative nature. They namely visualize what might not be said out loud, compliment trails of thought, deepen my understanding of the people and/or community, and show prominence.

As a final note, this study only contains data from interviewees that chose to include their confirmed signed consent form, a sample of which can be found in English in Appendix 5, and in Dutch in Appendix 6.

Chapter 1: Life in Greece

One cannot claim to understand the present of Greek migrants in the Netherlands without acknowledging their past. Through this chapter I aim to convey how the Greek migrants' decision to migrate cannot be reduced to one reason only. Furthermore, the insights from the following sections compose part of the transnational experiences the migrants will have in the Netherlands.

Locational influences. Similar to any other place, growing up and living in Greece comes paired with positives and negatives. Generally, the neighbourhood one is raised in influences peoples' opinions and actions. This section explains how locational discussions and cultural aims influence people's perception of mobility.

It makes a big difference whether someone in Greece - or any other country for that matter - comes from, for instance, a metropolitan area with international influences or from a remote village without tourist appeal. In fact, in the interviews, there was a large overlap mentioned between opportunities and flexibilities that various countries offer concerning employment options and personal freedoms. For example, Pyrros, an electrical engineer from Athens, mentioned: *"The technology sector in Greece is in general less developed than in the North."* Thus, considering that he was already living in the capital city, it was sensible for him to migrate to a different country, where he would get the possibility to work to his full potential.

Dimitra was one of my youngest interviewees. While she was born and raised in the Netherlands, her connection to Greece was never severed, and continues to be very prominent in her life. Despite the fact that she was never the one who chose to migrate and had no choice in her bi-cultural upbringing, she values both identities greatly. In connection to the urban-rural distinction, Dimitra raised an important contrast, pointing out that cities tend to be more progressive than rural areas: *"Greece is, similarly to the church, quite traditional and conservative in comparison to the Netherlands. This is true for the majority of the country and for older generations. Cities are always more progressive."* In connection to this statement, it should be noted that an overall trend in migratory movements from agricultural regions to urban areas can be seen on a global scale (Sayad, 2004). This shift can be linked to a variety of factors, including people's socioeconomic status, as well as their awareness of their relative deprivation of growth prospects (De Haas, 2005; Favell, 2008). It is through access to information from other migrants, the internet, the news, public discourse, and social media that communities become more aware of their disadvantaged position as a result of their location (Ibid.). The forthcoming tendency to shift towards urbanization, was emphasized by Stefania, who said:

“Everybody (...) tries to educate their children as much as they can, so that they can move away and have “real” jobs as they say. They push their children, no matter their talents, to become a lawyer or doctor.”

It is worth mentioning that for the interviewees and their families these types of initiatives are part of their culture, therefore migrating to a different location within the country is done with the aim to live a successful life. It was expressed that, similar to the example mentioned above, their migration is more about fulfilling a cultural aim, made by the community as a whole, than solely focussed on finding a job. However, living a life with this point of view, does have repercussions: *“We don’t have large amounts of history of where we grew up. I grew up in a small city away from Athens. I know the history from thousands of years before Christ till today, but we never got educated on our city, for example. On something important that can help us create roots.”* (Stefania) (also see Appendix 2).

As a result, some (rural) persons have less of an attachment to their “home”, and are incentivized by their community to leave and create a new network in places that are better adapted to their needs. However, this is not the case for everyone, some of whom experience more of a sedentary push from their social circles.

Sense of community. When talking about Greece, the participants very often referred to the sense of community they experienced within their social circles within the country.

Although some interviewees, like Stefania, felt pushed away by their community and location, others who left, did experience close connections to their friends and family. Consequentially, exemplifying that there are other factors besides the community that drive people to leave Greece. Take for example, Iris, who mentioned: *“If I had not met my husband, I would have never emigrated. It was never my plan. I had my family and friends here, and a good job.”* It is important to recognize the positive and negative encounters the interviewees have recognized in Greece, and how these together form the cultural background with which the emigrants will enter the Netherlands. Similarly to Iris’ positive association with her social life in Greece, Prokopios spoke about recognition from the people in his village, saying: *“Everybody is looking after you right away. Everyone is family, one way or another.”* And it is this close connectedness to the people around you, that leads to high involvement in cultural lifestyles and traditional festivities.

Dimitra emphasized this by focussing on food: *“There is a culture around food. For Greeks, food is something for the community. By means of good food, you bring communities together.”* To give an example, one could think of the feast of Easter. From personal experience, I know that in Greece, Easter [Πάσχα] is widely celebrated by younger and older generations alike. Especially in smaller cities and villages, there are many connected traditions and preparations that take hold of the entire community. These include the ritual of mourning for Christ on Good Friday, during which women together decorate the symbolic tomb of Christ, while the choir chants. Or the sharing of the Holy Fire between believers with small candles, which takes place during the Resurrection. A last example is the tradition on Easter Sunday, when lamb is prepared by the men, and roasted on a spit to enjoy for the entire village. It is traditions such as these that create a bond between Greek people all over the country. Easter is something collective, something that you do for each other, by enjoying meals together and taking part in the practices. The same holds true for other national and Orthodox celebrations, creating a place of recognition and inclusion among citizens.

I met Nektaria during an event hosted by a Greek Community in the Netherlands. Her relationship with both countries has never been easy. She was mostly raised in Greece, but brought back to the Netherlands during her teenage years. It is this constant back and forth between the two countries which has allowed her to better contrast her experiences in the Netherlands and Greece. Nektaria was one of the first interviewees to emphasize the relationship with the church. The Orthodox church in itself is a highly respected institution, and it holds great significance for the entire country: *“Whether you believe or not, everyone is Greek-Orthodox. Everyone is baptized, or will be baptized, to preserve being Greek. That is the Greek way, period.”* (Nektaria).

Nonetheless, it is worth noting that the church wields considerable power as an institution, as its influence extends not only to public speech, but also to political discourse. *“Greece wanted to join the European Union, but only under the condition that their religion would be displayed on Greek’s identity cards. But this is not in line with EU regulations, so as a reaction the entirety of Greece, and all its priests started to interfere.”* (Nektaria). Generally, the findings show that it is this type of interference that makes the interviewees uncomfortable with the far-reaching influence the church has, making the country more conservative in various respects. As a result, contemporary discussions were perceived to be silenced, which has a direct effect on younger, often more secular, people’s sense of belonging to Greece – they felt more distanced. Similarly to what Nektaria mentions: *“It’s a kind of preservation, they do not dare*

to think outside of the box. You keep your thoughts to yourself in Greece, because there are a lot of expectations. Religion is an obligation, including going to the church.” And Iris who said: *“It is sad, but the Greek church is far from the people. There is distance, they do not try to keep up.”* In line with these statements, one can imagine that when living transnationally between the Netherlands and Greece, differences expose themselves to the forefront.

Drawing from the afore mentioned stories, one can conclude that experiences do not necessarily have to be “bad” in order for them to justify migration, and thus change in a person’s sense of belonging. It is about the sum of both negative and positive experiences that make the migrants feel part of both, or stranded between, the Dutch and Greek cultures. Therefore, it can be perceived that the positive sides of experiences in the Greek culture, the church, and the linked national and Orthodox festivities connect people in their collective enthusiasm for certain values and traditions. While, the extensive and conservative relationship between the state, church, and history of Greece are sometimes perceived as negative sides that lead to, what the interviewees expressed as, an inflexible mindset of the older generations and life in general in Greece. Both these reasons have an effect on the participants’ sense of belonging, and as will be shown in Chapter 3, both will be taken into account when living between cultures in the Netherlands.

Causes of migration. In the past section, a few of the stories revealed some of the main migratory causes of Greek migrants. While migration can be caused by a variety of reasons, this section attempts to summarize those came across in the interviews.

The interviewees spoke first and foremost about migration in terms of moving for their love interests and creating roots. Overall, this was a recurring theme that nine out of ten participants mentioned as (one of) their decisive argument for migration.

A second, and similarly important argument for migration was employment related: *“There was no opportunity for my husband to continue working in Greece. But there were opportunities for me in the Netherlands, there was a teacher deficit.”* (Iris).

Interestingly, the established migration stream between Greece and the Netherlands, also worked the other way around. This applied to Amber and Pyrros, who fell in love in Greece and decided to reside there due to Pyrros’ studies and good job. Amber chose to take the upbringing of the children on her shoulders, while Pyrros continued his work. Years later, they decided to (return)migrate to the Netherlands: *“The children had finished their studies in*

Greece, they continued with new studies in England. This gave us the freedom to move to the Netherlands.” (Paris & Amber).

Opportunities can arise in both countries. When comparing, people repeatedly tend to choose the place that grants the most advantageous outcome, showing that migration is not static. Moreover, their choices are not only based on push factors (when the negatives outweigh the positives), such as limited employment options in Greece, and pull factors (when the positives outweigh the negatives), like a strong economy in the Netherlands (De Haas, 2005). As said before, migration is extremely complex, and is often decided on by the culturally influenced initiatives of a group of people, rather than an individual with a single goal (Ibid.). This message is important to follow, since it spells out why Greek emigrants hold on to some cultural and locational factors, and keep them actively in their lives, even though they are physically somewhere else.

Chapter 2: Life in the Netherlands

Contextualizing settlement in the Netherlands. Overall, interviewees represented different experiences after arriving and settling in the Netherlands. This section highlights the ease and affirmation that post-2000 Greek emigrants met when migrating to the Netherlands, while also showing the fragility and seclusion pre-2000 Greeks faced.

“I came as an international student, so I did not have to do any integration and language exams. As a student, and as a European citizen, you don’t have to do that.” (Thalia), and *“It was relatively smooth to move here, not too much bureaucracy. Try to go to Greece!”* (Pyrros). The quotations above give an indication of what the general encounter was like for the four newly migrated interviewees while coming to the Netherlands, namely ease and security. The latter is particularly related to the exemption of any language barriers, since the Dutch State did not impose a proficiency on them. This is due to the fact that they migrated to the Netherlands after the merge of Greece to the European Union in 2000, giving them flexibility to move around freely within the borders of the Union (European Union, n.d.). And this simple acceptance to the Netherlands turned out to be of significance for the interviewees’ affinity for the country, making them feel welcomed and approved by their new home. Unlike the older migrant generation who had to jump through many hoops before being able to ground in the Netherlands.

Furthermore, the creation of the internet and a fall in travel prices generated a difference in comfort between migration flows, making it less complicated for post-2000 Greeks to establish themselves, while keeping in close contact with their origin location (Engbersen et al., 2012). Nowadays, a lot of Greek products are also available online, for instance, online Greek supermarkets, and digital Greek newspapers. To name a few, one could think of ‘The Greek Reporter’ (fig. 1), the ‘Greek City Times’ (fig. 2), and the ‘Neos Kosmos’.

Altogether, and reasonably, the older migration flows were not able to profit from such developments. As a result, it can be concluded that it was easier to feel isolated from what was familiar to them (Cavounidis, 2015; Engbersen et al., 2012). The next section will elaborate on how the pre-2000 Greek migrants set up framework to support themselves and each other.



Figure 1: Greek Reporter (2022). *Greek-Australian Nick Andrianakos Strikes Mega Deal in Adelaide*



Figure 2: Greek City Times (2022).

Putting down roots. In response to the unfamiliar situations the pre-2000 Greek emigrants faced while being in the Netherlands, many Greeks tried to engage with each other. This section underlines the approaches taken to form a more homely-like minority community in the Netherlands, and to establish an increase in allowances from, and a stronger association with Dutch municipalities.

When looking at the history of Greeks in the Netherlands since the 20th century, it can be seen that the Greek migrants had decided that their Greek identities could and should not be pushed to the side, but should rather go hand in hand with the newly accepted Dutch influences

(Voulgari, 2013). Thus, in order to “*Preserve our own culture. But also show that the children now also belong to the Netherlands.*” (Prokopios), groups of Greek migrants decided to become representatives of the Greek minority in the country.

In 1946, the Ένωση Ελλήνων Ολλανδίας (Enosis) was founded by a group of emigrants (Voulgari, 2013). Enosis became the first association for Greek people in the Netherlands, but merely represented Greece’s “upper class” population. According to Voulgari’s (2013) interviewees, the exclusionary character of Enosis made the other Greek migrants in Rotterdam feel singled out and belittled. As a countermovement, a group of exempted Greeks created their own union years later, supporting the fellowship of isolated migrated Greeks. They would later be known as the union for the workers (Ibid.). Since Greece is known to have a homogenous religion culture, Enosis was gifted a piece of land to build a church on by the municipality of Rotterdam after their first year of existence. The church was named Agios Nikolaos, and was the only Greek Orthodox church in the Netherlands for over 30 years (Voulgari, 2013.) Again, this type of formation and possession had negative consequences for the working Greek’s sense of belonging, to whom the church was “*the main linkage with the homeland.*” (Voulgari, 2013, p. 139).

Fast-forward to the 1980’s, and people are still active in creating a more engaging and supportive voice for Greek emigrants and their descendants in the Netherlands. Take for example Prokopios, who joined the “platform for foreigners” in Rotterdam, in which he represented the Greek (workers) Community and association of Rotterdam. One of his main objectives was to gain the Community’s desired funding to continue their radio and tv networks, and open more Greek Schools to uphold the linkage between Greece and the emigrants.

Normally, Greek Schools function as an additional school next to the obligatory Dutch primary and high schools. Their aim is to teach children not singularly the Greek language, but also the history of Greece, important festivities, and Greece’s famous dances. In the case of the Greek School in Rotterdam [Ελληνικό Σχολείο Ρότερνταμ], the teachers taught children ranging from six to sixteen year old, Wednesday afternoon and Saturday morning and afternoon

When enrolling a child for an additional education, the child is put in a position in which they are reminded on a bi-weekly basis that they have more than one culture to adhere to, that they

are bi-cultural. In itself, this is not a negative argument. The argument rather shows that the Greek School broadens the children's sense of belonging, making them feel part of the Greek Community in the Netherlands in addition to their Dutch values. Furthermore the School does in most cases accomplish its function; to teach children the language with which they can communicate with their families in Greece.

Something that was brought up during Prokopios' interview, was that he remembered that the Orthodox priest visited the school yearly to bless the children for the beginning of the new year. The next figures depict this very event, one in which the priest blesses me with Holy oil (Fig. 3), and one in which the new priest is waiting in front of the Greek School in Tilburg to bless the children (Fig. 4).

Lastly, a linked trend that was commented during an interview was: *"The new generation is 'vernederlandst' [increasingly more Dutch]. The children are born here, so logically they make Dutch friends."*(Prokopios) (see Appendix 2) Although this is a valid step that is interlinked with migration, it does show an important development. Namely that the Greek (descending) children who grow up or are born in the Netherlands, have the possibility to feel more closely connected to one culture than the other, or stranded between both.



Figure 3. Ceremony of the yearly blessing, Greek School of Rotterdam (n.d.).

Figure 4. Greek Orthodox Priest giving the yearly blessing, Greek School of Tilburg (2022).

The examples above might seem unrelated due to their different spheres of influence and distinct time periods, but they all convey the same message: No matter the year, whether it is 1920 or 2022, (descendants from) Greek migrants in the Netherlands have shown a desire to stay in close connection to what they perceive to be Greek culture, as working conjointly with the everyday Dutch influences. Rather than giving up their Greekness entirely, they maintain both cultures. This can be through associations and unions, but also through regional platforms and Greek Schools.

Before moving on to the next section, I would shortly like to take you with me on my visit to a Greek School.

Observation. It had been many years since I last visited a Greek School. Back then, I was twelve and had just started a “high profile” high school that did leave me enough time to continue my Greek education. As I found my way to the outside playground, young children hurried past me towards the exit, while screaming things in a mixture of Greek and Dutch: “*Nee, Nikos is niet binnen, hij is eçω!*” [No, Nikos is not inside, he is eçω, outside!]. The overall feeling I got was that of warmth and recognition.

I took a glance at the books, it stood out to me that half of them were Greek lifestyle books, including literature about Buddhism and vegan cooking. During my conversations, it was interesting to see how I made the interviewees visibly more comfortable by mentioning that I am Greek descendent as well.

The experience of the book sale exemplified that the multicultural upbringing of kids continuous to connect them to their Greek heritage.

Culture shock? Alongside migrating from Greece and setting up a home in the Netherlands, comes an awareness of similarities and divergence. This section plays in on the culture shocks the interviewees perceived while living in the Netherlands and returning to Greece a few times a year.

Overall, the interviewees observed differences in various aspects. Pyrros perceived that, after having worked and lived in Spain and Greece for several years: “*When you are being raised in Greece, and you start working for the first time, you don’t see all the problems. But when you work elsewhere, and then come back to Greece, you experience a culture shock.*” Stefania continued by explaining that sometimes in Greece contracts are constructed in sketchy ways. Rather than paying a respectable salary, for instance, jobs tend to pay very little, also to people

with the right credentials. She identified the Greek contracts that had been offered to her as “*high-risk*” and “*inhumane*”. Now living in the Netherlands, she added: “*I am working, I am happy with what I am doing here, and I know that I am respected here.*”

Besides this conception of a cultural difference, Prokopios stumbled upon a consequential contrast just after having arrived in the Netherlands because of his long distance relationship with this partner. Namely, if Prokopios wanted to stay and work in the Netherlands, he needed certain licences, but these were difficult to come by. As a solution, he and his wife decided to get married at the municipality in Rotterdam. Hoping that all difficulties were now out of the way, they were surprised when the Greek Orthodox church made clear that they did not officially recognize their municipal marriage. In answer, Prokopios and his wife decided to return to Greece a year later to still get married in the eyes of the Orthodox church. This was not until after they learned that their first born baby was looked at as an illegitimate child. Interestingly, over two to three decades later, their son crossed similar circumstances. With this fiancée being a non-Orthodox, she had to be baptized first in the Greek Orthodox church before their marriage could receive approval.

While some people find strong community ties through the Greek community and its institutions, others prefer to distance themselves from them.

A common connection with the Greek Community was found amongst half of the participants, four of whom in relation to the association in Rotterdam. Their most prevailing interaction with the Community was through the Greek School, Orthodox and national festivities, book sales, and dinners. Moreover, the contact with the Community lessened as the children of the interviewees, or the interviewees themselves, grew older and graduated from the Greek School. For some, this was perceived as a negative development: “*I miss the events outside of the School. I am currently studying with many Greek students around me, it makes me realize how much I miss interactions with Greek people.*” (Dimitra) And she was not the only one, Prokopios found that in the past few decades: “*The Community helped to get you into contact with many other people. Also, the Greek School has doubled in size, but afterwards they stop actively participating. This is because the new generation is “vernederlandst”.*” It should be noted though, that transnationalism in general, and active participation, fluctuates. Even though it might seem like the new generation of Greeks are less involved with Communities in the Netherlands, this might also go up and down over time. And since life has changed in many aspects since the first time Greek migrants came to the Netherlands, so might have the types of participation also changed. It could even be that in the future, Greek Communities make a

complete shift to the online world, where their primary form of communication would be over chat.

On the other hand, there are also people that prefer to differentiate themselves from the Greek Communities all together. Some of the participants were content with their low or even non-existing connection to Communities in the Netherlands. *“You don’t choose your friends based on their nationality.”* (Thalia). Furthermore, Stefania and Pyros held negative connotations with the Community: *“We never joined any communities in the Netherlands and Spain, but we heard through contacts what it was like. I am scared to be in one of those communities, because they ask a lot of personal questions, things I do not want to share. They have no boundaries.”* (Stefania), and *“The Greek communities abroad usually act like cults. They care about you only if you somehow submit to them. If you don’t, they don’t care about you.”* (Pyros).

In sum, the participants were taken aback by the maximization of differences that the circular movement between Greece and the Netherlands brought forth. Furthermore, when being confronted with the clustering of Greeks together in unions in the Netherlands, some felt attracted, others found them unappealing. Consequently, while trying to set up a new life in a different country, some transnational connections are deliberately searched for, while others are not.

Chapter 3: A Sense of Belonging

Discrimination. Discrimination is often characterised as the unfair or unjust treatment of persons based on (a combination of) their ethnicity, national origin, sexual orientation, or religious views (Fernández-Reino, 2020). As a consequence, discrimination goes in against acceptance and being part of a community. It singles people out, and makes them feel isolated. Thus, discrimination is a direct attack against people’s sense of belonging. This is important to acknowledge because not many people talk about it.

In fact, the understanding of discriminatory practices varies per person, and it is therefore challenging to measure (ibid.). People often do not realize that they have been discriminated against, or they even lessen their awareness. The same holds true for some of the interviewees, who: *“(…) heb de vervelende herinneringen een plekje gegeven [gave the distressing thoughts a place]”* (Iris). And while this is true, the participants were still able to either give clear examples or implied meanings of discriminatory behaviour. This was the case for encounters both in the Netherlands and in Greece. The following section will start by zooming in on

experiences in the Netherlands which were directed against the participants themselves, and then continue to illustrate incidents in Greece.

Discriminatory experiences in the Netherlands

“Dutch people have a false opinion on Greeks, and I find this difficult to accept.” (Paris) And Paris was not the only one who felt this way. Repeatedly, the interviewees gave examples of what I would define as *microaggressions*. Commonly, these are known to be everyday insults, indignities, and put-downs by the majority population to marginalized people, as first introduced by Dr. Chester Middlebrook Pierce (Sukhera, 2019). Stereotypes such as Greeks do not work, they sleep all the time; the only thing Greek people do is drink coffee; Greeks do not know how to deal with money; being Greek is equivalent to having financial debts; your skin colour is darker; your last name sounds difficult, strange or even exotic (Dimitra; Iris; Paris; Stefania; and myself). Paris thinks that some of these outings might be due to the high number of Dutch people that visit Greece over the summer. They see Greek people behave in a particular way, and then they continue to assume that this is what being Greek is like, they lay on the beach, they drink coffee, and take part in a siesta. *“But in reality Greeks work before and after their siesta till late in the evening. The Greeks probably work harder than the Dutch in real life, but they are only seen during their vacations. They don’t make a difference between the Greeks they meet during their vacation and those in the Netherlands.”* (Paris) And so at work, Paris’ boss is *“shocked”* that he sees him working actively, and Stefania who defended herself by saying: *“If you believe this for Greek people, why do you hire me?”* They find that there is a demand to re-prove themselves on a regular basis to their associates.

Also language barriers, or supposed language barriers, come into play when analysing discriminatory behaviour. Iris expressed to me that the low grades of her students were blamed on her language proficiency by the parents, and that therefore the other teachers thought it proper to tutor Iris’ students behind her back: *“The school received a letter saying that she [Iris] is a nice woman, but (...)”* In a similar vein, Nektaria claimed that during her childhood, children with a foreign sounding last name were automatically enrolled in extra Dutch language courses. She continued by saying that: *“Until not too long ago, I tried my best to act as fully Dutch, but I encountered a lot of discrimination. Also on the labour market. (...) In the Netherlands, you can do anything unlike in Greece, but here it takes me extra steps because of my last name.”* (Nektaria)

Generally, the interviewees reacted differently to these and similar situations, but most did feel like they were being held accountable for the stereotypes that some people held against them, and held responsible for the financial crisis Greece has experienced. Where some tried to give slights a small and limited space in their life, *“Jokes about the euro will stay, but that is not a big deal.”* (Iris), and *“(…) I did feel a bit discriminated against, but not too much.”* (Iris), others tried to confront *“I am Greek and I can say anything I want about Greece, because I lived there. But your cannot because you do not know them.”*

Important to note, is that in some social circles, the amount of discriminatory behaviour seems to be more limited. Take for example Thalia, a former student and now an international lecturer and researcher at an university in the Netherlands, who has *“not encountered any negative things yet, no racism, no exclusion. No, not ever in the Netherlands.”* I would argue that such positive and appropriate experiences are more likely to happen when a person is surrounded by an international framework of people, and by people who are adjusted to living and working amongst non-natives.

Discriminatory experiences in Greece

When talking about Greece in connection to discrimination, the interviews took on a different, shorter and more general tone. This is because the examples given by the participants were no longer about encounters directed against themselves, but rather against foreigners in Greece. An example that has been around for decades, if not longer, is the clash between Turkish and Greek people, which Dimitra demonstrated by mentioning that among family members it can be a joke to say that you are friends with a Turkish person, accordingly everyone will act as if shocked. Furthermore, half of the interviewees expected Greece to be more discriminating and racist than the Netherlands: *“It [discrimination] happens in every country. My intuition is that the level of that happening here [in the Netherlands] is much less, than that happening in Greece for foreigners. There is more homogeneity in Greece, so they will say more racist things.”* (Pyrros) Stefania followed this statement up by saying: *“If you are in Greece, and you are an immigrant, depending on how you got there, it plays a big role in how you are going to be treated. (…) Northern European people are often much more respected by Greeks. If you are Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, you are exotic. If you are from countries that neighbour Greece, oh my god you don’t want to.”* Iris expects that this has to do with high levels of xenophobia in Greece.

Living transnationally. Realizing that discrimination has a significant negative impact on people's sense of belonging, I will now make a shift towards living transnationally. It is of great importance to this paper to take transnationalism into account, since it creates a better understanding of the connection between emigrant Greek people on the one hand, and the communities and cultures of both Greece and the Netherlands on the other. By identifying transnationalism within in the context of the data collected, the interviewees' sense of belonging can be presented. Which is something that the following examples do, especially midst the majority of in Greece-born interviewees.

First of all, visiting Greece. The participants' (bi- and tri-)yearly return to Greece might seem like a logical and thus insignificant movement. It is, however, when one listens to their affection for the country, that the importance of them visiting becomes visible: *"It feels like coming home, the language, the people, the temperatures, and the coast. Even the air, the ground, and the cars smell different.* (Nektaria). In harmony with this quotation, most interviewees kept their family houses in their origin regions. I would argue that the maintenance of the interviewees' houses in Greece, shows their affection towards living transnationally. Furthermore, the gratitude for their homes and family ground is also appreciated by the people who live surrounding those places: *"Whenever I return to Greece, people come looking for me and my family. We are always invited over for dinners by people who remember me from my childhood."* (Prokopios) And returning to Greece he does. Over the course of the last three months since I first got into contact with Prokopios, he has been to Greece at least twice. Both to renovate his house, and to enjoy the beginning of summer.

Additionally, the connectiveness with families abroad, make traveling to Greece of great significance, as Dimitra manifests: *"The bond with my Greek family is different from the one I have with my Dutch family. It is a different kind of belonging."* Reasonably, being distanced from a part of one's family also accentuates the things that one might be missing. Thalia underlined difficulties she faces while taking care of her son together with her partner, saying: *"It is a challenge not to have the family around so that they can take care of the boy sometimes. But also other practical things, the fact that he is far away from his grandparents."* Clearly, family affection crosses the national borders of the Netherlands and Greece, making the participants more likely to stay in contact with both.

Another process that became a clear outcome of the results was that people enjoy both the Greek and Dutch influences in their lives. Dimitra would even call it parts of her personality, saying

that: *“I like both my sides. Progressive Netherlands, and a traditional family and community-feeling from Greece.”* This acceptance and appreciation of both cultures is important to notice, because culture might not be the sole reason why people migrate. In the case of the participants of this study, the Greek culture is more often seen as in relationship to migrating and living transnationally. Hence, it can also be difficult to distinguish what attracts people to live in one place, while also sustaining contact with another place. As Pyrros mentioned: *“They [Greeks abroad] have nostalgia for Greece, but in many cases a nostalgia does not exist. If you are far away, you tend to romanticise things.”* But then oftentimes, these people stay in the Netherlands, and mostly visit Greece during the summer. This attitude was easy to implement for many of the interviewees, since traveling has become more accessible, and their children did not experience major negative results from returning to Greece only a few times a year. *“You are Greek in Greece if you have a Greek bloodline.”* (Nektaria), and *“When the children visit Greece, they are perceived as Dutch. But at the same time they are also from there, they have the Greek bloodline, and the people recognize their family members.”* (Helena).

Remodelling culture. A recurrent thought has come to my mind ever since I first set my foot in the Greek School. After interviewing all of these women in a place where they were trying to convey Greek culture, and subsequently analysing the produced data of all the participants, I came to the conclusion that the Greek diaspora in the Netherlands – or at least a part of them – is consciously and unconsciously recreating culture. Accentuating the cultural Greek aspects they like; *“The food is amazing.”* (Stefania), *“They [Greek people] are much more social, you do not have to make an appointment”* (Nektaria; Prokopios), *“Christmas and Easter are family celebrations, you do it for each other.”* (Dimitra), and *“We celebrate them [Orthodox and national festivities] much better, we actually bake the bread instead of buying it (...).”* (Nektaria). And leaving behind the aspects they dislike; *“I [as part of the LGBTQI+ community] am very happy that we grew up here. Because, I would not have been able to be normal in Greece.”* (Dimitra) (see Appendix 2), *“Greece is traditional and conservative”* (Iris), *“Greeks are much more racist (...).”* (Nektaria), *“There is no respect for the law. It is not all the Greeks, but rules are optional, they are not enforced.”* (Pyrros), *“They [Greece] are not international enough.”* (Pyrros), and *“inefficiency”* (Thalia). And the same holds true for typically Dutch cultural aspects.

In conclusion, I would argue that the interviewees, and therefore also (a part of) the Greek emigrants in the Netherlands in general, merge the elements they are fond of into a new, remodelled culture. This new culture is a way in which Greek (descending) migrants cope with

the multicultural experience of living transnationally, in order for them to foster an environment in which they can feel like they belong.

The following figure, in which one can see a garden situated in Rotterdam with placed in it a Dutch windmill and a Greek flag fluttering in the wind, depicts this outcome very well.



Figure 3: Prokopios' garden.

Conclusion

With this thesis, I explored the (migratory) experiences of the Greek diaspora in the Netherlands. Additionally, differences between those who migrated in the 20th versus 21st century were explored. By means of the different Chapters and sections, the paper clarified how the diaspora's experiences relate to the migrants' sense of belonging. In conclusion, I argue that the Greek migrants' sense of belonging is far more complex than first appears. The Greek migrants in the Netherlands have a strong cultural, familial, and historical connection to their ancestral roots in Greece, despite their physical location in the Netherlands. As a result, the Greek diaspora frequently experiences dissonances when their widened bi-cultural perspective brings up aspects of their culture(s) that they dislike, while also desiring to be a part of them. For example, throughout the interviews, the Netherlands was perceived as a suitable and fulfilling place to live in. The country grants Greek migrants opportunities and freedoms that they were not able to enjoy in Greece. Regardless and equally important of that fact, is that

Greece is where their origin roots lay, where their families came from, and where their childhood memories and first introduction to the world were constructed.

Although similar closing statements have been described in previous research, it has not been documented before for the Greek diaspora in the Netherlands.

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Figures

Figure 1: *Greek City Times*, 2022. Front Page. Retrieved on June 4th, 2022, from <https://greekcitytimes.com/>

Figure 2: T. Kokkinidis, 2022. Greek-Australian Nick Andrianakos Strikes Mega Deal in Adelaide. *Greek Reporter*. Retrieved on June 4th, 2022, from <https://greekreporter.com/2022/05/07/nick-andrianakos-australia/>

Figure 3: Prokopios' garden. Retrieved on June 6th, 2022, from Facebook Messenger.

Appendix 1: Table 1 Demographics of the participants

Participant Pseudonym	Age	Country of Birth	Size Childhood Residency	Interview Length
Dimitra	10 - 20	The Netherlands	City	1 hours and 16 minutes
Iris	60 - 70	Greece	City	
Helena	40 - 50	The Netherlands	City	59 minutes
Prokopios	60 - 70	Greece	Village	
Nektaria	30 - 40	The Netherlands	unk.	1 hours and 11 minutes
Paris	50 - 60	Greece	Village	46 minutes
Amber	50 - 60	The Netherlands	unk.	
Stefania	30 - 40	Greece	City	1 hours and 23 minutes
Pyrros	30 - 40	Greece	City	
Thalia	30 - 40	Greece	City	32 minutes

*Unknown = unk.

Appendix 2: Table 2 Overview of final coding scheme

Code	Definition	Example Quote(s)
Location of residency	The size of residence during the upbringing, the current living situation, and their influences on life	<p>“I [as part of the LGBTQI+ community] am very happy that we grew up here. Because, I would not have been able to be normal in Greece. That would have been very difficult. It would not have been possible” (Dimitra)</p> <p>“I know the Greek history from thousands of years before Christ until today, but we never got educated on our city, for example.” (Stefania)</p>
Migratory causes	Reasons for migration, both on individual and community level	<p>“I already had my employment, and I was busy with my studies. So after discussing it, we decided that Amber would live in Greece.” (Paris)</p> <p>“People moved to find more work opportunities. They wanted a better future.” (Nektaria)</p>
Enjoyable NL	Perceived positive approaches in the Netherlands	<p>“They are tolerant here, much more tolerant than in other places.” (Pyrros)</p> <p>“Efficiency as well, how fast things are done in the Netherlands, how easy, how better organized things are.” (Thalia)</p>
Enjoyable GR	Perceived positive approaches in Greece	<p>“They [the Greeks] are much more social, you do not have to make an appointment.” (Nektaria)</p>

Unenjoyable NL	Perceived negative approaches in the Netherlands	“The Dutch are too blunt” (Dimitra) “[Food] (...) for the Dutch is all about efficiency.”
Unenjoyable GR	Perceived negative approaches in Greece	“People come into your house, and they boss you around.” (Stefania) “The Greeks are much more racist than the Dutch.” (Nektaria)
Discrimination	Including microaggressions, prejudice, and stereotypes	“Transfer money, I want my money back.” (Dimitra) “She was always called the xeni, the foreigner.” (Iris) “All kids with a foreign sounding last name were immediately enrolled in extra Dutch language classes.” (Nektaria)
Sense of belonging	The feeling of (not) being part of a particular group of people	“Dimitri had to learn Greek to be able to speak with her family in Greece. Without Greek, you miss a connection with the language and culture.” (Iris) “I am happy with both my sides. Progressive Netherlands, and the traditional family and community feeling from Greece.” (Dimitra) “I joined the platform for foreign people for 15 years. (...) the goal was

to represent [Greek people] at the municipality, embassy, and ministries.” (Prokopios)

“I don’t understand the cold lunch, the sandwiches. I have to have warm things, so I bring my own (...). So I am keeping that Greek.” (Stefania)

“They have nostalgia for Greece, but in many cases a nostalgia that does not exist. If you are far away, you tend to romanticize things. They keep wining about how good it is in Greece, but they don’t go to Greece. It is not always pleasant.” (Pyrros)

“If you were an immigrant 40/50 years ago, and you came here from Greece, you really needed Greece because you could not find food, media. Nowadays, you can almost find anything, there are very few things that you would miss.” (Pyrros)

“ (...) sometimes I kind of feel that I am not Greek any more.” (Stefania)

“Greece is more collectivistic, and the Dutch maybe more individualistic, but not to the extreme.” (Thalia)

Culture Attitudes, behaviours, religion,
traditions, and values

“If you live and work, and you are being raised in Greece, and then you work for the first time, you don’t see all the problems. But when you work elsewhere, and then come back to Greece, you experience a culture shock.” (Pyrros)

“Whether you believe or not, everybody is Greek-Orthodox.” (Nektaria)

“The Greek School [in the Netherlands] was not about learning language, but about sharing history.” (Prokopios)

“The new generation is ‘*vernederlandst*’ [more Dutch like].” (Prokopios)

“In Greece you can always come by, and you can join dinner. But in the Netherlands, you have to make an appointment, and they close the box with cookies. In Greece, you always have food for your guests, otherwise you go out for dinner.” (Prokopios)

Appendix 3: Table 3 Frequencies of codes per interview

Codes	Frequencies Mentioned Code per Participant during Interview						Total
	Dimitra & Iris	Helena & Prokopios	Nektaria	Paris & Amber	Stefania & Pyrros	Thalia	
Migratory Causes	4	2	4	7	9	8	34
Enjoyable NL	5	2	2	6	11	4	30
Enjoyable GR	6	1	2	0	3	0	12
Unenjoyable NL	3	4	3	1	1	4	16
Unenjoyable GR	6	4	6	0	12	2	30
Sense of Belonging	29	21	22	23	45	24	164
Discrimination	15	2	8	5	14	0	44
Culture	10	16	11	9	32	12	90

Appendix 4: Interview Guide Greek Diaspora in the Netherlands

About the researcher: My name is Sara, and I am a third-year student at the University of Groningen. During the next 5 months, I will compose my bachelor thesis about the experiences and opinions of Greek migrants in the Netherlands.

Short positionality: My grandfather migrated to the Netherlands from Greece in the 1950's. Through him and my father, I thus have a Greek heritage. However, I was born and raised in the Netherlands, in Rotterdam. When I was a child, I visited Greek school classes twice a week. My parents' aim was to introduce me to Greek culture, language, and art.

With consent: start the recording.

General information/introduction:

- Could you introduce yourself? (name, age, socio-economic background, connection with the Netherlands)

Themes

- **Experiences in Greece**
 - Living situation
 - Community
 - Politics
 - Economy
- **Migration**
 - Reason of migration
 - Expectations
 - Example migrant as help
 - Support (migration stream, migration network, family, community)
 - Permanent, short-term, circular
- **Experiences in the Netherlands**
 - Expectations and reality
 - Language (change, preservation, complementing to Dutch, English?)
 - Culture (collectivism/individualism, bicultural)
 - Community (transnationalism, Greek Church, Greek school, etc. – but also Dutch and/or non-Greek communities)
 - Change of identity
 - Living situation

- **Experiences with representation**
 - Representation and community among Dutch people (inclusive, exclusive, immigrant)
 - Representation and community among Greek people (inclusive, exclusive, diaspora, emigrant)
 - Experiences with certain behaviour from Dutch and Greek perspective: prejudice, stereotypes, credibility, and reliability
- **The present**
 - Differences among migration generations

Closing Questions

- Is there still something you would like to add?
- Do you have any questions left about the research?
- Would you like to receive the end product, namely the thesis?

The end: Thank you very much for participating in the interview, I highly appreciate your efforts!

Appendix 5: English Consent Form Participation Research Bachelor Thesis

About the research: During this study, I would like to gain a better understanding of the Greek diaspora in the Netherlands. It is an ethnographic/qualitative research, which means that I will write the thesis on the basis of conversations, observations, and a literature review. Through interviews, I will focus on the opinions of (semi-permanent) Greek immigrants in the Netherlands. Furthermore, I hope to take into account the stories of different migration 'generations' as to find contrast and similarities, while recognizing the extended timeline. The aim of the interviews is to learn about experiences and opinions concerning: (circular) migration, Dutch and Greek communities, culture (preservation) and change in culture, and representation. Themes that might come up are, for example, a possible adjustment of language, the position of the Greek school and Orthodox church, transnationalism, belonging, discrimination, and prejudice.

After the interview: All collected data from the interview will be recorded and anonymized. Moreover, it will only be shared with my supervisor. This means that your personal information will stay anonymous, and within the research. The speech recording will also be safeguarded against other intentions. By taking these steps, I ensure the safety and privacy of my participants as much as possible.

If questions are asked during the interview that you might prefer not to answer, that is completely within your right to do so. Furthermore, the interview can be stopped at any time. You also have the right to ask for a withdrawal of your information, and to quit the research in general. This will be done without any repercussions for the participant.

If questions arise, either before, during or after the interview, you can always direct them to the researcher via telephone and WhatsApp (+3144938034) or email (sara.argy@outlook.com) addressed to 'Sara Argyriadis'.

With this form, I gave consent to:

- Questions do not need to be answered if the participant decides so.
- The withdrawal of information can be done at any time, also after completing the interview.
- Recording of the interview.

- The recording may be analysed by the researcher and their team.
- Academic usage of the information shared during the interview.
- Anonymized referencing to the participants' data in the thesis.

Date:

Name:

Telephone number:

Signature:

Appendix 6: Dutch Toestemmingsformulier Deelname aan Onderzoek Bachelor Scriptie

Over het onderzoek: Tijdens dit onderzoek wil ik door middel van interviews een beter begrip krijgen van de Griekse diaspora in Nederland. Voor het project ga ik onderzoek doen naar (semipermanente) Griekse immigranten in Nederland. Het wordt een etnografisch/kwalitatief onderzoek, dat betekent dat ik aan de hand van gesprekken, observaties en een literatuur onderzoek, de scriptie ga schrijven. Mijn doel is om tijdens de interviews te leren van meningen en ervaringen omtrent: (circulaire) migratie, ervaringen in de Nederlandse en Griekse samenlevingen, cultuur behoud en cultuur verandering, en ervaringen met representatie. Onderwerpen die daarmee omhoog zouden kunnen komen, zijn bijvoorbeeld een (eventuele) aanpassing en gebruik van taal, de positie van de school en orthodoxe kerk, transnationalisme, discriminatie en vooroordelen. Verder hoop ik deelnemers van verschillende 'generaties' van migratie te kunnen spreken om op die manier verschillen en overeenkomsten te kunnen ontdekken over een grotere tijdlijn na het plaats nemen van de migratie.

Tijdens en na het interview: Alle informatie die tijdens het interview verteld wordt, wordt geanonimiseerd en alleen met de onderzoeker en supervisor gedeeld. Dit betekent dat uw persoonlijke informatie anoniem en binnen het onderzoek zal blijven. Ook wordt de opname veilig opgeslagen. Op deze manier wordt de privacy van de deelnemer zo veel mogelijk gewaarborgd.

Als er tijdens het interview vragen gesteld worden die u liever niet beantwoord, hoeft u dat niet te doen. Ook mag u het interview op elk moment beëindigen. U heeft altijd het recht om uw gegevens terug te vragen en te verwijderen uit het onderzoek. Dit gebeurt zonder nadelige consequenties voor de deelnemer.

Als er vragen vanuit de deelnemer omhoog komen voor, tijdens of na het interview, kunnen deze altijd gesteld worden via telefoon en WhatsApp (+31644938034) of email (sara.argy@outlook.com) geadresseerd aan 'Sara Argyriadis'.

Met dit formulier geef ik toestemming voor:

- Vragen hoeven niet beantwoord te worden als de deelnemer dat niet wilt.
- Het terugtrekken van informatie mag altijd, ook na het voltooien van het interview.
- Een spraakopname van het interview.

- De opname wordt alleen door de onderzoeker en haar team onderzocht.
- Het academisch gebruik van de informatie gedeeld tijdens het interview.
- Geanonimiseerde verwijzing naar de deelnemers' gegevens in het verdere onderzoek.

Datum:

Naam:

Telefoonnummer: