

SENSE OF BELONGING AMONG
HIGHLY-SKILLED TURKISH IMMIGRANTS' IN IRELAND:
THE DUBLIN CASE



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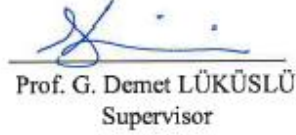
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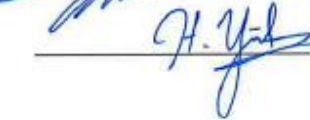
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PLAGIARISM

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

Funda Sheridan



ABSTRACT

This study examines the factors influencing the sense of ‘belonging’ and ‘identity’ among highly skilled Turkish professionals’ who migrated from Turkey to Ireland. Today, the process of globalization brings forth questions about our sense of belonging and identity, and also new sense of place and community. This research upholds the globalization process resulted in a rising individualization by reflecting upon self-determination of individuals. This study suggests that constructing belonging and identity among highly skilled Turkish nationals based on achievements, values and desires. Asserting that constructing belonging and identity among Turkish professionals’ encapsulates their thought, feeling, perception, sensation and memory, this research adopted a cognitive perspective along with (interpretative) constructivist grounded theory for the analysing of the gathered data. This research conducted in-depth interviews with 31 highly skilled Turkish professionals’ working in multinational corporations (MNCs) in Ireland. The results of this study showed that research participants’ created an imagined ‘comfort zone’ established on their personal values in the host country. This study revealed that participants’ developed an identity towards cosmopolitan values through involvement in cultural diversity in both the workplace and cosmopolitan society. In conclusion, research participants’ developed an ‘elective belonging’ in their host country based on achievements. This research may contribute to the migration studies by adding cognitive processes of an individual to reveal how migrants’ experience and interpret the world through cognition.

Key words: *belonging, identity, globalization, individualization, self-determination, diversity, cosmopolitan, personal values, comfort zone, elective belonging*

ÖZET

Bu araştırma Türkiye’den İrlanda’ya göç etmiş yüksek vasıflı Türkler’in aidiyet ve kimlik anlamını etkileyen faktörleri sorgulamaktadır. Küreselleşme süreciyle beraber aidiyet ve kimlik anlamının yanında mekan ve topluluk anlamları da sorgulanmaktadır. Bu araştırma küreselleşme sürecinin artan bir bireyselleşmeyle sonuçlandığını savunmaktadır. Bu araştırma yüksek vasıflı Türkler’in aidiyet and kimlik inşası kişisel kazanımlara dayalı olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Aidiyet ve kimlik inşasının akıl, duygu, algı ve hafıza gibi eylemleri kapsadığını işaret eden bu araştırma verilerin analizinde bilişsel and yorumcu bir yaklaşım benimsemiştir. Bu araştırma çok uluslu teknoloji sektörlerinde çalışan 31 yüksek vasıflı Türkler’le derinlemesine görüşmeler yaparak bunu yöntem olarak kabul etmiştir. Bu araştırma katılımcıların ev sahibi ülkede kişisel değerler üzerine inşa edilmiş kurgusal bir konfor alanı yaratıkları sonucuna varmıştır. Bu araştırma katılımcıların kozmopolit değerler üzerine bir kişisel kimlik geliştirmelerini kültürel çeşitlilik içinde var olmalarına dayamaktadır. Sonuç olarak bu araştırma katılımcıların seçici bir aidiyet geliştirmiş olduğunu ve bu aidiyetin kazanımlara dayandığı sonucuna varmıştır. Bu araştırma, bireylerin bilişsel süreçlerinin dahil edilmesiyle göç çalışmalarına katkısı olabilir böylece göçmenlerin dünyayı bilişsel süreçlerle nasıl deneyimlediklerini ve yorumladıklarını ortaya koyabilir.

Anahtar kelimeler: *aidiyet, kimlik, küreselleşme, bireyselleşme, kendi kaderini tayin etmek, çeşitlilik, kozmopolit, kişisel değerler, konfor alanı, seçici aidiyet.*

PREFACE

Migration is an issue that interest me personally and let me start by briefly explaining how I came to do my doctoral thesis in this topic. As a researcher of this case study, I have my own migration experience that goes back to the early 70's and mid 80's. I am a Turkish native and I was born in the early 70's in Karadeniz Ereğli, Turkey where my parents lived at that time. During those years, the German government offered a variety of job opportunities to Turkish people that would let them earn more money and allow them to have a better standard of living in Germany. However, the roots of Turkish migration to Germany goes back to 1961, when Turkey and Germany signed a "*bilateral labour recruitment agreement*". In the beginning, labour workers could not bring their families with them and thus Germany termed them as a "Gastarbeiter" (e.g. guest worker) community, and limited their period of residence to a maximum of two years. However, in 1963 the two-year limitation was removed and family reunification was allowed in Germany. My parents were one of those economic migrant Turkish families, who applied and were accepted by the German government. Shortly after my first birthday, my parents took this opportunity and moved to Germany for a better future. At that time, my father knew that the wages and the working conditions in Turkey would not be enough to provide a good future for our family. This is the beginning of my journey, which will unfold my migration experience during those years.

Up until the age of four, I never socialized with German children and I could not speak a single word of German. For the first time in my life at the age of four, I started to be in the same environment with German children of my age when my parents decided to send me to a 'Kindergarten'. Due to the language barrier, I had

many difficult times when I started to go to the 'Kindergarten'. I consider myself luckier than the most of the other Turkish migrant children as some Turkish families did not send their children to the 'Kindergarten' at all. By the time I reached primary school going age, I was fluent in German.

Unfortunately, this was not the same for many other Turkish migrant families' children who did not actively pursue their children to learn German language. When they started to go to the German schools, as it was the only option at that time, their children did not have any German language at all. Due to these issues, most of the Turkish migrants' children did not get required level of education. Some families did not even send their children to a "Sonderschule," which is a school for students with specific learning disabilities or some mental disabilities even though they did not have any of these disabilities.

There was this general way of behaviour among the German teachers that the Turkish students were not interested in learning at school and they were here for a short period only. As a result of this, most of the German teachers ignored Turkish migrant children in their classes. Many Turkish parents were very unhappy about this situation and they believed that their children were been discriminated against by their teachers. I have also witnessed various restrictions which Turkish migrant families imposed on their children. For example, Turkish students, especially the girls were not allowed to take a part in any school trips. However, when my family allowed me to go on school trips, the other Turkish in the area heavily criticized them.

During those times, up to my teenage years, in my own 'sense of belonging' I was always confused with my identity. For a long time, I actually did not know if I would

see myself as a German or Turkish. In Germany, we were Turkish migrants and were not part of their German culture. On the other hand, when we went to Turkey during the summer holidays, the Turkish people in Turkey did not see us as Turkish either. They used to call us “Almanci” which means Germans. In fact, Turkey was my homeland or at least my parents always told me that Turkey was my country of origin. I was confronted with my sense of belonging, not voluntarily but in an externally imposed way. This became an increasingly complex issue and I came to an understanding that I was not really a Turk or German or both. These kinds of identity confusions were common among the Turkish migrant youth. This was a difficult issue to overcome by the Turkish migrant youth, even the adults which were also influenced by similar complex issues in justifying to what society they really belong. At the later stage of my teenage years, I have accepted that I have multifaceted identity and emphasized this at every opportunity.

The consumer behaviour among the Turkish migrant families in Germany was very similar. They all shopped from the same shops in their local community, usually from the Turkish shops, in which they were able find the taste of Turkey and ‘Halal’ meat. Most of the houses had similar furniture and decorations. When my German friends visited me in my house, they would remark that our home looked very different from other Turkish families. This was a common way among the Turkish migrant families to have a typical Turkish style furnished houses in Germany. Back in those days, there were no satellite TV channels. With the invention of video, nearly all Turkish families in Germany bought these “VHS” or “Beta” videos to watch the popular Turkish movies in Germany from the comfort of their own home. I would remember that my father had paid a lot of money at that time to buy a VHS video

player. The local Turkish shops then started to rent out the popular Turkish movies of the time.

During those years there was not an option of today's internet or computer technology such as "Skype" or other social media tools, which people are nowadays just a touch of a button away regardless wherever they are in the world. I would remember that my mother and father writing endless letters to their beloved ones in Turkey and also waiting anxiously for letters from Turkey. Especially in 70's not every home in Turkey or Germany had a telephone, and telegraph was only available at the post offices, which was the main communication method used by the Turkish migrants. My mother found out about her mother's death by telegram delivered to our home. It was two days after my grandmother's death, that my mother could find a flight back home to Turkey. By the time she arrived in Turkey, my grandmother was already in her final resting place. Even today she still feels very upset about this experience, that she could not attend her own mother's funeral. Many Turkish migrant families during those years have had similar experiences in their lives.

Overall, in the late sixties and early seventies the migration was mainly economical. Even my parents' savings were purely related to invest it back in Turkey. Nearly all of the Turkish migrants' dream was to save enough money for returning back to Turkey and to invest accordingly back home. There were no investment plans for a future life in Germany as it was not part of their future dream. In their day to day life style in Germany the Turkish migrants avoided spending their money on unnecessary goods. Thus, their spending habits were only related to their short term essential needs.

The Turkish migrants in Germany only socialised among themselves and did not integrate with their German neighbours. Often they would get together at home visits, traditional Turkish weddings or alternatively with the Turkish Embassys' organised events. One of the most common topics that was talked about was their future plans and their intentions about returning to Turkey.

When I was searching for a Ph.D. dissertation topic, I was determined to choose a topic in relation to international migration. My past experience as well as the present (while I have been living in Ireland more than five years) guided me to start this journey. Thus, I started to work on an anthropological study on highly-skilled immigrants' from Turkey living and working in Ireland which is indeed a group of individuals' with a very different migration story than my parents' story in the past in Germany.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AISEC (International Association of Students in Economic and Commercial Sciences)	15
AIT (Athlone Institute of Technology)	101
DCU (Dublin City University)	81
EU (European Union)	3
GAA (Gaelic Athletic Association)	108
GNIB (Garda National Immigration Bureau)	149
HR (Human Resource)	83
ISO (Irish Central Statistics Office)	75
KPDS Kamu Personali Yabancı Dil Sınavı (Public Language Proficiency Examination for State Employees)	98
HQ (Headquarter)	221
LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender)	131
MNC (Multinational Corporation)	2
SEG (Socio Economic Group)	69
TUBITAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey)	1
UCL (University College of London)	87
IT (Information and Technology)	16

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1. INTRODUCTION

When I travelled to Ireland for my pilot research in 2013, I encountered highly skilled, and well-educated Turkish nationals' from various parts of Turkey. I have witnessed their stories, social networks, self-fulfilment, aspirations, and their efforts to create a 'comfort zone' in a host country. As a person with my own migration background in Germany, which goes back to 70s and 80s, I was struggling with the notion of 'belonging', 'identity' (e.g. national) and 'place', and figuring out the rules for coping, surviving, and understanding of being an immigrant in a host country environment. Accordingly, I wanted to investigate, analyse and report on sense of 'belonging' and 'identity' among highly skilled Turkish nationals' residing and working in a host country in a more systematic manner. My multi-cultural experience and my earlier involuntary migration process has had a profound impact on my life, and hence on this Ph.D. thesis in anthropology. Since then I have been interested in this field of migration, migrant's identity, and practice. As a Ph.D. student in anthropology, I decided to examine today's skilled migration and migrant's experiences comprehensively in order to understand the sense of 'belonging' and 'identity' in a world of movement. Globalization and also internationalization of labour market, knowledge, skills, profession and education has increased international human mobility in most parts of the world, and brought new dimensions to migrants' experiences, practice and identification as well as to 'belonging' and 'identity'.

In 2014 I applied for a grant to The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK) to finance my Ph.D. research in Ireland. In the second half of 2014, I have been awarded a grant for twelve-month by The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK) and a supervision of National University of Ireland, Maynooth. In the second half of 2014 I started as a Ph.D. student

at National University of Ireland, Maynooth (Department of anthropology) to complete my Ph.D. research and fieldwork in Ireland.

As a researcher in this study, I am associated with highly qualified migrant class (e.g. academic) category in Ireland. This also constitutes my reflexivity in this study such as a 'participant' and the 'researcher' in the field. This also spans the duality of the researchers' *emic*, or insider perspective and *etic*, or outsider perspective. In other words, the researcher records own emotions, feelings, and associated actions, in light of emic and etic perspectives which, in turn, enables the researcher to fully explore and challenge the interpretation of the research data (Hoare, Mills, & Francis, 2012, pp. 240-45).

In this study, I started to focus more on the literature concerning international migration particularly of the highly skilled migrant class from Turkey. From the published literature, it was evident that very little studies had been carried out on migration, settlement, motivation, and experiences of skilled Turkish migrant class in Ireland. In addition, little information was available on their networks, profiles, backgrounds, and identifications. However, skilled labour migration from Turkey represents a small number in Ireland. Thus, Turkish labour migration especially of skilled migrant class from Turkey is a new 'wave' of economic phenomenon for both 'receiving' and 'sending' country.

For this reason, I use the case of highly skilled Turkish professionals' working in multinational corporations (MNCs) in Ireland. In this study, I underlined Turkish professionals' narratives of experiences and in addition to narratives of self and the other foreign nationals'. I also indicate the nexus between people's movement, and the role of place regarding life choices in a culturally diverse workplaces and society. In

fact, these Turkish professionals' in their new host country acquire new experiences, identity and identification (e.g. professional, tech-worker, knowledge-worker, multinational, international, immigrant, dual citizen etc.). Moreover, conducting a research with high-skilled Turkish immigrant class the questions in this Ph.D. thesis focused on why they left their place of origin, how they organized their migration, and how they have settled abroad. Such information has provided me the data for analyses of such topics as causes of migration, choices of destination, and patterns of integration, adaptation and adjustment. However, investigating identity re-formation process in culturally diverse workplaces and society my research focused on how these skilled Turkish migrant class cope with adjustment in both the workplace and society, and how this might affect their identity (e.g. personal and social), behavior, attitude and lifestyle.

This study upholds two aspects in present condition of modernity. Firstly, that globalization processes resulted in a rising individualizationⁱ and in addition to individuality of human experiences.

Another aim in this study is to map out the nature of 'social networks' to assess the significance of such networks for an immigrant in a host country. Moreover, this study also focused on the European Union (EU) or Irish citizenship entitlement because this issue has a unique sense for non-EU citizens such as for this research group.

ⁱ see Hayri Kozanoğlu (Kozanoğlu H. , 1993), Rıfat N Bali (Bali, 2002), and Can Kozanoğlu (Kozanoğlu C. , 1997) for the life style of Turkish elite class in the process of modernization and individualization after 1980th in Turkey.

A further objective in this study was to reveal the (re)formation of “belonging” by exploring the symbolic nature of home, importance of family and familiarity, and feelings of being at home in a place, the role of place, society, and environment. Thus, the questions focus on what was keeping them in Ireland and/or were they planning to stay the rest of their lives and/or how they describe home, and where and what was it?

This Turkish skilled migrant class in this study displays a cosmopolitan character by identifying themselves as “citizens of the world”, and welcoming the diversity in a host country environment. Respondents’ who have come to Ireland as ‘world citizens’ (i.e. cosmopolitan) showed willingness to engage with the “other” (e.g. foreign nationals), and present an image of a cosmopolitan that has a “educational capital”, with a Bachelor’s degree in addition to Master’s and/or a Ph.D. degree. This study aims to give an insight to contemporary ‘cosmopolitanism’ and ‘cosmopolitan’ by exploring the critical roles of shaping cosmopolitan identity, practice, orientation, and disposition in a global world. In this regard, commonalities such as *perception of self and other(s), diversity, comfort zone, networks, professionalism, lifestyle, motivation, and expectations* are remarkable identifications among Turkish professionals. Moreover, these Turkish nationals’ disposed mobility (e.g. overseas experiences) plays a crucial role towards self-development and change in the host country. In other words, their new social environment with other foreign nationals and cultures in the host country facilitates to make sense of self, the other and world.

Since this study concerns highly skilled class, therefore I shall define the definition of highly skilled. The definition of highly skilled is particularly based on education, occupation, and earnings. For instance, a highly skilled individual from an educational perspective is one with a university degree but may also involve a

vocational, technical or professional qualification of shorter duration than a Bachelor's degree (Chaloff, Jonathan; Laimetre, Georges, 2009, p. 11).

Skilled migrant class from Turkey are welcome to work and live in Ireland and participate in the development of the Irish economy. In addition, Ireland's vision of migration largely focuses on attracting the high-skilled, who are considered strategically necessary to the development of the Irish economy. Thus, attracting and maintaining high-skilled non-EU immigrants' is an important part of Ireland's economic migration policy also.

Migration is notable in an anthropological study. Anthropologists' are interested in the experience of being an immigrant and the meaning to the migrants themselves by exploring the social and cultural changes that result from leaving one context and entering another. As Brettell advocated, (as emphasized in the original, 2003)

“An Anthropological approach to migration should emphasize both structure and agency, it should look at macro-social contextual issues, micro-level strategies and decision-making, and the meso-level relational structure within which individuals operate. It needs to articulate both people and process” (Brettell, 2003, p. 7).

Vertovec stated that today's anthropologists' are confronted with multi-ethnic environment in their contemporary migration studies. In addition, the growth of 'transnationalism' since 1990s gave new directions to anthropology in migration studies. Accordingly, 'transnationalism' became a determinant role of understanding contemporary migrant practices across the multi-disciplinary field of migration studies. Vertovec suggested that 'transnationalism' and 'cosmopolitanism' are both devices that

anthropologists use to get beyond “bounded” and “fixed” understandings of social groups and cultures (Vertovec, 2010, pp. 4,6-8).

Industrialized countries today have re-oriented their economies towards “knowledge-based” industries. Thus, the immigration policies of many industrialized and developed countries present an increased emphasis on recruiting ‘high-skilled’ and well-educated new comers (Amit V. , 2011, p. 3). Consequently, the need for a skilled labour force as “global talents”, and progress in international treaties grant freedom for international movement to meet the needs of a global economy driven by high-tech technology, goods and services. Skeldon argued that in an age of mobility the demand of high-skilled workers’ to service a globalizing economy, particularly in information technology was increasing in the developed economies (Skeldon, 2010, p. 21).

Developed countries recognized that “knowledge” was a highly valued asset that increased internalization of higher education (Philips and Stahl, 2000, cited in Iradele, 2001, p. 9). This has also given the chance for many well-educated people, as well as for the respondents’ in this study to bring their “cultural capital” (e.g. knowledge and skills) into the global labour markets.

Turkish people who have graduated from universities in Turkey are welcome to work in tech companies in Ireland. In fact, international human mobility offers many choices and opportunities, and these skilled Turkish nationals’ go on to benefit from a positive overseas career experiences. Internalization of knowledge, skills and profession made it possible for the respondents’ to make decision to migrate. Through participants’ narratives it was clear how significant role played migration in their life.

Globalization of trade, finance and production, and also developments in transport and communication has changed the conditions of 'labour migration'. According to anthropologist Vered Amit, the current paradigm of movement is becoming difficult to describe the 'distinction' between holiday, business, or labour movement. For Amit, all long-distance movements are 'disjunctions', leaving the familiar and the local, and embracing new situations (Amit V. , pp. 34-5).

Ireland has historically been a country of emigration rather than immigration. However, since the 1990's Ireland has transformed from being a country of emigrants to a country of immigrants. A significant number of new immigrants have made their homes, some temporarily, in towns and cities throughout Ireland (Share & Tovey, 2003, p. 168). Unlike most other European countries Ireland's immigration story line is recent particularly Turkish migration is a new phenomenon for both sending and receiving country (Akçapar and Yurdakul 2009). Immigration of Turkish professionals' to Ireland goes back to the late "Celtic Tiger" period in Ireland. For example, GAMA, a Turkish construction company, employed a significant number of skilled Turkish natives from Turkey during those times in Ireland. Ireland experienced continued economic growth and involvement in the "knowledge-based economies". Since the 1990s Ireland has become an attractive for both target foreign direct investment and multinational corporations' (MNCs), and for people from various parts of the world (Doyle, Nicole; Hughes, Gerry; Wadensjo, Eskil, 2006, pp. 191-95). The majority of US Tech corporations' are located in Ireland and best known for information and technology. MNCs have chosen Ireland as their strategic European base due to its pro-business environment and attractive taxation rates. Ireland's skilled migration programme favours immigrants with particular characteristics in terms of age,

university-educated, and English-speaking (Barry F., 2007, pp. 262-88). Ireland is a major destination by aspiring high-skilled professionals' worldwide.

However, the changing nature of business investment in Ireland has significantly transformed the economic and societal landscape of Ireland. Ireland was predominantly agrarian and a crafts-based society. In contrast to the past, currently, the Irish economy is primarily driven by "high-tech" businesses in services and manufacturing. Therefore, Ireland's notable economic growth is characterised by rising high-tech exports and knowledge-based employment (White M., 2004, pp. 243-60). Ireland has been extremely effective in attracting affiliates of global technology operations to set up and run operations in Europe (Barry F. , 2004, pp. 8-37).

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, there has been an increase in immigration in Ireland. Ireland experienced significant labour shortage in the early and mid-2000s. Consequently, in the year 2000 the recruitment of high-skilled non-EU nationals in the areas of information and computing technologies, construction professionals, and medical, health and social care professionals etc. was astonishing. Hundreds of thousands of migrants came to Ireland through Ireland's "skilled migration programme". Moreover, migrant workers' who have been legally resident in Ireland for a continuous period of five years can apply for a five-year residency extension or for an Irish citizenship (Quinn E. , 2010).

In chapter five I focus on cosmopolitan peculiarities and analyse how Turkish professionals' construct a sense of comfort zone with other foreign nationals' in a host country environment that constitutes an imagined community, and argue that constructing belonging and identity among Turkish professionals' depends on personal

values and desires. Constructing a comfort zone among Turkish professionals' in the host country, I suggest, needs three kind of knowledge, regarding self, other and (social) world and has three dimensions: body, environment and consciousness engagement.

In chapter six I explore how Turkish professionals' as a class in Ireland building and maintaining their boundaries and creating their circle of friends, and argue that their life is structured by particular class boundaries that they actively construct, maintain and negotiate. However, I also argue that they can mobilize themselves and move on from their given circumscribed class boundaries and imagine a community that already constitute a community. Besides, I concentrate on multinational corporations (MNCs), and examine how diversity and professionalism in the workplace influence Turkish professionals' collective identity, attitudes, thought, behaviour and perspectives. I also explore how they cope with differences and adjust themselves in their new workplace.

In chapter seven I summarize overall thesis throughout the concept of identity and take a closer look at the impact of the MNC and cosmopolitan society on identity. I also concentrate on how Turkish professionals' practise, perceive and construct their identity, and argue that Turkish professionals' construct their identity on personal values and desires throughout their achievements and collection of experiences.

2. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM AND OBJECTIVES

2.1. The Research Problem

This Ph.D. thesis examines the factors influencing the sense of 'belonging' and "identity" of a particular group of individuals' such as of highly skilled Turkish nationals whose residency was primarily in Turkey before they migrated. These chosen qualified Turkish nationals obtained their 'educational capital' or in Bourdieusian sense (1983) 'cultural capital' (e.g. knowledge and skills) in their country of origin, and in addition, Master's and PhD. degrees obtained abroad. The participants in this research are qualified employees' in MNCs in Ireland where cultural diversity predominates.

Bourdieu's theory of 'cultural capital' is subjected to a particular class of people and refers to mental schemes and action orientation, (foreign) language, and competencies. Accordingly, it requires extended socialization and education processes. Besides, Bourdieu has termed the recognition of "cultural capital" (e.g. educational title) during migration as an "*institutionalized state*" of cultural capital as academic qualification(s), a certificate of cultural competence. In Bourdieu's concept of "*objectified state*" of cultural capital this research group is a product of a particular class where objective regularities exist that generate them through objectification regarding behaviour, feeling, action etc. Besides, Bourdieu's concept of "habitus" is an "*embodied state*" of cultural capital and explains how material conditions (e.g. forms of capital) of social class are embodied in the "body" as a class habitus (1983, p, 241-8).

Umut Erel, in his article "*Migrating Cultural Capital: Bourdieu in Migration Studies*" (2010), suggested that Bourdieu's concept of 'cultural capital' is relevant in

migration studies to understand skilled migration and social construction. Erel also stated that Bourdieu's 'social capital' explains the various ways in which individuals are positioned in fields (Erel , 2010, pp. 643,646).

Caroline Oliver noticed that 'aspirational movement' (i.e. overseas experiences) offers the possibility of constructing new identities (Oliver, 2011, pp. 126-44). Amit, in her edited book "*Going first class?*" (2011), described 'aspirational movement' as a privileged travel that offers the prospect of change and self-development. 'Aspirational movement' gives also the possibility to construct and maintain a structural bubble of people in similar circumstances at new destination (Amit V. , 2011, p. 7). Both phrases 'aspirational' movement and 'privileged' travel encapsulate the mobility form of the research group due to their aspirational goals, regarding overseas experiences in the host country.

2.1.1. Aims and Objectives

Anthropologist N. Rapport's (2014) statement; "human beings everywhere have the capacity to make sense of the world, and form world-views, in their own individual way", has influenced the research problem.

The purpose of this study is to reveal Turkish professionals acquired experiences in both the workplace and society in the host country in order to understand the factors influencing the sense of 'belonging' and identity. It is important in this qualitative research to establish how these individuals' make sense of their new life and social reality with others in the host country. This may involve a process of on-going interaction with other foreign nationals in both the culturally diverse workplace and society. It is important for this research to establish how the self and identity are

influence by this diversity and how they make sense of this diversity and also how it affects their perception, behaviour and attitude to conceptualize a new social world with others. As Merriam Sharan had pointed out, “qualitative researchers are interested in understanding the meanings people have constructed, that is, how they make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world” (Sharan, 1998, p. 6). Additionally, it is an evident that a cognitive theory answers the perception, motivation and action of individuals, and also self and other relationship. This study presumes that participants’ construction of self, the other and social world are made up through embodied knowledge (e.g. body), environment and consciousness.

Rapport is influenced by existentialism¹ approach in his recent writings on “cosmopolitan anthropology”. Rapport maintains existentialist philosopher Kierkegaard’s² (1941, 1958, 1959) argument that any scientific method is not suitable to achieve an understanding of human experiences which is an absolute distinction of knowledge and belief. Rapport noticed the importance of the ‘individuality’ of human experience and maintained Kierkegaard’s dualistic argument that physical facts in terms of objective, external world can be differentiated from facts such as “how things appear from a particular point of view”. More importantly, the latter facts were concerned with subjective consciousness, experiences, desires, sensations, feelings, emotions, and thoughts (Rapport, 2002, pp. 165-6).

¹ Existentialism is a philosophical theory. Existentialism emphasis is on individual experiences, freedom and choice. It is based on the opinion that individuals define their own meaning in life.

² Søren Aabye Kierkegaard (1813- 1855) is an existentialist philosopher, considered as to be the first existentialist philosopher.

It is an evident that contemporary writers in “cosmopolitan anthropology” and as well many other writers in social science adopted imagination act and sense making capacity of individuals’ concerning their life experiences. Sense making and imagination of humans are reflected in several conceptual fields such as in *ideas, knowledge, meaning, opinion, perception, practice and interpretation*. Several writers in anthropology as well many other writers in social science adopted ‘existentialism’ approach in their inquiry as a result of the duality of objective and subjective processes in the present era.

Currently, we are witnessing a new era in which our world, as well as our experiences and life are touched with physical as well as with virtual ‘things’ such as flow of foreign people and cultures, ideas, goods, ideologies etc. throughout the process of ‘globalization’. According to the theorists Beck, Hannerz and Robertson, the process of globalization and as well the growth of transnational flow expanded the horizon of everyday practices beyond national borders that also facilitated the emergence of new ‘cosmopolitanism’ (Beck, 2002, pp,17-44; Robertson; 1995, pp. 28-29; Hannerz,1996, p, 66).

This challenge of globalization lead to reveal participants’ acquired ‘global consciousness’ in order to understand the impulse of ‘migration’ and ‘migrant’s destination’ more in in-depth. Thus, it is important in this study to evaluate participants’ cognitive processes in terms of individual consciousness or self-consciousness in order to understand how their consciousness shape their engagement with the new socio-cultural milieu and conceptualize the foreign others, cultures and social world.

Human condition in present era has attracted increased attention from scholars in social science and as well in other disciplines. This has resulted in many academics to

question their inquiry, regarding *individuality, identity, culture, social group, community or society, self and other* etc. within new perspectives.

This qualitative study in the discipline of anthropology is based on an “interdisciplinary” research design.

2.3.Skilled Migration Scenarios from Turkey

A significant number of respondents’ in this study obtained their Bachelor’s degree in their country of origin. However, some earned their post-graduate degrees in Europe especially in Germany, United Kingdom, and Ireland which then gave them the opportunity to find employment and settle down abroad. This situation indicates a phenomenon of ‘student non-return’. In this case, these respondents’ view an investment in international education as “their ticket for migration” (Philips &Stahl, 2000, cited in Iredale, 2001, p, 10). The research group in this study followed various forms of migration paths. Several attended language schools in both Ireland and/or in the UK to learn or improve their English language skills. Whilst others took part in *European Union Student exchange programme*“(i.e. Erasmus programme) or in *“International Association for Students in Economic and Commercial Science”* (i.e. AISEC) programme or completed either a Master’s and/or a Ph.D. degree in Europe.

Internationalization of education and knowledge have given these respondents’ the opportunity for ‘international mobility’ to study abroad and also to find an employment in the host country. In addition, the demand for ‘global talent in “knowledge-based economies” (e.g. high-tech industries’) in developed countries has also given these respondents’ the opportunity for international mobility both directly, where a person applies for a position abroad and indirectly where a partner, spouse or family member

decided to join them and obtained a position later. European Headquarters of MNC based in Ireland started a new wave by requiring young 'global talents' from diverse countries and allow them to bring their knowledge and skills into their company where cultural diversity predominates.

From an economic point of view those who earned their highest degree in the country of origin may be regarded as been a 'brain drain' in a traditional sense. It was observed that this research groups' educational qualifications (i.e. educational titles) obtained in the country of origin was highly recognised and sought after in Ireland's skilled immigration policy which, in turn points out to "*institutionalized state*" of cultural capital in Bourdieusian sense (ibid. Bourdieu, 1983).

Previously, the phrase "brain drain" was used to explain the loss of valuable skilled workers from developing to more developed countries, but this term is also now used to describe the loss of skilled human resources from developed countries. However, it is observed in this research that seventy per cent (70%) of "knowledge-workers" in MNC in Ireland are foreign employees from developed countries such as from Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Denmark, Belgium, France, Spain etc. However, only thirty per cent (30%) of them were Irish nationals.

In addition, S. Gokbayrak, in her study "*Skilled Labour Migration and Positive Externality: The Case of Turkish Engineers Working Abroad*" (2009), studied skilled labour migration from Turkey who became residents abroad. This study based on surveys and questionnaires'', and was limited to engineers. Study's findings showed that seventy per cent (70%) of participants in this research were living in the United States. This was followed by Canada (14, 7%) and EU countries (14%). This study

confirmed that the target country in skilled labour migration from Turkey was still the United States (Gokbayrak , 2009, p. 140)

Sixteen out of thirty-one participants' (51%) in this study have been abroad as international students while some of them travelled to Europe with the Erasmus programme. The "Erasmus programme" at the universities, contribute to the exchange of students in many ways. For instance, one of the primary aims of this Erasmus programme is to promote "learning" and "understanding" of the host country. Moreover, the Erasmus experience also provides a time for learning, as well as a chance to socialize. The majority of participants' experienced a sense of cultural diversity prior to their migration to Ireland. However, taking part in these programmes also enhanced the desire and confidence to live and work abroad. Thus, international study abroad has given respondents' the capability and also a confidence to live and enhance their employment opportunities abroad.

Moreover, overseas experience (i.e. OE), change, adventure, career and better job opportunities was a "must" do among participants in this research. Job applications in Ireland related to the information and technology (IT) companies receive a quicker response than other employment sectors due to their scarcity. On the other hand, having the opportunity to work abroad in a well-known, large IT company make this job market very attractive. MNC in Ireland firstly try to source their workforce in Ireland and EU countries if they cannot find the required workforce within the EU countries or in Ireland their next step is to look into non-EU countries.

Additionally, "Turkish" is also an important key word in global market industries to find a work. Native Turkish speaker is the main driving force for MNC's sourcing

qualified workforce from Turkey. However, being an expertise in a specific area such as in computer/software technology, the Turkish language is not required.

Almost all participants', whom I have interviewed, applied for multiple jobs in multiple locations such as in the United States, New Zealand, Canada, United Kingdom, and Australia while applying for a job in Ireland. However, due to the quicker response from Ireland and having all the main high-tech companies based here, they grabbed these opportunity for a positive and constructive engagement.

Majority of the interviewees' applied online for jobs prior to their journey to Ireland. After sending a CV the company gets in contact with applicable candidate in order to organize a job interview process. However, some interviewees' received a job offer from companies without any application process. As the employers' are able to identify their right candidates via professional social media platforms like the 'LinkedIn'. During my research, I found out that companies particularly source the potential employees' mainly from the 'Middle Eastern Technical University', Bosphorus University and 'Bilkent University'. On some other occasions existing Turkish employees' that are already working in those companies in Ireland are able to make referrals to their employers' when vacant positions arise in the company.

Additionally, Ireland's geographical location, English speaking and the close proximity to Turkey are also important factors in choosing Ireland as new destination. Moreover, the growth of large high-tech companies in Ireland along with Ireland's immigration and labour market policies for non-EU citizens' also made Ireland an attractive proposition for them.

2.3.1. Push factors

It is accepted that increased globalization created also inequalities between and within societies. It is argued that the income inequalities between countries might push the migrants to make a rational choice to migrate (Castles, 2010, pp. 1572-86). From economic point of view “people migrate because their expected utility from living abroad is higher than the expected utility from living in the home country”. Thus, economists usually expect wages and unemployment have an impact on one’s decision. However, the decision to migrate to a particular country might affected by various factors (Geis , Wido; Uebelmesser, Silke; Werding , Martin;, 2013, pp. 825-40).

Gungor and Tansel, in their article "Brain Drain from Turkey: Return Intentions of Skilled Migrants”, noticed that the decision to migrate might be affected by factors such as economic and political instability in the sending country. However, in terms of pull factors they suggested that better career opportunities, lifestyle freedom and quality of life in the country of residence might be important in the migration decisions of educated people (Nil Demet Gungor, Aysit Tansel, 2010, pp. 1-43).

This study observed that respondents’ decision to migrate consists of various factors. Thus, the study may offers an insight to current push factors of skilled migration or brain drain from Turkey. It is observed that the main motivation point and driven force for migration composed of several push factors such as of employment-related goals, advancements in current field, education-migration related scenarios, and also economic and political instability in the home country.

When I was conducting my interviews with the participants, I have noticed that most of their answers to my interview questions were given in comparison to their life

in Turkey. The majority of respondents', especially computer engineers, were complaining about lack of global IT companies and research and development centres, regarding computer science and technologies in the home country. Turkish computer engineers were limited in their field. Twelve of the thirty one participants (39%) in this study were software and computer engineers. However, almost half of the respondents (42%) represented an education-migration relationship scenario. Besides, a significant number of the research group moved due to employment-related goals which made up a considerable category of 58% per cent. Moreover, over half (55%) of the research participants' claimed that they were unpaid for their overtime hours in their companies in Turkey.

Besides, respondents' who were living in the city Istanbul were complaining about busy traffic conditions to commute to and from work, and the negative effects on personal, social and family life, and also life quality. Only few male respondents' (16%) left Turkey before completing their military service in Turkey. However, only two of the thirty one respondents' left Turkey due to the economic crisis in 2002.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. The Process of Globalization

It is an evident that there is an extensive and diverse published literature dealing with globalization “reality” today. It is necessary in this study to discuss current theories or theoretical frameworks on globalization to determine its relation to identity, self and other relationship, community and society, and ‘cosmopolitanism’ and cosmopolitan.

Migration scholars’ associate flow of international migration and interconnected world with the global “capitalist” system, (Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1992, p. 33). However, for post-modernist theorists like Appadurai, Castles, and Hannerz, globalization cannot just be seen as an economic phenomenon, it includes flow of capital, goods, and services, and also flow of ideas, cultures, cultural products, and people. It is accepted that people’s practical experiences in the world are characterized and shaped by objects in motion, in which ideas and ideologies, people and goods, images and messages, technologies and techniques, and diversity of cultural products play a crucial role (Appadurai, 2001, p. 5, Castles, 2002, p. 1146, Hannerz, 1996, p. 66).

For anthropologist Arjun Appadurai, through these objects in motion people’s biographies and also social lives are constructions through the act of ‘imagination’ (Appadurai, 1996, p. 54). Similarly, anthropologist Ulf Hannerz suggested that individuals’ perspectives are made-up through these objects in motion. Hannerz described this new social phenomenon as a new form of ‘social fact’ and ‘global order’ (ibid. 1992, p. 66). However, in terms of speed, globalization has compressed ‘time’ and ‘space’ relationship (Morley & Robins, 1995, p. 38, Bauman, 1998, pp. 2-3, Kearney, 1995, p. 551, Giddens, 1991, p. 4). Giddens stated that the empty dimension

of 'time' and 'space' has established a single world (Giddens, 1991, p. 27). Giddens denoted to "linear development" with his phrase single world (Giddens, 1996, p. 19).

However, Appadurai summarized five dimensions of global cultural flow such as "ethnoscapes", "mediascapes", "technoscapes", "finanscapes", and "ideoscapes". These set of landscapes were perspectival construct of a person transformed by the historical, linguistic and political situatedness of different human actors. Thus, Appadurai re-termed Benedict Andersons' (1983) concept of "imagined communities" into "imagined worlds" and claimed that people in the world live in an "imagined world". With the phrase 'ethnoscape' he referred to the landscape of a person who construct his shifting world as a tourist, immigrant, refugee, exile, guest worker etc. However, the term "ethno" only, represented the changing social, territorial, and cultural reproduction of group identity. For Appadurai, "if the groups migrate they re-group in new locations, re-construct their histories, and re-configure their ethnic projects". The "ethno" in ethnography, as Appaurai had pointed out, takes on a slippery, non-localized quality (1990, pp. 296-7, *ibid.* 1996, pp. 32-36, 48).

Castells, Sklair, and Friedman also suggested that the key aspects of globalization and transnationalism were flow of ideas, objects, culture, and people, and also fluidity of working practices and lifestyles (Castells 2000, Sklair 2001, Friedman 1999, cited in Fechter, 2003 p, 33-34). Moreover, Morley and Robins, in their book "*Spaces of Identity*" (2002), noticed that the power of global and transnational media has influence on people's orientation and also on people's perception. Thus, people's perception of the world are transformed with newly acquired experiences of orientation and disorientation, as well as with new senses of "*placed*" and "*placeless*" identity (Morley, David; Robins, Kevin, 2002, p. 121). It is worth considering Gupta and Fergusons'

point of view, regarding postmodern conditions of 'freedom' and 'playfulness' of individuals. Both authors admitted that 'deterritorialization' has destabilized the fixity of ourselves and the "other". However, both also claim that deterritorialization has not created subjects of "free-floating monads" (Gupta, Akhil; Ferguson, James;, 1992, p. 19).

For Ulrich Beck, pluralisation of borders between national and international are basic indicators of "reflexive modernization". He claimed that borders are no longer predetermined, rather they can be chosen, and interpreted (Beck, 2002, pp. 17-19,23,27, 35-36). Similarly, sociologist John Urry regarded the twenty-first century as an era of 'fluidity' and 'openness' which makes it natural for people to think beyond their national and cultural borders (Urry , 2007). For anthropologist Vered Amit, modernity involves 'flexibility', 'movement', and 'disjunction' that brings into existence career success, adventure and sophistication (ibid. 2002, p. 40).

Sociologist A. Giddens, in his book *"Modernity and self-identity: Self and Society in Late Modern Age"* (1991), discussed the *"Dilemmas of self"* in terms of 'unification' and 'fragmentation' in late modernity. He admitted that the post-traditional order has created openness in the world, regarding long distant events, or large scale happenings in late modernity becomes familiar to us, has influence, and are also integrated in our personal experiences. However, Giddens calls contemporary period as "late modernity" or "reflexive modernization", rather than "postmodern". For Giddens, modernity just developed into late modernity as a post-traditional order. But Giddens was not disagree with the characterization of current social life which is called "post-modernity". However, Giddens do not see identities as totally fragmented like the post-modernist authors do. Giddens social theory is based particularly on reflexivity in terms of

“reflexive modernization”. For Giddens, society in late modernity becomes reflexive, in which micro and macro dynamics dominates (Giddens, 1991, pp, 104-6, 187-201).

Sociologist Roland Robertson discussed in his book “*Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*” (1992) the dualism of the “global” and the “local”. He claimed that questions of “*globality*” involves both the duality of objective and subjective processes. Thus, he stated that globalization signifies to both the compression of the world and the rise of the consciousness of the world as a whole. Robertson retermed the phrase globalization into “*glocalization*” (Robertson, 1992, p. 8).

Similarly, for anthropologist Jonathan Friedman, the world is an arena in which we all participate thus the essential character of globalization lies in the ‘conscious of the global. In other words, “individual consciousness of the global situations” (Friedman, 1995, p. 70). Similarly, Hannerz described the place in which people today live as a “*global ecumene*” and linked to developments in technology and communications. Thus, for Hannerz, the world has lost the unity of national cultures as a result of mass cultural interconnections across the world (Hannerz, 1992, pp. 218,247). Beck noticed that people living in world cities, and working for global companies’ and institutions stimulate a global self-consciousness. Beck observed that globalism became an everyday reality in the world cities (cited in Rapport, 2014 p, 64). Conversely, for Beck, the meaning of “mixing” (e.g. mixing of cultures) in contemporary world was not identical, as it was in the past. He claimed that the global economic crisis in the past caused (forced) mixing of cultures. However, in contemporary world “mixing” involves as well an awareness of interdependency in terms of global dangers, capital flows, and flows of cultural symbols, global risk, terror attacks, migration flows, ecological and economic crisis. For Beck, “it is this social reflexivity that makes contemporary

‘cosmopolitan’ outlook”, and in addition, the key concept and topic of the reflexive second modernity” (Beck, 2006, p. 21).

Bhikhu Parekh, in his book “*A New Politics of Identity*” (2008), discussed a cosmopolitan perspective while he defined the human identity. He suggested that global interdependence requires humans to act in the spirit of human solidarity and activate their human identity. Thus, “humans should respect members and their identities of different political, cultural, and other communities, and bring them into harmony with the universal human identity” (Parekh, 2008, pp. 26-7).

Vertovec and Cohen, in their introduction of their book “*Conceiving Cosmopolitanism*” (2002), discussed several writers’ understandings of recent cosmopolitanism. Both suggested that globally integrated social conditions re-called ‘cosmopolitanism’. For some writers, ‘cosmopolitanism’ refers to a vision of global democracy and world citizenship, while for other writers it was helpful device for shaping new transnational frameworks to understand the links between ‘social movements’, and others use ‘cosmopolitanism’ as a device in order to challenge traditional notion of belonging, identity and citizenship (Vertovec, Steven ; Cohen, Robin;, 2002, p. 1).

Beck, in his chapter “*The Cosmopolitan Manifesto*”, stated that contemporary society was undergoing radical change which was also a threat to Enlightenment-based modernity. The first modernity, however, based on nation-state societies where social relations, networks and communities were understood in a territorial sense. The first modernity, as Beck had pointed out, had been destabilised today by five interlinked processes, regarding *globalization, individualization, gender revolution,*

underemployment and *global risks*. Consequently, the second modernity, as Beck had observed, created theoretical and political challenges, and also challenges for societies (Beck, 2017, p. 217).

Beck, in his paper “*The Cosmopolitan Society and its Enemies*” (2002), discussed globalization in terms of ‘social science’ and ‘cultural theory’. He noticed that in the social science and cultural theory globalization is defined in relation to time and space compression, de-territorialisation and de-nationalization that encapsulate a spatial dimension. Beck’s concern was to understand globalization and cosmopolitan society within the dimension of time and memory (i.e. collective memory). He insisted that contemporary individuals are reflecting a “shared collective future”, but without a memory of the globally shared past. Therefore, he draws on “methodological nationalism” and “methodological cosmopolitanism” to define the cosmopolitan society in the present era. For example, while methodological nationalism’s future concept rested on nationally shared past or imagined past, methodological cosmopolitanism was instead about present implications of globally shared future or an imagined future (Beck, 2002, p, 7).

3.1.1. Globalization and emancipatory identity

The process of globalization is critically linked to the concept of identity, as well. Thus, it is worth to understand in contemporary world how identities are perceived, practiced, reconstruct, revised, redefined, reshaped, and also maintained. Christopher Tilley noticed that globalization, as well as more other factors such as increasing of cultural diverse urban societies, the influence of MNCs, the growth of flexibility, large scale movements, displacements of people, the internet and a collapsing sense of space

and time etc. lead people to ask identity questions and the desire to find oneself and as well for the self a place in a global world (Tilley, 2006, p, 8).

Cultural theorist Stuart Hall saw the late modernity to be responsible that identities became detached from specific time, space, place, history, and tradition (Hall, 1996, pp. 600,622). However, James Clifford, in his article "*Taking identity politics seriously*" (2000), argued that maintenance of identity was an inventive processes in terms of remembering, forgetting, gathering, and the exclusion of cultural elements (Clifford, 2000, p. 97). Hall distinguished "traditional" identity and "late modern" identity. Traditional identities, as Hall had pointed out, were unified, stable, and in similar forms. However, identities in post-modern are fragmented, multiple constructed, and constantly in a process of change and transformation. In other words, Hall suggested that "with ongoing interaction between 'self 'and 'society' it is a fantasy to speak about the fully unified, completed, and coherent identity" (ibid. 1996, pp. 596-598).

For sociologist Z. Baumann, identity formation or re-formation was a lifelong activity that never ended and that no moment of life was fulfilled. Therefore, Baumann insisted that "any belonging engages the whole self, each person at any moment of life being involved in multiple belonging" (Baumann Z. , 2011, pp. 431-434). Similarly, Tilley also suggested that identities are always responding to change, and constantly open to formulation and reformulation. Thus, identities are mobile, rather than fixed and static (ibid, 2006, p, 8).

Additionally, identity concept with place involves interactive processes of social labeling and identification. People classify themselves and the others as belonging to

countries, cities, towns, and villages (Inglis, 2009, p. 3), and also categorize themselves or are categorized by others through various categories such as gender, age, class, race, ethnic background etc. (Verkuyten, 2004, p. 43). Jenny White suggested that identity has a dialectical form “how people see themselves”, and “how others see them”. In other words, identity has both ‘external’ and ‘internal’ components (White J. B., 1997, p. 754).

For some post-modern scholars, “globalization” and “transnationalism” lead to re-think the notion of ‘culture’ in terms of global flows and modes of deterritorialization (Appadurai 1996; Hannerz 1996; Gupta and Ferguson 1997, cited in Vertovec 2007), where culture and also identity had increasingly taken on ‘hybrid’ form (Hannerz, 1992, cited in Tilley, 2006, p, 8) or ‘creolized’ form (Friedman, 1995, p. 78-79). Consequently, identity of migrants’ in transnational spaces are transformed through transnational flow such as ethnic art, dance, cuisine, music etc. (Kearney, 1995, p. 554) into ‘hyphenated’ identities (Heckmann, 2002, p. 313). Castles and Miller, in their book “*The Age of Migration*” (1998), noticed that globalization has weakened the sovereignty and cultural distinctiveness of the nation-state in terms of the former uniqueness of state citizenship, but opened the possibility of a complementary “world citizenship” (Castels & Miller, 1998, p. 10).

Some writers conceptualized the identity with people’s movement and also with the concept of home. For example, Rapport and Dawson suggested that modernity led people to become ‘migrants of identity’ in which home becomes movement. They both suggested that ‘home’ in a world of movement is individualized and privatized (Rapport, Nigel; Dawson , Andrew;, 1998, pp. 21,37). Similarly, anthropologist M. Douglas conceptualized ‘home’ in relation to movement, and suggested home became

a synonym for home through the routinization of space and time. Douglas defines home as a pattern of regular doings which gives structure to time. In home and environment relationship, home is where one's self-identity is best grounded. Thus, home is about moving, perceiving, ordering and constructing (cited in Rapport and Dawson, 1998, pp, 6-7, 21). Briefly, in an increased, globalized world the question of what it means to identify with and have a sense of 'belonging' to a specific place has greater importance today (Tilley , 2006, pp. 7-8).

In second modernity, as Beck had pointed out, cultural ties, loyalties, and identities have expanded beyond national borders, and also systems of control. For Beck, through the globalized lifestyles the imaginary world of cultural totalities is specious thus it represent a dramatic loss of reality. (2006, p. 7, 26). Beck, in his book "*Cosmopolitan Vision*" (2006), quoted Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim to discuss the concept of "identity" and feelings of "belonging" in contemporary social reality. As Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim suggested, (as emphasized in original, 2004)

"To the question "*Who am I? Where do I belong?*" there is no longer a single answer that remains the same throughout one's life. Instead, there are a variety of possible answers, just as there a variety of modes of belonging and layers of identity. *Which answer is chosen and which identity is prioritized in a given case depends on external circumstances and on the desires and inclinations of the agent in question.* Situational, in particular political, factors rather than stages in one's personal development play an important role here. Someone who grew up in Munich as the child of Greek immigrants may enjoy the warmth of the Greek summer and his extended Greek family during the holidays in Thessalonica, and may even feel longing for his Greek roots. However, when he returns to Munich

he again becomes an enthusiastic supporter of 1860 Munich...; at work he is neither a Greek nor a Bavarian but a computer specialist or part of the Siemens workforce; and should he ever happen to travel to Africa he certainly would not feel Greek or German but something else again: a white European” (cited in Beck, 2006, p. 26).

Beck and Beck-Gernsheim they both described today’s feeling of ‘belonging’ and concept of ‘identity’ as fluidity, fragmented and chosen. Both argued that ‘belonging’, as well as ‘identity’ in contemporary world were situational, and depended on external circumstances and desires of a person. Similarly, philosopher and cultural theorist Kwame Anthony Appiah, in his book “*Cosmopolitanism Ethics in a World of Strangers*” (2007), discussed the dualism between “beliefs” and “desires” under “*The Escape from Positivism*” with an ‘existentialist’ perspective. It is worth considering this dualism in relation to “belonging” and “identity” appearances in present modern era. Appiah stated that modern relativism, as a scientific worldview, makes a sharp distinction between *facts* and *values*. Appiah maintained that the distinction between both depended on “common sense” and insisted also that people’s action are driven by two contrast psychological states. One: *Beliefs*, based on the basis of evidence, and reflected how the world is. Two: *Desires*, based on facts about us, and reflected how we’d like it to be. Consequently, *desires* are separated into both satisfied and unsatisfied which is a ‘matter of taste’. Appiah claims “when we act, we use our beliefs about the world to figure out how we get what we desire (2007, p.17-9).

Cultural theorists characterize contemporary life in terms of movement and fluidity, and interconnection and border-crossing. Therefore, it is necessary to take into account the characteristics of contemporary life when we are discussing collective

identification or collective identity. Amit suggested that 'collective identity' in contemporary life has increasingly taken on a 'portable' form. In other words, collective identity can be moved to various locations and can take shape in different forms of activities. Thus, for Amit, "belonging" is intrinsically contextual (ibid. 2002, p. 61, 63-4).

For example, Baumann, in his book "*Liquid Modernity*" (2006), described the present modern era with two metaphors such as "fluidity" or "liquidity" both were neither fixed in space, nor bounded in time. We can notice that these two metaphors are opposite to the phrase "bonding". For example, bonding signifies the stability of solids. Thus, Baumann used another phrase "the melting of solids" to explain the characteristic of modernity as a time of fluid or liquid modernity. In liquid modernity, as Baumann suggested, the concept of society as a whole has shifted towards self-assertion of the individual. Baumann accepted this process as "emancipation" of individuals or in other words "individualizing". Briefly, individuals shape the society through their life choices. In the process of "individualizing" the identity has transformed from a "given" into a "task" form. This task of individuals gives freedom to experiment and also diverse life choices (Baumann Z. , 2006, pp. 16-53).

Baumann, in his paper "*Identity in a globalising world*" (2001), follows an 'existentialist' perspective when he talks about individual's creation of self or "self-creation" of an individual and thus he refers to existentialist philosopher Martin Heidegger's book the "*Dialectics of 'being'*" (1962) that has its grounds in *Hegelian* philosophy. For Baumann, post-modernity which he prefers to call "liquid modernity" represents an era of both flexible realities and freedom of choices. Thus, individuals are confronted to make choices such as placeless identity, a place to go and to choose a

community or a group to belong to. Baumanns' concept of identity suggests that people in late modernity are seeking for and struggling with recognition of their identities by others. Thus, modernity has replaced the determination of individuals' social position or social labelling in society in terms of inborn, ascribed, and inherited with obligatory "self-determination". This "self-determination", as Baumann had pointed out, gives the individual freedom of self-creation (Baumann Z. , 2001, pp. 121-129).

3.2. "Cosmopolitanism" and the new "Cosmopolitan"

First of all, it is notable to discuss the significance of anthropology in cosmopolitanism, and vice versa. Pnina Werbner, in her edited volume *"Anthropology and New Cosmopolitanism"* (2008), presented a collection of studies in which anthropologists discovered indigenous cosmopolitanism. In her chapter, *"The Cosmopolitan Encounter: Social Anthropology and the Kindness of Stranger"*, Werbner questioned whether Anthropology was a cosmopolitan discipline or not. Her first sentence began with these words: "anthropology is the cosmopolitan subject par excellence". She suggested that anthropology was a discipline in the study of the diversity of world cultures, and thus it is humanist and comparative. Initially, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) was responsible for introducing cosmopolitanism and anthropology into modern intellectual 'parlance' (Werbner P. , 2008, p. 47). However, Appiah noticed that anthropologists were not cosmopolitans due to their ignorance of universalist discourse and universal morality (Appiah, 2007, p. 14).

Werbner quoted Hannerz's definition of 'cosmopolitanism' to show us overlapping aspects with the discipline of anthropology. According to Hannerz cosmopolitanism is about, (as emphasized in the original, 2018)

“it is first of all an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other. It entails an intellectual and aesthetic openness towards divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrast rather uniformity. To become acquainted with more cultures is to turn into an *aficionado*, to view them as artworks. At the same, however, cosmopolitanism can be a matter of competence, and competence of both as generalised and more specialised kind. There is an aspect of state of readiness, a personal ability to make one’s way into other cultures, through listening, looking, intuiting, reflecting. And there is a cultural competence in the stricter sense of the term, a built-up skill in manoeuvring more or less expertly with particular system of meanings” (Hannerz, cited in Werbner, 2018, p, 48-9).

Hannerz’s cosmopolitans’ have a sense of mastery and openness to other foreign nationals and cultures. In other words, they have the required knowledge and ability in terms of ‘cultural capital’ to manage cultural diversity in their environment (Hannerz, 1996, p. 103).

Historically, a cosmopolitan was defined as an elected member of his or her society, who is familiar with art, ballet, world history, philosophy, classical music, theatre and human rights. In terms of culture, a cosmopolitan was an “aesthetic consumer”, living in an elegant lifestyle, a fashionable person with immaculate table manners, a connoisseur of fine wine etc. Briefly, a cosmopolitan was defined as a collector of world art (Werbner, 2018, p, 50).

Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu discussed a cosmopolitan perspective in his essay “*Distinction a Social Critique of Judgment of Taste*” (1996). Bourdieu approaches culture as a distinguishing feature between the socio-economic groups. For Bourdieu,

the culture is linked to nobility, in which different forms of “dispositions” were the product. Bourdieu defines culture, as a perception such as aesthetic perception, choices, or preferences in music, food, literature, and so on, and in addition, is associated to the position of an individual in social space. For Bourdieu, the social space is built on the system of disposition (*habitus*) characteristics of the different classes. Briefly, taste was a classifier, and it classified the classifier. Thus, the social subject, for Bourdieu, distinguished itself through the distinctions individuals’ make (Bourdieu , 1996, pp. 2-6).

Initially, the term ‘cosmopolitan’ is derived from two Greek words, *cosmos*, meaning is the whole world or globe or universe, and *polite*. As Kant pointed out, cosmopolitanism means being a citizen of two worlds such as of *cosmos* and *polis*. Generally, a ‘cosmopolitan’ was someone whose perspective was global and defined himself or herself as a “world citizen” (Rapport, 2014, p. 21). Kant’s cosmopolitanism referred to a philosophy that persisted to be “citizens of the world” which described a worldwide community of humanity committed to common values (cited in Vertovec and Cohen, 2012, p, 8). However, the idea of universal duties to all human beings was not a new concept as Martha Nussbaum indicated in her chapter “*Kant and Cosmopolitanism*”. Kant was not the first author elucidated cosmopolitan ideas (Nussbaum , 2017, pp. 27-29).

The cosmopolitan thought lies in ancient Greece and the statements of the “Cynic Diogenes of Sinope” (400-323 BC). It was Diogenes who first claimed that he was a ‘citizen of the world’ when responding to a question regarding his place of origin. Diogenes refused to be defined by his local origins and memberships and suggested that all human beings were members of the ‘cosmos’. However, the ‘Enlightenment’s’

link to contemporary cosmopolitanism delivered from the political philosophy of Immanuel Kant. Kant's cosmopolitanism was concerned with describing the moral, legal, and political conditions needed to create a condition of "cosmopolitan justice". Kant believed that the world had become increasingly interconnected and cosmopolitanism was a philosophy for the age of human interconnectedness that creates a politics for a 'small world' (Brown & Held, 2017, pp. 3-13).

Kant identified three types of "rights" such as republican, international and cosmopolitan right. Firstly, a republican "right" required domestic laws within a state and secondly, an international "right" required treaties between nations, and thirdly, a cosmopolitan "right" involved the relations of persons anywhere, which was regarded as "global citizens". Kant saw an ideal community as an 'organic whole' and his Kantian project relied on creating a worldwide community of humanity which has a commitment to common moral values (cited in Rapport, 2014, p. 23, 26-7.).

However, the idea that cosmopolitans' were necessarily members of an 'elite' group was first presented by James Clifford (Clifford, 1992, pp. 96-116) who argued that only certain classes of people were 'cosmopolitans'. Gesser and Olofsson both argued that the distinction between the "locals" and "cosmopolitans" depended on their "cultural capital", in which both capitals differed from each other. For example, cosmopolitans' mobility capital in their knowledge and level of education facilitate their mobility. However, locals' cultural capital instead has a bond to local culture with a strong sense of local identity and roots (Gustafson, 2006, p. 25).

Hannerz regards 'cosmopolitanism' as a specific kind of attitude or orientation. For Hannerz, cosmopolitanism is a perspective and a mode of managing meaning. Thus,

a cosmopolitan perspective must entail relationships to a plurality of cultures, an orientation and willingness to engage with the “other”. ‘Cosmopolitanism’, for Hannerz, entailed both a ‘reflexivity’ and an ‘expansionist’ orientation towards cultural knowledge (cited in Rapport, 2014, p, 31).

Hannerz also suggested that cultural diversity in many local settings and the power of the media made it possible to be a ‘cosmopolitan’ without ‘going away’ (Hannerz , 1992, p. 255). Consequently, because of increasingly interconnected world ‘cosmopolitanism’ became indeed an aspect of everyday life of people in a world of internet domination. This encouraged, for example, new horizons for people from different origins and also challenged people to extent their ‘selves’ and ‘identity’ beyond traditional or local structures (Hermans, Hubert J. M. ; Dimaggio, Giancarlo ;, 2007, p. 31).

Briefly, for Hannerz, ‘cosmopolitans’ represent mobility, a ‘willingness to engage with the ‘other’, and an openness to cultural diversity. These continuously travelling cosmopolitans are in search of new experiences in the world. Thus, real or true cosmopolitans are “global outsiders” who have ‘a sense of mastery’. In other words, they have the required ‘knowledge’ and ‘ability’ in terms of cultural capital to manage cultural diversity in their environment (Hannerz, 1996, p. 103). Generally, Hannerz always described the dualism between “locals” and “cosmopolitans”. However, at a later stage, Hannerz also acknowledged that people beyond the elite category may be identified as cosmopolitans as well to whom he called ‘bottom-up cosmopolitans’ (Hannerz, 2007, pp. 69-85).

Homi K. Bhabha, in his book *'The Location of Culture'* (2004), noticed that the phrase 'global cosmopolitanism' was widely impressive nowadays. Bhabha suggested that "global cosmopolitans" were a privilege founded due to its ideas of progress that were complicit with neo-liberal forms of governance, and free-market forces of competition. These "global cosmopolitans", as Bhabha had noticed, have faith in the virtually boundless powers of technological innovation and global communications. 'Global cosmopolitans', as Bhabha has observed, celebrate a world of 'plural cultures'. In other words, 'global cosmopolitans' were located in their environment with a commitment to diversity as long as their demography of diversity consisted of highly qualified, skilled individuals. Bhabha also suggested that these 'global cosmopolitans' occupied an 'imagined community' that consisted of "Silicon Valley" and other software campuses (Bhabha, 2004, pp. xiii-xv).

Furthermore, scholars like A. Appadurai and D. Hollinger claimed that contemporary cosmopolitan experiences do not necessarily appear from 'Western' models but rather, became detached from 'Western heritage', and also from 'Enlightenment' (cited in Rapport 2014 p, 37). According to S. Malcomson's (1998) observations, contemporary 'cosmopolitan' experiences, values and orientations characterized also other cultural traditions in their own right (cited in Rapport 2014 p, 37). Pnina Werbner, argued that the co-existence of different cosmopolitan practices with their own historicities and distinctive world views caused to an investigation of "marginal cosmopolitanism" in late modernity (Werbner P. , 2006, pp. 496-98). The phrase 'vernacular cosmopolitan', for example, moves in-between cultural traditions, and shows a hybrid form of life but without prior existence in their host country (Bhabha, 2004, p. xiii.). K. Appiahs' approach to 'cosmopolitanism' is rooted in nature.

Using the term 'cosmopolitan patriotism' he referred to 'rooted cosmopolitanism'. He asserted that the openness to the world resulted in cosmopolitans that had their roots derived from membership of a particular morally and emotional community such as a family or an ethnic group (Appiah, 1998, pp. 91-116).

Some other authors like Beck, Hannerz, Werbner, Friedman, and Robertson, discussed 'cosmopolitanism' in relation to contemporary social and political conditions. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) both stated that a 'cosmopolitan sociology' considers two fundamental processes in terms of 'globalization' and 'individualization'. The globalization debate assessed territorial bias, however, the individualization debate criticized the collective bias of social science (cited in Beck, 2002, p, 21).

For Robertson (1995), globalization caused to "dialogical analysis" of self and identity and resulted in global and local dualism. Robertson argued that the power of post-modernity developed a "global consciousness". Robertson termed this new social fact as "*glocalization*". "*Glocalization*" was particularly linked to locality or *Gemeinschaft* which was largely produced with global terms as a result of a capitalist system concerning consumer goods, business and lifestyle. Robertson suggested, "There cannot be cosmopolitans without locals". Cosmopolitanism, in his point of view, is rooted cosmopolitanism, and have roots and 'wings' at the same time. Briefly, Robertson rejected the opposition between a cosmopolitan and local (Robertson, 1995, pp. 28-29).

However, Friedman's 'cosmopolitans' are "in-between" and "betwixt" but without being liminal. Thus, "cosmopolitan identity" was a shifting identity that

participated in many worlds without becoming a part of them. Put in other words, Friedman believed that “cosmopolitans can only play roles, that is, participate only superficially in other peoples’ reality without having a reality of their own”. For Friedman, a cosmopolitan identity and position existed outside of the local but with “superiority”. He compared also cosmopolitans with anthropologists in the past, of being masters of “otherness”. Friedman suggested anthropologists should redefine the object they study by redefining it as a “*creolized*”. The term “*creolized*” refers to the meeting and mixing of meanings and mixed up otherness (Friedman, 1995, p. 78-79). Clifford Geertz also insisted that “the world has become mixed-up differences” (Geertz, 1980, p. 147).

Beck (2006) refers to ‘internal’ globalization when he is talking about his “*cosmopolitanization*” thesis. Beck regarded cosmopolitanism as a specific kind of current ‘social condition’. Thus, he suggested that “The human condition has itself become a cosmopolitan”. Beck also claimed that “It is a new era, the era of reflexive modernity, in which national borders and also differences are dissolved” (cited in Rapport, 2014, p, 30).

Beck’s ‘cosmopolitanization’ was associated with globalization from within national societies. He suggested that ‘cosmopolitanization’ within national boundaries transformed everyday “consciousness” and also “identity”. For Becks, today’s world’s global concerns became part of everyday experiences, and moral life-worlds of people. Thus, for Beck, “cosmopolitanization” was a methodological concept to overcome methodological nationalism. “Methodological nationalism”, as Beck insisted, was about a nationally shared past, or imagined past. However, “methodological cosmopolitanism” rather, reflected a “globally” or “collectively” shared future or

“imagined” future. Methodological cosmopolitanism” characterized a cosmopolitan society integrated into global processes what Beck calls “banal cosmopolitanism” (2001). He insisted that in second modernity, everyday life has become cosmopolitan in banal ways (e.g. banal cosmopolitanism) in which differentiations between “us” and “them” became confused. Thus, he suggested that the essential characteristic of cosmopolitan perspective today was the “dialog imagination”. “Dialog imagination”, a cosmopolitan perspective, helps the individual to challenge individual experiences and enables to compare, reflect, criticize, understand, and combine contradictory certainties. Beck believed that ‘dialog imagination’ was a result of a clash of cultures and rationalities in one’s life. Beck suggests that the national has to be discovered as an ‘internalized other’ or as a ‘global’ one (Beck, 2002, pp. 17-19,23,27, 35-36).

However, Beck was critical about cosmopolitanism view of being voluntary choice and elite categorization in present era. Therefore, he distinguished in his book “*Cosmopolitan Vision*” (2006) “cosmopolitanism” with “cosmopolitanization”. For Beck, the concept of ‘cosmopolitanization’ draws sharp attention on the contemporary cosmopolitan reality in which global market imperatives rules in people’s lives. Beck considered “cosmopolitanization” to be equal to *latent cosmopolitanism*, *unconscious cosmopolitanism*, and *passive cosmopolitanism* and responsible for shaping contemporary reality. Briefly, Beck insisted that a person’s life, body and also his existence became part of another world in terms of foreign cultures, religions, and histories as a result of this global interdependency (2006, p. 19).

Moreover, Beck distinguished ‘cosmopolitanization’ from ‘cosmopolitanism’ in Kantian sense due to its ideological construction. Beck believed that ‘cosmopolitanization’ was a result of contemporary interdependency not only between

states, but also between the actors. Thus, Beck called contemporary society as a “*world risk society*” and linked it to the global crises in the world (Beck , 2005, pp. 358-59). However, for Beck, only people’s awareness of common global risks could help to cultivate a universal belief in a globally shared collective future (cited in Brown Wallace Garrett, Held David, 2017, p, 3). Similarly, A. Giddens’ “politics of life choices” was linked to “politics of life style” that engaged people constantly with social issues that were globally significant. He suggested that “it is a politics of self-actualisation in a reflexive ordered environment, where reflexivity links ‘self’ and ‘body’ to the system of global scope” (Giddens , 2005, p. 349).

N. Rapport, in his book ‘*The Cosmopolitan Subject of Anthropology*’ (2014), termed the human actor as ‘*Anyone*’ (i.e. human-individual actor) whose inherent instinct was described separately from ascribed determination, structural emplacement or symbolic categorization. *Anyone*, as Rapport suggested, should have the right, the space or opportunity to fulfil a potential for “self-creation”, the capacity to create their own cultural home, and the opportunity to participate with others. Rapport was concerned about the nature of truth in human life regarding in ‘cosmopolitan anthropology’. However, Kierkegaard’s writings influenced his route into this argument. He noticed that “consciousness”, “body” and “environment” were interrelated and formed both an individual as a whole and the truths of *Anyone*’s interpretation and experiencing of the world. Therefore, ‘*Anyone*’ was capable of creating worlds through own interpretation. He also insisted that individual’s interpretation of and intention towards associated the individual with his or her environment. This engagement of ‘*Anyone*’ existed to discover and structure a distinctive, personal life-world (Rapport, 2014, pp 46, 55, 123, 125, 139).

Similarly, Hannerz observed that human beings make-sense through their own experiences, interpretation, and imagination. He suggested that sense-making of humans were reflected in several conceptual fields such as in *ideas, knowledge, meaning, opinion, information*, and so on. Hannerz noticed that studying culture was equal to studying *ideas, human experiences, feelings, and external forms*. However, Hannerz concern was about collective based structure of meaning regarding cultural complexity rather than personally construction. He observed that new external modes in terms of flow enabled individuals new modes of experiencing and modes of thinking (Hannerz, 1992, pp. 3-7).

In terms of liberalism, Rapport noticed that the concept of ‘liberalism’ came into cosmopolitanism as a modern political philosophy. Rapport summarized liberalism in this sentence, “in liberalism individuals have the right to be the author of their own identities, values and affiliations as far as they do not trespass upon the rights of others” (ibid. 2014, p, 41). For Rapport, cosmopolitanism’s challenge is about cultural radicalism. Therefore, cosmopolitanism locates “Anyone” outside of cultures that are seen as fundamental, homogenous categories of people, traditions and discourses (ibid. 2012, p, xv). Rapport argued that cultural fundamentalism was a reaction to cosmopolitanism (ibid. 2014, p, 61).

Werbner, for instance, distinguished the identity between a ‘cosmopolitan’ and a ‘transnational’, and uphold that “only cosmopolitans celebrate a hybrid, in-between identity in order to be a true cosmopolitan”. For Werbner, ‘transnationals’ have to take into account ‘essentialism’ and ‘ghettoization’ (cited in Rapport, 2014, p 39). Similarly, Tully (1995) noticed that ‘multiculturalism’ was contrary to ‘cosmopolitanism’. For instance, multiculturalism is based on the notion of ‘homogeneous’ collectivities in

which the individual is dependent on and reflective of his or her own culture which is also towards 'essentialism' and "ghettoization" (cited in Rapport, 2014, p, 44).

3.3. "Self" and "Other" in Anthropology

N. Rapport insisted that "making-sense of the world is an 'interpretative' project and begins not with a *tabula rasa*, but with all the specificity of sense-making apparatuses". For Rapport, "every version of 'other' is a construction of self" (Rapport, Nigel; Overing, Joanna, 2003, p. 27). Amit and Dyck underlined in their introduction "*On claiming individuality*" that 'individuality', for Rapport, was "the existential source and mainspring of all social life" (Vered & Dyck, 2006, p. 7).

Anthropologist Edwin Wilmsen's book "*Journeys with Flies*" (1999) brought to mind the central peculiarities and dilemmas of anthropology. Wilmsen criticised in his ethnographic work and experiences with natives in Southern Africa the traditional anthropological methodology of identities. Wilmsen insisted that anthropological methodology of identity was only essential by reducing the dimension of disjunction between 'self' and 'other'. Thus, Wilmsen claimed that 'observer' and 'observed' were both categorically equivalent agents (Wilmsen, 1999, pp. 7-9).

Rapport, in his review article "*Towards a post-cultural anthropology of personally embodied knowledge*" (2001), discussed the thoughts of Edwin Wilmsen in "*Journeys with Flies*" (1999), and adopted the following two statements. First of all, that "our understanding of other people lies not in themselves or in anything that they do but in our experience of them", and secondly "the universality between one's individual experience and others". For Rapport, individual's consciousness was informed and shaped by the continuing narrative of experiences. 'Self' and 'other' both shared

simultaneity (Rapport, 2001, pp. 95-100). In addition, “observer” and “observed” were both together in a new “intersubjective space”. This space, as Rapport suggested, was a space of universal human being lying beyond ‘language’ and ‘culture’ (2000, p. 20).

For anthropologist Anthony Cohen, ‘culture’ represents three interrelated aspects. Firstly, culture was created, and continually recreated by people through social interaction, and secondly culture was continuously in process, and lastly culture was manifested by allowing people to perceive meaning in or to attach meaning to social behaviour. Thus, ‘behaviour’ was only meaningful by means of interpretation, as Cohen indicated. In other words, “we make sense of what we observe” (Cohen A. P., 2010, pp. 12-17).

A. Cohen, in his book “*Self-Consciousness*” (1994), which was subtitled as “*an alternative anthropology of identity*”, argued that anthropologists’ concern with groups and categories mostly ignored the dimension of “self” and “self-consciousness”. Cultured individuals were regarded as an “embodiment” of the structural system. However, Cohen argued, “If culture exercise to determine power over its members or people than culture is a product of something else”. For Cohen, ‘culture’ was the product of social interaction in which individuals were active creators of the culture rather than passive receivers. However, Cohen’s concern has similarity with Hannerz (ibid. 1992, pp. 3-7) Cohen was interested “how the self is related to social groups, society, and shared identities in present context” (Cohen, 1994, p. 7, 118-19).

N. Rapport, in his review article” *Towards a post-cultural anthropology of personally embodied knowledge*” (2001), cited Gerald Edelman’s (1992) statement that “through activity in the world the brain do not structure only itself but also to structure,

to know and to form its environment in a personal way”. Rapport refers particularly to “existentialism” approach while he advocates “human identity is an ongoing interpretative project by identifying *self*, *other* and the *world*” (Rapport, 2001, pp. 95-100). Rapport claim is that “current life of individuals was itself the issue of past imaginative act of world-creation” and depended on continuing individual practice and suggested, “present imaginative acts of individuals will be moving to new possible futures; in the process of creating a new world” (ibid. 2003, p, 5-6).

N. Rapport, in his article “*Transcendent Individual towards a Literary and Liberal Anthropology*”, discussed self-creation of individual’ and cited Jean-Paul Satre’s statement that “each human being makes himself what he is, creates himself and his world”. In doing so, Rapport argued that “human beings are always able to remake sense, meaning, evaluation and act by attaining the continuous imagined meanings”. He quoted R. Kearney’s statement (1988) that “human beings experience cannot be reduced to objective determinants”. Rapport perceived “*imagination*” as the key resource in human consciousness and existence as an activity in which human beings were always engaged and stated that “through imagination individuals create and recreate the essence of his or her being, and makes himself”. Rapport quoted Jean-Paul Satre’s statement that “imagination frees human individuals from given reality, and allows to be other than what they are made” (ibid. 2003, p. 33).

Rapport, in his review article “*Towards a post-cultural anthropology of personally embodied knowledge*” (2001), argued that three kind of ‘knowledge’ concerning *self*, *world* and *other* should be identified, which were bound up together mutually, but embodied personally. The “body” itself possess the potential of self-knowledge. The body knows itself as a subject, an instrument of action and experience, as an object, and

a focus of others attention and will. Thus, the body represented a kind of surface on which “self” and “world” interact, and a surface below in which experience and interpretation of interaction took place. By referring to the “body” and “environment” relationship he argued that the body itself developed a set of physical and intellectual habits and world views which these caused to form and know the environment. However, in “body’s knowing of others” Rapport pointed to the objects and events engaged interaction, especially for the purpose of self-fulfilment (Rapport, 2001, pp. 95-100). In addition, G. Bateson (1972) considered ‘body’, ‘environment’ and ‘mind’ as part of a single living thing (cited in Rapport, 2012 p, 165).

French sociologist and anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu in his theories proposed three interrelated key words, “*practice*”, “*habitus*”, and “*embodiment*”. For Bourdieu, “knowledge” was embodied and thus it was implicit in what people do. In doing so, he advocated that “embodied knowledge” was made by habitus, where the person has grown up and lives, thus, for Bourdieu, the body was habituated with habits. In other words, “habitus is the product of the way people have been brought up and moulded by their society and culture”, as Bourdieu had pointed out (cited in Bloch, 2012, p, 149-50).

Anthropologist Martin Sökefeld emphasised on the contemporary conditions of plurality in his article “*Debating Self, Identity, and Culture in Anthropology*” (1999), and stated that studying identity required the consideration of “*differences*”. Sökefeld also criticized anthropology’s distinction between “Western-self” and “non-Western selves”. For Sökefeld, the “*self*” like the “*identity*” was not a passive entity, instead it was subjected particularly to differences. Therefore, the “*self*” like the “*identity*” was continuously in motion and change, to which on-going experiences of individuals’ were

subordinated. However, Sökefeld did not see the culture or structure as a constraint rather as a condition that facilitated self-images (Sökefeld, 1999, pp. 418,422-25, 443).

Hannerz hold a similar point of view when he stated that a cosmopolitan orientation was about ‘internalization’ of differences (cited in Rapport, 2014, p, 31). Rapport’s standpoint showed similarity as well when he suggested that all systems of “otherness” were structures of identity. Conversely, differences were associated with the establishment of self-identity (ibid. 2000, p. 20).

Anthropologist Melford E. Spiro’s article “*Is the Western conception of the self “Peculiar” within the Context of World Culture?*” (1993), criticized Western theorists, especially anthropologists and comparative social psychologists, for distinguishing a “Western cultural concept of the self” and “non-Western cultural concept of the self”. Western theorists regarded “non-Western self” as socio-centric, interdependent, context dependent, conflate cultural concepts such as holism. On the other hand, they described “Western self” as nomad, autonomous, ego-centric, context independent, independent of society, conflate cultural concepts such as autonomy (Spiro, 1993, p. 144).

However, Spiro perceived no differences in the self itself as well as conception of the self between Western and non-Western societies, or across societies. Since self varied across individuals within one and the same society, as it was in the evidence made by Western theorists (ibid. 1993, p, 144). In fact, nowadays, different societies are coming together and locked into a system of interdependency. Challenges of globalization occurs at both domestic and international level that also challenge traditional and personal identity (Parekh, 2008, p, 1).

Giddens, in his chapter “*Living in the World: Dilemmas of the self*”, stated that “modernity has not only fragmentation impact on the self it also unites” (Giddens, 1991, p, 189). For Giddens, “every individual in the social world reacts selectively to diverse sources of experiences and selectively incorporates them into their day-to-day conduct” (1991, p, 187). However, for Rapport, the distinctiveness of human action is its “*consciousness*”, its “*reflexivity*”, and its “*individuality*” (Rapport, 2002, p. 166).

3.3.1. The self in cognitive theory and anthropology

As many early-20th-century anthropologists in addition to Malinowski, Levi Strauss, and A. R. Radcliffe Brown were inspired by “cognitive theory” in their anthropological analysis. For example, R. Radcliffe Browns’ ‘*social structure*’ constituted a complex network of social relations. Thus, R. Radcliffe Browns’ conception of social structure was the idea of ‘social personality’. For R. Brown, human being in a society consisted of both as an “individual” and a “person”. Therefore, Brown suggested that “human beings as individuals are objects of study for physiologists and psychologists since they are a biological organism in a complex structure, within, which there occur physiological and psychological actions and reactions, processes and changes” (Brown A. R., 1952, pp. 188-199).

The role of self and that a person goes through a ‘cognitive process’ first appeared in the writings of sociologist G. H. Mead (1934). His theory suggested that the development of individuals ‘sense of self’ was rooted in their social world. Erikson (1950) and Rosenberg (1979) have also supported the role of social environment in the development of individuals’ identity (cited in Proshansky, Harold M. et. All., 1983, p. 58).

Moreover, for some theorists, the subjective sense of self is not only defined and expressed by a persons' relationship to others or their relationships to the various physical settings. "Self" also described the individual as a total system including *conscious* and *unconscious* perception of their past, their daily experiences and behaviors, and their future aspirations. In this sense, "self" was regarded as a complex 'psychological' structure (Proshansky , Fabian , & Kaminoff, 1983, p. 58).

Neuroscientist Joseph LeDoux, in his book "*The Synaptic self*" (2002), defined the "self" as an organism constitute physically, biologically, psychologically, socially and culturally. The multiple aspects of "self", as LeDoux indicated, was a result of multiple independent processes. He also claimed that thoughts and memories both worked in coordination and entered into the consciousness which LeDoux defined this process as a "working memory". Thoughts, as LeDoux had pointed out, had an influence on perception, motivation, and action, therefore, it has a particular effect on the "sense of self" (cited in Quinn, 2006, p, 363).

Cultural Anthropologist Naomi Quinn, in her article "*The Self*" (2006), advocated LeDoux's definition of self in which the self was the totality of what an organism that constitute physically, biologically, psychologically, socially and culturally. In this regard, Quinn suggested that the self as self-representation was shaped and constructed culturally (Quinn N. , 2006, p. 362).

Anthropologist Katherina Ewing, in her article, "*The Illusion of Wholeness: Culture, Self, and the Experience of Inconsistency*" (1990), also regarded the self as a physical organism, including all aspects of psychological functioning, and social

attributes. K. Ewing also advocated that the self was shaped culturally. In this regard, ‘continuous self’, for Ewing, was imaginary (cited in Quinn, 2006, p, 364).

LeDoux recognized the centrality of culture when he formulated the “neurobiology of the self”. For Bloch too, culture was not independent from the human organism (cited in Quinn, 2006, p, 370). For Quinn, any experience connected with personal beliefs, autobiographical knowledge, goals, and conception of self was a cultural experience. For Quinn, thoughts and memories were culturally shaped (Quinn, 2006, p, 370).

Culture, for example, was a mental phenomenon among ‘symbolic’ or ‘interpretative’ anthropologists. Anthropologists used a variety of analytical tools to study symbolic action within the particular culture. For example, symbolic anthropologists’ were more interested in examining *how people interpret their social reality*. For symbolic anthropologist Geertz, “symbols” were vehicles of transmitting meanings. Thus, Geertz was interested in “how symbols influenced people’s thinking of the world”. Symbolic analysis, for Geertz, lies particularly in ‘actor point of view’ (Ortner, 1984, pp. 129-31). For Geertz, culture (i.e. “web of significance”) was created and recreated by individuals through their social interaction. Thus, culture is continuously in process and is manifest, rather, it endows people to perceive meaning in, or attach meaning to social behaviour. Therefore, behaviour is found to be meaningful by an act of interpretation and in addition “we make sense what we observe” (cited in Cohen, 2010, p, 17).

British anthropologist Maurice Bloch, in his book “*How We Think They Think*” (1998), discussed the value of ‘cognitive science’ in both ‘social’ and ‘cultural’ anthropology. Bloch argued the significance of ‘cognitive psychology’ in

anthropological studies He stated that cognitive science aims to bring various disciplines such as philosophy, psychology, linguistic, and anthropology together in order to understand 'human cognition'. However, Bloch and as well Quinn both suggested that the concepts of 'mind' was not fixed or defined by the world independently of cultural context. (Bloch M. E., 1998, pp. 3-4).

LeDoux (2002) suggested that the functioning of "working memory", in which information in terms of short or long-term memory were gathered, enabled individuals to compare, judge, contrast, and foresee. Thus, LeDoux stated that human "narrative skills" were built on language that enabled construction of autobiographical memory or narrative self. However, this 'narrative self', as LeDoux had pointed it, was a coherent self-consciousness that extended with past and also with future stories (cited in Quinn, 2006, p, 366-68). For Bloch, 'narrative self' was closely associated with autobiographical memory in which stories about people were collected (Bloch, 2012, p, 128-9). Bloch advocated the necessity of human beings language-based capacity in order to understand peoples' actions, communicative activity (e.g. interpretation), and culture (Bloch M. E., 1998, pp. 3-4). Similarly, Rapport had pointed out, that the current life of individuals was itself the issue of past 'imaginative' act of world-creation dependent on continuing individual practice (ibid. 2003, p, 5-6).

Anthropologist Frederik Barth also advocated the 'cognitive theory' as a methodology in anthropological analysis of people's boundary construction or imagination that goes through people's perception and embodied experiences. Barth stated that people used 'cognitive' operations and also imagination while they conceptualized their actions, social groups and environment (Barth, 2000, p.25). Imagination was a human capacity to which psychologists called '*time travel*'. For

instance, people were engaged in “*time travel*” in their imagination. Thus, “*time travel*” enables people to remember experiences or past events, and to imagine future events (Bloch, 2012, p, 107-8, 128).

Quinn claimed that the idea of “integrated self” was outdated in recent post-modern writings of anthropology due to the contradictory ideals people can hold (cited in Bloch, 2012, p, 123). Spiro and Quinn both criticized the absolutist claim of anthropology that the “blob” (e.g. self) was a product of history and totally cultural variable (cited in Bloch, 2012, p, 123). For Bloch, the self was created only to a certain extent by social and historical processes (Bloch, 2012, p, 139).

Strauss and Quinn, in their book “*A Cognitive Theory of Cultural Meaning*”, advocated that the study of “culture” needs to focus on “internalization” regarding ‘meaning’ and ‘culture’ relationship. In doing so, they both criticised anthropologists to be resistant to studying “internalization”, and “cognitive science”. Both emphasised that “objects” or “events” evoke interpretation in a person while giving meaning at a given time. Both also suggested that meaning was produced through interaction of “intrapersonal” (e.g. mental structure) regarding schemas, understandings and assumption, and also through “extrapersonal” (e.g. world structure). Thus, a person’s interpretation of an object or event included an identification of, and expectation regarding it. On the other hand, they also claimed that the *given structure* produced similar meanings by individuals or in a group of individuals through interaction between “public world” and “mental structure”. For Strauss and Quinn, the meaning of “objects” or “events” were depended on one’s experiences in a given moment, however, its interpretation was a result of one’s past experiences. Thus, for Strauss and Quinn, similarity in one person’s interpretation was a result of similar life experiences. They

also suggested that different interpretations by people was due to the different life experiences (Strauss & Quinn, 2001, pp. 5-6).

3.3.2. Self and other in symbolic interaction theory

It is beneficial to understand the new social context or environment of participants through the lens of “symbolic interaction” theoretical framework. According to the sociologist Sheldon Stryker “theory development depends on the conceptual frames available and used” (Stryker, 2008, p. 17). “Symbolic interaction” theoretical framework will be touched and imported into this study to understand the interaction between human actor and social environment. Symbolic interaction is focused on the action and the world; “how individuals make sense of their world from their personal perspective or interpret with subjective viewpoint”.

According to traditional anthropology the “self” was pure socio-cultural construction in which individuals as members of social-cultural milieu were confronted with certain sets of collectively shared symbols. Following Rapport, in socio-cultural groupings individuals remained as individuals with different individual perceptions. Rapport distinguished between “how collectively shared symbols are publicly treated” and “how they are privately known”. Put in other words, Rapport distinguished “self-knowledge” from “social-knowledge” (Rapport, Nigel; Overing, Joanna, 2003, p. 27).

George Herbert Mead’s theoretical frame had an influential contribution to the study of “symbolic interactionist” theory. According to Mead’s theoretical frame human beings were progressive organisms (e.g. evolutionism) that respond to diverse stimuli (e.g. behaviour). Mead considered that developments in the ‘human mind’ enabled humans to act instead of simply react to stimuli in the social world (2005, pp.

87-88). Mead advocated that humans have the capacity to respond reflexively to themselves thus he suggested that reflexivity defined the “self”. For Mead, “mind” and “self” both arised from an on-going social interaction and of cooperation with ‘others’. Thus, individuals’ engagement in society relies on corporation, in which developments of common meanings were necessary. According to Mead, a ‘person’ and ‘society’ were created through a social process. In other words, each was created from the “other”. In this regard, society was created and recreated continuously. However, the self, for Mead, was primarily formed on the basis of ‘others’ response. Thus, the social processes shaped *society*, *self*, and *social interaction*, but each of them feeds back from the other. For Mead, the society or structure was a mediator for the emergence of *self*. (cited in Stryker, 2008, p. 17-9).

Anthony Cohen was critical with Mead’s ideas. He suggested that the existence of common understandings and personal meanings varied among individuals. Therefore, Cohen distinguished the “appearance” and the “reality” of an interpretation. According to Cohen, individuals were influenced by own experiences when they interpret symbols, their social world, and the behaviour of others (ibid. 1994, p. 17, 19). Stryker as well had a critical view on Mead’s conceptualization of “society” and “self” especially that the self was shaped and created only on the basis of others response (ibid 2008, p. 18). However, Stryker, in his work on role-taking “*Role-taking Accuracy and Adjustment*” (1957), applied a symbolic interactionist theoretical frame to understand the levels of commitment by family members to their family roles (Stryker, 1957, pp. 286-96).

Mead stressed the social embeddedness and interdependence of the self in society and claimed, (as emphasized in original, 1934);

“We cannot be ourselves unless we are also members [of community] in whom there is a community of attitudes which control the attitudes of all..... That which we have acquired as a self-conscious person makes us such members of society and gives us selves. Selves can only exist in definite relationships with other selves. No hard and fast line can be drawn between our own selves and the selves of others, because our own selves exits and enter as such into our experience only in so far as the selves of others exist and enter as such into our experience also. The individual possesses a self only in relation to the selves of the other members of his social group; and the structure of his self-expresses or reflects the general behavior pattern of this social group to which he belongs, just as does the structure of the self of every other individual belonging to this social group” (cited in Spiro, 1993, p. 138).

However, Cohen, in his book “*Self-Consciousness*” (1994), observed in Mead’s seminal work “*Mind, Self, and Society*” (1934) the difference between the ‘*me*’ which represents the unthinking being, a continuous product of experience, and the ‘*I*’, the consciousness of being or active agency of being which had the ability to symbolize the capability of behavior control by conceptualizing the self (Cohen, 1994, p. 9). According to Erik Ericson (1968), a psychoanalytic ego psychologist, the self was interdependent and relational. He divided the self into two analytical concepts, the “inner self”, and the “outer world of the ego (self)”. The self was considered as I, “is the persons center of awareness” but the “outer world of the ego (self) was made up of the egos of others (cited in Spiro, 1993, p. 138).

Sociologist Herbert Blumer in 1937 coined the phrase ‘symbolic interactionism’. Blumer used more subjective methodology in symbolic interactionism theory. Blumer, in his book “*The Methodological Position of Symbolic Interactionism*” (1937),

suggested that the 'social world' cannot be understood objectively through scientific deductive methods. Especially 'life experiences and personal insight of human agents were valuable for an understanding of 'social world'. Thus, 'behaviour' and 'action' of an individual were made through the interpretation of environment, objects in motion, situations, and also through actions of others. In this case, individuals' action were constructed by interpreting situations, therefore, individuals acted towards situations by personal interpretation. Consequently, individuals acted towards, situations, objects, events and others through the meanings they created for them. Blumer strongly rejected the notion that action of individuals were an expression of a social 'structure' or an 'organization (Blumer, 2005, pp. 91-97).

Giddens' theory of self and identity reflected the structure or society. Giddens, in his book "*The Constitution of Society*" (1984), discussed hermeneutics' and interpretative sociology in relation to structuralism and functionalism. Giddens noticed that interpretative sociology was founded upon an imperialism of subject, however, structuralism and functionalism aimed an imperialism of the social object. Giddens' criticisms regarding interpretative sociology was "how the concepts of action, meaning and subjectivity should be specified in relation to notions of structure and constrains". Giddens suggested that "structuration theory" based on an interplay of human action and social environment, explained the social practices of individuals ordered across space and time (Giddens, 1984, pp. 2-3).

Giddens, in his book "*Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*" (1991), approached the 'self-identity' in relation to contemporary social reality. He argued in this book that identities and as well individuals' practices were adopted and reflexive. Giddens insisted that late modernity confronted the individual

with a complex diversity of choices in which the 'self' was also changing. For Giddens, people's lifestyles were integrated into a set of 'adopted practices' that gave material form to a narrative "self-identity". In other words, lifestyles were seen as a set of routine practices such as habits of dress, eating, modes of acting even the small decisions a person makes every day like what to wear, what to eat, how to conduct himself at work, whom to meet contributes to such routines. For Giddens, all such choices of an individual were decisions not only about '*how to act*' but '*who to be*' (Giddens, 1991, pp. 80-81). Reflexivity, for Giddens, was not only associated with self-consciousness, as well as with continues monitoring of action in which individuals display and expect others to display (ibid. 1984, pp, 2-3). Giddens suggested that 'individual' and 'society' were in relation to mutual constitution. Individuals as members of society were linked to on-going process of mutual structuration and transformation. Giddens claimed that the self was obligated continuously to adjust itself to the structure or society which was a 'reflexive' sense of self (Giddens , 1984, pp. 1-2).

The term "social status" verifies a social class, which signifies a social prestige (ibid. Weber, 1964, p, 428). Thus, it is worth to consider Erving Goffman's social action theory in terms of impression management and socio-economic status. Sociologist Erving Goffman was influenced by Mead's sociology and social action theory. Goffman, in his book "*The presentation of self in everyday life*" (1959), discussed the importance of the first impression of individuals in a public area. He claimed that when individuals first encounter others they were interested of others socio-economic status, others conception of self, others attitudes towards them and competence of others. Thus, the social behaviour of individuals were shaped through individuals expectations of others. For Goffman, the production of everyday life was equivalent to a "theatrical

performance”. Individuals were interactive entities and conducted their performance in “front settings”. He divided these front settings into both physical location and personal fronts. For Goffman, individual’s social life was about impression management in a public area. The self, for Goffman, was a more reactive entity, which operated mechanically to optimise gain and minimise loss. Goffman’s “presentation of self” was identified through a structural context in terms of ‘winning’ or ‘losing’ in social life, rather than individual’s ‘creativity’ or ‘imagination’ (Goffman, 1956, pp. 1-10).

3.4. Sense of Community and Boundary

Traditional anthropology’s focus was on collectivities of social groupings by *place, people, identity, and culture* which was regarded as bounded and in unity form. During the 1960s and 70’s when anthropologists moved into more urban complex society settings, particularly into the social life of larger communities, the emphasis on ‘personal social networks’ were respected. However, developments in anthropological theory and methodology began to establish the link between individual’s ‘*choice*’, ‘*consciousness*’, and ‘*action*’. Thus, anthropology’s network analysis began to focus on individual strategic action on the cumulative construction of “webs of social relationships” (Amit, 2002 p, 15).

However, today, many anthropologists and also other disciplines in social science agreed on the “slipperiness of the notion of community” (Bauman, 1996, Cohen, 2002, cited in Amit, 2002, p. 13). Many scholars have attempted to theorize the concept of community. The emphasis on social boundary and identity, as well as relational and oppositional nature of collective identities were developed in the study of ethnicity with a reference to Frederic Barth’s seminal study of “ethnic boundaries”

(1969). However, a scholarly definition of community considered the key words, 'values', 'meaning', 'norms' or 'symbols' as elements that must be hold in common by members of a community (ibid. 2002, p. 45).

Cohen suggested that personal circumstances of individuals explained why people experienced their boundaries differently. Cohen also suggested that the extension of the self into the world through 'webs of relationships' was necessary for the experience of boundaries (ibid. 2010, p. 7, 166). According to Frederik Barth, boundary constructing was a 'cognitive act' and involved social activities. For Barth, boundaries aimed to connect. However, Barth suggested that people responded selectively and pragmatically to their boundaries which was in a form of spinning connection shaped by social and material processes. Thus, Barth claimed that boundaries were constructed through people's spin of their actions and also by the consequences of these actions (Barth, 2000, p. 30-1).

Frederik Barth and Ronald Cohen both stated that 'ethnicity' and boundary schema had a subjective definition thus it was situational and relational. Barth, in his seminal work "*Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*" (1969), stated that the ethnic identity was "malleable" and was expressed at the boundary in which ethnic groups encountered each other. Thus, it was modulated to and moderated by the other (Cohen R. , 1978, p. 383-9, Barth, 2001, p. 12-15). Anderson's "imagined community" was invented and a constructed community through the nation-state project (Anderson, 1983, p. 46), however, rooted in a 'homogenous empty time' of modernity and progress (H. Bhabha, 2004, p. 8). Cohen suggested that boundaries of community were largely 'symbolic' in nature to which members of a community attached their own meanings. He also

suggested that people's understandings of their community existed in their orientation to communities' symbols (ibid. 2010, pp. 12-17).

E. Durkheim also noticed contradiction between "society" and "individual". Durkheim stated that society fosters in a person's life the sense of permanent dependence which had its own specific nature and was completely different from individual's nature. In other words, the society requires individual to make themselves its servants, but without taking into account individual's interests. Durkheim maintained that the society was a separate phenomenon in terms of individual's consciousness, because for him every individual's 'social action' represented its own individuality (1995, pp. 209,224). 'Solidarity', as Durkheim had pointed out, depended on both individuals' *physical* and *psychic* constitution. In other words, the impact of collectivity was not moved completely to an individual from the outside (1964, pp. 66-67, 1995, p. 211).

Anthony Cohen, in his book "*The Self-consciousness*" (1994), discussed the "self" in relation to "society". Cohen stated that a sense of 'collective' self distinguished from 'individual' self. Cohen perceived a contradiction between "collective sense" and "individual sense". He claimed that the social groups in itself were collection of "complex selves" in which individuals themselves appeared with a multi-dimensional self (Cohen A. P., 1994, pp. 6-7, 11-12). Cohen emphasized the importance of the self. He stated;

"It would be incomplete if we ignore the dimensions of the self and self-consciousness. It would be wrong if we agree that individuals are derived from

the social structure to which they belong which is a top downwards approach” (as emphasized in original, 1994).

Vered Amit in her book with Nigel Rapport “*The Trouble with Community, Anthropological Reflection on Movement, Identity, and Collectivity*” (2002), discussed under “*Anthropology and Community*” how organized groups or social groups came together and constructed an imagined community in contemporary time. She suggested that people’s ‘personal social networks’ enabled them to create an organized community or a social group that constitute an “imagined community”. Amit reflected Anderson’s (1983) notion of ‘imagined of community’, and summarized as;

“If people imagine themselves to share distinctive collective identity or identifying themselves as members of distinctive collectivities, even when they do not know each other, then they can mobilize themselves as a community, and move on from there ... to imagine community is already to constitute a community” (as emphasized in original 2002, p, 22-4).

Amit suggested that “personal social networks” were tools to create and maintain an organized community or a social group which, in turn was the notion of imagined community. However, such networks, as Amit explained, operated in their own right, and were ego-based, resulted from individual’s efforts, experiences, and history. This type of imagined community’s belonging was mainly ego-centred. Amit gave also an example of social groups whose basis for mobilization were institutional or communal. She stated that the members of the social group were interconnected through their performance of roles such as being an employees of the same organization. The reproduction of this particular social group, however, depended on individual’s

willingness to operate in those roles. Amit also suggested that such 'personal social networks' can create own (cultural) imaginings, categorical identities, notion of home, belonging, and community (ibid. 2002, p.22-4).

Similarly, Yuval-Davis suggested that "imagination" can construct (national) imagined communities, but argued as well that people's social locations, experiences, and definitions of 'self' and their 'values' were necessary to construct an imagined community (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 204). Following Ulf Hannerz, 'imagination', and construction of individuals' perspectives were both a new form of a social fact and a global order (ibid. 1992, p 66).

James Fernandez, in his chapter "*Peripheral wisdom*", discussed boundary and identity categorization in relation to "centre" and "periphery". Fernandez distinguished two characteristic types of knowledge such as a "centre" and "periphery". For example, "centre" is a dogmatic and "periphery" is a perspectival way of seeing and knowing. Fernandez suggested that human knowledge is "periphery" derived, individuals' perspectives of the external world. For example, the narrative of social relationships, as Fernandez had pointed out, are demonstrated in boundary-building and boundary-maintaining. Thus, borders and as well boundaries are largely mental and material devices (Fernandez, 2000, pp. 117-20).

4. DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

4.1. Research Method and Data Analysis

As a qualitative researcher in this study I apply the constructivist grounded theory as a research method and the grounded theory coding in analysing the data.

Following Charmaz the constructivist grounded theory takes both the researchers' and as well the research participants into the account. Moreover, it is a method to understand research participants' social constructions, but also is a method that researchers as well construct throughout their inquiry process. According to K. Charmaz "a social constructivist approach to objectivist grounded theory allows researchers to develop new understandings and innovative theoretical interpretations of studied life". In the constructivist grounded theory the reality is multiple, processual, and constructed, and thus constructions occur in the research process. However, K. Charmaz argues that "objectivist version of grounded theory assumes a single reality in which passive, neutral observer discover through value-free inquiry". (Charmaz, 2008, pp. 397-8, 401-2).

With the use of "grounded theory coding", and (interpretive) "constructivist grounded theory" I aim to reach a new theoretical description of my research problem in this study. Thus, I adopt the "constructivist grounded theory" as my research method and I applied the "grounded theory coding" in analysing my data in order to uncover the meaning people give to their experiences and interpret their social reality. In doing so, I analysed participants' past and present narratives, regarding experiences, social actions, feelings, expressions, thoughts, emotions, desires, identification and

motivations with the help of grounded theory coding”, and (interpretive) “constructivist grounded theory”.

In the analysis phase of the research I read the data which I have achieved through my observations, in-depth interviews, field notes, memos, and informal conversations, during the twelve month fieldwork in Ireland.

In order to separate the data into meaningful parts I used first what Strauss and Corbin (1998) call *open coding* and Charmaz (2002) calls *initial coding*. This is a process of fragmenting data into conceptual components. The ‘*open coding*’ which is a process of breaking down, examining, comparing, and conceptualizing data. The main activity during the ‘*open coding*’ is to ask questions about the data. The following questions were used during the ‘*open coding*’ process;

- *What is going on here?*
- *What is the problem?*
- *What is observed here?*
- *What is this person trying to tell me?*
- *What else does this term mean?*
- *Which experience is represented here?*

The next step is defragmenting the text what Strauss and Glaser (1967,1998) call comparative method. Thus, I used what Strauss and Corbin (1998) the *theoretical coding* or ‘*axial coding*’ and Charmaz (2002) calls *focused coding* which refers to a set of procedures whereby data are put back together in new ways after open coding, by making connections between the categories (Bernard, Russell H.; Wutich, Amber; Ryan, Gery W.;, 2017, pp. 225-6)

4.1.1. The in-depth interview process

Since the in-depth interviews make up the base of this qualitative research as a tool to understand the sense of belonging of highly skilled Turkish nationals' residing and working in Ireland, I also required a well-designed interviewing scheme including ethical issues, un-structured and semi-structured questions, a meeting plan (i.e. when, where and how long), a voice recording device, and transcribing methods. In my research, I relied more on in-depth interviews and less on participant observation. I used the qualitative research techniques, which consisted of observations, in-depth interviews such as un-structured, semi-structured, and open-ended questions, memos, and informal conversations with participants'.

In addition, my target groups in my research project are highly skilled Turkish immigrants' who are working in multinational corporations (MNCs) in Dublin. Therefore, I have conducted a research about the existence of the multinational companies in Dublin and came across that only Google employs nearly 100 Turkish people in their Dublin office. This was a great opportunity for me that so many skilled Turkish people are working in one company and living in Dublin, Ireland. Dr. Mark Maguire advised me to get in touch with Mr. K in Google. So, I wrote an e-mail to Mr. K. in Google in Dublin office and said due to the nature of my research, I needed to carry out my work very much as a participant observer, which sometimes could be very hard to establish. I also asked, what would be the ideal way to do this kind of research at Google? Is it better off to take up an intern position as a co-worker with Turkish nationals, or is there a way of asking for a special permission so that I could come to Google once or twice a week and chat to the Turkish workers at their breaks etc. I also said that this research could benefit Google in many ways with no cost to them, and that I am open to discussions of how my work could be of benefit. However, I did not

get a permission from Google to take up an intern position as a co-worker with Turkish nationals in Google instead I was allowed to visit Turkish workers in Google at their breaks. However, throughout my fieldwork I have visited participant's workplaces and/or home, and I attended gatherings and/or events organized by the 'Turkish association' and/or 'Turkish Embassy' in Dublin. In addition, I attended several special events and/or gatherings in multinational companies of participants.

However, observations and descriptive notes were taken at home and/or in workplaces, in public venues, community places etc. Through informal conversations and in-depth interviews focusing on participants' past and present stories, I expected to uncover participants' life experiences, orientations, perspectives, feelings, thoughts, expectations, motivations, and the decision making process to become an immigrant in a host country.

The method I have used in this study is a combination of several approaches. It is a multi-method analytical approach. With (interpretative) constructivist method and qualitative data analyses approach I collected participants' narratives of self, identity, experiences etc. to reveal the themes. I collected their stories by the help of semi-structured questions in order to attain coherency and consistency across these stories. Indeed, ethnographic interviews can provide unique access to participants' biographies and plans, to their subjective interpretations of others and social interactions (Holstein, James A.; Gubrium, Jaber F., 1995, Seidman, 1998).

The material I draw on includes quotes from in-depth interviews and informal conversations, internet discussion forums, observations, memos and field notes. In addition, the in-depth interviews' were prepared with participants' in Turkish due to possible English language difficulties. Therefore, I presumed interviewees' would be more comfortable in answering questions in their own native language. I found this to

be a correct decision as many of participants' commented that they were still struggling with every day English but were managing satisfactory in their professional lives. Moreover, if a respondent was uncomfortable with my recordings I planned to take notes (descriptive) in the field. Overall, only one out of the thirty-one respondents' where the in-depth interview was conducted via the "Skype". However, this respondent also rejected voice recording and camera running on the "Skype".

In qualitative research, the number of interviewees' is important since it plays a crucial role in testing and verifying the hypothesis. The interviews I have planned done with participants' are in-depth in nature and the number of interviewees' stipulated was 40-45 so that it would be sufficient in number to gather enough data for qualitative research. The sample size of the proposed research is dependent upon the saturation of the data gathered.

In a snowball sampling procedure, the researcher is expected to be in charge of sufficient number of the respondents', since the primary issue is not the quantity but the depth (Sarantikos, 1993, pp. 141-142). Following Steinar Kvale who proposed that the researcher should interview "as many subjects as necessary to find out what [they] need to know" and they should continue "until a point of saturation, where further interviews yield little new knowledge" (Kvale, 2007, p. 44).

I have finished the interviewing process after having completed thirty-one interviews when I have realized that the data had reached the point of "saturation". For instance, based on the themes that I earlier specified all participants' began to express similar feelings and views, which signalled a point of saturation. Each interview lasted for between 30 to over 100 minutes. Each transcribed document amounted to more than 25 pages in length on average, which totalled more than 770 pages. In addition, all research participants' name in the case study are pseudonyms.

Table 1.1. below shows the list of participants' by pseudonyms, place, and date of the interview. All interviews' were audiotaped and transcribed. The Interview guide can be found in Appendix A.

	PARTICIPANT	INTERVIEW LOCATION	INTERVIEW DATE
1	Merve	Microsoft Dublin	15/12/2014
2	Zeynep	Microsoft Dublin	15/12/2014
3	Atakan	Microsoft Dublin	15/12/2014
4	Alp	Google Dublin	15/12/2014
5	Sibel	Google Dublin	15/12/2014
6	Emre	Oracle Dublin	16/01/2015
7	Kerem	Google Dublin	06/02/2015
8	Semra	Google Dublin	06/02/2015
9	Gamze	Home	07/02/2015
10	Yasemin	Home from Gamze	07/02/2015
11	Hande	Radisson Hotel Athlone	15/02/2015
12	Sevgi	Radisson Hotel Athlone	15/02/2015
13	Barlas	Radisson Hotel Athlone	15/02/2015
14	Baran	Amazon Dublin	19/02/2015
15	Berk	Amazon Dublin	19/02/2015
16	Emir	Amazon Dublin	19/02/2015
17	Esra	TrinityTech. Dublin	10/03/2015
18	Sinem	Google Dublin	10/03/2015
19	Sezen	Google Dublin	10/03/2015
20	Bora	Microsoft Dublin	10/04/2015
21	Ozan	LinkedIn Dublin	10/04/2015
22	Canan	LinkedIn Dublin	10/04/2015
23	Deniz	LinkedIn Dublin	10/04/2015
24	Cem	Microsoft Dublin	17/04/2015
25	Taner	Radisson Hotel Athlone	22/04/2015
26	Utku	Radisson Hotel Athlone	23/04/2015
27	Koray	Twitter Dublin	02/06/2015
28	Onur	Amazon Dublin	02/07/2015
29	Mert	Home from Baran	13/08/2015
30	Derya	Home	17/08/2015
31	Arda	Skype Home	18/08/2015

Table 1.1. List of participants by pseudonyms, interview place and date.

The interviews began with 'warm up questions', regarding participants' place of birth, age, education, marital status, current job and job title, living model (e.g. house owned or rented), the number of people living in the house. Then I continued with a 'grant tour' (Spradley, 1979, p. 86) such as questions about the antecedents of the participants' and how they ended up in their present destination.

Thus, I asked about their life story regarding their residency and life prior journey to Ireland, decision-making to migrate, migration paths, and so on. Then, a set of questions under the various headings such as 'work and co-workers', 'adjustment', 'work motivation,' 'diversity', 'struggles` and 'challenges', 'future' orientation', 'Ireland,' 'Irish' or local community ' networks,' 'neighbourhood,' 'leisure time,' to issues on 'place,' 'belonging,' 'identity,' 'comfort zone', and 'community' were directed to interviewees.

In addition, during the course of the interview, I gave space for my respondents; I gave them the freedom to deviate from the questions occasionally to talk about their experiences, motivations, expectations, and feelings. Following Bernard, I preferred to "let them express themselves in their own terms at their own time" (Bernard H. R., 1995, p. 209).

4.1.2. The research design and participants

This study examines the sense of 'belonging' and 'identity' of a particular group of individuals' such as highly qualified Turkish nationals' whose residency was primarily in Turkey before they migrated.

The primary criteria for the selection of the research participants fell into five main areas, as shown below,

- Educational Title
- Profession
- Had come directly from Turkey to Ireland (if not resided abroad for a Master's or a PhD. degree etc.)
- Length of time in Ireland (min. 1 year)
- Diverse selection of both companies and areas

I felt that all the above criteria's would give me a much broader spectrum for my case study. I attached special importance to the length of participants' residency in Ireland, as this would allow me to find out if they had enough time to both adopt and adapt to a new European culture. Therefore, I limited the participants' to those who had been living in Ireland for at least one year.

Thus, the interviewees' in this study had been chosen purposively (Silverman, 2001, p. 250; Flick, 2007, p. 80) based on characteristics and the objective of the research. The chosen research group are categorized under A, B, and C category in the Irish socio-economic groups (SEG) which consist of A (employers and manager), B (higher professional), and C (lower professional).

In my study I have interviewed 31 Turkish nationals' throughout the period between December 2014 and August 2015. The interviewees' were diverse, regarding their age, gender, work permit status, regarding citizenship either Turkish or both Irish/Turkish, marital status, and their duration of residence in Ireland.

The participants in this study were employees in MNC in tech roles in Dublin. However, only five out of the thirty-one respondents' were working in Athlone, three out of the five in Ericson Athlone, and the remaining in an international pharma company.

The name of the company, the number of Turkish employees' in various companies at the time of the fieldwork, and the number of interviewees' from each company is given in Table 1.2.

Company Name	The Number of Turkish employees' during the fieldwork	The Number of Total interviewees'
Facebook	20	1
IBM	5	1
Google	100	6
Microsoft	10	6
Ericson	4	3
LinkedIn	10	4
Pay Pal	8	1
Oracle	1	1
Twitter	3	1
Trinity /Research	1	1
Amazon	4	4
Other	2	2
Total	169	31

Table 1.2. List of companies, the number of Turkish employees and participants over the course of the fieldwork.

The majority of the European head offices of MNCs were located in Dublin city, which, in turn, provided me a wide range of choices and accessibility. I did not limited the scope of this anthropological study only to Dublin city as I also chose a few interviewees' from Ericson, a large IT company, and an international pharma company both based in Athlone town. Athlone is not a city but it is a large town with a population

of approximately 20,000. Being in a more rural setting would give my anthropological study a wider perspective of my research group.

In the last nine months, from December 2014 up to end of August 2015, I interviewed thirty-one Turkish nationals, aged 25-38. Their residency in Ireland varied from between one to ten years. Seventeen out of the thirty-one respondents were married and the remaining were single. Sixteen out of the thirty-one respondents had a masters' degree, twelve had a Bachelors' degree, and two hold a Ph.D. Eight out of the thirty-one respondents had an Irish citizenship. Twenty-one out of the thirty-one respondents were from Istanbul, six from Ankara and the remainder were from Izmir, Fethiye, Bursa, and Samsun.

Sixteen out of the thirty one respondents' had been abroad during their 'Erasmus student exchange programme' or had similar experiences during their Master's or Ph.D. programmes. Fifteen out of the thirty-one respondents' never had experience abroad prior to their migration to Ireland. Ten out of the thirty-one respondents' came to Ireland as non-experienced new graduates.

Furthermore, most of the Turkish nationals in this study in were graduates from prestige universities in city Istanbul and Ankara such as from 'Bosporus University', 'Middle East Technical University', 'Bilkent University', and 'Istanbul University'. It is obvious that these both capital cities in Turkey are rich in terms of education, employment, and socio-economic level. I speculated that Turkish individuals who were lucky enough to grow up, and being educated in these capital cities could accumulate their socio-economic and cultural capital much more readily as opposed to those in residing in more rural areas of Turkey.

The general characteristics and demographic profile of the research group, as indicated in the tables below (see Table 2.3) reveals that all the participants' hold either Bachelors' degree/diplomas and/or Masters' degree, and two even hold a Ph.D. degree. Although neither gender nor age was my criterion, by taking a closer look into these areas, the average age was 30, which would indicate that the participants' were mostly young professionals.

One of the criteria I defined for Turkish professionals' was their length of stay should have been a minimum of one year, and all of them met this requirement with an average being five years. Seventy-four per cent (74%) of the participants' stated that they had first come to their destination country of residence one to five years ago and the remaining more than five up to ten years.

The table 1.3. below shows the general characteristic of the research group.

Characteristics of the research group	Frequency	Total
Married	17	31
Single	14	31
Turkish Passport/ Work Permit Holder	23	31
Irish Passport/ Dual Nationality	8	31
BA Degree (Home Country)	30	31
MA Degree (Home Country)	10	31
From Istanbul	21	31
From Ankara	6	31
From Bursa	1	31
From İzmir	1	31
From Fethiye	1	31
From Samsun	1	31
BA Degree (Abroad)	1	31
MA Degree (Abroad)	10	31
Ph.D (Abroad)	2	31
Erasmus Programme in Europe	9	31
AISEC Programme in Europe	1	31
English Course (Abroad)	2	31
Never has been Abroad	9	31

Table 1.3. General Characteristic of the research group.

Age: The average age of respondents' is 30. About forty-two per cent (42%) of respondents' are under the age 30. About thirty-two per cent (32%) are in their early 30s and the remaining are mid-30s. This picture is the result of several factors including a higher tendency to migrate at early age, internationalisation of education and knowledge, and labour market.

Gender: About fifty-eight per cent (58%) of the participants' were male and the remaining female. Only two of twelve computer engineers in this study were females.

Nationality: Seventy-four per cent (74%) of the participants' were Turkish citizens with Irish work permit, and the remaining are holders of an Irish passport. Indeed, naturalized Turkish participants' had dual Irish and Turkish citizenship.

Socio-economic background: Parental education level is a significant indicator of socio-economic status of the research group. The majority of the participants' are from middle-class families in Turkey, and most parents were in general, well educated. The high- education level of parents of skilled migrants' abroad was similar to the findings of Gokbayrak (2009), Gungor, and Tansel (2004).

Higher education: Thirty of thirty-one respondents' received their Bachelor's degree in Turkey. Only one respondent earned his Bachelor's degree in France and completed his Master's degree in Ireland. Most of the respondents' were graduates from prestigious state or private universities in Turkey in which the study language was English. Proficiency in the English language may be a significant plus in settling in a migrant's country also enhancing their prospects of finding a job. It is clear from this picture, that respondents' are coming from relatively well-educated and economically well off families who were able to invest in cultural capital in terms of higher-education in Turkey for their children.

Education and/or Erasmus abroad: Around thirty-three per cent (33%) of respondents' received their post-graduate qualification such as a MA or Ph.D. degree in Europe. Around twenty-nine per cent (29%) of respondents' completed an 'Erasmus exchange programme' in Europe.

Marital status: About fifty-five per cent (55%) of respondents' were married while remaining forty-five per cent (45%) were single without children. Around nineteen per cent (19%) of participants' were married to a foreign spouse.

In addition, I found it appropriate for my research to ask respondents' their salary details. Unfortunately, the majority of them declined to divulge this information. However, occupation, profession, life quality, and some other data made it possible to form an overall opinion.

4.2. Demographic Data of the Research Group

Before I started my anthropological fieldwork, I had requested a special tabulation (e.g. demographic profile) of the research group from the "Irish Central Statistics Office" (ISO) in Dublin in November 2014. The requested tabulation from the ISO was showing the Irish 2011 census data at the time of my fieldwork. However, in early 2017 the Irish 2016 census had been published and subsequently requested a second special tabulation of the research group, which coincided better, with the time of my fieldwork in Ireland.

Immigrants' from Turkey represent a small group in Ireland. According to the ISO, around 1301 of Turkish ancestry (i.e. both sexes) were living in the State in the 2011 census, 955 were male and the remaining 346 were female. However, in 2016 census, the ISO reported around 1607 of Turkish ancestry (i.e. both sexes) were living in the State, 1110 males and 497 females. Around 432 were living in Dublin city in 2016, 267 were male and 165 were female. In county Westmeath, they were 28 Turkish nationals, 21 were male and 7 was female. In county Cavan they were 9, 6 were male and 3 was female.

In addition, the 'wave' of Turkish immigrant is diverse in Ireland. For example, they are Turkish immigrants' from less privileged class, and skilled immigrant category

who no longer see future for themselves in Turkey, and students who were searching for an English language course or a higher education.

Moreover, particularly Turkish professional class is a new phenomenon for both receiving and sending country. It was observed that this new phenomenon or “new wave” of well-educated Turkish immigrants’ in Ireland represented a skilled labour migration or a “brain drain” from Turkey.

The charts below show the demographic data of the selected research group in Ireland. Both censuses from 2011 and 2016 are given to give an insight to changing variables in Ireland during this period.

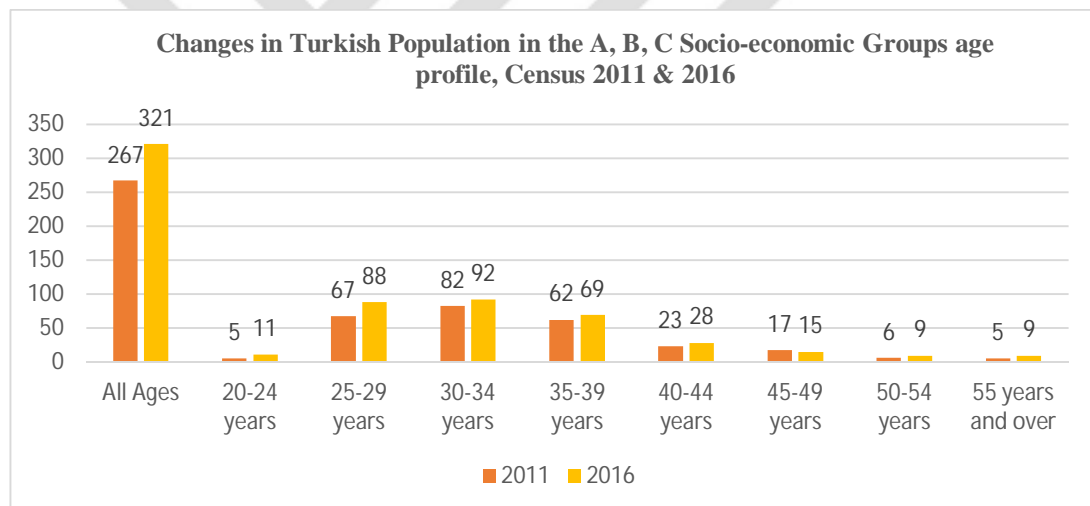


Figure 2.1. Changes in Turkish Population in the A, B, C (SEG) age profile in Census 2011/2016.

The graph above shows changes in Turkish population age profile in the A, B, and C socio-economic groups in both 2011 and 2016 census. The number of all ages in the A, B, and C socio-economic groups were at 300 in 2011, and at 356 in 2016.

However, the largest age groups consisted of Turkish national residents’ were aged between 30-34 years, at 82 in 2011 census, at 92 in 2016 census and the second largest group between 25-29 years of age, at 67 in 2011 census, at 88 in 2016 census, and the

third largest group between 35-39 years of age, at 62 in 2011 census, at 69 in 2016 census.

This first two largest age group of qualified Turkish national residents' consisted as well in this study.

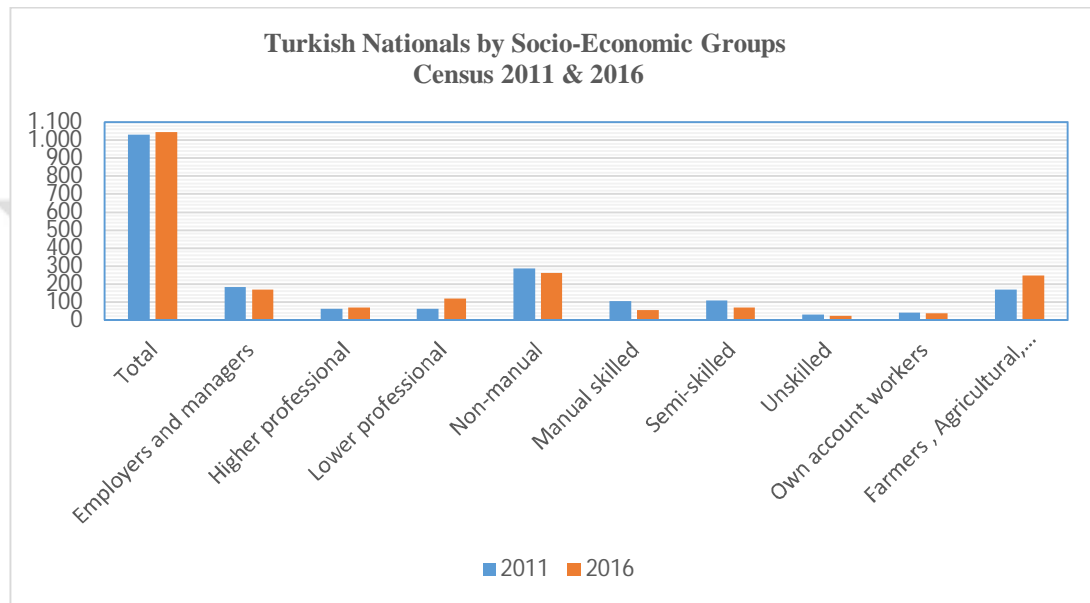


Figure 2.2. Turkish Nationals by Socio-Economic Groups in Census 2011/2016.

The graph above shows the data of Turkish nationals by all socio-economic groups in both 2011 and 2016 census. The total number of all socio-economic groups were at 1,029 in 2011 census, and at 1,043 in 2016. The number of employers and managers in the A category were at 181 in 2011 census, and at 169 in 2016. The number of higher professional in the B category were at 59 in 2011 census, and at 68 in 2016. The number of lower professional in the C category were at 60 in 2011 census, and at 119 in 2016.

The graph above shows us that the number of 'lower' professionals has risen a fair amount between the two censuses.

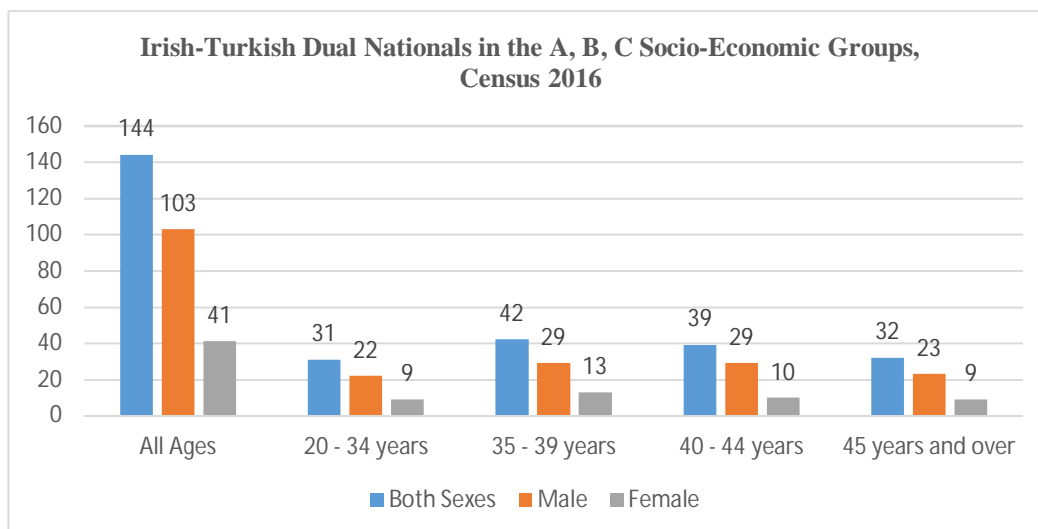


Figure 2.3. Irish-Turkish Dual Nationals in the A, B, and C (SEG) by Age and Sex in Census 2016.

The graph above shows the data of Irish-Turkish dual nationals in the A, B, and C socio-economic group by age and sex in Census 2016. The data regarding the population of Irish-Turkish dual nationals in the A, B, and C socio-economic groups in both sexes were at 240, 141 male and 99 female.

However, in the table above, the largest age groups consisted of Irish-Turkish dual national residents' that were aged between 35-39 years of age, at 42, 29 male and 13 female and the second largest age groups consisted of Irish-Turkish dual national residents' that were aged between 40-44 years of age, at 39, 29 male and 10 female and third largest age groups consisted of Irish-Turkish dual national residents' that were aged between 20-24 years of age, at 31, 22 male and 9 female.

This first and third largest age group of Irish-Turkish dual national residents' consisted as well in this study.

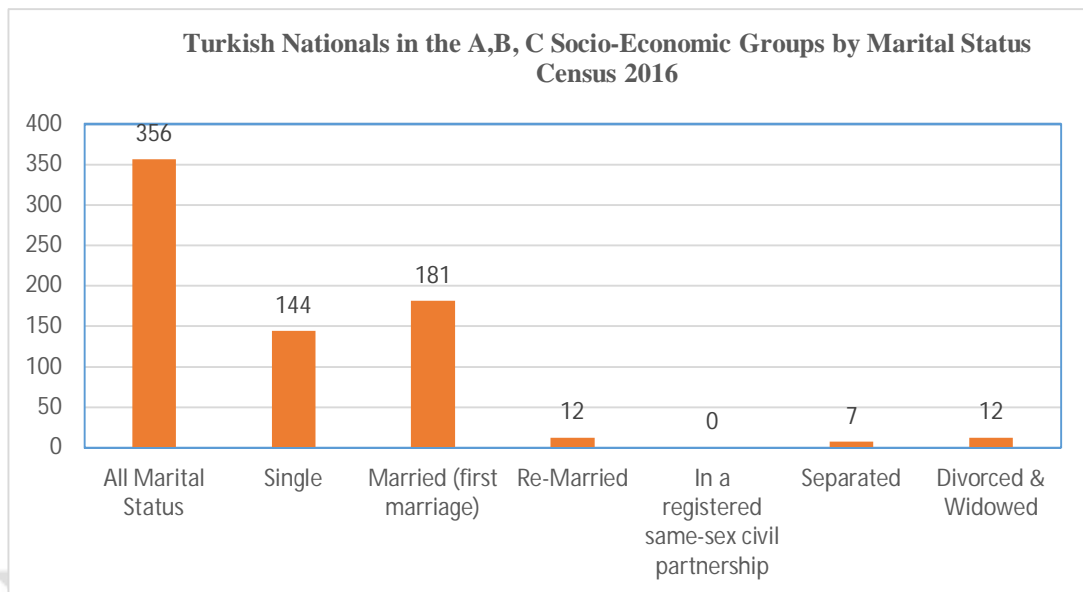


Figure 2.4. Turkish Nationals in the A, B, and C (SEG) by Marital Status in Census 2016.

The graph above shows the data of Turkish nationals in the A, B, and C socio-economic groups by marital status in 2016 Census. The total number of all marital status in the A, B, and C socio-economic groups were at 356. The number of single in the A, B, and C socio-economic groups were at 144. The number of married (first marriage) in the A, B, and C socio-economic groups were at 181.

The largest marital status consisted of married couples that were at 181 followed by single at 144.

4.3. Building Bridges with Participants and their Background

I shall explain how I met my participants' in order to conduct my pre-interviews and/or in-depth interviews with them. The majority of my participants' I met through a snowball sampling procedure. In addition, social media and other internet tools (i.e. Doodle) were also very helpful in establishing connections and coordinating meetings. Furthermore, my attendance at diverse gatherings and events as a researcher also played a crucial role in meeting Turkish nationals who matched my selecting criteria.

One of my previous respondent in my pilot research in 2013 from Google in Dublin office recommended that I set up a Google Gmail-group correspondence to make it easier to keep in contact with most Turkish Google workers (e.g. Googlers). I found this an excellent idea because it was actually the easiest and fastest way to introduce myself and my research, my aim and needed participant profile.

Through correspondents with this Google Gmail-group, I met my participant Alp from Google. After having a few e-mail correspondents with him, he voluntarily accepted to take part in my research group in the following days. Thus, we organised a convenient time and date to meet each other in his workplace in Google's Dublin head office (e.g. Google Docks). However, Alp introduced me at the same day of our meeting to two more Turkish Google workers, Semra and Kerem, who participated later in my research group.

It was in Google's Dublin head office where Alp introduced me to his wife Sibel. They were both working in Google. Alp asked me if I minded if his wife joined us as a participant in the in-depth interview. I was happy for her to join us and I interviewed both separately. Indeed, both Alp and his wife Sibel were my first participants in this research project.

Alp and Sibel were married in Turkey before they moved to Ireland. Alp is a graduate from Bosphoros University in 'mechanical engineering' and has a Master's degree from Koc University in the same field. They both worked in Istanbul and earned average incomes. Alp was not happy with his work and was looking for a change. Neither of them were happy living in Istanbul due to the traffic congestion, hectic life

conditions, air pollution, and so on. They both always had a desire to live and work abroad.

Alp had applied for a position in Google Istanbul who was in turned notified of a position in Google Dublin head office. Having discussed this position with his wife, they both felt this was a good opportunity and thus decided that he should accept the position in Dublin, even though it would mean his wife giving up her career in Istanbul. Sibel gave up her career in the Swedish Embassy such was her desire to live abroad.

Sibel had always wanted to complete a part time Master's degree in Istanbul and as she wasn't working in Ireland, she decided to do a full time Master's degree in Ireland. Having applied to a number of colleges she was finally accepted by Dublin City University (DCU). While her husband was working in Google Dublin as a manager in the Turkish sales department, she was a full time Master's student in DCU. After her graduation from DCU she applied with a reference from her husband to Google Dublin and obtained a position there. Both of them were working in the Turkish sales team department at the time of the interview.

Through Alp I met Kerem who also worked in Google's Dublin head office. Kerem, a 27 year old single Turkish man from Istanbul, had been living in Ireland for more than two years. He was working as an account strategist for Google's online advertisements.

While Kerem was an undergraduate student at the university in Istanbul Kerem started to work part-time in a consultant company for Oracle in Istanbul. He later took up a full-time position after he completed his undergraduate degree in 2010. As a consultant he was always on the move, working long hours for basic wages in Istanbul,

and never had time for his friends or family except the occasional weekend. The company he worked for was a prominent world-wide technology company, which he felt, abused its labour force setting unrealistic targets, which left employees working long hours in order to reach their targets without overtime pay.

Kerem was unhappy with his work and felt that gaining work experience abroad would help his career in the future. He also had his military service to consider and before committing himself to his military service he decided to seek consultancy work abroad. He started looking for work in Australia and even considered the possibility of going there on a one year visa without an actual job but thought the risks of doing so were too high. He had at this stage decided to complete his military service but when he was explaining his situation to a college friend working in Google Ireland his friend suggested to him to send his CV to him. Thus, he sent his CV to his friend who in turn forwarded it to the Human Resource department in Google Dublin. The interview process between Kerem and Google lasted roughly two month in Istanbul.

The position in Google's Dublin head office, which Kerem was offered, was related to the Turkish market in which fluent Turkish is an important factor. For this position Google was not looking for specific experience in this field. Due to the non-EU country, the company would act as a sponsor for Kerem, which enabled him to get his Irish work permit. After four month Kerem moved to Ireland and took up his position in Google Dublin. Kerem is very happy in Google and speaks very highly of the work systems here whilst compared to those in Turkey.

Through Alp I met Semra another Google employee in Google Dublin head office.

Semra, a 26 year old single Turkish woman from Istanbul, had been living in

Ireland for more than three years. Semra works as a public operation associate. She is an industrial engineering graduate from Bosphoros University in Istanbul. During her studies, she completed a one year 'Erasmus programme' in Milan, Italy. On completing her degree had various options which were outlined to her by her mentor at the same university. She could continue with her studies and complete a Masters' degree, go straight into the workplace in Turkey or look to go abroad.

She was very unsure as of what direction to take until she had a conversation with a friend's sister online who was working in Google Dublin. Her friend's sister explained to her about the opportunities which existed in Google Dublin especially for Turkish speaking nationals. This impressed and excited her, to be working abroad with young people from many different backgrounds and cultures in a large multinational company. Her decision was easy to make and she sent her CV to her friend's sister who in turn passed it to the HR department. She loves her job and the flexibility of her working conditions and really enjoys the multicultural way of life.

I met Baran through the help of my participant in Athlone. Baran, a Turkish employee in Amazon Dublin, was helpful in introducing me to several other Turkish engineers in his company. Amazon employed at the time of my fieldwork four Turkish computer engineers. Through Baran I met Berk, Onur and Emir and four more participants like Sezen and Sinem from Google Dublin, and Mert from IBM Dublin and his wife Esra from Trinity Research. All participated voluntary in my research group.

Baran, a 35 year old married man with Irish nationality, was from Istanbul and had been living in Dublin for seven years. He is an information security engineer in Amazon Dublin. Prior to moving to Ireland Baran was living in Istanbul with his partner Esra.

While I did my interview with Baran, Esra, now his wife, was pregnant with their first child.

Whilst in Turkey, Baran was a research assistant at Istanbul Technical University, while he was also completing his Ph.D. degree there. He was always on the lookout for a work abroad. He was mainly looking to find a work abroad in an English speaking country. Therefore, he applied to several companies in America, Canada, New Zealand, England and Ireland. He gave up his Ph.D. study in Turkey after receiving a position with IBM Dublin.

With limited experience in private sector Baran moved to Dublin in 2008 to take up his position in IBM Dublin where he worked for the following four years. He described the change as even though the move from his secure and comfortable position at the university to one of a high pressure, high profile position in a large multinational company as an escape.

Esra, Baran's wife, a 34 year old Turkish woman also with Irish nationality was working in a research company of Trinity College Dublin. Her job title is computational scientist which is both researching and engineering. Before Esra moved to Ireland she was living in a dormitory of Istanbul Technical University and was working in the data processing section of the library of the same university. She was also completing her Ph.D. at the university.

While her partner Baran taking up a position in Ireland they decided that the time was right for them to marry and that she would move to Ireland as soon as possible to be with him. They also decided that she should try to complete her Ph.D. study in Ireland thus she started to apply to Irish universities. Having received a position at

Maynooth University she moved to Ireland six months after Baran. On completing her Ph.D. she hoped to teach but was unable to find a work as teacher but is happy to work in a research company through Trinity College.

Berk, a 34 year old married Turkish man from Istanbul, had been living in Dublin with his wife Zeynep for almost two years. He is a software engineer and developer” in Amazon Dublin. Berk started the interview by describing his and his wife’s life in Turkey. He hold a similar position in Turkey for almost ten years before moving to Ireland. Zeynep also had full time work and was completing her Master’s degree in Istanbul.

It was Zeynep, his wife, who pushed for moving abroad. After ten years with the same company in Istanbul, Berk had reached a point where he couldn’t achieve any advancement in his area. Software development he said was limited to a certain extent in Turkey. He described his work in Turkey as very comfortable but at the same time he confess that he was bored doing the same thing day in day out. Therefore, Zeynep strongly felt that he could achieve much more working in IT global markets abroad. After applying to many companies in many different countries Berk was beginning to give up until eventually he achieved success with Amazon Ireland. Amazon had found Berk through his LinkedIn account and offered him a position in Ireland. Berk also had an opportunity to work in Germany but was happy that didn’t realize due to the German language barrier. In 2013 Berk moved to Dublin to take up his new position and Zeynep followed 6 months later on completion of her Master’s degree.

Emir, a 27 year old married Turkish man, had been living in Ireland for one year.

Emir also worked as a software engineer with Amazon Dublin. Before he moved

to Ireland he was living and working in Ankara and completing his Master's degree in computer science at Bilkent University in Ankara. During his study at the university it was his aim to find work abroad as he wanted to avoid his military service. Due to his marriage he had to postpone his ambition for a while. Most of his friends who had studied computer science at Bilkent University were living and working overseas.

Emir applied online to all open positions in English speaking countries such as Canada, America, England and Ireland. It was his wish to find something in either Ireland or England as it was closer to Turkey. One of his first applications was for an open position in Amazon Dublin. After a long recruitment process he was offered a position in this company and his journey to Ireland began.

Onur, a 27 year old married Turkish man from Istanbul, had been living in Ireland for one year. He is a support engineer for cloud computing in Amazon Dublin. Onur completed his undergraduate degree in computer science at Bosphorus University in Istanbul. After completing his degree he worked part-time in Telecommunication Company in Istanbul. Onur wanted to continue his study thus he found a university in Germany to complete his Master's degree in computer science. Onur believed that after completion his Master's degree in Germany there would be many opportunities for him. An added bonus was the fact that on being successful in his Master's, German policy offers graduates who complete three years' work within Germany an unlimited work permit.

On completing his Master's degree, Onur found work in a small German IT company where he continued to seek better positions in other companies. Whilst applying to big companies in Germany he came across a job opportunity in Amazon

Ireland. Amazon Dublin was his only application for work outside of Germany. He was successful in his application to Amazon and decided to take the position as Amazon Dublin was a huge company, even though it meant leaving Germany before completing his three years' work, which would entitle him to a permanent work permit visa in Germany.

Onur explained that it was originally his intention to return to Turkey on completion of his Master's degree but having now gained new skills and experiences abroad he found that Turkey was very limited in what it could offer regarding to professional opportunities and career advancement. He also grew accustomed to the cosmopolitan way of life and enjoyed it. He has now decided to remain in Ireland until such time as he obtains an Irish passport and maybe even beyond.

Sezen, a 28 year old married Turkish woman, working in Google Dublin is an associate account strategist in Turkish sales team department for three years. Sezen is from Istanbul and studied economics at Bosphoros University in Istanbul. During her studies, she spent time in Paris as an exchange student. Before she moved to Ireland, she was a Master's student in MSE management at the University College of London (UCL). She travelled frequently during her studies in London to her boyfriend in Ireland. Sezen's boyfriend, now husband, also Turkish was working in Google too.

When Sezen and her boyfriend were living in Istanbul she sent hers and her boyfriend's CV's to Google in Ireland in which a friend of hers was working at the time. There was an open position in Turkish market in Google Dublin. After going through the recruitment procedures her boyfriend got a job offer but she didn't. In their thoughts was always a desire to live abroad. They decided that her boyfriend should

accept the position in Google Dublin, and she applied for a Masters in Ireland and England. She was accepted by both Trinity College in Dublin and UCL. However she decided to go to UCL for her Masters’.

After a busy year that included her getting married to her boyfriend and completing her Masters’ degree she applied for a position in Google Dublin. Her husband had referred her to a vacant position in the sales department dealing with the Turkish market. Sezen stated that the first step to getting a job in Google is through languages such as Turkish, German, Portuguese, Italian, Spanish etc. Her desire and goal in the near future is to work in a global team, which was always her career dream. At the time of her interview she was working mostly with Turkish clients on the phone but in the future she wants to build up her career to project administration.

Sinem, a 26 year old single Turkish woman from Istanbul, had been living in Ireland for three years. She is a quality product analyst for Google Dublin. Sinem always wanted to go abroad to study or as an Erasmus exchange student. After she completed her undergraduate degree in mathematical engineering, she took up employment whilst continuing with her Master’s degree. She found her work very difficult, not the actual job but with the micro-management systems prevailing there. She was working long hours under a micro-management system, constantly been pushed and under pressure. This was also affecting her studies as she wasn’t returning home until late and was constantly tired at that stage and unable to study. On speaking with friends and colleagues she was informed that most Turkish companies operate this way. One friend advised her to look abroad and explained to her that the work and management practices abroad were much different. Sinem quit her job and concentrated on completing her Master’s degree before looking for work abroad.

On completing her Master's degree she started to search for jobs abroad with the key word "Turkish". She applied to Google in Dublin, which replied to her within one week. Even though she had made the decision to go abroad she was still very nervous but as she progressed through the Google interview process she grew in confidence. She took up a position in Google dealing with the Turkish market where her Turkish language was important. Sinem has a mathematical and industrial engineering degree but for her job in Google she does not use her educational background. But she is very happy to be living and working in Dublin.

Mert, a 30 year old married Turkish man from Ankara, had been living in Ireland for three years. Mert is a research scientist in IBM Dublin. Mert was working in Turkey in Bilkent Holding as a computer engineer and was completing a Masters in the same field. He has worked on international projects in Turkey and had travelled to many different countries around the world. It was his ambition to do a Ph.D. and he found an opportunity of completing his Ph.D. and also working on international projects with the "Karlsruhe Technology Institute" in Germany. Before he moved to Ireland he lived in Germany with his wife and daughter for four years. Mert worked on international projects and completed his Ph.D. degree in the Karlsruhe Technology Institute.

Mert's thoughts about Germany were very interesting. Germany is in the eyes of Mert a developed country and the infrastructure and transportation are also good but he considered German people to be "cold". He does not consider living there again. Mert experienced some bad experiences in Germany with racism and discrimination. He also experienced racism in his daughter's pre-school, in public transportation, and so on. Mert did not think that any other countries could be as bad as Germany and more

importantly, he could not see a future for him and his family in Germany and applied to IBM in Dublin. He also wanted an English speaking country.

Through the Turkish Embassy's reception in Dublin on 29th October in 2014 of "The Foundation of Republic of Turkey" I met Ozan from LinkedIn Dublin. After having a few e-mail correspondence we set up a convenience time and date to have a lunch together in LinkedIn Dublin. Through Ozan I met at lunch three more participants' such as Deniz, Derya and Canan from LinkedIn Dublin.

Ozan, a 32 year old single Turkish man from Ankara, had been living in Ireland for two years. Ozan was a relationship manager for Turkish market in LinkedIn Dublin. After completing his Master's degree in 2006 in Ankara he decided to move to Istanbul. After arriving in Istanbul he started to work in sales department in a Turkish company for six years.

However, after six years Ozan moved back to Ankara to build his new life there. His family supported him financially to purchase his own house in Ankara. He was living in Ankara when he received a job offer from LinkedIn Dublin through a referral system. Prior to this job offer, Ozan had not considered moving or working abroad. He had visited his college friend in Ireland and had positive feelings about Ireland. However, Ozan felt that he was too old to consider moving at his stage in his life.

However, the name of the company was for him very impressive. A company like LinkedIn, and Ireland as an English speaking country was for him enough to make the right decision to migrate. He is delighted now that he made the decision to come here to Ireland and is very happy with his position. Through his work he travels throughout

the world and often times to Turkey where he gets the opportunity to see his family regularly.

Deniz, a 33 year old married Turkish man from Istanbul, had been living in Dublin for three years. He is coming from a very secure background as both his parents are doctors in Istanbul. Deniz completed his Bachelor's degree in software engineering. Both he and his partner, now his wife, were working in good positions in Turkish companies.

In 2009, after working as a software engineer with three different companies in Turkey, he and his partner began discussing their future and what they both wanted. It soon became clear that they both wanted more from life than what they could achieve in Turkey. Deniz felt very restricted, and to a degree trapped in his work. He explained that the opportunities in the IT sector in Turkey were very limited, he also felt the Turkish society was a closed society in many different ways. Although he described Turkey as being internally dynamic and could earn a comfortable living there for himself and his family, he was still missing something, such as a global mind.

Deniz described himself and his partner as international enthusiasts in terms of culture and diversity. After spending a few years as a software engineer he realized he wanted much more. He was very interested in marketing and loved dealing with people and had a hunger to learn more about people and various other cultures. It was this hunger to achieve this that led Deniz and his partner to look abroad for a new future. They decided that in order to be able to move abroad they would need to upskill and therefore they both decided to take on Master's degrees abroad. Deniz decided to do his Master's degree in marketing and obtained a place in London, a one year course

whilst his partner could only obtain a two year position in a university in Germany. Even though they were going to be separate for two years their desire to achieve their goals was so strong that they proceeded with this plan and in 2009 they parted for their prospective courses in England and Germany respectfully.

On achieving his Master's degree in marketing Deniz obtained a marketing position with Facebook Dublin. His partner joined him a year later taking up a temporary position in the Turkish Embassy in Dublin. They got married in 2013 in Turkey and are now both working in LinkedIn Dublin, and are very happy. On asking Deniz about returning to Turkey now he is less enthusiastic than when he first left Turkey. He and his wife love living a cosmopolitan life and he now feels the "world is his oyster" in that both himself and his wife are free to travel, let it be for work or just a short break

Canan, a 26 year old single Turkish woman from Istanbul, had been living in Ireland for one year. She is an account manager for the Turkish market in LinkedIn Dublin. She emphasized that she would have a comfortable life in Turkey living with her parents as they were upper social class. She had a car, a full time job with an international consultant company in Istanbul but she felt her salary was very low and therefore her parents were supporting her financially.

Canan expressed bitter disappointment and disillusionment with the political situations in Turkey and wanted to get out, and not return. She is the only child and had always her parents' complete support. In seeking work abroad Canan wasn't really concerned as to where she would find work abroad. She wrote "Turkish" as a key word in job searches via the internet and applied to company job vacancies abroad but found

that the majority of her application replies came from Ireland. Having received a job offer from LinkedIn Dublin after all interview processes she had no hesitation in accepting it and moving to Ireland. Through her work at present she travels a lot and is very happy with the cosmopolitan way of live.

Derya, a 24 year old married Turkish woman from Istanbul, had been living in Ireland for one year. She is a relationship manager for the Turkish market in LinkedIn Dublin. She is living with her Turkish husband and baby within walking distance from her work.

Derya and her husband both were working with Avea, a Telecommunications company in Istanbul, before she was offered a position with LinkedIn Dublin. She completed her Bachelor's degree in business administration at Marmara University in Istanbul. Neither of them were happy living in Istanbul due to the traffic, and hectic life conditions. Both were living in the eastern (Anatolian) part of Istanbul but were working in the western (European) part of Istanbul. Therefore, they were struggling most of the time with managing their time getting to and from work.

Derya started first as an intern in Avea Istanbul. She was very ambitious there and obtained a full time job position in sales department. It was Derya who arranged the channel between Avea Istanbul and LinkedIn Dublin. As a result of this, Avea became LinkedIn's first entry into the Turkey market. It was a huge achievement for her due to her young age. In the meantime LinkedIn's European Head Quarter in Dublin was just newly established and only three Turkish employees' were working in their sales department to which Derya had business contact through her role with Avea Istanbul.

After a year a position occurred for the Turkish market and Derya sent her CV to LinkedIn Dublin. The Turkish employees in LinkedIn Dublin referred her to the company's human resource department. In 2013 Derya was only one year married and expecting her baby when she received a job offer from LinkedIn Dublin. After having discussed the issue with her husband they both decided on moving to a European country like Ireland and starting to work in a well-known and high-profile company like LinkedIn Dublin. Derya's husband was working as a software engineer in a Turkish company in Istanbul.

Derya was six month pregnant when she moved to Ireland. She moved on her own to Ireland to take up her new position but her husband remained in his position in Istanbul. Derya's husband followed her three months later and he continued to work on the projects of his company in Istanbul from home in Dublin. Derya gave birth to her child in Dublin but returned back to Turkey to her family during her maternity leave. After completing her maternity leave she returned to her position in LinkedIn Dublin.

I met as well Merve on 29th October in 2014 at the reception of the Turkish Embassy Dublin. After having some e-mail correspondence with Merve we both set up a convenience time and date to make a pre-interview in Microsoft Dublin. Merve invited me first for a lunch in her company which, in turn, gave me the opportunity to meet other Turkish employees in her company. On that day, I met other Turkish employees like Arda, Zeynep, Bora, Veysel and Cem from Microsoft Dublin who later participated voluntary in my research group.

Merve, a 30 year old single Turkish woman from Ankara, had been living in Ireland for two and half years. Merve is a software engineer in Microsoft Dublin. She

was a former software engineer in Turkey with Aselsan Company. Before coming to Ireland she had begun her Ph.D. study but give up on receiving a job offer here in Ireland. According to Merve this job offer from Microsoft Dublin was an opportunity for her to gain new overseas work experience. Besides, Ireland as an English speaking country was a great advantage for her, as well.

It was her opinion that if you want to work and live abroad the easiest way is to get accepted by IT companies because these companies, she said, make your visa procedures easier. Merve explained that these companies employ mainly 'expatriates' like herself which makes adaptation much easier, she said. Merve also applied to IT jobs in America but due to the long term visa processes and faster response from Ireland her decision was for Ireland.

Zeynep, a twenty five year old single Turkish woman from Ankara, had been living in Dublin for one year. She is employed by Microsoft Dublin as a software engineer. Zeynep received her software engineer undergrad at Bilkent University in Ankara and decided to complete her two years Master's degree in Italy. During her Masters' Zeynep worked as well part time on several projects for IT companies in Italy.

On receiving her Master's degree she decided to return to Turkey and seek to work opportunities there. After applying to many companies and receiving little or no replies she decided to expand her search to include IT companies abroad. Having received an interview with a Turkish company in Istanbul she also received an interest from Microsoft Ireland. Microsoft was a large multinational company thus she felt that it was just too big of an opportunity to pass. The job opportunity in Microsoft Dublin was her main reason to leave Turkey and move to Ireland.

Arda, a twenty-seven year old single Turkish man from Ankara, had been living in Dublin for four years. Arda comes from middle-class highly educated family background which holds strong political views and of which some of his family members have been incarcerated for their views in Turkey. Although he loves his country, he carries similar point of view with his family and releases that the political regime in Turkey is not going to change in the near future so he decided to look abroad for a better future for himself. Having obtained his degree in computer engineering from Bilkent University in 2010 he joined International Association of Students in Economic and Commercial Sciences (AISEC) which he saw as an opportunity of gaining an internship abroad and a way of getting out of Turkey.

Shortly after joining AISEC he received an internship in Italy which was only for six months. On returning to Turkey he held a few internships in Turkey but was always applying to multinational companies throughout Europe and America. Later to his surprise and after skype interview, Microsoft Dublin offered him a full time position as a computer engineer in their Dublin office. In the course of my interview with Arda he felt that computing in Turkey on a global sense is very poor and Turkey had a lot to do to catch up with the rest of the world. Arda believes if Turkey would change politically, technologically, and habitable in the future most of Turkish computer engineers around the world would love to return to their home country.

Veysel, a 38 year old single Turkish man with Irish passport from Ankara, had been living in Ireland for seven years. He is working as a technical supporter manager in Microsoft Dublin. Veysel was born in Bingol but he grew up in Ankara. He completed his undergraduate degree in construction engineering at Middle East Technical University in Ankara.

In 2004 he moved to Istanbul and started to work in Microsoft for three years. However, in 2007 Veysel moved to Ireland to work in Microsoft Dublin. Veysel did not do his military service and was thinking of going abroad to get the opportunity to pay for his military service. Thus, he thought if he works for three years abroad he would have the opportunity to do his military service in Turkey only for three weeks. His wish to live and work abroad took shape at this stage. Gaining experience in life and work abroad was also his dream.

Bora, a 35 year old Turkish Microsoft employee of five years, is married to an Italian girl and has one child. Bora is working as operation manager in Microsoft Dublin. Bora came to Ireland in 2006 from France where he was a student. He travelled from Turkey to France in 2003 to do his Bachelor's degree. He studied French language and literature at a university in France. After his graduation from the university he decided to study business management and finance as well in France. Unfortunately his English was not good enough to study in this area in France and through an advice he got he decided to travel to Ireland to learn English. He started to an English course in Ireland and after he changed his mind to return back to France and started to study finance at Griffith College in Dublin.

Today, B o r a speaks three languages Italian, France and English. I found Bora's life story as to why he decided to move abroad very impressive. Bora is from Samsun but with poor family background. He believes that people from his town are not ambitious rather they are very reserved. But Bora was not like them he needed more from life than those around him, and his inner self always pushed him for greater things. Because of his self-discovery he applied for an American Green Card. Through different channels he wanted to explore different ways to study abroad. Bora was a

graduate from a vocational high school in Turkey and could not find the chance to study a university in Turkey.

He always had the desire to go abroad as he was not happy with the situation in Turkey. He stated that people in Turkey are liable to othering. He believes that dualism between educated and uneducated in Turkey is important in the eyes of Turkish people. For Bora leaving Turkey was like an escape. He strongly believes that he could never do this conversation with me if he had stayed in Turkey due to his lack of education. Being abroad gave him opportunities such as completing a Bachelor's and Master's degree, gaining different mentality and world view and to a large extent personal freedom.

Cem, a 36 year old married Turkish man from Ankara with Irish nationality, had been living in Ireland for twelve years. He is married to an Irish woman for two years and has two children, a three years old son and seven month baby girl. Cem is working for Microsoft Dublin as a program manager. He was responsible for all financial transactions of his company. For Cem's position the Turkish language is not as important as it can be for many other positions.

In 2002, prior to moving to Ireland, Cem graduated newly from the university in Turkey. It was a time when Turkey was in recession and the labour market was in crises. As a new graduate he was also preparing himself for his KPDS exams, which is a government based exam for a career in public service in Turkey. Having passed the first stage of his KPDS exam (Foreign Language Proficiency Examination for State Employees) and while waiting for the second part of the exam a friend who was working in a Turkish contraction company named GAMA in Ireland told him about an

open position in this company. The company was looking for a project administrator in Dublin. Cem felt this was a good opportunity and would be beneficial to him in the long-term, not only was it providing him with a job in time of recession it would also help him to improve his English language, and would be good in terms of work experience in his CV. In fact, Cem's' plan was to stay for two or three years in Ireland. He worked for GAMA in Dublin from 2002 to 2007 after which he worked for Accenture company and finally for Microsoft Dublin. The decision to move to Ireland was not difficult for him as he only planned to stay there for two or three years. But he changed his mind to stay much longer as planned.

Hande, a 38 year old married Turkish woman with Irish nationality, had been living in Ireland for ten years with her Irish husband. She and her Irish husband own and manage an international Irish medical company in Athlone. Hande is originally from Ordu but grew up and completed her undergraduate and Master's degree in Ankara.

Before I moved to Ireland to do my fieldwork I met Hande through Facebook social media under "Irlanda'da Yasayan Türkler" open group page. Through her I met Sevgi worked as qualified computer engineer in the international medical company of Hande and her Irish husband. Sevgi's Turkish husband Utku was a computer engineer as well and worked for Ericson Athlone. It was Sevgi who gave me the chance to meet her husband Utku and two more Turkish computer engineers' in Ericson Athlone.

Before Hande moved to Ireland she was working in a private sector for a small company dealing with medical products for exports and import in Ankara. Hande as

an assistant director of the company had tough working conditions due to being a female employee as well. She explained that as a female she was discriminated against.

In 2001 she left the company and searched for a new job. It was almost two years later when her Irish contact offered her a position in Ireland, who later to become her husband. The reason for her displacement was that she could not see any future for herself in her present position and with the fact that Turkey was in recession at the time combined with the disadvantage of being a woman. In January 2003 she came as a tourist to Ireland and checked the company in which she later become a major shareholder.

Sevgi, a 29 years old Turkish woman with Irish nationality, had been living in Ireland for five years. Sevgi is coming from a conservative family and always wearing a head scarf in public. After her graduation in 2009 in computer engineering from Utku University in Istanbul, Sevgi moved to Ireland to join her husband who was working in Ericson Athlone. Sevgi is working for an Irish medical company in Athlone as a computer engineer and developer for the past three years. The owners of the Irish medical company were Hande and her Irish husband.

Before Sevgi moved to Ireland she was living in Istanbul in Sisli. Her family moved to Istanbul early 80s where she received her education including her undergraduate degree. She loved her life in Istanbul but going abroad for a second language and working abroad was always in her mind even before she got married to Utku. She knew her husband Utku while she was preparing herself for her university exams in Turkey. After her graduation Sevgi married Utku and they moved to Ireland.

Sevgi never worked full time in Turkey but she had completed an internship in an Istanbul company. Sevgi and her husband felt that she could find work easily in the IT sector given her qualifications. On moving to Ireland it was her aim to improve her proficiency in English before looking for employment. Thus, she decided to complete a two year English language course after which she gained a position.

Ericson Athlone employed at the time of my fieldwork five Turkish qualified computer engineers of which three of them agreed to participate in my research project. However, all of the interviews' with Ericson employees' were conducted in a separate venue in Athlone over a period of time.

Utku, a thirty one year old married Turkish/Irish dual national man from Istanbul, had been living in Athlone for ten years. He came to Athlone Institute of Technology (AIT) as an Erasmus exchange student. He said he could also have went to Finland to study but he chose Ireland because it was an English speaking country. He was a computer science student at Bahcesehir University in Istanbul at that time. After one year in Athlone as an Erasmus student Utku had to return to Turkey to continue his studies at Bahcesehir University in Istanbul. Before leaving Ireland, Utku discovered that students from AIT had the opportunity to work as an internship in Ericson Athlone after which they might be offered a full time position. This was a great opportunity for Utku to live and work in Ireland therefore he decided to return to AIT in the hope of gaining an internship at Ericson in the future. Thus, he decided to cease his final year of study at Bahcesehir University with the hope to take up an internship with Ericson Athlone. He returned as a student of AIT and later applied for an internship with Ericson, in which he was successful.

Taner, a twenty-seven year old, single Turkish man from Bursa, had been living in Athlone for four years. He came to AIT as an Erasmus student, as well. Yildiz Technical University in Istanbul had at that time an Erasmus agreement with both England and Ireland. England was his original choice but as it had ceased that year he decided on Ireland and chose AIT. His field of study was mathematical science. After his Erasmus year he returned to university in Turkey to complete his undergraduate degree in 2010. He then decided to return to Ireland to complete a one year Master's degree in AIT in software engineering. He therefore only applied to AIT for the Masters' degree and his application was accepted. He believed that as a graduate Master's student from AIT, he would have a greater chance of obtaining a position in a large company such as Ericson.

It was the "Erasmus programme" which pushed him into thinking of living and working abroad in another European country. While Taner's parents still expected him to return to Turkey, they were very supportive emotionally and financially of his decision to stay. Now, Taner is a software engineer in Ericson Athlone where he is very happy in both his social and work life. Having met a Dutch girl his long term plans are to eventually move with his partner to Holland.

Barlas, a 31 year old single Turkish man from Istanbul, had been living in Ireland for three years. Barlas is a software architect in Ericson Athlone. He studied computer engineering at Yeditepe University in Istanbul. During his undergraduate studies he started to work for Turkcell and after for Ericson Turkey as a software engineer. He continued his career in software engineering for six years in Istanbul.

Barlas wanted to develop himself further in software, however, for him, Turkey was not enough in terms of software and computing even though he was working for Ericson Turkey. Barlas was contemplating about North European countries like Finland and Denmark to develop himself in his sector because according to him these countries were well developed in terms of technology but later he found out about Ericson Dublin; "I have applied for the job in Ericsson to develop my skills in software engineering as they have a product development centre in Ireland", he said.

Koray, a 33 year old, married Turkish man from Adana, had been living in Ireland for ten years. I met Koray with the help of the 'Turkish association' in Dublin. Koray move to Izmir in 2000 to study industrial engineering, this course was taught in English and on receiving his degree Koray felt that he would need a much stronger level of English in order to achieve success in this field. He decided to look abroad for English courses and in 2005 he commenced an English course in London with the aim of returning home to pursue his career in Turkey.

On arriving in London he found it very difficult, coming from a homogenous background, Koray found the city life in London very different, much faster and very cosmopolitan. On his course too he was finding it difficult as the majority of students were also Turkish and mainly speaking Turkish, which he felt was hampering his learning opportunities. Been dissatisfied in London, Koray made contact with an old college friend who was living and studying in Belfast, Northern Ireland. His friend assured him that Belfast was much easier going city and that there wasn't many Turkish living there, which would help him in his studies as they mainly spoke English. Koray decided that this would suit his needs better and he transferred his course to Belfast and moved there shortly after. On moving to Belfast Koray fitted in quite well, joining his

course, finding part-time work and meeting his now wife Arzu. On completing his course he decided to do his Master's degree in international management while in Ireland. With the support of his family back home he enrolled in Griffith College in Dublin to complete his Masters' degree.

While studying at Griffith College, Koray started a 'blog' designed to help other Turkish people wanting to study and work in Ireland. This blog, "Egitim Irlanda" has grown in numbers and has now been running for over eight years. It helps Turkish people seeking to come to Ireland to find a course, accommodation, and it helps them with their visa applications and basically provides all the information one would require in order to do so.

On completing his Masters' degree Koray had no problem finding a position. He has worked for a few top companies in Dublin before recently joining Twitter Dublin providing customer service for the Turkish market. In 2010 Koray married Arzu, who works as official translator for the Turkish Embassy in Dublin. She also completed her Master's degree at the Trinity College Dublin. They now have two children, and are very happy here in Ireland and have no intention of returning to Turkey in the near future.

I met Emre through Facebook's open group 'Irlanda'da Yasayan Türkler'. Emre, a 35 year old single Turkish man from Istanbul, had been living in Ireland for three years. Emre had a busy life in Istanbul and was working for a private foreign investment company in Istanbul. Although the work conditions were hard for him and entailed long hours he was to some degree satisfied with his life. He earned a good salary but had a very limited social life. He tried to spend time with his friends on his

weekends if he was not working. He had always in mind to travel abroad to work, live and gain new work experience and a new language.

Through LinkedIn he got in contact with the company Oracle Dublin. Ireland was not in his mind until he received a job offer. In his mind was always an English speaking country such as United States, Canada, England, or Australia. His English was not good enough though he wanted to improve his English in these English speaking countries while working. Thus, he accepted the job offer from Oracle Dublin. He wanted to improve his English skills, gain new overseas work experiences and then return to Turkey to continue his career. However, after living three years here in Ireland and building a multicultural circle of friends he is very content to remain in Ireland for the foreseeable future.

I met my participant Yasemin as well through Facebook's open group 'İrlanda'da Yasayan Türkler'. Yasemin is a 27 year old married Turkish woman from Fethiye and had been living in Ireland for more than two years. She worked first in customer service of PayPal Dublin. But I visited Yasemin in her new workplace in Facebook Dublin. Yasemin also introduced me to her close friend Gamze from PayPal Dublin. Gamze also agreed to participate in my research project.

While Yasemin was studying at Uludag University in Bursa, she travelled for one year as an Erasmus exchange student to Portugal where she met her future Portuguese husband Pedro. She returned to Bursa to complete her undergraduate degree. After her graduation she decided to go to Portugal to do her Master's degree and to be with her boyfriend Pedro.

While she was completing her Master thesis she commenced working in Portugal. Pedro, her then boyfriend was a computer engineer and was looking for a full-time job in Portugal for four years, which he was unable to find. With a slow labour market at that time in Portugal, competition for available positions especially in his field was very high. Yasemin and her husband sent their CV's to various countries across Europe and even to China. After some time Microsoft Dublin got in contact with her husband and the interview process commenced.

Finally, Microsoft Dublin offered Pedro a position job in Dublin and their journey to Ireland began. Several companies in Ireland came back to Yasemin but it was found that her visa in Portugal did not cover her to travel and work in Ireland. Pedro was forced to travel to Ireland without his wife in order to take up his position in Microsoft Dublin. Yasemin followed a short time after and found work with PayPal and later in Facebook.

I met Gamze through my participant Yasemin both of them were working in PayPal Dublin at the time of the interview. Gamze, a 31 year old single Turkish women, describes her job title as customer complain analyst. After completing her undergraduate degree in business Gamze commenced work for a Turkish bank in Istanbul. After a few years work experiences there, she decided to improve her English language skills further. Gamze always wanted to do a formal English language course for her future career. Therefore, she started to investigate English language courses firstly in Turkey but later she found it not sufficient to learn a foreign language in Turkey. Thus, she stopped her career in Turkey to attend an English language course abroad and found one in Malta.

After completing a one year business English course in Malta she returned to Turkey and got married to her Irish boyfriend in her home country. Gamze moved just after her marriage to Ireland with her Irish husband. Soon after arrival in Ireland she sent her CV to several companies in Dublin one of which was PayPal Dublin. PayPal invited her for an interview in which she was successful and she started working shortly afterwards. Gamze's previous banking experience in Turkey was a great advantage for her in securing the position in PayPal Dublin.

4.4. The Life and Environment of the Researcher

Prior to moving to Ireland in September 2014, I married an Irish man from Cavan on 15th of August 2014. However, the majority of my fieldwork took place in Dublin city whilst living with my husband in Cavan, which is approximately a two hours commute from Dublin city. Cavan is a town with an approximately population of 18,000, of which there are living only a few dual Turkish/Irish citizenships.

One of which is my brother Hakan whom is married to an Irish woman and have a ten years old son. The other members of the Turkish community are Kemal and Dilan, a married couple, both Turkish origins with an eight year old son, and Kadir, a middle age Turkish man, married to an Irish woman with two young children. Kadir, for instance, works with Facebook in Dublin and travels to work by bus from Cavan daily, leaving at 6am and not returning until 8pm. Due to his hectic work life we haven't had much contact. My brother was a senior financial analyst for an international company in Cavan town for the last 8 years but left currently his job in Cavan and moved to Dublin due to his new position in multinational company.

Kemal is an engineer within the same company in Cavan for almost eight years.

Kemal's wife Dilan has a university degree from Turkey but due to her little son she

was

for a long time a housewife. After her child has got bigger, she has started to work in a neighbouring town as a biologist in a mushroom company's laboratory. Dilan made many local and multinational friends in Cavan town through her child's school and through clubs, and adult education courses.

My brother Hakan, his son and I, visit Kemal and Dilan on a regular basis for tea or dinner. My brother's wife doesn't come with us as because most of the conversation is in Turkish and is mostly related to Turkish affairs in Turkey or work experiences in Ireland. Kemal and Dilan have also Turkish friends outside of Cavan town which are highly-skilled employees' in Ireland, as well.

Just a few years ago, Kemal and Dilan bought a house in Cavan with a mortgage. They told me that Cavan is a nice town to raise their child. As parents they are happy with humanitarian and liberal education system for their child. Kemal and Dilan have both dual Turkish/Irish citizenship. When I came to Ireland in November 2013 to do my pilot research for my case study I interviewed Kemal, Hakan and Abdullah for my pilot research, however, I did not interviewed them for this research project. But, I took notes while I continually visited them over the course of my study to date and made participant observations during our gatherings.

Moreover, Cavan Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) football club, for instance, is a specific kind of 'sense of belonging' among Irish people in Cavan. The Cavan community is very proud of their GAA football club which indicates their solidarity and also their identity in the County Cavan community.

Another strong 'sense of belonging' of Cavan community is the Roman-Catholic religion and the Cavan Cathedral. Both symbolize togetherness and solidarity in the community in Cavan. Cavan Cathedral, for example, is a place where religious rituals are represented such as funerals, communions, christenings, marriages etc. Having a

Roman-Catholic Irish husband who as well is a supporter of Cavan GAA football club gave me the opportunity to be fully involved within the Irish community and their families.

4.5.Ethical Issues

The principle, guidelines, and the moral rules of anthropologists were standardized and approved in May 2012 in '*The Code of Ethics of the American Anthropological Association*'. The association's mission is to advance anthropological research and to educate its members on ethical obligations. Moreover, every discipline and profession has its own codes of ethics which these are related to both business rules and our responsibilities within our societies. I draw heavily upon this ethical standard and fully comply with its requirements.

As an anthropologist I am aware that my research and practice involve my colleagues, students, research participants and even their family, sponsors and those who provided me funds. As the result of this study may affect every person or institutions involved differently.

Ethical issues before, during and after the interviews have primary importance for an anthropologist. Therefore, from the beginning of my research until the outcome, I was aware of possible ethical problems. Since my participants are human beings with problems, concerns, and interests, it is quite likely that the researcher's own values may not always overlap with those of the participants, and in addition, as Spradley maintained, "in doing fieldwork one is always faced with conflicting values and a wide range of possible choices" (Spradley 1979, p 34).

Most of the in-depth interviews with my participants I conducted at their workplace while they had limited time during their working day. Before I took my notes in the field I asked the participants for their consent. Some of the participants directed some questions remain anonymous. The participants have the right to remain anonymous according to their responsibilities. I carried out a research on skilled professionals with particular “social status” in Ireland. The term “social status” wholly determines social class, which is determined by income, education, occupation and it’s a social prestige (Weber 1964, p. 428).

The research group, Turkish professionals, are in fact an ‘organized social group’, interconnected organizationally through their performance of tech roles. For example, they are employees of the same organization in which hierarchical social structure based on power relations. Therefore, they have the right to know the content and aim of my research. I clearly described my research group my research, aims and methods. As a researcher in this study I have protected their privacy by changing their names, and other identifying features in my final report and as well explained them how I intend to use the data that I gathered in the field in the future.

As a researcher in this study I have been in the field throughout a complete year. Therefore, situation to gather data for my study, in any given time, I was able to take a role as an “insider” or as an “outsider”. In both cases I took care to watch my limits in the field. My main responsibility was to explain them the purpose of my study clearly and open without any missing and misleading information. The ‘observer’ and the ‘observed’ are in the field as an integral part of the situation. However, this situation is a ‘reciprocal’ process with mutual obligation within the same time and context.

However, as an anthropologist we do not have to forget that the observer-observed have differently backgrounds in terms of past experiences which can be reflected in a present situation and determine the reciprocity. This complexity of the observer-observed can influence both data that emerge and as well the interpretation in many ways. Under these complex circumstances a researcher has to present and maintain objectivity without any subjective orientations and other (cultural) influences.

Moreover, I took as well into account my 'emic' and 'ethic' view without any personal biases regarding cultural differences, beliefs and values, diversity, and socio-economic, and political conditions in both countries host and sending country. As a researcher I respected my participant's political, religious, ethnical, moral, etc. and also dispositions. It is obvious that misunderstandings or conflicts with others may occur in the field and thus I took measures to handle these within an anthropological ethical framework.

In addition, I have been awarded a grant from "The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey" (TUBITAK), a financial support for my fieldwork in Ireland. Therefore, I exercised the necessary responsibility towards the institutions whom provided me these funds. Thus, I used my best judgments and conducted myself and my study appropriately.

5. COSMOPOLITAN PECULIARITIES

5.1. The Sense of “Comfort Zone” Created and Maintained in Ireland

Turkish professionals’ represent two different communities in Ireland, firstly, a privileged class called “tech worker” or “knowledge-worker”, and secondly, the Turkish community, where both boundaries are symbolic in nature. It is observed that both boundaries were constantly redefined, reconstructed and reshaped through ‘reciprocal’ relationships and interaction with foreign others within the community. This ‘reciprocal’ relationships with others in both the workplace and community environment involved (shared) knowledges, cultures, values, beliefs, norms, attitudes, and behavioural forms of others.

It is observed that Turkish professionals’ are “observers” and being “observed” in their new environment in same given time. If we follow Rapport “observer” and “observed” are together in a new intersubjective space as equivalent agencies. This space, as Rapport suggested, is a space of universal human being lying beyond language and culture (ibid, 2000, p. 20).

All respondents’ whom, I interviewed gave their answers concerning their lives in Ireland with samples of past life experiences over the course of their lives in their country of origin. However, respondents’ collection of experiences in both Ireland and in the country of origin, and also beyond, I suggest play a crucial role in creating and maintaining a new sense of ‘comfort zone’ in the host country. All respondents’ underlined in their narrative interviews the essential requirements of their ‘comfort zone’ in order to live a meaningful and quality of life within the community. The

‘comfort zone’ reflects both their cosmopolitan disposition, and also chosen community.

Upon my domain analyses I found that certain “Turkish” terms underlined Turkish professionals’ priorities in life, regarding ‘comfort zone’. In their narrative interviews some domain (Turkish) terms’ such as ‘rahat’ and/or ‘rahatlik’ (e.g. easy-going and comfort), ‘zaman’ and/or ‘vakit’ (e.g. time), ‘sakin’ (e.g. calm), ‘kibar’ (e.g. polite), ‘saygi’ and/or ‘saygili’ (e.g. respect and respectful), acik fikirli (e.g. open-minded) etc. were highlighted in relation to a specific situation, (social) context and person(s). Besides, these domain terms, however, were also linked to respondents’ thought, feeling, memory, as well as perception, experience, and interpretation of social world and the ‘other’, which in turn signified the “individuality” of their experiences (ibid. Rapport, 2014, p, 45, 55).

Majority of respondents’ in this study are travelling regularly to different parts of Europe, and as well to the United States. They travel, for example, as a tourist to experience and discover different, exotic cultures, values, beliefs, attitudes, people and places or they travel due to their profession or roles in the company in Ireland. Travelling, I suggest gave them a great opportunity and also the chance to compare the liveability in many different countries, regarding discrimination, (in) security, racism, humanist thought, freedom, respect, human relationships etc.

Additionally, as mentioned in section two, some of respondents’ in this study studied for a certain period of time abroad and/or took part in “Erasmus” exchange programmes and/or attended an English language course or other educational programmes in Europe before they migrated to Ireland. Thus, each of these

respondents' in this study experienced individually a distinctive socio-cultural reality and made behaviour observations of other foreign nationals' in different socio-economic and cultural settings.

For example, Mert, a research scientist in IBM Dublin, moved firstly with his wife and child to Germany to pursue his PhD studies. While he was undertaking his PhD there, he also worked as a researcher. In the interview Mert talked particularly about his previous life experiences in Germany. For example, he claimed he always had a feeling of being an immigrant or foreigner in Germany. Additionally, he and his family experienced discrimination and racist behaviour against foreigners as well as to himself and his family. For instance, just because his little girl was of Turkish origin or a foreigner he witnessed racist behaviour of her teachers' in the "Kindergarten" against his daughter. Eventually, after all those negative experiences in Germany, Mert and his family decided that Germany was not a country for them especially not a place for their young daughter to grow up in.

On the other hand, overall respondents in this study have positive thoughts and feelings about Ireland and Irish people. Semra, for instance, believed that commitment of foreigners to stay here in Ireland was definitively related to the Irish people's character of being 'easy going', 'polite', 'respectful, open-minded, and 'friendly'. Semra defined the Irish people she met in Ireland very positive. She said, "absolutely welcoming people." Upon her experiences with the locals in Ireland, she stated, "there is no question of alienation, exclusion, and accusation regarding you."

Barlas, for instance, was very impressed with Ireland and Irish people, and he admitted;

“Irish people are very friendly which influences the foreigners... I believe that Polish and Romanian are to some degree like the Irish.... I mean ‘easy going’.” The phrase ‘easy going’ was often mentioned in the interviews by participants which means in Turkish “sakin” and/or “rahat”, and describes particularly the Irish character in their point of view.

Additionally, it is observed that most of respondents’ who were living in the country more than two years have adopted this Irish character of ‘easy going’ and also many other Irish characters. For example, after living in Ireland for a certain period Barlas lost his impatience and hot-tempered character he had in Turkey, and turned more in to an ‘easy going’ person. He faces today the situations in his environment in a more calmer mood and is very happy about this change in his life.

Utku and his wife Sevgi, both grew up in a conservative Muslim families, underlined the significance of their ‘comfort zone’ they have created and maintained here in Ireland. Sevgi, for instance, was the only participant in this study who wears a ‘head scarf’, therefore, it is important for her and for her husband Utku to live a life without hesitation in terms of Muslim religion such as beliefs and values.

Utku and his wife Sevgi made many positive and constructive experiences with different cultural identities and created a new social space in the host country. Both valued the term ‘respect’ in human relationships within the community which was highly important in their point of view in order to live a ‘quality of life’. Utku said;

“I do not think this would be even in Turkey this much positive ... the values we hold are pretty much respected here.”

Sevgi, for example, admitted that people in Ireland including other foreigners respected her outlook in terms of her 'headscarf', as well as her religion, belief, and values. She described Ireland as a place of "openness" and "diversity". She said her and her husband Utku both respected the diversity in their new host country. However, Sevgi is very upset that her fellow citizens in her country of origin judged her just because wearing a 'headscarf'. Sevgi said she has more freedom and confidence in Ireland to go to a pub with her workmates after work, as it was very different in her home country. She also stated that people in Ireland were not questioning her headscarf and not criticizing her for not drinking alcohol in the pub.

Barlas is very impressed of Irish people's attitudes towards foreigners, and stated; "the warmth of Irish people pulls the foreigners", and said how polite Irish people were to strangers. Barlas made diverse behavioural observation of other foreign nationals in his new environment in both the workplace and larger community and attributed new meaning to his new experiences. Barlas' interpretation of situations summarize his cosmopolitan orientation and disposition. All experiences he made in different settings with others developed both his self-awareness and also his personal identity. Barlas stated;

"giving way to strangers or greeting people on the street, saying hello and asking how you are, and starting a conversationthose things accumulates with time in one's life".

If we follow Giddens statement (ibid. 1991, p, 187) Barlas reacted selectively to diverse sources of experiences he made in Ireland and incorporated them into his day-to-day personal life. "Imagination" is a human capacity to which psychologists called

'time travel'. (ibid. Bloch, 2012, p, 107-8, 128). This "time travel" enabled Barlas to remember his past experiences and also past events in his country of origin. However, Barlas developed opposed experiences in his country of origin. Barlas claimed;

"in Turkey this happens exactly the opposite.... these are small things but accumulates as well in one's life".

We can notice that Barlas' bad experiences in his country of origin increased his ongoing desires, regarding "how he would like it to be". Barlas has reconstructed, reshaped and redefined his personal identity through his collection of experiences and developed his cosmopolitan identity. For Barlas, a 'sense of place' and feelings of 'belonging' depends on to what extent his personal values fit into this new environment in order to grasp a 'sense of community' and also a sense of place.

All respondents' described the Irish people they met very friendly, open-minded, respectful, chatty, helpful, easy-going etc. None of them experienced discrimination or racist behaviour towards them. Besides, they maintained plurality of identities in the host country such as neighbour, co-worker, client, student, mother or father etc which in turn allowed them to experience in diverse contexts and settings.

Furthermore, I found that the term 'time' was also associated with their 'comfort zone' in Ireland. As I mentioned earlier, the majority of respondents' were from Istanbul, therefore, losing time in heavy city traffic, working over hours, struggling with time management, and having limited time for self and/or for family, friends or beloved was always an issue to cope. However, unlike in Turkey, Ireland created the value 'time' to use it for own personal well-being and quality of life such as attending

a specific course for personal development or a yoga course or a foreign language course, as well as travelling and discovering foreign places, cultures etc..

Sinem, was living in the eastern (Anatolia part) part of Istanbul and working in the western (European part) part of Istanbul. Thus, Sinem was struggling with managing her time. Sinem could not use her time for her personal interests such as attending a course or meeting her friends instead she spent most of her limited time she had with her beloved or family members in Turkey because she had no time to see her family or friends during the week. She stated that in Ireland she could organize her time easier due to a much better ‘work-life balance’ in her company. Sinem confessed that;

“in Turkey, time was limited ... when I was in Turkey I never was abroad... or only one time I travelled as a tourist to Italy for a week ...after I moved here to Ireland I was in Amsterdam, France, Germany, America, and so on.... I started a ballet course, a Spanish course, yoga training course etc.”

Ireland, she said, “created time for me and I developed myself with these new interests.”

Berk as well was always complaining about time pressure he had in Istanbul, and now in his host country he has discovered how relevant time was in one’s life. He stated;

“in Turkey I had no evenings free but now during the week, myself and my wife will come home after work, eat our dinner and after dinner people call and we meet each other and do activities together. This was unachievable for me in Turkey”.

Semra loves Ireland as well as the easy life she has in Ireland. She said that she lives very close to Google, only a five minute walk to and from work; she stated; “after work I have plenty of time to start a second job in Dublin” (she laughs). Semra left her family in Turkey and migrated her own to Dublin to start a new life here. After her arrival Semra started to create new circle of friends in Ireland particularly with those who migrated like her for overseas experiences. Thus, her friendship circle in Ireland has increased as time has passed. But she has no doubts if she cannot find time to meet her new friends in Dublin. However, in Turkey where her beloved and family lives was different. It was her duty to create time to see her family especially her mum and dad in regularly basis. She said;

“this city or your environment do not push you to do things, therefore, my time is in my pocket, and only I decide how to spend it”. The city Dublin as well as work-life ballance of her company created time for Semra and also for many others in this study.

Barlas confessed that Ireland was a very easy country to live because he never came across with problems in this country. Barlas in comparing his life in Ireland with Turkey said; “I never came across any problems here in Ireland. The life here is easier than in Turkey, I mean, I walk like on a straight road”.

Esra as well was aware how relevant time was in her personal life. After her arrival in Dublin she started with her PhD. course at the Maynooth University and as well attended special courses such as an Irish dance class, Aikido class etc. She said;

“I am definitively a more active person here in Ireland. After my arrival in Ireland I attended different courses in my university in Dublin. I went to Irish dance classes,

Aikido classes, Yoga classes, and so on. There is time and it is accessible, and people are more helpful here”.

Merve strongly believes that a new life in a host country environment contributed to her self-awareness and self-development. She stated;

“if you live in Turkey you do not know exactly your interests or hobbies or dispositions but if you go abroad you must discover ... you grasp your unknown taste in your life because you meet different people with different backgrounds.... and then you say yourself this is what I like or what I want in life ... and at the end you add too many different things in your life.”

It is observed that respondents' have passion to learn and discover new things in their new environment in Ireland. Through their collection of experiences they discovered and developed a great sense of self and as well of their identity. For example, they often mentioned in their narrative interviews about their journey of “self-discovery” in Ireland.

The ‘comfort zone’ they created and maintained in their new environment in Ireland is highly valued by respondents' in order to live a meaningful and quality of life within the community. Additionally, these domain terms in this research, I would suggest are associated with respondents' ‘personal values’ and also desires which has increased itself over the course of many years. If we summarize these personal values they have maintained in the host country we can notice that they are highly in relation with respondents' thought, feelings, emotions, beliefs, desires and as well with personal memories. These values of Turkish professionals' are highly contextual which are

associated with “value of freedom”, “value of respect”, “value of time”, “value of independence”, “value of self”, “value of identity”, “value of others” etc.

For example, in the case with Sevgi we can notice that her ‘comfort zone’ is highly related to “value of freedom”, “value of independence” and “value of respect”. However, in the case with Semra, we can notice that her ‘comfort zone’ is related to “value of time” because Semra do not feel obliged to find time for her new friends in Ireland which gives her a unique comfort such as a “value of freedom” and “value of independence”. Besides, Semra's ‘comfort zone’ is also related to “value of respect” when she describes the character of Irish people. However, in the case with Mert, his ‘comfort zone’ is strongly linked to “value of respect” and “value of freedom”. Mert's personal values has increased in his previous host country in Germany due to his bad experiences with Germans’. Barlas' personal value is associated with “value of respect” which is highly respected from him in human relationships.

For Appiah, people's action was driven by two contrast psychological states which one of them was *belief*, based on the basis of evidence, and reflected how the world is and the other was *desire*, based on facts about us, and reflected how we'd like it to be (ibid. 2007, p.17-9). Additionally, LeDoux's “narrative self” definition explains respondents' coherent self-consciousness that extends with past and future stories (in Quinn, 2006, p, 366-68).

While respondents' gave meaning to differences in their new environment the process of interpretation evoked by them at the same time. Thus, the meaning they have attributed to differences is produced through interaction of “intrapersonal” (e.g. mental structure), regarding schemas, understandings and assumption, and also through

“extrapersonal” (i.e. world structure). According to Strauss and Quinn, a person’s interpretation of an object or event includes an identification of, and expectation regarding it. However, according to Strauss and Quinn theory the given structure in host country produced similar meanings by respondents through the interaction of both “public world” and “mental structure”. For Strauss and Quinn, the meaning of “objects” or “events” were depended on one’s experiences in a given moment, however, its interpretation was a result of one’s past experiences. Thus, for Strauss and Quinn, similarity in one person’s interpretation was a result of similar life experiences (ibid. 2001, pp. 5-6). The research group were not only homogenous in their objective class categorization they were also highly homogenous in their interpretation of external world and by conceptualizing other and differences. The reason why similar interpretations evoked by this research group, I would suggest was a result of similar life experiences, past imagination acts and acquired experiences in the country of origin, and in addition to similar ongoing desires.

5.2. New Social World with the Other

Turkish professionals’ identified themselves in their narrative interviews as being a “citizen of the world”, and distinguished themselves appropriately. Their ‘cosmopolitan’ characteristics can be observed in their narratives of ‘self’ and ‘identity’. In fact, Turkish professionals’ made diverse ‘individual’ and as well ‘collective’ experiences in which they were ‘observer’ and also ‘observed’ in same given time. Their new environment within the diversity in both the workplace and society are potential places for sense and meaning making. Ulf Hannerz described cosmopolitanism as a ‘perspective’ and also as a mode of managing meaning (ibid. 1990, p, 238). Turkish professionals’ made use of others perspectives, attitudes,

behaviours, cultures, beliefs and values to construct a positive engagement with their new environment in both the workplace and in larger community.

Turkish professionals' interact with a set of 'reciprocal' relationships with 'others' in their new socio-economic structure or in their intersubjective space, as Rapport suggested. In this space, for example, they gain new experiences, knowledge, skills, new social networks, and in addition to they internalized the 'others' and differences in this space, as Quinn and Strauss insisted (ibid, 2001, p, 5-6). Consequently, the self and as well their identity both were attached to an ongoing interaction with others. The "self" and as well "identity" were continuously in change to which ongoing experiences are subordinated (Sökefeld, 1999, p, 422-25, Strauss & Quinn, 2001, p, 5-6). In fact, in their day-to-day interaction in both the workplace and community they encountered diverse cultural circumstances, as well as meanings to which they had to respond. However, involvement in such circumstances led them questioning how to act, respond and represent themselves in these new socio-economic and cultural milieu (ibid. Giddens, 1991, pp. 80-81; ibid. Goffman, 1956, pp. 1-10). Thus, Turkish professionals' constantly reconstructed, redefined and reshaped their given social space with own values and perspectives which is highly associated with their personal identity, as well.

Respondents' in this study were highly homogenous by interpreting the social world and others. Thus, they constructed very similar social world with others. In other words, respondents' understandings of social reality, foreign others and cultures in the host country display similarities. Thereby, they constructed and maintained new forms of identity (e.g. professional, multinational or international, expatriate, immigrant, knowledge-worker, mother or father, foreigner or Turkish national, a student etc.) in their new socio-economic context. Their multiple identities, however, enabled them to

act in different settings (i.e. workplace, local community, cultural settings, institution, neighborhood etc.) and perceive, experience and interpret contextual situations. Thus, plurality of their identities, I would suggest led them to understand differences more in in-depth.

According to my findings and observations, I would suggest that Turkish professionals' constructed a distinctive personal life-world with own personal 'truth' acquired in their collection of experiences. For Rapport, individual's 'consciousness' is associated with 'subjective truth' and has an influence on interpretation and as well on intentions of an individual (ibid. 2014, p, 46). Hannerz's cosmopolitans also construct own personal perspectives through their collection of life experiences, in which the 'self' is subordinated to experiences and constructed in the space (ibid. Hannerz, 1990). Thus, I would also suggest that integrated 'self' of respondents' became an independent 'self' in space through migration and new environment with others. If we follow Ewing, 'continuous self 'is imaginary (ibid. cited in Quinn, 2006, p, 364).

After living in Ireland more than ten years, Hande has reconstructed, redefined, and reshaped her personal identity and as well her values in her new environment in Ireland. For Hande, mentality and opinion of others in her environment were highly significant and valued by her in order to achieve the feelings of 'belonging' to a community or to a place. Hande loved the diversity in her environment, therefore, she felt herself as being part of this cosmopolitan and multicultural life in Ireland. Hande said;

“I always have seen Ireland as a multicultural place, therefore, I belong here, I belong to a part of this multiculturalism. I am not Irish of course but I am also not a foreigner. Am I an immigrant? I think not but I am a part of here. I never see Ireland as being a place only of Irish, I see here more as a multicultural place, therefore, I am a part of this.... I do not see myself only as a Turk but not as Irish as well” . She believes that “multiculturalism” exists especially in the mind of Irish people, and stated, “people do not look at you differently if you are a foreigner here in Ireland”.

Sezen's passion was always to become a part of this diversity in a global city such as in Dublin. She stated;

“before I came here particularly before I started in Google, I always knew that I wanted overseas experiences in my life or to work in an environment where people from different nationalities predominate, but after my arrival here in Ireland I discovered that I really wanted this in my life for example I would never think to work with a single nationality ... after my arrival here I observed the beauty of this culturally diverse environment”.

After two years residency in Ireland Alp and Sibel were highly attached to their new environment within diversity to which they had a great commitment. Sibel and her husband Alp did not have many Irish friends either in their workplace or in private life even though they both embraced Ireland and as well Irish people in their new environment. They both said;

“we adopt Ireland, we feel ourselves absolutely not as foreigners here even though we do not have Irish friends and do not live like the Irish here”.

Both were very happy to found a job in Google Dublin, but more important was for them that their workplace was based in Ireland. Sibel and Alp were my first respondents' in this research. Thus, at the beginning of my fieldwork I felt that both participants' were highly idealizing Ireland and Irish people. Subsequently, I have noticed that majority of respondents' in this research had similar opinion and feelings either long time or short time resident. Besides, Alp and Sibel both admitted like other respondents' in this research they had not substantial Irish or local friends and do not lived like the locals or Irish community in Ireland which led me notice that they do not act and behave necessarily of others response but rather their 'imagination' played a role in constructing new social live and perspective (ibid. Hannerz, 1992, p, 66; Appadurai, 1996, p, 54;). Alp and Sibel created and maintained an "imagined world" through their perspectival construct that is called "ethnoscape" (ibid. Appadurai, 1990, p, 296-7; ibid. Appadurai, 1996, p, 32-6). Additionally, their cosmopolitan orientation enabled them to internalize differences, others and as well the global which, in turn reconstructed the self-identity (ibid. Hannerz, in Rapport, 2014, p, 31; ibid. Rapport, 2000, p. 20). Following Rapport, "all systems of "otherness" were structures of identity" (ibid. 2000, p. 20).

Turkish professionals' in this research also have a passion to discover different places outside of the Dublin city in which a multicultural landscape does not predominates. These places are mostly towns or small villages in which real Irish life can be observed. In contrast to the city life, strangers have more opportunities to meet locals or to discover the Irish culture at first-hand in these places.

Baran, for instance, has lived in Dublin for over than seven years and likes particularly the Irish countryside. He believed that he has discovered Irish culture and

people in their natural habitat. I found Baran's talk in his narrative interview very enthusiastic when he was expressing his feelings and observations about Ireland and others. He stated;

“if you ask me what I like about this culture, I would say I like the warmth of people pretty much. I like these people with a stress free attitude because...how can I put into words... it cause to kindness ...a simple example in this case would be holding a door for someone or if someone waits for someone is crossing the street or if you need help someone runs to you for help....how shall I say... there is no force but it is heartfelt warmth.”

It is observed that participants' highly appreciate 'politesse' or put in other words, cosmopolitan 'good manners' which is a civil attitude that originated from etiquette (ibid. Rapport, 2014, p, 9).

Cem is married to an Irish woman for seven years. Thus, he has numerous of Irish friends and is more engaged with Irish people and Irish families. Cem stated that he had more opportunity than other Turkish nationals' to discover closer the Irish culture and engage with Irish people more easy. Cem with his cosmopolitan personality gets on very well with people like himself, regarding peoples' perspective and attitude. He said; “people here are not grouping people in reference to their views and beliefs”. Cem has great feeling of 'belonging' to the Irish community in which he lives with his family. Cem claimed;

“this life style, this mentality and attitude of Irish people constitute my main attachment to Ireland.... as well as peoples' respect in others lifemy comfort is given through these things which I like in Ireland”.

Cem is very impressed from Irish people's attitudes, behaviour and mentality in his new environment, which, in turn, indicates his 'cosmopolitan character, regarding respect, etiquette', a good manners or politeness.

Respondents' cosmopolitan identity, and as well their new environment boost them to be a part of this cultural diversity in Ireland. However, it was also observed in this research that Ireland's liberal form of politics mastered the diversity in many multicultural cultural settings, and as well in MNC. Besides, I would also suggest that Ireland's 'emigration' history plays as well an important role by Irish people's common sense and attitudes towards foreigners or immigrants in their country.

I attempted to establish to what extent their culture overlapped with the local culture. However, the respondents' found some similarities in Irish culture in comparison to Turkish culture, especially in Irish families' relationships and their strong family bonds. Obviously, the respondents' had both likes and as well dislikes in terms of local culture. For instance, most respondents' do not like the Irish food or Irish weather. However, some respondents', mostly single, do like the Irish way of socializing in the Irish pubs but some admit they would not like it.

Utku, for instance, said that some of Irish culture overlaps with his own but some did not. On the other hand, he also stated, if I would ask him the same question in Turkey he would give me the same answer. He underlined this to being either more traditional or to have being imposed by mothers' and fathers' culture. More importantly he stated; "there is no culture that I would reject, but I have respect, even if it is different and it does not fit my own. "There is nothing I do not respect" indicates his

cosmopolitan perspective and disposition. Utku explained his thoughts more in detail, and said;

“I do not want to say do overlap or do not overlap instead I would prefer to say, which sounds more logically for me, we have different orientations”.

Like his wife Sevgi, Utku underlined particularly the “value of respect” and also “value of freedom” he had in Ireland. Utku admit, “we can say we have more freedom here in Ireland compared we have in Turkey”. However, “cosmopolitanism” is linked to a philosophy of freedom and attached highly importance to the freedom of ‘Anyone’ to choose a life-style and to form a world-view” (ibid. Rapport, 2014, p, 7).

In addition, Utku always had a cosmopolitan perspective even while he was living in Turkey. Therefore, for Utku, living a meaningful life means to have respect to each other in terms of different world-views, values, beliefs, cultures, attitudes and orientations. Utku's narratives uncovered his cosmopolitan character and also disposition and explained how people should create their own space or place in host country. He claimed;

“fall into step with does not mean to certainly do the same things...more to find a place for self in this new environment in Ireland.... if you think like that there is no problem, everyone can find a place or create own space... my personal opinion is to blend both... I have my own culture and the other’s have their own... thus I never finalize my interaction with them, I never retire into one’s shell.... I keep my own values, but at the same time I grab their values that I like”, he said.

Utku strongly believes that he has developed himself in his new environment in Ireland; “I look at people differently now”, he said.

We can follow in Utku's narrative his cosmopolitan character in both Ireland and Turkey, and as well beyond. Utku and also his wife Sevgi are both ready to adopt different cultural values, norms, beliefs, behaviour forms of others etc. if it suits them. They both take pleasure of other's and respect differences due to their great commitment to their environment and diversity.

Roman Stoics believed that “all humans inhabit two communities, one of which is determined by place of birth and the other that represents a community of human kind, therefore ‘to be world citizen one does not need to give up local identification which signifies a richness in one's life’” (Wallace & Held, 2017, pp. 4-13).

For Baran, to be fully integrated means; “if you stop one day saying we did this or they do this differently you are already integrated”, he said. According to Baran, a person's prejudice can disappear in time if the person is ready to do so. Baran believed that there are still lots of things to learn in this country and it will never have an end. Baran's desire to other cultures in his multicultural environment indicate his life-long learning and discovery cosmopolitan character, therefore, he rejects isolated and closed lifestyle and also culture.

Respondents' in their new environment are very sensitive to global social affairs that happens in the world. Diversity ‘commitment’ of respondents' gave them a great understandings of globally integrated social conditions and global crisis. In addition, the majority of their workmates in MNC are different nationals. Thus, working under one roof with diverse cultural entities means being aware of national and political issues

happening of others home country. Some respondents', for instance, emphasized a unique political story that occurred in the past between Turkey and Israel, and explained how they overcome this political crisis between their Israeli co-workers in their workplace. For example, they claimed that political discourses or debates do not really effect their relationships with other(s) in their workplace because politics or political affairs of nation-states are discussed more in general and liberal way without taking a side.

Turkish professionals' participated in diverse global and local social movements or protests. Turkish professionals' participation in locally integrated social movements in Ireland shows us that local affairs are also part of their commitment. For example, Turkish professionals from LinkedIn and Facebook voluntary supported lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender (LGBT) community in the year of 2017 in Dublin city (see Appendix C 6, and 7). The aim of the LGBT pride was to create an awareness among the Irish public to give support for same sex marriage referendum happened in 2017 in Ireland. After the referendum in 2017 same sex marriage became legal in Ireland.

Gamze, for example, often uses the social media to be organized for upcoming globally or locally social movements in Dublin. For example, she participated with her French colleagues from her workplace in "Je suis Charlie" (i.e. I am Charlie) demonstration in Dublin city which is a slogan and a logo adopted by supporters of "freedom of speech" and "freedom of press".

In addition, fund raisings or "charities" are popular activities among the Irish population and also among international employees' in MNC in Ireland and as well

among respondents. It is observed that respondents have passion to take part in these charity programmes in order to contribute financially to someone who needs help.

Imagination as a human activity, I would suggest is a highly significant human activity to be and act like the other. For Rapport, “imagination is an activity in which ‘Anyone’ creates the essence of their being in order to be free from a given reality, therefore it is a capacity to go beyond given situations as well as settings” (ibid. 2014, p, 166). For instance, imagination enabled participants to be and act like the “other”, as it was observed in LGBT community’s social movement in Dublin. Besides in 2017 some respondents’ participated together with other local community in the protest of “anti-water charge” in Dublin city, and as well for improvement in “abortion law” in Ireland. Majority of respondents gave support for legitimate abortion in Ireland. All these local protests, however, created a great reaction throughout Ireland.

These movements also represented a globally, integrated social condition in present modern era. However, an awareness of global affairs of individuals or of members of society were seen essential for ‘solidarity’ and contributed to feelings of ‘togetherness’ to which respondents have great commitment. For example, Beck’s “*world risk society*” was associated with global crises in the world (ibid. 2005, pp. 358-59). Beck’s statement was that “only awareness of common global risks could help to cultivate a universal belief in a globally shared collective future” (ibid. in Brown Wallace Garrett and Held David, 2017, p, 3), as was observed in this research.

5.3. Creating and Maintaining an Imagined Community

Turkish professionals’ collection of experiences in both the host country and country of origin, and as well beyond, enabled them to make-sense of own life and as

well of social world with others. First of all, they all created and maintained a sense of “comfort zone” and achieved their ongoing desires in the host country. Besides, their ongoing ‘reciprocal’ relationship with foreign others and cultures triggered their self-awareness and also their sense of self. The self, as LeDoux observed, was a total organism surrounded physically, biologically, psychologically, socially and culturally. Respondents’ involvement in multiple social processes, resulted in multiple aspects of “self”, as LeDoux indicated. Their perception, motivation, and action in the host country had influenced their thought or working memory, as LeDoux suggested (ibid. cited in Quinn, 2006, p, 363), which in turn constructed a sense of belonging and a great sense of identity.

Following Yuval-Davis’s concept of “imagined community”, she suggested that people’s social locations, experiences, and definitions of ‘self’ and their ‘values’ were necessary to construct an imagined community (ibid. 2006, p. 204). This study confirms Yuval-Davis statement. Turkish professionals’ commitment to host country along with constructive experiences in both the workplace and multicultural society extended their self in space. The self is redefined, reconstructed, and revised among Turkish professionals’ in this new social space. More importantly is that their ongoing personal desires are satisfied through construction of own values in host country environment. Thus, the values of respondents, I argue resulted in personal ‘comfort zone’ and chosen community.

Moreover, this research group in this study represents a specific socio-economic profile. Thus, they are subjected to particular group of people with similar background and goals in Ireland. However, it is observed in this study that respondents’ have the competence to go beyond their structural emplacement or class categorization. Their

circumscribed class boundaries had not stopped them to make sense of life and acquired experiences in the host country. Thus, Turkish professionals' created and maintained a new social world with others and re-established their self and identity. Following Rapport, Turkish professionals' current life in Ireland was the issue of past 'imaginative' acts of world-creation which was obtained through continuing practice in the host country (ibid. 2003, p, 5-6).

Amit suggested that people's "personal social networks" can create an organized community or a social group that constitute an "imagined community", even though people do not know each other and imagine themselves to share distinctive collective identity. Amit suggested through "personal social networks" they can mobilize themselves as a community and create their own cultural imaginings, categorical identities, and notions of home, belonging, and community (ibid. 2002, p, 22-4).

In fact, Turkish professionals' in this research represent the essential of an "organized community" or a "social group", as Amit had pointed out. They are employees of similar IT companies and perform highly identical tech roles in these companies in Ireland. However, in the beginning of their arrival in Ireland the majority of respondents' preferred to live in neighborhoods where other foreign professionals' or 'expatriates' community live. Besides, they choose to live this life style because they felt it is safer and easier to build new friendship circle. Yet, for some respondents' this life style became their habit which they cannot avoid but for others' was an experience or orientation in their new environment.

However, in the course of time, some of respondents' used their 'personal social networks' and mobilized themselves to maintain an 'imagined community' either with

other professionals' or with the local community. Baumann's "liquid modernity" concept, for example, represents an era of flexible realities and freedom of choices, in which individuals can make diverse choices such as placeless identity, a place to go, as well as to choose a community or a group to belong to as well (ibid. 2001, pp. 121-129).

In addition, Cohen insisted that boundaries of community were largely 'symbolic' in nature to which members of a community can attach their own meanings. Thus, people's understandings of their community existed in their orientation to its symbols (ibid. 2010, pp. 12-17). The Turkish professionals' have willingness to live within the local community, even outside of central Dublin where local community and its culture predominates. However, we can notice that the meaning Turkish professionals' attributed to their values defines their chosen community's symbolic boundaries and also their understandings of these boundaries.

5.4.The Meaning of 'Home'

One of my objectives in this research is to reveal the (re)formation of "belonging" by exploring the symbolic nature of home, importance of family and familiarity, and feelings of being at home in a place, the role of a place, and also the role of society and environment. Rapport and Dawson suggested that "people can be at home in personal narratives that can move away from any notion of fixity" (Rapport, N, Dawson, A, 1998, p, 6).

In the beginning of their journey to Ireland, the majority of respondents came with the intention of staying for a short period. However, their aspiration for further advancement and career development has changed their intentions and they extended

their stay for much longer period. The longer they stayed, the more attached they became into the new socio-economic structure in Ireland, and possibly the more difficult it became to leave today. Indeed, changes in work motivation or other career related goals have an impact on their future orientations in terms of settling in their host country or moving to a different country for a new work and adventure. Thus, Turkish professionals' continuously changing employment and career related goals indicate their fascination and openness to IT companies beyond Ireland. Consequently, this choice or idea of respondents' determines the flexibility and also slipperiness in their orientation in the near future.

Merve, a single woman from Microsoft, has always an option to work in the United States. She stated;

“my future plans now... if you work in an information technology company which is an American company... there is always an option in your mind ...I do not know yet when but I keep it as an option in my mind”.

We can notice that Merve and many other participants' have always that option in MNCs to leave Ireland and move to another country. However, America seems to be an easier option for them to obtain a job as most of MNCs in Ireland have their main headquarters in the United States.

However, in their narrative interviews they associated at first step the concept of 'home' or homeland with nostalgic past, regarding family, beloved, familiarity or childhood in the country of origin. When I asked Merve what it means to be at home after her arrival in Ireland, she explained the meaning of home in two different

contexts. I have noticed that Merve has developed in time two different aspects of home in host country environment. Merve stated;

“ first of all I feel me like at home when I go and visit my parents in Turkey... it's look more like a home there I feel me more safe... but this is because my family lives in this house... it is familiar very familiar”.

Merve also narrated home in relation to her present situation in host country;

“ It is like a home for me now... if I stay in Turkey for fifteen days after a while I start to miss here.... this is maybe because I have non-return intention to Turkey... but some day if I have return intention I can have a different opinion as now”, she confessed.

However, most married respondents' with children have different understandings of home concept than Merve. It is observed that these married respondents' identified their concept of home particularly in Ireland. The concept of home, I would suggest is also associated with a person's perception and identification of family concept. For married respondents'', for example, family concept was regarded as nuclear family and involves their present husband or wife or their children rather than their parents in the country of origin.

It is observed that Ireland became a special place or environment for respondents', after all their routines, acquired experiences and personal social networks. Ireland exists in their personal narratives in which their routines, experiences, journey, arrival, networks, neighborhood, community, work, workplace and workmates etc. belongs, as well.

Semra, for instance, strongly believes that Ireland will be an important place in her life in the future with all her achievements to date. Semra has established her routine life with diverse patterns of activities in her day-to-day life in Ireland. Semra stated;

“in two years you experience lots of necessary things..... these things are in your memory now ...Ireland will definitively remind you something at this stage.....it is your routine where now your comfort zone is”.

Semra also said she has feelings of ‘belonging’ to her country of origin;

“the reason why I have that feeling is because all my friends, beloved, everything about my childhood is there, therefore, Turkey is valuable country for me....everything I see in this country has a meaning for me It is inside of you, it is you, and it is these things that shaped you to date”, she said.

Barlas, for instance, has ‘emotional commitment’ to Ireland;

“I think Ireland made a great contribution to myself, to my personality, and to my point of view, because of all these positive feelings I feel ‘indebtedness’ and ‘loyalty’ to this country and also Irish people”, he admitted.

In addition, Barlas was not the only one who has emotional commitment to Ireland and feelings of ‘indebtedness’ and ‘loyalty’. It is observed in this study that many other respondents’ have similar feelings of belonging and commitment.

Douglas suggested that “home could be defined as a pattern of regular doings, furnishings, and a physical space in which certain communitarian practices were

realized”. Douglas also believed that “home begins by bringing space under control”. Thus, for Douglas, home is not only as a space, it involves regular patterns of activity (Douglas 1991, p 289). Similarly, Berger suggested that home is a routine set of practices and a repetition of habitual interactions, and also in memories, myths, and stories carried around in one`s head in a world of movement (ibid. cited in Rapport, 2014, p, 7).

Terkenli noticed that concepts of ‘home’ can be “spatially” in terms of house, neighbourhood, city, nation or region or “temporally” which is based on activities, habits and knowledge and “socially” by establishing social relations with others and also “symbolically” which develops through emotional commitment, familiarity with past actions and future intentions (Terkenli, 1995).

Similarly, Blunt described home as a residence, place, or where one`s family is or a nostalgic past or as well a utopian future. Blunt suggested that people can experience home in many ways such as in fixed locations, specific practices and routines, social relationships, and also with emotional connections (Blunt, 2005). If we follow Gupta and Ferguson “mobile and displaced people’s home and homeland concepts are symbolic construction and differently constructed in different settings” (Gupta and Ferguson 1997, p 39).

While living and working in a new host country respondents’ accumulated new memories along with new life experiences. In addition, their social networks and practices are as well integrated into their routine life in Ireland. For this reason, the ‘sense of place’ or ‘sense of home’, I would suggest is spatially, temporarily, emotionally, and also symbolically.

“Home” among Turkish professionals’ is spatially that is associated with Ireland, Dublin, workplace and neighbourhood. Home is temporarily and is linked to their knowledge, habits, experience, skills and activities, and as well social networks. Besides, home is symbolically constructed among them through their emotional commitment, regarding constructive personal achievements and acquired positive experiences in Ireland.

Thus, respondents’ present concept of ‘home, I would suggest may defined as a ‘travelling signifier’. For example, Rapport suggested cosmopolitanism as being a ‘travelling signifier’ (ibid. 2014). In this case, I argue that home among Turkish professionals’ is highly identical with ‘cosmopolitanism’ because both are portable. Turkish professionals’ conceptualize ‘home’ in relation to their movement thus their home became synonym for house through their routinization. Following Douglas, home among Turkish professionals’ is an environment where their self-identity is best grounded. Thus, home is about moving, perceiving, ordering and constructing (ibid. Douglas, cited in Rapport and Dawson, 1998, pp, 6-7, 21).

However, in the process of time, the Turkish nationals’ in this study felt a great sense of “loyalty” and “indebtedness”, not only to Ireland but also to those companies’ that employed them. However, such sense of “loyalty” and “indebtedness” to Ireland among Turkish professionals’ is not evidence to describe them as settled migrants’ in the host country. After all positive and constructive experiences achieved in Ireland, they will follow different passages in their lives, however, with a great sense of identity and feelings of belonging. No matter where their ‘passage’ will lead them in the future, they will always carry this “indebtedness” and “loyalty” to Ireland.

6. WORK, CLASS AND BOUNDARY

6.1. Turkish Professionals as a Class in Ireland

Migration can be an important turning point in the lives of individuals' and through the respondents' migration experiences and life stories, it is possible to trace their class background in their home country and/or their success in 'improving' or 'maintaining' a privileged social status through the process of migration. Social class is defined as an objective category which can be described by criteria such as educational capital, occupation, and income. Thus, it is possible to divide respondents' into various classes and analyze how they have performed in their destination country. However, in my research, the respondents' comprised a rather homogenous group in terms of educational capital, social status, income, and occupation.

Respondents' overall in this study had gained a distinguished 'cultural capital' before migrating. The majority of respondents' had received a Bachelor's degree and/or a Master's degree in their country of origin, whereas some earned a Master's degree, and/or a Ph.D. degree in Europe. Only one respondent earned a Bachelor's degree in France, and completed a Master's degree in Ireland. Thus, in terms of educational capital, the respondents' would be classified in Ireland as a skilled migrant class. Bourdieu, for example, defined 'academic qualifications' as both a patent of nobility and also as a right to occupy a position (1996 p, 142).

The respondents' had improved and/or maintained a higher status of 'professionalism' and acquired new work skills, experiences, knowledge, and also a recognized work identity, and a new social status within the new socio-economic structure in Ireland. In addition, Turkish professionals' are also a 'human capital' for

'high-tech' industries and contribute to Ireland's economic development. Moreover, these Turkish professionals' are also seen as "global talents" in knowledge-based economies.

All respondents' highlighted in their narrative interviews they belong to a selected 'privileged' class residing and working in Ireland. Their mutual socio-economic status and identity indicates their collective performance of belonging and forming a group identity. In addition, respondents' competency and ability, regarding managing different cultural meanings, openness, and commitment to diversity, and in addition to expertise, skills, educational capital, knowledge, and experience have all been verified in their job interview processes which also included an aptitude assessment.

This privileged class in this research are described in migration studies as 'skilled' or 'elite'. Castells (2000), in his work on the "*Network Society*," labelled these class as "professional transients". Sklair (2001) placed them in the framework of a "transnational capitalist class", while Friedmann (1999), in his theory on class formation, positioned them at the top of a global hierarchy, and regarded them as members of a "transnational elite" (cited in Fecter, 2011, p, 33).

However, Turkish professionals' in this research strongly believe that immigrants' 'integration' and 'adaptation' in the host country depends on one's location in the country of origin. Nearly all participants' whom, I interviewed, agreed that integration and adaptation in the host country depended on where a person comes from in Turkey. Merve explained this as;

"....depends where they are coming from... he or she can spend time to find a community like him or herself... even for someone from Turkey depends on his or

her location in the country of origin... if this person is open-minded with Western perspectives, they can adapt very easily”.

Sibel has similar point of view, and suggested;

“It depends on a person if he or she is open for these things.....”, and claimed, “There is a reason why people like us are here in Ireland.... In Ireland we can divide the Turkish community in two categories, firstly, people like us who are working in multinational companies, young and well-educated, and secondly, people who immigrated to Ireland years ago as working class or as economic migrants”.

Arda, for example, participated in AISEC programme prior to his journey to Ireland. With the help of AISEC programme Arda worked in a MNC in Germany for a short period of time. Thus, the AISEC programme made him familiar with cultural diversity in a foreign country environment. Arda claimed that many of his co-workers’ in Microsoft Dublin had undergone a similar pathway previously such as been part of an AISEC programme or Erasmus programme or other international faculty educational programmes. Arda explained this similarity with his workmates; “everybody here has gone through the same or similar schooling steps”, he said. Similarly, Bourdieu’s “habitus” was an embodied history and linked to past experience of a person (Bourdieu , 1990, pp. 52-56).

I asked Arda about his adaptation process in a multinational company, where cultural diversity predominates. Arda's answer clearly described his past ‘habitus’ in Turkey. He said;

“In Turkey too, a certain category of people live like the Europeans, so the adaptation for me was quite easy. It is a kind of cultural transaction”.

6.1.1. Turkish community in Ireland

Turkish professionals' in this research are aware of other less privileged Turkish immigrant community working and residing in Ireland. They all underlined in their narrative interviews the distinction between themselves and other Turkish immigrant groups in Ireland. For example, they suggested that these Turkish immigrants' act and behave like 'outsiders' in the host country, and preferred to stay within their own ethnic boundaries. However, as I mentioned before, the Turkish community in Ireland is a heterogeneous community varying in social status, regional origins in Turkey, and time of arrival and place of residence in Ireland. Such information in the field gave me the responsibility to give an insight to the differences between both Turkish communities in Ireland. My research mainly focused on the experiences of Turkish professionals' working and residing in Ireland, however, the other less privileged groups will only be touched upon as they emerged in this study. It is for sure important to further discuss these different communities in a comparative perspective.

The Turkish community in Ireland, though a small community, is a heterogeneous community. As a researcher in this study with a Turkish origin, I had the opportunity to observe this heterogeneity. When I was conducting my research with Turkish professionals', I realized that my research group often highlighted the differences between themselves and the other Turkish class.

Similar in many other countries, there is a Turkish immigrant Association in Dublin which was established among the Turkish community in Ireland. The 'Turkish Association' in Dublin aims to bring the 'Turkish community' living in Ireland together through regular cultural events such as a specific Turkish festival, a Sunday breakfast or an evening Turkish meal. At the commencement of my fieldwork, I visited several

Turkish events and festivals, which were organized by the Dublin based ‘Turkish Association’. My purpose of those visits was to meet Turkish people who were working IT companies in Ireland. However, I soon became obvious that few Turkish professionals’ were interested in these Turkish events or of Turkish Association gatherings in Dublin.

However, some respondents’ did attend these Turkish events or gatherings, which were organised by Turkish Association in Dublin, but afterwards they were critical in some respects. They found their way of thinking; lifestyle and other aspects in life were completely different from their own. In such circumstances, they mostly broke up socialising with them and with the Turkish association in Dublin.

Most of research participants’ and their Turkish friends had negative experiences with those Turkish immigrants’, which kept them later back to participate. Therefore, none of respondents’ in the study considered participating in the future in this Turkish Association organised events. I believe this is strongly related to their cosmopolitan dispositions, lifestyle, expectations, and values.

In addition, Turkish immigrants’, whom I met through the Turkish Association, worked as taxi drivers, barbers or were running a Turkish food shop or restaurant, and so on. Most of respondents’ encountered them in Turkish shops or in a taxi, or at events organised by the Turkish Association. Besides, several respondents stated in their interviews that they did not know of the existence of the Turkish Association in Dublin until I had mentioned it to them in the interview.

Several respondents such as Koray and his wife Arzu, Baran and his wife Esra, Utku and his wife Sevgi, and Mert had grown up in a more traditional and

conservative way. These couples had also visited the Turkish Association and took part in Turkish 'Sunday breakfast' or for dinner during the Muslim 'Ramadan' religious fast. However, after having some conversations with these Turkish immigrants, they realized after that they do not have much in common and/or common topics that they could discuss. They also described these Turkish immigrants as not being open-minded, which, in turn, implied not been open to other cultures, values, lifestyle, beliefs, and opinions. They believed that their mentality was too conservative and old fashioned. Additionally, I also learned that the majority of the participants while previously living in Turkey, chose not to interact with these mentality of people.

Community, as A. Cohen had pointed out, exists in the minds of its members (ibid. 2010, pp, 12-7). Both Turkish communities orientation to communities' symbols and the meaning they attached to this symbols differed from each other. Fernandez suggested that the narrative of social relationships were demonstrated in boundary-building and boundary-maintaining. However, boundaries were both mental and material devices (ibid. Fernandez, 2000, pp. 117-20). It is also a matter of identity, as Vertuyken had pointed out, nationality, gender, personality, social membership, likes and dislikes, prejudice etc. are matters of identity. These categories indicates to which one is socially recognized, signifying belonging (Verkuyten 2006, p 45).

Emre, who grew up in a rural part of Turkey, made in a Bourdiuesian sense an 'investment' in his cultural capital in Istanbul. Emre underlined the gap between himself and the other Turkish group even though he comes from a very similar background, and he stressed how he developed himself through the years and succeeded in escaping from his past habitus.

Emre talked about his opinion regarding the Turkish Association in Dublin, and he confessed;

“I come from a rural part of Turkey (he used the Turkish term “varoslardan”) I definitively cannot get along well with this group because there is a huge difference in terms of culture, understandings, and perspectives... I think it is related to the world-view... you have to develop yourself... as I mentioned before I’m get on well with the employees in Facebook, Google... one day I said to myself to go to this event to meet some Turkish people... you miss to speak Turkish indeed.... I saw the mentality of them.....I didn’t want to attend because it was this same mentality that I had run away in Turkey (he laughs)... for example, there was a Turkish event mostly with families but different ... regarding world-view they are too limited you cannot find a topic to speak in common if your world-view is wide you can speak and discuss about everything... I attended only once but I left after thirty minutes’, he stated.

Following Parekh, in this case, Turkish professionals’ social identity is classified through their involvement in a variety of relationships, occupying different roles, and being members of various organizations, groups, and communities. Their social identity links them to a particular group of people, as well as represents a particular way of looking at the world, and also gives his or her life a meaning and depth (ibid. 2008, p 15, 24).

6.2. Boundary building and maintaining among Turkish Professionals

In this study, I noticed that Turkish professionals’ class boundaries’ represented similarities in their living or housing form (e.g. in neighborhood), social networks, role

performance and work environment. Meike Fechter (2011), in his chapter “*Living in a Bubble*” *Expatriates’ Transnational Spaces*, discussed the boundaries of privileged classes, regarding expatriates’ community living and working in foreign countries. Fechter strongly argued that privileged migrant classes or expatriates’ life in host country were structured by boundaries that they had actively constructed, maintained, and negotiated. Fechter, in discussing the “Euro-American” expatriates living in Jakarta, suggested that the Euro-American expatriates’ life in Jakarta was structured by boundaries such as ethnic or cultural boundaries, and also race and gender. Fechter also observed that the “Euro-American” expatriates in Jakarta represented an encapsulated community in host country (Fechter, 2011, p. p 35). However, several other scholars like Castells, Sklair, and Friedman suggested that national borders or other boundaries such as those classifying cultural, social, or ethnic group boundaries were perceived as *irrelevant* for ‘privileged’ movers or ‘mobile’ professionals (ibid. cited in Fechter, 2011 p, 33-4).

However, it is observed that Turkish professionals’ boundaries in this study are strongly linked to their work and socio-economic status in Ireland rather than to ethnic or cultural boundaries, and race or gender. Turkish professionals’ community space such as in neighborhood involves their fellow workers in their company or other tech workers from different IT companies in Ireland. Turkish professionals’ personal social networks enabled them to create an organized community or a social group that constitute an “imagined community”. However, it is also observed that participants’ in this research mobilized themselves and moved on from their given circumscribed boundaries and imagined a community that already constituted a community such as the Irish locals.

Furthermore, respondents' in this study are not affected by boundaries outlined in Fecters' study (2011). But Turkish professionals' with a Turkish passport are required to renew their work permit and residency annually with Garda National Immigration Bureau (GNIB) even though their employment contract with their company or employer is unlimited. However, respondents' in this study are not working under short-term employment contracts in Ireland.

Favell (2003), for example, criticized the notion of 'borderless lives' of mobile professionals', and suggested that their lives are significantly affected by boundaries such as citizenship entitlements, education, housing market, health, and pension system (ibid. cited in Fecter, 2011, p 34). However, Turkish professionals' in this research are not affected by those boundaries in Ireland, as it was observed in Favell's (2003) study. They are not affected by boundaries such as citizenship entitlements, education, mortgage and housing markets, and health and pension system.

The 'social space' of Turkish professionals' in both the workplace and neighborhood is actively recreated and remaintained through interaction with other foreign nationals and as well with the locals. Turkish professionals' are observer and observed in this social space with others as equivalent agents. Respondents are highly active in their new social space with others that allows them to make diverse observations of differences in their environment such as attitudes, perspectives, behaviors, values etc. Thus, Turkish professionals' attribute in every opportunity new meanings to their acquired experiences in this space with others. Their involvement, interaction, and performance in this new social space with others let them to reconstruct, redefine, and reshape their personal identity and also maintain new boundaries with others.

Similarly, Fecter had pointed out; “expatriates’ do not just reside in a space but were actively involved in this space in their creation through maintaining their boundaries” to which he referred to ‘constructivist notion of space’. This constructivist space was created and constantly been revised through individual’s own practices (ibid, 2011, p, 37).

Overall respondents’ in this study created and developed their circle of friends particularly in their workplace and/or from similar IT companies in close proximity were the other options in building and maintaining social networks. Following Fernandez, social relationships of respondents’ are demonstrated in boundary-building and boundary-maintaining (ibid, 2000, pp, 117-20). In fact, Turkish professionals’ working in IT companies in Ireland are involved in a different structural dynamics. Their socio-economic status and ‘forms of capital’ empowered their well integration and access to various social networks such as engagement with new people (ibid. Amit 2011 p, 13).

Semra works in Google and her circle of friends are only drawn from an IT environment. She expressed dissatisfaction about this situation and described her habitus as a “closed environment”. She stated;

“Eighty percent of my friends are from Google and some are from Facebook, LinkedIn, and Twitter. If you look closer, we do all do similar things in our workplaces and also in our neighbourhood. I do not have any friends who are employed outside of IT Company. We are here in a closed environment”.

Berk from Amazon knows it is very easy for him to find people from same background in Ireland. Berk confessed;

“It is very easy here to find people and Turkish nationals in your level, in your own educational and cultural level. The country is generally recruiting engineers. I do not have difficulties in finding other engineer groups.... we have the same mentality in the end”.

Like other respondents’ in this study, it was also easy for Berk to create and maintain circle of friends through his workplace and socio-economic status in Ireland.

In fact, all ‘expatriates’ in host country share similar stories, such as leaving home and homeland, families, beloved and friends for overseas job opportunities. So, sharing similar stories, I would suggest created easier grounds to build friendships. Thus, all newcomers’, and as well the respondents’ in this study created and maintained their new ‘habitus’ predominantly with people similar backgrounds, and goals.

It is important to add this. After a high demand for a international skilled workforce in Dublin, the city turned into a community of expatriates’. However, to meet the housing needs of expatriate’s new building complexes were constructed around multinational companies in Dublin. Thus, it was observed in this research that all expatriates communities in Dublin were living in a ‘small world’. Additionally, belonging to this ‘small world’ means having an environment surrounded with people with similar background, and goals. Deniz, for example, is aware of his life in a small community in Dublin. Deniz admitted;

“Everywhere has an expatriate community, it is a migrant community, and therefore, it is possible to live in this small world”.

Deniz created most of his circle of friends in Ireland from technology companies but the majority of his friends are his co-workers in his company. He suggested that in Ireland there exists many who moved like him. He said,

“...potentially there are many people to meet”. Deniz specifies people like him because he also confess, “...we are sharing lots of things with them.”

As it was contrary to other Turkish community in this study. When I asked Deniz if he knows or has Turkish friends from Microsoft, Amazon, or from Ericsson. His answer illustrated well the “small world” that he belongs to in Dublin.

He said: “I do not know these companies they are more out of the city center. We live here in a very small environment”.

Consequently, Turkish computer engineers, whom I interviewed created and maintained their circle of friends exclusively among other computer engineers either in their current workplace or from similar technology companies in close proximity.

Bourdieu’s “social capital” has influence on social relations, and as well on social networks. Bourdieu defines the “social capital” as “the sum of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of relationships or memberships (e.g. school, family, class, political party etc.) of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (ibid. 1986, pp, 241-58). It is observed that Turkish professionals’ in this research have this “social capital” to create and maintain personal social networks in the host country, and as well beyond Ireland.

In the beginning of their journey to Ireland the majority of respondents’ arrived with the intention of staying for a short period of time. Therefore, they perceived

working abroad as a temporary lifestyle and were intent on mixing as much as possible with other foreign nationals in order to discover the “other” and “culture”. For example, some respondents’ admitted that they avoided to build friendships with Turkish nationals’ in order to get rid of an immigrant stigma in the host country.

Berk from Amazon maintained mainly Turkish friends from computer engineer background like himself. However, he had no desire to expand his circle of Turkish friends any further. He wanted to expand his circle of friends with other foreign nationals in Ireland. After residing one year in Ireland, Berk described Ireland as being an adventure similar to how he felt when he moved to Ireland. He said;

“...as I said before I did not immigrate here, I did not deny my Turkish identity and I did not run away from Turkey ... when I came here first I thought of it as an adventure, therefore, I socialized as far as possible with other foreign nationals”.

In respondents’ narratives and according to my observations, Turkish professionals’ are not actively searching for other Turkish nationals’ in the host country, in contrast to the experiences of Turkish economic migrants’ in Germany witnessed in the past. However, respondents’ current habitus is particularly created through their current workplace in IT companies that also created the opportunity to build relationships with Turkish nationals’ with similar backgrounds. However, the absence of Turkish people in Ireland would not unduly concern them since they are surrounded with people similar roles and backgrounds.

Zeynep's company Google employs the highest number of Turkish nationals which was approximately hundred at the time of the interview. She confessed that her friends

consisted mostly of Turkish people but she also confided that she would not be upset if she did not have any Turkish friends in Ireland. She stated;

“It would not make any difference if we were the only Turkish couple here in Ireland because we did not come here for them...well... we left Turkey for this overseas job”.

Building and maintaining new boundaries at new destination are positive and constructive achievements among the respondents’. However, Turkish professionals’ in MNCs are living in a ‘small world’ due to their ‘circumscribed’ environment, and chosen lifestyle. Thus, they all described their housing-style and life-style in Dublin as a ‘bubble’, which was also observed in Fechter’s study (2011) about Euro-American expatriates living in Jakarta. For example, ‘expatriates’ community in Dublin are living in common neighborhoods which are situated close to their workplace. Therefore, the majority of respondents’, particularly new commers, are living in apartment blocks which are located close to their workplace. These apartments are located in Dublin city center and most of the residents are ‘expatriates’ or foreign workforce such as “tech workers” in MNCs. The apartments are rented fully furnished and purely to accommodate MNC employees. Most respondents’ in this study live in these apartments’ but have no interaction with their neighbors’. This lack of contact was accepted by them as a part of normal city life. However, they chose to live in these apartments due to the feeling of security that it gave them. The Google respondents are using the term “ghetto” where their apartments are located and they described this as a closed “bubble” life-style. All respondents’ from Google, LinkedIn, and Facebook, which are all located in close proximity in Dublin, are living in the same apartment blocks with similar housing-style and lifestyles.

Semra, for example, described her environment where she lives in Dublin as an enclosed environment, and explained;

“I think one of the difficulties in Dublin is that we all live in an enclosed environment and have similar lifestyles. Our friendships expand again according to our current social environment which is really funny...”

If we follow Bourdieu, homogeneity of habitus means being subject to similar social conditions and occupying similar positions in social space. Bourdieu also argued that similar dispositions provoke to develop similar or identical experience. However, Bourdieu's 'habitus' was a set of unconscious dispositions and a product of socialization which shapes individuals' understanding of the world around them, and helps to act in various ways in certain social contexts (1990, pp. 52-56, 63).

Kerem, a “Googler” like Semra, also had a similar opinion. He said, “...the time in Dublin goes very slow...” he also admitted that, “...everyone has an easy life here in Dublin because we all live less than ten minutes from each other”. Yet, while the respondents may bemoan about the enclosed lifestyle that they have in Dublin, but they may complain about this issue, but in reality it became their habit, which they cannot avoid.

Google employs approximately four thousand employees in Dublin, of which only 30% of them are Irish nationals while the remainder moved for 'overseas' work opportunities and are living in same lifestyles in their neighborhoods. Respondents believed that this life style keeps them away from both the real Irish life and from the local community. The majority of respondents had a common issue of having very little integration or friendships with the locals. Mostly they do not have strong friendships

with their fellow Irish colleagues after work. The numbers can be as few as none. However, when they do socialize with other nationalities in their leisure time, they pursue activities similar to the locals do such as hiking, socializing in the pub, supporting fund raising, or charities like the Irish do, watching a GAA football match or an Irish Rugby etc. Following Giddens in this case, lifestyles were integrated into a set of 'adopted practices' that gave material form to a narrative "self-identity. Thus, for Giddens, identities and individuals' practices were adopted and reflexive (ibid. 1991, pp, 80-81).

Briefly, the majority of respondents' mentioned in their narrative interviews that their existing circle of friends was sufficient, therefore they do not need to expand their friendships further with the locals in Ireland. Another important point was that they confessed that the locals do not share similar stories and experiences that the 'expatriates' would do here in Ireland. Irish locals, for example, have their families, and beloved nearby, steady friendships and more ordinary life. Deniz, for instance, explained this situation; "of course I have Irish friends but very few that I go socializing with because they already have a settled life here", he said

An important fact I found is that one's environment very much dictates the social culture one mixes in. For example, the respondents in Dublin were mostly integrated with other foreign nationalities and felt little connection with Irish society and culture, whereas my interviewees from rural Ireland like Cavan and Athlone interacted considerably more with the locals as their social environment constituted up to 80 % Irish nationals.

Giddens suggested that “the choice of work and work milieux forms basic elements of lifestyle orientations”. For Giddens, the selection or creation of lifestyles is influenced by group pressures and the visibility of role models as well as by socio-economic circumstances. Thus, lifestyles, for Giddens, were characteristically attached to a specific milieu of actions (ibid. 1991, p, 82-83). However, Bourdieu defined lifestyle as systematic product of ‘habitus’ (ibid. 1990, pp. 52-56).

Turkish professionals’ in this study are sharing the same habitus with individuals with similar dispositions, interests and goals which let them to produce similar practices, representations, experiences and interpretation towards their life-style, housing-style, working practice and social networks. Turkish professionals’ social construction, however, depends on personal expectation, experiences, values and desires.

Bourdieu’s social theory in terms of “habitus” and “forms of capital” are applicable in this research’s outcomes, regarding objective analysis such as boundary-building and boundary-maintaining, class, and value of cultural capital or educational capital in order to be employee in MNC in Ireland. However, Bourdieu’s theories are incompatible in this study, regarding subjective analysis. This study upholds the individuality of human experiences in terms of self-determination, self-creativity, sense making, meaning producing, and imagination that are associated with construction of belonging and identity among Turkish professionals’. Bourdieu’s theoretical framework is only imported into this study to understand ‘skilled migration’, regarding forms of capital, habitus, network building, boundary building, and boundary maintaining of privileged class category.

Indeed, respondents' acquired cultural and socio-economic capital empowered them to make decision to migrate, to maintain an employment in an IT Company, and to create personal social networks in a host country environment.

6.2.1. Symbolic cultural boundaries among Turkish professionals

“The rite of eating and drinking is a rite of incorporation, rite of contact, rite of food sharing, exchanges, joining, and so on, it is a social union”. In other words, sharing of meals is reciprocal, and in addition sharing of food constitutes the conformation of a bond (Gennep, 1960, pp. 29,32). Traditional Turkish hospitality such as visits at home is common among Turkish people and the respondents confessed that they visit each other at every opportunity.

Misafirlik¹ (i.e. guest hood) is a common Turkish tradition where Turkish people socialize through visiting families, friends, beloved etc. It is a Turkish culture which refers not only to a set of practices that take place in the public world, but also to the texture of everyday life within households, families and workplaces. For example, a family meal out in a restaurant, for example, is both a private and a public event (Share, Tovey, and Corcoran, 2007, p, 203).

¹ Misafir(-lik) the noun misafir(-lik) is in English translation both being a guest or visit and a place where a person go to visit and additionally misafir olmak is comprise of noun and verb means to be a guest by someone.

Turkish professionals' in Ireland also gather themselves in a traditional Turkish 'misafirlik' way which may include invitation for dinner or evening tea. As Amit had pointed out, "community focuses on features that must be held in common by members of a community such as values, meanings, norms, or symbols" (ibid. 2012, p, 5).

However, this type of relationships or gatherings in the Irish culture usually occurs in the Irish 'pubs' or in restaurants. Only the younger and single respondents in this study found it easier to socialize in this Irish pub culture and to integrate with the Irish, whereas some of the older more settled respondents particularly those with kids struggled to integrate with local communities as this Irish pub culture does not suit their family life. However, I found that in Ireland there existed a similar culture known as a "Celli", locals would go to a different neighbour's house nightly, they would socialize through songs, dance and storytelling, but this 'Celli' tradition has been replaced by a 'pub' culture today.

Berk and most of his married Turkish computer engineer friends' age profile is middle-aged. According to Berk both age and marital status are significant determinants for integrating into the Irish pub culture, and thus he said;

"Our employee profile in Amazon differs from the employee profiles of Google, LinkedIn, and Facebook. Our company employs experts from an older age group and they place more emphasis on family life because many of them have their family resident in Ireland".

Some married couples, for instance, have invited Irish couples to their home but on the reciprocal visit, they are often invited to the Irish pub, and this was not always suitable for these respondents. Single younger respondents, on the other hand, were opposite, they actively took part in 'expatriate' events, house parties, city night life, and built up more friendships with foreign expatriates in those activities.

However, solidarity among Turkish professionals existed particularly amongst employees within the same company. It was observed that these Turkish professionals maintained their friendships particularly in a small group in Ireland. Many of these respondents emphasized the lack of any formal structure for forging links among Turkish professionals' in Ireland. They strongly believed that the Turkish Embassy in Dublin was not capable enough to create those links among them. In addition, participants also underlined that embassies of other nationalities in Dublin play a significant role in establishing links among their "professional" classes in Ireland.

Merve has a strong bond with other Turkish computer engineers in her company, in Microsoft. She described this bond as comparable to a family bond. However, she knows very few Turkish professionals' working in other tech companies in Ireland. She emphasized her feelings about this situation;

"We still do not know any Turkish employees from Google or LinkedIn because there is no activities which brings us together. We try here to bond tighter together. I think we are more like a family here. For example, if I have problems I will go straightaway to my Turkish colleagues here, if I was living in Turkey I would go straightaway to my family", she said.

When I asked them what their conversation topic was when they come together, home or elsewhere, Deniz provided an answer which also covers most other respondents in this study; "we are sharing our experiences from our workplaces," he said. Turkish professionals conversation were particularly related to work and work experiences maintained in MNCs located in Ireland and, as well as in the United States. In spite of internal work experiences undertaken in Ireland, Turkish professionals also participated in company training programmes abroad, which were often conducted in

the in the headquarters of MNC in the United States. However, unlike Turkish economic migrant's witnessed in the past (e.g. in Germany) Turkish professional's conversation topics were particularly related to their career and work experiences.

In contrast to the Turkish economic migrants' in those days in Germany these Turkish professionals' are enjoying their current life without intention to invest for the future neither here in Ireland nor in Turkey.

6.3. Cultural Transaction in the Workplace

Turkish professionals' involvement in a new socio-economic structure engaged them with various cultural and other dynamics such as exchanges of knowledges, skills, attitudes, behaviour, work and personal experiences etc. which they have to manage and adapt themselves.

MNCs have their own unique company 'core values' which represents the company's identity and also the vision of the company. For example, one of these 'core values' in MNC is the "diversity" or diversity commitment. The remaining 'core values' of these companies are "professionalism" and "respect". All respondents' underlined the "core values" of their company in their interviews with admiration. It is observed that these company's "core values" are highly internalized and adopted among the respondents'.

Overall, there is a team based work ethic operating in MNCs in Ireland. The employers are encouraging their employees to work with workmates from different backgrounds on the same global projects. Working on a global project means the employee will work with workmates who may be located in various parts of the world.

In other words, they will communicate on a daily basis with overseas workmates at convenient times in virtual meeting rooms.

Moreover, most modern companies like MNC in Ireland operate with an open plan office concept which places different nationalities working in close proximity to each other. Different nationalities have different perspectives, work disciplines, attitudes, and behaviours which are very unique to their own culture, values and norms. Equally important it also creates the opportunity to represent, share and distribute own unique culture to the other members of the same organization. In addition, it gives the opportunity to discover and understand different cultural entities regarding values, perceptions, behaviour and attitudes.

The “core values” of companies, I would suggest created a “harmony” and as well a coherence group identity among the employees’ of the same organization. All respondents’ admire the core values of their company, and stated that their workmates also have a great commitment to company’s core values.

From the organization point of view, Maglino and Ravlin suggested that “individuals with shared values tend to behave in a similar manner which leads to a better coordination of their actions because they can better foresee others behaviour. In the same way, a strong organizational culture with shared values encourages the desired behaviour of the employee” (Maglino B. M., Ravlin E.C. 1998, p, 357).

During my fieldwork, I have observed that MNCs employ diverse foreign nationals in their organization. The employees’ are from a large number of countries and each nationality represents own country with cultural and/or national symbols and/or items such as a national flag or other cultural objects. During my visits in these companies, I

have observed that diverse foreign nationals are working under one roof. For example, the Turkish team represents Turkey with diverse cultural and national items in their office such as on their desk or wall which can be seen in Appendix A, in “Visual Narratives”. These symbolic items involve a Turkish cultural symbol calls ‘*mavi nazar bocuk*’¹, a symbolic Turkish flag, Turkish coffee cups, a Turkish map, and more other cultural and national items.

Barlas, who works for Ericsson Athlone respects all the ‘core values’ of his company but for him the most valuable ‘core value’ is the ‘diversity commitment’ in his company. He stated;

“I favour the diversity, even in Turkey I favour it. Diversity means not only nationalities ... every type of diversity such as male and female equality, differences in opinion, in gender issues Differences of opinion make us worthyif everybody would have the same opinion we cannot move forward.”

While Onur was living in Turkey he held prejudiced views against different nationalities particularly towards Serbian and Greek people. He said that intercultural communication, interaction with others as well as continuous exchanges in a diverse environment made him become self-aware of other cultures, nationalities, and of self. He said that not only the company’s culture or company’s ‘core values’ helped him to let go of his long held prejudices also his personal identity.

¹the blue eye symbol (*mavi bocuk*) is deeply a Turkish belief and cultural embedded. It is a belief to protect someone from evil eyes.

For example, Onur's best friends today here in Ireland are from Serbian and Greece. According to Parekh, the identity of a person is shaped over time through the family, school, culture, religion, class and society, and in addition, personal experiences, encounter with 'other,' and cultural capital influences the identity as well (ibid, 2008, p, 10).

Semra, for example, described her appreciation for her work environment, because it offered her the opportunity to learn new things and meet diverse nationalities. She said;

“In this environment they are different people with different life experiences which is really good, you learn lots. While you are sitting you get nourished by people around you who are of a similar age profile and doing similar things, therefore, it is like an open university.”

Respondents' new work environment among various nationalities and cultures ensured that they reconstruct and redefine their personal identity and extend their self and as well maintain a collective group identity. Thus, a diverse collection of people in this global field differentiates in terms of culture, nationality, life experience, life stories, motivation, perspective, behavior, attitudes, skills, knowledge etc.

Moreover, MNCs in this study are constantly organizing events or activities in their organization to create an '*equilibrium*' among their employees. For example, they organise graduate events to create 'belonging' among new graduates or new comers. They also organise cultural events to create a sense of cultural belonging in the organization. Besides, the company organise as well a cultural food day of a particular country or celebrate a specific day of one nation such as the celebration the Turkish

“Independence Day” to support diversity in the workplace. Other notable events like “Christmas” and “Halloween” were also celebrated which can be seen in Appendix C, in “Visual Narratives”. Christmas parties, for example, includes some of the rituals and traditions associated with the Christmas which are a Christmas tree, traditional food and drink, and the exchange of gifts. Eating, talking, and drinking together symbolise shared values favouring equality and community (M. Twice, M. Beyer, 1984).

6.4. Workplace Attachment through Commitment

Continuous exchange in terms of knowledge, skills, experience and culture, and as well a warm atmosphere, a professional environment, further career development and advancement etc., I would suggest are important for the motivation and workplace attachment among Turkish professionals’. Overall respondents’ I interviewed are very ‘loyal’ and have ‘commitment’ to their company and also to the company’s ‘core values’. The company, however, values and trusts their employees’ in terms of work deadlines, working hours etc., which, in turn, gives them this great feelings of “loyalty” and “commitment”. Vertuyken, in his work “*The Social Psychology of Ethnic Identity*”, argued that “humans wants to attach themselves to someone or something, they want to belong and feel at home in their world in which security, solidarity, and loyalty can be the result”. Identification and a sense of identity, as Vertuyeken had pointed out, encompass feelings of belongingness and an awareness of togetherness and unity (Vertuyken, 2005, p, 68).

MNCs in Ireland are not managed in a micro-management way, they do not base their relations with employees at certain hierarchical levels. This gives the employee’ encouragement and make them more committed to their workplace as well

as to their managers in the company. Deniz gave an example of how the Turkish management style is often managed in a micro-management way. However, this Turkish organizational structure and management style falls well short of the respondents expectations. Deniz works in LinkedIn and none of his line managers have their own office; and he confessed;

“Here in this environment it is not like there (Turkey)... you can joke with your manager... he/she is your friend”.

Emre, for example, was very honored and proud to be part of his company. He was the only Turkish national working in Oracle Dublin and works in the company's finance department. In his interviews, he described his new work environment with great enthusiasm. For him, working with so many professionals in a culturally diverse workplace was an achievement that he always wanted. In my research I wanted to quantify to what extent, his current workplace influenced his career orientation, work attitude, and professional identity. He came up with a number of positive responses;

“you have to be more respectful here ...it is a positive change, a good change and an amazing experience in terms of career, it is great... everything here is going like I had planned,” he stated.

Arda, for example, was very satisfied with his work-life-balance in his company, he said; “no one is concerned here with what time you come to work at, more importantly is your work deadlines are achieved.” Indeed, it was observed that employees' work in MNCs was results driven and was not constrained to fixed working hours. Arda gave an example. He described his feelings of losing his only brother in a car accident in Turkey and how his company reacted to this tragedy in his family.

“I lost my brother in a car accident. I sent an e-mail and afterwards I rang the company and they told me to go and stay how long I need to stay”, Arda confessed.

This compassionate act created a special bond between himself and the company as well as loyalty, which he will always remember. This positive experience with his company made Arda more committed to his work and employer.

Koray was also very impressed and proud of his company and its work environment. He said; “I feel proud ... it is Twitter which is very popular even in Turkey nowadays”. Unfortunately, Koray cannot fulfil this enjoyment to being a part of Twitter in Dublin as his country of origin has governmental restrictions imposed on Twitter. He is very upset about this situation back in his country of origin;

“I cannot say that I am working for Twitter in Dublin, in Turkey, for instance, I do not wear a Twitter T-Shirt when I am back in Turkey”, he stated.

Twitter like other multinational companies in this study show flexibility in terms of working hours and work conditions. Moreover, employees are also flexible in been able to work from home at certain times or organize flexible working hours in their office. Koray is also very impressed with his company’s ‘work-life-balance’. Koray highlighted some features of his company;

“first of all there is no manager who will ask you why you did not start at 9am... the company trusts their employees... gives me freedom.....you can challenge your manager, you can say “come let’s play pool”, he said.

Furthermore, he emphasised the sitting arrangement in an open plan office where his manager or other managers do not have their own offices. His manager sits beside him in the open plan office that in turn gives him more confidence. Koray described it as “fearless communication”. He never calls his manager ‘Mr.’ instead; he calls him by his or her first name. For example, one day he invited his manager and some of his colleagues to his home for dinner during the Muslim “Ramadan” fasting month and they all were very appreciative of the invitation. This was also an ideal opportunity for him to introduce his own culture and traditions to others, which in turn, made him very happy.

Google, according to the ‘Googlers’ (e.g. Google employees) in this study, is a great place to be in and work in. All of the Google respondents described their workplace as one of the best places to work and belong to. For instance, being surrounded by ‘professionals’ and working with them under one roof was very significant in their eyes. For example, they all emphasised that they were surrounded by professionally driven people and were in the best possible learning environment that they have ever experienced. In addition to this, the culture of multinational companies is incredibly open to the sharing of knowledge and ideas’. Sezen from Google confessed; “if you spend your time here in the company, you will really learn a lot”.

In addition, additional benefits that multinational companies provide include, free breakfast, lunch, if staying late in the evening, evening dinner, drinks etc. In addition, many of these companies provide rest rooms, playrooms, relaxing rooms, a swimming pool, a gym, a massage room, and so on. Respondents appreciated these benefits supplied by their company as they also helped to reduce the ‘cost of living’ in

Dublin. For instance, many of the respondents use their company's gym facilities instead of taking out membership in a private gym in Dublin.

Emre, for example, received his job offer from Oracle Dublin via the social media platform LinkedIn while he was working in a company in Istanbul. Besides, LinkedIn is a great conduit to connect skilled human capital to technology companies worldwide. He left his position in Turkey without hesitation for this opportunity abroad in Ireland. The huge name of the company was a deciding factor for him and it made it easier for him to make a rational decision;

“The experience gained here in this company is huge which is impossible to purchase. You cannot obtain this kind of experience in Turkey. It is different from Turkey, people here are more professional, more open-minded and there is no pressure on employees,” he stated.

6.4.1. Acculturation, adaptation and belonging

The literature on human mobility and belonging suggest that the sense of ‘belonging’ is related to the forms of human mobility. The literature also suggest that the ‘sense of belonging’ in host country increases gradually, through a process of acculturation, assimilation, integration, and adaptation (Gustafson , 2009, p. 494). Besides, several theorists also suggest that long-distance travel has an influence on attitudes, orientation, and identities, as it provides experiences, knowledge, and social contacts (Gustafson, 2007; Hannerz, 1990; Lassen, 2006, cited in Gustafson, 2009, p, 493).

Aspirational travel or overseas career aspiration of this research group developed by themselves rather than being arranged by any organization in Turkey. Overall respondents entered into acculturation process voluntary as skilled immigrant class in their host country. However, migration was an important turning point in the life of Turkish professionals in this research. Turkish professionals in this research witnessed a great transformation in every aspects of their life. Overall respondents in this study perceived this positive change as a self-development, self-awareness, and self-discovery in their narratives which, in turn, contributed to a great sense of self and identity.

In both Dublin and MNC, respondents are surrounded by diverse languages and cultural identities, in addition to knowledge, skills, and work experiences. Yet, respondents in this study witnessed transformative change and constructive individual experiences in their host country with others. However, respondents' imagination played crucial role in constructing a new space with foreign others and cultures and as well to construct new perspectives. Besides, they also internalized differences they encountered in their variety of 'passages' in Ireland. Thus, their engagement with diverse cultural backgrounds in both companies and (multicultural) society had changed them in many ways, such as questioning their own identity and self, and in addition to attitudes, behaviour, values, norms and beliefs, as well as of others or differences. In other words, working with people from different (cultural) backgrounds and being in 'web of reciprocal' relationships with led them to re-think their prejudices, which they may have been carrying from an early age. For example, their nationalist prejudices towards specific nationalities disappeared in their new "contact zones" in

Ireland. Several theorists claim that society also plays a crucial role in creating and shaping identities (Redfield, Linton R.; Herskovits, J. M., 1936, pp. 149-152).

In addition, it should be noted that Ireland's 'emigration' history also plays an important role in terms of Irish people's common sense and attitudes towards immigrants or foreigners in their country. Additionally, Ireland's liberal politics, past history and current emigration history enables Ireland to master this diversity in various settings.

The living model of the participants in this study was very similar to the living model of an expatriates' community in many host countries. In management literature, "expatriates move from familiar, parental culture and place to a less familiar culture and environment". Thus, it is assumed that expatriates in their new environment with diverse cultural identities may struggle to adapt in their new social world. However, for some theorists, expatriate's adjustment in foreign destinations and environment assists in the development of a "global mindset" (Sanchez, Spector, & Cooper, 2000, pp. 96-106), as it was observed in this study.

Similar to immigrants or newcomers in a host country, this research group also underwent a process of "acculturation" and "adaptation in both the workplace and society. The Turkish professional's environment in both the workplace and society consists of cross-cultural relationships and thus requires this cross-cultural understanding to adjust themselves easily to on-going cultural processes and situations. It was also presumed that technical skills, family situation, relational skills, and motivation of migrants' plays a crucial role in effective cross-cultural adjustment (Teagarden & Gordon, 1995, pp. 17-36). Besides, psychologists, for example,

investigated the impact of social changes on psychological processes, social behaviors, and individual experiences (Berry J. W., 1995, pp. 457-488).

As I discussed in earlier chapters, this research group is open to adopt behavior forms and attitudes of others, as well as cultures, and values, which signifies a social behavior change by respondents. According to “cross-cultural psychology”, there is an important link between “cultural context” and “individual behavior” development in terms of culture and behavior relationships. Asserting that Culture is a powerful shaper of behavior, cross-cultural psychology’s focus is on individuals’ behavior in new settings. It is presumed that individual may change their behavior appropriate to the new setting or continue to act as they did in their previous life in host country. Thus, adaptation has three interrelated aspects, regarding ‘*psychological*’, ‘*socio-cultural*’, and ‘*economic*’ in which changes take place by individuals or groups in response to environmental demands. In this case, adaptation involves both “psychological” and “socio-cultural” with “internal” and “external” psychological outcomes. Internal psychological outcomes, for example, refer to a sense of personal and cultural identity, good mental health, and also to the achievement of personal satisfaction in a new cultural context. External psychological outcomes, however, link the individual to the new context while additionally giving them the ability to deal with problems such as work, family life, and school (Berry J. W., 1997, pp. 5-16).

Upon my observations and findings the work-life-balance in MNC, gives participants the ability to deal with problems such as family life, work and work motivation which is also associated with internal psychological outcomes, and in addition, organizations ‘core values’ also play a significant role in effective cross-cultural adjustment, adaptation, and integration in both the workplace and beyond. This

research group achieved personal satisfaction, and also a great sense of personal identity through personal achievements which, in turn, is associated with 'internal' psychological outcomes in cross-cultural psychology.

Additionally, respondents' cosmopolitan peculiarities, and their commitment to new socio-economic context and as well diversity play a crucial role, in a process of acculturation, adaptation, and integration. Some authors consider adaptation as a consequence of acculturation which is closely linked to an individual's psychological well-being. Thus, it is presumed that in cultural issues like in an acculturation process, individuals undergo both 'cultural' and 'psychological' change. Thus, it is regarded that "acculturation" is a two-way interaction resulting in both 'action' and 'reaction'. In this case, in an intercultural contact or cross-cultural relationships, individuals or groups can adopt each other's behavior, language, values, and beliefs (Sam & Berry, 2010, pp. 472-81), as it was observed in this study. The phrase 'going native' means for Turkish professionals in this study to behave and act more like the Irish such as being more 'relaxed', 'easy-going', and 'open minded'. It is observed that most participants voluntarily adopted this Irish character and practiced it in a range of settings. Parekh stated that "since our identity involves others, we are also part of their worlds (ibid. 2008, p, 29).

On the other hand, it was also observed that the less privileged Turkish community in Ireland did not alter their behavior to adapt to their new settings in Ireland and they continued to act as they did in their previous life in Turkey. In these circumstances, however, it hindered them in building up healthy relationships with the research group participants in this study.

However, some of respondents struggled to understand Irish cultural codes, regarding Irish theatres, Irish jokes, local conversations particularly in the Irish pubs and as well among Irish co-workers, in their day-to-day life which they said hindered them in the acculturation process in their host country. For example, Berk admitted that one of his biggest challenges was to understand the locals especially outside of his workplace. He mentioned some difficulties he encountered with locals; and he stated;

“there are too many cultural codes for us, for example, I can explain with one word lots of things or with one gesture or mimic like ‘ah’ to a person from the same cultural background....this person understands what I feel or what I’m saying straightaway ... however if I do the same to a foreigner or Irish people, it is impossible... I have to find lots of words to explain it but I’m still thinking in Turkish”.

However, cultural codes, I would suggest cannot be adopted in a short time of period, especially by foreigners coming from a very different socio-cultural background, because these cultural codes are “embodied” knowledge.

7. IDENTITY AND VALUES

7.1. Work Identity and Values

In this last chapter I summarize overall thesis throughout the concept of identity. I also take closer look at the impact of personal achievements, values and desires on identity (e.g. work, personal identity, social identity, cosmopolitan etc.). I also discuss the way and contents of both personal and work achievements and their search for recognition of their identity, as well as their challenge to be an immigrant at new destination.

The 'core values' of MNC, regarding *diversity commitment*, *respect* and *professionalism* are highly internalized and adopted among the respondents' and as well from their colleagues in the workplace. These 'core values' of the organization (MNC) are accepted as domain terms in this study due to their relationship with behaviour, attitudes, thought, feelings, emotions, and also identity.

Parekh stated that large organizations such as universities, corporations and cities have identities (ibid. 2008, p, 59). In this regard, MNCs as a large organizations' in Ireland have their unique identity and vision that has great influence on respondents' identity, behaviour, feelings, thought, attitudes and collective identity and belonging. It is observed that respondents' identified and represented themselves with their company's identity that also displays a collective identity among them. In this case, respondents' adopted the identity of their company, and also were struggling for the recognition of their work identity of others (ibid. Giddens, pp, 80-1; ibid. Beck, 2001, pp, 121-9). Respondents' also adopted and practised other professionals' behaviour, attitudes, perspectives, skills and knowledge in their workplace, if it suits them to do

so. Besides, it is observed that the core values of the organization are highly internalized by Turkish professionals’.

As I mentioned in chapter five the domain term ‘*respect*’ has a unique meaning among the participants’ in this study. Besides, respect is also one of the ‘core values’ of the MNCs. Respect of others towards their identity, decisions, values, life-style, beliefs, culture, and so on in the host country are highly valued among the participants’. In other words, it gives them a stronger sense of “identity” and as well of “belonging”, as it contrasted sharply with how they felt in the past in their country of origin.

However, I also would suggest that the respondents’ in this study have also a ‘social belonging’, regarding their social identity in new socio-economic context, if we follow Parekh, social identity of a person is associated with social belonging (ibid. 2008, p, 28). Respondents’ identity involves a tech worker, (skilled) migrant, knowledge-worker, professional, global talent, elite, expatriate etc. that demonstrates the plurality of their identity. If we follow Parekh, plurality of identity offers multiple belonging, loyalties, and sources of meaning (ibid. 2008, p, 23-4). In fact, Turkish professionals’ in this research maintained multiple identities through their social status, work, migration, class etc. in their new socio-economic context. For instance, their multiple identities allowed them to perform in various settings and developed multiple belonging and loyalties, and also sources of meaning.

Turkish professionals’ “social status” determines their social class, which in turn signifies a social prestige (Weber 1964, p. 428). However, Turkish professionals’ in their workplace are involved also in power relations. There exist an individual and as well a collective competition among the employees’ of same organization while

working on (global) projects etc. Respondents' are eager to conduct their role performance in front settings in their workplace because it is an impression management, as well. It is observed that respondents' are involved in "reciprocal relationships" with other professionals' in terms of acquiring new knowledge, skills and work experiences. Through their employment in MNC Turkish professionals' maintained a distinctive sense of identity and as well of self. The 'presentation of self' is identified through structural context of their organization including winning or losing. In this case, I would suggest to import Goffman's social action theory because Turkish professionals' are indeed interested of others socio-economic status, conception of self, attitudes towards them, and also behaviour forms and competence of others (ibid. 1956, pp, 1-10).

Several respondents' were recent graduates and previously were living with their parents in Turkey. They were freshly detached from their campus life at the university to have new experiences as new graduates, whilst others had a certain level of work experience and some work skills prior to migration. Many new graduate respondents perceived their company or workplace in Ireland as continuing their university campus life where they experienced new cultures, skills and knowledge. The respondents had ample opportunities for career movement within their company. These IT companies also provide their employees the opportunity to develop themselves through 'internal' and/or 'external' specialised training programmes. This specialised training of companies contribute significantly to the work experiences and also identity, career, and opportunities for mobility in the future. These specialised training programmes from MNCs are essential for both knowledge-based economies and the global labour markets. Working in such IT companies, developing new work

experiences, and attending further training programmes are strong selling point on a CV, which is in turn their now identity. However, this strong work identity with “right skills”, I would suggest is now their unique “passport” for free movement and international mobility in the future.

Google has global recognition and maintains a ‘Google’ identity reflected in company’s core values. All the respondents’ from Google identify themselves particularly as “a Googler” such as “I am a Googler” in their narrative interviews which suggest a prestige identity, both in Ireland and beyond. It reflects again the social theory of Giddens, that identities’ and individuals’ practices are adopted and also reflexive (ibid. 1991, pp, 80-1). In terms of work and identity, I would also suggest that Turkish professionals’ identity and as well their practices in the workplace are adopted and as well reflexive. The ‘core values’ of their organization are reflected in their behaviour forms, attitudes, perspectives, and knowledge as a coherence collective identity. However, Beck and also Giddens call the temporary condition of modernity as “reflexive modernization” (ibid. 2002, p. 23; ibid. 2005, pp, 91-97, ibid. 1991, pp, 80-1).

Furthermore, Turkish professionals’ are sure if they would return back to Turkey with their current work experience, skills, and knowledge and work identity, that they would easily secure a highly paid senior position. However, when I asked them if they would return to Turkey if they were offered a similar job position and salary. They believed that their current work experience in MNCs in Ireland was much more valuable for them.

Berk, a system engineer in Amazon, believed he is overqualified for returning to Turkey. He stated;

“If I returned to Turkey I would find it difficult...because with my current position, it would be challenging for me to find a suitable position due to my specialised expertise in my field”.

All Turkish professionals' in this study are aware of their acquired positive and constructive work experiences achieved in Ireland such as new skills, knowledge, and career. However, it was found that none of the respondents' in this study wanted to bring their new work experience, knowledge, and skills back to Turkey, at least not in the near future.

Beck suggested that achievement of identity nowadays is a task of individuals' which he referred to “individualization” process in present era. This task, as Beck had pointed out, gives individuals' self-creation, freedom to experiment and choices (ibid. 2006, pp, 16-53). Similarly, for Parekh, personal identity in modern society was an individual achievement (ibid. 2008, p, 10).

Bora is the only participant in this study who left Turkey without completing his Bachelor's degree. He had a really interesting life story because he was the only respondent who came from a rural, small village background. Bora described his earlier life regarding his social status, and his present condition in terms of career in his narrative interview. Bora was aware of his task which enabled him for self-development and self-creation in the host country. Bora confessed that he had constructive change since he moved to Ireland. Bora used a metaphor to explain this

change between his past and present social status; “it is huge like the Agri Mountains in Turkey”, he said. He also confessed;

“I believe that I can find work easily in Turkey ... I believe my salary would as good as or perhaps even better than here... I am sure of that...” Bora speaks three foreign languages fluently, French, Italian, and English. All these positive and constructive achievements in his life, he said, he owes to both migration and to his company. He strongly believed that these things in his life would not have happened if he had remained in Turkey.

This narrative of experiences from Bora shows us how globalization has turned into “individualization” in present era. Cosmopolitan notion of self-determination allowed Bora to determine his own future and escape from his ascribed determination, and structural emplacement in his country of origin.

I interviewed Canan in 2015, two years later she moved to LinkedIn’s headquarter in the USA. I recognized that her ambition was to work in the US headquarter of LinkedIn. She was not concerned with completing the mandatory five years residence in Ireland in order to be entitled to an Irish citizenship. She believed she had the required global IT skills and a strong CV, which is now her unique identity that facilitates her international mobility.

In terms of work, Turkish professionals’ in this study maintained constructive personal achievements, regarding work experience, knowledge, skills, professionalism, and a sense of identity, and in addition to feelings of belonging to global labour market.

7.1.1. Identity Dilemma

As I discussed in section six, the chosen research group belong to a privileged, skilled migrant class in Ireland. Like other foreign nationals in their company, they are categorized in the same Irish socio-economic groups. However, Turkish professionals as non-EU nationals are affected by EU migration policies. They do not enjoy the same rights or privileges as EU citizens in terms of unlimited Irish work-permit, free movement within the EU countries, and also an easy family reunification. When I asked the respondents' in their narrative interviews if they experienced significant challenges in Ireland, it actually took them time to come up with an answer. Eventually, they provided an answer that revealed their identity dilemma in terms of their social status and profession in Ireland.

It is observed that Turkish professionals' faced two major challenges regarding their Turkish national identity in Ireland. The first challenge was their Turkish passport. They needed a tourist visa if they wanted to travel personally within the Europe. Therefore, applying for a visa in an embassy was necessary. However, all had a strong desire to discover other cultures, places, and countries, therefore, applying for a Schengen visa will allow them to travel to many EU countries. The majority of participants were unhappy with the current visa procedures that applied to them in Ireland. They argued that working as a privileged class in a European country like Ireland, should allow them to travel within the EU "visa-free" like the other EU citizens in their workplace, as they were paying same high amounts of tax in this host country.

The second challenge in their life was the renewal of their work-permit or in other words, the "Garda National Immigration Bureau" (GNIB) card. This GNIB card

is required by every non-EU national either for work or residency in Ireland and it is renewed annually in the GNIB office in Dublin. In addition, participants who obtained an Irish citizenship were no longer required to issue this GNIB card.

Even though the participants have unlimited employment contracts with their current employers', Irish migration policy requires from non-EU nationals to renew their work-permit or GNIB card annually. Thus, all participants' have visited the GNIB in Dublin. In such circumstances most participants confessed they struggled with identity dilemma in Ireland. For example, Berk experienced that feeling of being an immigrant in his host country only when he has to visit the GNIB immigration office to renew his work-permit. He admitted, "This is the only time where I feel myself as an immigrant here in Ireland".

However, Berk like the other respondents in this research also experienced that feeling of being an immigrant in Turkey, while they were preparing their required documents for their sponsor company in Ireland. Berk stated;

"The hiring procedures to come here for us as non-EU nationals were very difficult if you have a Turkish passport".

7.2.The Value of European Identity

As I discussed in section four, the primary motivation to migrate was for them employment and/or career-related goal. After living in Ireland more than two years, many of the respondents escaped from the feeling of being an 'expatriate' in their host country. Having resided for a certain period, made them think about applying for an Irish passport in the future. In order to be entitled to Irish citizenship, five years' work

history and residency in Ireland is required. Participants as non-EU citizens, the Irish passport would give them the possibility of free movement within the EU and more rights as an Irish citizen.

On the other hand, the majority, especially single respondents, stated that they always remained open to job offers from companies outside of Ireland. However, their employment contracts were often of two years duration, which hindered their ability to move to another company or country before completing the contract for the sponsored company in Ireland. After two years, participants were legally able to leave their present company if they so wish.

It is observed that married respondents with kids were also open to new overseas experiences or job opportunities if it suited them. For instance, working in MNC in the United States is another aspirational career move after acquiring the right skills set and a recognized work identity. Thus, changes in career expectations, work conditions, and motivations at present company play a significant role for their future orientations.

Furthermore, obtaining an Irish passport did not mean having plans for settling for Ireland among the respondents. Therefore, none of the respondents had set plans for settling in Ireland permanently as most agreed they would not live in Ireland for the rest of their lives. A new adventure, hunger for new cultures, and higher career opportunities may change their plans in the future for moving to another country. However, intention of returning to Turkey is not in their short-term plans, except if a serious family issue arises such as sickness of family member.

However, mainly new resident respondents do not make long-term plans such as waiting for five years to be entitled to an Irish citizenship. In fact, in the beginning of

their journey, their main aspiration was employment and career-related goals rather than obtaining an EU-passport or Irish citizenship in Ireland. Turkish professionals have a hunger for new career possibilities, new skills, and also for professionalism, therefore, their passion towards global major IT players regarding “high-tech” companies plays a crucial role in their decision-making process and in their orientation. Sharing a professional life with other professionals, and being immersed in a cosmopolitan community, I suggest will continue to be their disposition or ‘habitus’ in their future.

For example, participant Sezen and her Turkish husband a former Google employee left their positions in Google and relocated to the Google offices in San Francisco in the United States. Canan also left LinkedIn’s European headquarter in Dublin after she was offered a position in the LinkedIn head office in the United States. However, both these respondents did not stay in order to obtain an Irish citizenship. At the time of our interview, both respondents admitted that they were open at any time to positions overseas particularly in the USA if a realistic position became available. Following a dream job in the USA was more valuable than obtaining an Irish citizenship or an EU passport. Both believed that an EU passport might be beneficial if someone was working within the EU.

On the other hand, Barlas, a young single man, in our interview stated he is thinking of completing the required five years’ work requirement in order to obtain an Irish passport. With an Irish passport, he believed he could guarantee the future of his unborn kids. He stated; “if you become an Irish citizen you can pass it on to your children”.

Berk, for example, has a special expertise in computer engineering, which is unique. Thus, he was sure he could find a job in any country he wanted to. However, he perceived an Irish Passport as a guarantee for his family as he believed a job in Turkey would not guarantee himself and his family a secure future. Berk confessed;

“I definitely want this Irish citizenship. If I go back to Turkey and perhaps I change my mind afterwards, there would be always a door open for me and for my family”.

Koray, a young man with two young kids, is married to Arzu. However, at the time of the interview, his twins were only two years old and Koray and his wife had already started to investigate a suitable primary school for their kids in the future. Koray stated that he had already checked up the curriculum of primary schools in Ireland. He said; this might sound very unusual but we are not thinking about going back to Turkey... we might stay here or move to another European country or move to the USAafter we get our Irish citizenship if something comes up, for instance, there is Twitter’s head office is in San Francisco and one in Holland or even in Dubai is a new office.... maybe...”.

Respondents’ with children have passion to send their children to schools in Ireland, as they believe in Ireland there existed a more humanitarian education.

However, the time spent in MNCs in Ireland gave the respondents’ great opportunities and achievements such as a work with professionals’ under one roof, a unique work identity, acquired new skills and freedom in terms of overseas work opportunities. However, all these individual narratives of respondents ‘suggested that

they chose Ireland as a place to gain unique work experience and new skills in order to move on.

7.3. National Identity and Values

It is worth considering Mercer's statement regarding identity in his chapter "*Diversity in postmodern politics*" (2001). For Mercer, the key words in postmodern vocabulary were *identity, difference, diversity, and fragmentation*". Mercer stated, "Identity becomes an issue when it is in crisis and has to be fixed". For Mercer, "the growth of differences through human mobility has weakened absolute universalistic truth of particular ideologies". He suggests that "new social subjects today have not necessary belonging on either side of distinctive political standpoint in terms of right, left, and centre, in which, both "collective" and "individual" subjects have identified their commitments and loyalties in the past" (Mercer, 2001, pp. 503-7).

I found Mercer's argument notable in terms of Turkish professionals' current political point of view concerning their country of origin resulted in identity crisis. The majority of respondents confessed in their narrative interviews of being an anti-political generation, but worried about current social and political conditions back home in terms of uncertainty, insecurity, fear, political instability, and a lack of democracy, human rights.

However, for Bourdieu, "modern states deployed education systems, among other state apparatuses, to institutionalize common forms and categories of perception and appreciation (e.g. national) common sensewhat is commonly designated as national identity" (Bourdieu, 1999, pp. 53-75). Respondents' identity crisis, I would

suggest is in consequence of their unsatisfied personal values or increased desires rather than national.

Apart from being abroad for study and/or for visits, all participants in this study have grown up, from birth to adulthood, in Turkey, therefore migration was a particular turning point in their lives. All respondents whom I interviewed, gave their answers concerning their lives in Ireland with examples of past life experiences over the course of their lives in Turkey. In this regard, I shall discuss their individual standpoint and view towards their country of origin.

Among the participants, it was only Semra who explained in her interview why she had given her answers in comparison to her previous life in Turkey, she said; “it is a kind of pragmatic justification if you live here you do compare because you have an alternative to be with your beloved, like your family or your friends but I live in a different country and I have built my new live here, therefore, this comparison is obvious”.

The majority of this research group are from Istanbul, a large populated mega city, and with diverse ethnic backgrounds. In the eyes of most Turkish natives, Istanbul is an amazing city to live in and to find a job there. Besides, in previous times there was a widespread myth that referred to Istanbul as “tasi topragi altin”, which means a rich city in terms of business and employment opportunities. In fact, Istanbul as a modern city with cosmopolitan background, also offers their inhabitants a range of opportunities in terms of modern living, entertainment, culture, education, business. The other second big city from which most participants come from is the capital city Ankara.

The majority of participants' had humanist thought and cosmopolitan dispositions while they were living in the country of origin. For example, computer engineer Merve expressed her acquired experiences in Ireland in comparison to her past experiences in Turkey. Merve's family lives in Ankara with academic background. She comes from a middle-class family and never had a financial problem in her life in Turkey. Merve enjoys her quality of life and lifestyle, as well as her freedom in her new environment in Ireland. For Merve, living in a multicultural city like Dublin with 'open-minded' people, as well as governed by liberal democratic values in Ireland was important for her to achieve a personal identity with cosmopolitan values. Merve explained her in-depth feeling about her country of origin, and she confessed as follows;

in Turkey you live under the pressure of the whole society, therefore, you cannot live how you want to live or what you want to do....we are to some degree limited in Turkey because we feel always the pressure of the mainstream society in our behaviour, attitudes, values as well as in our decisions... for us the society is in the centre.”

Majority of respondents' either female or male complained about societal pressure in Turkey concerning their lifestyle, beliefs, values, dispositions, and personal decisions. They all respected the diversity in terms of faith, religion, gender, sex, opinion, lifestyle, norms, and values, and so on, however, in turn, they all expected mutual respect of other(s) in their community. In fact, norms in societies or groups are shared in thoughts, in feelings, and in behaviours as long as they are not forced externally to one's life.

Moreover, family and beloved ones are continuing to live in Turkey to which respondents have emotional bond. Turkish professionals in this study miss their home

country, regarding Turkish food, nice weather, family and beloved, and friends. However, if their family and/or beloved would have the chance to be with them in Ireland, most of them admitted they would not return as often to Turkey as they currently do. Sibel, for example, wishes her family were nearby here in Ireland; she stated, “Even I miss... I confess if my family members were here now with me in Ireland I would never go back to Turkey”.

The majority of respondents in the study had no intentions of returning to Turkey such as Canan from LinkedIn and Sezen from Google. Canan, for instance, is an only child in her family and has grown up within a well-educated, liberal family in Istanbul. For Canan, Turkey is neither in her short-term nor in long-term plans. She stated;

“In Turkey there is nothing to live for there anymore. I will not return to Turkey... this is one of my plans that I do not want to return to Turkey.....everyone around me here in Ireland have a similar opinion like me. Even people living in Turkey do not want to live there anymore”.

Sezen is also an only child in her family, and she stated;

“I’m not considering returning to Turkey except for some emergency like sickness... I love my parents because I am the only child but I prefer they visit me here in Ireland instead of me visiting them in Turkey. I do not like travelling to Turkey, to be honest, the country is too stressful, and unfortunately, people’s psychology is bad. I quit following Turkish politics and news because it makes me unhappy right now. I stopped thinking about returning and living there anymore”.

We can notice from respondents' narratives their in-depth feelings, thoughts, perceptions, emotions and dispositions towards their country of origin. We can also notice that Turkey cannot satisfy respondents' expectations, regarding their 'personal values' and ongoing desires. Besides, Canan suggested in her narrative interview that majority of her Turkish friends in both Turkey and Ireland have the same opinion like her such as non-return intention to Turkey or leaving their home country. However, Canan's example about other Turkish professionals' intention in Ireland supports the outcomes in this study, regarding non-return intention of Turkish professionals' to Turkey.

It is worth to consider Parekh's (2008) national identity definition because it is reflecting respondents' current reconstruction, redefining and revising of their identity, regarding their country of origin. He stated, (as emphasised in original, 2008).

“National identity is both given and periodically reconstitute. Citizen inherit it, reflect on it critically, and redefine and revise it in the light of their circumstances, self-understanding and future aspirations. This requires a deep historical knowledge of the country and a feel for its past as well as a rigorous and realistic assessment of its present challenges and hopes for the future (ibid. 2008, p, 61).

Besides, Beck's “dialog imagination” helps a person to challenge individual experiences and enable to compare, reflect, criticize, understand, and combine contradictory certainties. Beck suggested that ‘dialog imagination’ was a result of a clash of cultures and rationalities in person's life (ibid. 2002, p, 17-19).

However, we can also add Fernandez dualism between *dogmatic* and *periphery*. Fernandez distinguished *two* knowledges of individuals such as *dogmatic* and *periphery*. Periphery was a perspectival way of seeing and knowing. For Fernandez, “all human knowledge is ‘periphery’ derived from individuals’ perspectives of the external world” (ibid. 2000). Similarly, Appiah made distinction between ‘beliefs’ and ‘desires’ which were also defined as ‘facts’ and ‘values’ (ibid. 2007, p.17) which these all answers the factors influencing sense of belonging and identity among Turkish professionals. We can follow the contrast of ‘belief’ and ‘desire’ or ‘facts’ and ‘values’, regarding their country of origin in respondents narratives. In fact, they were pretty uncomfortable with on-going facts in their country of origin and were emotionally very upset with the socio-political situations in Turkey, regarding ongoing Turkish politics, political conditions, instability, and also the lack of democracy. In addition, uncertainty and political instability in Turkey hindered them making future plans for Turkey, and also revealed their current fears and mixed feelings. Another important outcome, I suggest, was a reduction in respect and for peaceful human relationships in Turkey.

Besides, restrictions in the use of social media, the arrest of innocent people, killing, or misusing innocent people, especially woman and children, lack of woman rights, and so on, were continuing social realities in Turkey to which respondents had no commitment. In this case, I would suggest that respondent’s developed a global consciousness and as well a cosmopolitan disposition at home due to the contrast of facts and personal values. The majority of respondents admitted that they always admired liberal values.

All respondents emphasised that Turkey lags behind in terms of globalization or put in other words, “global consciousness”. “Dialog imagination” which is a cosmopolitan

perspective, help them to challenge individual experiences and also enables to compare, reflect, criticize, understand, and combine contradictory certainties (ibid. Baumann, 2001, pp, 121-9).

In spite of this, it was observed that the majority of participants were willing to participate in events and/or receptions organized by the Turkish Embassy in Dublin. The Turkish Embassy organises events on special occasions such as the 29th of October, which is the foundation day of the 'Republic of Turkey'. When I have joined several receptions hosted by the Turkish Embassy, I have observed that a considerable number of Turkish professionals' were residing and working in Ireland attended these Turkish events. All participants, whom, I interviewed, very much appreciated been invited by the Turkish Embassy in Dublin to these events and/or receptions.

It was observed that a significant number of Turkish professionals' residing and working in Ireland have national dispositions and also consciousness. However, their feelings of 'belonging' is associated with individual commitment such as to a place, community, values, norms etc. and also satisfaction of ongoing personal desires in order to construct a comfort zone, and as well an identity established on personal values.

7.4. Cosmopolitan Identity and Values

Respondents' own 'values' and the 'core values' of the organizations, I would suggest are substantially identical. The main differences, however, constitute that the 'core values' of an organization are given, but the 'personal values' are achieved through migration and collection of experiences.

The clash in their 'beliefs', regarding country of origin, I would suggest entered into their "thought" or "working memory", and resulted in an ongoing, growing personal desires. The thought or working memory as well as their imagination enabled them to interpret acquired new experiences and attribute them new meanings. Parekh observed that human beings are shaped and re-shaped by various, countless influences such as by their family, school, culture, class, religion and society, and in addition, by their personal experiences, encounters with others, and events they have witnessed (ibid. 2008, pp, 9-10,14).

Thus, respondents' acquired past experiences in the country of origin entered into their thought or 'working memory' and led them questioning also their own desires such as "*how they would like it to be*". However, their host country environment including workplace, foreign colleagues', foreign other nationals and as well the locals constructed their belonging to new place and community that created an imagined community and an imagined world. Consequently, their personal identity and self are both extended through diverse 'web of relationships'.

Today, Turkish professionals' ongoing desires are satisfied. Their values are embedded in their new 'comfort zone' in their host country. Unlike in Turkey, they have a great commitment to their new host country and also to the community, as long as they can fulfil their desires in this territory. Self-determination gave them freedom of self-creation and also structure a distinctive, personal life-world which, in turn, signifies their current cosmopolitan understandings (ibid. Baumann, 2006, pp, 16-53, ibid. Rapport, 2014, pp, 46, 55, 123, 125, 139). Respondents' past imaginative acts were necessary tools to construct their present new life in the host country (ibid. Rapport, 2003, p, 5-6). In addition, "liquid modernity" in present modern era grants

them flexible realities and freedom of choices, and also choices such as placeless identity, a place to go, as well as to choose a community or a social group to belong to (ibid. Baumann, 2001, pp, 121-9). However, Turkish professionals' 'belonging' as well as 'identity', I would suggest are situational and contextual and as well depends on external circumstances, and desires (ibid, Beck, 2006, p. 26).

Parekh stated that identity of a person involves interpretation and judgement and only make sense in relation to others. Thus, humans "personal identity" is reflected in beliefs, values, and attitudes to life (ibid. p, 9-10,14). Turkish professionals' in their host country reconstructed, redefined and revised their 'personal identity' through internalizing differences in same given time. Thus, I would suggest their personal identity is highly identical to a 'cosmopolitan' identity because both show similarity in terms of beliefs, values, orientations and attitudes. Additionally, 'personal' and 'cosmopolitan' identity among respondents' reflects also the MNCs 'core values' and their personally created and maintained 'values' in Ireland.

Rapport defends the "individuality of human experience" which we can notice this feature in Turkish professionals' collection of experiences, regarding their desires, feelings, emotions, sensations and thoughts (ibid. 2002, pp. 165-6). Respondents' in this study made sense of their collection of experiences, and attributed meaning to, and interpreted it contextually which also signifies the individuality of human experiences thesis of Rapport. Through respondents' narratives of self, other, and social world it was able to reveal their desires, feelings, emotions, sensations and thoughts as well as their understandings of diversity in this new environment. Similarly, Hannerz maintains that human beings make sense through own experiences, interpretation, and imagination (ibid. 1992, p, 307).

Asserting Rapports' statement that "consciousness", "body" and "environment" as a whole forms both an individual as a whole and the truths of *Anyone's* interpretation and experiencing of the world, respondents' environment in the host country, their embodied knowledge, ability and skills, and 'working memory' or 'imagination' capacity enabled them to construct a new imagined social world and an imagined community at new destination. Rapports' '*Anyone*' is capable of creating worlds through own interpretation. In fact, respondents' interpretation of and intention towards associated them with their current environment (e.g. social world), self and other (ibid. 2014, p, 123-39). Turkish professionals' new environment with foreign others and cultures triggered the self-consciousness in which their 'embodied' knowledge, capability and skills in terms of cultural capital are subordinated. Consequently, they constructed own social space and community, and as well a new identity that has feelings of belonging to the host country, imagined community, imagined world and work. We can notice in this research that "consciousness", "body" and "environment" engagement of Turkish professionals' discovered, restructured and reconstructed a distinctive, personal social world with others in the host country.

Hannerz's cosmopolitans' have a 'sense of mastery' in culturally diverse environment and openness to foreign others and cultures. Following Hannerz, Turkish professionals in this study have the 'knowledge' and 'ability' to manage their cultural diversity in their new environment to which their acquired cultural capital is subordinated (ibid. 1996, p. 103). Thus, respondents' attitude, behaviour, perception, and expectation reflects this notion of cosmopolitanism. Respondents acquired cultural capital, I would suggest outlines the notion of cosmopolitan cultural capital.

8. CONCLUSION

It is an evident that in an increasingly globalized world that the sense of belonging and identity are influenced by diverse flows of movement, therefore, my first objective was to understand globalization debates and discourses in contemporary literature and its relation to my research problem. Accordingly, my second objective was to take a closer look at the impact of globalization on contemporary cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan understandings of scholars. Besides, this study upholds that globalization process resulted in a rising individualization in present condition of modernity. Therefore, I concentrated on “self” in cognitive approach and anthropology to make a linkage between them.

Considering the duality of subjective and objective processes in this research, I examined my research problem in three parts. In chapter five I attempted to analyse the subjective processes of the research problem. In chapter six I concentrated more on the objective processes, but established a linkage between them. In chapter seven I critically discussed the findings in chapter five and six throughout the concept of identity.

Migration was an important turning point in the lives of this research group working and residing in Ireland. Respondents’ in this study are involved in different dynamics in both the workplace and within the larger cosmopolitan community in their host country. They are observers and in addition to being observed in their new ‘intersubjective space’ in their host country environment. However, their social interaction with other foreign nationals and cultures needed three kind of knowledge, regarding self, other and (social) world. Through body, environment and consciousness

engagement they reformed, reconstructed and redefined the new social world with others, and in addition to they maintained a new imagined comfort zone in their host country. Thus, this research reveals that the “comfort zone” created and maintained in Ireland is established on respondents’ personal values and increasingly, ongoing desires in which their collection of experiences are subordinated. Consequently, this research argues that the body, environment and consciousness engagement of Turkish professionals’ play a key role to construct and maintain a new comfort zone with others in a host country. Thus, the comfort zone, in which respondents’ personal values and desires are subordinated, I argue signifies Turkish professionals’ imagined community and also imagined world.

It was important for this research to establish how the self and identity were influenced by diversity and how they made sense of this diversity and also how it affected their perception, behaviour and attitude to conceptualize their new social world with others. So, a cognitive perspective answered perception, motivation and action of these individuals. Besides, a cognitive approach defines the “self” as an organism that constitutes physically, biologically, psychologically, socially and culturally. Therefore, the self as self-representation is produced and constructed as a whole through “web of reciprocal” relationships. Consequently, these Turkish professionals’ extendend the self contextually and situationally in which multiplicity of their selves are subordinated.

Turkish professionals’ social space in both the workplace and larger community are potential places to make sense and meaning. Moreover, Turkish professionals’ internalized the given ‘core values’ of their organization and extendend personal ‘values’ through their collection of experiences that expose their understandings of the diversity in the host country. Consequently, both values, core values and personal values, are reflected in behavior, attitudes, thoughts, perceptions and actions among

Turkish professionals'. This research reveals as well that "past imaginative acts" or the "working memory" were essential tools for Turkish professionals' by perceiving, experiencing and interpreting the self, other and social world.

The findings of this study shows that the factors influencing the sense of belonging and identity among Turkish professionals' in Ireland are situational and depend on achievements and desires. Savage at all. (2005), suggested that mobile middle-class individuals tend to develop an "elective belonging" based on choice about where to live (cited in Gustafson, 2009, p, 494). This study shows that this research group constructed an "elective belonging" in their host country through constructing their personal values and satisfying their ongoing desires in this place. Therefore, cosmopolitan Turkish professionals' in this research, I would suggest have roots and wings at the same time. This study also argues that Turkish professionals' feelings of belonging depends on their perception, experience and interpretation.

I consider that the findings in this research may contribute to migration studies to reveal how migrants experience and interpret the world through cognition. Besides, the findings in this study may contribute, as well to the cosmopolitan anthropology to establish nexus between action, thought, feelings, emotions and behaviour of individuals in a culturally diverse environment through cognition.

For further study I would suggest to examine cosmopolitan cultural capital in relation to the Turkish "education system" to estimate to what extent humanist thought is promoted in the Turkish curriculum.

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APPENDIX A: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

WARM-UP QUESTIONS

1. Place of Birth: where were you born?
2. Age: how old are you?
3. Education: where have you graduated from?
4. Marital status: what is your marital status?
5. Current job: what is your current job?
6. House: is it your own or is it rented?
7. How many people are living in the house?

A. Decision to Migrate

1. Where did you live before you came to Ireland?
2. Would you tell us about your life in that country?
3. Would you tell us about your decision to migrate to Ireland?

B. Work Life

1. Would you tell us about the working environment in your current workplace?
2. Would you tell us about the relations in your workplace?
3. Did you work in a culturally diverse workplace before? If so, what kind of a workplace was it?
4. If you have not worked in a culturally diverse workplace before, was it easy or difficult to adapt to this workplace?
5. Are you faced with any problems in your current workplace? If so, how do you cope with these problems?
6. Does working in such a workplace affect your professional identity, work attitude and career orientation? If so, in what ways does it affect?

8. Does this cultural diversity in your workplace affect your relations with the workmates? If so, in what ways does it affect?
9. How do you spend your leisure time? Are you engaged in any activities with your workmates? If so, what kind of activities are they?

C. Life in Neighbourhood

1. What kind of a neighbourhood are you living in? Are you living with only the Irish people? Are there immigrants as well?
2. Would you tell us about the relations in your neighbourhood?

D. Integration with Irish society

1. What do you think about the Irish social life and culture?
2. Do you think the immigrants can easily adapt to the Irish social life and culture? If so, what might be the reasons?
3. Do you think the Irish social life and culture overlap with yours? If so, to what extent does it overlap?
4. What are the most important difficulties do you encountered in Ireland? How do you overcome these difficulties?

E. Relations with other Turkish Immigrants

1. Would you tell us about your relations with the Turkish immigrants in Ireland?
2. Do you take part in common activities with other Turkish immigrants? If so, what kind of activities are they?
3. Do you feel homesick? If so, are you doing anything to overcome this feeling?
4. How do you feel when you go back to visit Turkey?
5. How do you feel when a visitor from Turkey comes to stay with you in Ireland?
6. Is solidarity among the Turkish immigrants in Ireland?

F. Future Plans

1. Would you tell us about your future plans?
2. Do you think of applying for the Irish citizenship? If so, why do you want?
3. Do you think of moving to another country? If so, why would you think to moving?



APPENDIX B: TABLE OF PROFILE

Name	Sex	Age/Number of Years in Ireland	Marital Status	Occupation	Master Degree	University	University Degree	Place of Birth/ Country before Ireland	Nationality / Spouse
Merve	F	30 / 3	Single	Software Engineer	MA Computer Engineering	Middle Eastern Technical University	Computer Science	Giresun/Turkey	Turkish
Zeynep	F	25 / 2	Single	Software Engineer	MA Computer Engineering	Bilkent University	Computer Science	Ankara/Turkey	Turkish
Atakan	M	26 / 1	Single	Software Engineer	MA Computer Engineering	Bilkent University	Computer Science	Ankara/Turkey	Turkish
Alp	M	30 / 2	Married	Sales	MA Computer Engineering	Bosphorus University	Mechanical Engineering	Istanbul/Turkey	Turkish
Sibel	F	30 / 2	Married	Sales	MBA	Istanbul University	Business Administration	Silivri/Turkey	Turkish
Emre	M	35 / 3	Single	Senior Financial Accountant	TURMOB	Anatolian University	Business Administration	Istanbul/Turkey	Turkish
Tuna	M	38 / 7	Single	Software Engineer	MA Computer Engineering	Middle Eastern Technical University	Computer Science	Istanbul/Turkey	Irish Passport
Kerem	M	27 / 4	Single	Sales	N/A	Istanbul Technical University	Business Engineering	Malatya/Turkey	Turkish
Senra	F	26 / 3	Single	Sales	N/A	Bosphorus University	Industrial Engineering	Elazig/Turkey	Turkish
Mine	F	25 / 2	Married	Sales	N/A	Marmara University	Business Administration	Kars/Turkey	Turkish
Yasemin	F	27 / 3	Married	Customer Service	MBA	Uludağ University	Economy	Istanbul/Portugal	Turkish/Portuguese
Gamze	F	31 / 3	Single	Customer Service	N/A	Kocaeli University	Business Administration	Kayseri/Turkey	Turkish
Cem	F	38 / 10	Married	Managing Director	MBA	Middle Eastern Technical University	Chemical Engineering	Ordu/Turkey	Irish Passport & Irish
Afi	F	29 / 4	Married	Software Engineer	N/A	Uku University	Computer Science	Istanbul/Turkey	Turkish
Barlas	M	30 / 3	Single	Software Engineer	N/A	Yeditepe University	Computer Science	Istanbul/Turkey	Turkish
Emir	M	27 / 1	Married	Software Engineer	MA Computer Engineering	Bilkent University	Computer Science	Burduz/Turkey	Turkish
Baran	M	35 / 7	Married	Information Security Engineer	MA Computer Engineering	Istanbul Technical University	Food Engineering	Istanbul/Turkey	Irish Passport & Irish
Bek	M	34 / 3	Married	System Engineer	MA Computer Engineering	Istanbul Technical University	Electrical and Electronic Engineering	Burdur/Turkey	Turkish
Esra	F	34 / 7	Married	Computational Science	PhD Mathematical Engineering	Istanbul Technical University	Mathematical Engineering	Kirkkareli/Turkey	Irish Passport & Irish
Sinem	F	26 / 3	Married	Advertisement	MA/ Mathematical Engineering	Istanbul Technical University	Mathematical Engineering	Istanbul/Turkey	Turkish & Turkish
Sezen	F	28 / 2	Married	Sales	MBA (UCL)	Bosphorus University	Economy	Istanbul/England	Turkish & Turkish
Hakan	M	38 / 10	Married	Senior Financial Accountant	MBA / ACCA (Griffith Univ.)	Istanbul University	Econometrics	Istanbul/England	Irish Passport & Irish
Kemal	M	38 / 7	Married	Senior Electrical Design Engineer	MA/ Electrical Engineering	Middle Eastern Technical University	Electrical and Electronic Engineering	Ankara/Turkey	Irish Passport & Irish Passport
Derya	F	25 / 2	Married	Sales	N/A	Marmara University	Business Administration	Istanbul/Turkey	Turkish/Turkish
Ardal	M	26 / 4	Married	Software Engineer	N/A	Bilkent University	Computer Science	Ankara/Turkey	Turkish/Turkish
Mahir	M	40 / 10	Married	Software Engineer	MA Computer Science	Ege University	Computer science	Kayseri/Turkey	Irish Passport/Irish
Bora	M	35 / 9	Married	Operation Program Manager	N/A	Griffith College	Finance	Ankara/France	Irish Passport/Uludağ
Ozan	M	32 / 3	Single	Sales	Siyaset Bilimi	Bilkent University	siyaset Bilimi	Ankara/Turkey	Turkish
Cevan	F	26 / 3	Single	Sales	N/A	Balçesehir University	Economy	Istanbul/Turkey	Turkish
Suzan	M	33 / 3	Married	Sales	Marketing	Yildiz Technical University	Computer science	Istanbul/England	Turkish/Turkish
Pinar	F	30 / 1	Single	Operation Manager	N/A	Yeditepe University	Computer Science	Istanbul/Turkey	Turkish
Cem	M	36 / 10	Married	Program Manger	N/A	Cankaya University	Business Administration	Ankara/Turkey	Irish Passport/Irish
Timur	M	30 / 2	Single	Support Operation	N/A	Graz University	Translation	Graz/Austria	Austria
Levent	M	27 / 4	Single	Software Engineer	Software Engineer (Athlone Institute of Technology)	Yildiz Technical University	Mathematical Engineering	Bursa/Turkey	Turkish
Uku	M	31 / 10	Married	Software Engineer	Software Engineer (Athlone Institute of Technology)	Balçesehir University	Computer Science	Istanbul/Turkey	Irish Passport/ Irish Passport
Koray	M	33 / 10	Married	Sales	International Business Management (Athlone Institute of Technology)	Dokuz Eylül University	Industrial Engineering	Kilis/Turkey	Irish Passport/ Irish Passport
Onur	M	27 / 2	Married	Software Engineer	Computer Science (Saarland University)	Bosphorus University	Computer Science	Istanbul/Germany	Turkish/Turkish
Met	M	35 / 6	Married	Research Scientist	PhD Computer Science (Karlsruhe University)	Middle East Technical University	Computer Science	Isparta/Germany	Irish Passport/ Irish Passport
Cem	M	30 / 3	Single	Sales	MBA	Bilkent University	International Relations	Ankara/Turkey	Turkish
Melissa	F	30 / 3	Married	Sales	MA Industrial & Organizational Psychology (Ludwigs Maximilians Univ.)	Bilgi University	Psychology	Istanbul/Germany	Turkish/Turkish
Tarkan	F	30 / 2	Married	Sales	N/A	Bilkent University	Business Administration	Istanbul/Turkey	Turkish/Turkish
Kadir	M	36 / 10	Married	Sales	N/A			Izmir/Turkey	Irish Passport/Irish
Murat	M	32 / 5	Single	Product Quality Analyst	Engineering Management	Izmir University of Economics	Computer Engineering	Izmir/Turkey	Turkish
Su	F	30 / 4	Single	Account Strategist	MSc Management (London Business School)	Middle East Technical University	Industrial Engineering	Istanbul/Turkey	Turkish
Ferah	F	30 / 1	Married	Customer Advocate	Comparative Literature	Yeditepe University	English Language	Istanbul/Turkey	Turkish/Irish
Pinar	F	28 / 4	Single	Sales	N/A	Marmara University	Economics	Istanbul/Turkey	Turkish
Nihat	M	27 / 2	Single	Relationship Manager	MBA (University of Antwerp)	Bosphorus University	Management	Istanbul/Belgium	Turkish
Nazan	F	26 / 4	Single	Customer Advocate	Strategic Management (London School of Economics)	Sabancı University	Industrial Engineering	Istanbul/England	Turkish
Lale	F	30 / 1	Single	Sales Manager	N/A	Uludağ University	Management	Bursa/Turkey	Turkish
Hakan	M	28 / 2	Single	Sales Development Specialist	N/A	Jacobs University	Global Economics and Management	Istanbul/Germany	Turkish

APPENDIX C: VISUAL NARRATIVES

Appendix C1. Teammates at Lunch Break, Facebook Dublin HQ, 2017



Appendix C 2. Facebook Team, Facebook Dublin HQ, 2017



Appendix C 3. Turkish Professionals on 29th of October Turkish Embassy's Reception at Shelbourne Hotel Dublin, 2017



Appendix C 4. Turkish Professionals Home Gathering (Turkish festival day), Dublin, 2015 (Picture created by participant)



Appendix C 5. Turkish Team & Symbol Mavi Boncuk, LinkedIn Dublin HQ, 2015

(Picture created by LinkedIn employees)



Appendix C 6. LinkedIn Turkish Team, LinkedIn Dublin HQ, 2015

(Picture created by LinkedIn employees)



Appendix C 7. LinkedIn Employees in Dublin LGTB Pride, LinkedIn Dublin

HQ, 2017 (Picture created by LinkedIn employees)



Appendix C 8. Facebook Employees in Dublin LGTB Pride, Facebook Dublin

HQ, 2017 (Picture created by Facebook employees)



Appendix C 9. The Turkish Team, Facebook Dublin HQ, 2015



Appendix C 10. Cultural Diversity, Facebook Dublin HQ, 2015



Appendix C 11. Halloween Day, Facebook Dublin HQ, 2017



Appendix C 12. Halloween Day, Facebook Dublin HQ, 2017



Appendix C 13. Turkish Cultural Food Day, Facebook Dublin HQ, 2015