

Feeling at Home: Qualified Turkish Immigrants Work in the Subcontractor Company in Athens

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Abstract

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

Keywords: Capital; cultural flows; globalization; Greece; migration; subcontractor company.

INTRODUCTION

In Türkiye, migration significantly increased because of unemployment, conservatism, high inflation, and political issues in Türkiye. As a result of this situation, many people (especially the young) decided to leave the country because of the pressure of the economic and social life, low life and job satisfaction, and mobbing. They began to search for a better life elsewhere, especially in the West. However, many Turkish people move to Southern Europe to work, study, or find refuge. As Türkiye is a non-EU country, Turks need a residence permit or working visa to move to Europe. They seek opportunities to move to Europe or the United States to increase their quality of life. They try to find companies that provide visa sponsorship, or they prefer to find universities after graduation, find jobs, and stay there. Many academic studies focused on immigrants and refugees in Türkiye, their identities, motivations, decision-making, integration and adaptation process, and societal place. One of the standard studies is also about internal migration in Türkiye, especially from rural to urban areas. ‘Emigration’ is also a central topic in the academic world. Although the main route of migration from Türkiye abroad is observed in Western developed countries such as Germany, the United States, and Canada, there are not enough studies in the literature on migration to “developing countries” of Southern or Eastern Europe (like Greece, Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, etc.). They focused on more developed countries such as Germany, Ireland, the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, France, etc. My aim of the study is to understand the reasons for the migration of working qualified Turkish people who migrated to Greece as subcontractor company employees. Moreover, there are not enough ethnographic studies on work anthropology in Turkish literature (Özbay, 2018). Another aim and importance of this research is to examine both the employees of the subcontractor company in Greece and the differences between Türkiye and Greece in the context of work anthropology. This research aims to determine why qualified Turkish youth prefer to leave their lives in Türkiye and work in a subcontractor company in Greece. I also seek to understand the feelings of belonging and motivations of the Turks who moved to Greece with labor migration. With the development of technology, it is much easier to find or search for

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

This research is based on Turkish people between the ages of 24 and 41 who lived (and still live) 6 months to 5 years in Athens. This is because the Turks working in the subcontractor company are in this age range. All interviews were conducted between 2021 and 2023, so the Covid-19 period coincides with when it taps and decreases.

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

In the related study, the studies of Arjun Appadurai, who has conducted remarkable research into globalization, were used. Appadurai's understanding of the "global cultural flow" model will be evaluated considering the findings.

RESULTS

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

All 12 participants have resided in Greece between six months and five years. Two individuals dropped out of university, while the remaining ten had graduated. Additionally, only two of the interviewees were able to speak Greek, while the other ten were still in the process of learning the language. All participants speak English well. Of the 12 participants, seven were female, and six were male.

Ten interviewees had prior work experience before arriving in Greece, whereas two participants worked for the first time. Two of the participants are married, two of them have partners, and others are single. As can be seen from the table below, all the interviewees have lived in Greece for six months and five years. The dominant words in the interview will be titled and analyzed according to Appadurai's concepts of cultural flows.

As a method, I preferred to use the participant observation method, which guides the researcher to take part in the daily life, interactions, and events of the group of people to understand their life routines and cultures. The method of participant observation is designed as a defining method of ethnographic research and is foundational in cultural anthropology and sociology. For my research, I mainly used structured interview methods and sometimes semi-structured interview methods, depending on the interview. Initially, my concern was whether the interviews would be too formal and artificial. However, as I was also an insider known by the people, the discussions were not formal. All consultations are conducted smoothly. It included 38 questions overall.

The interviewees are found through Facebook Groups and the snowball technique. Also, as an insider, finding interviewees in my job environment was not hard. I also worked in the subcontractor company and followed the emic approach and participant observation. This method allows one to understand the culture as seen from the eye of the cultural insiders, and comments can be made with rich qualitative form, causes avoiding the imposition of the researcher's bias. Also, the qualitative method is used in the research which helps to discover the inner experience of the participants, how meanings are formed, find data that has not been studied yet, and take a holistic and comprehensive approach (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

DISCUSSION

As a result of the *ethnoscape* cultural flow of the participants, it was revealed that Turkish immigrants felt comfortable in the comfort zone of the Turkish community. For example in the 'Turks Living in Athens' group on Facebook, Turkish immigrants can easily sell their belongings, find a house, and ask questions about bureaucracy in Greece. Even before immigrants come to Greece from Türkiye, they post to the relevant Facebook group to get information. Even socialization activities in the Turkish community in Athens take place through this group. Many of the 'Turks Living in

Athens' group members consist of Turkish people who came to Greece with a Golden Visa, Turkish refugees working in the subcontractor company with relocation packages, or university students. There are around 4000 Turks in this group, which has been active since 2015. The main aim of the "Turks Living in Athens" group is to get advice and help on many issues based on the experience of the people in the group. Like *technoscape*, with the development of information technologies, the spread of communication is a result of the development of technologies (Appadurai, 1996). These developments have also contributed to the acceleration of the mobilization of capital, commodities, information, and individuals, which are transferred through migration networks. For the creation of a transnational social space, the acceleration of the circulation of information and individuals is extremely important, as is the acceleration of the transfer of capital and commodities. Here, *technoscape* is playing a role as a tool of information, cultural values, and network. Also, these participants address the importance of speaking their language with the people in the migrated country. It can be an example of *homophily*. "Homophily is the principle that contact between similar people occurs more than among dissimilar people. The pervasive fact of homophily means that cultural, behavioral, genetic, or material information that flows through networks will tend to be localized." (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & M Cook, 2001: 416). Here, migrants take support from their local networks, which carry similar features socially and culturally. According to this principle, people are keener to contact others who are culturally similar. Notably, according to the answer given by some participants, there is solidarity and support in the Turkish community. Social capital is the elements of social networks that provide individuals with certain resources, such as power. Here, social capital is in line with Appadurai's concept of *ethnoscape* (Appadurai, 1996). The *ethnoscape* covered by the migration network and social capital, which is social power, are intertwined. they form their own bonds. Here, social capital is a power of relationship that helps their own well-being and development (Bourdieu, 1986). All these personal networks and social supports affect the migrants' union in the migrated country. Groups on Facebook are also social capital.

Turkish immigrants working from home during the Covid-19 period strengthened their communication through technology from their workspace via Zoom. Also, it caused to socialize with Turkish people instead of Greeks. While some participants emphasized that having a Turkish environment is comfort and solidarity, others stated that Covid

caused it and would be friends with the local people if they could. In the summer of 2022, Covid has decreased significantly, and many companies have started to work from the office. However, employees in the relevant subcontractor company still work from home.

It was observed that the participants felt at home in Greece because of the *ethnoscape* and the cultural similarities between Greece and Türkiye. Home is not necessarily a fixed place, rather, it might be one's country or city, and these homes include various symbolic meanings. The identification with the place is experienced as a sense of being at home, being comfortable, and familiarity with the cultural context (Ahmed, 1999) (Mallett, 2004) (Cuba & Hummon, 1993) (Moore, 2000). The relations between Turkish and Greek society are based on a long historical background. They have lived to the present day within the same geographical boundaries or as neighboring societies. After Greece gained its independence, Turkish-Greek relations continued. Thus, the common words are unsurprising as the Greek and Turkish languages share many common words. These interview results show that the common food and music connect Greece as an immigrant and Türkiye as a homeland; it causes one to feel at home as a pattern of nostalgia. The memories travel in the immigrants' minds, reminding the Turkish culture. Here, the nostalgia does not appear as yearning or missing something. Rather, it is something that reminds their homelands. There is an analogy between home and memories. As a result of interviews, it can be said that why most participants feel at home in Greece is the cultural similarities between the two countries. This is reminiscent of Appadurai's concept of *ethnoscape*. Appadurai defines the concept of *ethnoscape* as follows: "the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and individuals constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect "the politics of (and between) nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree" (Appadurai, 1996:33). Using Appadurai's concept as "landscapes of group identity", I understand that immigrants, with their mobility as a result of globalization and cultural flow, create a space for themselves and experience a sense of nostalgia and a sense of 'home' by finding the cultures of the country they live in similar to their own.

A common answer given by the participants is that they see Greece as a gateway to Europe. Moving to Europe and the West became an attractive choice for migrants, especially for young people with a way of working or studying or entrepreneurs who

want to establish a company or investment. The wish to live in the West results from political choices, and economic, social, and cultural factors. While European citizens can move and work inside the European Union and Schengen area as a free movement of labor, non-European citizens must have a residence permit or working visa. The non-European citizens who want to work legally in Europe must provide the necessary documents to the consulates and convince officers in the visa department. Also, non-European citizens must find sponsorship to support getting a work permit to work in Europe. However, it depends on the immigrants of the sending countries' human capital, such as education, working experience, language skills, and job offer requirements. Thus, it can be said that labor migrants should meet the human capital criteria. If the criteria do not meet the job offer, in that case, immigrants may seek to migrate to other countries for a while and then move to their final destinations for better opportunities. It is called transit migration. Moreover, the host country's human capital plays a significant role in hiring immigrants and providing sponsorship to work legally. While the participants are looking for ways to move to the West, they find a multinational subcontractor company and come to Greece as employees to work in the Turkish department in line with the opportunities provided by this company. In the concept of *ethnoscape*, Appadurai emphasizes that individuals are not bound to a specific area but should be seen in a global context. Moreover, he states that these spaces are shaped by the flow of migration (Appadurai, 1996). As can be seen in detail from the answers of the participants below, the participants migrated to Greece as a flow due to the opportunity to pass to Europe, and there is a spatial, social, and cultural flow because of globalization.

Labor migration is also a result of globalization and capitalism internally and internationally, such as low-skilled and high-skilled workers. Also depends on the participants answer, some of them aim to move to a "better country" than Greece. It can be counted as "onward migration" if the participants stay in Greece for a certain period and aim to move to another country. some see this place as a step and want to move to another European country after getting their residence card. This means that the participants have reached a certain capital. According to Bourdieu, capital is the reproduction of the social order (Bourdieu, 1992). Coming to Athens with the company's relocation package, the freedom to travel with the 'specific purpose' card, and the freedom to work in other jobs and other European countries after completing

five years are all capital. Capital here is power, not money, as in Bourdieu's theory. Capital, which is Bourdieu's theory in the examples here, represents the power of the 'full market' residence card and living in Europe. Even a step towards Europe can be counted as capital because it gives power, opens doors to more job opportunities, or enhances living standards.

Living here in a European country and getting a 'full market' card is a resource (capital), and this brings a system of social satisfaction, that is social space. All individuals have portfolios representing different powers, economic, cultural, social, or symbolic capitals. These steps emerged as a power in transnational social space with financial and other forms. And it is a result of different societies and individuals. For social space, Bourdieu addresses that "The sense of position occupied in social space is the practical mastery of the social structure as whole that reveals itself through the sense of the position occupied within that structure." (Bourdieu, 1985: 728). According to Bourdieu, physical and social spaces are associated. He asserts, "Social space tends to be translated, with more or less distortion, into physical space, in the form of a certain arrangement of agents and properties. (Bourdieu, 2000: 134). He explains that social space is a fundamental structure of symbolic categories defined and generated by the places and relationships between habitats in physical space (Bourdieu, 2000). However, space does not cite only physical space but also greater chance structures, social life, and values that immigrants associate with their specific and constrained location. Spaces have a social significance beyond simple territoriality; they only have meaning when there are apparent social or symbolic relationships for immigrants (Faist, 2000). As explained in the literature review section, "onward migration" is also used in the academic world with the names "transit migration," "stepwise migration," "post-migration movement," "secondary movement," and "serial migration" in different ways. According to this type of migration, migrants can decide to move to another country after living in one country (Ahrens & King, 2023). Here, after receiving the "full market" card, which is a capital, the migrants will move to another country as in the "onward migration." Participants consider Greece as a gateway to Europe and could work anywhere in Europe after receiving the 'full market' card, which is a 5-year card, or travel to Europe with the 'specific purpose' card provided by the subcontractor company. Here capital is a power rather than money. As in Bourdieu's theory, capital reproduction of the social order (Bourdieu, 1986). Capital here is a capital that creates

new job opportunities, or a power that improves living standards. In other words, dwelling in Europe and obtaining the 'full market' card is capital, and the resulting social satisfaction is social space. Just like in the 'stepwise migration' term, they are also targeting Europe step by step here.

The most common answer given by Turkish immigrants is that they should always find a common point when communicating with Greeks. Turkish TV series come first in this common ground. Greeks talk to Turks about the words they learned from Turkish TV series and talk about the common culture and words they shared in the past. With the effect of globalization, factors such as the internet, telephone, and media are rapidly crossing borders and sharing without geographical borders. For example, some television shows, series, or movies are broadcast in different parts of the world. Or, Netflix, a streaming service operating in many countries, can be given as an example on this subject. Although the programs broadcast varies from country to country due to contracts, people can easily access the content of different countries through dubbing and subtitles because of Netflix. Turkish TV series are also broadcast in many parts of the world and are watched with interest. Here the boundaries are unclear and there are pervasive cultural contexts. All these fluid culture contexts are in harmony with Appadurai's mediascape and technoscape concepts. According to Appadurai, "*Mediascapes refers* both to the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and dis-seminate information (newspapers, magazines, television stations)" (Appadurai, 1996: 35). Appadurai defines *technoscape* as: "The global configuration, also ever so fluid, of technology and the fact that technology, both high and low, both mechanical and informational, now moves at high speeds across various kinds of previously impervious boundaries" (Appadurai, 1996: 34). That's why *technoscapes* can connect different people, groups, or communities without borders. Here, *mediascape* is a tool to spread cultural contexts worldwide, and technoscape plays a role in rapidly carrying contexts. Here, in addition to the tension between Türkiye and Greece reported in the press, a socio-cultural interaction can be seen because of the Turkish TV series. These examples show that this shared culture is much more than in the press such as political tensions.

In the light of the interviews, only 2 of the 12 participants know Greek. Many participants state that most people in Greece already know English, so they do not need to learn Greek. While some participants found the Greek language difficult, some stated

that they did not consider learning Greek unless there was a citizenship process. Also, some participants state that they use translation applications such as Google Translate and body language when communicating with Greek people if English is not enough to communicate. As can be seen, we see another example of the concept of technoscape (Appadurai, 1996). Here, Google Translate is a tool that moves across borders because of technology and helps connect two different cultures without language barriers.

When the participants were asked why they moved from Türkiye to Greece, it was revealed that they felt freer than they did in Türkiye. The participants decided to migrate because they were unhappy with their lack of freedom, education, and economics in Türkiye. Unemployment in Türkiye is another reason for them to migrate to another country. The political situation in Türkiye also played an important role in moving to another country. *Ideoscapes* usually consist of concatenations of images but are generally mostly political and often include concepts such as freedom, democracy, rights, representation, etc., and are images that bring together opposing views or reconstructions of ideological ideas (Appadurai, 1996). In the examples given above, some participants left Türkiye for political reasons and stated that they could not be free in Türkiye. Also, those who stayed here received similar answers when asked whether they missed Türkiye or not. It can be said that the participants' *ideoscapes* are kept in Greece and they live together in relation to the Turkish community. When the participants were asked questions about whether they missed their country, the keywords "democracy", "freedom", "economy" and "rights" appeared. It is both remarkable and a part of the *ideoscape*.

The most common answer given by the participants working in the subcontractor company in Athens is that their contracts are quite short. Their right to any compensation plays a big role in the uncertainty of their future. This is also a result of *financescape*. The subcontractor company is an international company, and the employees here provide international labor to multinational organizations. Employees from various countries provide services in various languages to large companies under subcontracting companies. The salary they receive varies depending on the language service they provide, and therefore the language the employee knows, which is his cultural capital, is also important here. The phenomenon here is identified with Appadurai's concept of *financescape*. (Appadurai, 1996). *Financescape* represents the rapid movement of money and global business networks across borders. In other words,

financescape is here mobile form of capital. Thus, it can be said that here, the flow of 'human capital' of the employees and other types of capital moves across nations and borders. I underline 'human capital' here because employees of subcontracted companies provide services to multinational companies under the name of subcontracted companies in various languages, as stated in the chapters above. It is important to note that the company specifies in the terms how long the contract will be before hiring and does not guarantee whether these contracts will be extended. Yet, participants who want to live in Greece or abroad accept this job for a specific purpose and aim to stay long. While most employees on the interview are satisfied with their jobs, it is a downside to the company that the company keeps contracts short. Whether or not the contract is renewed depends on the employee's performance and the client's decision responsible for the relevant market and project. It was discussed that if the employee in the field division was laid off or quit, the company canceled the residence card. Another concern of employees is that their residence cards will be revoked if they become unemployed.

When participants were asked to compare the working conditions between Türkiye and Greece, they answered that they were not disturbed outside of work and that they could easily continue their lives after an 8-hour shift. Here, we see that the common point in the answers given by the interviewees is 'working hours' and the importance of time. While working hours in Türkiye are 9 hours, and this period is longer with shifts, working hours in Greece are 8 hours, including breaks. Remarkably, even half an hour is paid in Greece, while overtime is not paid in Türkiye. In addition, overtime in Greece depends on the employee's wish. Although no interviewer works on weekends, extra payment is made when employees work on Sundays (the demand depends on the country of the country that is supported). Because, under normal conditions, while one cannot work on Sundays, a call center employee serving other countries can also work on Sundays. However, this is not the case in Türkiye. Also, due to Greek law, employees receive 14 months' salary rather than 12. Along with 12 months' salary, there is also a bonus for Christmas (as much as a salary), Easter and Summer bonus (half salary).

Finally, when the participants were asked about the differences between Greece and Türkiye, the predominant answer was that many jobs were slow, especially the bureaucracy was much slower compared to Türkiye.

CONCLUSION

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

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

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

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

As a result of this study, the reason why Turkish immigrants prefer Greece is that it is a European country, it is a country close to Türkiye, and cultural similarities can be counted. In some cases, it was observed that the participants had a long-standing interest in Greek culture and preferred Greece as a fascination. The reasons for the emigration of the participants from Türkiye can be listed as long overtime hours, low job opportunities, and economic, political, and social reasons. As a result of *ideoscape*,

there are also participants who left their countries for political reasons and live and create a space with their common views where they are (Appadurai, 1996).

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

Since this study was conducted between 2021-2023, it coincided with the Covid-19 period. In particular, the meetings held in 2021 took place during the lockdown process. As a result, as in many companies worldwide, the subcontractor in Athens has started to work from home. This, of course, will inevitably affect the adaptation process. Particularly, the participants stated that due to the pandemic, they could not go out and socialize and especially could not integrate with the Greek people.

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

Another remarkable point in the interviews' findings is that most participants do not know Greek. Many participants also cited the reason that most of them speak English in Greece. In addition, the participants added that if the other party does not speak English, they easily maintain their communication through translation applications such as Google Translate and body language. Some participants try to express themselves by using the similarities between the Greek and Turkish languages due to technology and globalization. Only 2 out of 12 participants can speak Greek. The most common

aspect of both participants is they have been interested in Greek culture since they were little. However, as they stated in general, their lack of knowledge of Greek does not pose a problem with any adaptation problem since the Greeks knew English.

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

As a result of the negotiations, the concept of 'home' emerged. However, the house concept here is more than just a physical building; it has a completely dynamic and symbolic dimension. As a result of the interviews, the participants emphasized that they felt at home due to the intense similarities between Greece and Türkiye, and that some things reminded them of something due to similar cultural contexts in a nostalgic dimension. In addition, a participant feels at home in Greece because that's where the money is made at home. In addition, a participant's feelings of alienation and belonging to their hometowns, Türkiye.

When I asked the participants to describe their work life and compare the working conditions between Türkiye and Greece, they answered that working for 8 hours in Greece was comfortable and that no one called after work. No matter how complex the job in Greece was, it was underlined that he worked in much better conditions than Türkiye. They also emphasized the importance of having time to spare for themselves. Another common answer the participants gave is the short contracts made by the subcontractor company. The shortness of these contracts is specified prior to employment, and no guarantee is given regarding the contract extension. However, employees accept this condition to be able to move to Greece, a European country, and live in the hope of extending the contract. As a result of flexible working conditions, short contracts give rise to feelings of anxiety, anxiety, and uncertainty in employees. As a result of this uncertainty, a transition process emerges. Employees aim for a

permanent contract and some participants want to move to other European countries after working in Greece for 5 years and obtaining the 'full market' card.

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

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

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

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