

Older Hindustani Surinamese migrants in the Netherlands and
home-making

The role of ageing, place making and culture

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18-08-2017

Abstract

This thesis looks at older Hindustani Surinamese migrants who are living in the Netherlands. In the Netherlands the share of older migrants in the population is increasing. Within the existing scholarship about migration there is a strong focus on younger migrants and retirement migration and to a lesser extent on older migrants who are ageing in the country of destination. The process of migration, transnational ties, home-making, a sense of place and cultural schemas shape how migrants age in the country of destination. For migrants creating a sense of home is a cultural process and connected to transnationalism in which the community plays a role. This study examines the sense of home of older Hindustani Surinamese migrants living in the Netherlands in relation to migration, ageing, place making and cultural schemas. A secondary data analysis was performed which consists of nineteen in-depth interviews, one interview with the key informant and photographs. The in-depth interviews are conducted at four co-housing communities for older Hindustani Surinamese adults in the Netherlands. The findings indicate that a sense of home is related to having a place for oneself and living with people from the same origin. A sense of home is not restricted to one place and emerges from multiple places. Adapting past routines to the new environment, expressing religion and culture and placing meaningful objects within the home are found to be important aspects in the home-making process.

Keywords: *home-making, cultural schemas, ageing, Hindustani Surinamese migrants, the Netherlands*

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Post-war migrants are now ageing in the county of destination (White, 2006). Within the Netherlands the four largest groups of non-Western migrants are from Morocco, Turkey, Suriname and the Antilles (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2016). The share of older non-Western migrants within the Dutch population is increasing (den Draak & de Klerk, 2011). Although the topic of older migrants has gained more attention during the last decade, it has not been explored to a great extent within migration studies and gerontology (Ciobanu et al., 2017; King et al., 2017). In addition, several studies (Bilecen, 2017; Buffel, 2015; Palmberger, 2017) have focused predominantly on guest workers from Turkey. Therefore, in an attempt to address this gap, this study focuses on older Surinamese migrants living in the Netherlands. On the first of January 2017, 349,978 Surinamese, including the first (place of birth Suriname) and the second generation (place of birth the Netherlands), were living in the Netherlands and 30,483 of the first generation were aged 65 and older (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2017). Figure 1 illustrates the number of Surinamese migrants aged 65 and above in the Netherlands between 1972 and 2017. The graph shows that the share of older Surinamese migrants is increasing. Considering the ethnic diversity of Surinamese migrants, this thesis focuses on Hindustani Surinamese who form together with the Creoles the largest group of Surinamese living in the Netherlands (Choenni, 2013). The home becomes an important place for older adults as a result of decreasing mobility and older people have to age in place (Rubinstein & Parmelee, 1992; Wiles, 2005). The focus of this thesis is on the home-making practices of older Hindustani Surinamese living in the Netherlands.

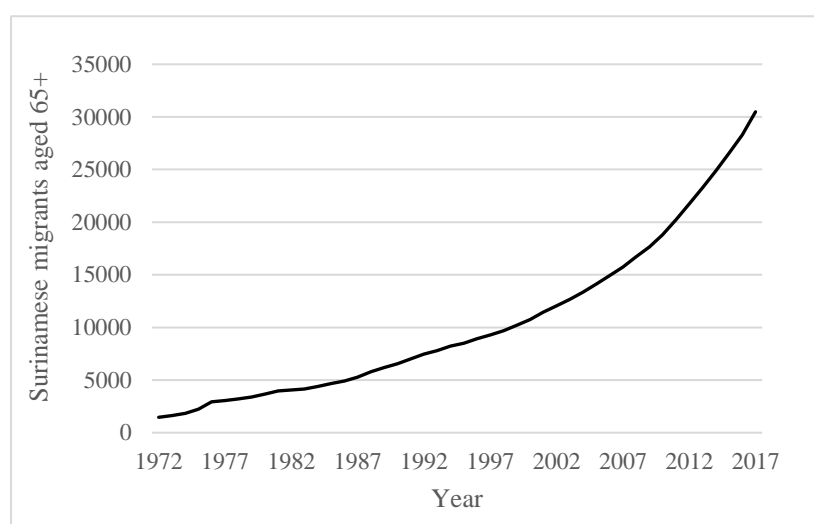


Figure 1 Surinamese migrants (first generation) aged 65+ in the Netherlands, 1972-2017
Source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (2017)

1.1.1 Hindustani Surinamese migrants in the Netherlands

Suriname is a former Dutch colony and post-colonial ties have influenced migration to the Netherlands (Vezzoli, 2014). The composition of the Surinamese population consists of numerous ethnic groups which

reflects the colonial history of Suriname (Janssen, 2011). The two largest groups are Creoles whose ancestors were broad as slaves from Africa and Hindustanis who are descendants from Indian indentured labourers who migrated to Suriname in the beginning of the twentieth century. Other ethnic groups living in Suriname are Chinese, Amerindians, Javanese, Lebanese and Europeans (Oudhof & Harmsen, 2011; van Amersfoort, 2011). In this regard, the ethnic diversity of the Surinamese population is visible in the composition of the Surinamese migrant population living in the Netherlands (Mügge, 2011). By signing the Statute of the Kingdom in 1954, Suriname was recognized as a constituent country of the Kingdom and citizens obtained the Dutch nationality (van Amersfoort, 2011). In 1975 Suriname gained independence and the periods prior and after independence have influenced the extent of migration. The peaks of emigration in the period of 1973-1975 and 1979-1980 are related to the unstable economic and political situation in Suriname in the years before and after independence and border restrictions which were introduced in 1980 (Vezzoli, 2014). Not only has the extent of migration changed also the composition of the migrants has shifted (van Amersfoort, 2011; Vezzoli, 2014). Before 1973, migration was characterized by higher and middle classes often from Creole origin who migrated to the Netherlands for better education and occupation opportunities. From the 1960s migration to the Netherlands was no longer only an option for the elite. During this period migrants from different social classes migrated to the Netherlands (Vezzoli, 2014). In the early 1970s, Hindustanis and Javanese started to migrate to the Netherlands worried that Afro-Surinamese would be more dominant after independence. A majority of these migrants were from lower social classes (van Amersfoort, 2011). Dutch migration policies have influenced the volume of the migration flow in the 1970s. The policies were meant to decrease migration and not to reinforce migration (van Amersfoort, 2011). In regard to citizenship, Surinamese who were born and living in Suriname at time of independence would acquire the Surinamese nationality whereas Surinamese living in the Netherlands obtained the Dutch citizenship. In addition, Surinamese were allowed to travel without restrictions between Suriname and the Netherlands between 1975 and 1980 (Janssen, 2011). Nowadays, the main reasons for emigration are can be linked to study and family reunification (Vezzoli, 2014).

Mügge (2011) argues that Surinamese are likely to consider more countries as their homeland, because of the migration history. For example, Hindustanis might consider India as their homeland. Besides, Surinamese migrants or Surinamese migrant organizations in the Netherlands can be part of different diasporas such as the Indian, African or Javanese diaspora (Mügge, 2011). The majority of the Surinamese population in the Netherlands are concentrated in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. In particular, Hindustanis and Creoles are living in the cities and other ethnic groups are more spatially distributed (Oudhof et al., 2011). Hindustanis form a religious diverse group consisting of Hindus, Muslims and Christians (Choenni, 2013). Choenni (2013) argues that overall older Hindustani Surinamese adults feel satisfied in the Netherlands and have integrated within the Dutch society. Being able to adapt to the Dutch lifestyle and remaining one's own cultural identity were perceived to be important factors for feeling satisfied within the Netherlands (Choenni, 2013).

1.1.2 Ageing

Ageing in place is a concept that is often referred to as a policy to encourage people in developed countries to live independently in their homes for a longer time. People have to age in place (Cutchin, 2003; Means, 2007; Wiles, 2005). The policy is driven by the changing nature of the welfare state, budget cuts in healthcare and the preference of older people to age in their own homes (Dobner et al., 2016; Means, 2007; Wiles, 2005).

Russell (2007) argues that quantitative research about ageing is related to the needs of older people and not about their experiences. It is important to conduct qualitative research in order to gain a better understanding of the experiences of older people. Therefore, this thesis examines the experiences of older Hindustani Surinamese migrants living in the Netherlands.

Andrews et al. (2007) discuss that geographical gerontology involves multiple disciplines that study the relation between older people and places. Since the 1970s the field of geographical gerontology examines topics related to older people and places such as healthcare, mobility, healthy ageing and ageing in place. For instance, Wiles (2005) discusses when people get older the place itself and the meaning of a place changes. Indeed, Gillear et al. (2007) argue that when people get older their attachment to places is stronger. This is in line with Wiles et al. (2009) who discuss that older people have strong attachments to their home and the place they live. Additionally, in an overview of studies about place attachment from the last forty years, Lewicka (2011) puts forward that more research about place attachment should focus on the place and process dimensions of place attachment.

The previous paragraph discussed place attachment in relation to older people and this paragraph will discuss the home-making process of older migrants. The home-making process of migrants is examined in multiple ethnographic studies (Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 2009; Rosales, 2010; Boccagni, 2014). For migrants the process of home-making is a transnational process. Migrants reconstruct connections with the country of origin by practicing old routines within a new context and by putting certain objects in the house that are a reminder of their country or family they have left behind (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). In addition, Meijering and Lager (2014) have examined the home-making process of older Antillean migrants in the Netherlands living in a co-housing community. In their article Meijering and Lager (2014) suggest that the cultural dimension of the home-making process of older adults can be further examined. Considering previous research about home-making and place attachment, this thesis will focus on the cultural dimension of home-making and the person, place and process dimensions of place attachment of older Hindustani Surinamese migrants living in the Netherlands.

1.2 Research problem

The aim of this thesis is to examine the sense of home of older Hindustani Surinamese migrants living in the Netherlands in relation to migration, ageing, place making and cultural schemas. In order to examine this the

following research question is formulated: ‘How do ageing, place making and cultural schemas influence home-making practices of older Hindustani Surinamese migrants living in the Netherlands?’

The following sub questions will help to answer the research question:

- How do cultural schemas shape a sense of home for older Hindustani Surinamese migrants in the Netherlands?
- What activities do older Hindustani Surinamese migrants in the Netherlands undertake to create a sense of home?
- What is the role of home-making activities on the process of ageing of older Hindustani Surinamese migrants in the Netherlands?

1.3 Structure thesis

Following the introduction, the theoretical framework is presented. The theoretical framework consists of two separate paragraphs presenting theories on ageing, home-making and cultural schemas. The first paragraph focuses on what has been written in the academic scholarship on ageing in place and how immigrants age. In the second paragraph theories on home-making, place attachment and cultural schemas are discussed. This chapter includes the conceptual model which gives an overview of the main concepts and the relations between the concepts. Following the theoretical framework the methodology section discusses the method and ethical considerations regarding the research. The results of the data analysis are presented in the results section. In regard to the existing academic scholarship the results of the data analysis are discussed in the discussion. The conclusion includes some concluding remarks, limitations of the research and recommendations for future research.

2. Theoretical framework

In the introduction the objective and the research questions are addressed. This section includes a paragraph about theories on ageing and theories in relation to home-making, place attachment and cultural schemas. Also, this section presents the conceptual model that links all the concepts and theories together.

2.1 Theories on ageing

2.1.1 Ageing in place

Within the literature there are various topics discussed in relation to ageing in place such as well-being, quality of life, residential satisfaction, care provision, the environment, place attachment, the community, home maintenance and frailty (Coleman et al., 2016; Dobner et al., 2016; Gardner, 2011; Means, 2007; Perez et al. 2001; Wiles et al., 2012). Sixsmith and Sixsmith (2008) describe that from a policy perspective it is assumed that ageing in place has a positive effect on well-being, autonomy and on participation. However, some studies have shown that this is too short-sighted (Hillcoat-Nalletamby & Ogg, 2014; Sixsmith & Sixsmith, 2008). For instance, Sixsmith and Sixsmith (2008) show that ageing in place cannot always be perceived as having a positive influence on the well-being of older people. For older people the home can become a place of loneliness and the environment might not be supportive. This could influence the autonomy of older people and their ability to age in place. This is in line with Hillcoat-Nalletamby and Ogg (2014), who criticize that ageing in place is not always what older people wish for. Moreover, Hillcoat-Nalletamby and Ogg (2014) emphasize the importance of focussing on what older people dislike about their environment as an alternative for the focus on satisfaction. Hillcoat-Nalletamby and Ogg (2014) propose that this will gain more insight in whether older people want to age in their current dwelling or whether they have the desire to move. Another aspect that the concept of ageing in place is criticised for is that it is portrayed as the ideal option for all older adults (Hillcoat-Nalletamby & Ogg, 2014; Means, 2007). These authors highlight the importance of considering older people as a heterogeneous group of people who all experience ageing in place in a different way and therefore ageing in place should not be considered as the ideal solution for every older adult (Hillcoat-Nalletamby & Ogg, 2014; Means, 2007). In a similar way, Wiles et al. (2012) stress that ageing in place is context dependent and that therefore there is not one ideal place for older people to age in. More recent literature related to ageing in place stresses the need to acknowledge the multi-dimensional aspects of ageing in place and the environment (Gardner, 2011; Oswald et al., 2010; Wiles et al., 2012). Oswald et al. (2010) discuss that earlier research often neglects the multi-dimensionality of the environment. Additionally, Wiles et al. (2012) argue that within research about ageing in place the emphasis is often placed on the home rather than on other environments. In their research Gardner (2011) and Wiles et al. (2012) illustrate the importance of the community and the neighbourhood in the lives of older adults regarding to ageing in place. In order to understand the process of ageing in place it is therefore important to involve other environments beyond the home such as the neighbourhood and the community and to consider the multi-dimensional aspects of the environment (Gardner, 2011; Oswald et al., 2010; Wiles et al., 2012).

The discussion above shows that the existing scholarship on ageing in place is very broad. This thesis focuses on older adults and migration. At this point it is necessary to examine the relation between ageing in place and migration. Johansson et al. (2013) argue that within research more attention is paid to retirement migration and to a lesser extent attention is paid to older migrants who have migrated earlier in life and are now ageing in place. In a similar way King et al. (2017) discuss that within migration studies more focus has been on younger migrants rather than on older migrants or the parents of migrants. Moreover, King et al. (2017) state that research about ageing should focus more on older migrants, because migration can have an influence on the ageing process. Ciobanu et al. (2017) discuss that prior research on migration often addresses the vulnerability of older migrants. In doing so the danger exists that older migrants are being problematized and treated as one homogenous group. In line with Ciobanu et al. (2017), Johansson et al. (2013) discuss that studies related to care provision of older migrants risk portraying older migrants as dependent. Ciobanu et al. (2017) suggest that research about older migrants should focus on the different experiences of migrants and how this relates to ageing. In a similar way, King et al. (2017) stress the importance of acknowledging and focussing on the resources of older people rather than focusing on their vulnerabilities.

2.1.2 Ageing and immigrants

The previous paragraph has discussed the general research on ageing in place and the relation between ageing and place and migration. In order to understand the relation between migration and ageing it is important to elaborate on how immigrants age. White (2006) discusses that within the Netherlands the age composition of immigrant groups is changing. There is an increase in the share of older migrants within the Netherlands. Ciobanu et al (2017) and King et al. (2017) state that there is a growing importance to study how immigrants age, because of the change in demographic composition and the influence of migration on the ageing process. Liversage and Mirdal (2017) argue that before migrants reach old age they have to make the decision whether they want to grow old in their homeland or in the country of destination. Additionally, when growing older migrants have to decide whether they want and can receive care from their children or whether they want professional care provision (Liversage & Mirdal, 2017). If migrants make the decision to stay in the country of destination they often visit the country of origin and spend some time here (Palmberger, 2017). Palmberger (2017) describes that most migrants wish to receive care from their children. Nonetheless, they acknowledge that this might not be an option, because of the busy lives of their children. In her study Buffel (2015) found that older migrants have accepted that they have to age in place in the country they migrated to for various reasons. The main reason is the presence and proximity of family or connections to the community. This study also showed that migrants who live close by people with the same origin felt a stronger sense of belonging (Buffel, 2015). Buffel and Phillipson (2016) argue that transnational ties are important for older migrants. These transnational ties are apparent within the community and the neighbourhood in the country of destination. Moreover, Buffel and Phillipson (2016) state that the community is important for migrants as they age. In a similar way, Palmberger (2017) discusses that associations can play an important role in the daily life of older migrants. The associations form a place where older migrants can talk to other people.

This paragraph briefly discussed how immigrants age. The next paragraph will focus more on how older migrants create a sense of home.

2.2 Theory

2.2.1 Home-making

Blunt and Dowling (2006) state that the definition of home consists of multiple elements that are interrelated to each other. The physical space, tangible- intangible objects, meanings and feelings of belonging are embedded within the home and these elements relate to each other. Moreover, the home can be seen as a place where identities are formed. These identities can be produced by power relations such as the division of labour according to certain gender roles within the household. In a similar way, Boccagni (2014) and Rosales (2010) discuss that home-making can be seen as an ongoing process whereby meaningful tangible and intangible objects and relations are transferred into a home. This process is negotiated by members of the household. Through home-making individuals create their meaning of home within space (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). According to Blunt and Dowling (2006) the meaning of home exceeds beyond the physical space of the home and therefore the home-making process can involve the neighbourhood and the community. This is in line with Wiles et al. (2009) who explain that the individual perception of the neighbourhood and how the amenities are perceived is believed to influence wellbeing. Altman and Low (1992) describe that a space embedded with meaning assigned by individuals or a group becomes a place. This is in line with Rubinstein and Parmelee (1992) who argue that the time spent, personal experiences and social relations are related to assigning meaning to a place. Hidalgo and Hernández (2001) refer to place attachment as an affective connection that an individual or a group has with a particular place.

Rubinstein and Parmelee (1992) argue that the attachment to places of older people is influenced by past experiences and identity. Place attachment is related to the life course. Older people might have feelings that are associated with experiences that occurred in a particular place. These feelings help older people to remember certain past experiences. In this way, older people create a sense of continuity. The present connections to places are important to the feeling of autonomy of older people. The connection to places can change over time and can be influenced by events within the life course. As people age they can create new connections to places (Rubinstein & Parmelee, 1992). Similarly, Wiles et al. (2009) describe that the attachment to places of older people is linked to familiarity, family living close by and to the location of the home. Rubinstein and Parmelee (1992) describe that due to decreasing mobility the home becomes an important place for older people. The meaning older people give to personal objects and the way the objects are displaced create a place. The items can be a reminder or a memory of certain experiences and can represent attachments. In a similar way, Dahlin-Ivanoff et al. (2007) argue that home in old age is an important place, because of the various aspects of the home. Within the home older people can make their own decisions and in this way feel autonomous. Other important aspects of the home are security, memories and the home as a meeting place (Dahlin-Ivanoff et al., 2007). In order to age in place, some older people

have to make adjustments to their homes or relocate and in this way have to remake place (Rowles & Watkins, 2003). Rowles and Watkins (2003) discuss that through memories and the rearranging of objects and furniture older people remake their place.

Rosales (2010) argues that home-making is a cultural process for migrants whereby they adjust and adapt their past routines to the new environment. For migrants the home is a place where they deal with feelings from the place they left behind and the home is a place where new feelings of belonging are created. In her study Buffel (2015) found that for migrants a sense of home was linked to transnationalism. Some migrants have connections with both their homeland and with the environment they currently live in and are emotionally attached to both places. Moreover, family and social ties with other people in the neighbourhood are important to create a sense of home. In addition, Lager et al. (2012) discuss that older migrants were attached to places in the new environment that resemble the country of origin and to places that involve social interaction. In a similar way, Ehrkamp (2005) argues that for some migrants a sense of belonging to the neighbourhood is enhanced by the expression of the cultural identity within the neighbourhood. For example, the presence of churches or mosques and other facilities related to the country of origin can foster attachments to the neighbourhood. These facilities symbolize the country of origin (Ehrkamp, 2005). According to Rosales (2010) it is important for migrants to express their culture and identity within the home. Meijering and Lager (2014) discuss that objects of the country of origin remind migrants of their home. Additionally, Bilecen (2017) argues that by placing such objects in the home, migrants create a sense of home within the host country. The objects often symbolize the homeland and by placing these objects in the home, migrants feel connected to their homeland. Another aspect of culture that can be expressed through the home is religion. Religion can be expressed through rituals, objects and art within the home. Through religious artefacts and performing rituals, migrants can create feelings of belonging within the new environment (Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 2009).

Lewicka (2011) states that one weakness of the research about place attachment is that studies often do not use specific theories. Moreover, Lewicka (2011) suggests that future research can focus on the physical and the process dimension of place attachment. The three-dimensional framework of Scannell and Gifford (2010) consists of the three dimensions person, process and place and therefore this theory will be used to examine place attachment. The person dimension involves the individual and collective connections to a place. The connections to places are for instance based on experiences or shared cultural schemas. The process dimension of place attachment refers to the way people develop affective connections to places. People can create affective connections to places through affect (emotions, feeling of belonging), cognition (schemas) and behaviour (willingness to stay close to a place). Through affect, cognition and behaviour, people can create meaning to a place. The third dimension is the place dimension that involves both physical and social-attachment to a place. Physical attachment involves the connection to physical characteristics of a place such as amenities and proximity. Social attachment includes social relations and a feeling of belonging to a particular place (Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

This paragraph discussed the definitions of home, home-making and place attachment and how culture and religion are part of the creation of a sense of home and place. The next paragraph will explain how culture can be defined through cultural schemas.

2.2.2 Cultural schemas

The previous paragraph has discussed how migrants create a sense of home and a sense of place in the country of destination. The home-making activities of migrants take place within a cultural context. In order to understand how older migrants create a sense of home it is important to study cultural schemas. Through cultural schemas the home-making practices of older migrants can be understood. In this regard, the following paragraph will discuss the concept of cultural schemas and the relation with older migrants.

D'Andrade (1992) argues that in order to understand individuals and their behaviour it is necessary to understand the motives of individuals which are derived from schemas. The theory about cultural schemas is related to cognitive anthropology. D'Andrade (1992, p.28) refers to schemas as "*a conceptual structure which makes possible the identification of objects and events.*" Moreover, schemas are context dependent, objects are identified through pattern recognition and individual schemas are influenced by culture. In other words, cultural schemas consist of norms, values, beliefs and goals that are shared by a group of people. Individual norms, values and beliefs can be derived from a cultural schema (D'Andrade, 1992). Culture can thus be referred to as group of people who have shared the same experiences in the past and now share the same schema (Quinn, 2011). It is important to note that there is a hierarchical system within schemas through which individual behaviour can be understood. Interpretations are passed on from lower to higher level schemas. Higher-level schemas function as goals that motivate behaviour. The actions of individuals and therefore, their behaviour is related to the higher level schemas. Cultural schemas help to understand how culture influences behaviour (D'Andrade, 1992). Additionally, Strauss and Quinn (1997) explain how an individual experiences a certain event or object depends on their interpretation of that event and their past experiences. These experiences and interpretations form their schema. People from different cultures might have different life experiences and therefore have a different cultural schema. Quinn (2011) argues that cultural schemas can be ordered through sequencing of events such as cultural routines and cultural templates. Cultural routines can be described as particular events that follow in a logical order where one event is following the next at a particular time and place. The sequence of the event might be influenced by a cultural schema. Quinn (2011) renames cultural schemas as cultural templates and argues that these templates are abstract and the events are linked by causality which enables reasoning. In this way, individuals who share cultural schemas can understand each other's reasoning without referring to how these schemas are linked.

Laidlaw et al. (2010) examined child support in old age and the attitudes towards ageing among three different cultural groups. They found that older migrants and older people living in the country of origin share the same view about the importance of child support in old age. On the contrary, people in the host country did not share this view. However, migrants and people from the host country had a similar outlook on ageing in contrast with older people in the country of origin (Laidlaw et al., 2010). In relation to home-

making practices of migrants, Buffel (2015) discusses that living in a neighbourhood with people who share the same cultural background is important in creating a sense of home. Sharing the same language and cultural schemas is perceived to enhance attachment to the neighbourhood (Buffel, 2015). Moreover, Buffel (2015) shows that the presence of facilities within the neighbourhood that embody the country of origin such as restaurants and shops can be important in constructing a sense of home.

This section has attempted to give a brief overview of the literature about cultural schemas. This will help to examine the cultural dimension of home-making of older Surinamese migrants.

2.3 Conceptual model

Thus far, the existing literature and theories on ageing in relation to migration, home-making, place making and cultural schemas are discussed. Figure 2 presents the conceptual model that consists of all the main concepts and the various links between the concepts. For immigrants the process of ageing and experiences related to ageing are linked to migration (King et al., 2017). For instance, older migrants have to decide whether they want to grow old in the country of origin or in the country of destination (Liversage and Mirdal, 2017). As people age the home becomes more important as a result of decreasing mobility (Rubinstein and Parmelee, 1992). In addition, older adults might have to adjust their homes or relocate and have to remake their place. This could for instance be done by rearranging objects and furniture (Rowles & Watkins, 2003).

In regard to place making migrants could have transnational ties with people and places in both the country of origin and in the country of destination. These transnational ties can make migrants to feel emotionally attached to places in both the country of origin and the country of destination (Buffel, 2015). Transnationalism also plays a role in creating a sense of home (Buffel, 2015). In a similar way, the expression of the cultural identity within the neighbourhood could be important for migrants in order to create a sense of place (Ehrkamp, 2005). Within research about home-making the concepts of a sense of home and belonging are used to examine and describe the home-making process of older migrants (Buffel, 2015; Buffel & Phillipson, 2016). Attitudes, norms and values could change as a result of migration. For instance, ideas about child support could differ in the country of origin and the host country. Migrants could adapt ideas of the host country and their attitude regarding child support could change (Laidlaw et al., 2010). For migrants home-making is a cultural process and this is related to adapting past routines to the new environment (Rosales, 2010). A sense of home can be created by placing objects that are a reminder of the homeland (Bilecen, 2017). Also, religion can be expressed within the home through rituals and religious artefacts (Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 2009). For some migrants it is important to live in a neighbourhood with people from the same cultural background in order to create a sense of home. The reasons for this are sharing the same language and cultural schemas (Buffel, 2015).

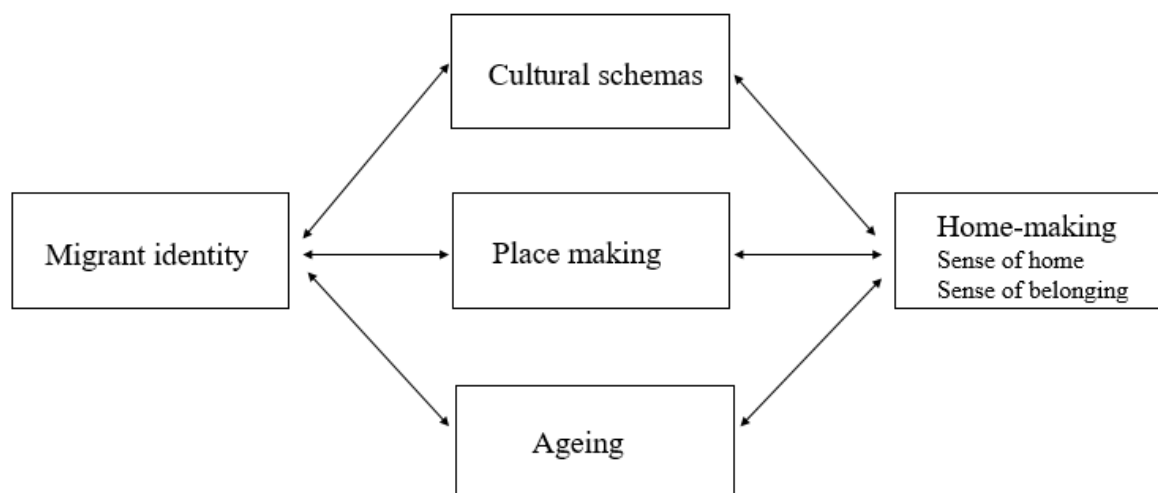


Figure 2 Conceptual model

3. Methodology

The theories and concepts that are used to examine the home-making practices of older Hindustani Surinamese within the Netherlands are discussed in the previous section. The following section describes the methodology that is used in this study. The main focus of this section is on the process of data analysis rather than a detailed description of the data instrument. In this regard, the operationalization of the interview guide and ethical considerations in relation to the interviews are not discussed.

3.1 Research context

The analysis of this study is based on a secondary dataset from the project Ageing in Institutional Settings which is part of a larger project Ageing and Well-being in a Globalising World (NWO-ESRC-ICSSR). This study is conducted in four co-housing communities for older Hindustani Surinamese adults in Amsterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. The largest population of Hindustanis are living within these cities (*see* Oudhof et al., 2011) and therefore the decision was made to conduct the study in Amsterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. The four co-housing communities are Jaffar Autar, Dama Ramautar, Apna Ghar and Ratan Kalloe¹. Data are collected by Dr. A. Bailey and R. Bouwman in 2015. The co-housing communities in this study are especially built for Hindustani Surinamese adults aged 50 and above. Each co-housing community consists of 25-30 dwellings.

3.2 Study design

The interpretative paradigm is the underlying approach of this study and an explanatory study has been conducted. Flick (2015) describes that the interpretative paradigm is often used in qualitative research. The experiences and interpretations of participants are central within this paradigm (Flick, 2015). In line with Flick (2015), Hennink et al. (2011) discuss that the interpretative paradigm involves an emic perspective. An emic perspective can be referred to as the inside perspective or the perspective of the participant. Within the interpretative paradigm the experiences and the interpretations of a person are understood from the perspective of that person. Moreover, it acknowledges that both the researcher and the participants are subjective and therefore the background of the researcher influences the data (Hennink et al., 2011).

3.3 Method data collection

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted by R. Bouwman. Hennink et al. (2011) describe that in an in-depth interview particular themes are discussed in depth. This method allows for a better understanding of certain themes from the point of view of the participant or the emic perspective. In-depth interviews enable to listen to the experiences, stories, feelings and interpretations of an individual. Moreover, when the research topic is sensitive an in-depth interview is a good method, because of the confidentiality that can be created

¹ For confidentiality reasons the names of the co-housing communities are pseudonyms

between the interviewer and participant (Hennink et al., 2011). A semi-structured interview guide was developed which consists of open questions regarding the main topics of the research. This enables the guidance of the conversation, but it allows for the possibility that the participant can share his or her experiences. The answers of the participants should not be influenced, because the experiences and understandings of the participant are significant (Flick, 2015). Therefore, no inferences were made by the interviewer. The interview guide was pilot tested and slightly changed.

3.4 Recruitment method participants

At each study site the participants were recruited in slightly different ways. In Dama Ramautar a presentation was given and residents could fill out their names on a list if they wanted to participate. Other participants were recruited through assistance of the chairman and snowballing method. This method allows the recruitment of participants with specific characteristics. After an interview the participant is asked whether they know someone else who would like to participate in the study. Participants trust the person who referred them to the researcher and therefore they are more likely to participate. However, it is important that multiple starting points are used in order to prevent that the participants are all from the same social network and share similar thoughts (Hennink et al., 2011). In Apna Ghar, participants are recruited through the gatekeepers method. Through this method participants are recruited by the coordinator who is respected within the community. The gatekeeper is a person who has knowledge about the community and often knows who would be willing to participate. In this way, it can be easier to recruit participants, because the participants trust the gatekeepers and are therefore more willing to participate. Participation in the research is voluntary and participants should not be forced to participate by the gatekeepers (Hennink et al., 2011). The participants in Ratan Kalloe are recruited by a stakeholder from a foundation that organizes activities in order to bring people from different cultural backgrounds together. In Jaffar Autar, a younger resident helped with the recruitment of participants. A total of twenty interviews were conducted including an interview with the key informant. The interviews were conducted within the home of the participants. In addition to the interviews photographs were taken by the interviewer.

3.5 Participant Profile

The personal characteristics of the participants are illustrated in table 1. Some of the participants are younger than 65. These participants are included in the study, because they live in a co-housing community for older adults, have experienced migration, have engaged in the process of home-making and their experiences are relevant for the study. The participants in this study are from Hindustani Surinamese origin. The majority of the participants are Hindu. Some participants are Muslim and a few participants are Christian.

Table 1 Characteristics Participants

Participants	Gender	Age	Marital status	Length of residence in the Netherlands (in years)
Dilip & Asha	Male &	70-75	Married	40-50
	Female	60-65	Married	10-15
Nakul & Saroja	Male &	70-75	Married	40-50
	Female	65-70	Married	40-50
Ritesh	Male	75-80	Married	40-50
Rahul	Male	75-80	Married	40-50
Samir	Male	65-70	Divorced	40-50
Ramesh	Male	75-80	Divorced	30-40
Mira	Female	65-70	Divorced	40-50
Arjan	Male	70-75	Divorced	20-30
Shivam	Male	70-75	Divorced	20-30
Sunaina	Female	70-75	Divorced	40-50
Maya	Female	65-70	Divorced	40-50
Sharita	Female	60-65	Widowed	15-20
Indra	Female	60-65	Widowed	10-15
Sita	Female	75-80	Widowed	40-50
Sonja	Female	75-80	Widowed	40-50
Ida	Female	80-85	Widowed	-
Nanda	Female	60-65	Widowed	30-40
Rosita	Female	60-65	Widowed	20-30
Raja	Female	80-85	Widowed	40-50

The participants have migrated to the Netherlands for various reasons. The four main motivations are education, the political situation in Suriname, family reunification and healthcare. Some participants had the opportunity to study in the Netherlands and this was their main motivation for migration. Other people in this study migrated during the 1970s as a result of the political situation in Suriname. During this time schools were closed and participants wanted to give their children a better future by migrating to the Netherlands. Other men and women in this study were afraid of what the situation would be after Suriname gained independence and fled to the Netherlands. Another reason for migration is family reunification. Some participants already had siblings or children living in the Netherlands and wanted to be reunited with them. Also, the healthcare system in the Netherlands is perceived to be better compared to the healthcare system in Suriname. This was a reason for migration for participants with health problems or for those who had family with health problems.

Only a few participants had the opportunity to study at a university. Whereas, other people in this study completed vocational training. Some participants did not have the opportunity to finish high school, as they were expected to work, get married or take care of their parents.

Some participants had low paid jobs in the Netherlands and had to do more physical work. As a result, they got health problems and had to retire early. Others, migrated later to the Netherlands and have not worked for a long period and therefore their pension is low. A few participants are higher educated and had better paid jobs. Their financial situation is on average better compared with participants who had low paid jobs.

Almost all the participants have children and grandchildren. Most of the children and grandchildren are living in the Netherlands. Some people in this study have children and grandchildren living in Suriname. The participants have close relationships with their children and grandchildren and they have regular contact. Also, some participants have siblings and other relatives living in the Netherlands with whom they have regular contact with.

3.6 Data Analysis

For the data analysis both the content and thematic approach are used. The content analysis enables the use of theories based on the conceptual model and the thematic analysis allows for looking for themes and patterns within the data. In this way, both deductive and inductive coding methods are used for analysing the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Flick, 2015). This paragraph is divided into three subparagraphs that discuss the different steps within the data analysis process.

3.6.1 Operationalization concepts

Before coding the data the concepts from the theoretical framework and conceptual model were translated into codes. As a result, deductive codes were created which are codes developed beforehand by the researcher based on the research questions, the theoretical framework and the conceptual model (Saldaña, 2013). The codes reflect the main themes of this study which are cultural schemas, sense of home, place making and ageing. Table 2 illustrates the operationalization of the concepts. For instance, the concept of place making includes codes that are derived from the theoretical framework and conceptual model such as ‘social place attachment’. In a similar way, ‘important places’ is a code derived from questions in the interview guide. Deductive codes allow to look for something in the data which is linked to the main themes of the study. However, caution is needed when applying deductive codes, because the researcher should be careful not to overlook codes that emerge from the data (Saldaña, 2013). Operationalizing the concepts from the theoretical framework and the interview guide into deductive codes provided an initial guideline for the coding process (Hennink et al., 2011). In addition to deductive codes it is important to use inductive codes which originate from the data itself and not from the theory or interview guide. Issues and topics mentioned by participants

can be transferred into inductive codes (Hennink et al., 2011). The next subparagraph provides a deeper insight into other coding methods used in this study.

Table 2 Operationalization concepts into codes

Concept	Definition	Code
Migrant identity	How the identity of older Hindustani Surinamese migrants is shaped by the process of migration.	Transnational ties Migration (as process) Migration motivation Migration time
Cultural schemas	The individual and shared norms, values, beliefs, attitudes, goals and routines of older Hindustani Surinamese migrants.	Attitude living independently Cultural background Culture expressed within the environment Routine
Place making	How older Hindustani Surinamese migrants have assigned meaning to particular places and their place attachment. The connection could be to places in Suriname, the Netherlands or any other place. This concept also includes how a house is transferred into a home through possessions.	Important places Important possessions Neighbourhood: amenities Neighbourhood: environment Social attachment
Ageing	The process of getting older and how this affects the lives of the participants.	Autonomy Daily routine Living independently Mobility
Home-making	How older Hindustani Surinamese have transferred meaningful tangible and intangible objects into a home.	Important possessions Home-making activities Home Pictures Religious artefacts Returning to Suriname Sense of home

3.6.2 Data management

Making sense of the data can be done through several ways among which is coding. Through the process of coding the data can be reduced, organized and analysed. In order to get familiar with the data it is important to reduce the amount of data through coding. In this way, paragraphs in the transcript can be organized by topic or theme (Cope, 2016).

The dataset consists of interview transcripts which were already transcribed verbatim and anonymized. The transcripts are in Dutch and are not translated in order to interpret the data correctly. The data is analysed using the software program Atlas.ti. After receiving the dataset the first four transcripts were read and some codes were developed based on these transcripts. In order to get familiar with the data first cycle coding methods were used. The first coding cycle includes methods which are the first steps in coding the data (Saldaña, 2013). In order to get acquainted with the data the first seven transcripts were coded. The following coding methods were applied within the first cycle coding: attribute coding, descriptive coding, In Vivo coding, process coding, emotion coding, values coding and deductive coding. Table 3 shows the first cycle coding methods used in this study with the corresponding codes and quotes. Attribute coding is used to code information related to the data for example the interview setting and demographic characteristics of the participants such as gender, age, marital status etc. (Saldaña, 2013). Based on this background information a profile of the participants was created. Through descriptive coding paragraphs in the transcript are coded by topic. In this way, it is clear what the topic of the paragraph is and what is happening in the data (Saldaña, 2013). Table 3 illustrates an example of a descriptive code 'music' which was applied to paragraphs where the participants talked about music. Music appeared to be a central theme in these paragraphs. In vivo coding uses words and phrases from participants as codes. This way of coding can be applied to see how participants express particular things and to understand their perceptions. In Vivo codes are put between quotation marks to make a distinction between codes that are developed by the researcher and codes that are from participants (Saldaña, 2013). This coding method is used, because this study is interested in examining the experiences and perceptions of older Hindustani Surinamese adults living in the Netherlands. The participants might use particular words or phrases to express something and this is coded as an In Vivo code. For example Indra expresses that she would like to return to Suriname, because she feels that she cannot rely on others and that she can rely on her children who live in Suriname. Part of this quote is used as an In Vivo code to show how Indra expresses herself. Process coding is a way of coding action by using gerunds (-ing). This method can be applied to studies that are interested in the behaviour of people as a reaction to particular situations (Saldaña, 2013). For example, 'helping others' indicates action and the quote in table 3 shows that residents believe it is important that younger residents are living in the co-housing community so they can help the older residents. Another method that is used for coding the data is emotion coding. Through emotion coding the emotions and feelings of participants are coded. This method is useful for examining experiences and perspectives of participants (Saldaña, 2013). Emotion coding is used to examine the perceptions of the participants in relation to the co-housing community, home-making, ageing and place making. The code 'feeling happy' expresses how participants for instance feel about their home. Through value coding, the beliefs, values and perceptions of the participants are coded. This method is especially suitable for studies that are interested in cultural values (Saldaña, 2013). The values, beliefs and perceptions of the participants are part of their cultural schemas and this might influence how a sense of home is shaped. These values, beliefs and perceptions were coded through value coding. Attitudes of participants regarding living independently are coded as value codes. In this way, it becomes clear that the phrases reflect the attitudes of

the participants. The previous subparagraph discussed the use of deductive codes in this study. Table 3 illustrates the example of ‘returning to Suriname’ this code is developed based on the theoretical section. In addition to coding the data, the photographs were analysed in order to make sense of the data. The photographs gave an insight in how the co-housing communities and the homes of the participants look like. These photographs were used to understand the context.

In order to check whether the data was interpreted in the correct way the coding process of the first seven transcripts were discussed with Dr. A. Bailey. When using a secondary dataset the context is missing and therefore the coding process and results were discussed with the researchers who conducted the study. This has resulted in a better understanding of the context and this was valuable for the coding process and the analysis. After discussing the coding process, the first seven transcripts were recoded and the rest of the transcripts were coded. The first cycle coding process has resulted in a list of approximately 269 codes. The following subparagraph discusses the use of second cycle coding methods and the process of data analysis.

Table 3 First cycle coding methods

Coding method	Example of code	Quotation
Attribute coding	Marital status	<i>“I don’t have children, I was married. I am a divorced person.”</i> (Samir, 65-70, M)
Descriptive coding	Music	<i>“I need music to keep myself busy. I also have karaoke and I sing along with the music for example music from movies.”</i> (Shivam, 70-75, M)
In Vivo	‘you cannot always rely on others’	<i>“I don’t have children here and you cannot always rely on others.”</i> (Indra, 60-65, F)
Process coding	Helping others	<i>“We don’t want them (older people) to be sick. We want to help the older people if something is wrong.”</i> (Asha, 60-65, F)
Emotion coding	Feeling happy	<i>“Now I am happy. I feel at home.”</i> (Sita, 75-80, F)
Value coding	Attitude towards living independently	<i>“I belief living independently is always better, because you have your privacy as an older person and it is also better for young people, because they have their own lives. Living together like they did in the past I always disapproved that. I would never live with my children.”</i> (Sunaina, 70-75, F)
Deductive coding	Returning to Suriname	<i>“I visit every year, sometimes twice a year, but to live there no. I have seen the situation of older people, you don’t have nursing homes for older people. It is terrible.”</i> (Maya, 65-70, F)

3.6.3 Data analysis

Second cycle coding methods were applied for reorganizing the data after first cycle coding and to reduce the number of categories and themes. In order to gain a better insight in the data (Saldaña, 2013). The initial list consisting of 269 codes was reorganized by merging similar codes. The process of merging codes was based on similar themes or concepts. Codes that stood out were used to develop categories. For instance, codes that described the different aspects of living in a co-housing community were merged into the code 'co-housing community: experiences'. Together with the codes co-housing community concept, conflicts and moving the category living arrangement was developed. This process of reorganizing the data can be referred to as focused coding which is a second cycle coding method (Saldaña, 2013). After merging the codes a list of 115 codes remained. These codes were categorized into code families based on similar themes or concepts. A total of nineteen code families were created. Some codes are part of multiple code families. Because of the richness of the dataset and the varying topics not all code families could be analysed as this would be beyond the scope of this study. Therefore, only the code families that are important for this study were analysed. The codebook of the code families and the corresponding codes used for this thesis are included in the appendix in table A. The output of each code family was analysed by categorizing what was said by which participants. In this way particular patterns within the data, major themes and overlapping and different experiences could be identified. In addition, by analysing how much and how often the interviewer had to probe particular questions it could be interpreted whether the participants came up with something themselves or whether they mimic the interviewer. In particular, more probing was needed for questions about important places and important possessions. Overall, the participants found it difficult to identify a place or possession that is important to them. Some participants mimic examples of the interviewer while others did not. The reason for this could be that it might be difficult for people to identify a possession as important that is not within the home and cannot be presented to the interviewer. In a similar way, some of the participants refer to others by mentioning their ethnicity. Initially, it was thought of that this was a way how people could distinct themselves from others. After discussing this with one of the researchers of the study it became clear that it could be possible that participants were referring to others by ethnicity, because of the interview setting. A white young male was conducting the interviews and through this way the participants tried to establish a link with the interviewer. Analysing the way the participants respond to particular questions was valuable for the interpretation of the data.

There were some ethical considerations that were taken into account during the process of analysing the data and in reporting the results. The characteristics of the participants were anonymized and pseudonyms were used to prevent the possibility of identifying participants (Dowling, 2016). In addition, it is important to be aware of the power of knowledge in reporting the findings of the study. The way the experiences of the participants are reported could have an influence on how the participants are perceived by others. Therefore, it is important to be self-reflexive during the research process, be aware of how the data is interpreted and what the influence of personal characteristics is on the research process (Dowling, 2016). After analysing the data and writing the results the results were discussed with R. Bouwman who conducted the interviews.

Discussing the results with the interviewer was important for validating the results of the study. The interviewer provided more background information and could tell whether the results were interpreted in the correct way. Issues that were interpreted in a different way compared to the interpretation of the interviewer were checked again and adapted. For example, the importance of nature was first linked to the childhood of the participants. After discussing the results and checking the output of the data again, it became evident that the importance of nature is linked to the connection Hindustanis have with the earth and not so much to their childhood.

4 Results

The previous paragraphs have discussed the existing scholarship on ageing, migration, home-making, place attachment and cultural schemas and the methodology of this study. This section presents the results of the data analysis. The results are divided into five main themes which are the co-housing community, ageing, home-making, cultural schemas and place attachment.

4.1 Co-housing community: A way to live together

This paragraph gives an insight in the life of the participants within the co-housing community. First, this paragraph discusses the concept of a co-housing community and why there was a need for co-housing communities for older Hindustani Surinamese. Second, this paragraph shows the way of life within a co-housing community. Third, the challenges that are faced within co-housing communities are discussed.

4.1.1 Establishing a co-housing community

The findings presented in this subparagraph are based on interviews with the key informant and participants who are part of the establishment of the co-housing communities. According to the key informant a co-housing community can be defined as:

“A co-housing community is a group of people in a community with particular regulations in order to live together. You make regulations and agreements on voluntary basis and they should be followed.” (Key informant, 65-70, M)

A co-housing community is based on the concept that a group of people choose to live with each other in a community. The residents of a co-housing community live independently in private dwellings. Often there is a common area where residents can meet each other and participate in activities. The co-housing communities in this study are built by housing corporations and residents have to pay rent and often have to pay contribution for the use of the common area. Dama Ramautar and Jaffar Autar have their own building with apartments, a common area and a garden. The other co-housing communities in this study are located in buildings with other family dwellings. In Ratan Kalloe the apartments that are part of the co-housing community are located on the second and third floor of the building. The co-housing community Apna Ghar is a separate part of the building and the other part consists of family dwellings. Figures 3 and 4 illustrate the building of Ratan Kalloe and the garden in Dama Ramautar.



Figure 3 Apartments Ratan Kalloe
Copyright: Dr. A. Bailey and R. Bouwman



Figure 4 Garden Dama Ramautar
Copyright: Dr. A. Bailey and R. Bouwman

The co-housing communities in this study were established with guidance of a coordinator. In some of the co-housing communities the coordinator was someone from a foundation who was not living in the co-housing community at the time of establishment. In other co-housing communities, the coordinator was one of the residents. For instance, within Apna Ghar this has led to problems, because of group formation within the co-housing community and conflicts. Because of conflicts in the past Apna Ghar had a commission and not a board at the time of the interviews. The commission did not have decision power, but had to consult the housing corporation. Some of the Chairmen and board members are living within the co-housing communities. This has led to conflicts in the past, because residents get jealous and do not always agree with the board. One of the participants argues that it is better to form an external board in order to avoid conflicts.

The findings of the interviews with the key informant and the other participants indicate that there is a need for people who share the same ethnic background to live together. The key informant explains that initially there were information campaigns focused on establishing co-housing communities for Surinamese older adults. These were the first information campaigns for older adults with a migration background. As stated by the key informant, there was a need for living arrangements for people from the same ethnic origin. This is related to cultural bonding, shared language and people can share stories from the past with each other. Also, people might share the same rituals or similar routines and this makes it is easier to understand each other. The key informant emphasises that every group is heterogeneous and that not everyone would want to live with people from the same origin. In this regard, co-housing communities provide the opportunity for people who do want to live with people from the same origin. Another participant explains what the idea behind a co-housing community for Hindustani Surinamese older adults is:

“For Hindustanis you have something that they can do together. That they create a sense of home. Otherwise you have to take into account, that person is different who is not used to your rituals. In terms of rituals it is always better to have people who are like-minded. Because if you don’t do that you will have problems. We also experienced that here. We had two other people living here and they caused problems.” (Sunaina, 70-75, F)

Rahul is living in the co-housing community from the beginning and he explains why he got involved in establishing a co-housing community for older Hindustani Surinamese:

“... It appealed to me, because I have been thinking that if you age and your culture, your background, your history, if you want to hold on to that. What is the best place for doing this? Not alone in terrace houses...together and that was also the way of living in Suriname.” (Rahul, 75-80, M)

The co-housing communities have residents from different religions: Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. Ratan Kalloe is the only co-housing community with residents from different ethnic origins. Initially, the idea was to establish a co-housing community for only Hindustani Surinamese adults, but houses became vacant and Ratan Kalloe had to accept non-Hindustani Surinamese people. Some of the participants believe this is positive and have social contact with non-Hindustani residents.

The findings of this study indicate that the residents feel that a co-housing community differs from a normal apartment building and from a nursing home. As one participant notices:

“... In a normal apartment building, you might be less protected, but here you are protected. And in terms of a co-housing community everyone keeps an eye on each other. In a way it is a protected group.” (Sunaina, 70-75, F)

It appears that there is more social control within a co-housing community compared to normal apartment buildings. In a way, the residents feel protected within the co-housing community and they feel a sense of safety. Others mention that in comparison with a nursing home, residents live independently in a co-housing community. In addition, some participants mention that living with people from the same origin is what makes a co-housing community different from a nursing home.

Overall, it can be argued that a co-housing community is a place where people from the same origin can live together and independently. Also, a co-housing community provides a sense of community and a sense of safety. The next subparagraph is about the experiences of the participants within the co-housing communities.

4.1.2 Living in a co-housing community

There are various reasons why the participants made the decision to move to a co-housing community. The main reasons are the proximity of facilities, health problems, ageing and living with other older Hindustanis. A majority of the participants express that they are positive and feel satisfied about living in a co-housing community. This is often associated with being independent, a sense of community, a feeling of safety and the activities that are organized within the community. Within a co-housing community residents can live independently and this is believed to be important. All the people in this study mention that they have contact

with the other residents. The residents greet and talk to each other, but are not visiting each other's home. Some participants explain that they have close contacts with other residents and that they visit each other and undertake activities together. Nanda describes her relation with fellow residents as:

"... The way of contact is like a family. We do not visit each other constantly, but when we need each other we are there for each other." (Nanda, 60-65, F)

In a similar way, the men and women in this study point out that they like to live together with others, because of social contact and they can rely on each other. Living with other Hindustani Surinamese is believed to be positive, because of the shared culture, rituals and language. For Ritesh it is important to live with people from the same origin:

"... It is good, because you share your experiences with people. You have the same culture, the same eating rituals and that gives a feeling of joy." (Ritesh, 75-80, M)

Although, a majority of the participants express a sense of community others do not feel a sense of community. These participants moved to the co-housing community to live with other Hindustanis and they are disappointed, because they do not feel a sense of community. The reason for this is the closure of common areas. As a result of conflicts in the past some common areas had to close and some are used less. Sunaina explains what the closure of the common area means for the co-housing community:

"... Because of the common area people are disappointed that it doesn't exist anymore. That was the head, the connection and if that it is gone we have people organizing something in their homes individually. Not everybody likes that... there is not enough space... it [common area] was a second home for everybody. Wherever you lived. We all came there. It was the head of the co-housing community. It has to exist with all the facilities. It is very sad." (Sunaina, 70-75, F)

The common area functions as a meeting place for the residents and in this way it brings the residents together. In other co-housing communities the common area still exists, but activities are organized once a week or once a month. Conflicts in the past are a reason why some of the participants do not want to go to the common area. Only one of the co-housing communities organizes activities within the common area on a daily basis such as readings, bingo and coffee mornings. The participants describe that they feel a sense of community and like to participate in activities.

The co-housing community provides a sense of safety, because not everyone is allowed to enter the building and there is social control within the community. The residents keep an eye on each other and this gives a feeling of protection. The participants are satisfied with their life within the co-housing community. Within the whole group there are only three instances where residents are not satisfied with their life in the co-

housing community. The reason for this is the absence of a sense of community. These participants mention that they do not have much social contacts with other residents or do not participate in activities within the common area, because they do not want to pay contribution.

Overall, the participants have positive experiences with living in a co-housing community and are satisfied. A co-housing community is a place where the residents have social contact with each other and can participate in activities. For most of the people in this study a co-housing community provides a sense of community. Only a few participants do not feel a sense of community and this is due to conflicts and the closure of common areas. The next subparagraph will elaborate more on the challenges that are faced within the co-housing communities.

4.1.3 Challenges

The previous subparagraph has already briefly touched upon the challenges that are faced within co-housing communities. This subparagraph will discuss the challenges in more detail. Conflicts, closure of common areas and burglaries can be identified as the main challenges within the four co-housing communities. Within the co-housing communities there have been several conflicts between the residents. The sources of conflict are the contribution for the common area and living together with people from different religions. In Ratan Kalloe the common area had to be closed, because a group of people refused to pay contribution. Some of the participants feel sad about this, because this was the place where they could all come together and participate in activities.

In Dama Ramautar and Apna Ghar there are conflicts between Hindus and Muslims about the way the common area should be used. For instance, Hindus and Muslims have different eating rituals, Hindus are often vegetarian, and this is causing problems. In both the co-housing communities the common area is still used, but not as often as before and not every resident is going there anymore. The daughter of Ida who is Muslim explains how the atmosphere in the co-housing community has changed over the last years:

“... Here Hindus and Muslims live. In the beginning, my mother said, and I know because I went often with her, every Thursday they made music etc. they have a common area downstairs. People who lived here could use this... Making music and drinking coffee with each other... But now I notice... since three or four years... conflicts between Hindus and Muslims. Then I think: guys please stop!” (Daughter Ida, 80-85, F)

In Apna Ghar the common garden is closed, because of nuisance of children of the normal dwellings. Only a few residents of the co-housing community have a key to the garden. This is frustrating for the other residents, because they have to ask for the key every time they want to use the garden.

Jaffar Autar is an exception in terms of conflicts involving the common area. The common area is used every day and activities are organized on a daily basis. Ritesh explains that because almost all the residents of Jaffar Autar are Hindu there are no conflicts about how to use the common area. In addition,

Ritesh describes that there are less conflicts when people from the same religion with the same rituals are living together. Figure 5 illustrates the common area in Jaffar Autar.



Figure 5 Common area Jaffar Autar
Copyright: Dr. A. Bailey and R. Bouwman

Within Dama Ramautar there have been burglaries and some of the residents feel more scared. One of the participants believes that burglars are in particular interested in the co-housing community, because older people live here and they are more vulnerable. In order to prevent burglaries residents cannot open the door for people that they do not know. Ramesh explains:

“A lot of burglaries. In almost all these houses there have been burglaries. We had a conversation with the police and the police gave us some tips about what we could do.”
(Ramesh, 75-80, M)

However, despite the burglaries the participants still feel safe in the co-housing community.

Overall, the main challenges for the co-housing communities are conflicts about contribution, conflicts between Hindu and Muslim residents, common areas that are used less and burglaries. This paragraph has tried to describe what the concept of a co-housing community is, what the experiences of the participants are and the main challenges. The next paragraph focuses on ageing within the context of the co-housing communities.

4.2 Ageing

The previous paragraph has given an insight in the lives of the participants within the co-housing community. This paragraph discusses ageing within the context of a co-housing community. In paragraph 2.1.2 it is discussed that migrants have to decide at a certain point in time whether they want to age in the country of destination or in the country of origin. The majority of the participants express that they do not want to return to Suriname and want to stay in the Netherlands for various reasons. Some people in this study indicate that Suriname has changed and they feel that it is not the place what it used to be. In addition, some of the

participants have lived in the Netherlands for a long time and this is the place where they feel at home. The following quote illustrates how Saroja feels about returning to Suriname:

“To me the Netherlands is everything! I was in my twenties when I came here. I don’t know any better.” (Saroja, 65-70, F)

The healthcare system of Suriname is another reason for not returning. It is believed that the healthcare system in the Netherlands is better for older adults compared to the healthcare system in Suriname. Some men and women in this study express that they are longing to return to Suriname, but they will not return because their children and grandchildren live in the Netherlands. Only a few participants want to return to Suriname, because their children live here. One participant mentions that she wants to return to her children in Suriname, because they can take care of her when she is getting older. Most of the people in this study have visited Suriname and some are visiting Suriname once a year to visit their children. Out of the whole group there are a few people who state that they do not want to visit Suriname or do not have a connection with Suriname. The absence of a connection to Suriname is associated with the modernisation of the country and the participants do not like the way Suriname has changed. Others do not want to visit Suriname, because they have lost their spouse and going to Suriname will bring back memories.

A majority of the participants express explicitly that they want to grow old within the co-housing community. This is related to a sense of home, satisfaction, living independently, being around others, activities, proximity of facilities and not willing to move. Some people even express that they would want to live in the co-housing community until they die. Sharita who has been living eight months in the co-housing community already knows she wants to grow old within the co-housing community:

“... I told my daughter that I am not going to move anymore. I will stay here until I die. I already told her! I don’t want to move I just stay here. I am already 63 years old. I don’t know how long I will live.” (Sharita, 60-65, F)

This quote also illustrates that Sharita is conscious of her age. This view is shared by some other participants who express that they feel conscious about their age and are aware that they are ageing. In comparison with other older adults some of the participants express that they believe a co-housing community is a better environment to live in than a nursing home. The men and women in this study believe that a co-housing community provides a sense of community, a sense of safety and enables residents to live independently. There are residents who have lived with their children before moving to the co-housing community. The participants express that they experienced difficulties in the beginning and had to get used to living alone.

A few participants do not receive homecare or domestic help and do everything themselves. The participants who do not receive any care are relatively young or married. A majority of the people in this study receives professional domestic help for cleaning the home and for other household tasks. Only a few participants receive homecare in the mornings and evenings. There are residents who receive help from their

children in addition to professional domestic help. Some of the participants experience a decline in mobility, have difficulties walking the stairs and some use a scooter for long distances. Declining mobility influences the life of the participants as some of the participants are not able to visit their children or friends, because of the distance or high stairs. The participants want to be independent and want to take care of themselves for as long as possible. Indra explains why she prefers to live independently in a co-housing community:

“I like it better this way. You always want to try to do it yourself. I try a lot. I have a bit trouble walking, but I am still going upstairs [common area] let me peel the potatoes. And it is fun to be together.” (Indra, 60-65, F)

The residents are helping each other for example when someone is sick or cannot do groceries. Within the co-housing community the residents rely on each other and this enables them to live independently.

When describing their daily routines the participants talked more about their homes and the environment and not about the co-housing community. This could be associated with the social contact participants have with the other residents and that in some of the co-housing communities activities are organized once a week. Every participant has his or her own routine, but there are some similarities within the daily routines. In order to give an insight in the daily lives of the participants an example of a daily routine is presented in box 1. The example of Dilip and Asha is chosen, because it includes aspects that are also part of the daily routine of the other participants. Residents with mobility issues spend most of their day at home, because they are not always able to participate in activities outside the co-housing community.

Dilip and Asha are married for eleven years and both of them have children from earlier marriages. The children and grandchildren of Dilip are living in the Netherlands and they visit each other regularly. Asha her children and grandchildren are living in Suriname and they visit them once a year. Eight years ago Dilip and Asha moved to the co-housing community, because they wanted to live with other Surinamese adults. Both Dilip and Asha are Hindu and religion is part of their daily routine. Every morning when Dilip and Asha wake up they pray for about fifteen minutes. This praying ritual takes place within a small room in the house the *Mandir* which is an altar consisting of religious artefacts and flowers. Dilip and Asha have a small garden in another place that they visit on a daily basis. In this garden Dilip and Asha grow vegetables such as tomatoes and beans that they use for cooking. The garden is a meeting place where Dilip and Asha meet other people. Most of the gardens are owned by Hindustanis and when Dilip and Asha visit the garden they like to cook and eat there. After visiting the garden Dilip and Asha do groceries and return home. When they see other residents they greet them and talk for a bit. If there are activities organized in the common area Dilip and Asha usually participate. On some days they have doctor, dentist, physical therapy or other appointments. If the weather is good, Dilip and Asha like to go away and visit family and friends. On sunny days, Dilip and Asha like to walk in the neighbourhood and visit the market to do some shopping. Every day is ended with a prayer in the Mandir.

Box 1 Case study daily routine

4.3 Home-making

In line with the theory discussed in paragraph 2.2.1 the findings from this study indicate that a *sense of home* is associated with feelings of happiness, comfort, autonomy, satisfaction and the importance of having a place for oneself. Also, the findings show that both men and women engage in the process of *home-making*. There are some similarities, but also differences in how female and male participants create a sense of home. In regard to the process of home-making, women refer more often to how they remodelled and decorated the home in order to create their own place. Whereas men refer more often to the co-housing community or the proximity of facilities instead of the home itself.

In addition to the theory discussed in section 2 the findings from this study suggest that a sense of home can emerge from multiple places and is not restricted to one place. There are three main themes that can be identified from the findings. The first theme is *sense of home*. The second theme is *creating a home* and the third theme is about *important possessions*.

4.3.1 Sense of home

Almost all the participants express that they feel a sense of home within the co-housing community. One participant expresses that he does not feel a sense of home in the co-housing community or in any other place. The reason for this is not having meaningful social relations. There are two main themes that appear from the findings which are having a place for oneself and the emergence of a sense of place from multiple places.

Having a place for oneself

Autonomy and the importance of having a place for oneself are significant aspects in the process of creating a sense of home. Female participants express more often that their sense of home is related to a feeling of being in control and having a place for themselves. As one participant indicates:

“Look this is my house. I am the boss. I pay the rent on time... I can do whatever I want...”

(Mira, 65-70, F).

For some people in this study their sense home is extended beyond the physical space of the home. The co-housing community and the proximity of facilities within the neighbourhood are an important part in the process of creating a sense of home. This is related to social contact with fellow residents and activities organized within the co-housing community. Also, the co-housing community provides a sense of safety, because of the social control between the residents. One participant notes:

“... I do not want to leave this place and everyone who lives here does not want to leave. Because you experience so much joy with all the activities... daily activities etc. I forgot to mention that every two weeks we have bingo. A lot of people from outside [co-housing community] come and that gives a good feeling” (Ritesh, 75-80, M)

Specific places within the neighbourhood such as the Mandir, Mosque and the market play an important role in the process of creating a sense of home for some of the participants. For instance, Samir likes to walk through the neighbourhood and to talk with other people at the square. His sense of home is related to the proximity of facilities within the neighbourhood as he explains:

“The market is nearby. Some shops, supermarkets all are nearby. They have made a nice square...If you sit there, a lot of Surinamese and Hindustanis are sitting there. You can talk with them, you can sit down. Throughout the whole environment you feel your own community... not only the community, but also the facilities are important for me. I have everything here” (Samir, 65-70, M)

This quote also shows the importance of living close to people from the same origin. This was also expressed by other participants who believe it is positive to live with other Hindustani Surinamese adults, because of the shared roots.

A sense of home is associated with having a place for oneself and being independent. Moreover, for some a sense of home is related to the co-housing community and particular places within the neighbourhood. In a similar way, the presence of people from the same origin is important for creating a sense of home. The next subparagraph discusses how a sense of home could be connected to multiple places.

There are more places that feel like home

A sense of home can emerge from multiple places. For instance, some participants are longing to return to Suriname, because they want to be with their children who are living in Suriname. This is often the place where they used to live. Some participants describe that they feel at home in multiple places. As one participant notices:

“... Maybe because I always lived there [house in Suriname]... I feel at home. When I am in Suriname I feel it there and when I am in the Netherlands then I feel it in my home” (Indra, 60-65, F)

From the findings of the study it also becomes clear that a sense of home is linked to previous dwellings. This is illustrated by the following quote:

“I feel a sense of home in the Netherlands. Where my parents lived in Suriname, where we used to live... I cherish that. Yes, my parents are not here anymore, so... But I only cherish the places where we have lived, but I feel a sense of home in the Netherlands. I also long for India, it is so beautiful there. I find it so beautiful.” (Saroja, 65-70, F)

This quote also shows the connection the participant has with India. This connection with India was apparent for more people in this study. Some participants feel connected to India, because of their roots and they feel a sense of belonging. This is also expressed in a way that some participants are longing to live in India. They feel a sense of home in India. As one participant explains:

“... I visited India and I felt a sense of home there. Because I was one of them... the people did not see me, because I was wearing the same clothes. They asked me where I lived I said: I am not from here; [reply] No that is not possible. Because I can speak Hindi they did not believe me... no you are not from here... It gives you a sense of home I am one of them... So to be honest, I told my so if it was up to me I would live in a village in India.” (Sunaina, 70-75, F)

The findings indicate that a sense of home can change over the life course. This is illustrated by the following quote:

“... When I lived in Suriname I felt more at home there. I did not know the Netherlands. But now I do not feel Surinamese, because where I live I feel at home. If I could get a job here, I would have worked and help to build the country. This is my country now” (Arjan, 70-75, M)

The findings show that a sense of home is not restricted to one place. Some participants express that they feel a sense of home in multiple places and this is interrelated with their housing history, Suriname and their roots. This paragraph has attempted to give an insight in the sense of home of the participants. The home-making activities of the participants are discussed in the next paragraph.

4.3.2 Creating a home

The previous subparagraph shows that a majority of the participants feel a sense of home. This paragraph elaborates on how a sense of home is created. The findings indicate that women talk more specifically about how they have created a home. In contrast, men often mention that they feel at home in relation to the co-housing community and specific places within the neighbourhood, but often do not give details on the home-making process. In regard to the home-making process, some female participants explain how they remodelled their house in order to create a home. This was believed to be very important, because the participants wanted to create their own place. This is illustrated by one of the participants:

“... They did everything, my grandson did the floor and painted everything. One thing I said: I want you to paint the whole house... make it new. This is the first time I will live on my own.”
(Mira, 65-70, F)

The findings indicate that another important aspect in the creation of a sense of home is culture. Some participants who believe in Hinduism have created a place within the home where they can practise their religion. This place is a small Mandir that consists of religious artefacts and flowers. As one participant explains:

“... Look here is the room where we pray. Most Hindus have this... some even have bigger [talks about room] with artefacts and stuff... if there is more space. Mine is small, but you can pray here quietly... I put flowers, but not on the other days, only on Thursday and Friday.”

(Asha, 60-65, F)

Another way culture plays a role within the home-making process is by creating familiarity within the home. The following quote illustrates how Saroja created a sense of home:

“I got more television channels so I can watch Hindu soap operas... I find this important, it is my own language... I grew up with this... feeling at home... I believe that you have to create a sense of home yourself, you cannot expect others to do this” (Saroja, 65-70, F)

Familiarity within the home is also created by placing objects that are taken from previous dwellings into the new home. A majority of the participants took furniture and kitchen supplies from their previous home. Other participants took meaningful possessions and pictures with them. Some residents created a sense of home by placing family pictures in the home.

The findings illustrate how the participants have created their own home in various ways. Remodelling the home, expressing culture and creating familiarity within the home were believed to be important aspects in the process of creating a home. Another aspect of home-making is placing meaningful objects within the home. The next paragraph discusses which possessions are important to the participants.

4.3.3 Important possessions

So far it is discussed how the people in this study have created a sense of home. This paragraph discusses possessions that are important for the participants. A majority of the participants could identify a possession that has a special meaning. However, a few participants could not mention a possession that is important to them. In addition, some of the participants who could not identify an important possession did not specifically describe how they have created a home. Also, the sense of home of these participants was to a greater extent associated with the co-housing community and the environment and to a lesser extent with the home itself. The findings are presented through photographs taken by the interviewer. The men and women in this study have many important possessions, but most often mentioned possessions that are related to memories, religion and preventing loneliness. Each photograph represents one of these categories.

Possessions which tell a story

Important possessions can have a special meaning for the participants. These possessions could for instance bring up memories, can be a reminder of Suriname and the possessions can be a reminder of people who have passed away.

Figure 6 is an example of an object that is a reminder of Suriname. This object symbolizes and reminds the participant about his past life in Suriname. A certain value is attached to the painting and this is what makes it special.



Figure 6 Painting wooden house
Copyright: Dr. A. Bailey and R. Bouwman

Rahul explains why this painting reminds him of Suriname:

“... These are the type of houses people used to have. A wooden house on pillars. Usually not painted... and I took this picture myself. It gave me a feeling of: this is the house we used to live in. Everybody loves that picture.” (Rahul, 75-80, M)

Other important possessions that are mentioned by the participants are family pictures. The findings indicate that only women mention pictures as important possessions. Only one male participant mentions family pictures as important, but this was after the interviewer asked whether family pictures are an important possession for the participant. The following quote illustrates the relation between possessions and memories:

“... I have some pictures of my husband and children and these are important to me. I do not really have possessions that I own... and some things that belonged to my parents which are important to me. Those are my memories... it is a reminder of the past... when the children were young. That is important” (Asha, 60-65, F)

In addition, this quote shows that belongings from people who have passed away have a special meaning. Pictures and possessions can serve as a memory of loved ones. Also, the belongings are often the only tangible possession participants have of the person who has passed away.

The majority of the participants identify possessions that symbolize connections with their homeland and family as important. Each of these possessions tells a different story and has a special meaning for the participants. The next subparagraph describes how religion is expressed within the home.

Expressing religion within the home

The findings show that expressing religion through artefacts within the home is something particularly done by Hindus. Participants who are Muslim do not specifically mention that they have religious artefacts within the home. Religion is expressed within particular spaces in the home. Figure 7 illustrates a Mandir which is for Hindus an important place for practising religion. As one participant explains:

“... We call this a Mandir... it is very important to me and I do not let anyone touch it. Maybe that person ate meat. I say: do not touch it. And if family is visiting and I cooked meat or something else, then I do not let them come nearby. I will tell them to eat in the kitchen.” (Rosita, 60-65, F)



Figure 7 Mandir
Copyright: Dr. A. Bailey and R. Bouwman

Religious artefacts are also important in the praying ritual and they symbolize the roots of the participants. Figure 7 shows how the religious artefacts are part of the Mandir. Not all Hindus express their religion through artefacts in the home. According to some participants there are two movements within Hinduism the Arya Samaj and the Sanatan Dharma. Followers of the Sanatan Dharma often use artefacts or have red and yellow flags which are visible in figure 7. Whereas followers of the Arya Samaj do not have artefacts.

Some Christian participants explain that they have a connection with Hinduism, because they have family members who are Hindu. In addition, some participants who are raised as Christians have read about Hinduism and view Hinduism as the first religion from which other religions originate.

One Christian participant has religious artefacts within the home that are symbols of Hinduism:

“... We have a Buddha, Shiva... If I look at the Shiva, dancing, it says a lot to me, the hand with all the attributes and the movements. That is huge.” (Dilip, 70-75, M)

The Mandir and the religious artefacts are important for expressing religion within the home and they play an important part in the praying ritual. For some participants expressing religion within the home is part of the home-making process. The next subparagraph discusses possessions that prevent loneliness.



Figure 8 Music instrument
Copyright: Dr. A. Bailey and R. Bouwman

Possessions that make you feel less alone

Thus far important possessions such as family pictures, belongings of loved ones who have passed away, possessions that are a reminder of Suriname and religious artefacts are discussed. Some participants identify objects such as the television, radio and music instruments as important possessions. Figure 8 illustrates a music instrument of one of the participants. Participants who play a music instrument often mention this as one of their most important possessions. Playing instruments is for some participants a way to keep busy. Also, the music instrument is a memory of their past life. The importance of music instruments was only mentioned by men and not by women in this study. One participant explains why he considers his music instruments to be important:

“... Well it is very important in our lives. If you have nothing to do and if you sit behind it you can be busy for hours. And if you are doing it right, you will get a good feeling... I believe it also keeps me young... I also have memories from when I was younger... I always performed on the radio and in the theatres...” (Ritesh, 75-80, M)

Other possessions that were mentioned that help participants to feel less alone are the TV and the radio. Ramesh describes that when he is not singing or visiting his children he likes to watch television or to listen to the radio:

“Very important for me are the TV and the radio. If I am alone and I feel lonely: radio on. Then I hear songs... and if I don't do this, it is so quiet... [About the TV] then I don't feel alone, because I always have something to watch.” (Ramesh, 75-80, M)

Music instruments, the television and the radio are examples of possessions mentioned by participants that make the participants feel less alone. This paragraph described the possessions that are important to the participants. The majority of the participants identify possessions that are related to memories, religion and to preventing loneliness as important.

Overall, this part has tried to describe how older Hindustani Surinamese in this study create their home. Creating a sense of home through home-making activities such as expressing culture and placing objects within the home is important in the home-making process. The following paragraph illustrates how cultural schemas play a role in creating a sense of home.

4.4 Cultural schemas

The previous paragraph has shown how culture can be expressed within the home. This paragraph elaborates into more detail how values, attitudes, beliefs and goals (cultural schemas) influence the home-making process. In doing so, this paragraph discusses the attitude towards living independently, and the importance of the expression of culture within the environment.

4.4.1 Attitudes towards living independently

A majority of the participants express that they prefer to live independently rather than with their children. The participants believe that it is better for their children and for themselves to live independently. Some participants explain that within Surinamese and Hindustani culture it is a tradition that the oldest son and his wife live with their parents and take care of them. A few participants express that they do not agree with this view and feel that they would be a burden for their children. Others mention that their children have busy lives and have to take care of their own family and should not also have to take care of their parents. Not only, do the participants believe it is a burden for their children to live with them, they also believe that it is important to have a place for themselves where they are in control. Maya her children live in Suriname and she argues why she prefers to live independently within the co-housing community:

“I would never force my children to live with them. My children want me to return to Suriname I do not want that at all, I am very happy alone. Being free you can do whatever you want... It is a normal home for seniors, you are free you pay the rent and done. Nobody checks on you, we have a group of women here, we hang out together... It is fun to do something with people your own age.” (Maya, 65-70, F)

Some people in this study have lived with their children before they moved to the co-housing community. The decision to live independently is related to not having to depend on the children and the importance of having a place for oneself. After moving to the co-housing community the participants feel happy that they have their own home and feel more free. A minority states that they believe that living independently and

living with children are both good options and that it depends on your culture. Only one of the participants, Shivam, expresses that he prefers to live with family:

“I believe it is better the way the people live in India, with families all together. Because I don’t like to live alone, because you stay at home all night and day... [About the Netherlands] Everybody here is separate, but if everyone will be together that would be great... I want to be together with families. And I always miss this.” (Shivam, 70-75, M)

In addition, Shivam mentions that he does not understand why older people do not live in extended families in the Netherlands. In a similar way, a few participants explain that they do not understand why children are not taking care of their parents and instead place them in a nursing home. Saroja explains that she and her husband took care of her parents and that she would have felt sad if her parents had lived in a nursing home. Overall, the participants prefer to live independent, because they want a place for themselves and they are in control of their own home. This is also related to creating a sense of home as is discussed in paragraph 4.2.1. The main reasons why the participants believe it is better to live alone are not being dependent on others and the busy lives of their children.

4.4.2 Expression of culture within the environment

As is discussed in paragraph 2.2.2 about cultural schemas, for migrants living close to people from the same origin is an important aspect in creating a sense of home. In line with the theory, the findings of this study indicate that the majority of the participants want to live with other Hindustani Surinamese adults. The residents share the same cultural schema and therefore understand each other. In a similar way, the findings show that for some participants the expression of their culture within the environment is important for creating a sense of home. The daughter of Ida explains that her mother decided to move to a city where the Surinamese and Hindustani culture is more expressed within the environment:

“... Here there is a community. She can go to the Mosque. She sees her own people, people from her country, she can use her own language when she goes to the general practitioner, Hindustani general practitioner, in the pharmacy there is a Hindustani doctor.” (Daughter of Ida, 80-85, F)

Some men and women express that they have a strong connection with India and that they have travelled or are planning to travel to India. This strong relation to India is rooted in the cultural background of the participants and the curiosity about life in India. The connection to India is also apparent within the home through artefacts and Hindu television channels.

In line with the theory discussed in paragraph 2.2.1 some participants have adapted their past routines in the new environment in order to create a sense of home. For instance, one of the participants explains that for Hindustanis the connection with the earth is important and religious rituals are often performed in the

garden. The offering takes place at sunrise and the ritual is performed with water and flowers. The residents do not have a garden where they can feel the connection with the earth and have to adapt their praying routines within the new environment. Sunaina describes that some residents use pots for flowers for the offering ritual. The absence of the garden is compensated for by creating spaces within the home that characterize features of a garden such as placing plants and by creating a place for practising religion. In this way, the participants adapt their old routines within the new environment and create a sense of home.

This paragraph has tried to elaborate on how cultural schemas shape a sense of home. The participants believe it is important to have a place for themselves where they are in control. The home is a place where the participants are autonomous and this is believed to be important. In addition, this paragraph has discussed that for some participants it is important to live with people from the same origin and to see their own culture expressed within the environment. By sharing the same cultural schemas the residents can understand each other's way of reasoning. The findings of the study show how the participants adapted past routines within the new environment in order to create a sense of home. Also, the findings indicate that the people in this study have a strong connection with nature which is expressed within and outside the home through plants. The following paragraph describes the influence of place making on the home-making process.

4.5 Place attachment

In paragraph 2.2.1 it is described how a space is turned into a place by assigning meaning to a particular space. This paragraph discusses how the place attachment of the participants and how this is connected to home-making. As explained in paragraph 2.2.1 the three-dimensional framework of Scannell and Gifford (2010) is used to examine place attachment in this study. The findings indicate that the majority of the participants are attached to both places in Suriname and in the Netherlands. Only a few participants mention that they do not have a connection with Suriname. In addition, the findings of the study illustrate that the attachment to particular places is constructed through affect, cognition and behaviour. Some of the participants describe that the co-housing community and their home are important places for them. This is related to a feeling of belonging, happiness, a feeling of comfort and a sense of home. A majority of the participants develop connections to places through cognition. The people in this study mention that their place of birth in Suriname is a special place. Through memories of the past life in Suriname the participants are emotionally attached to their place of birth and they like to visit this place when travelling to Suriname. For instance, Asha explains when she and her husband visit Suriname they visit the house where Asha was raised:

“If I visit Suriname, the next day I go there. And now only my brother and his brother-in-law with his two children live there. My parents have passed away a long time ago. But if you go there, you have memories, places, when you enter the house... I think about my parents. The past how we live and our childhood.” (Asha, 60-65, F)

The previous paragraph has briefly discussed the importance of nature. In a similar way, some of the participants feel attached to places in nature within the Netherlands. This attachment embodies the connection with the earth. Indeed, the affective bonds with places in nature are constructed through cognition and behaviour. For some people in this study, nature is something that reminds them of Suriname. Rahul points out how particular places in the Netherlands remind him of Suriname:

“We are almost every day in the park. She [wife] is walking with a couple of other women and I am cycling... The connection with nature, I see that back here, what I had in Suriname. There was a river surrounded by forests. I was born and raised there.” (Rahul, 75-80, M)

Some of the participants describe that they like to be close to places that remind them of Suriname, because they are longing for Suriname. This shows that a few participants are willing to stay close to places within the Netherlands that are a reminder of Suriname.

In regard to the place dimension of the three-dimensional framework of Scannell and Gifford (2010), a few participants describe that they feel attached to the Mosque or Mandir (Temple) because of their religion and it is a place to meet other people. The attachment to the Mosque and the Mandir is constructed through cognition and is an example of social place attachment. Additionally, some participants describe that they are attached to places where they meet their family, friends or other people. The connection is not about the place itself, but about the presence of people. Most of the men and women in this study describe that they are satisfied with their lives in the Netherlands, because they are happy and feel that they have lived a good life. The participants do not feel attached to the neighbourhood itself, but to particular places within the neighbourhood. These are places that the participants visit often. The physical attachment to particular places in the neighbourhood is expressed through the importance of living close to the Mosque, the Mandir and to facilities such as shops and the market. The attachment to particular places within the neighbourhood is important for creating a sense of home.

This paragraph has tried to examine place attachment by using the three-dimensional framework of Scannell and Gifford (2010). The findings show that the participants create connections to particular places through affect, cognition and behaviour. The place attachment of the participants is influenced by past experiences. A majority of the participants feel attached to their place of birth in Suriname. In addition, the participants are attached to places in the Netherlands that remind them of Suriname and to places where they meet other people. Some of the participants express that they are attached to the co-housing community, because they feel a sense of belonging here. Others mention that the importance of the proximity of facilities in the process of creating a sense of home.

5 Discussion

This study was conducted in order to gain an understanding on how older Hindustani Surinamese adults create a sense of home within the context of a co-housing community in the Netherlands. The previous section has discussed the findings of the study. This section compares the findings with the existing scholarship discussed in the theoretical framework in section 2.

In contrast with studies focussing on guest workers and retirement migrants this study has focused on post-colonial migrants who are now ageing in the country of destination. This study has provided an insight in how older migrants manage to remake their place within a co-housing community, live independently and what it means to live in a co-housing community. The context of this study is different compared to most studies focusing on individual dwellings or the neighbourhood.

The results showed that a co-housing community provides a sense of community, a sense of safety and enables residents to live independently. It is believed to be important to live with other Hindustani Surinamese as the residents share the same rituals and schemas. Also, the residents can rely on each other and this enables them to live independently. The findings illustrate that the common area is important for creating a sense of community. If the common area is closed or used less frequently the sense of community disappears. The common area is also a place where conflicts occur, because the residents are living close to each other. The sources of conflict are disagreements between Hindus and Muslims for using the common area and disagreements between residents and board members.

In regard to the first research question, cultural schemas enhance the creation of a sense of home, because people like to live with others from the same origin. Sharing the same rituals and schemas is believed to bring the residents in the co-housing community together and this results in a sense of community. Moreover, the attitude towards living independently affects the attitude towards having a home for oneself. Residents who believe it is important to live independently also value to have a home for themselves and feel in control. The findings of this study indicate that older Hindustani Surinamese adults prefer to live independently with other Hindustani Surinamese rather than living with their children. The reason for this could be that residents in a co-housing community live together with people from the same origin, can rely on each other and are able to live independently. Also, the preference for living independently appears to be associated with the belief that children have busy lives and should take care of their own families and not for their parents. This study has examined the importance of culture in regard to the home-making process and therefore contributes to other studies about older migrants living within a co-housing community (Meijering & Lager, 2014).

The findings indicate that most of the older Hindustani Surinamese adults in this study want to age in the Netherlands, a majority wants to age in place within the co-housing community. The residents enjoy living with people from the same origin, can rely on each other, live independently, enjoy to participate in the activities that are organized within the co-housing communities and feel a sense of belonging. All these reasons contribute to the wish to live as long as possible in the co-housing community. As is argued by

Liversage and Mirdal (2017) older migrants have to make a decision where they want to grow old. The findings of this study indicate that this decision is based on the length of residence in the host country, place of residence children, healthcare facilities in the country of origin and a sense of home. Also, the way the country of origin has changed over the years in comparison with the past is a reason for not willing to return. The changes make it harder for migrants to connect with the country of origin (Buffel, 2015). It is possible that older Hindustani Surinamese who are living in other living arrangements want to return to Suriname or have different reasons for not returning. However, this is beyond the scope of this study.

In order to age in place the older Hindustani Surinamese adults in this study have made the decision to move to the co-housing community and had to remake their place (Rowles & Watkins, 2003). The second research question sought to determine the home-making activities of older Hindustani Surinamese adults. A sense of home is created through remodelling the house, placing meaningful objects, expression culture and religion within the home and by creating familiarity. Familiarity is created by rearranging furniture from previous dwellings in the new dwelling and by placing religious artefacts and other meaningful possessions within the home. Through expressing religion within the home a sense of belonging can be created (Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 2009). The findings of this study indicate that the expression of religion within the home is an important aspect within the home-making process and especially for Hindus. Within Hinduism praying rituals include offering water and flowers. This praying ritual should be performed within a garden as the connection with the earth is believed to be important. Due to the absence of a garden, a Mandir is created within the home where praying and offering rituals can take place. The Mandir is an important place within the home and this is also visible as the Mandir has a prominent place within the home. Home-making is a cultural process (Rosales, 2010), and through adapting past routines such as performing praying rituals within a garden to the new environment by creating a place within the home for performing religious rituals, the older Hindustani Surinamese adults in this study have created their home. The importance of nature which is rooted in the culture of Hindus is also visible within the home, through plants and flowers in and outside the home. Another way older Hindustani Surinamese have created a sense of home is through placing objects from Suriname within the home. These possessions are a reminder of the country of origin and connect older Hindustani Surinamese with Suriname. Other important possessions within the home are family photographs and belongings of loved ones who have passed away. It is not necessarily the possession itself, but what it represents and the memory that is attached to it is what makes it special. The findings of this study indicate that it is important to have possessions such as music instruments, a television and a radio within the house for distraction and preventing loneliness.

A sense of home for older Hindustani Surinamese is related to having a place for oneself and being in control. This feeling of being in control gives older adults more autonomy even though their mobility is declining. Another way the home is an important place in old age is that it provides a sense of safety (Dahlin-Ivanoff et al., 2007). Within the co-housing communities the residents feel more secure, because there is more social control as compared to normal apartment buildings. With respect to the third research question the co-housing community provides the opportunity to live independently within a community. The residents

have managed to create a sense of home and show great resilience towards living independently. Being proactive enables the participants to live independently and the home provides an environment where they can be in control. The process of creating a home within the co-housing community and the proximity of other Hindustani Surinamese have created a place where the residents want to age in place.

The findings of this study indicate that a sense of home is not restricted to one place and emerges from multiple places such as the current dwelling, the country of origin, previous dwellings and the places that symbolizes the roots of migrants. For instance, some older Hindustani Surinamese adults in this study feel a sense of home in India although they have never lived here. This feeling of belonging arises from the recognition of their roots within the environment and from a longing for India. This study substantiated other studies (e.g. Buffel, 2015) that discuss how older migrants can feel a sense of home in both the country of origin and the country of destination.

In accordance with previous studies (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Wiles et al., 2009), this study found that a sense of home exceeds beyond the home itself and home-making is related to the co-housing community and to particular places within the neighbourhood. It appears from the findings of this study that participants are to a greater extent attached to the co-housing community and to a lesser extent to the neighbourhood itself. In line with Buffel (2015), this study shows the importance of living together with people from the same origin and that this is believed to be important for creating a sense of home. By sharing the same cultural schemas older Hindustani Surinamese in this study understand each other, share common rituals and feel a sense of belonging to the co-housing community. In contrast with Buffel (2015), this study has focused on co-housing communities and sharing cultural schemas in this study enhances attachment to the co-housing community and not to the neighbourhood. The co-housing community is a small community within the neighbourhood where the residents spend most of their time as their mobility is declining. Older Hindustani Surinamese adults only visit particular places within the neighbourhood such as the Mandir, Mosque and the market.

Studies about place attachment often fail to use specific theories (Lewicka, 2011). This study has attempted to apply the three-dimensional framework of Scannell and Gifford (2010) in order to examine place attachment. In addition, this study has tried to focus more on the process and place dimension rather than the person dimension, because this has been the main focus in several prior studies (Lewicka, 2011). The findings of this study indicate that affective bonds with places are created through affect, cognition and behaviour. Through cognition older Hindustani Surinamese adults in this study created attachments to places in Suriname. They remember their past life in Suriname and past experiences that have occurred in these places. Living with other Hindustani Surinamese makes it easier to share stories about the past, because of mutual understanding of the context. Through memories older Hindustani Surinamese keep a sense of continuity (Rubinstein & Parmelee, 1992). In line with Lager et al. (2012), this study shows that older Hindustani Surinamese are attached to places that are a reminder of Suriname and to places that involve social interaction. In particular, places that feature nature appeared to be important. This is related to the cultural schemas of the older Hindustani Surinamese adults. Additionally, this study found that the

participants are socially and physically attached to particular places within the neighbourhood and not to the neighbourhood itself. Places where other people are present such as the residency of children or the square are perceived as important places. Also, the proximity of facilities such as the Mosque, the Mandir and the market are believed to be important places within the neighbourhood. The presence of the Mosque and the Mandir can enhance the attachment to particular places within the neighbourhood (Buffel, 2015; Ehrkamp, 2005).

In terms of methodology this study has showed how a qualitative study can be conducted using secondary data. The analytical framework illustrated how coding methods can help to make sense of the data and what steps should be taken in order to analyse data from a secondary dataset. In addition, it is important to validate the results with the interviewer in order to check whether the results are interpreted correctly. This study has shown how qualitative research can be conducted in a different way by using a secondary dataset.

6 Conclusion

This study has given deeper insights in the way older Hindustani Surinamese adults have created a home within the context of a co-housing community, the cultural dimension of the home-making process and the importance of home-making in relation to ageing. Cultural schemas play an important role in the process of creating a sense of home within the co-housing community. Shared rituals and schemas allow the residents to understand each other without reasoning and it helps with community building. The residents within the co-housing communities feel a sense of community and a sense of home. The ability of older Hindustani Surinamese adults to manage to live independently and remake their place shows their resilience. Expressing culture and religion within the home and adapting past routines to the new environment are significant aspects in the home-making process. In particular, the expression of religion is important for Hindus. The Mandir and religious artefacts have prominent places within the home. This thesis illustrated that the connection with both Suriname and India is maintained through transnational ties with family members, objects within the home, performing religious rituals and the attachment to places that are a reminder of Suriname. The connection with the earth and water is important for Hindustanis and this is visible within the home through plants and through the importance of being close to nature. For older Hindustani Surinamese adults it is important to live independently and the co-housing community provides the opportunity to do so. The co-housing community even provides an opportunity to grow old with people from the same origin. Autonomy, a sense of home and being around others with the same origin are factors that contribute to the wish to live as long as possible within the co-housing community. A sense of home and a sense of belonging appear from multiple places and are not restricted to one place. Indeed, a sense of home does not have to be related to places where someone has lived, but can also emerge from the recognition of cultural roots and a feeling of belonging.

There are some limitations regarding this study which can be divided in methodological and topical challenges. A secondary data analysis is performed and the data was analysed without knowing the participants and the context they lived in. In order to overcome this barrier the researchers who conducted the study gave some more background information. It was important to analyse the data with an open and fresh mind without being informed too much the researchers only provided the required background information. Familiarity with the data was created through examining the transcripts and the photographs in detail. During the coding process and after the data analysis results were discussed with the researchers in order to validate the research. Another challenge of the study is working with older adults. The different stages of the life course of the participants and the researcher and the difference in cultural background might have influenced the interpretation of the data. In addition, the participants spoke Dutch or Surinamese-Dutch and this made it sometimes difficult to interpret what was exactly said or meant by the participants.

Future research is needed to examine how the provision of care for older adults could be facilitated within the context of a co-housing community. The number of older migrants is increasing and there is a preference to live with people from the same origin. It is therefore important for further studies to focus on

home-making in relation to ageing in place in the setting of a co-housing community for various groups of older migrants. The findings indicate the importance of culture within the home-making process of older migrants and show how routines need to be adapted, because of the way the co-housing communities are designed. Policy makers should therefore take into account the cultural values of older migrants when designing living spaces.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor for his feedback and suggestions. I would like to thank R. Bouwman for providing more detailed information on the context of the study and validating the results.

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Appendix

Table A: Codebook

Code Family	Code	Description	Notes
Background information	Age	The age in years of participant.	Include phrases that describe the age of the participant.
	Marital status	Current marital status of participant.	Include phrases that describe the current marital status of participant
	Education	Educational level participant.	Include phrases that describe the educational level.
	Migration: motivation	Reasons for migrating to the Netherlands.	Code is applied to paragraphs that describe the reasons for migration.
	Migration: time	The year the participants migrated to the Netherlands.	The time of migration can be used to calculate the length of stay in the Netherlands.
	Religion	The religious identity of the participant.	This code includes passages about religion in general and the religious identity of participants. Only the phrases where the religious identity of the participant are described are used for the background information. Phrases related to artefacts and practising religion are coded separately.
	Location interview	Location where interview was conducted.	The location of the interview is coded to get more information on the context of the interview. The background information of the interviewer is coded not the quotes.
Observations interviewer	Notes on observations of the interviewer during the interview.	The observations of the interviewer are coded to get more information on the context of the interview. The background information of the interviewer is coded not the quotes.	

	Present people interview	All the people who were present at the interview	Information that describes who is present at the interview is coded in order to get more information on the context of the interview. The background information of the interviewer is coded not the quotes.
	Spatial context interview	The spatial setting of the interview.	Information on the spatial context of the interview is coded in order to get more background information on the context of the interview. The background information of the interviewer is coded not the quotes.
Ageing	Autonomy	The ability to take care of one self and the feeling of being in control.	Passage related to being in and out of control, (in)dependent, and the feelings and perceptions related to this
	Comparing with other older people	Participants compare themselves with other people their age.	This code is assigned to quotations where the participants compare themselves with other older people this could be related to their health status but also to their living situation.
	Conscious of age	Being aware of own age and the process of getting older.	This code includes phrases that describe how participants are aware of their age and how they feel about getting older.
	Daily routine	What a person does on a daily basis.	This code could also include routines related to religion if they are performed on a daily basis.
	Feeling compassion for older people	Feeling compassion to the situation of other older adults.	This code is assigned to phrases where the participant expresses a feeling of compassion to other older adults. This could be based on comparing their own situation with other people.
	Living independently	Being able to live on your own and being able to take care of oneself.	This code is applied to phrases that describe the experiences of living independently. This code is not related to the opinion of participants in relation to living independently this is coded as attitude: living independently.
	Loneliness	Feeling alone and/or not having meaningful social relations.	This code is applied to phrases where participants express that they (do not) feel lonely. Also applied to quotations that describe what participants do to prevent loneliness.

	<p>Mobility</p> <p>Professional home care/ domestic help</p> <p>Returning to Suriname</p> <p>Visiting Suriname</p>	<p>Here the physical ability to move and to participate in activities.</p> <p>Professional home care from health services who visit clients on a daily or weekly basis.</p> <p>The wish to return to Suriname or not willing to return.</p> <p>The wish to visit Suriname or stories about visits to Suriname</p>	<p>Passages about mobility in general and issues and feelings related to decreasing mobility are included. Phrases that express the effect of decreasing mobility such as feeling more dependent on others are coded as both mobility and autonomy.</p> <p>This code is related to what type of care/help the participants receive and whether they need home care/help or not.</p> <p>This code is related to the decision older migrants have to make regarding where they want to grow old. Therefore this code fits within the code family ageing.</p> <p>This code is applied to phrases that describe that the participants have visited or want to visit Suriname.</p>
Cultural schemas	<p>Attitude: living independently</p> <p>Attitude: older people's home</p> <p>Attitude: taking care of parents</p> <p>Connection India</p>	<p>Participant's ideas and attitude towards living independently.</p> <p>Participant's opinions about older people's home.</p> <p>The ideas and attitudes of the participants regarding taking care of parents and what is perceived as the norm.</p> <p>The connection participants have with India.</p>	<p>This code is applied to phrases where the participants express their view on living independently.</p> <p>This code is assigned to quotes that describe the opinion of participants towards older people's homes.</p> <p>This code can be applied to paragraphs where participants express their opinion towards taking care of parents. This could be in relation of participants taking care of their parents in the past and children taking care of participants. Also, general comments about the topic are included.</p> <p>Phrases that describe the connection participants have with India will be coded as connection India. This could be in relation to culture, religion, family history etc. Quotations that describe that participants want to visit India are coded separately.</p>

	Cultural background	The origin of the participants and the shared history, rituals, language, norms and values.	This code is assigned to phrases that describe the culture, language and rituals of the participants. This code includes phrases that describe particular norms and values but also phrases that describe that participants want to live with other Hindustanis.
	Importance nature	The connection participants have with nature and in particular with the earth and water.	This code is applied to phrases that describe the connection with nature, the importance to be around nature, importance to have a garden and the connection with the earth.
	Others: ethnicity	This code is applied to sentences where the participants refers to another person by mentioning their ethnic background.	The participants sometimes refer to others by mentioning their ethnicity. This might be done as an explanation for the interviewer.
	Routine	Doing something in a particular order/way.	This could be routines in the country of destination but also routines in the country of origin. Phrases that describe routines, change of routines (effected by migration and ageing) and the adaptation of routines in the country of destination are included.
	Visiting India	The wish to visit India or stories about visits to India.	Visiting India is part of the code family cultural schemas, because the cultural background of the participants connects them to India.
	Watching Hindu movies/series	The Hindu movies/ series participants watch.	This code includes phrases that the describe what kind of television programs participants watch, but also why watching Hindu movies is important.
Home-making	'I can be anywhere but at home I feel at home'	In Vivo code. Way participant expressed where she feels at home.	In Vivo code is only used one time for the particular paragraph.

<p>‘This is my home I am the boss’</p>	<p>In Vivo code. This is how the participant expressed how she feels about her home.</p>	<p>In Vivo code is only used one time for the particular paragraph.</p>
<p>Feeling happy</p>	<p>Emotion of participants here happiness.</p>	<p>Only paragraphs related to the home-making process are included in the analysis for this particular code family.</p>
<p>Feeling of comfort</p>	<p>Places where the participants feel comfortable. Also, what contributes to the feeling of comfort.</p>	<p>Only paragraphs related to the home-making process are included in the analysis for this particular code family.</p>
<p>Home</p>	<p>The physical space of the home itself and not the co-housing community.</p>	<p>This code includes phrases about the home itself for instance, how many rooms, satisfaction about the space etc. Feeling at home is coded as sense of home and not as home.</p>
<p>Home-making activities</p>	<p>Activities participants undertake in order to create a sense of home.</p>	<p>Includes phrases that describe how the participants have created their home.</p>
<p>Important possessions</p>	<p>Possessions that have a special meaning for the participants.</p>	<p>Phrases where the interviewer asks about important possessions but the answer is not related to possessions are also coded as important possessions in order to analyse probing.</p>
<p>Memories</p>	<p>Remembering particular events, experiences and people.</p>	<p>Possessions or places that remind the participant about for instance the past, loved ones and Suriname. This code include phrases where the participants express that they like to share memories about the past. Memories is a separate code in order to analyse how memories of past experiences or attached to possessions are related to the home-making process.</p>
<p>Pet</p>	<p>Domestic animal.</p>	<p>Include phrases where participants talk about their pet. The pet could be important for the sense of home of participants</p>

	<p>Pictures</p> <p>Possessions taken from previous home</p> <p>Religious artefacts</p> <p>Returning to Suriname</p> <p>Sense of home</p>	<p>Photographs within the home of the participant.</p> <p>Objects and furniture taken from previous homes.</p> <p>Religious symbols and objects.</p> <p>The wish to return to Suriname or not willing to return.</p> <p>Feeling at home.</p>	<p>Pictures are coded separately in order to distinguish pictures from other important possessions. The pictures do not necessarily have to be important possessions.</p> <p>Objects and furniture from the previous home could create familiarity within the home and in this way are part of the home-making process.</p> <p>Religious artefacts are coded separately, in order to distinguish religious artefacts from other possessions.</p> <p>The wish to return to Suriname might influence the feeling of a sense of home within the co-housing community. Also, not willing to return might also influence the sense of home of the participants.</p> <p>This codes includes phrases that describe whether participants feel a sense of home and why they feel this. Also, this code is applied to places other than the home where the participants feel a sense of home.</p>
Living arrangement	<p>‘I am really happy’</p> <p>‘I will stay here until I die’</p> <p>Burglary</p> <p>Co-housing community: concept</p>	<p>Expression of participant related to life in the co-housing community and the home.</p> <p>Expression of participant how satisfied she is with her life in the co-housing community.</p> <p>Burglaries within the co-housing community.</p> <p>Definition of a co-housing community.</p>	<p>In Vivo code is only used one time for the particular paragraph.</p> <p>In Vivo code is only used one time for the particular paragraph.</p> <p>Includes stories about the burglaries itself as well as the feelings of the participants in regard to the burglaries</p> <p>Includes phrases that describe what a co-housing community is and what the selection procedure and regulations are.</p>

	Co-housing community: conflict	Conflicts between residents of the co-housing community.	This code includes paragraphs that discuss conflicts within the co-housing communities.
	Co-housing community: experiences	The experiences of living in a co-housing community.	This code includes the life within the co-housing communities, the activities, social contact with residents. Also, the opinion about the co-housing communities is included.
	Co-housing community: moving	The process of moving to the co-housing community.	The reason for moving to a co-housing community, the process of moving and getting used to the new environment are included within this code.
	Comparing with other older people	Participants compare themselves or with other people their age.	In particular, the comparison between living arrangements.
	Feeling happy	Emotion of participants here happiness.	Includes paragraphs where participants describe how they feel about living in a co-housing community.
	Feeling of comfort	Places where the participants feel comfortable. Also, what contributes to the feeling of comfort.	Includes passages describing how the participants feel in relation to the co-housing community.
	History co-housing community	The establishment of the co-housing community.	This code includes phrases about the process of establishing a co-housing community and how the realization of the co-housing communities.
	Living independently	Being able to live on your own and being able to take care of oneself.	How a co-housing community provides the opportunity for residents to be able to live independently.
Place attachment	Feeling happy	Emotion of participants here happiness.	Includes phrases that describe in which places the participants feel happy and why.

Important places	Places that have a special meaning for the participants.	Includes phrases that describe the important places, type of connection and why the participants are attached to particular places.
Memories	Remembering particular events, experiences and people.	Phrases that describe memories of particular places are included. Also, places that remind the participants about something are included.
Neighbourhood: amenities	Facilities and services within the neighbourhood.	Phrases that describe facilities within the environment outside the co-housing community are included.
Neighbourhood: environment	The environment outside of the physical space of the home and the co-housing community.	Includes passages about the environment other than amenities.
Neighbourhood: sense of community	The bonding between residents within the neighbourhood.	Includes phrases about whether there is a sense of community within the neighbourhood and why.
Reminding Suriname	Places that are a reminder of Suriname.	Coded separately and not included in memories, in order to distinguish places that are a reminder of Suriname to other places. Not included in memories in order to be more specific.
Satisfied life NL	Satisfaction about life within the Netherlands.	Includes phrases about how the participants feel about their lives within the Netherlands. the satisfaction about life in the Netherlands can influence the way and the strength of the place attachment of the participants.
Social place attachment	Connection to places based on social interaction.	Includes phrases that describe the importance of the place in relation to the people who are present at that place.