

“Now, I don’t have that feeling of ‘this is my home’, because my home is gone.”

Place attachment and the perception of home of children of military personnel who grew up in a Dutch community in Germany



BSc Thesis

N.L.M. Theunissen BA
S2807947

Faculty of Spatial Sciences
University of Groningen
The Netherlands

Supervisor: dr. Bettina van Hoven
June 2015

Abstract

A childhood home is often seen as a person's 'real' home. It is associated with feelings of nostalgia, a sense of security and an inseparable part of one's own history. Children of military personnel who lived on, or nearby, later closed military bases in foreign countries, are often unable to return to their childhood homes.

This thesis aims to broaden the knowledge on the place attachment of the childhood home and the perception of home of adult third culture kids, who are not able to return to the place they grew up in. The research focuses on children of military personnel, who lived in a Dutch community in Germany.

Findings show that people and place attachment are very intertwined. This creates friction: participants are attached to their childhood home, while the people are not there anymore. This creates a confusing feeling, because participants do not know what this place means to them anymore. At the same time, it is still very vivid in their memory, as they love talking about it.

All of the participants saw Zeven as their home. Participants who struggled with the remigration process have more trouble in finding a new home, because they miss the feeling of being part of a community. For others, home is not bound to a place, but it is connected to their direct family or wherever they have their own little place. The two participants who already have or are having a baby, now found the home that they were looking for in their own family.

The Pilot Light, by Arie van de Bie

Here, as a child of a soldier, for the first time not displaced
We were equal, because everyone was uprooted
Sometimes [you went] back to the boring Netherlands, a long and boring journey
Before you were even there, you wanted to go back to Zeven

Your pals lived in the Esschen- or Erlenweg
But they came from Limburg or Drenthe
And no one ever felt more at home
Than in that melting pot of one hundred accents

Was there a life before Zeven, was there a life thereafter?
There was, but it was very different
That short but intense time back then
Made us a different kind of Dutch people
You were free, you were embraced by life
That feeling has been my pilot light
Throughout all these years

At once you had a wonderfully spacious house
A stereo and a color TV
Mom and dad cruised around in their brand new Ford
And there was plenty of cigarettes and alcohol

Was there a life before Zeven, was there a life thereafter?
There was, but it was very different
That short but intense time back then
Made us a different kind of Dutch people
You were free, you were embraced by life
That feeling has been my pilot light
Throughout all these years

You fitted in, because you were a part of it
A military family, whether you wanted it or not
And when someone left after a period of time
It created an indelible sadness

Foreword

As a child I lived in a Dutch military community in Zeven, Germany for over 5 years. In my memory, I had a great time there. We moved away in 2004. Four years later, I received an e-mail from my mother with the song *De Waakvlam* [The pilot light] in an attachment. 'Oooo, how beautiful!', she wrote in her e-mail. That evening, we talked about how the song made both of us cry. Up until today, there are moments when we truly miss being there. It made me wonder: how do other people who lived in a Dutch military community look back on the time they spent there?

The idea to write a thesis on this subject got more concrete when I started my premaster at the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, where I came into contact with dr. Bettina van Hoven, who also grew up in a Dutch military community in Germany. With her help and support, I was able to write this thesis within three months.

Of course this thesis would not have been possible without the eleven people who opened up to me in the interviews. They did not hold back in telling personal stories, for which I am very grateful.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to 'ome' Ad Krijnen, who passed away in 2007. For decades, he was the manager of the *Holland Huis*. Children who moved to Zeven found a warm new home, because of his commitment and enthusiasm.

Nicky Theunissen, June 2015

Content

Abstract	1
The Pilot Light, by Arieaen de Bie	2
Foreword	3
1. Introduction.....	5
1.1 Motivation.....	5
1.2 Objective	5
1.3 Research questions	6
1.4 Case study: adult third culture kids from Zeven, Germany.....	6
1.5 Chapter contents	7
2. Theoretical framework	8
2.1 Introduction.....	8
2.2 Children of migrating military personnel.....	8
2.3 Place attachment	9
2.4 Migration and remigration.....	10
2.5 Home.....	11
3. Methodology	13
3.1 Introduction.....	13
3.2 Method.....	13
3.3 Participants	13
3.4 Ethics	14
3.5 Positionality.....	14
3.6 Data analysis.....	15
4. Findings.....	16
4.1 Introduction.....	16
4.2 Memories.....	16
4.3 Community life	17
4.4 Remigration	20
4.5 Place attachment	22
4.6 Home.....	24
5. Conclusion	26
Bibliography.....	28
Attachment 1: Interview guide.....	32
Attachment 2: Photo material.....	35

1. Introduction

1.1 Motivation

Jerry Burger writes in his book *Returning Home: Reconnecting with our Childhoods* that most people identify one place as their real home, regardless how far they are removed from this place or in how many other places they have lived (Burger, 2011). Almost all of the respondents that Burger interviewed, saw the house they had lived in during some or all of their elementary school years as 'home'. A childhood home is usually associated with feelings of nostalgia, a sense of security and an inseparable part of one's own history. Anderson states the following on childhood places:

"I remember as a child the routes I used to make on my bike, cycling to friends' houses, or walking to school, knowing which alleys I could go down, or whose gardens I could sneak across. [...] In this way they came to be parts of my life; and still in a way are. For example, I remember events and incidents through remembering places in which they happened. When I go to visit my parents now, it is as if I can revisit my old self through going back to these places, even if they have changed in appearance and function during the intervening years. These places, then and now are my manor, my backyard." (Anderson, 2010, p. 220)

But what if people are not, like Anderson, able to visit their childhood home and therefore revisit their old self? What if this place does not exist anymore, at least in the way that it used to exist? This is the case for children of military personnel who lived on, or nearby, later closed military bases in foreign countries.

Children of military personnel are, according to Polluck and Van Reken, third culture kids (Polluck & Van Reken, 2009). A third culture kid is a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents' culture (Polluck & Van Reken, 2009). Although military children living on or nearby military bases are usually surrounded by people from their home country, their way of living and the small community sets them apart from their contemporaries in the home country (Polluck & Van Reken, 2009).

Davis states that childhood plays an important role in forming the person one becomes (Davis, 2000). It forms the base for "our future understanding of home, neighborhood, community, and landscape" (Davis, 2000, p. 115). What does this mean for children of migrating military personnel? Now that they are adults, what does home mean to them? And to what extent are they attached to the closed military base where they spent at least a part of their childhood?

1.2 Objective

Previous research has mainly focused on the adaption of migrants in their new host country and their feeling of home and place attachment in a different culture (Navara & James, 2002) (Berry, 1990) (Allen, 2008) (Melles & Frey, 2014) (Milligan, 1998). Place attachment theory in combination with loss of homes focuses on natural disasters and urban renewal (Boğaç, 2009) (Chamlee-Wright & Storr, 2009). The experiences of third culture kids are mainly focused on those who moved a lot or lived in a different culture than their home culture (Melles & Frey, 2014) (Polluck & Van Reken, 2009) (Moore & Barker, 2012) (McLaughlin, 2012). Research on military families focuses mainly on the spouses of military personnel (van den Engh, 1983) (Bowen, 1987) (Rosen & Moghadam, 1991) (Burrell, et al., 2006) (Blakely, et al., 2012). Also,

according to McLaughlin, most research on children of military personnel is based on American children, who tend to move a lot more than children of Dutch military personnel (McLaughlin, 2012). So, there is a literature gap in what home and place attachment means to children who (partially) grew up in a different country than their own, while living in a community that resembled the home country. This thesis therefore aims to broaden the existing knowledge on adult third culture kids and their place attachment and perception of home, by focusing on Dutch children of migrating military personnel.

1.3 Research questions

This research focuses on this concept of home and the place attachment for adult third culture kids with a military family background. To explore the way these adult third culture kids connect to their childhood home, the following main question will be answered in this research:

How are children of military personnel, who lived in a Dutch community in a foreign country during (a part of their) childhood, attached to that place and community, and how does this contribute to their perception of home?

In order to answer this question, the following sub questions are designed and covered in this thesis:

- *What memories do children of military personnel have of their childhood in a Dutch community in Germany?*
- *How is the experience of remigration intertwined with place attachment?*
- *Where is home and what does home mean to the children of military personnel who lived in a Dutch community in Germany during (a part of their) childhood?*

1.4 Case study: adult third culture kids from Zeven, Germany

In 1961, in response to the Berlin Crisis, the Dutch government decided to station military personnel in West Germany. As a result of this decision, the Dutch and the West German government agreed in 1963 to a trade: West German troops would be stationed at the Dutch army base in Budel, and Dutch ground forces would be stationed at the West German army base in Seedorf. The trade was seen as a long-term plan, according to documents from the Dutch House of Representatives: "Since the operation of the agreement takes place entirely within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, it is intended for the duration of the North Atlantic Treaty" (Tweede Kamerzitting 1962-1963).

Already in the first years after the Dutch stationing in Seedorf, family members moved along with their military spouse. Most of these families moved to Zeven, a city of 14.000 inhabitants, at a short distance from Seedorf. A Dutch neighborhood arose, and Dutch schools were established. In September 1968, the first annual Dutch-German week was celebrated in Zeven, where Dutch traditions were shared with the German hosts. The Dutch also introduced an *Avondvierdaagse*, Queens Day and *Sinterklaas* in Zeven; while Germans invited Dutch guests to their street parties and *Schützenfesten* (Landmacht, 2006). Apart from these shared parties, the Dutch had many clubs and associations, such as scouting, a soccer club and a bridge club. They also had a community centre, the *Holland Huis*, where children played after school time and where most events took place, and a Dutch supermarket (Wegwijzer Seedorf, 2003).

In 2000, 4000 service people were stationed in Seedorf (Müller, 2006). In 2003, when the closing of the barracks was announced, around 3000 Dutch people were living in Zeven (Ramdharie, 2003). These 3000 people were mostly families, as the community consisted of approximately 650 families (Wegwijzer Seedorf, 2003). The Dutch primary school offered education for around 350 children, whereas approximately 150 children went to the secondary school (Wegwijzer Seedorf, 2003).

The repatriation did not go without a struggle. More than a hundred families had bought houses in Zeven or neighboring villages. Over 500 people, including military personnel, German civilians and the mayor of Zeven, demonstrated in June 2003 against the repatriation of the Dutch military (Telegraaf, 2003). It did not help: in May 2006, the Dutch military personnel and their families left Seedorf and Zeven (Paans, 2006).

1.5 Chapter contents

The theoretical framework, which underpins the analysis of this research, is examined in chapter 2. Chapter 3 elaborates on the choices I have made concerning the research methodology. In Chapter 4, the findings of the analysis are discussed. Finally, in chapter 5 conclusions are drawn.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction

This research analyzes place attachment and the perception of home of children of military personnel who grew up in a Dutch community in Germany. To explore these themes, an analysis of the theoretical concepts is needed. This chapter presents the theoretical basis of the research, on which the results in chapter 4 rely.

Children of military personnel who grew up in a different country than their home country, can be seen as third culture kids. This concept is elaborated in chapter 2.2. In chapter 2.3, the academic ideas concerning place attachment in regard to migration are discussed. The individual impact of migration and remigration are set out in chapter 2.4. Finally, chapter 2.5 elaborates on the concept and meaning of home.

2.2 Children of migrating military personnel

This research focuses on adult third culture kids whose parents, or at least one of them, work(ed) in the armed forces in another country than their country of birth. Children of military personnel are mostly children of so called sojourners. Sojourners leave their home culture for an extended stay in a host culture, and then return back to their home culture (Hoersting & Jenkins, 2011). These children are, according to Polluck and Van Reken, third culture kids. In their definition, a third culture kid is a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents' culture (Polluck & Van Reken, 2009). They state that third culture kids are raised in a neither/nor world. It is neither fully the world of their parents' culture (or cultures) nor fully the world of the other culture (or cultures) in which they were raised (Polluck & Van Reken, 2009). Moore and Barker describe third culture kids as people who lived outside their passport country during their developmental years (Moore & Barker, 2012). This means that for example migrants of the second generation are seen as third culture kids according to Polluck and Van Reeken, but not according to Moore and Barker. Children of military personnel living abroad, are third culture kids in both definitions.

There are some differences in culture and lifestyle that set children of military personnel apart from other third culture kids. Children of migrated military personnel usually live in big communities, where almost all community members come from the same home country. Because they are living in a big community, military sojourners and their children are likely to create their own culture, with the home culture as the base (Cohen, 2011). But even if military families never lived abroad, the military is a place where third culture kids often develop, as Polluck and Van Reken (2009) state. This is because the military subculture is a particular lifestyle and that when military parents return to civilian life, their children often experience many of the same feelings that internationally mobile third culture kids describe when they return to their passport countries, despite the fact that they may have lived their entire lives on homeland soil (Polluck & Van Reken, 2009). This different lifestyle can be characterized by the risk of injury or death of the military parent, whether during training, while operating military equipment, or in wartime deployment; separations from family; frequent moves; living in foreign countries; long and unpredictable duty hours; pressure to conform to high standards of behavior; and a male-oriented culture. People in many occupations experience some of these demands, but service members and their families are likely to experience all of them, often in a relatively short time (Clever & Segal, 2013). Of course, this differs per country and is dependent

of the political situation: in a stable political situation, the risk of injuries, wartime deployment and long duty hours will be far less than in an instable political situation.

Being a third culture kid has an impact on various aspects of life. Moore and Barker interviewed 19 people who grew up in a country different from their passport country about their identity and experiences as a third culture kid. One of the most prominent themes emerging from the analysis was a lack of a sense of belonging (Moore & Barker, 2012). Moore and Barker write that four participants talked about this feeling of not belonging anywhere. Reasons for these feelings are among others that the participants feel different and do not fit in their home nor their host country (Moore & Barker, 2012). Polluck and Van Reken add that although adult third culture kids may assimilate some elements from each culture into their life experience, the sense of belonging will be in relationship to others of similar background (Polluck & Van Reken, 2009). Melles and Frey also note that adult third culture kids often experience a feeling of restlessness (Melles & Frey, 2014). According to them, adult third culture kids often choose to move, even if it is an option to remain in one location. This is in line with the ideas of Polluck and Van Reken, who relate this restlessness with “an unrealistic attachment to the past, or a persistent expectation that the next place will finally be home” (Polluck & Van Reken, 2009, p. 127).

2.3 Place attachment

Scannell and Gifford write that through cognitive elements, such as memories and meaning, individuals make places personally important (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Through these cognitive elements, people “create place meaning and connect it to the self” (Scannell & Gifford, 2010, p. 3). The place may come to represent the individual as he or she is, or can even become a part of one’s self-definition (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). A place becomes more meaningful when more meaningful interactions occur, especially in the case of extremely memorable events such as proposals and breakups, says Milligan (Milligan, 1998). Cooper Marcus states that the longer people live in one place, the more they become attached to it (Cooper Marcus, 1992). Particularly if “the time spent in that place included fulfilling human relationships. The place and the people who lived with and around us become intertwined in our memories” (Cooper Marcus, 1992, p. 107). Hagerty et. al. state that place attachment is connected with two important factors: the feeling of being valued or important by or to other “people or groups, objects, organizations, environments, or spiritual dimensions”; and the feeling of fitting in or being in congruence with “other people, groups, objects, organizations, environments, or spiritual dimensions through shared or complementary characteristics” (Hagerty, et al., 1992, p. 174). This is in line with the ideas of Jack, who writes that a sense of belonging tends to be the “strongest amongst young people who perceive that they have been fully included and accepted within their local community” (Jack, 2012, p. 91). Furthermore, Brown and Perkins write that the feeling of safety and security that is associated with home allows people to develop strong attachments to the home (Brown & Perkins, 1992).

Clare Cooper Marcus says that comparisons with much-loved places of the past lead to sadness or dissatisfaction of the present (Cooper Marcus, 1992). Many people regard their childhood as an almost sacred period in their lives, because this is when they started feeling self-conscious, according to Cooper Marcus. We hold on to the memories of our childhood to remember who we are and where we came from (Cooper Marcus, 1992). On the other hand, McLaughlin writes that adult third culture kids are likely to be less attached to specific places, because they have a different relationship with home and their home culture than their friends and family

(McLaughlin, 2012). This also means that their identity will be more fluid than adults without a migrant childhood (McLaughlin, 2012).

Brown and Perkins write that place attachment is not static; it changes in accordance with changes in the people, activities, processes and places involved in the attachment (Brown & Perkins, 1992). When our daily lives change, for example due to moving, the awareness of our environment is increased (Brown & Perkins, 1992). Places can become meaningful as markers for moments in our lives, writes Manzo (Manzo, 2003). People often return to places because of the meaning that they hold (Manzo, 2003). In line with this is the notion of Scannell and Gifford, who state that the loss of an important place can cause feelings of grief (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Brown and Perkins espouse this idea by stating that “Place attachments develop slowly but can be disrupted quickly and can create a long-term phase of dealing with the loss and repairing or re-creating attachments to people and places” (Brown & Perkins, 1992, pp. 284-285). The ideas of Cuba and Hummon are in line with thoughts of Brown and Perkins; they write that long-term residence is an important factor in sentimental attachment and a sense of home (Cuba & Hummon, 1993). The reason for this is that “a long duration of residence enhances local social ties, but it also provides a temporal context for imbuing place with personal meanings” (Cuba & Hummon, 1993, p. 115). According to Cuba and Hummon, the connection between duration of residence and place attachment is manifested specifically when people are forced to move away from this place (Cuba & Hummon, 1993).

2.4 Migration and remigration

Rosińska writes that migration contains symptoms of melancholy, with feelings of sadness, loss and estrangement (Rosińska, 2011). According to Rosińska, the experience of migration always has four common characteristics. First, it challenges the identity or the identity-forming process of the migrant. Second, migration creates a feeling of loss and, subsequently, melancholy. Third, the experience of migration is influenced by memory. Memory can be therapeutic, as it helps to cope with the difficulties of settling in a different country; and it is also community-forming, since it can create a feeling of recognition and connection. Fourth, if the migrant is unable to return, the intensity of the other three characteristics increases (Rosińska, 2011). According to Christofi and Thompson, this sense of loss is present in both the acculturation to a new culture as the reacclimation to the home culture after remigration (Christofi & Thompson, 2007). There is however a difference between both processes, as noted by Martin: people take cultural differences and adjustment problems into account when migrating. However, these expectations of differences and problems do not exist when returning to the home culture (Martin, 1984).

According to Adler, there are four ways to cope with reacclimation; there are proactive, resocialized, alienated and rebellious re-enterers. Proactive re-enterers experience the remigration as an opportunity for personal growth, and they find their way in the home country by integrating both their host and home culture experiences. The resocialized re-enterer perceives the reacclimation process mainly as a period of adjustment rather than growth, but he does react positively to the home culture. Both alienated and rebellious re-enterers respond negatively to the home country. The alienated re-enterer acts passively against the home culture, whereas the rebellious re-enterer reacts aggressively (Adler, 1977, cited in Christofi & Thompson, 2007, p. 54).

Dutch expat children who return to their home country, seem to have problems with the individualistic culture, writes Knoops-Janssen. They grew up in a relatively closed community, where the focus was on ‘we’ rather than ‘me’. These children therefore need to be a lot more

independent after their remigration (Knoops-Janssen, 2006). According to Knoops-Janssen, the children love the freedom they experience when moving to The Netherlands. In the research of Knoops-Janssen, almost all respondents have a clear preference for the host country they lived in, compared to their home country. This is connected to a feeling of fitting in, which was more problematic when (re)migrating to The Netherlands than to the host country (Knoops-Janssen, 2006).

For some children, returning home means moving to a place where they have never lived or do not remember having lived (Hatfield-Dobson, 2010). This is shown by Georgina Gowans, who researched British children who were sent “home” from India to Great Britain. These children were born in India, or they moved there at a very young age. According to Gowans, for many of these children “the experience was not one that was equated with notions or emotions of belonging: happiness, familiarity, stability. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Britain – *represented* as home (superior, enviable, familiar, stable, imperial) – was unable to live up to expectations and *experienced* as disappointing (unfamiliar, unfriendly, unstable)” (Gowans, 2002, p. 423).

2.5 Home

According to Burger, a house becomes a home as we develop an emotional attachment to the place (Burger, 2011). To Blunt and Dowling, home is both a physical location and an “idea and an imaginary that is imbued with feelings” (Blunt & Dowling, 2006, p. 2). Among these feelings are belonging and intimacy, but also fear and violence (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). In line with these ideas, Moore sums up that home and its particular physical form are embodied with emotional, social, physical and symbolic significance through patterns of interaction over time (Moore, 2003). These patterns of interaction can create a whole new sense of home and culture, as shown by Cohen. According to Cohen, when a large group migrates from the same home culture to the same host country, the individual migrants must relate simultaneously to the dominant society of the host country and to a distinctive sub-culture of the community of co-migrants (Cohen, 2011). The values, beliefs and tastes the individual migrant brings from the home culture are integral to the process of relating to both of these new social contexts (Cohen, 2011).

Cohen states that a community of co-migrants (i.e. a group of people from the same home country who are living in the same host country) differs from the home culture in several ways. Firstly, because they may have moved because they are different from the people in the home country. This might be for example because of a particular religious background, or, in the case of this thesis, a specific profession. Secondly, the collective experience of migration and group acculturation impacts the culture of the community of migrants, which makes it no longer identical with the original home society. Lastly, the home culture changes while the migrants are living in the host country. As years pass by, elements of the home culture that the migrant community preserved, may not resemble the culture as it is practiced in the home country anymore (Cohen, 2011). Therefore, according to Blunt and Dowling, transnational homes are “shaped by ideas and experiences of location and dislocation, place and displacement, as people migrate for a variety of reasons and feel both at home and not at home in a wide range of circumstances” (Blunt & Dowling, 2006, p. 198).

Case states that the things, places, activities and people associated with home become more apparent when a person is away from home (Case, 1996). So, when a person is away from his childhood places, they become more attached to it. Burger interviewed over a hundred people about this place that they considered their real home. Almost all of the respondents “identified

the house or apartment they had lived in during their childhood as the place that came to mind when the thought of home. More specifically, it was the place they had called home during some or all of their elementary school years” (Burger, 2011). According to Burger, this has to do with the fact that our childhood is filled with many emotional experiences, and the tendency of people to remember the more positive experiences over the negative ones.

Case writes that home is seen as both a place of family interaction and contact with friends and neighbors. The social relationships outside of the family are seen as the territory of home, where, next to the house, the neighborhood or town plays a role (Case, 1996). Migrated families are usually separated from their extended families and old friends. The family members, commonly mother, father and children, tend to be more cohesive than families who have no migration background. The reason for this, is that these family members “consequently will need to depend more on each other to meet their physical, emotional, social, and spiritual needs” (McLachlan, 2007, p. 236). These families are referred to as “nuclear families” (McLachlan, 2007, p. 236).

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, an outline of the research methodology is given. To start, 3.2 explains the qualitative nature of this research. Then, the participants and interview settings are described in chapter 3.3. Ethical considerations are discussed in chapter 3.4. Chapter 3.5 examines the positionality of the researcher. Finally, chapter 3.6 elaborates on the data analysis.

3.2 Method

In this research, a semi-structured interview is chosen as a tool for information gathering. This method is useful for exploring emotions and opinions and for collecting a variety of experiences (Longhurst, 2010). A semi-structured interview gives participants the opportunity to talk extensively about issues that are important to them (Longhurst, 2010). At the same time, the interviewer has an overview of questions s/he wants to have answers on, including follow-up questions (Longhurst, 2010).

The semi-structured interview was built around the main themes of the research. The interview would start with a short description of the interviewee, after which the case study was introduced with a question on what comes to mind when thinking of Zeven. Then, the interview was designed to create a partial biography of the time the participant spent in Zeven. All aspects of their lives in Zeven were discussed: family and community life, school and after school activities, the barracks and the neighborhoods, trips and events. Hereafter, the remigration process was discussed: where did the participants move to and how did they experience this transition? Did they miss something of Zeven and if so, what? Lastly, the meaning of home was talked about. What does home mean? Did the participants feel at home in Zeven? Do they feel at home where they are now?

In addition to the prepared questions, pictures were used in this research. According to Joanne Garde-Hansen, childhood photographs are useful to help “remembering oneself” (Garde-Hansen, 2011, p. 35). In every interview, pictures of important places were shown. In most cases I was also able to show photographs of the participants and their former classmates during their childhood years. In two cases, the participants brought their own pictures. These pictures were shown during the biographical part of the interview. If participants struggled to remember their time in Zeven, the photographs were shown at the beginning of the biographical part, to freshen their memory. Otherwise, they were shown at the end of the biographical part, to see if the pictures showed something, or evoked feelings that were not discussed before.

3.3 Participants

According to Holloway and Hubbard, children between the ages of 5 and 11 are extending their mobility from the home into a larger scale; developing a diverse range of place images and paying more attention to details (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001). Newman and Newman write that rudimentary identity is formed and interpersonal dependence is created between the ages of 6 and 12 (Newman & Newman, 2006). Therefore, for this research, participants who lived in a military community abroad between the ages of 5 and 12 are chosen.

Participants in this study were recruited through personal networking. I created a list of possible participants, taking different ages and the years living in Zeven into account. Potential participants were recruited through Facebook and personal e-mails. Eleven participants were

chosen for an in-depth interview. The interviews took between 1 hour and 15 minutes and 2 hours and 15 minutes, dependent from the amount of memories and the experiences during and after the move back to The Netherlands. The appointments took place in the homes of the participants or in cafés. The participants were between the ages of 17 and 25 and they lived in Zeven for at least three years; the longest period was thirteen years. One participant was born in Zeven, the other participants moved there between the ages of 2 and 10 years old. Below, a short overview of the participants is given.

Name (pseudonym)	Age moving to and moving from Zeven
Sophie	2 – 10 years old
Lisanne	10 – 12 years old
Lotte	2 – 12 years old
Niels	3 – 15 years old
Rik	2 – 13 years old
Danny	0 – 7 years old
Elisa	0 – 3 and 6 – 13 years old
Eva	10 – 14 years old
Bob	9 – 11 years old
Iris	10 – 13 years old
Janneke	6 – 15 years old

3.4 Ethics

For ethical reasons, it is important that the participants are informed about the purpose, content and duration of the interview and about their commitments and rights (Hay, 2010). Participants of this research received an e-mail about the intentions of the interview and research. Prior to the interview, this information was explained again. It was also asked whether the participants agreed to the recording of the interview; all participants agreed in this. For privacy reasons, it is important that the given information is treated with confidentiality (Longhurst, 2010). The recorded interviews and transcriptions were only available for me. Next to this, the participants were given a fictitious name in this thesis. To further guarantee anonymity, place names of neighboring villages and current age are omitted.

3.5 Positionality

One of the tasks for the interviewer is to develop a comfortable relationship with the participant, in which there is an empathetic understanding towards each other (Keats, 2000). As mentioned in the foreword, I lived in the same community as the participants during my childhood. During the interviews, I noticed that this was a big advantage. Many participants talked about the fact that people who never lived there, were not able to understand what it was like to be a part of the community. Most of them did not talk about Zeven for years, and they were very excited to finally talk about it to someone who understood where they were coming from.

Being a part of that community also brought along the possibility of disadvantages: they might have not told me stories, because I knew them and their families, or maybe because they had negative experiences with me in the past. This last situation was present in my interview with Lisanne. She said she used to have struggles with being my friends, because one of my friends was not nice to her at all. In the beginning of our interview, she highlighted her issues with this

girl very briefly. During our conversation, I told Lisanne about the problems I experienced with this same girl. This made her open up about the whole situation. The story she told was a very important part of the interview, because the problems she had with this girl really put a mark on her overall memories of her time in Zeven, which is further elaborated in chapter 4.2. Eventually, this disadvantage was not substantial, because Lisanne had no problems with telling the truth about her feelings.

When conducting qualitative research, it is important to be aware of possible power unequal power relations (Bott, 2010). I experienced an unequal power relation with Danny, because he is seven years younger than me. During the interview, it felt like he was uncomfortable not knowing certain things, such as Queens Day, anymore. I made the mistake of correcting his memory of the teacher he had in pre-school, which made him even more insecure. Because I wanted him to know that I also did not remember everything, I told him that some of the things I was asking him about were things I forgot about myself, but that I was reminded about them by other participants. I also took his photo albums and together, we browsed through them. Because of the visual confirmation of these photos, he felt more confident sharing his memories.

3.6 Data analysis

The interviews were transcribed within 48 hours after the interview took place. After all the interviews were transcribed, they were classified thematically using coding that was obtained through the theoretical framework. Categories in this coding system were people, place, inclusion and exclusion, remigratory experience, family bonds and belonging.

4. Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines and analyses the findings of the eleven interviews. Place attachment is intertwined with cognitive elements such as memories (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Therefore, in chapter 4.2, a brief overview of the memories that participants have of Zeven is given. Since community life plays an important role in the lives of migrants (Polluck & Van Reken, 2009) (Cohen, 2011), chapter 4.3 elaborates on the perception of the participants on the military migrant community. In chapter 4.4, the place attachment to Zeven is discussed. This is followed by the experiences of remigration in chapter 4.5. Finally, in chapter 4.6 the perception and feeling of home are examined.

4.2 Memories

According to McLaughlin, most expatriates and their children fit into existing social and educational structures quickly after their arrival (McLaughlin, 2012). This is also the case with these eleven children: none of the participants said that they struggled to fit in, or had other issues after their move to Zeven. Reasons for this smooth transition are, according to the participants, the amount of events and activities that were organized by the school, on the barracks or by the *Holland Huis*; and the fact that everyone was in the same situation: they all had moved and left friends and family in The Netherlands behind, they all knew what it was like to start at a new school.

In the stories of the participants, a lot of memories are centered around playing outside. According to Louise Chawla, nature plays a very important role in the memories of childhood homes. Chawla states that outdoor activities are remembered “out of all proportion to the actual amount of time spent there” (Chawla, 1992, p. 76). All participants talk extensively about their outside adventures. Lotte says she remembers that the seasons were much stronger in Zeven than in The Netherlands, with cold winters and long summers. The children could play outside from April until September. The four male participants all talk about the same activities: playing football and playing ‘war’ or ‘soldier’. They all had military attributes from their fathers, like barrets and jackets. The participants would just go outside and see who they would meet:

“My brother and I both had a mountain bike and we just cruised around, past everyone. Then you would stop in that front yard, then in that front yard. Everyone was usually outside.” (Sophie)

There would always be someone to play with, and there was enough room to play in the neighborhood: there were football fields and a small forest, and all houses had basements that were mostly set up as a playroom. Next to this, there was a wide range of facilities to keep the children occupied. Scouting, dancing, swimming, tennis, cooking and crafting clubs; everything was available. Three male and one female participant especially cherish warm memories for football club NSC De Griffioen. They trained twice a week and played in the German competition in the weekends. The traditional Dutch/German rivalry during national football competitions was relived every Saturday:

“It really was The Netherlands against Germany. That was amazing. The German teams also thought it was great fun, because it was quite exciting.”
(Lotte)

Next to the regular trainings and competitions, other activities were organized:

“And the youth tournaments! Very often Feyenoord came [to this tournament], sometimes Ajax, but also English teams, Norwegian teams. But we also went to Norway. By boat. I think I went three times, to Norway by boat.” (Niels)

A lot of events were organized in Zeven, such as the *Avondvierdaagse*, *Verenigingendag* and the *Stadtfest*. All these events are remembered as very entertaining: everyone was there and they all were in a very good mood. One particular holiday stands out head and shoulders: Queens Day. All participants, except for Danny and Eva, remember this holiday vividly. All the stops were pulled for this festival day: there was a bicycle parade, a fancy fair, a carnival, a big playback show and a party evening. The Dutch flag would flutter in front of the *Holland Huis* and everyone would be dressed in orange clothing. It was the Dutch community at its best, as stated by Lisanne:

“At that moment you really felt, than that feeling of unity arose of course extremely, with all those Dutchmen in one bubble.” (Lisanne)

Although there were enough events and activities to keep the Dutch community occupied, most people went back to The Netherlands every once in a while. The frequency of visiting varies significantly per participant. Some rarely visited The Netherlands, because family would visit them in Zeven, or because they did not have very close ties with their extended family or friends in The Netherlands. Others went to their home country frequently, like Rik, who went to see his family every two weeks. No matter how often the participants would go, it always felt like a very long drive. Niels remembers the journey as “a misery”. Fortunately for him, his parents made sure he was occupied during the car ride. He and his brother had a gameboy, and later on they had a portable television with a dvdplayer:

“Yeah, two movies and you were in, uh, at grandpa and grandma.”

Rik recalls a similar experience:

“It was only a three hour drive, but it felt like a long journey. I think that’s why we got the gameboys, so that we would at least sit still, in the back.”

Although most participants liked going to The Netherlands and visiting their family, they also loved coming back to Zeven, where they could tell their weekend stories at school.

All participants looked back with very good feelings and memories. They loved the freedom they had when being outside, as noted in the memory of Sophie. The range of facilities and the large amount of events were a unique selling point of Zeven, of which the participants made use. The fact that all children were in the same situation, created a compassionate atmosphere in which all participants thrived really well. None of them struggled with homesickness for The Netherlands, or not feeling at home.

4.3 Community life

Van den Engh writes that military personnel that chooses to live in abroad, is confronted with a more extreme form of the ‘military way of life’, because they are living in a social enclave, and usually in a military neighborhood (van den Engh, 1983). In Zeven, this meant that people saw each other very often. They lived in the same neighborhoods, their children were friends with each other, they did the same things, they had the same parties and the men worked together.

Before 2000, there was one neighborhood where most Dutch people lived. Because these houses had insulation materials with asbestos in it, the community was split up into three new neighborhoods. Two of these neighborhoods were close to the elementary and secondary school,

while the third one was a few kilometers further away. In these three neighborhoods, Dutch and German people lived next to each other, while the Dutch neighborhood before 2000 was rather segregated. But also in these new neighborhoods, there were streets where almost all houses were inhabited by Dutch families, especially in the two neighborhoods close to school. New families had several options: they could live in a 'Dutch' neighborhood, in a 'German' neighborhood in Zeven, or in one of the neighboring villages, where almost all inhabitants were German. Seven participants lived in Dutch neighborhoods, two participants lived in a German neighborhood and the other two participants lived in neighboring villages. There were two reasons for this deliberate decision. First, the hierarchy in the military is fairly present. The fathers of Iris and Eva, who were officers, did not see benefits for their position in living within the military neighborhood. Iris went house hunting with her family and there were three options: one in the 'Dutch' neighborhood, one just outside of it, and one in a neighborhood where only Germans were living. The house in the 'Dutch' neighborhood was very new, but her father quickly decided that it was not going to happen:

"We would be living in the circle and my dad could point out exactly who lived where and then he said, we're not doing this, because we are with three [children] at home, a lot of yelling, that just isn't it."(Iris)

Second, it was also a matter of personal preference. Eva and Lotte lived in a very rural area, where they were surrounded by nature. Lisanne and Iris lived in a house that was built for and previously rented by two families, whereas they would only live there with one family.

Living separately from the mass was experienced differently. Lisanne and Iris did live in Zeven and where old enough to visit their friends and classmates alone by bike. Lotte lived in a neighboring village only a few kilometers away. When she wanted to play with children in the Dutch neighborhood, she would go to them by bike with her older brother. Eva, however, lived further away. Her mother had to bring her to school by car. This also meant that she had to 'arrange' play dates, while the other children were used to just go outside and see who they would meet. Eva remembers that sometimes she would have arranged something, after which something more fun would come along the other child, leaving Eva alone, waiting to be picked up by her mother. The distance in kilometers created a figurative distance, because Eva did not feel like she fitted into the community. This also meant that she did not participate in events or activities.

For the other participants, it felt like the whole community was present at events and activities. Take for example the *Avondvierdaagse*: all of the interviewees participated in this event, except for Eva. It was something you needed to do, to fit in.

"Because if you didn't participate, you didn't fit in. I think it's like that, because every-one participated in the Avondvierdaagse, the whole school. I can't think of anyone who didn't participate. And there must've been children who didn't like it." (Lotte)

The other participants do not remember people like Eva, who felt excluded. However, this did not mean that she was the only one of the participants that felt excluded at some point. Like Lotte, whose parents both were not in the military. She says that it made her feel very different. The regular deployments also gave Lotte a feeling of jealousy.

"Because you do think like, yeah, I would also like it that I won't have to go to school because I'm too sad because my father is deployed, those things did happen there. Or, or they could pick up their fathers from the airport, or they were taken out of class, you know." (Lotte)

Lotte was in elementary school during the deployments to Iraq and Afghanistan, which will be discussed later in this chapter. Other participants felt excluded in the time leading up to their move. Like Lisanne, who had negative experiences with the rather closed community when she had to move and she was in a fight with a very dominant girl:

"It was of course quite gezellig, but there also really was another side of the coin. [I felt that] especially when I left. [...] Children of my age, in the last year of elementary school, friends with whom I was really, uhm, very close with for three years, literally said to me like 'Yeah, sorry, but I have to stay friends with this girl and the others, because you are leaving.' That, that, that realization that there is no one else, so we have to do it with the people who are here, they need to like me, that felt oppressively." (Lisanne)

Elisa had a similar experience:

"As soon as you knew that you were going to move, the ambience was just completely different, it was like 'yeah, you just don't belong here anymore'."

These experiences show a form of self-protection within the community: by shutting people out beforehand, the actual goodbye would not be as hard. This is also notable in the memory of the participants of the moves of others. A lot of people came and went over the years. The participants did not remember when their classmates moved to and from Zeven. In some cases, they did not even know if their classmates left before or after them.

Although there were exceptions, as described above, most participants thrived very well in the small community. It felt like a very safe and secure place, where nothing bad ever happened. None of the participants can recall any crimes or dangerous situations; it was a "happy place". Especially the participants with very active parents enjoyed the community life, they loved seeing the same children at school, outside after school hours and at parties and activities. Many participants frequently visited the barracks, for drinks and dinner with their fathers' colleagues. Because almost all fathers were military personnel, the interviewees would always meet classmates and friends at those gatherings.

"Those barbecues in summer, I thought they were totally awesome. You were there all together and you could do your own thing, total freedom. You were always with the same people, in my memory. Here, you would enter and have to scan who are there, but there, that was never the case, because you knew exactly who where there and you talked about who was going there that same day in school. Because the same people were always there and that was so much fun, yeah as a child that is super fun. I mean uh, you could do whatever you wanted, a lot of space, your parents didn't have to worry. It was just like, that save feeling in the neighborhood, it was just there". (Sophie)

Next to all this entertainment, the military personnel of course had to work. Having a parent who works in the military, means that there is a possibility he or she might be deployed. For the children who lived in Zeven between 1992 and 2006, this meant that (one of the) parents could be deployed to Bosnia, Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan. The older participants, who were in elementary school during the deployments to Bosnia and Kosovo, have a different perception on

what it was like to have this shared situation with classmates and friends than the younger participants, who were in elementary school during the deployments to Iraq and Afghanistan. Niels, whose father went to Kosovo when he was 9, remembers that he had to sing a song during a ceremony at school, with all the other children whose fathers were going to Kosovo. Apart from that, he doesn't remember the school doing anything extra. He himself also did not feel like sharing his thoughts and emotions with other children. Sophie, whose father was deployed to Kosovo at the same time, also didn't have the feeling that they shared their feelings, because it was so normal that fathers would leave for a long time. She felt like she got more attention a few years later, when she lived in The Netherlands and her father was deployed to Afghanistan. In 2004, when the fathers of Iris and Danny were deployed to Iraq, there was a fuller awareness in the classes. Danny ate couscous at school once, and he thinks there were pictures of all deployed fathers in the classroom. In Iris' class, there were special lessons about the situation in Iraq and there was a poster of a map of Iraq in the classroom, on which you could put tags, so that everyone knew where at what location your father was at that moment. Both Iris and Danny thought it was very pleasant that there were more children whose father was deployed.

The close community created a unique situation wherein an enormous feeling of togetherness and sense of community was shared. Simultaneously, this sense of community caused feelings of exclusion, when someone did not fit in the way they thought they were supposed to. As long as people found their way within this miniature society, it was a source of pleasure, recognition and support.

4.4 Remigration

In the summer of 2003, the closing of the barracks in 2006 was announced. From 2004 onwards, a migration flow was set in motion, because of the upcoming closure. Three participants left before the closing was announced, five interviewees moved between the notification and a year before the official closing, and three participants left in the last migration wave.

The memory of participants on their move depends on two factors: the year that the participant moved away and, to a lesser extent, the personal situation before the move. The three participants who left before the closing was announced, have a vivid memory of their farewell, although for different reasons which will be explained below. The five participants that moved between 2004 and 2005 hardly remember anything regarding their leave. Of the three interviewees of the last migration wave, only Niels remembers his goodbye.

Sophie, who moved in 2000, remembers her last goodbye very well. Her parents got divorced earlier that year and she stayed with her father in Zeven until the end of the school year, which created a farewell process that took place over several months. The last day, they went to their dearest friends to say goodbye. Bob was the only one leaving his classmates in 2002, so he remembers throwing a goodbye barbecue. Lisanne remembers her return to The Netherlands because she felt like she was hounded out by her friends, as described in chapter 4.3.

Niels is the only one of the other interviewees who remembers a 'real' goodbye. He was one of the last people leaving Zeven. Together with his two best friends, he threw a final goodbye party. After the last school camp he returned to an almost empty neighborhood, which felt very surreal. The other participants don't remember a thing:

"I think it was different back then, because everybody left. So, it wasn't an option to stay. I just randomly left." (Iris)

They were so used to the fact that everyone was leaving in such a rapid tempo, that their own move felt like one of the many moves around them.

This impassive attitude is however no guarantee for a smooth transition after the migration. The schedule below gives an overview of the participants and their way of coping with the remigration, as drafted by Adler (Adler, 1977, cited in Christofi & Thompson, 2007, p. 54). This classification will be discussed below the schedule.

Name	Years lived in Zeven	Year of leaving Zeven	Type of re-enterer
Bob	3	2002	Proactive/Resocialized
Lisanne	3	2003	Proactive
Sophie	8	2000	Proactive/Resocialized
Eva	4	2005	Alienated
Iris	3	2006	Alienated
Danny	7	2005	Resocialized
Rik	11	2004	Proactive
Elisa	10	2004	Rebellious
Lotte	10	2006	Resocialized
Janneke	9	2004	Rebellious
Niels	13	2006	Rebellious

The three participants who left before the closing was announced, Bob, Lisanne and Sophie, had the least amount of problems with their remigration. The biggest change for Sophie, who had no memories of living in The Netherlands, was the social system:

“Because how will you find your place in what feels like such a big society? That transition was truly very big, from living with the same people for ten years to such a big neighborhood where people don’t want to be together all the time.”

(Sophie)

While the transition was big, it proceeded flowingly for Sophie. She ascribes this to the fact that the divorce of her parents was so radical life change, that she got into a survival mode that helped her adjust very quickly.

Lisanne was, also because of her last experiences in Zeven, very excited for a new chapter in her life. She sees this enthusiasm for new things as a character trait, she still likes to move and meet new people. Bob was enthusiastic about moving back to The Netherlands, but the first year was quite tough:

“That was an awful year. I came from Germany of course, and I had my hair parted towards one side. You should have warned me for that, it really was parted to the side. So I got there, in 8th grade, it was really a stupid class, they were using drugs and stuff. There were some nice people, there were some girls and boys, we were a group of friends. But there were also some... And then they would always call me Adolf Hitler, they called me Hitler. I would walk onto the schoolyard and they would start doing ‘Heil’ salutations. That was a difficult year, so to say. Well, you’re different. You come from Germany. And you have an awful hair parting.” (Bob)

Although Bob had severe problems with some of his classmates, he quickly found his way in other aspects of his new life, like at his football club and his neighborhood.

Iris and Niels were also bullied quite heavily because they had lived in Germany. Niels was also being called 'a German' or Hitler. Iris was called both a German and a fake-German. Next to that, she was bullied because she didn't speak *Limburgs* [the dialect of the region she moved to] and because her father was in the military. Iris disliked the city she went to school in, rather than The Netherlands as a whole. The culture shock she experienced was more related to the region of Limburg, because she grew up in the Northern part of The Netherlands. Niels on the other hand hated living in The Netherlands as a whole. He wanted to go back to Zeven so badly, that he had to see a psychologist.

Other participants also struggled in finding their way into the Dutch society. Janneke hated being in The Netherlands. The town to which she moved was a very closed community. In a way it was like Zeven, Janneke says, but the difference was that she didn't fit in or felt accepted. Eva lived close to Zeven for four years, but she had been living in Germany since she was three years old. When she had to go to high school in The Netherlands, she felt very different than the other teenagers:

"Especially because my parents said, 'do keep in mind that everyone, in a city like [that], they all know each other from elementary school. There, there are no children who have been moving their whole life like you.' That was very tough. It was something I really felt." (Eva)

Elisa also experienced the problem of being the 'new kid in town', especially because she felt like her new classmates were not planning on broadening their horizon. She remembers the adjusting process as a true 'culture shock': the people were very narrow-minded.

Not all participants who lived in Zeven for a long period, experienced a feeling of alienation after their remigration. Rik, Lotte and Danny adjusted rather smoothly to the new society. Rik and Danny moved back to the village where their extended family members were living. During their time in Zeven, they visited their family extensively, which made the transition less big. Lotte started at her new school on the first day of the first year of high school, which did not make her 'the new kid'. Also, some of her friends from Zeven lived very nearby, so she was able to keep a part of her social network intact.

Participants who left after 2003 were more likely to experience feelings of alienation from or aversion against the Dutch society. This is due to the fact that they lived in Zeven or Germany in general for a long amount of time, or in the case of Iris, grew up in a very different part of The Netherlands. All participants who struggled with adjusting to the Dutch culture, blame this on the narrow-mindedness of the Dutch people. Participants who had less problems adjusting, already had closer ties to the new village they were moving to, because of family connections or friends living nearby.

4.5 Place attachment

According to Cooper Marcus, a place becomes intertwined with the people who live there (Cooper Marcus, 1992). This is something that all participants who left after 2003 refer to when talking about their attachment to Zeven. They were mostly attached to the people, and those people are not there anymore. All participants are very conscious of this special situation. There is nothing to go back to, because the people are not there anymore. This creates a conflicting

situation: the participants who think about living there again, like Janneke, Niels and Elisa, do not really want to go back, because their friends do not live there anymore. Still, it is something these participants think about from time to time.

The attachment to Zeven is not only linked with the presence of other people, but also with an understanding of each other.

"I think it's something that stays, because you share that part together, yeah, that remains something you all have together. Thus I also think, if we would go to Zeven together, even if we did not see each other for a year, it would still be nice. You also notice, you share something which others will never understand. [Others] had just a regular childhood, and ours was very special." (Elisa)

This was something I noticed during most of the interviews. As the conversations progressed, participants started becoming more nostalgic. At the end of our interview, Danny says that he would really like to go back now, because of this whole trip down memory lane. He misses the closeness he felt with all the people, the feeling of unity when the Dutch national team played football, which to him is a different feeling than in The Netherlands.

There are two exceptions for this strong link between people and place. First, participants who moved before the announcement of the closing of the barracks, have no problems with the now non-exciting Dutch community in their former home town. This can be explained by the theory of Cuba and Hummon, which states that place attachment tends to be a lot stronger when people are forced to move. These participants also did not have a choice, because they were children, but the necessity of moving was smaller. Participants who moved before 2004, just moved like all children before them did, but from 2004 onwards, participants knew that everyone would be gone within two years. Second, the participants who lived outside of Zeven, have a stronger connection with the nature and surroundings of the place, than with the people. Lotte lived in the rural area.

"I would love it if my mother would still live there, but it's not possible of course. If we could take that whole place with us to The Netherlands, that would have been very nice. But I mean the whole area, the place and the river and the forest." (Lotte)

For Eva, this is even more significant, as she did not have very close relationships with the Dutch community. The place attachment she feels to her village, comes from the love for the nature and a feeling of freedom that she experienced there. The people with whom she was in contact the most were German, and are still living in this village. Subsequently, her connection between people and place is comparable to the situation of participants who moved before 2004.

According to Brown and Perkins, an important factor of feeling attached to a place, is the feeling of safety and security (Brown & Perkins, 1992). All participants talked about the safe environment they grew up in, which emanates from the closed community they all lived in. Participants spoke about a relatively wide radius of action when playing outside, and the feeling that nothing ever happened or could happen, because "everyone would know immediately". Next to this, feelings of safety and security also arose from having a stable family life in which the participants felt safe. The parents of four participants got divorced during or after their stay in Zeven. Three of these participants now have problems in the relationship with at least one of their parents. For all four, their memories to Zeven are deeply connected to having a 'normal' and happy family life, and having a good relationship with both of their parents.

Place attachment changes in accordance with changes in the people (Brown & Perkins, 1992). This is clearly visible in the lives of Sophie and Janneke. At the time of the interview, Sophie was over 35 weeks pregnant, while Janneke's son was 1,5 years old. For the first time since Zeven, they found themselves attached to the place they were living, because it symbolized the creation of a family. Places become more meaningful when memorable events occur (Milligan, 1998). This personal development loosened the place attachment to Zeven, especially for Janneke, who left Zeven after 2003.

All participants love to talk about the time they lived in Zeven, except for Rik, who got bored of telling the same story over and over again. They all view their time in Zeven as something special, that sets them apart from others. Rik is the only one who does not feel different because of his past. To him, his childhood was exactly the same as those who grew up in The Netherlands. This can be linked to the fact that Rik was very familiar with the place where he remigrated to, since this was the residence of his family.

McLaughlin states that third culture kids are less attached to places than children without a migratory experience (McLaughlin, 2012). The contrary appears to be true. The participants who spent a large number of years in Zeven, are very attached to this place. However, they are all less attached to places where they lived after their time in Zeven. This is clearly visible in the quote of Elisa:

"So, I think that nobody really wanted to move. No one thought 'Ah, great, something different.' You know, I now have, now I actually want to move. Now I deliberately want something different. But now I don't have that feeling like 'this is my home', want my home is gone." (Elisa)

This seems to change when people start their own families, as is shown by Sophie and Janneke. The other participants are more attached to their family than to places. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

People and place attachment are very intertwined. In the case of Zeven, this creates friction: participants are attached to Zeven, while the people are not there anymore. This creates a confusing feeling, because participants do not know what this place means to them anymore. At the same time, it is still very vivid in their memory, as they love talking about it.

4.6 Home

All of the participants saw Zeven, or a neighboring village, as their home when they lived there. Now, it is no longer seen as their home. All respondents, except for Eva, say that Zeven is no longer their home. There is one main reason for this change: the community does not exist anymore. For the participants with a rebellious re-entry portrait, the loss of this home created a feeling of grief:

"My real home, so to say, is still Zeven to me, or the idea of what it was like, because I think that if I would return now, it would be weird, because it's not your home anymore of course." (Elisa)

This is in line with the ideas of Niels on home:

"Home is where you, what feels familiar, where you like to be, keep coming back, safe, uhm, home is where your friends are, uhm, yeah... Actually home describes just Germany, in those days."

According to Case, home is where interacting with friends and family takes place (Case, 1996). The friendships that these participants had in Zeven, has not been the same after they left,

because new friends did not share the same background. While Elisa and Niels did not yet find a way to have or create a new home, Janneke found a home after the birth of her son. The same goes for Sophie, whose parents got divorced. She says that Zeven is the place where she felt most at home. In The Netherlands, where her parents lived separately, she felt like she had two houses, but never a home. She now felt at home again, but this time in her own relationship, in her own family-to-be.

McLachlan writes about the existence of a nuclear family: a very close family that is created when extended family members and friends are out of reach because of migration (McLachlan, 2007). For five participants, home still is where their direct family members are. Three out of these five interviewees are living on their own, but they view the house of their parents as their home. For Lotte, this had very much to do with the divorce of her parents. Home to her is where her mother and brother are, even if this would be on the other side of the world. Lotte likes living in The Netherlands, but she is not sure if The Netherlands is her true home, or if it is just her home, because her family lives there. As mentioned in chapter 4.5, the place where she felt most at home was in the rural area close to Zeven. For Bob, who describes home as a place where there is family, warmth and a feeling of security, Zeven felt more like home than the place where he nowadays lives with his family. Bob ascribes this to the fact that his family was very close and that the community also felt very secure. Rik is also very attached to his parental home, although the village they live in does not feel like home. Home is an instinctive feeling to him, which he experienced in Zeven and when he lived in a dorm room during his student years. When Iris talked about home and what it meant to her, she started crying, because home meant so much to her. She does not care where she would live, as long as her parents are there. Danny, who moved back to The Netherlands when he was 7 years old, feels at home in his village, because his family and most of his friends live there.

The feeling of restlessness that Melles and Frey ascribe to adult third culture kids, is visible in four participants. According to Polluck and Van Reken, this restlessness emanates from an unrealistic attachment to the past, or a feeling that the next place might be the place where they could feel at home (Polluck & Van Reken, 2009). Lianne is currently living in a city in the *Randstad*, which is the third city she has been living in since she returned from Zeven. She felt at home in all these places, since home is, to her, having your own little place. For her, frequent moving is not about the inability of finding a home, but the longing for new experiences. Eva, who moved a total of 8 times during her life, was contemplating on migration during our interview. This idea stems from a feeling of restlessness, which makes her unable to settle down and make friends:

“Here, I also have this feeling of, yeah, I will be leaving here anyway. And then I think, when will that time come, that you will make friends for life, if you never want to stay anywhere? So, that is something that I see as a huge disadvantage of my childhood”

As for Elisa and Niels, they do not know when they will find a home. Niels says determined:

“The Netherlands has no home for me. I’ve always said: I will never stay in The Netherlands. [...] It’s a certain mentality that annoys me.”

He is uncertain if another country will give him the home he has been searching for. Both Niels and Elisa do know for sure that things will never be the same as in Zeven.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this research was to broaden the existing knowledge on adult third culture kids and their place attachment and perception of home, by focusing on Dutch children of migrating military personnel. In order to do so, the following research question was set up:

How are children of military personnel, who lived in a Dutch community in a foreign country during (a part of their) childhood, attached to that place and community, and how does this contribute to their perception of home?

In the minds of the participants, Zeven was a 'happy place'. The participants who moved there when they were 6 or older, remember adjusting very quickly. Most participants loved how they would see the same children every day, and how they would all be present during events and parties. Everyone especially remembers being outside a lot, playing a lot of 'war' with attributes from their fathers. There were many activities, associations and events, of which Queens Day was the most memorable. The participants who played football at NSC De Griffioen were very enthusiastic about the facilities, activities and the 'Dutchmen against German'-feeling.

The close community created a unique situation wherein an enormous feeling of togetherness and sense of community was shared. Simultaneously, Participants who felt different, because of where they lived or because their parents were not in the military, sometimes felt that they were not a part of the community. For others, the community gave them a suffocating feeling: there was no one else, you had to get along with the people who were there, otherwise you would be alone. As long as people found their way within this miniature society, it was a source of pleasure, recognition and support.

People and place attachment are very intertwined. In the case of Zeven, this creates friction: participants are attached to Zeven, while the people are not there anymore. This creates a confusing feeling, because participants do not know what this place means to them anymore. At the same time, it is still very vivid in their memory, as they love talking about it.

Many participants struggled with adjusting to 'the big society' when they moved back to The Netherlands. Some were bullied, others struggled with a 'cultural' difference. Cohen writes that this is due to the fact that a large group of migrants create their own culture (Cohen, 2011). Participants who lived in Zeven for only three years, or returned to The Netherlands when they were before the closing of the barracks was announced, experienced the adjusting process as less complicated than the participants who lived in Zeven for a longer period of time.

All participants look back at their time in Zeven as a very positive era in their lives. The participants who had to deal with significant changes in their lives around the end of their stay in Zeven, or directly after that, seem to be more attached to Zeven than the participants who adjusted rather smoothly to the new situation. For them, Zeven is equal to a carefree time, to the part of their lives where they could be a child. This is in line with the idea of Brown and Perkins, who write that people who feel safe and secure in their home, will be very attached to it. According to Cooper Marcus, places and people are very intertwined. This was something that came back very frequently during the interviews. Most participants are very attached to Zeven, because of the people with whom they lived there. Now that these people are not there anymore, the place is only vivid in their memory.

All of the participants saw Zeven as their home. Participants who struggled with the remigration process have more trouble in finding a new home, because they miss the feeling of being part of a community. For others, home is not bound to a place, but it is connected to their direct family or wherever they have their own little place. They are less attached to places, which is in line with the idea of McLaughlin that third culture kids are less attached to places (McLaughlin, 2012). The two participants who already have or are having a baby, now found the home that they were looking for after Zeven in their own family.

Bibliography

- Allen, S., 2008. Finding Home: Challenges Faced by Geographically Mobile Families. *Family Relations*, 57(1), pp. 84-99.
- Anderson, J., 2010. *Understanding Cultural Geography. Places and Traces*. London: Routledge.
- Anon., 1963. *Tweede Kamerzitting 1962-1963, kamerstuknummer 7054, Memorie van Toelichting* 3. s.l.:s.n.
- Anon., 2003. *Wegwijzer Seedorf*. [Online]
Available at: <http://www.41herstel-hohne.nl/Seedorf/Seedorfwegw.pdf>
[Accessed 4 April 2015].
- Batcho, K. I., Nave, A. M. & DaRin, M. L., 2011. A Retrospective Survey of Childhood Experiences. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 12(4), pp. 531-545.
- Berry, J. W., 1990. Acculturation and adaptation: A general framework. In: W. H. H. e. al., ed. *Mental health of immigrants and refugees*. Austin: Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, pp. 90-102.
- Blakely, G., Hennessy, C., Chung, M. C. & Skirton, H., 2012. A systematic review of the impact of foreign postings on accompanying spouses of military personnel. *Nursing and Health Sciences*, Volume 14, pp. 121-132.
- Blunt, A. & Dowling, R., 2006. *Home*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Boğaç, C., 2009. Place attachment in a foreign settlement. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Volume 29, pp. 267-278.
- Bott, E., 2010. Favourites and others: reflexivity and the shaping of subjectivities and data in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, 10(2), pp. 159-173.
- Bowen, G. L., 1987. Wives' Employment Status and Marital Adjustment in Military Families. *Psychological Reports*, Volume 61, pp. 467-474.
- Bowen, G. L. et al., 2003. Promoting the Adaptation of Military Families: An Empirical Test of a Community Practice Model. *Familie Relations*, 52(1), pp. 33-34.
- Brown, B. B. & Perkins, D. D., 1992. Disruptions in place attachments. In: I. Altman & S. Low, eds. *Human behaviour and environments: advanced in theory and research*. New York: Plenum Press, pp. 279-304.
- Burger, J. M., 2011. *Returning Home: Reconnecting with our Childhoods*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc..
- Burrell, L. M., Adams, G. A., Durand, D. B. & Castro, C. A., 2006. The Impact of Military Lifestyle Demands on Well-Being, Army, and Family Outcomes. *Armed Forces & Society*, 33(1), pp. 43-58.
- Case, D., 1996. Contributions of journeys away to the definition of home: an empirical study of a dialectical process. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Volume 16, pp. 1-15.

- Chamlee-Wright, E. & Storr, V. H., 2009. "There's no place like New Orleans": Sense of place and community recovery in the ninth ward after hurricane Katrina. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 31(5), pp. 615-634.
- Chawla, L., 1992. Childhood Place Attachments. In: I. Altman & S. M. Low, eds. *Place Attachment*. New York: Plenum Press, pp. 63-86.
- Christofi, V. & Thompson, C. L., 2007. You Cannot Go Home Again: A Phenomenological Investigation of Returning to the Sojourn Country After Studying Abroad. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 85(1), pp. 53-63.
- Clever, M. & Segal, D. R., 2013. Demographics of Military Children and Families. *The Future of our Children*, 23(2), pp. 13-39.
- Cohen, E. H., 2011. Impact of the Group of Co-Migrants on Strategies of Acculturation: Towards an Expansion of the Berry Model. *International Migration*, 49(4), pp. 1-22.
- Cooper Marcus, C., 1992. Environmental Memories. In: I. Altman & S. M. Low, eds. *Place Attachment*. New York: Plenum Press, pp. 87-112.
- Cuba, L. & Hummon, D. M., 1993. A Place to Call Home: Identification with Dwelling, Community and Region. *Sociological Quarterly*, 34(2), pp. 111-131.
- Davis, S., 2000. A Sense of Place: Childhood Memories of Northern Nevada. *Fourth Genre: Explorations in Nonfiction*, 2(2), pp. 114-123.
- Dovey, K., 1985. Home and homelessness. In: I. Altman & C. Werner, eds. *Home Environments*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Garde-Hansen, J., 2011. *Media and Memory*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Gowans, G., 2002. A passage from India: Geographies and experiences of repatriation, 1858-1939. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 3(4), pp. 403-423.
- Hagerty, B. M. K. et al., 1992. Sense of Belonging: A Vital Mental Health Concept. *Archives of Psychiatric Nursing*, 6(3), pp. 172-177.
- Hatfield-Dobson, M. E., 2010. Children moving 'home'? Everyday experiences of return migration in highly skilled households. *Childhood*, 17(2), pp. 243-257.
- Hay, I., 2010. Ethical Practice in Geographical Research. In: N. Clifford, S. French & G. Valentine, eds. *Key Methods in Geography*. London: SAGE Publications inc., pp. 35-48.
- Hoersting, R. C. & Jenkins, S. R., 2011. No place to call home: Cultural homelessness, self-esteem and cross-cultural identities. *International Journal for Intercultural Relations*, Volume 35, pp. 17-30.
- Holloway, L. & Hubbard, P., 2001. *People and place. The extraordinary geographies of everyday life*. Essex: Pearson Education Unlimited.
- Jack, G., 2012. The Role of Place Attachments in Wellbeing. In: J. Painter, S. Fuller & S. Atkinson, eds. *Wellbeing and place*. Surrey: Asghate Publishing Limited, pp. 89-105.

- Jones, O., 2007. An Emotional Ecology of Memory, Self and Landscape. In: J. Davidson, L. Bondi & M. Smith, eds. *Emotional Geographies*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, pp. 205-215.
- Jones, O., 2011. Geography, Memory and Non-Representational Geographies. *Geography Compass*, 5(12), pp. 875-885.
- Keats, D. M., 2000. *Interviewing: a practical guide for students and professionals*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press Ltd.
- Knoops-Janssen, H., 2006. *Wereldburgers met een Nederlands paspoort?! De (re)integratie van Nederlandse ex-pat jongeren*. Rotterdam: Erasmus Universiteit.
- Landmacht, 2006. 43 jaar Seedorf. *Landmacht*, June.
- Longhurst, R., 2010. Semi-structured Interviews and Focus Groups. In: N. Clifford, S. French & G. Valentine, eds. *Key Methods in Geography*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 103-115.
- Manzo, L. C., 2003. Beyond house and haves: toward a revisioning of emotional relationships with places. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Volume 23, pp. 47-61.
- Martin, J. N., 1984. The intercultural reentry: Conceptualization and directions for future research. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 8(2), pp. 115-134.
- McLachlan, D. A., 2007. Global nomads in an international school. Families in transition. *Journal of Research in International Education*, 6(2), pp. 233-249.
- McLaughlin, C., 2012. There's no place like home': on Third Culture Kids and Existential Migration. In: E. Chrzanowska-Kluczevska & W. Witalisz, eds. *Migration, Narration, Identity : Cross-cultural Perspectives*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 105-121.
- Melles, E. A. & Frey, L. L., 2014. 'Here, Everybody Moves': Using Relational Cultural Therapy with Adult Third-Culture Kids. *International Journal for Advanced Counselling*, Volume 36, pp. 348-358.
- Milligan, M. J., 1998. Interactional Past and Potential: The Social Construction of Place Attachment. *Symbolic Interaction*, 21(1), pp. 1-33.
- Moore, A. M. & Barker, G. G., 2012. Confused or multicultural: third culture individuals' cultural identity. *International journal of intercultural relations*, Volume 36, pp. 553-562.
- Moore, J., 2003. Placing home in context. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Volume 23, pp. 47-61.
- Müller, J., 2006. Einde van een stukje Nederland in Duitsland. *NRC*, 22 April.
- Navara, G. S. & James, S., 2002. Sojourner adjustment: does missionary status affect acculturation?. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Volume 26, pp. 695-709.
- Newman, B. M. & Newman, P. R., 2006. *Development through life: A psychosocial approach*. 9 ed. Belmont: Thomson Higher Education.
- Paans, A., 2006. Ingerukt!. *Algemeen Dagblad*, 6 May.

- Polluck, D. C. & Van Reken, R. E., 2009. *Third Culture Kids: the Experience of Growing up among Worlds*. Boston: Nicholas Brealy.
- Ramdharie, S., 2003. Van Seedorf blijft straks niets meer over. *de Volkskrant*, 27 June.
- Rosen, L. N. & Moghadam, L. Z., 1991. Patterns of seasonal change in mood and behavior: An example from a study of military wives. *Military Medicine*, 156(5), pp. 228-230.
- Rosińska, Z., 2011. Emigratory Experience: The Melancholy of No Return. In: A. Kitzmann & J. Creet, eds. *Memory and Migration: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Memory Studies*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press Incorporated, pp. 30-43.
- Scannell, L. & Gifford, R., 2010. Defining place attachment: a tripartite organizing framework. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Volume 30, pp. 1-10.
- Telegraaf, 2003. Duits protest tegen sluiting Seedorf. *Telegraaf*, 28 June.
- Tschüss Seedorf*. 2006. [Film] Directed by Limburgse Jagers. s.l.: s.n.
- van den Engh, J. A., 1983. *Het Nederlandse militaire gezin in West-Duitsland*. Apeldoorn: Drukkerij Boeiyinga B.V..

Attachment 1: Interview guide

Mijn onderzoek gaat over hoe kinderen zoals jij en ik gehecht waren en zijn aan de plaats in het buitenland waar ze opgegroeid zijn. Dat wil ik doen door met jou allerlei plekken en situaties te doorlopen en te zien wat je je hiervan herinnert. Ik wil graag jouw persoonlijke verhaal horen, jouw ervaringen en meningen. Vertel ook vooral alles waarvan je denkt dat het een open deur of vanzelfsprekend is. Neem gerust alle tijd om na te denken over je antwoorden.

Het interview duurt ongeveer anderhalf uur, afhankelijk van hoeveel je te vertellen hebt. Ik wil het gesprek graag opnemen, zodat ik later alles goed kan terugluisteren. Ik ben de enige die het gesprek nog kan terugluisteren. Ik ga het interview gebruiken voor mijn scriptie, en zal er vertrouwelijk mee omgaan.

Je kan altijd aangeven als je een vraag niet wil beantwoorden of als je even wil pauzeren. Heb je nog vragen of wil je meer weten over het onderzoek? Is verder alles duidelijk en ga je akkoord met deelname in dit interview?

Dan kunnen we beginnen!

Ik wil het in dit interview met je hebben over Zeven: hoe jij je tijd daar hebt ervaren, hoe jij je Zeven herinnert en wat het voor jou betekent. Ik begin met wat basisvragen en vanuit daar bouw ik verder.

Kan je jezelf beschrijven?

Indien onbeantwoord in introductie:

Leeftijd

Geboorteplaats

Opleiding

Huidige werk

Ouders, broers/zussen

Burgerlijke staat + kinderen

Waar heb je allemaal gewoond

We gaan het dus hebben over Zeven. Ik wil jouw tijd daar in chronologische volgorde doorlopen, maar voor we daarmee beginnen wil ik je vragen welke drie dingen het eerste in je opkomen als je aan Zeven denkt.

Ik wil graag met je terug naar de tijd rond de verhuizing naar Zeven.

Waar woonde je daarvoor? Welke herinneringen heb je daaraan?

Hoe oud was je toen je naar Zeven verhuisde? En in welke groep zat je?

Weet je nog wat je ervan vond toen je ouders je vertelden dat je ging verhuizen?

Heb je nog herinneringen aan de verhuizing zelf? Pakte je bijvoorbeeld zelf je spullen in? Was het anders dan eventuele eerdere verhuizingen? Hoe was het om afscheid te nemen: was er een afscheidsfeest, hoe was het afscheid op school? Heb je nog herinneringen aan de eerste reis naar Zeven? Was die tijdens de verhuizing, of al eerder?

Hoe was het toen je verhuisd was? Kenden jullie al mensen die in Zeven woonden? Hoe werd je

op school opgevangen? Hoe werd je opgevangen in de wijk? Kan je je verder nog dingen herinneren van die eerste tijd? Miste je bepaalde dingen van je vorige woonplaats?

Nu wil ik het met je hebben over je dagelijkse leven in Zeven.

Hoe vond je het op school? Zijn er bepaalde herinneringen die er direct uit springen?

Hoe ging je naar school?

Hoe zag de school eruit? Kan je de klaslokalen beschrijven? Zat je in groepjes of met z'n tweeën naast elkaar? En naast wie zat je dan?

Hoe zag het er buiten op school uit? Wat deed je meestal in de pauzes? En met wie?

Vond je het leuk om naar school te gaan? Wie waren je vrienden?

Waar woonde je? Kan je je huis omschrijven? Kan je mij door je huis rondleiden? Wat was je meest favoriete plek in het huis? Waarom?

Wat deed je meestal na schooltijd? En met wie? Had je ook contact met Duitse kinderen? Zo ja: hoe kwam je met hen in contact? Wat deed je met hen?

Kan je de buurt omschrijven? Hoe zagen de straten eruit? Was er veel verkeer op straat, kon je op straat spelen?

Waar in de buurt kwam je veel? Met wie?

Waar speelde je met je vrienden als je buiten speelde? Wat deed je dan? En met wie?

Ging je met je ouders mee als zij bijvoorbeeld boodschappen gingen doen? Waar gingen jullie dan heen? Heb je herinneringen aan de Cadi, bijvoorbeeld?

Hoe was het bij jullie thuis? Was je vader vaak op oefening of uitzending, of was hij veel thuis? Werkte je moeder?

Activiteiten

Ging je vaak naar de kazerne? Wat ging je daar doen (bijvoorbeeld sporten, blauwe hap of patat bij de NATO, naar de DAS, etc.)??

Ging je vaak naar het centrum van Zeven? Met wie ging je daarheen en wat ging je daar doen?

Was je aangesloten bij verenigingen? Deed je bepaalde sporten?

Wat deed je in de weekenden? Gingen jullie vaak terug naar Nederland, naar jullie oude woonplaats? En in de zomervakanties?

Heb je herinneringen aan Koninginnedag? Wat deed je met Koninginnedag?

En Sinterklaas?

- Verenigingendag

- Eieren zoeken met Pasen

- De avondvierdaagse

Was er een activiteit die eruit sprong voor jou? Die je het allerleukst vond, waar je naar uitkeek?

Ik heb een aantal foto's meegenomen, en ik heb jou ook gevraagd om foto's te zoeken. Deze wil ik nu graag met je bespreken.

Wat is er te zien op deze foto?

Wat roept deze foto voor herinneringen bij jou op?

Bij een plaats: kwam je hier vaak? Met wie?

Bij een persoon: wat betekende deze persoon voor jou?

Toen kwam het moment dat je te horen kreeg dat jullie weer gingen verhuizen.

In welk jaar verhuisden jullie? Hoe oud was je toen?

Waar verhuisden jullie naartoe?

Wisten jullie al dat de kazerne ging sluiten toen jullie gingen verhuizen, of verhuisden jullie daarvoor?

Was je je ervan bewust dat er een dag zou komen dat jullie zouden verhuizen? Of dacht je voor altijd in Zeven te blijven wonen, of in ieder geval nog langer?

Wat vond je ervan dat je moest verhuizen? Indien na 2003: waren er al veel mensen verhuisd?

Had dit invloed op wat jij ervan vond dat je moest verhuizen?

Hoe vond je het om weer terug te zijn in Nederland?

Hoe zag het nieuwe huis eruit? En de buurt?

Hoe was je nieuwe school? Maakte je makkelijk weer nieuwe vrienden? Was er iets anders aan deze school? Bijvoorbeeld een andere lesmethode, andere pauzes (continurooster?)

Werden er ook dingen georganiseerd? Zoals? Werden de evenementen die we eerder hebben besproken (Koninginnedag etc) anders gevierd? Hoe dan?

Vond je het anders om weer tussen allemaal kinderen te zijn wiens vader geen militair was?

Waarom?

Moest je wennen of was alles weer hetzelfde? Was het anders dan in Zeven? Zo ja, wat was er anders?

Miste je iets aan Zeven? Zo ja, wat miste je? Zo nee, waarom niet?

Inmiddels is het een heel aantal jaar geleden dat je in Zeven hebt gewoond.

Hoe kijk je nu terug op die tijd?

Denk je er nog vaak aan?

Zijn er nog altijd dingen die je mist? Misschien op speciale dagen, zoals Koninginnedag?

Zijn er bepaalde herinneringen die je koestert aan je tijd in Zeven? Zijn er ook nare of vervelende herinneringen?

Wat betekent Zeven nog voor jou? Hoe draagt het bij aan jou als persoon, aan jouw identiteit?

Ben je nog eens terug gegaan? Zo nee: waarom niet? Zo ja: met wie? Wanneer? Waar ben je geweest? Wat was er hetzelfde, wat was er veranderd?

Hoe voelde je je toen? Wat vond je ervan, dat je weer in Zeven was?

Tot slot wil ik het graag nog met je hebben over het begrip 'thuis'.

Wat betekent thuis voor jou?

Voelde je je thuis in Zeven? Zo ja: was dat direct het geval, of duurde dat even? Zo nee: waarom niet?

Voelde je je thuis in de plek waar je daarna ging wonen? Zo ja: was dat direct het geval, of duurde dat even? Zo nee: waarom niet?

Voel je je thuis waar je nu woont? Waarom wel/niet?

Attachment 2: Photo material



The Algemeen Militair Tehuis



Entry of the barracks



Route to the horse stables and the tennis club



The NATO-restaurant



Dutch Army Shop



The central shopping street in downtown Zeven



Ice cream shop Santin



Gumball vending machines on the streetcorner



The *Holland Huis*



'Ome Ad', the manager of the *Holland Huis*.

All pictures are from the Facebook page of Oranje Nassauschool Zeven (BRD)