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## 35. Homemaking and cohousing by postcolonial migrants in later life

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### INTRODUCTION: HOMEMAKING AND MIGRATION IN LATER LIFE

In this chapter, we discuss the intersections of home, migration and ageing, from our disciplinary backgrounds in cultural geography, health geography, anthropology and population studies. In so doing, we draw on our qualitative research in cohousing groups of older Antillean migrants in the northern Netherlands, and older Hindustani Surinamese in Utrecht, The Hague and Amsterdam. In our previous work, we have shown that a sense of connection to the group, mutual care as well as individual autonomy are important aspects in these specific cohousing communities (Fluit et al., 2018; Lager et al., 2012; Meijering & Lager, 2014). In this chapter, we build on our previous work and outline some of the common themes that arose from our work in different cohousing groups in relation to homemaking. The aim is to explore the homemaking process of Antillean and Hindustani Surinamese migrants living in cohousing communities in urban neighbourhoods. In so doing, we foreground the communal aspects of postcolonial migrant homes and homemaking.

Our ideas on home are grounded in Blunt and Dowling's (2006) seminal geographical work, which foregrounds both the material and emotional dimensions of home as an important place. In this chapter, our focus is on homemaking in later life in a communal setting. The aspect of sharing, producing and reproducing spaces to feel a sense of home is central to this analysis. The home is an important place in later life, since older adults spend as much as 80 per cent of their time at home (Musselwhite, 2017; Sixsmith et al., 2014). The socio-cultural dimension of home is formed through interactions with other people, material objects and memories. In the case of older migrants, objects, memories and people from both the country of origin and the country of residence together shape the home. Possessions, Tolia-Kelly (2004, p. 317) argues, 'are connective markers to geographical nodes of identification. Through their prismatic nature, "other" lives, lands, and homes are made part of this one'. Older migrants' homes are thus often an intricate mix of elements from different places. This illustrates the complexity of feelings of home, and that it is possible to experience a sense of home in different places and cultures (Buffel, 2015). Studying the homemaking experiences of older migrants helps to bring to light the intersectional realities of processes of ageing and migration (Walsh, 2018). From cognitive anthropology, cultural schemas (Strauss & Quinn, 1997) motivate older adults to combine past and present in the manner in which they restructure their living spaces.

With migration there emerges the transnational dimension of home, families and identities (Marilla & Fresnoza-Flot, Chapter 18, this volume). The reasons for migration and ability to return shape the ways in which homes are imagined, remembered, shaped and conceptualised (Brickell, 2012; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011). As migrants maintain contacts across countries and regions their identity is continuously moulded between the 'old' and the 'new' environments

they occupy (Dahinden, 2017; Vertovec, 2001). With colonial and postcolonial migration waves there are multiple diasporas that are created. Their sense of home is based on the shared history, politics and often ambivalent/contentious relationship with the colonial state (Ali & Holden, 2006; Blunt, 2005). Home and homemaking for migrants is an ongoing process whereby meaningful tangible and intangible objects and relations are transferred into a home (Bocagni, 2014; Vilar Rosales, 2010). These objects are then imbued with memories and relations which they have left behind. They evoke a sense of co-presence (Baldassar, 2008) in the lives of the older adults (Pazhoothundathil & Bailey, 2020). Homes for migrants are often multi-sited in emotional attachments, but the everyday care and rituals of daily life are performed in one location. Uneven reciprocities of care (Baldassar & Merla, 2014) and loneliness often push people to seek alternative forms of living arrangements or housing (Ugargol & Bailey, 2020).

Homemaking in later life is connected with the increasing physical and cognitive decline that comes with old age. This is not to say that older adults lose their ability to function well, to enjoy a good quality of life or to contribute positively to society, on the contrary. However, there are common impairments that tend to come with age, such as gradual loss of vision and hearing, dizziness, loss of muscle strength, osteoarthritis, osteoporosis and memory loss (Jaul & Barron, 2017). In relation to such impairments, some older adults become less apt at conducting certain activities of daily living, as a result of which they may need (in)formal care and support. Besides health-related triggers, changes in one's social life may also incur a move into a more communal form of residence. In the context of the Netherlands, where our research was carried out, there is a plethora of housing options in later life. Each of the housing options offers different possibilities or barriers in homemaking. Based on intersectional inequalities some older adults may not have equal access to all facilities.

Cohousing is a form of semi-communal residence that is based on the concept that a group of people choose to live close to each other in the same apartment complex or housing complex. A cohousing community typically consists of a cluster of private dwellings and common areas both indoors and outdoors for communal activities. Cohousing has the potential to foster social connectedness and quality of life among older adults (Puplampu et al., 2020). There is limited evidence that there is a positive association between living in a cohousing community for older adults and quality of life in old age, as is shown by a recent systematic review (Carrere et al., 2020). However, qualitative research in Canada does show that, although a direct relation with quality of life cannot be shown, older cohousing residents do experience a sense of belonging to the group because of shared lifestyles and (political) views, as well as through knowing each other well. Also, the combination of individual autonomy and commitment and contribution to the community is highly valued (Puplampu et al., 2020). This is important as it can inform further theorisation of the home in general, and homemaking in later life in particular.

## RESEARCH BACKGROUND AND METHODS

In this chapter, we discuss the experiences of older adults from Aruba, Curacao and Suriname, all of which have postcolonial ties with the Netherlands. Migration from Aruba and Curacao to the Netherlands rose sharply in the mid-1980s, after the closure of oil refineries on both islands (1985) and the establishment of Aruba as an independent country (1986). Many people migrated to the Netherlands, especially for education and work (Sharpe, 2005). For Suriname,

too, postcolonial ties have influenced migration to the Netherlands (Vezzoli, 2014). The Surinamese population consists of numerous ethnic groups which reflects the colonial history of Suriname (Janssen, 2011). The two largest groups are Creoles, whose ancestors were part of the slave trade from Africa, and Hindustanis, who are descendants from Indian indentured labourers who migrated to Suriname at the beginning of the twentieth century (Oudhof & Harmsen, 2011). Hindustanis form a religiously diverse group consisting of Hindus, Muslims and Christians.

As a result of the migration flows, the first generation of older Antillean and Surinamese adults is currently finding ways to age in the Netherlands. Some live independently, others with family or in a form of communal living. Although barriers, such as language, were relatively small compared to other migration groups, there is evidence that the economic integration of Antillean and Surinamese migrants has not been without problems (Zorlu & Hartog, 2001). However, compared to other large migrant groups such as the Turkish and Moroccan population groups, migrants from the Dutch Antilles and Suriname are better integrated due to the affinity with the language and better access to education and work (Choenni, 2013; Zorlu & Hartog, 2001).

The migrant cohousing communities we studied are built and often owned by housing corporations and residents have to pay (subsidised) rent which is pooled together as contributions for the maintenance and use of the common areas. Some buildings were exclusively meant for older adults. While in other buildings some of the floors were reserved for the older adults the rest of these buildings had family houses, often with people from other ethnic backgrounds or native Dutch groups. Older men and women often moved into a cohousing unit after the death of a spouse or when their children moved out of the family home. Family members, peer groups and relatives played a key role in the decision making on the choice of the cohousing community. In some groups there was a waiting list for people to get in. Residents had to be able to live independently but could require care for everyday tasks. For the setting up of a community one needs a coordinator who manages the building and liaises with the housing corporation. In some of the cohousing communities we saw that the coordinator lived in the community, in other units the coordinator was living outside and often belonged to a foundation (in this case a Surinamese diaspora foundation). There was often an internal committee that was formed within the cohousing community to manage the day-to-day affairs. This committee hardly has any legal decision-making power but was seen more as a lobby group between the coordinator and the housing corporation.

We have studied five cohousing communities for older migrants, that housed approximately 125 older adults with Hindustani and Antillean backgrounds aged 50 and above. We studied the experiences of around 30 older adults through applying qualitative research methods, including in-depth interviews and photo-voice. Data in the Antillean community was collected in 2010 and in the Hindustani Surinamese groups in 2015. Given the specific nature of the housing communities that we were interested in, we used critical case selection (Hennink et al., 2020). For more detailed information with regard to our research methodologies, see Fluit et al. (2018), Lager et al. (2012) and Meijering and Lager (2014).

## HOMEMAKING AT VARIOUS PLACES AND TIMES

### **Feeling (Not) at Home in a Cohousing Community**

A majority of the participants expressed that they are positive and feel satisfied about living in a cohousing community. This was often associated with a sense of community, a feeling of safety and participation in cultural activities. Living with fellow Hindustani Surinamese/Antilleans was perceived to be positive, because of the shared culture, rituals and language. For Sunaina it was a sense of safety that motivated her to live in a cohousing community compared to an apartment complex, while Ritesh emphasised the importance of shared activities:

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

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

Like Ritesh, other participants underlined the importance of joint activities, as well as their agency in these activities: they can participate in or organise activities that they enjoy. Participants mentioned that their children had busy lives and had to take care of their own family and had less time to care for the parents. Not only did the participants believe it was a burden for their children to live with them, they also believed that it was important to have a place for themselves where they are in control. Maya's children lived in Suriname and she argued why she prefers to live within the cohousing community:

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

Female participants expressed more often that their sense of home was related to a feeling of being in control and having a place for themselves. For some Hindustani Surinamese women this was the first time they lived without their families. Moving to a cohousing unit was a way for them to start a new life where they were in charge:

Look, this is my house. I am the boss. I pay the rent on time ... I can do whatever I want. (Mira, 65–70, F)

Mira's story underlines the importance of agency in later life, which in our findings was particularly prominent among the female Hindustani Surinamese participants. The communities that we studied did typically form a comfortable environment that provided a sense of home and community. In connection to this, participants also talked about the importance of shared norms, values and language, such as Margriet:

I: Do you feel at home [in the common room]?

M: Yes, yes. In the midst of all those people who moved in, the same time, the same values, the same way of living ... So we stay, we keep spending time together till this day ... We're all immigrants or foreigners. We're all from Curaçao, let's put it that way. Or Suriname, Aruba, yes ... Yes, we talk our language, we joke, we laugh ... and we cry too. (Margriet, 65–70, F)

Margriet's experiences were mostly shared by the other participants, and thus the social dimension of the community turned out to be an important dimension of the community as a home.

Closure of common areas and conflicts can be identified as the main challenges within the cohousing communities. Some participants were not very positive about the social atmosphere in one of the communities. There, two participants were in conflict with another, whom they felt to be too dominant in terms of deciding how to live together in the community. For them, the social dimension of the community as a home has been compromised temporarily. Roma was sad that the common area for socialising was closed due to internal conflicts:

Because of the common area people are disappointed that it doesn't exist anymore. That was the head, the connection and if that is gone we have people organising something in their homes individually. (Roma, 65–70, F)

Roma missed the opportunity to interact with the other residents in an informal way. In contrast with other participants, there was one community member in the Antillean group for whom it did not seem to matter much where he would live:

I don't have a hard time living anywhere. Because if they tell me there's a place here, I'll take it ... That's the only way, if there's nothing else, you can't get it. Should they say there's a house in [another neighbourhood], I'll move to [that neighbourhood]. (Melvin, 70–75, M)

Melvin did not seem particularly attached to the community, and would not frequent the joint activities on his own initiative. However, the other community members made a point of trying to involve and include Melvin in their everyday lives and communal activities, which he did seem to enjoy. His story illustrates how, when functioning well, cohousing communities for older people can contribute to including people who might otherwise be at risk of becoming socially isolated.

The feeling of home and practices of homemaking extended beyond the threshold of the home. For Hindustanis the connection with the earth was perceived to be very important and religious rituals were often performed in the garden. One of the participants explained that the offering took place at sunrise and the ritual was performed with water and flowers. Dilip and Asha moved to the cohousing community because they wanted to live with other Surinamese adults. Both Dilip and Asha are Hindu and religion is part of their daily routine. Every morning when Dilip and Asha wake up they pray for about 15 minutes. This praying ritual takes place within a small room in the house at the Mandir, which is an altar consisting of religious artefacts and flowers. They use flowers they grow on their balcony or in the shared gardening plot close to the cohousing community. Similar practices were observed in South Asian diasporas living in the United States (Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 2009; Sahney, 2017).

The participants did not have a garden where they could feel the connection with the earth and had to adapt their praying routines within the new environment. Sunaina described that some residents used pots for flowers for the offering ritual. The absence of the garden was compensated for by creating spaces just outside the house that characterise features of a garden

such as placing plants within and outside the home and by creating a place within the house for practising religion. In this way, the participants adapted their old routines within the new environment and created a sense of home. This was not common among all the participants but, among those who practised it, this small garden or green space was a source of pride and social connections as they often talked with neighbours about their plants and flowers. These practices centring around the earth and garden highlight the need to broaden the lens of what a home entails. Also, they show how different practices interact to create a sense of home, such as gardening, religious practices and socialising.

### **Neighbourhood Spaces for Home**

In the project with older adults with an Antillean background, the neighbourhood was elaborately discussed in the interviews as a relevant place in the context of homemaking, which is why this theme emerged most prominently from their data. Participants even went so far as to explain that they felt at home in the community, because of its location in the broader neighbourhood. In terms of physical aspects they emphasised the green environment, and in terms of social aspects the presence of other Antilleans:

I had slept here for two nights, and my son was with me to help out. On the second morning I said to him: 'you know, it is ok here'. Because the weather was nice, and [the surroundings] were so very green ... and I heard people speaking in Papiamentu outdoors [laughter]. I told him, 'It's as if I am on Curaçao'. So it happened quite fast that I thought: it's good [to be] here. (Kiyana, 70–75, F)

Kiyana's story illustrates how the physical and social neighbourhood contributed to feeling at home. When discussing the social aspect, she foregrounded the importance of the presence of other people speaking the same language (Papiamentu) in the neighbourhood. Similarly, one of the Hindustani participants, Samir, explained how he likes to walk through the neighbourhood and to talk with other people at the square, while also stressing how his sense of home was related to the proximity of facilities within the neighbourhood:

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

Samir's story, which resonates with those of other participants, illustrates how both familiar people and specific places within the neighbourhood such as the mandir, mosque and the market play an important role in the process of creating a sense of home.

Some participants also spoke about specific events that enhanced feeling at home in the neighbourhood. For instance, Omaira, one of the Antillean participants, explained how, after a fire in her apartment, she had come to feel even more safe:

So there was a huge fire, and the guy who lives upstairs had seen it ... [The other neighbours] decided to ring the doorbell, but he had already called the police and the fire truck was here. And the lady living over there was busy with a bucket with water and was extinguishing the fire. Yes, I appreciated that. And now, the whole block, everyone has each other's phone number and we keep an eye out [for each other]. (Omaira, 70–75, F)

Omaira feels safe in her home now she knows she can trust her neighbours, also beyond the cohousing community. This was important as the broader neighbourhood in which the community is located is known as a relatively disadvantaged environment, with relatively high levels of crime. Being in close contact with one's neighbours aided in creating a sense of safety for the older adults.

For some of the Antillean participants, the length of their residence in the same neighbourhood strongly contributed to their sense of home, such as with Teagle:

The reason is, you [continue to] live here. [People say:] "Sir, I've known you since [I was a] little girl or little boy" ... When I enter that store, they know me. The ants, the cockroaches, as long as they live. (Teagle, 65–70, M)

Through referring to insects, Teagle reflects his feeling that everyone in the neighbourhood, large and small, knows him, because he's been around for almost 30 years. His experiences in the neighbourhood have shaped and continue to shape his sense of belonging there, especially in terms of the connection he experiences with other people. Although he was an exception, his story is illustrative as it shows the importance of familiarity with places and people in homemaking practices.

### **Multiple Imaginations and Multi-Local Belonging**

The experiences of the Hindustani older adults in particular demonstrate the complexities of home. From their stories, three imaginaries of home emerged, as being: (1) the home that they migrated out of when they moved to the Netherlands; (2) the family home they had left behind to enter this cohousing unit; and (3) the imagination of the home country as belonging to their ethnic origin. The latter reflects their ancestral migration from India to the Caribbean. For Hindustani older adults their everyday life, language and religious practices were a combination of cultural imaginary of India in Suriname and the Indian influences they had in the Netherlands.

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

Some participants had travelled to India over the years to visit religious places and ancestral villages/towns. Due to continuing transnational marriages some also had relatives in India. A few of them also expressed a longing to live in India. The experience of Sunaina brings so many interlinked issues to the fore. The ability to blend in with the Indians to feel a sense of community was highly valued by her. This sense of kinship with Indians and the wish to reside in India revealed how much different Sunaina must have felt living among the Dutch people in the Netherlands for most of her adult life.

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

Not everyone shared Sunaina's wish to live in India. Some would prefer to visit the religious sites and have a family vacation but then come back to live close to family and friends. For older migrants with low-income backgrounds, who had never been to India, their imagination of India was constructed by Bollywood films from the 1980s and the 1990s, religious books, songs and videos. They also followed television serials in Hindi, such as *Saroja*:

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

*Saroja* discussed how she feels responsible for making herself at home, and how watching Hindi soap operas contributes to her homemaking practices. Other participants underlined the importance of television and radio as contributing to feeling at home in one's house and connected to the country of origin.

The multiple imaginations of home and multi-local belongings that we have outlined in this section demonstrate that the Hindustani older adults inhabit a liminal space that intersects their Dutch, Surinamese and Indian identities. The sense of belonging to the Netherlands was often mediated through families and memories they had built over the life course.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION: BACK-AND-FORTH HOMEMAKING

With this chapter, we aimed to explore the homemaking process of Antillean and Hindustani Surinamese migrants living in cohousing communities in urban neighbourhoods. This has resulted in insights into the communal aspects of home through a postcolonial lens. Our comparison of living experiences in cohousing has enabled us to highlight the differences and similarities between the Antillean and Surinamese groups. Essentially, our findings demonstrate how home can be fluid in terms of both space and time. Feeling at home occurs at a range of spatial scales that are interconnected: the house, community, neighbourhood and country. Also, feelings of home not only reflect the present, but are intricately linked to the past and future. In that, we found that the recreation of home aided in developing a continuity to the life stories of our participants. The importance of temporality in migrant homemaking has also been underlined by *Oliver* (2011) in her study on older British migrants in Spain. In applying a life-course perspective, she found that migrants frame their experiences of home in terms of narratives that centre around continuity and change in an awareness of the finite nature of life. The choice of where to live in old age was an important aspect of their narrative, as it was in our research.

For the immigrant older adults the change in living arrangements to a cohousing unit was a manner in which they could reconnect with their past and feel a sense of community. Language, shared religious and cultural practices, common histories of postcolonial migration and empathy for each other aided in creating a sense of home. This aligns with other research on migration and homemaking in later life that includes public places beyond the home (*Buffel*, 2015; *Oliver*, 2011; *Walsh*, 2018). At the same time, we found that changing homes and leaving behind a familiar environment can be challenging for older adults. Challenges such as around language and culture, social inclusion, loneliness, social support and transnational care have also been identified by others (*Ciobanu et al.*, 2017; *Neville et al.*, 2018; *Salma*

& Salami, 2019). Here, the familiarity with and age-friendly nature of the direct environment and neighbourhood play an important role (Neville et al., 2018). Thus, moving into settings which offer a sense of the familiar can play a key role in improving older migrant well-being, retaining a sense of self and building meaningful relations with their peer groups. That, in turn, is important in strengthening the agency of older migrants, rather than bringing their vulnerabilities to the fore (Ciobanu et al., 2017).

Recreating home through memories, material culture and everyday religious/cultural rituals are practices employed by the older adults to bring in/back this sense of familiarity, as has been found by Pazhoothundathil and Bailey (2020; see also Christou, Chapter 20, this volume). In terms of everyday practices, we found that traditional media such as radio and television play an important role. We did not find evidence of the importance of new media as was found by Baldassar et al. (2017), which may have to do with both the limited digital connectedness of our participants and their counterparts, as well as the fact that we did not focus on this aspect when collecting our data. These reflections tie in with discussions on the importance of routines in homemaking, as well as the connection between home and identity. Through socio-culturally embedded and familiar routines, and the sense of identity that arises from and contributes to home-places, older adults can reinforce their sense of home and well-being (see Rowles, 1983; Rowles & Bernard, 2013; Stafford, 2009; Tanner et al., 2008).

In the communities that we studied, the postcolonial connections between host and home country seemed to play a role in the associations with and senses of belonging to the home. For some, home is what they have left behind to reach this cohousing unit, for others it is the home they left behind in Suriname or on the Antilles when they moved to the Netherlands. The colonial and postcolonial histories play crucial roles in the imaginaries of home, for instance through a shared language and practices, but also through differences such as in terms of ethnicity. This study highlights the need to take a postcolonial lens to understand the multiple senses of belonging that older adults possess. This is part of their identity and non-material culture that they carry with them. Postcolonial immigrant older adults have diverse histories of migration and transnational family linkages that define their sense of self. In many respects, the experiences of Antillean and Hindustani-Surinamese migrants resembled each other. For the Hindustani-Surinamese communities the presence of three 'homelands' is linked to the larger colonial histories and mobilities from where the identities and memories are drawn. The link back to India is from a spiritual and ancestral perspective, and the link back to Suriname is part of their current histories and living memories that they have created over the life course. Finally, the link to the Netherlands regards the place where they spent most of their working lives, started a family and built a strong bond through integrating with Dutch culture, norms and behaviours. In all these imagined senses of home and homeland emerges a strong feeling of liminality. Previous research on liminality among migrants also highlights such complex feelings of 'in-betweenness'. Adebayo and Omololu (2020), for instance, examine this sense of in-betweenness among Nigerian-Chinese families. Kirk et al. (2017) found Indian skilled migrants to be stuck between the Indian cultural and patriarchal norms and rules they were socialised in and those of the Dutch Western culture. Migrants constantly negotiate a sense of belonging with multiple homes and their ensuing cultural norms, practices and behaviours.

The case studies we present in this chapter document the lives of able-bodied older adults but with age and changing health conditions some may require caregivers. For this group the change in residence may have a negative impact on residents' well-being should they have to move to another form of residence once more. This ties in with discussions around ageing in

place and the circumstances under which that is possible and feasible. With that, there is also a connection with policy and practice around age-friendly communities. Beyond the general challenges around planning and designing age-friendly environments, around incorporating the complexity of urban space on the one hand and the voices and perspectives of older adults themselves on the other (Buffel & Phillipson, 2016), there are also specific challenges around age-friendly communities for older migrants, such as around language, culture and social support (Neville et al., 2018).

When transposing the needs with regard to homemaking of older migrants to the housing situation in the Netherlands, it is also relevant to reflect on the possibilities for realising collective forms of residence such as cohousing communities. The communities we have studied were set up by housing associations who provide subsidised rental accommodation for lower-income groups. These housing associations see a need and are able to provide well-valued residential environments for specific groups of older migrants. In this context it is worthwhile to note that more diverse collective forms of residence for older adults in the Netherlands are being developed, often by older adults themselves (Witter, 2019). This is important, since our case studies have shown that well-being in later life is not enhanced by residential arrangements in themselves, but about giving people the agency to create a home that is conducive for their culture and lifestyle.

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