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Effects of migration experience on conservative attitudes of immigrants:

A study on Turkish immigrants living in Sweden

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This study aims at examining changes in the conservative attitudes of immigrants. By examining the conservative attitudes of immigrants, the study intends to explore in what ways they change when immigrants start a new life in different social and cultural contexts. In order to provide an answer to this question, previous research on immigrants and conservatism in Turkey are analyzed and a group of Turkish immigrants who live or work in Malmö and Lund are interviewed. The study departs from the hypothesis claiming that immigrants' attitudes change toward more conservative way in the host country. However, the findings of the study reveal that it is not possible to make generalizations about the ways in which immigrants' conservative attitudes change in the host country. As a result of the study, it was discovered that the social environment which individuals live in has a very important and decisive role on individuals' lives. The life styles and attitudes of the individuals are shaped and reshaped within the community they live in.

Keywords: migration experience, conservatism, conservative attitudes, Turkey, neighborhood pressure

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1. INTRODUCTION

Many people leave their homelands and migrate to various parts of the world with a dream of finding new and better opportunities. Being an immigrant means a life change for the individual which can be summarized as starting a new life in a different environment. Depending on the conditions that surround the immigrants, this experience can be fulfilling or disappointing or both. New social and cultural contexts and new living conditions affect the lives of the immigrants deeply. This new life and different kinds of experiences lead to various kinds of reactions and changes in the lives of immigrants which eventually affect the inner and outer worlds of the immigrants and can be reflected in their behaviors and attitudes.

During their stay in the host countries, immigrants' experiences have been affecting and changing their inner worlds; their culture, values, religion and moral codes, and their outer worlds; all the factors in the individuals' outer life in their homeland and in their new country (Kristal-Andersson, 2000:46). These changes are important, since, as a result of them, immigrants also influence and lead to changes in the host societies as well. In the light of all these, my paper aims at focusing on the changes in the inner worlds of the immigrants and exploring how immigration experiences can lead to changes in the attitudes of individuals. More specifically, my paper intends to explore *How does migration experience shape the conservative attitudes of immigrants?*

The main hypothesis for this research is that the experience of immigration, changing cultural and social contexts and starting a new life in an alien environment, affects individual's attitudes. I argue that immigrants' attitudes change toward more conservative dispositions when immigrants face and have to adapt to the new culture of the host society. They usually tend to live close to each other in closed communities within the host country. As a result, they become resistant to adapt to the lifestyles of the host country and become more closely tied to their own cultural, moral, religious and familial traditions.



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answer the research question and test the hypotheses that are stated above by discussing previous research and analyzing data collected from interviews conducted with immigrants. Turkish immigrants living in Sweden have been chosen as the participants for this study. To be more specific, this research has been conducted with Turkish immigrants living in Sweden to gain a deeper understanding and better knowledge of how being an immigrant can change the attitudes of the individuals.

RESEARCH ON CHANGES IN IMMIGRANTS' LIVES

2.1 How do immigrants' experiences affect their lives?

With international migration, in search for better opportunities, millions of people leave their homelands and migrate to different parts of the world. In many cases, immigrants leave their spouses, families and friends behind and they start a new life in a totally new social and cultural environment. As it is stated by Castles and Miller, immigrants are often different from the host society populations: they may come from different types of societies, agrarian-rural, with different traditions, religions and political institutions. They often speak different languages and follow different cultural practices. They may be visibly different through physical appearance (skin color, features and hair type) or style of dress (2003:14). In this alien environment, immigrants generally live in multi-ethnic neighborhoods where they may live with other migrants from the same ethnic origin either forcefully or intentionally. In this way, they are able to maintain certain aspects of their culture of origin as well as their languages.

Migration to a new social and cultural environment and separation from beloved ones may lead to stress for immigrants. When people migrate, they have to adapt to their new environment, they have to abandon their prior way of lives and they have to get use to new conditions in the host country. Contact with a new culture, experience of coping with the unfamiliar, abandonment of the home country roles, and undertaking new roles are some of the situations immigrants have to face when they arrive to the host country. While trying to adapt these changes, mostly, they do not have the prior social support and networks; such as families and friends. As a result of all these changes and lack of supports of the old ways, migration experiences may become disappointing for the immigrants. This new alien environment may lead to the feelings of loneliness, sadness, homesickness and anxiety for immigrants (İçduygu, 1999:596-597). Under these circumstances, forming new social networks and emotional ties becomes

of immigrants. Therefore, living in certain neighborhoods, where they can live close to people who have been experiencing the similar problems, help them to feel more comfortable and secure in the host country. As Timmerman, et al. puts it:

“In an insecure situation, people need more structure and consequently withdraw into a space where they feel safe and confident as a result of the search for their ‘authentic’ identity defined by so-called ‘tradition’ and ‘culture’ and legitimated by descent” (2009:242).

2.2. Multi-ethnic neighborhoods

Many immigrants live in multi-ethnic neighborhoods in the host countries. These neighborhoods are sometimes located close to city centers or in some cases; they are located far from the city centers and main public spaces. Living in these neighborhoods with other immigrants makes individuals’ lives easier in an unfamiliar environment. It enables immigrants to cluster together, to support each other, to develop family and neighborhood networks and to preserve their cultures and traditions. Moreover, these neighborhoods create opportunities for immigrants to establish “small businesses, such as cafes, shops, restaurants and agencies which provide for immigrants’ needs, as well as the formation of associations of all kind” (ibid: 242). In sum, residential choice is one of the most important factors that lead to community formation among immigrants from different ethnic origins.

In these neighborhoods, immigrants tend to live closer to other immigrants who have similar features such as having the same country of origin, same religion, or similar cultures. Living with the people who share the same or a similar culture usually serves as a resistance strategy for the immigrants against exclusion and discrimination they experience in the host country. By this way, immigrants create a secure space for themselves with the help of these social networks which connect people through similar cultural ties (Engelbrektsson, 1995:17). “Reference to the culture of origin helps people to maintain self-esteem

ilities and experiences are undermined” (Castles & Miller, 2003:39). Moreover, forming migrant networks by the people who share the similar cultural practices enable immigrants to help and support each other in many matters, such as finding a job, housing and providing other forms of information. These ties make immigrants’ lives easier emotionally and practically. As a result, in many cases, since many immigrants need the resources and practical support of co-ethnics or other immigrants for various reasons, they prefer to stay in these neighborhoods and remain within thick bonds of the migrant networks in the host country. Although this has many advantages for the immigrants, in such a circle of migrants, it also causes them to be locked into “specific ethnic niches” and have isolated lives. In many cases, they have a limited social environment (Ryan, et al, 2008:686).

2.3. Life in òsegregatedö neighborhoods

The social environment, in which an individual lives, affects his/her lifestyle. Individuals’ preferences and choices began to be shaped by this social environment. In some places, multi-ethnic neighborhoods are segregated from main public spaces and “many migrants are forced by powerful social and economic factors into these isolated and disadvantaged urban areas which they share with other marginalized groups” (Castles & Miller, 2003:229). As long as the immigrants live in these segregated neighborhoods, they live in a limited social environment. This situation can lead to certain values, which immigrants bring from their homeland, to become dominant among the population living in the neighborhood (Özüekren & Karahan, 2010:369). In this way, immigrants create an isolated secure world, in which people with different values are excluded or marginalized, in the host country.

These segregated neighborhoods enable the “community formation and development of ethnic infrastructure and institutions” (Castles & Miller, 2003:209). Since “the immigrants are neither able nor willing to give up their traditions” (Schoeneberg, 1985:417), migrant activities and associations are mainly aimed at preserving the cultural, religious and political elements that they

ries especially if it has become apparent for the immigrants that their stay in the host country is permanent. “Culturally distinct settler groups almost always maintain their languages and some elements of their homeland cultures, at least for a few generations” (Castles & Miller, 2003:14). It is argued that migrant parents feel a greater need to put more effort into the maintenance of cultural heritage than non-migrant parents (Diehl, et. al 2009:284). Restaurants, ethnic shops, agencies and cultural associations are developed to serve the mission of preservation of the native cultures and sustain the relationship between the immigrants living in the same neighborhoods. Especially cultural associations, which are established to “preserve homeland languages, folklore and traditions, and set up mother-tongue and religious classes” (Castles & Miller, 2003:209), play important role for the maintenance of cultural heritage in the host country.

These immigrant communities and associations constitute a reaction against immigrants’ disadvantaged positions and marginalized life situations and limited opportunities in the host society (Schoeneberg, 1985:417) and these help individuals to provide a familiar environment. However, on the other hand, to be able to maintain and protect the cultural heritage, individual can sometimes put pressure on their children or other individuals living in the same neighborhood, something which itself, may restrict individuals’ lives.

2.4. Role of religion in the host country

Besides forming social networks and establishing institutions as the ways of identity building (Castles & Miller, 2003:210), religion is one of the most important factors that reinforces community and identity formation in the host country (Hunt, 2010:148). According to Hunt, religion is important in the sense that it brings a clearer delineation of the culture of a community and promotes internal solidarity and cohesion even where it was not particularly strong beforehand (ibid:163). Under the emotional stress of starting a new life in an alien environment, religion can give comfort and encouragement to immigrants. Religion can provide migrants the feelings of conformity, familiarity and security

cultural contexts. They can find the social support, which they leave behind in the homeland, in these religious communities they create in the host country. As it is argued by İçduygu (1999:597), religion provides, “in the case of the migrant, a touch of the comfortable and familiar and the opportunity to meet compatriots”. In this way, migration experiences can strengthen the religious feelings of a person. Strengthening of the religious feelings may also act as a way of reacting to the marginalized and disadvantaged social position in the host society, as it is the case for West Africans in Britain,

“... from the 1950s, Pentecostal churches became a major focus for black immigrant groups which were marginalized socially, politically and religiously and provided the moral code and community environment which supported them in alien surroundings (Hunt, 2010:150)... In practical terms, the new wave of African Pentecostalism continues to allow a certain level of ethnic cohesion where individuals may seek support from each other, and also find a religious setting which is relevant to their mutual backgrounds (ibid:164).”

In the cases when migration experience strengthens the religious beliefs and feelings, religion plays a key role as an identity marker.

2.5. Summary

Changing social and cultural environments as a result of migration causes lots of changes in immigrants' lives. Abandoning old life styles, being separated from the beloved ones and trying to adapt to new environments may lead to feelings of loneliness, stress and anxiety. Under these hard conditions, immigrants, mostly, tend to live in multi-ethnic and sometimes segregated neighborhoods, where they have the chance to live with other immigrants who share the same experiences with them. In these neighborhoods, immigrants become closer with those that share similar cultural backgrounds which can be the same religion or the same country of origin. They live together, support each other, develop family or neighborhood networks and maintain their language and



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create a familiar and secure social environment for themselves in the host country.

Besides many advantages of this situation for immigrants, it also causes them to lead isolated lives in these closed communities within the host country; it may lead to conservatism among the immigrants which causes them to resist adapting to the lifestyle of the host societies. “Conservative groups, especially those with religious views or others who think that they will not feel at home in different social environments, want to change neither their lifestyle nor their neighborhoods” (ibid: 370). Within living in these dense social networks, immigrants mostly activate or recreate their cultural codes and it becomes difficult for them to change or assimilate in the host society (Engelbrektsson, 1995:17). All in all, in order to maintain their cultural heritage, many immigrants live in limited spaces. These limited spaces lead individuals to have limited social environments which cause them to limit their own and each others’ lives.

3. THEORY

As I stated in the previous parts, starting a new life as an immigrant causes many emotional and physical changes in the world of an individual. To be able to cope with these changes in new and alien environments, immigrants tend to embrace what is familiar within the host country. I argue that this search for familiarity causes immigrants to lead their lives in communities within certain neighborhoods of the host countries which results in having conservative attitudes against adapting to the lifestyle of the host country. Thus, this paper intends to focus on the changes mainly on the conservative attitudes of immigrants. In the following parts, I am going to focus on the concept of conservatism to present the reader in what way it was operationalized for this research.

3.1 Importance of attitudes

In this research, I seek to understand how being an immigrant affects the attitudes of the individuals. Since attitudes are the predispositions to behave (Kerlinger, 1984:7), to be able to understand why people behave and perceive in certain ways, it is important to look at their attitudes. Attitudes enable individuals to adjust and simplify their complex environment and shape their reactions to other people, events, and social issues and problems (ibid:12). Thus, knowing the attitudes of immigrants is important to be able to understand their inner and outer worlds. Gaining a deeper understanding about immigrants' attitudes, which have continued, shaped or reshaped in the host country context, can guide us to rationalize their behaviors. In particular, social attitudes, which express the psychological orientation of people to their social environment (ibid: 1), are crucial to explain the behaviors of groups of people. As it was argued by Kerlinger, "whether directed toward social issues, ethnic groups, or abstract ideas,

logical mechanisms that strongly influence social behavior” (ibid: 1).

The main aim of this paper is to examine the conservative attitudes of immigrants. I argue that understanding immigrants’ conservative attitudes, as well as changes in those attitudes, which take place in the host country, guide us in explaining the reasons for some of their social behaviors. Since my specific area of interest is the conservative attitudes of the immigrants, conservatism constitutes the theoretical framework of my research. The concept of conservatism will be the guide of this research; therefore I believe it is useful to define the concept in the beginning of the research.

Since Turkish immigrants living in Sweden were chosen as the subjects of this study, I also find it useful to look at conservative attitudes in Turkey, in order to be able to understand the background of the Turkish immigrants and to specify the units I have focused in my research. Lastly, I focus on previous research on conservatism among the Turkish immigrants in Western Europe.

3.2 The concept of conservatism

Conservatism can be considered as resistance to change and the tendency to prefer safe, traditional, and conventional forms of institutions and behavior (Wilson, 1973:4). In terms of value systems and beliefs about the nature of reality, the concept of conservatism is defined as resistance to change, which is perceived as a threat to order, unwillingness to take risks, cognitive rigidity or some similar characteristics (Glenn, 1974:177). It also includes a high valuation of social order; an emphasis on authority and obedience; and a generally restrictive and intolerant attitude toward human behavior (ibid: 179). More comprehensively, conservatism is “a manner of thought and a content of thinking that can be used if necessary in defense of things as they are, or at least it can be and argument for the deceleration of social change” (Wilson, 1941:40).

As it can be understood from all these definitions, the most important aspects of conservatism are “resistance to change” and “playing safe” (unwillingness to take risks). According to Wilson, resistance to change

reference for existing institutions, preference for traditional institutions, and the disposition towards being moderate and cautious. Tendency to resist change corresponds to progressive and neutral social changes, but to favor either maintenance of the status quo or change in a reactionary direction (1973:13). In other words, conservatism is different from a general resistance to change, because change in a restrictive direction is favored (Glenn, 1974:179).

Conservatism can also be conceptualized as the fear of uncertainty (Braithwaite, 2009:162). Wilson argues that having a conservative attitude is a defensive function which arises as a response to feelings of insecurity and inferiority, and a generalized fear of uncertainty (1973:265). Conservative attitudes are mostly seen among individuals who experience threat or anxiety in the face of uncertainty among individuals who become vulnerable in uncertain situations (ibid: 259). In these kinds of situations, conservative attitudes can be considered “as a means of simplifying, ordering, controlling, and rendering more secure, both the internal and external worlds of the individuals” (ibid: 264). In order to provide order, inner needs and feelings are attempted to be controlled by rules, morals, duties, obligations etc (ibid: 264). In this sense, conservatism emphasizes the continuation of moral values (Wilson, 1941:32).

In the light of these definitions, in a more simplistic way, a conservative is a person who resists or opposes change (ibid: 178); who is keen on conserving values and institutions; and who is a defender of the status quo (Allen, 1981:583). Since conservatism is opposition to certain kinds of change, a conservative person can be better defined as a person who resists change except when the proposed change is perceived to be in a traditional direction or when it is aimed at increasing the security of the individual or his society (Wilson, 1973:8). According to Wilson, a conservative is intolerant of change because he/she tends to feel threatened and insecure in a complex and unfamiliar environment (ibid: 13). Therefore, he/she tends to prefer people of his/her own kind; prefers what is familiar, traditional and conventional in behavior and tends to be suspicious, fearful, even hateful, of people and things that are different in any way (ibid: 8).

ls mostly emphasize the importance of religion, tradition, established institutions and conventions, stability, authority, private property, and so on (Kerlinger, 1984:4). In daily lives, conservatives favor “the strict censorship of literature and entertainment, clothing that is sexually non-arousing and reservation of sexual activity for the purpose of reproduction of the species within marriage” (Wilson, 1973:8). Generally, they tend to prefer stability, and control in belief and behavior, and they tend to protect beliefs, customs and status from threat or change (ibid: 131). They are inclined to cling to the old forms as opposed to new (Cook, 1913:185). Although conservative individuals tend to possess certain characteristics that are stated above, it does not mean that all conservatives have the same characteristics. It should be taken into consideration that the level and area of conservatism may differ from individual to individual.

When individuals migrate to host countries, mostly, they start to live in an unfamiliar environment. It is very likely that, many immigrants experience the feelings of inferiority, uncertainty, insecurity and some other disappointments. These feelings lead many immigrants to search for familiarity in the host country context. To be able to cope with feelings of uncertainty and insecurity, immigrants tend to live close the other immigrants, who share similar experiences and cultural backgrounds, in certain neighborhoods where they can keep their cultures alive. Conservatism, as being “resistance to change” and “playing safe”, in the case of immigrants, turns into resistance to adapt to the lifestyle of the host society which deeply affects and determines many aspects of their lives.

I argue that in the host country context, where many things are unfamiliar for immigrants, they mostly tend to turn to their own cultures, traditions, values, institutions etc. Feeling threatened and insecure by the complex and unfamiliar environment of the host country, immigrants tend to prefer living with people of their own kind; prefer to be and live with what is familiar, traditional and conventional in behavior and prefer to conserve and develop their previous values, beliefs, religions, customs and status that they bring from their homeland.

Since I focus on conservative attitudes of Turkish immigrants in my research, I found it important to scrutinize conservative attitudes among the population of Turkey. A general look at the conservative attitudes in Turkey is useful to understand what the Turkish immigrants bring in their luggage when they travel from their homeland to their host country. In this way, it would be easier to understand and compare the general attitudes in Turkey and in the host country. Knowing the general conservative attitudes in Turkey is also important to explain why I chose religion and family as the main units of study for my research.

To be able to see the general picture of the Turkish population, I am going to first of all present the findings of the research, which was conducted by Liljeberg Research International and INFO GmbH (Berlin/Germany) in 2009¹ on the attitudes of the populations of Germany, Turkey and the Turkish Germans. For the research, 1000 participants were interviewed about their worldviews, attitudes, religious beliefs and consumption patterns. I argue that these findings constitute useful starting point for my discussion on the attitudes of Turkish immigrants in Western Europe. In the following part, I will present the findings of this research on the general attitudes of the Turkish population living in Turkey.

According to this research, 98% of the population of Turkey believe in God, 90% think traditions are important, 67% are against premarital sex, 84% believe that virginity is the most important precondition for a marriage, 84% are against homosexual marriages, 75% are against homosexual relationship of men, 88% believe that individuals have to consult their families before taking important decisions, 68% believe that parents have a role in the decision making process for the marriage of their children, 63% are against a Christian to join their family, 72% are against a Jew to join the family, 87% are against the atheist to join the family.

¹ http://www.liljeberg.net/aktuell/Basin_Bildirisi.pdf

ings of research conducted by Hakan Yılmaz in Turkey in between 2005-2006, which is called “Major Variants of Conservatism in Turkey”, conservatism is higher among rural and provincial residents and higher among people with lower education and lower income. According to Yılmaz, the golden formula for Turkish conservatism appears to be: “protect the family; change the economy; ensure political stability; and, make us a member of the EU, without sacrificing our national customs and traditions” (Yılmaz, 2008:59)

According to the findings of Yılmaz’s research, the most important social institution Turkish people want to conserve is the family (Yılmaz, 2006²). Turkish people want to protect the ‘moderately patriarchal’ family structure (Yılmaz, 2008:59). Yılmaz stated that social conservatism which is centered upon an idealized ‘holy family’ is influential in Turkey, and revolves around an “idealized woman” who is honorable and hard-working (Yılmaz, 2006). Family has always been the main unit of Turkish society. In the general picture of Turkey, men and women usually get married in their early 20s and “67% of women”, who are in between the ages of 15-49, are married (Şenyürekli & Detzner, 2008:458). Another point that makes family important is that traditions, which shape lives of individuals, are learned within the family. (Yılmaz, 2006).

Turkey is a patriarchal society in which local Islam is seen as legitimizing existing gender roles and family values (Timmerman, et. al., 2009:239). According to Yılmaz, religious conservatism is by far the most widespread dimension of conservatism in Turkey, which means people rely on religious norms and values in making their personal, social, and political decisions (Yılmaz, 2008:60). Moreover, religion is the ideology that legitimizes and sustains the idea of the ‘holy family’ in Turkey (ibid: 58). Islam has, more than most religions, the potential to shape and rule most aspects of life (Özüekren & Karahan, 2010:357) and since Turkish traditions mainly come from the Islamic culture (Yılmaz, 2006), the role of religion is very important in Turkey. Cook argued that conservatism is an immense power in human nature, and in religion, probably

² From the presentation of Hakan Yılmaz, *Major Variants of Conservatism in Turkey*, March 2006

of human life (1913:185). Accordingly, in Turkey, religion is very influential in shaping decisions within the private, political and social realms that are important for life.

Religious conservatism is followed by ‘sexual conservatism’ in Turkey. The dominance of sexual conservatism is important in the sense that it is effective in regulating sexuality and, in particular, women’s values and behavior in the intimacy of family and personal life (ibid: 60). Sexual honor (*namus*) is a very important concept among the Turkish population and it is very central for understanding traditional family values (Timmerman, et. al., 2009:239). Mainly, women and girls are the object of the sexual honor. It is very vital for a family to protect its sexual honor, especially in the rural parts of Turkey. “A family with sexual honor is a family where the women behave according to the expected social code, especially in reference to sexuality” (ibid: 239). Women are expected to remain virgins until they enter a marriage and they always have to behave carefully in order to avoid any doubt concerning their chaste behavior (ibid: 239). If they do not behave according to the “expected social code”, they are subjected to severe punishments and even death.

In light of the previous research on Turkey, family and religion have been highlighted out as the main social institutions that Turkish people want to conserve and that these are the social institutions where their conservatism derives from in Turkey. Hence, family and religion have been selected as the main units of my study of conservative attitudes amongst Turkish immigrants.

3.4 Conservatism among Turkish immigrants in Western Europe

3.4.1. Turkish immigrants in Western Europe

Turkey is one of the world’s leading migrant sending countries, with about six percent of its population living abroad (İçduygu, 2009:3).

“The number of people in Europe from Turkey increased continuously from 600,000 in 1972 to almost 2,000,000 in the early 1980s and to 2,900,000 in the mid-1990s. In the mid 2000s, the total number was over 2,500,000”. (ibid: 6)

Turks' history of large-scale immigration to Western Europe started with the bilateral Turkish- Western German agreement on 31 October 1961 (İçduygu, 1999:597). This continued with several other bilateral agreements signed with the governments of Austria, the Netherlands and Belgium in 1964, France in 1965, Sweden in 1967 and Denmark in 1973 (İçduygu, 2009:4). After the 1960s, millions of Turkish people migrated and migration continues to Western Europe, mostly within the framework of labor recruitment. In these 40 years, Europe has always remained as the main target destination for Turkish immigrants (İçduygu, 2009:6). Although after the 1970s, labor migration to Europe decreased due to the ending of the bilateral agreements between the European countries and Turkey as the result of the economic fallouts of the oil crisis in 1973, the Turkish population in Western European countries continued growing. Legal labor migration to Europe was replaced, to a large extent, with family reunions, refugee movements, and irregular labor migration (İçduygu, 2009:4).

3.4.2. Characteristics of Turkish immigrants in Western Europe

The most important characteristic of Turkish immigrants is that they are mostly engaged in low-paying and unskilled jobs in Western Europe (Hathaway, et al, 2008:31). They are predominantly employed in “metal engineering, industrial and office cleaning, building, public work, and garment industry” (Manço, n.d.). Most of the Turkish immigrants in Western Europe have rural origins, who have never lived in a city before migrating to Europe (Manço, n.d.). There are very few immigrants from the big cities of Turkey. The education level is very low among these immigrants who have rural origins, and there are big differences between the education level of men and women (Westin, 2003:991).

The most important thing that distinguishes Turkish immigrants from the other non-European and Muslim immigrants is that since Turkey had never been colonized, Turkish people have never coexisted with European cultures or languages before (Manço, n.d.). In most cases, they are not familiar with the language or culture of the host countries. Since they migrate to totally alien

in the same neighborhoods with other immigrants especially with the ones who have the same locality of origin. They tend to live, if it is possible, with the members of their families or with the people from the same village. Thus, strong family and regional ties are tried to be maintained within the host country context (Manço, n.d.). Maintaining these ties plays an important role for many Turkish migrants in finding their way to and within the host country.

3.4.3. Previous researches on conservative attitudes amongst Turkish immigrants

According to the findings of Liljeberg research on the general attitudes of the Turkish-German population living in Germany, 89% of Turkish Germans believe in God, 83% think traditions are important, 56% are against premarital sex, 48% believe that virginity is the most important precondition for a marriage, 70% are against homosexual marriages, 65% are against homosexual relationships amongst men, 84% believe that individuals have to consult their families before taking important decisions, 48% believe that parents have a role in the decision making process for the marriage of their children, 40% are against a Christian to join their family, 40% are against a Jew to join the family, 69% are against the atheist to join the family.

When the findings of Turkish-Germans are compared with Turkish people, it can be seen that there are differences between them. Turkish-Germans seem less conservative than the Turkish population but religion and the patriarchal family structure still maintain its importance in the daily lives of both populations. Liljeberg stated that traditional values are stronger among younger Turkish Germans. He also stated that the widespread conservative opinions among the young Turkish people might be a reaction against the pressure on trying to fit into German society. And he added “the younger ones think: If they don’t want me here, then I would rather have a Turkish identity³” (Hemmerich, 2009).

According to the findings of recent research conducted on Turkish immigrants living in Sweden, it is stated that Turkish immigrants are interested in

³ <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,662520,00.html>

...e and are not interested in learning about other cultures (Bayram, et. al, 2009:106). It is added that surveys, which were conducted in European countries other than Sweden, also showed that immigrants from Turkey fail in integrating into the host countries' cultures (ibid: 106).

3.4.4. Community life among Turkish immigrants

In most cases, when they migrate, Turkish immigrants do not know the language and culture of the host country. Because of unfamiliarity to the culture and language, they are not able to integrate into the host society easily. On the other hand, in some cases, because of the differences of lifestyles between the host society and Turkish immigrants, the host society may misunderstand or reject them. (Manço, 2005:194). This situation leads to exclusion and discrimination of Turkish immigrants by the host society. As a result of this, Turkish immigrants are forced to lead culturally marginalized lives in isolated neighborhoods.

“Even the Turkish immigrants who were born in Sweden have difficulties with the Swedish language, will not take advantage of the educational opportunities, and prefer to live in their closed and segregated societies...” (Bayram, et al, 2009:107).

“Rising xenophobia within the reunified Germany strengthened the solidarity among Turks, especially among those who had lived there for a long time... Turks developed their own infrastructure in Berlin and Kreuzberg” (Özüekren & Karahan, 2010:366).

One of the important reasons for Turkish immigrants in failing to adapt to the host societies of Western Europe is that they found some aspects of the host culture unappealing (Aymaz, 1984:56) and morally inappropriate for themselves. This inappropriateness is mostly centered upon the religious beliefs and family lives of the host society:

“‘The moral conditions do no fit the Turks’, ‘the love demonstration on the street’ and the ‘religion (*Christianity*) and the activities centered around this religion’, that



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‘moral’ conditions in the host society” (ibid: 56).

Most of the Turkish immigrants, mainly the ones with rural origin, are very determined in preserving and maintaining their homeland culture, traditions and religion. They prefer to live in neighborhoods, which are “highly ethnically structured” with the establishment of Turkish shops, restaurants, associations, and mosques (Manço, n.d.) with their countrymen. In this way, a Turkish space is created within the host country which acts as a point of attachment, where they can feel secure and confident in a familiar environment. This situation detaches them from the host country. In a way, they isolate themselves from the host society; they resist adapting to its lifestyle, culture, values and traditions.

3.4.5. Family structure among Turkish immigrants

Turkish immigrants are keen on keeping the traditional family structure and patriarchal family values alive in the host country context. Among the Turkish community in Gothenburg, a patriarchal ideology and structure characterize the family and home life among the Turkish immigrants and the “essential principle continues to be that the individual is subordinated to the collectivity, most importantly within the family and thereafter to varying degrees within one’s circle of close relatives” (Engelbrektsson, 1995: 349). Family relations can be characterized as a hierarchy of gender and relative age, with women being subordinate to men and younger people being subordinate to older people (ibid: 349). According to Westin, patriarchal family values are strongest among the migrant families of rural origin. These families tend to cling to traditional patriarchal lines of authority and the daughters of these families are usually subjected to very strict family control in order that they behave in accordance with the norms of chastity and protect their family’s honor (*aile namusu*). (Westin, 2003:995).

Marriage keeps its importance and centrality in the host country as well as in Turkey. In the case of forming a family; in marriage decisions, among Turkish

to be married to a Turkish spouse. Even in the host country context, for Turkish immigrants, it is still very important to have Turkish and Muslim spouses. Engelbrektsson stated that “regarding the choice of marriage partners, over one third of the Turks cannot imagine marrying outside their religion” (1995:260). Moreover, among the Turkish migrant families, particularly the ones with rural origin, marriage is a family matter. It is common for family members to arrange marriages for their children (ibid: 297). For example, in the case of Turkish immigrants in Belgium, it is common that Turkish parents want their children to have ‘authentic’ Turkish partners for their children and young Turks also prefer ‘traditional’ marriage partners; men prefer wives, who are good and obedient housewives and mothers, whereas women prefer responsible husbands who can take the role of the head of the household seriously (Timmerman, et. al., 2009:241).

Because of these reasons, spouses are mostly chosen from the Turkish community (Avci, 2006:105) or they are brought from the one’s parent’s village; from Turkey to the host country. According to Timmerman et al (2009:241), with these ‘authentic’ young Turkish partners, the immigrants reconnect themselves to the home country. In the light of this, it is possible to say that changing social and cultural contexts are predominantly has little effect in transforming the traditional family structure of Turkish immigrants. They embrace their Turkish identity and mostly maintain it in the host country.

3.4.6. The role of the religion in the host country

Apart from maintaining the traditional family structure, keeping religion alive in the host country context is very important for the Turkish immigrants. According to Hunt (2010:148),

“Religion, alongside class, gender, age, nationality and morality, is an important resource in the construction of identity which may be transitory and characterized by unfolding and developing meanings established by individuals and collectives”.

Turkish immigrants, religion serves as an identity marker in the host country context. According to Engelbrektsson (1995:348), religion is a symbolic division between immigrants and the host society. Through not eating pork, giving Koranic names to their children, circumcising the males, the immigrants demarcate their identities in the host context (ibid: 348). Manço argues that among the Turkish immigrants in Europe, Islam is the most important mark of belonging and identity. It is also argued that conservatism, which takes its roots from Islamism, has a more important role than ethnicity in shaping residential preferences and the daily life choices of immigrants, from where to live to whom to have contacts. As stated by Özüekren and Karahan (2010:370), it becomes

“... more important than ethnicity in shaping residential preferences and choices of individuals. For instance, Turks who are strictly bound by religious rules tend to live their lives in the way they believe Islam ordered, and perceive being Muslim as an umbrella for identity”.

3.4.7. Membership of religious organizations

The importance of the religion in the daily lives of Turkish immigrants becomes apparent especially in the formation and memberships of religious organizations in the host countries. Many Turkish immigrants have become members of these Islamic organizations in the host countries of Western Europe. These Islamic organizations can be considered as important for the formation of immigrant identity (Azak, 2003:147). Manço claims that these Islamic immigrant organizations are mostly formed by first generation immigrant men who had experienced a sharp fall in social status in the host country. Mostly, these immigrants are uneducated, do not know the language of the host country and have a low socio-economic status (Manço, n.d.). According to Manço, these immigrants' desire to continue following Islamic precepts and religious practices is a defensive assertion of identity. Under these circumstances, turning to Islam as an identity marker in the host country can be considered as



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“... a revolt against a Western society of discrimination and exclusion. They try to exploit the legitimacy procured by such membership to develop strategies to become part of society or enhance their self-esteem” (Manço, n.d.).

Membership to these religious communities and organizations are crucial for immigrants for creating their own space in the host country. Keeping religion alive and being member of religious communities helps immigrants to regain their self-esteem and self-respect in the host country.

“Turkish immigrants’ involvement in communities of faith and their perceptions of other religious communities form some of the most clearly uniting and dividing factors in the construction of identities.” (Ehrkamp, 2005:353)

Moreover, through maintaining religious culture, Turkish immigrant men can also reestablish their authority over their wives and children which is essential to protect and sustain the traditional patriarchal family structure. Belonging to a mosque community or a religious association can be considered as a means of forming a connection with other family members (Ehrkamp, 2005:354). Ehrkamp argues that immigrant families actively build these kinds of connections over several generations.

In the Turkish neighborhood Marxloh in Germany, Turkish immigrants have maintained religious communities and communal places which have become important aspects of placing Turkish identities within the host country context, contributing to the religious identification of immigrants and allowing them to feel a sense of belonging in the neighborhood (ibid:354). In the case of Marxloh, religious practice has become a way of expressing identities locally and creating local belonging to a community which is not limited to boundaries (ibid: 354).

For the immigrants, who decide to stay in the host country permanently, the question of transmitting religion to their children becomes important (Torrekens, 2007:6). In an environment, where Islam is not the official religion, raising children according to Islam becomes harder and more serious (ibid: 6). In

Organizations also serve for promoting and teaching the religion of the country of origin. Moreover, these organizations have become a meeting point for young immigrants outside domestic settings. Islamic organizations are considered to be safe alternatives to hanging around in streets, cafes, and penny arcades, or being caught up in prostitution, drugs and delinquency by the parents (Manço, n.d.). Apart from that, these organizations enable young immigrants to socialize with each other in the host country context where they do not have easy access to ‘indigenous’ social structures (Manço, n.d.)

In short, whatever the reason is for forming and being a member of an Islamic organization in the host countries, such organizations are very influential among Turkish immigrants for them to maintain their religious precepts and practices. They keep religious feelings alive with the help of solidarity and information networks that have formed around these organizations.

4. PRACTICING CONSERVATISM IN TURKEY

In opposition to the hypothesis formulated in the beginning of the study, which stated that immigrants become more conservative in the host country, most of the participants interviewed for this study stated that they have not become more conservative in Sweden. Additionally, some stated that they were more conservative in Turkey because of the pressure of community life. They stated that they had to be more conservative in order not to be excluded by others, whereas in Sweden, in most cases, since they are not part of a similar kind of community anymore, they do not have to maintain the same attitudes and act accordingly. In following part, in order to provide the ground for findings of interviews, roots of the community pressure and its significance in Turkey are going to be analyzed.

4.1. The modernization of the Turkish Republic

During period of the Ottoman Empire, the state and religion had been interwoven. With the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, several reforms, including the Romanized alphabet, calendar and measurement system, and the style of dress, had been introduced in order to modernize Turkish society through an ideology based on positivism (Özüekren & Karahan, 2010:357). Islam, which had been the state religion during the Ottoman period, was abolished as the state religion in 1928 in order to create modern and secular state (Doomerik, 1995:49). During this period, new laws and regulations, without reference to the Islam, were adopted. In this way, the social organization of the Ottoman period, which was based on the concept of *umma* (*ümmet* -the community of believers), was replaced a social organization which based upon citizenship (Özüekren & Karahan, 2010:357). As the result of all these transformations, Turkey became the only secular republic

: 357). All these reforms and transformations had been done to minimize the domination of Islam and its traditions among the population and in state affairs; in other words, to transform the pre-modern society leftover from the Ottoman Empire into the modern society of the Turkish Republic.

It has been 88 years since the Turkish Republic was established, but the extent to which the goal of creating a modern and secular state has been achieved continues to be question within Turkey (ibid: 357). To what extent the modernization efforts have become successful in penetrating into all levels of society is open to questioning. These transformations and reforms were forcefully imposed onto Turkish society, from the top, through prohibitions and penalties. It had been expected from a society, which had had a strong religious and traditionalist past, to take and adopt all of these modern ways rapidly. For example, the domination of religion in the lives of people was discouraged through “the prohibition of all Islamic sects and their training activities and through restrictions on the use of religious symbols, such as the headscarf, in state institutions” (ibid: 357). Consequently, while there were some individuals who embraced the new modern and secular values and behaviors intentionally, there were others who had been more forcefully obliged to change their lifestyles.

When Turkey is considered from a macro perspective, it has officially been a modern secular state for 88 years. However, when we look closer; when we look from a micro perspective at the towns, villages and neighborhoods, it can be seen that this view is different. Although the state and its institutions were modernized and secularized, traditions and religion have kept a decisive role among the lives of individuals and communities. In this sense, Turkey can be considered as a country which has not totally achieved the transition from pre-modern to modern.

4.2. Pre modern (*Gemeinschaft*) and modern societies (*Gesellschaft*)

In order to understand a society that is in between pre-modern and modern, it is important to know the characteristics of these types of societies. For this

ain the general characteristics of pre-modern and

modern societies in following paragraphs.

According to Tönnies, there are two kinds of societies that characterize the pre-modern and modern periods. There are two different ways of organizing social life, relationships and the creation of individual self-identity (Kidd, 2002:199). The first one is the pre-modern, traditional society which is based on ‘*Gemeinschaft*’. This is the society which had been dominated by social will as concord, folkways, mores and religion. The second one is the modern society which is based on ‘*Gesellschaft*’. It is the society which has been dominated by social will as convention, legislation and public opinion (Tönnies, 1995:271).

In *Gemeinschaft*, traditions and religion are the most important elements that dominate, manipulate and restrict the lives of individuals. Face-to-face relations between individuals are important and it is through these face-to-face relations that the norms of given communities are created (Toprak et. al, 2009: 11). Individuals had been living their lives in front of others and their lives had constantly been regulated by other individuals in the same community. In short, *Gemeinschaft* is an association of individuals in which communal pressures are strong and effective in shaping individuals’ lives (ibid: 11).

In *Gesellschaft*, the restrictive and dominant role of religion and traditions is diminished by the state which is secular in most cases. With modernity, “the forms of law change from a product of the folkways and mores and the law of custom into purely legalistic law, a product of policy” (Tönnies, 1955:264). In this way, modernity opened up a free space for the individual and individuals to start to lead their lives and make their choices without being subject to community pressure (Toprak et. al, 2009:11). The characters of the individuals, which were influenced and determined by religion, traditions, folkways and mores, undergo new changes in the adaptation to new and arbitrary legal constructions (Tönnies, 1955:264). Moreover, modernity also sets individuals free in their moral choices. In *Gemeinschaft*, the morality of the individual had been determined by the community, religious teachings or traditions, whereas in *Gesellschaft*, moral standards are determined by the individual themselves. Individuals are free to

rality on traditions, religion or the teachings of secular ethics (Toprak et. al, 2009:12).

The understanding shared by all the community members is the most important thing that distinguishes *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. This understanding, or in other words the consensus, which is the product of hard negotiations and compromises, is the special force and sympathy that keeps individuals together as members of a totality within *Gemeinschaft* (ibid:53; Bauman, 2001:10). Another important difference between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* is that in modern society, individuals are able to make their life choices and these choices are supported by within a legal framework (Toprak et. al, 2009: 53). Therefore, the history of modernization can be considered as the history of the individual freeing themselves from the pressures of religious institutions, community, neighborhood and family. In *Gesellschaft*, the face-to-face relationships of *Gemeinschaft* were replaced by anonymity and by bureaucratic relations. In modern society, the individual does not only exist as a member of a community any more, he/she has become an individual and a citizen whose rights are defined by law (ibid:13).

4.3. The concept of òNeighborhood Pressureö

By stating Turkish society has not totally achieved the transition from pre-modern to modern, I wanted to emphasize the enduring important and decisive role of communal relations in Turkey. The decisive role of communal relations on individuals' attitudes and behavior in everyday life has been questioned in recent years. The debate started in 2007 after the academic Şerif Mardin who stated in an interview that there was such a thing as "neighborhood pressure", which has existed in Turkey since before the establishment of the contemporary republic (Çakır, 2008:23).

Since "neighborhood pressure", as a concept has recently been raised, there are few written sources in Turkey that examine the concept. In order to clarify what "neighborhood pressure" is, I have utilized two books which were

Çakır⁴. In these books, Çakır collects the views of many journalists and academics on the meaning, effects and consequences of “neighborhood pressure” which were published in various forms of media. To begin with, journalist Cüneyt Ülsever defined “neighborhood pressure” as a sociological term which mainly emphasizes the social pressure that is placed on the individual by the value system of the community he/she lives in (Çakır, 2008:40). In addition to that, the academic Ahmet İnel explains the concept as the “eye pressure, stare pressure, condemnation, verbal disapproval pressure” which is placed upon individuals deemed to be “different”. He added that this pressure becomes apparent in the conservative attitudes of small town communities on issues like the headscarf, alcohol consumption and sexual preferences (Çakır, 2009:157). More comprehensively, the academic Binnaz Toprak explains the term as a pre-modern structure, in which moral codes, relations between man and woman, the sexual behaviors of individuals and the definition of honor (*namus*) are determined by the community. In this structure, when individuals do not obey the codes, they are subjected to be excluded or punished in other ways (Çakır, 2008:104).

As I stated above, the most important reason which provides the base for neighborhood pressure is the unfinished modernization process within Turkish society. Turkey still possesses characteristics of *Gemeinschaft* at the societal level; individualism has not developed and face-to-face relations and traditions still play crucial role in determining individuals’ lifestyles, especially in the small towns. As İnel puts it, in Turkey, the modernization process has not been achieved as freeing itself from conservative authoritarian values (ibid: 156). In parallel to that the academic Fuat Keyman argues that Turkey has modernized in the areas of politics, economics, law and bureaucracy (ibid: 48). However, he

⁴ The excerpts used in this part were cited from the books “*Mahalle Bask,s*, (Neighborhood Pressure) and “*Mahalle Bask,s, var m,, yok mu?* (Does the neighborhood pressure exist or not?)” edited by Ruşen Çakır. With these two books, Çakır aimed at reflecting the debate surrounding ‘neighborhood pressure’ in various forms of media (Çakır, 2008:11). For these books, Çakır edited the contents from articles that were published in various newspapers and from interviews conducted with journalists and academics. None of the excerpts were cited from a scientific/academic document.”

facing serious problems in the level of cultural modernization; in the areas of individualization and pluralism. Since cultural modernization cannot be achieved at the same level as political and economic modernization, existing traditional structures and cultural values put pressure on individuals and cause “neighborhood pressure” in the micro level (ibid: 47). In the light of this, it can be said that “neighborhood pressure” arises from the conflict between pre-modern and modern values within Turkish society.

Since “neighborhood pressure”, in practice, takes the form of the pressure of the majority on the minority, the objects and subjects of the pressure differ from place to place. In one place, wearing headscarf can become a matter of oppression, whereas drinking alcohol can be in another place. Whatever the issue or whoever the oppressor is, “neighborhood pressure” has a very decisive role in shaping and reshaping individuals’ attitudes and behaviors within communities. In order not to be excluded, condemned or punished in other ways, individuals have to obey the codes of the community.

4.4. Neighborhood Pressure in Turkey

“Neighborhood pressure” can be considered as one of the important of the sources of the conservatism in Turkey. Influence of “neighborhood pressure” on individuals’ daily lives was also emphasized in the interviews that were conducted for this study. Some of the participants stated “neighborhood pressure” as the main cause of their conservative attitudes and behaviors they had in Turkey. Regarding these findings, in this part, I am going to present the conclusions of previous research on how “neighborhood pressure” works in practice within contemporary Turkish society.

Under the leadership of the academic Binnaz Toprak, a research was conducted in 12 Anatolian cities, with 401 participants, to prepare a report of “neighborhood pressure” in Turkey in 2008. According to this research “*Being Different in Turkey: Alienation on the Axis of Religion and Conservatism*”, it was concluded that it is hard to lead a life away from community pressure within Turkey. In the Anatolian towns, to have a distinct identity, to be different from

individual space, in which a person can reveal his/her talents and imagination, is almost impossible (Toprak et. al, 2009: 180). Community life in Turkey, especially in the towns of Anatolia, does not allow individuality and forces everybody to lead conformist lives (ibid: 180). An individual, who does not fit into this frame and does not obey the rules of the community, is condemned to be excluded in the public space, to be harassed, to be left alone and desperate, to be left jobless and to fail in her/his business (ibid:29). Therefore, the majority of people are forced to be part of the flock and to conform in order not to be excluded or punished by the community.

Previous studies show that Turkish society is still not been controlled completely by the law. The real control mechanism is within the communities in the society. Going against the social and political flow is difficult; conformism is still widely expected and deviations are unwelcomed by the society (ibid: 29). All of these show that community life and pressure have more decisive role on individuals than the law in Turkey.

According to previous research, people are intolerant against individuals that they consider as ‘other’. In other words, there is a lack of tolerance for diversity in Turkey. The individuals, who are Kurdish, Alawites, non-Muslim, foreigners, homosexuals etc, have been considered as the ‘other’ and they are stated as the ‘unwanted’ neighbors by the people (Toprak et. al, 2009: 14). The pressure causes non-Muslims to use the Turkish versions of their names and Alawites to hide their religious identities in public places (Çakır, 2008: 46). As the journalist Türkan Alkan states, it even results in the murder of women in the name of honor (*namus*) (ibid: 49). Being religious, especially being Sunnite is the most important feature that is most wanted while looking for a spouse and choosing a friend, neighbor, business partner, tenant, landlord and so forth (ibid: 49). Moreover, in Turkey, it has been observed that the level of conservatism increased with the level of the piety. The more individuals are religious, the more conservative their attitudes on the matters such as women wearing short skirts, girls and boys being in the same classes in high schools or a woman sitting next to a man during long-distance bus journeys (ibid: 49). In the light of these findings,



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es, behaviors and lifestyles of the majority of the Turkish society have still been based on, and shaped by, religion and traditions.

The findings of all these studies reveal that although the Turkish state became modern and secular, since the modernization processes have not penetrated all levels of society equally, Turkish society has not still become completely modern. It contains the features of both *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. Community life has a decisive role on the life of individuals, especially in the villages and small towns of Turkey. Community life means leading a collective life in which everybody knows each other; they engage in face-to-face relations in everyday lives, individuals live their lives in front of and under the control of others and individuals' lives are shaped by religion and traditions (ibid: 49). It has its 'unwritten' laws that individuals have to obey; otherwise there is the danger of being excluded and punished by the rest of the community. Conservatism in Turkey mainly derives from community life. Because of the fear of the possibility of being excluded from the community, individuals shape and reshape their attitudes and behaviors according to the norms and values of the community they are living in.

5. DATA

5.1 Selection of the site

In the process of collecting data, the researcher engages in a series of activities. One of the most important activities for the researcher is to be able to find a site that can “purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study” (Creswell, 2007:125). To be able to find a site where the researcher can gain access and provide information regarding the research question is very crucial in the process of collecting data and for the progress of the research.

The main aim of this study is to understand changes in the conservative attitudes of immigrants; therefore it was important for me to find a site where I could gain access to immigrants who were willing to provide information. It was not possible for me to conduct research on all the immigrants in the world so I had to narrow the site of inquiry of my research.

Being familiar with the Turkish culture and being a native Turkish speaker, as the researcher, it would be easy for me to access immigrants from Turkey. Thus, I decided to conduct my research with immigrants who are originally from Turkey. Since I have been studying in Sweden and it was easier for me to reach the immigrants in Sweden. I have been studying in Lund for two years. During my studies, I had lived in Malmö for 1,5 years and I have been living in Lund for six months. Since both cities are familiar to me, it was easy for me to gain access to Turkish immigrants. Because of these practical reasons, I preferred to conduct my research in Lund and Malmö.

5.2 Selection of the sample

Another very important thing in the process of collecting data is to be able to find individuals who are accessible, who are willing to provide information and

phenomenon or issue being explored (ibid:119). It

is crucial to be able to reach a group of individuals who can provide useful data for the progress of the research.

Since it was impossible for me to reach all of the immigrants in Malmö and Lund, first of all, I had to choose the respondents who were appropriate for the purpose of my study and at the same time respondents whom I would be able to gain access to. To figure out a purposeful sample that can “best inform the researcher about the research problem under examination” (Creswell, 2007:118) was one of the most important parts of the process of selecting the sample.

Purposeful sampling is a strategy that is used in qualitative research in which the researcher “selects individuals and sites for study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study” (ibid: 125). Random purposeful sampling method was utilized for the study. It is a strategy which is used when the potential purposeful sample is larger than the researcher can access in order to add credibility to the sample (ibid: 127). Thus, for the study, I interviewed a small group of individuals in order to understand the perceptions, attitudes, behaviors and contexts of the Turkish immigrants. Although the use of the random purposeful sampling would not lead to conclusions that are valid for the whole immigrant population, it is a useful method to be able to ascertain an association between conservative attitudes and the context of immigrants.

Immigrants, *who had migrated to Sweden from Turkey and who have been living or working Malmö or Lund*, were identified as the subjects of my study. Participants were chosen from the immigrants who are originally from Turkey and, at the same time, who had previously lived in Turkey. The ethnicities of the participants were not taken into account during the study. In this study, by the word “Turkish”, I refer to the immigrants who are/were Turkish citizens and migrated from Turkey to Sweden. Once leading a life in Turkey was important in order to observe the conservative attitudes of the same individual in Turkey and in Sweden respectively and to be able to compare and contrast the attitudes of the same individual.

sample group of my study, I figured out the sites that I would be able to reach the individuals who fit the identification. As the result of my visits to Turkish Associations in Malmö, restaurants and shops, which are owned by immigrants and which have immigrant employees, Lund University and Komvux were the main sites where I reached the participants for the study. In these sites, I approached all participants, who I met on a chance encounter, by asking if they would like to participate in a study about the attitudes of immigrants from Turkey.

All in all, I conducted 22 interviews. With the participants I interviewed, I could capture a diverse group of immigrants according to social cleavages such as age, gender, occupation, education level, hometown in Turkey, and reasons for migrating to Sweden.

5.2 Interview as a method

In my research, I have focused on the question *How does migration experience shape the conservative attitudes of immigrants?* To be able to answer this question, it was important for me to reach the immigrants and to be able to listen to their experiences from their own mouths. My analysis in this study was based on interviews with immigrants, who are originally from Turkey, living or working in Malmö or Lund. Interviews with 22 participants provided the data. I preferred the interview method because interviews make it possible for the researcher to get a more detailed and comprehensive understanding about the research subject than statistics and questionnaires. To be able to gain a deeper understanding about the changes in the attitudes of the immigrants, I thought that conducting one-on-one interviews with the immigrants would be useful for my research. Therefore, I conducted “semi-structured interviews” which is defined as “an interview whose purpose is to obtain descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena” (Kvale, 1996:5-6). I chose semi-structured interviews as a method, because I believe that it is a technique which allows the interviewees to freely express their

while it also allows interviewers to guide the interview.

The interview questions consisted of three parts (Appendix: 10.2). The first part consisted of questions regarding the personal information of the interviewees; the second and third parts consisted of questions regarding their attitudes to family life and religious life, which are distinguished as the main sources of conservatism in Turkey and also as the most important social institutions that Turkish people want to conserve. The same questions were asked to all respondents to understand how the attitudes were in Turkey, and how they are in Sweden and to be able to compare the effects of the host country context on the attitudes of immigrants.

I asked the questions that I had prepared in the interviews. Most of the interviews took place before, during or after the work hours of the participants in their work places. Two of the interviews were conducted in the homes of the participants and one of them took place in a café. Before conducting each interview, I made my interviewees read the interview guide (Appendix: 10.1) that I had written beforehand in order to inform participants about the purpose of the study and to be sure about their informed consent for the interview. Also, before the interviews, I asked for their permission to be able to record the interviews. One interviewee did not want the interview to be recorded. Informal conversations were not recorded, but I took notes during or immediately after the interviews.

5.3 Limitations and problems regarding the methodology

In spite of its many advantages, the semi-structured technique also has its limitations. Through interviewing, different perspectives can be recognized and analyzed, and also, the researcher's reflections on these different perspectives become part of the knowledge production of knowledge. On one hand, this situation is advantageous for providing deep information about the subject of the research; on the other hand, it means that all the data I collected through interviews is subjective. It is not possible to claim neutrality when you reach knowledge through experiences, opinions and interpretations. Therefore, it is not

isions about the changes in conservative attitudes

of all of the immigrants a result of interviews.

Apart from these, the one-on-one interview method has the problem of “artificiality”. The interviewees were separated from all their everyday relations during the interviews (Flick, 2009:195). This situation might have affected the reliability of the answers; since the participant was aware that he/she was being interviewed. Interviewees might have given the answers which they wanted to be reflected or represented.

Since most of the interviews took place in the work places; before, during or after work hours, participants’ attention was often distracted by external factors or their work conditions - limiting the time of the interviews. This situation also affected the quality of the interviews. Moreover, internal factors such as participants’ mood at time of the interviews, their understanding of the questions, and my interpretations of the answers also affect the reliability of the interviews.

Another important problem was language. All the interviews were conducted in Turkish, which was the native language of the participants and the researcher. Thus, it did not create any problem during the interviews. However, for the analysis; the quotes had to be translated into English. This might have caused some meanings to be lost in translation.

I used tape recorders to record the interviews. By using tape recorders during the interviews, the interviewers, can concentrate on the topic and the dynamic of the interview (Kvale, 1996:160). Recording give us the opportunity to relisten to our interviews again and again for analysing, instead of relying only on notes and memory. However, there were some participants who did not feel comfortable with the recorder and they opened up more comfortably when I turned off the recorder after finishing the interview. One of the participants did not want to be recorded, so I had to take notes during the interview.

The purposeful random sampling is very useful to be able to reach the targeted sample quickly, when it is not possible to reach all of the targeted population. However, with the purposive sample, only limited opinions can be



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d did not lead to generalizations. Moreover, with this method, I was not able to reach equal numbers of men and women participants.

5.4 Ethical issues

Another important part of conducting research is to take ethical issues into consideration. Since I used interviews for my research, I needed to take the consent of the participants before the interviews. “A fundamental ethical principle of social research is: Never coerce anyone into participating; participation must be voluntary” (Neuman, 2000:96). All the participants were given a brief description of the purpose and the procedure of the research so that they could make an informed decision. Therefore, all of the participants knew what the research was about, for what purpose it was going to be used, who the researcher was, and how they could reach the researcher and results. To be able to assure respondents’ voluntary cooperation, the respondents were assured of the confidentiality of their personal information and their answers. Also, before the interviews, all of the respondents were asked for their permission to be able to record the interviews.

⁵ <http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/sampon.php>

6.1 Profile of the Participants: General Outlook (Appendix: 10.3)

The data of this study was provided by the 22 interviews that were conducted in Malmö and Lund. As I stated before, all participants were chosen from among immigrants who had lived in Turkey and then migrated to Sweden from Turkey. In the first part of the analysis of the interviews, I will present the general features of the participants.

Among 22 participants, there is not an equal distribution of gender; 16 of the participants are male, whereas 6 of them are female. There are 9 participants who are in the age group 20-34; 6 of them are in the age group 35-49 and finally 7 of them are in the age group of 50 and older. The youngest participant is 23 and the oldest participant is 68 years old. 5 of the participants are primary school graduates, 4 of them are middle⁶ school graduates, 9 of them are high school graduates, 1 of them went to Handelsskolan in Sweden, 2 of them are university graduates and one participant has a doctorate degree.

21 participants stated that they believe in Islam and 1 participant stated that he does not believe in any of the religions.

19 of the participants stated that they are married. 1 participant stated that he is going to get married soon, 1 participant stated that he got divorced 18 years ago, 1 participant stated that he is single but has a child with a Swedish woman. Among the married participants, 13 of them are married to spouses from Turkey. 2 participants stated that their wives are citizens of Denmark, but they are ethnically Turkish. 1 participant stated that he was married to a Danish woman, he got divorced but this time he would marry to a Swedish person who has Turkish father. 1 respondent stated that he is married to a Persian wife. 1 participant is married to a Finnish person; 1 participant is married to Danish person. 1 participant stated that he is married to a Turkish person from Macedonia. Finally,

⁶ In Turkey, before 1997, compulsory education was for 5 years. After the 5 year primary school education, students go to 3 years of middle school and then go to 3 years of high school. After 1997, compulsory education became 8 years; 5 years primary school education combined with the 3 middle school education.

Bulgarian person (since they had migrated to Turkey from Bulgaria in 1989).

14 participants changed the type of work they were engaged with in Turkey. Among these 14 participants, 4 of them were unemployed in Sweden. 5 of them started work as cooks, although they had different professions in Turkey; such as tailor, farmer, shoe maker and turner. 3 of the participants were engaged in the same professions in Sweden as in Turkey. One of them is hair dresser, one is in the furniture business and the other is a cook. 3 of the participants were children when their parents migrated to Sweden, therefore they were not working in Turkey, but they all work in Sweden. 1 of the participants is doing her post doc in Sweden and she is working in a post doc laboratory. 1 of the participants came to Sweden after university graduation, he was a student when he was in Turkey, but in Sweden, he is working in an IT department.

5 participants left Turkey before 1980. 3 participants left Turkey in between 1980 and 1999. 11 participants left Turkey after 2000. 10 participants left Turkey because they got married. 3 participants left Turkey because of family reunion purposes. 3 participants left Turkey in order to be able to live under better conditions. 1 participant left in order to be able to take care of his daughter in Sweden. The rest of the respondents left Turkey because of political reasons, to have experience in Europe, to look after grandchildren, to have free education or to take care of family members.

14 participants have been living in Sweden less than 10 years. 3 participants have been in Sweden between 10 and 30 years. 4 participants have been living in Sweden between 30 and 40 years. 1 participant has been living in Sweden for 43 years. When the participants were asked the reasons for preferring Sweden, 7 of them answered because their spouses had been living in Sweden, 7 of them answered because they had family members or friends who had been in Sweden, 3 of them came to Sweden as a result of family reunions, 3 of them preferred Sweden because of better conditions, 2 participants preferred it because of free education and because they wished to change the country they lived in.

Participants were asked how much Swedish they know, 8 participants said that their level of Swedish is good or very good, 5 of them said that their level is was fairly good. 5 participants stated that they know little Swedish, and 4 of them said that they do not know Swedish.

Each participant was asked which city in Turkey she/he is from. 4 of them are from Konya, 4 from Ankara, 3 from Bursa, 2 from İzmir, 2 from Zonguldak and the rest are from Isparta, Aksaray, Kahramanmaraş, Istanbul, Balıkesir, Trabzon and Antalya. Each participant was also asked which city he/she lives in Sweden. 13 of participants live in Malmö, 7 of them live in Lund, and 1 participant lives in Eslöv and 1 participant lives in Landskrona.

Each participant was asked which ethnic group constitutes the majority in her/his neighborhood. 12 participants said that Swedish people constitute the majority, 8 participants said immigrants and 2 participants stated that Turkish immigrants constitute the majority in her/his neighborhood. After that question participants were asked which group they prefer, if they have the chance to choose, as neighbors. 7 participants said that they want to be close to immigrants from Turkey, 5 participants said that they prefer Swedish people, 4 participants said that it does not matter, 4 participants said that they want to live close to people from different ethnicities and 1 participant stated that he wanted to be close to immigrants. Participants who prefer Swedish people stated reasons such as learning Swedish, to adapt to Sweden and to learn about Swedish culture. Participants who prefer Turkish people as neighbors stated sharing common language and culture as the main reasons.

Last of all, I asked participants if they like Sweden and if they are happy to be in Sweden. 15 participants said that they like Sweden and they are happy to be in Sweden. Among these, 1 participant stated that Sweden is like a second home country for him. 6 participants stated that they do not like Sweden and they are not happy to be living in Sweden. 1 participant answered this question as *õso soõ*.

As I stated before, family is one of the most important institutions Turkish people want to conserve and it is the most important source that conservatism in Turkey derives from. Thus, one part of the interview consists of questions about the family lives of the participants in Turkey and in Sweden.

6.2.1. Roles in the family

Turkey is a patriarchal society in which protecting a ‘moderately patriarchal’ structure is one the most important things for the people of Turkey (Yılmaz, 2008:59). In order to understand male dominance in their families in Turkey and in Sweden respectively, I asked questions concerning the roles of men and women in the families. The first question was what they think about the statement “The man is the head of the family”. 15 participants said that they agreed with the statement when they lived in Turkey, whereas in Sweden, there is a change in the attitudes and 20 participants said that in Sweden, they do not agree with the statement. In general, 7 participants stated that according to Turkish culture, man has to be the head of the family in Turkey.

õí actually I think so but here the conditions are different. The environment is different. Because of familial pressures, the idea that man is the head of the family was dominant, but here, there is nothing like that, nobody intervenesí ö (Ö)

õIt is equal in Sweden. The cultures of Sweden and Turkey are different. You can not send your wife to work in Turkeyí Where I live, it is not approved by the community if you send your wife to workí ö (SP2)

The participants were asked if they agree with the statements *õMan is the breadwinner of the familyö* and “*Women should stay at home and take care of children and houseö*. Also, in a separate question participants were asked what they think about women’s engagement in the workforce. 15 participants stated that they agreed with first statement when they were living in Turkey, whereas in Sweden 5 participants agree. About the woman’s role in the family, in Turkey, 7

should stay at home, whereas in Sweden, there is a change in the attitudes and 2 participants agree with the statement. Lastly, regarding the women's engagement in workforce, 22 participants said that women should work. Economic conditions and the existence of work opportunities in Sweden for women were stated as the main reasons that lead women to work.

öI did not agree but there were not any opportunities in Turkey, in the rural area where I lived, women were mostly at home. Men were working. I want to work in Sweden, actually I wanted to work in Turkey too, but there were not any opportunities. ö (Z)

öI do not think so here, we have equal conditions. In Turkey, attitudes are very different, people think that women can not work, people are affected by the opinions of others aroundí ö (TF2)

öUnder these conditions, one wage is not enough. Men have to accept this even if they do no want toí ö (TF8)

6.2.2. Importance of family

Taking the importance of the family in Turkish society into consideration, participants were also asked about the importance of family in their lives. All of the participants stated that family is the most important thing in their lives. When the participants were asked if their families' opinions are effective in making important decisions such as choosing the spouse, 6 participants stated that they are very effective in the decision-making process, 10 participants stated that they made their own decisions. 6 participants stated that they do not want to oppose their families but try to find a middle way. Another important point that can be observed is that being in Sweden and getting older lessen the decisive role of the families' on participants' lives.

öThey have right to state their opinions, but I am the one who makes the decision. If it is something I want very much, I will try to persuade my parents, I will not ignore their authorityí ö (N)

öWe must respect the elders. They have life experience. I listen, my father's words are importantí ö (S)

asked if their families have important roles in the education of their children. They were also asked in which matters the family education is important; if the children should be taught Turkish culture, traditions and language within the family. The majority of the participants stated that both in Sweden and in Turkey, education in the family is important, especially in the same sense that moral values, culture and traditions should be taught within family.

“In Turkey, who will do it if the family does not? In Turkey, the state handles this in a very complicated way. But in Sweden, the state takes the responsibility, the family makes a contract with the state, and families transfer some of this duty to the state. In Turkey, it is more important because a social state does not exist, there is no one else than the family to educate children” (Mu)

“In Turkey, from my opinion, the family has an important role but children learn everything more from the community, society” (N)

“In this country, the importance of the family is one million percent. Because, God forbids, if you can not raise your children in this country, it is very bad. It is the most important thing” (SP2)

“Of course! Culture comes from the family, traditions; moral values all come from the family. The rest can be learned in school” (Ö)

All participants also stated that it is important to teach the traditions to children within the families in both Sweden and Turkey. It was stated that in Turkey, children can learn it automatically from society but in Sweden, families have more responsibility, it is more important for them to teach within the family. Moreover, all participants stated that it is very important that their children to learn to write and speak Turkish, even if they live in Sweden. Most of them added that they speak Turkish at home and it is also important that their children learn Swedish beside Turkish.

as of Turkey in the family, they will learn Swedish traditions.

That is not good. Since they live in Sweden, they will automatically learn Swedish, that's why it is important for us to teach them ö (D)

It is important to a certain level. It should not cause dilemmas for children ö (MU)

I will teach more here, because there are few people to teach them here. I will try more. Since we are far away, he/she can only learn from me ö (N)

In Sweden, it is necessary Turkish Islam. There are many different kinds of people here, many different religions, the state can not teach Islam here ö (SP1)

6.2.3. Control of the family on their children's lives

In order to explore the strength of the family's control on children's lives, the participants were asked if they allow their children to move out from the house of their family after the age of 18 or before getting married. 16 participants stated that in Turkey, they would not allow their children to move out from the house before getting married. It was added that if they had to leave in order to have education, they would make exceptions. In Sweden, there is a change in the attitudes; more participants said that they would allow their children. The most important reason of the change in the attitudes is the conditions in Sweden, moving out from the family house before getting married is considered *önormalö* in Sweden, but not in Turkey. Also, it was added by a few participants that they allow their sons to move out but not their daughters.

Maybe if I were in Turkey, I would have more doubts, but here in Sweden, I don't have. There is more freedom here. I have two children and both have their own houses ö (TF7)

For the girls, living alone in Turkey is harder, here, it is easier. For example, my daughter lives alone in Turkey but her sister and grandmother live very close to her; otherwise I would not allow my daughter to live alone in Turkey. I trust my daughter but not other people. She might be disturbed by others. Here, it is better, nobody intervenes ö (TF5)

ghter, we were raised like that. If it were possible, here I wanted to do what I could do in Turkey, I would not allow my children. Here, conditions are different, you can not stop children, if a person wants to do something, they canı ö (D)

öHere it is normalı If I had daughter, I would not allow it, but in this country, you can not do anythingı ö (SP2)

öAs long as my children are studying, they can move out from the house, but other reasons are not acceptableı ö (Z)

The participants were asked how they would react if they learnt that their children had partners and how their reactions would be regarding the nationality and religion of the partners. There are two general groups of answers to these questions; “I will not approve it and react badly” and “I will not intervene, it is up to my children”. The important points that were made by participants are that a daughter is less free than a son and the religion of the partner, being Muslim, is considered as the most significant feature that is wanted. Cultural difference is seen as a very important obstacle in the case of non-Turkish and non-Muslim partners.

öI would tell my son to bring his girlfriend to introduce, but I have to think more for the daughterı ö(TF2)

öIt is fate but being a Muslim is the most important. Not Turkish or other things, but he/she must be Muslimı ö (SP1)

öI will react badly, I guess. I will oppose. It is not appropriate for us. I would think he/she will be harmed in the end. Different language, different culture, different religion, they can not fit, it is very hard. I will oppose as much as I can. Religion is importantı ö (D)

öIt does not matter as long as she is human and respects my sonı ö (TF8)

öIt is up to them. He/she will set his/her life, his/her choice. I would try to make him follow our route as much as I can, but you can never know, humans love... In Turkey, it is up to the community you live in. We live in a small town in Turkey, everybody is Muslim, if you marry your

exclude you, nobody will be with you, you will not have the honor. Here, you are a minority, you far away, nobody intervenes ö (TF4)

Participants were also asked how they would react if their children wanted to get married to a spouse who is not Turkish or who is not Muslim. Respondents are more open to idea of marriage and show less reaction in the case of marriage. The most important concern that was underlined is the religion of the spouse. Especially in Turkey, it is more important for the participants for the spouse to be Muslim than to be from Turkey.

öI am not against marriage, but whoever he/she is, that person has to be Muslim. I can accept if they convert into Islamí ö (D)

öIt is possible, I will not oppose if she/he is Muslim. Since we are Muslims, our duty is to marry our children with Muslim spousesí ö(S)

öI do not want a foreign, Christian husband for my daughter, I may consider for my soní ö (TF2)

Another very important point that was underlined by participants is the pressure and reactions of the community around them. It has become apparent that community pressure has a decisive role on people's choices and lifestyles, especially in Turkey.

öIn our hometown, everybody is religious. 80-90% of my relatives were very pious. If you try to place a Christian there, everybody will react. You will lose your dignity, people leave you alone. But here, or in the center of Istanbul, nobody cares what you do or how you liveí ö (TF4)

öOur traditions are very important. I will say yes, if my children will not be assimilated. Religion is in the second level, it does not matter where you are from any more. But I underlined the fact that it depends on where you live. In Turkey, there are the laws of the neighborhood; it depends on the level of this neighborhood pressure. People do not do certain things because of considering and fearing how neighbors would react if your daughter gets married to a foreigner. But in Izmir, Antalya, Istanbul or Ankara, where it is more cosmopolitan, people feel free. In Sweden, much freer, here it is not important what others say, it is important what you thinkí (TF8)ö

how they would react if their children wanted to

live together with their partners without getting married. And also, I asked how they would react to neighbors who live together without getting married. 16 participants stated they would not allow their children in Turkey, whereas in Sweden, 10 participants said they would not allow. The main reason in the change in attitudes is that living together, being ‘sambo’, is considered *önormalö* in Sweden by society, whereas it is not *öacceptableö* in Turkey, especially in villages.

öIn the village I am from, it is not possible, but in the cities, it is possibleí ö (AR3)

öIt depends where you liveí Here it is normal. There is sambo life in Swedení ö (TF8)

öSweden is free in this matterí ö (Ö)

About unmarried couples, 7 participants said that they did not want them as neighbors in Turkey, whereas in Sweden, 1 participant said he did not want them as neighbors and 1 participant said he is not sure about how he would react. The change in the attitudes mostly depends on the cultural differences between Sweden and Turkey.

öHere amongst Swedish society, it does not disturb me. But in Turkey it would, because it is against our traditions and our culture. Turkey has changed a lot but in the past, it was like that, I would be against it. I do not approve, it is against, how I have been raisedí ö (N)

öI would be disturbed. They would constitute a bad example, because it might have been my daughter, a bad example for them. They might think why I can not live like that. It is against our cultureí It is normal here, in this state, it is normal. Because in general, in the country, it is normal, we had accepted it before coming but in Turkey, it is not possibleí ö (SP1)

öI have lived in both societies. If I were in my village, I would say it is wrong, it is not considered as acceptable in the community you live in. I left Mara aside, in Antalya, for example, there is not any married couple, and all couples live together. And you are interacting with these people. If I came here directly from Mara , I would have said it is a sin, not possibleí ö (TF8)

Participants were asked what they think about premarital sex and if it is important for women to remain virgin until they get married. 2 participants did not want to answer these questions. About premarital sex, participants keep the same opinions in Turkey and in Sweden. Among the 20 participants who answered the questions, 11 participants stated that they are against premarital sex, 15 participants said that women should remain virgin until they get married.

“It is forbidden according to our religion. The most important thing in creating a family is virginity, it is more important than the beauty of the woman.” (SP2)

“I think as a Turkish person, if I were getting married in Turkey, I would want to marry a virgin woman, I preferred here too but since I got divorced, I do not have the right to ask for it.” (TF2)

“It was in the past, years ago. Now, it does not matter, if they had sex or not. It is not important in Turkey as well.” (A)

“You do not even have to ask. If it is about your children, I would react badly, God forbids us. It does not matter if it is a woman or man.” (D)

6.2.5. Concept of Honor

“Family honor” (*aile namusu*) is considered as the one of the most important matters in Turkey, especially in rural areas. The contents of what “honor” (*namus*) means and what it includes have been debated in Turkey for many years. By honor of the family, the first thing that people think of is sexual honor; that the women of the family behave “according to the expected social code, especially in reference to sexuality” (Timmerman, et. al., 2009:239). When the respondents were asked, what honor of the family means according to them, many of them replied considering the honor of the family as sexual honor:

“Unfortunately it is only girls’ honor; it is ridiculous that people do not think of men. I think honor means the extramarital acts of women.” (P)

...e, instead of having an immoral familyí ö (SP1)

öHonor means, for me, if a person is honest, does not harm others, does not harm himself, that person is honorable. Some stupid people consider honor only as sexuality, I am against ití ö (Me)

In Turkey, in the name of family honor, women sometimes are subjected to violence by the male members of the families. Participants were asked their opinions about using violence in the name of protecting the honor of the family. 3 participants stated that they would use violence; the other respondents stated that they were against use of violence.

öHonor is very important in Turkey. If it is not working, you have to divorce. Divorce is a better option, but it is up to your mental state at the moment. God forbids people from being a murderer. Our life is a testí ö (SP2)

6.2.6. Changes in attitudes around family life

As the last question of the *family life* part, the participants were asked about their own opinions about how living in Sweden has affected their attitudes about family life. 11 participants stated that their attitudes have not changed. Among the 11 respondents who stated that they have changed, 6 respondents said that they have become less protective, less conservative and less strict.

öA lot. For example, if I were in Turkey, I would not even think of sending my wife to work. But here, if you go out and walk around naked, nobody will look at youí ö (SP2)

öI have become softer here, I have seen the reality, and there is not any community or religious pressure here. Pressure, not directly, but there, they stop greeting you, they would say 'look at that man' They will talk, there is nothing like that here. But it does not mean that I give total freedom to my children, no, I do not. We teach them our traditions and live accordingly. Also, you can not run away from reality, this is Sweden, everybody is free hereí .ö (TF4)

öI have become more protective here. The social environmentí Our children see everything in their social environment; they have that kind of friends. We always talk to them all the time to protect them from those friends. We set rules. Of course, we are more protectiveí ö (N)

In Turkey, religion has the most powerful power on people. Attitudes about what is good, right or beautiful are shaped by the Islamic thought system (Çakır, 2008:103). Considering the immense effect of religion in Turkey, the third part of the interview consists of questions about the religious beliefs and the practices of the participants.

6.3.1. Religious identity

Participants were asked if they identified themselves as pious individuals. The responses of the participants were same for Turkey and Sweden, meaning that the level of piety stayed the same. 5 participants stated that they believe in Islam, but did not consider themselves as pious individuals. 8 participants stated that they consider themselves as pious people, 9 participants stated that they were not pious.

õI am not a fanatic but I try to do some things. It was like that in Turkey, and same here.õ (TF7)

õNo. They call me as atheist in Turkey. Although my father was an imam, also my brothers, although I went to Koran classes, they call me atheist. But, I am more Muslim than others; I am against people who are exploiting religious beliefs of people. õ (TF4)

Respondents were asked if it is important for them to maintain and protect their religious identities both in Turkey and Sweden. During their life in Sweden, 18 participants stated that it is important to maintain their Muslim identities, 2 participants said that it is not that important and 2 participants stated that it is not important at all. During their life in Turkey, 20 participants stated that it had been important to maintain their Muslim identity and 2 participants said it was not important.

õIt was not important in Turkey but we kept it secret, did not express it explicitly. We were expressing it but not everywhere. I have never been in a mosque and I will never goí Here in Sweden, I got rid of religion and I am relieved.õ (Mu)

n Turkish and Muslim.ö (TF1)

öIn Turkey, it was automatic but in this state, it more important to keep the Muslim identity. It is very easy to commit a sin in this country and it is very easy to become impiousí ö (SP1)

Participants were also asked about the importance of other individuals' religiosity. 11 participants stated that the religious beliefs of other individuals did not matter for them, whereas 9 participants said that it is important for them that other individuals be religious.

öFrom my perspective, an atheist person is a person in emptiness. He/she is a person who does not know what to do, a person must attach to something.ö (Me)

öAn individual is a human being for me, his/her religion or language does not matter for me.ö (SP1)

When the respondents were asked if they become friends with an atheist or non-Muslim person, 20 respondents stated that religion does not matter in friendship, whereas 2 participants said they do not become friends with individuals who are atheist or non-Muslim. The answers are the same for both Turkey and Sweden.

öI become friends, it does not matter, and everybody is free. It is important to be human.ö (TF6)

öI become friends, but I will not be very close, not much contact, just say hi.ö (AR1)

öIt is his/her idea, I will respect, but not become friends.ö (SP1)

6.3.2. Religious beliefs

The participants were asked who controls their life. 9 participants stated that Allah controls their lives, 10 participants said they are in control of their own lives and 1 participant said that his family controls his life. When participants were asked if they believed in fate (predetermined life), 17 participants said that they believed they had predetermined lives and 2 participants said they partly

ated that they believed in the afterlife, Hell and Heaven, 1 participant said he is not sure what he believes in.

6.3.3. Religious practices

The participants were asked if they celebrated the religious holydays. All participants stated that they had celebrated them in Turkey. In Sweden, 19 participants stated that they try to celebrate the way they did it in Turkey. Most of the participants emphasized their longing for the celebrations in Turkey. 2 participants stated that even if they want to celebrate them, they can not because of the working hours or the different lifestyle in Sweden. 1 participant stated that he only attends ceremonies in order to be with other Turkish people; in a formal way.

öNo. I can not do it here. I want to celebrate it in the same way in Turkey, but I can not, life here is very different.ö (Me)

öYes, it is not like Turkey but still, we greet each other with our relative, friends, we go to holy day prayer (bayram namaz,), we try to do it in the same way as much as we can.ö (TF1)

The participants were asked if they practice religious precepts; if they go to mosques, pray five times a day, fast and so forth. 13 participants said that they were practicing all obligations, while 4 participants said that they were practicing some of them while they were in Turkey. In Sweden, 12 participants said that they could practice some of the precepts while 4 participants stated that they practice all. The change in the numbers is mostly explained by the different conditions in Sweden, such as working hours.

öYes. The only difference, I was covering myself in Turkey, in Sweden, I am not anymore.ö (Z)

öYes. I pray five times a day (namaz), my husband does also. I have the facilities in my workplace as well. If an individual really wants to practice his/her religion, there are possibilities everywhere. Work is not an obstacle; they allow in all the places in Sweden, in schools, in work places etcí ö (S)

öSometimes, I do not have time here. I was practicing in Turkey. I would like to do so here as well, but I do not have the time because of work.ö (ARI)

The participants were asked their opinions about women wearing headscarf or covering themselves. In Sweden, 18 participants stated that women should make that decision themselves whereas, 2 participants stated that they should cover themselves. In Turkey, 15 participants stated that they should decide themselves whereas, 6 participants stated that they should cover themselves. The change in the attitudes depends on the idea that in Sweden, everybody is freer; there is nobody around to force them to wear a headscarf or cover.

öIn Sweden, since it is Europe, we can not force anybody. Our idea, as a society, a woman should cover herselfö ö (ARI)

öIn Turkey, I thought women must wear headscarves. Then, my husband made me confused. I covered myself in Turkey by myself, nobody forced me. Actually, I still consider about covering myself but my husband is against it. Then I realized, nothing is wrong about it. It is a person's own choice. Nothing changes. Same religion, you can practice other obligations.ö (Z)

öIf a woman wants it, she should be able to do it, no need to forbid. It is unnecessary. Islam does not have anything to do with wearing a headscarf. However, if she feels happier that way, you should not forbid it, but I do not support it.ö (P)

6.3.4. Children and religion

The participants were asked if it is important to give religious training to their children. 17 participants stated that, both in Sweden and in Turkey, it is important to teach Islam in the family, whereas two participants thought religious education is important for children to choose their own religion. They stated that children should not be forced to believe in one religion. 1 participant stated that religious teaching should be given by teacher, not by the family.

ic call to the prayer) from the mosque; you can learn religion in the school. Here, a child can only learn from family. They do not teach in schools. If nobody teaches them, the name of the prophet, the Koran, they can not learn them anywhere else. (D)

They have to learn all religions. If they want to choose one, first of all, they have to learn all religions. They should not decide according to the things they hear from others. (Ö)

The participants were asked about the importance of their children having the same religious beliefs with them. Both in Sweden and Turkey, 16 participants said that their children must be Muslims as well. Most of them added that they, as parents, do their best to teach Islam to their children.

It is the parents responsibility to teach the same religion. If the children do not believe, it is their loss; God will punish them in the future. We teach them, the rest is up to them. I teach everything to my daughters, they must know. If you teach them when they are younger, they will live accordingly; if you teach later, it may cause problems. (S)

6.3.5. Religious organizations

Participants were asked if they are members of any religious organization. 2 participants stated that they are members of Islamic organizations in Malmö. During their lives in Turkey, none of the participants were member of religious organizations. 5 participants stated that they only go to mosque to pray on Fridays and in holydays.

I am not a member of any religious organization anymore. I had been a member of the Muslim society, my dad had worked there as an imam for 35 years but in the last years, they started to look into our wallets. I am against it. I went to the mosque last time 2 years ago on an holyday. Imam made announcements several times telling people to give their money to the mosque. He was telling people not to invest their money in the bank, since earning interest is considered as a sin. If that man tells me these in a holyday, I will not go there again. However, I am more Muslim than him, I have more religious training, my dad was an imam and I went to Koran course. I am against this mentality. (TF4)

I am a member of the Muslimiska Församlingen. There are meetings in holy days and religious training in the weekends. On holy days and Fridays, there are prayers in the mosque. There are

We are members of the Koran course and Muslimiska Församlingen. In the Koran course, they teach religion as well as helping kids in their schoolwork, there are meetings with professors and other activities. I wish I had more time to attend these activities...ö (S)

6.3.6. Changes in religious attitudes

Finally, the participants were asked the effects of living in Sweden on their religious attitudes. By this question, their opinions were asked on how the significance of religion has been affected within the context of Sweden. 6 participants stated that in Sweden, they have become more religious than they were in Turkey. The main reason stated for becoming more religious in Sweden is that when they attach more to their religion, they feel more connected to their culture and their country. In a way, in their mind, Islam has become the signifier of Turkey and Turkish culture; being more religious means being closer to Turkey.

öHere, it is more. It is as if we were closer to Allah when we were in Turkey, closer, here we are further away, and there is a longing feeling in me. I am more attached to religion here. ö (D)

öIt is more here. There is a longing here for the ezan. Since you miss your country very much, you become more attached to the religion.ö (S)

15 participants stated that their religious attitudes have not changed after they moved to Sweden. Although they stated nothing has changed, the participants underlined that it is not possible to live their religion in Sweden as they had done in Turkey.

öNothing has changed about my beliefs but my life has changed. We can not do the things we used to do in Turkey, apart from that nothing has changed. Sometimes I hear ezan, I think to myself if it comes from Allah.ö (N)

Among these 15 participants, 2 participants stated that even if their religious attitudes have not changed, they have become more nationalistic.

... but my nationalistic feelings have increased. An individual becomes more nationalistic here. People in this country like their country very much. It is a very good thing to love your nation, your country and your countrymen. Other than that I think nothing about religion.ö (A)

1 participant stated that his religious feelings have lessened in Sweden. He stated that being away from Turkey keeps people away from the religion.

öIt is less here, because you are not in your home country. Here, religion is not muchí I look at our country; the people, who came here from there, do not care about religion anymore. For example, they do not even go to Friday prayers.ö (AR2)

This study aimed at examining changes in the conservative attitudes of immigrants. It intended to explore in what ways the conservative attitudes of the immigrants change when they start a new life in different social and cultural contexts. In order to provide an answer to this question, previous research was discussed and a group of Turkish immigrants who live or work in Malmö and Lund were interviewed.

This study started with the hypothesis stating that the experience of immigration, the changing of cultural and social contexts and starting of a new life in an alien environment, changes individuals' attitudes toward more conservative direction. In the beginning of the research, the tendency of immigrants to live close to one another within certain neighborhoods in the host country, sometimes segregated from the larger public sphere, was put forward as the main underlying reason for the change toward conservatism in the attitudes of immigrants. I argued that although leading an isolated life in certain neighborhood communities provides emotional support and practical help for immigrants in an alien environment, it also causes immigrants to have a limited social environment and inhibits adaption to the lifestyle of the host country. In this limited context and as immigrants try to maintain their cultures, they turn more to their own culture and religion and create national, religious or other kinds of communities. Adapting to the conditions of the host society is taken as a threat to their own cultural identities. As a result, I claimed that within this community life, immigrants become more conservative about their culture and religion and put pressure on each other on matters such as how they act in daily life.

22 Turkish immigrants were interviewed on matters related to family life and religion. They were asked questions regarding the attitudes they had possessed in Turkey and those which they have now in Sweden. As a result of the interviews that were conducted in Malmö and Lund, it was discovered that – although Turkish immigrants want to protect and maintain their culture, religion and language in Sweden – they do *not* live within the closed communities or in

they do *not* become more conservative in their attitudes. The findings of the research can be categorized into three groups. There were participants who stated that they started to have more conservative attitudes in Sweden; there were participants claiming that their attitudes had not changed after they migrated to Sweden; and, there were participants who said that they had become less conservative in Sweden. If we depart from these findings, it is *not* possible to make generalizations about the ways in which immigrants' conservative attitudes change in the host country. Hence, the hypotheses I formulated at the beginning of the research were proven to be wrong. On the account of this study, it is *not* possible to make a general conclusion that being an immigrant results in having more conservative attitudes.

The most important result which can be derived from this study is that the social environment which individuals live in has a very important and decisive role on individuals' lives. The life styles and attitudes of the individuals are shaped and reshaped within the community they live in. The dominant role of the communities on individuals' lives, whether they are neighborhood, religious or any other kind of communities, were emphasized by some of the participants in the interviews. The participants, who stated that they had had more conservative attitudes and behaviors in Turkey, underlined the pressure of the communities they lived in as the main reason for possessing such conservative attitudes. They stated that in order not to be excluded, humiliated and condemned by the others, they had to comply with "neighborhood pressure". They had to follow the 'unwritten rules' of the community within their neighborhoods, villages and towns. It was claimed that since they were not part of a community and they did not feel pressure in Sweden, they did not have to preserve such conservative attitudes and behavior. The social environment which surrounded them in Sweden had reduced their conservative attitudes.

Many people leave their homelands and migrate to various parts of the world with a dream of finding new and better opportunities. During their stay in the host countries, immigrants' experiences have been affecting and changing their inner worlds and outer worlds. These changes are important, since, as a result of them, immigrants also influence changes in the host societies as well. In the light of all these, this study aims at focusing on the changes in the inner worlds of the immigrants.

This paper aims at examining changes in the conservative attitudes of immigrants and poses the question *How does migration experience shape the conservative attitudes of immigrants?* With this paper, I intend to explore in what ways the conservative attitudes of the immigrants change when they start a new life in different social and cultural contexts.

This study departs from the hypothesis stating that the experience of immigration, the changing of cultural and social contexts and the starting of a new life in an alien environment, changes individuals' attitudes toward more conservative direction. I argue that in the host country context, where many things are unfamiliar for immigrants, they mostly tend to turn to their own cultures, traditions, values, institutions etc. Feeling threatened and insecure by the complex and unfamiliar environment of the host country, immigrants tend to prefer living with people of their own kind; prefer to be and live with what is familiar, traditional and conventional in behavior and prefer to conserve and develop their previous values, beliefs, religions, customs and status that they bring from their homeland.

The tendency of immigrants to live close to one another within certain neighborhoods in the host country, sometimes segregated from the larger public sphere, was put forward as the main underlying reason for the change toward conservatism in the attitudes of immigrants. I argued that although leading an isolated life in certain neighborhood communities provides emotional support and practical help for immigrants in an alien environment, it also causes immigrants to

ent and inhibits adaption to the lifestyle of the host country. In this limited context and as immigrants try to maintain their cultures, they turn more to their own culture and religion and create national, religious or other kinds of communities. Adapting to the conditions of the host society is taken as a threat to their own cultural identities. As a result, I claimed that within this community life, immigrants become more conservative about their culture and religion and put pressure on each other on matters such as how they act in daily life.

In order to answer the research question and test the hypotheses that are stated above, previous research on immigrants and conservatism in Turkey are discussed and data collected from interviews conducted with a group of Turkish immigrants, who live or work in Malmö and Lund, is analyzed. It was discovered from the previous research on Turkey that family and religion are the main social institutions that Turkish people want to conserve and that these are the social institutions where their conservatism derives from in Turkey. Because of that reason, 22 Turkish immigrants were interviewed on matters related to family life and religion. They were asked questions regarding the attitudes they had possessed in Turkey and those which they have now in Sweden.

As a result of the interviews that were conducted in Malmö and Lund, it was discovered that – although Turkish immigrants want to protect and maintain their culture, religion and language in Sweden – they do *not* live within the closed communities or in particular neighborhoods and they do *not* become more conservative in their attitudes. The findings of the research can be categorized into three groups. There were participants who stated that they started to have more conservative attitudes in Sweden; there were participants claiming that their attitudes had not changed after they migrated to Sweden; and, there were participants who said that they had become less conservative in Sweden. If we depart from these findings, it is not possible to make generalizations about the ways in which immigrants' conservative attitudes change in the host country. Hence, the hypotheses I formulated at the beginning of the research were proven to be wrong. On the account of this study, it is not possible to make a general



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grant results in having more conservative attitudes.

The most important result which can be derived from this study is that the social environment which individuals live in has a very important and decisive role on individuals' lives. The life styles and attitudes of the individuals are shaped and reshaped within the community they live in. The dominant role of the communities on individuals' lives, whether they are neighborhood, religious or any other kind of communities, were emphasized by some of the participants in the interviews. The participants, who stated that they had had more conservative attitudes and behaviors in Turkey, underlined the pressure of the communities they lived in as the main reason for possessing such conservative attitudes. They stated that in order not to be excluded, humiliated and condemned by the others, they had to comply with "neighborhood pressure". They had to follow the 'unwritten rules' of the community within their neighborhoods, villages and towns. It was claimed that since they were not part of a community and they did not feel pressure in Sweden, they did not have to preserve such conservative attitudes and behavior. The social environment which surrounded them in Sweden had reduced their conservative attitudes.

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10.1. Interview guide

GÖRÜ ME ÖNCES B LG LEND RME (Original version used before the interviews)

Lund Üniversitesi Küresel Çalışmalar master programı öğrencisi olarak, bitirme tezi olarak İsveç'e Türkiye'den gelmiş olan göçmenlerin aile ve sosyal hayatları ile ilgili bir araştırma yapmaktayım. Araştırmamın başlıca amacı, Türkiye'den İsveç'e gelip, yeni bir ortamda ve farklı şartlar altında yaşamaya başlamanın, göçmenlerin değer yargılarını nasıl etkilediğini anlamaya çalışmaktır. Bu araştırma kapsamında, tezimde kullanmak üzere, Malmö ve Lund'da yaşayan, Türkiye'den İsveç'e gelip yerleşmiş göçmenlerle birebir görüşme yapmak istiyorum. Araştırmaya gönüllü katılımınız, tezimin daha kapsamlı bilgi içermesi açısından çok önemli olacaktır.

Görüşme soru cevap şeklinde olacaktır. Cevaplarınızı en doğru haliyle kullanabilmek ve konuşurken not tutmanın görüşmeyi olumsuz etkilemesini ve dikkatimizin dağılmasını engellemek için, görüşme sırasında ses kayıt cihazı kullanılacaktır. Görüşme sırasında istemediğiniz soruya cevap vermeme ve görüşmeyi devam etmek istemediğiniz anda bırakma hakkına sahipsiniz. Görüşme sonucunda elde ettiğim bilgiler ve ses kaydı, araştırmam dışında başka bir amaç için kullanılmayacaktır. Kişisel ve özel bilgileriniz gizli tutulacaktır, herhangi bir kurum ya da şahısla paylaşılmayacaktır.

Araştırma hakkında daha fazla bilgi edinmek ve sonuçları hakkında bilgi almak isterseniz, benimle her zaman irtibat kurabilirsiniz.

Katılımınız için şimdiden çok teşekkür ederim.



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INTERVIEW GUIDE

I am a student of the masters program of Global Studies at Lund University. For my Master's Thesis, I want to conduct research about the family and social lives of immigrants who migrated to Sweden from Turkey. The main aim of my study is to investigate the effects of starting a new life in a different context focusing on the attitudes of immigrants. For my research, I would like to conduct interviews with the immigrants who have been living and/or working in Malmö and Lund. Your voluntary participation is important for me to gain a comprehensive knowledge about changes in the attitudes of immigrants in the host country context.

The interview will take place in the form of questions and answers. To be able to utilize your response in the most fruitful and right way and in order not to distract our attention by taking notes, I would like to use a tape recorder during the interview. You have the right not to answer the questions you do not want and you are free to end the interview whenever you want. The information and voice record I gather from the interviews will only be used for my thesis, not for any other purposes. All the personal information about the respondents will be treated confidentially.

If you want to learn more about the research and its results, you can contact me.

Thank you for your participation!

Bahar Sümer

[\(baharsumer@gmail.com\)](mailto:baharsumer@gmail.com)

Turkish (Used in the interviews)

Kişisel Bilgiler

Yaş:

Eğitim durumunuz?

Dini inancınız var mı? Varsa, hangi dine inanıyorsunuz?

Evli misiniz?

Cevap evet ise, eşiniz Türkiye'den mi?

Cevap hayır ise, bayan/erkek arkadaşınız var mı?

Cevap, evet ise, Türkiye'den mi?

Cevap hayır ise, evlenmeyi düşünecek olursanız, eşinizin Türkiye'den olup olmaması sizin için önemli olur mu? Neden?

Cevap hayır ise, evlenmeyi düşünecek olursanız, eşinizin Müslüman olup olmaması sizin için önemli olur mu? Neden?

Cevap hayır ise, evlenmeyi düşünecek olursanız, İsveçli biriyle evlenmeyi düşünür müsünüz? Neden?

Çocuğunuz var mı? Var ise, kaç tane? Cinsiyetleri?

Mesleğiniz nedir? Türkiye'de ne iş yapıyordunuz? İsveç'te ne iş yapıyorsunuz?

Türkiye'den ne zaman ayrıldınız? Neden ayrıldınız?

Ne zamandır İsveç'te yaşamaktasınız?

Neden İsveç'e gelmeyi seçtiniz?

İsveççe biliyor musunuz?

Türkiye'de nerede yaşıyordunuz?

İsveç'te nerede yaşıyorsunuz?

Yaşadığınız yerde İsveçlilerle mi, Türkiye'den gelen diğer göçmenlerle mi, diğer göçmenlerle mi daha yakınsınız?

Sizce, İsveçlilere yakın yaşamak ve yakın ilişkiler kurmak mı, Türkiye'den gelen diğer göçmenlerle yaşamak ve yakın ilişkiler kurmak mı, diğer göçmenlerle yaşamak ve yakın ilişkiler kurmak mı önemli? (Sizin için önemli mi, fark ediyor mu?) Neden?

İsveç'i seviyor musunuz? İsveç'te mutlu musunuz?

Aile hayatı,

Sizce, aile, sizin hayatınızda önemli bir yer tutuyor mu? Aile, sizin için ne derece önemlidir?

Türkiye'de yaşadığınız süre boyunca "Evin reisi erkektir" sözüne katılıyor muydunuz?

İsveç'te yaşamaya başladığınızdan beri "Evin reisi erkektir" sözüne katılıyor musunuz?

Türkiye'de yaşadığınız süre boyunca "Evin geçimini erkek sağlar" sözüne katılıyor muydunuz?

zdan beri “Evin geçimini erkek sağlar” sözüne

katılıyor musunuz?

Türkiye’de yaşadığınız süre boyunca “Kadın evde olmalı, evin ve çocukların bakımıyla ilgilenmelidir” sözüne katılıyor muydunuz?

İsveç’te yaşamaya başladığınızdan beri “Kadın evde olmalı, evin ve çocukların bakımıyla ilgilenmelidir” sözüne katılıyor musunuz?

Kadınların çalışması hakkında genel olarak ne düşünüyorsunuz?

Türkiye’de yaşadığınız süre boyunca, siz, evlilik gibi önemli kararlar alırken, ailenizin de söz hakkı olduğuna inanıyor muydunuz?

İsveç’te yaşarken, sizce, evlilik gibi önemli kararlar alırken, ailenizin de söz hakkı olmalı mıdır?

Türkiye’deyken ailenin çocukların eğitiminde önemli rolü olduğunu düşünüyor muydunuz? Ne gibi konularda eğitim?

İsveç’te ailenin çocukların eğitiminde rolünün önemli olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

Türkiye’de yaşarken ailelerin çocuklarına gelenek ve göreneklerini öğretmesinin önemli olduğunu düşünüyor muydunuz?

Sizce, İsveç’te yaşarken, ailelerin çocuklarına Türk gelenek ve göreneklerini öğretmesi önemli midir?

Sizce, İsveç’te yaşarken, çocuklarınızın Türkçe bilmesi ve konuşması gerekli/önemli midir?

Türkiye’de yaşarken çocuklarınızın evlenene kadar sizinle yaşaması gerektiğini düşünüyor muydunuz?

Sizce, İsveç’te yaşarken, çocuklarınız evlenene kadar sizinle yaşamalı mıdır? Evlendikten sonra nasıl olmalı?

Türkiye’de yaşarken eğer kızınız/oğlunuz 18 yaşına geldiğinde evden ayrılmak isteseydi nasıl tepki verirdiniz?

Burada, eğer kızınız/oğlunuz 18 yaşına geldiğinde evden ayrılmak isterse nasıl tepki verirsiniz?

Türkiye’de yaşarken kızınız/oğlunuzun sevgilisi olduğunu öğrenseydiniz nasıl tepki verirdiniz?

İsveç’te eğer kızınız/oğlunuzun sevgilisi olduğunu öğrenirseniz nasıl tepki verirsiniz?

Türkiye’de yaşarken kızınız/oğlunuzun Türkiye’den olmayan bir sevgilisi olduğunu öğrenseniz nasıl tepki verirsiniz?

İsveç’te eğer kızınız/oğlunuzun Türkiye’den olmayan bir sevgilisi olduğunu öğrenirseniz nasıl tepki verirsiniz?

Türkiye’de yaşarken kızınız/oğlunuzun sizinle aynı dinden olmayan bir sevgilisi olduğunu öğrenseydiniz nasıl tepki verirdiniz?

İsveç’te eğer kızınız/oğlunuzun sizinle aynı dinden olmayan bir sevgilisi olduğunu öğrenirseniz nasıl tepki verirsiniz?

Türkiye’de yaşarken kızınız/oğlunuz sevgilisiyle evlenmeden beraber yaşamak istediğini söyleseydi ne tepki verirdiniz?

İsveç’te yaşarken eğer kızınız/oğlunuz sevgilisiyle evlenmeden beraber yaşamak istediğini söyleyse ne tepki verirsiniz?

oğlunuz Türkiye'den olmayan biriyle evlenmek isteseydi nasıl teki verirdiniz?
İsveç'te yaşarken eğer kızınız/oğlunuz Türkiye'den olmayan biriyle evlenmek isterse nasıl teki verirsiniz?
Türkiye'de yaşarken kızınız/oğlunuz sizinle aynı dinden olmayan biriyle evlenmek isteseydi nasıl tepki verirdiniz?
İsveç'te yaşarken eğer kızınız/oğlunuz sizinle aynı dinden olmayan biriyle evlenmek isterse nasıl teki verirsiniz?
Türkiye'de yaşarken evli olmayan ve beraber yaşayan bir çiftle komşu olmak sizi rahatsız eder miydi, nasıl hissederdiniz ve nasıl davranırdınız?
İsveç'te yaşarken evli olmayan ve beraber yaşayan bir çiftle komşu olmak sizi rahatsız eder mi, nasıl hissedersiniz ve nasıl davranırsınız?
Türkiye'de yaşarken evlilik öncesi cinsel ilişki konusunda ne düşünüyordunuz?
İsveç'te yaşadığınız süre boyunca evlilik öncesi cinsel ilişki konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz?
Sizce, kadınlar evlenene kadar bakire kalmalı mıdır?
Aile namusu sözü size ne ifade ediyor? Ne demek sizce?
“Aile namusunu korumak çok önemlidir, korumak için gerekirse zor kullanılmalıdır” cümlesine katılıyor musunuz?
Sizce, İsveç'te yaşamak sizin aile konusundaki değer yargılarınızı ve görüşlerinizi etkiledi mi? Etkiledi ise ne yönde etkiledi (daha katı, daha rahat, daha muhafazakâr, daha korumacı, daha az korumacı vs.)? Farklı düşündüğünüzü hissediyor musunuz? Eğer farklı olduğunuzu hissediyorsanız, sizce sebep nedir?

Din

Türkiye'de yaşarken kendinizi dindar bir insan olarak tanımlar mıydınız?
İsveç'te yaşarken kendinizi dindar bir insan olarak tanımlar mısınız? Dini inancı var ise, ne derece dindar olduğunuzu düşünüyorsunuz?
İsveç'te yaşarken dini kimliğinizi korumak ve sürdürmek önemli mi sizce?
Türkiye'deyken dini kimliğinizi korumak ve sürdürmek önemli miydi?
Bir insanın dindar olması, herhangi bir dine inanması, sizce önemli midir?
Türkiye'de yaşarken herhangi bir dine inanmayan bir insanla arkadaş olur muydunuz?
Herhangi bir dine inanmayan bir insanla arkadaş olur musunuz?
Türkiye'de yaşarken sizinle aynı dinden olmayan bir insanla arkadaş olur muydunuz?
İsveç'te sizinle aynı dinden olmayan bir insanla arkadaş olur musunuz?
Sizce, hayatınızı kim kontrol ediyor? Allah, siz, aileniz vs...?
Kadere inanıyor musunuz?
Ölümden sonra hayat olduğuna inanıyor musunuz? Cennet ve cehennem?
İsveç'te dini bayramları kutluyor musunuz? Evet ise, nasıl?
Türkiye'de yaşarken dini bayramları kutluyor muydunuz?
İsveç'te dini zorunlulukları yerine getiriyor musunuz? Namaz, oruç vs? Ne sıklıkla camiye gidiyor musunuz? Ramazanda oruç tutuyor musunuz?

lulukları yerine getiriyor muydunuz? Camiye gider

miydiniz? Ramazanda oruç tutar mıydınız?

İsveç'te yaşamaya başladığınızdan beri kadınların başlarını örtmesi konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz? Sizce, gerekli mi, gereksiz mi, sizin için bir önemi var mı?

Türkiye'de yaşarken kadınların başlarını örtmesi konusunda ne düşünüydünüz? Sizce, önemli miydi?

Sizce, İsveç'te yaşarken çocukların aileden dini eğitim almaları gerekli/önemli midir?

Türkiye'de yaşarken çocukların aileden dini eğitim almaları gerekli olduğunu düşünüyor muydunuz?

İsveç'te yaşarken, çocuklarınızın sizinle aynı dine inanması sizin için önemli mi?

Türkiye'de yaşarken, çocuklarınızın sizinle aynı dine inanması sizin için önemli miydi?

Türkiye'deyken herhangi bir dini derneğe üye miydiniz? Cevap evet ise, hangi sıklıkta derneğin aktivitelerine katılıyordunuz?

İsveç'te herhangi bir dini derneğe üye misiniz? Cevap evet ise, hangi sıklıkta derneğin aktivitelerine katılıyorsunuz?

Sizce, İsveç'te yaşıyor olmak, dini inançlarınızı ya da dini görüşlerinizi etkiledi mi? Dinin hayatınızdaki önemi ne ölçüde değişti, arttı mı, azaldı mı? Fark varsa, sizce sebepleri neler?

English (for the reader)

Personal information

Sex:

Age:

What is your level of education?

Do you believe in any religion? If yes, which religion?

Are you married?

If the answer is yes, is your husband/wife from Turkey?

If yes, is your husband/wife Muslim?

If no, do you have boy/girl friend?

If the answer is no, if you want to get married do you think it is important for your spouse to be from Turkey? Why?

If no, if you want to get married do you think it is important for your spouse to be Muslim? Why?

Do you have children? If yes, how many? Sex?

What is your occupation? In Turkey? In Sweden?

When did you leave Turkey? Why did you leave Turkey?

How long have you been living in Sweden?

For what reasons did you choose to come to Sweden?

Do you speak Swedish? (Level?)

Where are you from in Turkey?

Where do you live in Sweden?

people? Or close to the immigrants from Turkey? Or

close to the other immigrants?

Is it important for you to live and be close to Swedish people? Or with immigrants from Turkey? Or with other immigrants?

Do you like Sweden? Are you happy for living in Sweden?

Family life

Do you think family is important in an individual's life?

Do you agree with the statement that "*man is the head of the family*"? In Turkey, in Sweden?

Do you agree with the statement that "*man is the breadwinner of the family*"? In Turkey, in Sweden?

Do you agree with the statement that "*woman should stay at home and take care of the children and housework*"? In Turkey, in Sweden?

What do you think about women to work? In Turkey, in Sweden?

Do you think family members should be involved in the decision making processes such as marriage? In Turkey, in Sweden?

Do you think that family plays an important role on the education of children? In Turkey, in Sweden?

Do you think Turkish traditions and customs should be taught to children in family? In Turkey, in Sweden?

Do you think it is important for your children to know and speak Turkish? In Sweden?

Do you think the children should live with their family until they get married? After getting married? In Turkey, in Sweden?

If your son/daughter wants to leave home after the age of 18, how will you react? In Turkey, in Sweden?

If your son/daughter has a boy/girlfriend, how will you react? In Turkey, in Sweden?

If your son/daughter has a non-Muslim boy/girlfriend, how will you react? In Turkey, in Sweden?

If your son/daughter has a boy/girlfriend who is not from Turkey, how will you react? In Turkey, in Sweden?

If your son/ daughter wants to live together with her/his boy/girlfriend as an unmarried couple, how will you react? In Turkey, in Sweden?

If your son/ daughter wants to marry somebody who is not from Turkey, how will you react? In Turkey, in Sweden?

If your son/ daughter wants to marry somebody who is not Muslim, how will you react? In Turkey, in Sweden?

What do you think if you have unmarried couple neighbour? In Turkey, in Sweden?

What is your opinion about premarital sex? In Turkey, in Sweden?

Do you agree that a woman has to remain virgin until marriage? In Turkey, in Sweden?

In your opinion, what does "honor of the family" mean?

...at that “honour of the family is very important and it has to be protected, if necessary even with force”?

Do you think living in Sweden affected your opinions about familial issues? If yes, in what way? How was it in Turkey? How is it now? (For example, do you think that you have to protect your family more in Sweden or vice versa?)

Religious beliefs, practices

Do you think maintaining Turkish culture and traditions is important in Sweden?

Do you consider yourself as pious? In Turkey, in Sweden?

Do you think it is important to be religious in Sweden? To protect and maintain your religious identity is important in Sweden? Was it important in Turkey?

Do you think it is important for an individual to be religious?

Can you be friends with a person who is not religious? Or non-Muslim? In Turkey, in Sweden?

Who is controlling your life? You, God, your family etc...?

Do you believe that all humans have predetermined lives?

Do you believe life after death? Heaven? Hell?

Do you celebrate holy days? In Turkey, in Sweden?

Do you practice religious obligations? Do you pray? How do you visit a mosque (church/synagogue)? Do you fast at Ramadan? In Turkey, in Sweden?

What do you think about women covering their hair? Do you think it is a good idea, bad idea, does not it really matter? In Turkey, in Sweden?

Do you want your children to believe in the same religion with you?

Do you think it is important for children to learn the religion from their family? In Turkey, in Sweden?

Are you member of a religious organization? If yes, what are the activities? How often do you attend the activities? In Turkey, in Sweden?

Do you think living in Sweden affected your religious attitudes and behaviors? If yes, what way? Become more/ less religious?

pants

Participants	D.	Z.	Ay.	N.	M.	S.
Sex	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age	27	41	52	42	63	42
Education	High school	High school	High school	High school	University	Handelsskolan
Occupation TR & SW	Hair dresser	Working in factory & housewife	Turner & Cook	Handicraft teacher (carpet) & Working in kindergarden	Architect & Working in the management of university	Saleswoman
Year left TR & Reason	2006 & Better conditions	2007 & Marriage	1980 & Political reasons	1996 & Marriage	1973 & For education	1982 & Family reunion
Since when in Sweden?	4 years	3 years	Since 1983	14 years	Since 1973	Since 1982
Why Sweden?	Better life conditions	Marriage	Coincidence	Marriage	Free education	Father
Level of Swedish knowledge	Middle level	None	Good	Good	Very good	Very good
From where in Turkey?	Ankara	Village of Konya	Zonguldak	Zonguldak	Istanbul	Bursa
Where in Sweden?	Eslöv	Lund	Lund	Lund	Lund	Malmö
Like Sweden?	No	For now, yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Marital status	Married	Married	Married	Married	Married	Married
Where is the spouse from?	From Turkey	From Turkey	From Turkey	From Turkey	From Turkey	From Turkey
Religion	Islam	Islam	Not strong, Islam	Islam	None	Islam

	Ö.	Me.	AR 1	AR 2	AR 3	
Sex	Female	Male	male	Male	Male	
Age	31	31	23	28	37	
Education	Doctorate	University	High school	Primary school	Middle school	Primary school
Occupation TR & SW	Post doc in laboratory in Lund Uni.	Mechanical engineer & Working in IT department of a hotel	Personal security guard & Unemployed	Shoe maker & Cook	Farmer & Cook	Truck driver & Unemployed
Year left TR & Reason	2 years ago & to have an Europe experience	1,5 years ago & Marriage	2 years ago & Child	2005 & marriage	1 month ago & his brother is sick	2008 & marriage
Since when in Sweden?	2 years	1,5 years	2 years	2005	1 month	2006
Why Sweden?	Developed country	For his wife	Child	Change country	His brother	Marriage
Level of Swedish knowledge	Little, learning	Little, learning	Middle, learning to find a job	Middle	None	None
From where in Turkey?	Ankara	Ankara	Antalya	Konya	Konya	Konya
Where in Sweden?	Lund	Lund	Lund	Malmö	Malmö	Malmö
Like Sweden?	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
Marital status	Married	Married	Single, have a child	Married	Married	Married
Nationality of the spouse	From Turkey	From Turkey	-	From Turkey, relative	From Turkey	From Sweden (Persian)
Religion	Islam	Islam	Islam	Islam	Islam	Islam

		TF 2	TF 1	TF 2	TF 3	TF 4
Sex	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male
Age	30	31	68	24	59	50
Education	High school	Primary school	Primary school	High school	Middle school	Middle school
Occupation TR & SW	Cook	Farmer & Cook	Tailor & Pizza baker	Furniture business	None & Machine operator	None & Trainer and Cleaning business
Year left TR & Reason	2005 & Marriage	2003 & Marriage	1971 & better conditions	2005 & marriage	1967 & family reunion	1975 & family reunion
Since when in Sweden?	2005	6 years	1971	3 years Denmark & 1,5 years Sweden	1967	1975
Why Sweden?	Better conditions	Marriage	Friends	Older brother	Father	Father
Level of Swedish knowledge	Very little	Little	Sufficient enough to communicate	Middle	Good	Good
From where in Turkey?	Isparta	Aksaray	Bursa	Ankara	Bursa	Trabzon
Where in Sweden?	Landskrona	Malmö	Malmö	Malmö	Malmö	Malmö
Like Sweden?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, second home country for me
Marital status	Married	Married	Married	Single but get married soon	Married	Married
Nationality of the spouse	Citizen of Denmark but Turkish	Citizen of Denmark but Turkish, daughter of his aunt	From Turkey	Will marry Swedish woman whose father is Turkish	Turkish	Turkish from Macedonia
Religion	Islam	Islam	Islam	Islam	Islam	Islam

	TF 6	TF 7	TF 8
Sex	Female	Female	Male
Age	46	57	62
Education	Primary school	High school	Middle school
Occupation TR & SW	Secretary & None	Tailor & None, taking care of grandchild	Tailor & Hemmservis
Year left TR & Reason	2005 & marriage	1 year ago to look after grandchild	1976 & economic reasons
Since when in Sweden?	5 years	1 year	1976
Why Sweden?	Husband	Children	Older sister
Level of Swedish knowledge	Very little, learning	None, learning	Middle
From where in Turkey?	İzmir	İzmir	Balıkesir
Where in Sweden?	Malmö	Malmö	Malmö
Like Sweden?	No	Yes	Yes
Marital status	Married	Married	Divorced in 1992
Nationality of the spouse	Turkish	From Bulgaria, she migrated to Turkey from Bulgaria in 1989	was Danish who had raised in Sweden
Religion	Islam	Islam	Islam



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