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Master of Arts of European Studies

**Neither Assimilation Nor Integration: The identity of
the Turkish Diaspora in Sweden**

A case study in Malmö

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ABSTRACT

This research is to investigate and analyse an identity formation of an immigrant group in a host country. The author would like to understand immigrants' identities as a diaspora community, by focusing on Turkish community in Sweden and identification process in terms of personal and collective identities, using the diaspora as a ground theory with semi-structured individual interviews in which narrative analysis method is, then used to analyse the material of interviews. As there is no case study or prominent research about the topic of the research, this essay intends to be descriptive at first, then to make a new path for future researches. By all means, it seeks to analyse and make a conceptualization of Turkish diaspora in Malmö with some comparisons of the Turkish diaspora in Malmö and Turkish communities in Stockholm and Gothenburg by questioning how members of a Turkish diaspora have both individual and collective identities in a Malmö; how they position themselves between their previous values and identity and among other diaspora communities in Malmö. This essay inquires the meaning of being a Turk as a member of Turkish diaspora. The specific target group that was made interviews are Turkish men those came to Sweden as immigrants and/or those who were born in Sweden that are members of one of Turkish associations in Malmö. By using the concept of diaspora eight main features is formulated considering the concept of diaspora and Turkish diaspora in Malmö. These are ethno-national group, dispersion, homeland orientation, boundary maintenance, self-identification, positive diaspora consciousness, negative diaspora consciousness, and Turkish associations in Malmö. It is tried to find out some concrete answers and to have results with a case study. A main finding of research shows that the Turkish diaspora in Malmö is precisely different from the ones in Stockholm and Gothenburg. Another finding is that there is relatively high conflict between Turkish associations and different groups among the Turkish diaspora in Malmö. Therefore, the Turkish diaspora does not have socially, politically and culturally visible impacts on their members and their life, however, Turkish identity is reconstructed repeatedly via Turkish associations.

Key Words: Turkish diaspora, Identity, Identification, Integration, Malmö, Migration, Narrative Analysis, Qualitative Interview, Sweden,

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Problem, purpose and aim.

The aim of this essay is generally to investigate and analyse both individual and collective identity formation process of an immigrant group as a diaspora community. With this research, the author would like to understand an identity construction of a diaspora in their daily life with some levels of integration to the host society by using diaspora identity, which helps to describe, and then analyse an identification of diaspora group and the interaction between the diaspora community and the rest of the society.

To reach academically this general aim, the topic of the research is needed to be specialized -to make the research manageable and realistic as well-, depending on different variables and limitations. Therefore, the topic was chosen as a Turkish diaspora in Sweden which makes the content of the research mainly Turkish immigrants in Sweden. In other words, the delimitation of the subject is Turkish identity in Sweden and identification of Turkish diaspora in Sweden, with a special focus on Turkish diaspora in Malmö.

The author aims to apprehend identity construction process and identification of Turkish diaspora, in terms of personal and collective identity: how people, with their migration backgrounds, have (and keep) both individual and collective identities in the receiving country. For this, the concept of diaspora is used with semi-structured interviews, which are the main material that is analysed by narrative analysis method.

This research is purely sociological and a kind of journalistic-based academic research through asking general questions that the author tried to answer or at least describe the situation of the Turkish diaspora in Malmö. In addition to the general questions, there are several sub-questions to seek some answers and conclusions and to analyse the social facts.

1.2 Research Questions and Operations of Research Questions

These are the main questions of this research:

How do Turks as a diaspora community in Malmö live within and between two cultures, dealing with their inter-cultural situation?

- What is their position in the multicultural Swedish society, particularly in Malmö?

- How and what ways do they live in Malmö, what their relations to Swedish society and other immigrant groups?

What does it mean to be a Turkish person in Sweden, particularly in Malmö?

- What are their opinions, attitudes and feelings about the host society and to what extent do they maintain relationship with their home country?

How and in what ways do Turkish associations influence Turkish people in terms of their daily life and identity?

These questions are very related to each other, despite the fact that they are arguably wide, remember that the main topic, *--identity--* is very slippery and imprecise. However, this research has some interesting findings about Turkish diaspora, providing the reader with an overview alongside some concrete analysis and comments.

There are two main subtopics under Turkish identity in Sweden. The first one is about the existence of Turkish community as diaspora and their integration level in Sweden taking a sociological perspective including the unique situation of Malmö as one of the determinant factor. This gives an idea about a daily life of the Turkish diaspora community in Malmö by showing the main attitudes and views of the Turkish diaspora with some reasonable determinants, which have contributed to constructing their personal and collective identities as a diaspora behind the visible common views. The second one, an extension the first, is mainly about what Turkish identity is in Sweden: What is Turkish identity and what does being a Turk mean exactly in Sweden? How do they view themselves and live in Sweden keeping their identities? These questions encompass different generations with an overview about Turkish identity in Sweden including crucial and problematic points of integration and formation of a Turkish diaspora.

As the main research problems and questions have been explained, another crucial matter should be clarified, which is the specific group of the research. The specific group of the research is Turkish men living in Malmö, particularly Turkish males who came to Sweden as an immigrants (voluntarily or/and labour worker) and have been living here for, at least five years; or those who were born in Sweden having both Turkish parents. I put one more feature to further narrow the research group: all Turkish men living in Malmö interviewed were members of one Turkish association and, they mostly regularly attend their activities and

events.¹

The most striking thing of the group, as it can be realised, is based on the men's perspective that makes the research gender-based in spite of that such was not the intentional aim, but there are some practical and compulsive reasons for it. First and foremost, as the topic is identity, there are some variables that need to be considered. It is thought that putting also Turkish females into the research could make it more complex and impalpable. In addition, due to the limits of a master thesis, time and budget, and those of some cultural reasons, it was hard to find female-based (women associations) or gender mixed Turkish associations, and women to interview.² It is acknowledged later that even the research highlights the gender perspective in way or another as evident in this research. Last but not least, another point to explain the choice of the specific group is very based on practical and understandable reasons, which are the availability and accessibility of Turkish men in four Turkish associations, because of the fact that 'they are already there' and as the author is a male making it culturally easy to talk to and communicate with them.

This is very much general research, and the questions were formularized to see the wide picture and, to understand and analyse the Turkish diaspora in Malmö as well as compare to other Turkish diaspora in Stockholm and Gothenburg City, based on a sociological context, related to the immigration perspective in Sweden. Although this subject has some historical and theoretical background, it was enriched with narratives of Turkish people in Malmö after the interviews that were used as main research material, by giving a chance to combine both diaspora theory and the facts of case study, including some participant observational notes.

In conclusion, by doing a research about Turkish identity and Turkish diaspora in Malmö, It was aimed to describe the Turkish diaspora with some categories based on a case study that could help the author to reach general and specific objects, and ultimately to analyse the subject

¹In the beginning I visited all Turkish associations that I reached their contact addresses. Some of them are not active in practice but still legally associations. Some of them are very active, at least Turkish males usually go these associations and spend their time, socializing with each other. There are four Turkish associations I met Turkish men and made individual interviews with them, in which they are members of Malmö Turkisk Kultur Föreningen (MTKF), Malmö Unga Svenska Turkar (MUST) and Ataturk Kultur och Sport Föreningen, and Balgöc (Turknet) respectively.

²I visited two women-based associations but the reason I mentioned above, I did chose not to make interviews with them.

of identity and identification process from the point of a diaspora community perspective.

Alongside the subject that the author has decided to research, the author applied diaspora studies into the theoretical framework, and tried to show something more behind the theory and narratives of Turkish men. Therefore, the reader can easily understand the reasons keeping his/her critical thinking.

In order to operate the research questions, a field study was conducted in Malmö by having semi-structured individual interviews with Turkish men who are member of some Turkish associations. Shortly, main research material is semi-structured interviews, in particular, the narratives of Turkish males about their identities, views and daily lives in Malmö as members of a Turkish diaspora. To analyse this research material, narrative analysis is used as research method. Interviews are examined and figured based on this methods' features with some observational notes.

1.3 Limitations and Reservations of the Study.

Like every research paper, this essay has, of course, some limitations and reservations which should be mentioned by distinguishing two main features that are an academically chosen theory and a chosen research method for this master thesis, respectively.

To begin with the chosen theory used, which is diaspora under the identity theory, it is obvious that identity as a common term is, even in daily life very relative and a wide topic. Both terms identity and migration (but in this research mostly the term diaspora was used instead of immigration and immigrant community, however, migration was used as well when it is needed to point the immigration process of Turkish community) are separately complicated and controversial terms. To imagine these two terms together when it is used in a research may be problematic, especially as it including the identity formation process of a Turkish diaspora and Turkish identity in Sweden.

The multiplicity of explanations of the term identity makes it more ambiguous and consequently disagreeable among the scholars coming from various fields of social sciences. However, as identity is a social entity behind its irreconcilable use as a term, and is constructed in different ways and levels, with the effect of miscellaneous factors, this research requires it be

clearly by limiting the term and concept. In this, bringing the concept of diaspora as a ground theory into the research that is chosen to be used depending on the context and content of the topic.

Suppose upon how many different identities individuals have. How many miscellaneous identities are considered as research topic among academicians the answer can be: collective identity, multiple identities, immigrants' identities, ethnic identity, national identity, social identity, individual identity, European identity, Turkish identity, Swedish identity, regional identity. This continues... the author dub this variety and commonly use of the term as 'an academic garbage of the term "identity". Briefly, in spite of some adversities, identity and diaspora together are analysable concepts that have many definitions based on different perspectives³.

The second subject is the chosen research methods for this research paper. The primary source of the essay is the material of semi-structured individual interviews. Since the aim is to describe and analyse the Turkish diaspora and their identification process in general, which includes personal views, collective attitudes of Turkish males, however, it should be pointed out that there is no precise method in social sciences that is reliable forever. In other words, this is the most appropriate method depends on the conditions and aim of the research.

More visible limitations of this research is, above all, limited numbers of semi-structured individual interviews, which makes the analysis dependent on this method. It would be very useful and probably would have given unique and various perspectives if the focus group interviews were conducted together with semi-structured interviews. Therefore, it is hard to generalize every theme in order to have some views and results for all Turkish diaspora. Shortly speaking, although the sample of the research is considerably diversified, it is not enough to generalize for all diaspora communities in Sweden.

Another limitation, which is one of the determinant factors for the main research, particularly

³Theoretical framework includes the explanations and discussion of identity, particularly diaspora identity, and that are used by the author of this essay to explain and analyse the identity formation of Turkish diaspora in Malmö with qualitative methods specifically semi-structured interviews.

for the analysis of the material is a gender-based perspective. All interviewees are Turkish males who are members of some Turkish associations meaning that Turkish women's identity perspective as part of Turkish diaspora is regrettably not included in this research.

In spite of the fact that interviewed Turkish men regular participants of daily events of the Turkish associations, the impacts of Turkish associations on their lives and identification process are evaluated superficially, as it is not the main aim, but as a part of one determinant factor for their diaspora formation. There are some analyses that can be used for another research as a beginning.

As there are not enough academic sources and empirical studies, at least in English, this research might be one of the first focusing on Turks in Malmö as a diaspora community, The lack of using academic sources in Swedish could be another limitation, but despite these facts, this essay shall make a good contribution to the academic literature by showing some general views for other researchers including its limitations.

In addition to this, as this research is purely sociological and journalistic-based touching upon some recent controversial problems in the society by talking and observing Turkish migrant men first-hand, it can be academically and/or officially used as a kind of report to understand specific problems about immigration issue and integration policy of Sweden, particularly in Malmö. Therefore, an academic work can serve for a society in practice defining social problems. This is also an important contribution to decrease the gap between the academia and real life.

During the research process, more specifically while interviewing some Turkish males, the author has faced some other issues that each could be a good research topic for social sciences. For instance, there is a common and forcible trend to move to Malmö from Copenhagen among Turkish people because of the strict policy in Denmark in terms of residence permit for foreigners and immigrants. They choose to legally move to Malmö however keep living in Copenhagen.

2. METHODS & SOURCES

A very well academic research has two fundamental features to make systematic research. The first one is to collect the data that a research needs, which includes observation, measurement and record of information. The second one is to construct, categorize and analyse the data a researcher has had, depending on the aim and content of the research finally to have some generalizations.⁴ To make an acknowledged research, there are three ways, which are exploration, description and explanation. Exploration is exposing some new facts that were not made research about them before. Description is to have concrete details and facets about the research topic by showing “how something or someone looks and acts but as a separate entity and in combination with other things or people”.⁵ Lastly, explanation is about revealing the reasons and impacts of the facts and actions of the society and the things.⁶

Following this logic, the aim of the research is firstly to describe the situation and identity of Turkish diaspora in Malmö with the influence of Turkish associations as there is no specific academic research about it, at least in English. The second stage is to explain the grounds and consequences of Turkish diaspora and their identity with an integration level to the Swedish society. As it is a sociological research, it is very rigid to expect and have something academically new and/or unexamined phenomena. As there is no ground knowledge about the research topic, something could have been explored. However it was not the priority of the research, as least in the beginning. In conclusion, this essay has focused more on describing and explaining Turkish identity and Turkish diaspora in Sweden with some specific themes.

To have systematic and better research, it should be considered that what kind of principle can make the reasons and arguments relevant to claims for the research questions, including the knowledge of the reader to make the arguments more understandable.

When the topic of this research was chosen, the author did not have enough knowledge about Turkish community in Sweden. Moreover, the author had not meet any Turkish people living in

⁴Paul S. Gray, *Research Imagination: An Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Methods*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 2.

⁵Ibid, 2.

⁶Ibid, 2.

Malmö before. Briefly, when it was started to make this research, the first thing was to try finding Turkish associations and reaching their contact addresses.

After the topic of the research was certainly decided, as it happens mostly in the first phase, it was needed to be adjudicated about the most appropriate method for the research, which would give pure material to analyse and thus research method as one of the prominent factor should be chosen depending on the aim, content and context of the research.

To decide about the most appropriate method for this research, as many Turkish associations as could be reached in Malmö were visited to have some general ideas about the coherence of the topic and method. After several visits, it was obviously understood that some of these associations are not very active than it was thought by the researcher. Mostly, they are a kind of café, so to speak *kiraathane*⁷, where many Turkish people come and spend time, passively active associations. Moreover, it was hard to find some official documents that could help the author to use and analyse, apart from a few legal documents in Swedish. In short, it was noticed that so many documents could not be used as a primary source, and that the best way of understanding Turkish diaspora is to talk to the members of Turkish associations to have first-hand information and observations.

By taking into considerations of these academic aims of the research together with the situation of the Turkish diaspora and other practical facts, the qualitative research method is the most appropriate one to collect data, in particular interviewing as a method is better to use because of the advantage that qualitative data gives narratives depending on “words, especially nouns and adjectives that convey what exists. Their main advantage is that they can capture subtleties of meaning and interpretation that numbers do not convey”.⁸ Thus, it is more possibly ability to know, observe and assay the views and comments about something.⁹ Apart from this main reason, the method is very well known and accepted in academia as there are a lot of published qualitative articles. Moreover, it is very economical way of making research considering time

⁷Kiraathane is a Turkish word, which means cafe but in Turkish culture, as the legacy from the Ottoman Empire culture, these places are just for men, who talk, smoke, play cards and a Turkish board game called *OKEY*. As it can be understood, they are very masculine places, where women never go and even women want to go, they are not welcomed. Shortly, these Turkish associations are, more or less, Swedish version of Turkish *kiraathane*.

⁸Paul S. Gray, *Research Imagination: An Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Methods*, 42.

⁹David Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data, Methods for Analyzing Talk and Text*, (London: SAGE, 2006), 113.

and resources.¹⁰ Shortly speaking, “the qualitative stance involves focusing on the cultural, every day, and situated aspects of human thinking, learning, knowing, acting and ways of understanding ourselves as persons and it is opposed to technified approaches to the study of human lines”, especially for this research.¹¹

2.1 Semi-structured interviews

After the decision of the main research method, it needed to be determined what kind of interview method should be conducted. There are some variables to decide about it such as the expected number of interviewees, sampling, research period, and limit of master thesis, and availability and accessibility of Turkish people. By taking into account these crucial factors, semi-structured individual interview is the most applicable for the research. Firstly, idea was to make focus-group interviews and would be very helpful and useful to analyze, if focus-group interviews could be conducted together with semi-structured interviews to have both wide and detailed picture of Turkish diaspora in Malmö. For the interview based research, focus group interviews could have helped to construct the collective identity of Turkish diaspora with some potentially fruitful discussions. Notwithstanding it was tried to make focus-group interviews, due to the unwillingness of Turkish men and challenge of bringing Turkish men from different Turkish associations together as these associations do not really collaborate with each other, on the contrary they have some different opinions and problems. Hereby it could not be carried out successfully enough. From another point, the realization of impossibility of the method that would like to be used gave direct information about the situation and the reason of difference which is based on the discussion of which country Turkish immigrants came from. It will be mentioned about this fact in the analysis.

As a conclusion, via just only the topic-oriented semi structured interviews which gave a very detailed picture of their daily life, views, perceptions and some problems in terms of their identity and integration process in Sweden, could be conducted.

As to allude about the research process a little bit more, related to the chosen interview method,

¹⁰David Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data, Methods for Analyzing Talk and Text*, 113.

¹¹Steinar Kvale, Svend Brinkman, *Interviews Learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing*, (London: SAGE, 2009),

the aim of the research is not a priority to have hypothesis and test it with interviews but to describe and analyze the Turkish diaspora in Malmö. As interviewing is very well recognized method that can give the researcher a chance of exploration of the way of asking and understanding.¹² During the research period it was realized that, unlike the commonly view and tendency among scholars, there is another fact, in terms of integration that can be termed *positive diaspora consciousness*. This refers to some of people from Turkish diaspora have been very well integrated to the society and feeling happy with it. Therefore, unlike the other research which “well-integrated individuals” are not commonly subject of a research in social fields due to the limelight on the problematic issues on their life and integration, the interviews showed both sides of the fact by helping to deconstruct and reconstruct their identities.¹³

As to focus more on semi-structured individual interviews and its functional role on this research, first thing that should be said is that they are self-narratives of individuals that reflect directly their views and collective and individual identities from their own perspectives.

Main feature of semi-structured interviews is that there are some listed and prepared questions to ask to all interviewees in a structured form, but there are also unstructured questions. Therefore, the narratives provide comparable data for all respondents but also their own perspectives, perceptions and challenges of each individual.¹⁴ This is an effective way of recording data for the analysis. That is to say, it is ‘a one-way flow of data and of benefits to the researcher alone’.¹⁵ Anyway, it is used to record, as the main point is the get their narratives from their unique perspectives which mean it is worthy to make it because of the conversation.

The approach of this research about interviewing is the constructionism which both researcher and respondent always build up meaning, then “the researcher takes as their topic how meaning is mutually constructed”.¹⁶ Because it is believed that as an approach, constructionism is more useful to analyse self-narrations due to the content of the topic.¹⁷ Shortly, interviews of this

¹²David Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data, Methods for Analyzing Talk and Text*, 148.

¹³Tunde Puskas, *We belong to Them, Narratives of Belonging, Homeland and Nationhood in Territorial and Non-territorial Minority Settings*, (Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2009), 71.

¹⁴David Silverman *Interpreting Qualitative Data, Methods for Analyzing talk and text*, 3rd edition, 161

¹⁵*Ibid*, 175.

¹⁶*Ibid*, 118.

¹⁷David Silverman *Interpreting Qualitative Data, Methods for Analysing Talk and Text*, 204.

research contain and present some narratives, individual and collective views, experiences and identities in which they are interpreted by the researcher as a result of “conversational practices and non-verbal actions of both interviewer and interviewees”.¹⁸

Like every research method, interviewing, particularly semi-structured interview method has some positive and negative aspects that determine the context of the research itself. This fact is valid for this research as well.

In the research semi-structured interviews gave concrete and directly honest answers on the subject of Turkish identity and Turkish diaspora in Malmö. It was corrected that interviewing is more effective than do survey questionnaires, when there are some sensitive issues¹⁹. As semi-structured interviews are not rigidly structured, it has a flexibility that enables the interviewer to encourage interviewee both in verbal and non-verbal ways. The interviewer can repeat questions by clarifying or changing the way of asking to get more details and interesting responds, which happened several times in the interviewing process. Thus, the risk of misunderstandings between both sides minimized.²⁰

As well as the advantages of interviewing there are some disadvantages, especially in regards to standardization and generalizability. Any research based on interviewing lacks standardization in the data collection. This is because; it is not possible to get standard information from conducted interviews which designate the level of reliability of research.²¹

Another problematic point is the interviewing procedure itself. One hand, the aim is to have some accurate information and comments to use and analyse. On the other hand there is no one or the best way to ask questions. The same questions can be asked in another way and the comment would be very different. This possibility can never be tested and realized.²²

Another difficulty is the generalization of analysis for the whole community as it is in this case. This is a problematic point but does not mean that it can be made generalizations with inter-

¹⁸Ibid, 144.

¹⁹Paul S. Gray, *Research Imagination: An Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Methods*, 173.

²⁰Ibid, 175.

²¹Ibid, 172.

²²Ibid, 172.

view material. It should be just taken into consideration that there is no way or tool to test exactitude of these generalizations, including the analysis part of this research.

As directly related to generalization, there is another in the sampling procedure. It is mainly based on small, and nonprobability samples like this one. Use of a sample of as many as respondents is rare and not possible for some limits for instance, the page limit of the thesis.²³ Still, it can be made efforts to use as many sample as to analyse giving main points but also substantial individual perspectives. One more thing that can be a determinant aspect is the honesty of interviewees. They sometimes do not prefer explaining their own views and values for different reasons, avoiding talking sincerely. Instead, they can answer in a manner as recognized acceptable by society. This is another fact that it can never be realized.²⁴

2.2 Sampling

There are fourteen interviews conducted with Turkish men living in Malmö. These persons are members of four different Turkish associations which are Malmö Turkisk Kultur Föreningen (MTKF), Malmö Unga Svenska Turkar (MUST) and Ataturk Kultur och Sport Föreningen, and Balgöc (Turknet), respectively.

Eight of them are from Malmö Turkisk Kultur Föreningen (MTKF), the remaining six are split up in twos from Malmö Unga Svenska Turkar (MUST) and Ataturk Kultur och Sport Föreningen, and Balgöc (Turknet).

Each of interviewee defined himself as Turkish. They have very different backgrounds in terms of where they come from, social status, age. Nine of them came from different cities of Turkey; four of them are from Bulgaria. It should be noted that those who are from Bulgaria are ethnically Turkish. They were living as minorities in Bulgaria and they are very sensitive about their Turkish identity.

Except one person, all are Swedish citizens, but also Turkish and Bulgarian citizens.

The age range is from 25 to 53. They have all been living in Malmö at least for years. Five of

²³Paul S. Gray, *Research Imagination: An Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Methods*, 172.

²⁴*Ibid*, 172.

them were born in Sweden.

Four of them are head members of these associations, the rest of them are only members who come to associations regularly. Semi-structured individual interviews were made with mostly in Turkish associations' meeting rooms. There were some references with gestures to the people sitting there, and the Turkish tea we drunk together. Shortly, each interview was made in a sincere and warm atmosphere, even though sometimes the issue is tough. All interviewees are mostly talkative, patient and helpful. However, more than half of the interviewees (nine of them) did not let the author to record it. For these 8 interviews, some quick notes were taken. This did not prevent the interaction between the interviewer and the respondents but it took a little bit more time. The time limit for each was around 60-70 minutes at maximum plane for each but some are longer than this limit, because of the widening of the topic by some interviewees. As each person is different, every interviewing experience is unique; this is part of the charm of the fieldwork. Meanwhile there is validity in the adage, "the only way to learn how to do it is to do it".²⁵

As sampling is one of the crucial points of the research that determines the primary research material, it was decided based on the varieties of persons with age, values, and life style and so on. Sampling is important procedure that makes research manageable. When investigators take a sample, they select a relatively small number of cases from the social whole, for enumeration or observation.²⁶ This fact should be taken into a consideration.

2.3 Narrative Analysis

The interviews conducted for this research are self-narratives of Turkish men about their identities and memberships of the Turkish diaspora in Malmö. As the narrative analysis is made based on interview materials, there are questions consider some matters; the content of the story, the principal agents, the way of telling the story, the aim of telling the story

Together with these questions, the concept of diaspora can be combined and in the fifth chapter, as a result of this combination, based on new categories, are analyzed.

²⁵Barbara Truesdell ,*Oral History Techniques: How to Organize and Conduct Oral History Interviews*, accessed April 16, 2013 :1 http://www.indiana.edu/~cshm/oral_history_techniques.pdf

²⁶Paul S. Gray, *Research Imagination: an Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Methods*, 46.

As mentioned before, such an abstruse concept like identity can be analyzed better with quantitative methods, particularly interviews, as they are individual narratives. They are personal stories that each individual construct his own actuality. In other words, they try to “make sense of their reality”.²⁷ This reflects personal view and individual identity perception of persons as members of diaspora community that gives very detail picture about the topic. Nevertheless, this does not mean that these are only self-narrations, but also when all narratives “provide cohesion to transmit shaved beliefs of common origins and identity at collective level. They are ontologically interrelated in a network of ideas embedded within a specific cultural and historical context”.²⁸ Both at personal and collective level, they are constructed, created with various phases and impacts.

2.4 Overview on Material and Sources Used

Both an advantage and disadvantage of this research is the lack of previous empirical research and that of academic literature in English, directly related to the topic. Thus, there is no fundamental or academically inspirational source to use and reference, but there are several academic works that helped very much during the research period.

The primary source and material are undoubtedly the semi-structured individual interviews conducted with Turkish men. These interviews are pure material and directly analyzable based on research method and approach. Apart from narratives of the interviews, there are some secondary sources that were used in this thesis, depending on different aims and sections.

To begin with theoretical sources, as the main theory is diaspora, it is the main part of theoretical framework of the thesis so that some prominent books and articles in the field that are essential for diaspora theory were used, such as *Diaspora in Modern Societies: Myth of the Homeland and Return*²⁹, *The ‘Diaspora’ Diaspora*³⁰, *Diasporas*³¹, *Global Diaspora*.³² These are

²⁷Catarina Kinnvall, Paul Nesbitt-Larking, *The political psychology of Globalization, Muslims in the West*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 7.

²⁸Ibid, 8.

²⁹William Safran “Diaspora in Modern Societies: Myth of the Homeland and Return”, *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 1,1 (1991): 88.

³⁰Rogers Brubaker, “The ‘Diaspora’ Diaspora”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, 1 (2005):1 -19.

³¹James Clifford “Diasporas”, *Cultural Anthropology* . 9, 3 (1994): 302-338.

³²Robin Cohen *Global Diasporas, an introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

well-known sources in the field. Furthermore some sources that are newly published and have a new perspective which see diaspora in a wider perspective rather than as scholars interpret. Combining classical sources with new sources and adapting the features of diaspora into the Turkish diaspora in Sweden is very helpful to analyze the main research material by giving flexibilities, as new sources have expanded the content considering some important facts and concepts such as globalization, modernism, new capitalism and new technologies which have disappeared the distinction of diaspora-immigrant by having a more flexible approach.

Add to these well-known and some newly published sources, there are a few previous case studies and other sources used. These sources are relatively directly related to the topic but generally about Turkish immigrants in Sweden, particularly Turkish communities in Stockholm and Gothenburg City. They are mostly focused on the living conditions, educational level, integration, psychological adaptation and associations.³³

It has benefited from these academic sources for different reasons at some various levels, but it should be mentioned that those, more or less, helped the author to understand and define some problematic points but also gave the author some views about the life of Turkish immigrants in Sweden generally by having the possibility to compare these case studies with my field work, especially in the analysis part. Therefore, this research includes some comparisons of Turkish diaspora living two big cities of Sweden.

Another sources used for this thesis are official statistics about Turkish population in Sweden, more specifically some facts, graphs and numbers that give positivist information. These figures were taken from Statistic Office of Sweden and Malmö Municipality.³⁴

For the case studies and analysis, several academic research sources about interviewing and interview methods were used.

Lastly, it was tried to use some sources published in Sweden but only in Turkish and not

³³For example, A. Sule Ozuekren "Ethnic Concentration at the Neighborhood Block Level: Turks in a Greater Stockholm Suburb (1989 and 1999)", *Housing, Theory and Society* 20 (2003): 172-182; Nuran Bayram, Hans Nyquist, Daniel Thourburn, Nazan Bilgen "Turkish Immigrants in Sweden: Are They Integrated?", *International Migration Review* 43, 1 (2009): 90-111.

³⁴Statistic Office of Sweden accessed May 1, 2013, http://www.scb.se/default_2154.aspx; Malmöstad.se/Statistics (<http://www.malmo.se/Kommun--politik/Om-oss/Statistik.html>)

translated into English as much as it could be, such as some magazines. The magazines are published in Turkish in Sweden whose names are 'Yeni Birlik' and 'Euro-Turk', respectively.³⁵ The former one is also published with some articles and news in Swedish.

At last, some other Turkish sources only published in Turkish were used to enrich the analysis and the research itself academically putting more various sources that could give another perspective to the reader to think critically.

3. THE BACKGROUND & HISTORY OF TURKS IN SWEDEN

*Turk gibi hissediyoruz ama İsveçli gibi yaşıyoruz
(We feel like Turk but live like Swede.)*³⁶

3.1. Historical Background of Turkish Immigrants in Sweden

Migration has been a common phenomenon and reality in the global world. Europe is not an exemption.³⁷ Turkish workers migrated to a lot of countries in Europe, particularly Germany, France, and the Netherlands. The number of Turkish populations in Scandinavia is not comparable to these countries; however it is relatively high in Sweden with an official estimated number of 67,731.³⁸

Sweden is a destination for a lot of immigrants in recent times but this trend started in the second half of twentieth century. The flow of migrants historically starting from 1940s can be categorized in four periods; refugee migration from neighbouring countries (1940-47), labour migration from Finland and Southern Europe (1948-72) when there was massive flow for

³⁵'Yeni Birlik' is a monthly magazine of Sweden Union of Turkish Workers' Associations (Utges av Turkiska Riksförbundet) that is published in Turkish by having news and some articles about the recent issues in Sweden related to the Turkish community. 'Euro-Turk' is also monthly magazine published by Turkiska Ungdomsförbundet (TUF) in both Turkish and Swedish with a similar concept of the former magazine.

³⁶ Zafer Ozdemir 2013.

³⁷The massive influx of workers from Eastern Europe to Western Europe led to that Europe has become 'an immigrant destination' last two decades. Before this fact, between the 1950's and the 1980's, there was a significant wave of migration to Europe from the south to the north. These immigrants were labour workers and often came from Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Algeria and Morocco. They fulfilled the needs of unskilled labour force of developed countries in Europe, particularly in Germany, France and Scandinavian countries.

³⁸Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, *Yurtdışındaki Vatandaşlarımızla İlgili Sayısal Bilgiler (31.12.2009 tarihi itibarıyla)*, The Ministry of Work and Social Security, Turkey *Statistical Information About Our Citizens Abroad*, accessed May 10, 2013 <http://www.csgeb.gov.tr/csgebPortal/diyih.portal?page=yv&id=1>

labour force³⁹, refugee migration from non-European countries (1973-89), refugee migration from the former Yugoslavia and the Middle East (1990-present).⁴⁰

The arrival of Turkish immigrants corresponds to the second period of immigration flow. Turkish immigrants started to arrive in Sweden in the late 1960s by the fact of high unemployment rate in Turkey and job opportunities in Sweden.⁴¹ The first immigrants were labour workers, who were mostly young men without their families. Back then, the Turkish community was a small group and not visible as now. For instance, in 1971, there were only 4600 Turks in Sweden.⁴²

They mostly came from the district of Konya, Kulu⁴³ and a few of them were from Istanbul and its periphery. The Turkish immigrants filled less attractive vacant jobs in Sweden as other European countries but when they were working in Sweden they did not have a guest-worker status. This is necessary to depart when their contracts to expire unlike the other Turkish immigrants who were employed on a temporary basis as guest workers in other European countries.⁴⁴ Their situation was ambiguous. The first agreement was signed in the late 1960s and then in 1976 after the realization of the fact that this was not a temporary phenomenon anymore. Turkish immigrants wanted to stay in Sweden. After negotiations between Swedish and Turkish governments about the social rights to foreign workers, they had access to social welfare state systems including the rights of social healthcare, social insurance, unemployment and pension rights, and state assistance in childbirth and care.⁴⁵

³⁹Swedish industry had a great need of labour force during the 1960s and early 1970s. In 1965 the government Commission for the labour market announced more need of extensive labour immigration. Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Department for Migration and Asylum Policy *Sweden in 2000 – A Country of Migration past, present, future*, (Halmstadt: Department for Migration and Asylum Policy, 2000): 15-16.

⁴⁰J. W. Berry, Charles Westin, Erkki Virta, Paul Vedder, Rosanna Rooney, *Design of the Study: Selecting Societies of Settlement and Immigrant Groups*, in *Immigrant Youth in Cultural Transition, Acculturation, Identity and Adaptation across National Contexts* John W. Berry, Jean S. Phinney, David L. Sam, Paul Vedder. (eds) (Lawrence Erlbaum Association Publishers, 2006),

⁴¹A. Sule Ozuekren *Ethnic Concentration at the Neighbourhood Block Level: Turks in a Greater Stockholm Suburb* (1989 and 1999), 174.

⁴²*Ibid*, 177.

⁴³Konya is located in the middle of Turkey, and Kulu is one of the districts of Konya. Most of Turkish persons in Stockholm and Gothenburg are from Kulu. These people are quite homogenous having their own associations in Stockholm. It can be said that they are the most powerful group among Turkish diaspora in Sweden.

⁴⁴J. W. Berry, Charles Westin, Erkki Virta, Paul Vedder, Rosanna Rooney, *Design of the Study: Selecting Societies of Settlement and Immigrant Groups*, 37.

⁴⁵Those agreements are Bilateral Labor and Social Security Agreements; March 10, 1967 (Labor agreement), September 2, 1977 (Social Security A.). Nermin Abadan-Unat, *Turks in Europe From Guest Worker to Transnational Citizens* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 13.

During the 1960s, there was striking change of the structure of the society in Sweden that sparked some institutional changes and reforms.⁴⁶ The issue of migration and immigrants began to be discussed firstly in 1964.⁴⁷ In spite of the new structural changes in the institutional base, it can be said that assimilation was the purpose of Swedish immigration policy during the 1960s.⁴⁸

1970s had more radical changes in terms of the migration flow, based on some reasons such as economic crisis and stagnation, changing ethnic structure of the society. Firstly, the economic migration to Sweden came to an end in 1972, because of economic stagnation. That year was remarkably the turning point of economy, not just in Sweden but also all developed countries because of the oil crisis.⁴⁹ The arrival of labour workers decreased but in that decade there was considerably a change of a way of migration. The economic migration almost stopped but migration for refugees started including family reunions of previous labour workers.⁵⁰ Therefore, wives and children were brought to Sweden through this way. Briefly, during the decade of 1970, family reunions and asylum seekers made up extensive immigration.⁵¹

In the first half of the 1970s, the immigration policy was, more or less, the same as in the 1960s. Cultural integration was not the foremost goal for the government. The preferential aim

⁴⁶Starting from 1965, all immigrants have had the right to Swedish-language courses provided by evening schools. The first municipal immigrant service opened in Stockholm in 1967. More importantly, the new immigration policy started to be implemented in 1968. According to the new policy, immigrant children have the right to learn their mother language at least two hours per week. After one year, the immigration board was established. Nuran Bayram, Hans Nyquist, Daniel Thourburn, Nazan Bilgen, "Turkish Immigrants in Sweden: Are They Integrated?" *International Migration Review* 43, 1 (2000): 19.

⁴⁷The article was published about questions about the relationship between foreign workers and Sweden in Dagens Nyheter Judith Narro *Under One Roof, On Becoming a Turk in Sweden*, (Stockholm: A Doctoral Dissertation, Studies on Social Anthropology 43, 1998).

⁴⁸Khalid Khayati, *From Victim Diaspora to Transborder Citizenship -Diaspora Formation and Transnational Relations among Kurds in France and Sweden* (Linköping: Linköping University Press, 2008), 180.

⁴⁹Ibid, 180.

⁵⁰Nermin Abadan-Unat *Turks in Europe From Guest Worker to Transnational Citizens*, 38

⁵¹During the 1970s and 1980s, many refugees came from the Middle East. Christian Orthodox Syrians sought asylum on the grounds of religious persecution. The Kurds were another salient group, emigrating from Eastern Turkey, Iran, and Iraq. By far, the largest groups from the Middle East were from Iran and Iraq; the Iranians arrived in the 1980s as a consequence of the war against Iraq and in opposition to the Islamic government in Tehran. Kurdish Iraqis started to arrive in the 1990s in response to increasing oppression from the regime of Saddam Hussein. Charles Westin *Sweden: Restrictive Immigration Policy and Multiculturalism* accessed May 12, 2013 <http://www.migrationinformation.org/USFocus/display.cfm?ID=406>.

was to adopt immigrants to labour market in Sweden and the Swedish welfare state.⁵² For instance, Swedish for immigrants (SFI) was improved, and municipalities and organizations were given support for activities to engage immigrants in courses.⁵³

In that decade, migration from Turkey took the same way of migration to Sweden with family reunions and migration of refugees. There were many asylum seekers and Kurdish refugees, including family reunions. Beginning from the 1970s Turkish community has started to be one of the discernible immigrant communities by forming itself in Sweden.⁵⁴

In 1975, the Swedish Parliament adopted a new direction for immigration policy with three main principles: Equality, freedom of choice and cooperation. It was a new policy regarding to the position and status of immigrants and linguistic minorities in Sweden.⁵⁵

The objectives of the Swedish immigration policy are equality, freedom of choice and partnership (Jämlikhet, valfrihet, samverkan).⁵⁶ Equality contains equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities for all permanent residents of Sweden, irrespective of citizenship. In other words, it provides the availability of the social welfare system regardless of ethnic or cultural background.⁵⁷ Freedom of choice about accepting the society based on cultural diversity. That is an important change from assimilation to integration. Lastly, partnership refers to the understanding of mutuality and cooperation between everyone.⁵⁸ That is to say, everyone can be an active citizen and responsible in the society made up by reciprocal respect and tolerance,

⁵²Khalid Khayati, *From Victim Diaspora to Transborder citizenship-Diaspora formation and transnational relations among Kurds in France and Sweden*, 182.

⁵³SFI is a free Swedish language course for immigrants at national level to learn them. It is funded by the Swedish government. SFI provides basic knowledge in Swedish and knowledge about Swedish society.. Stockholms Stad, Svenska för invandrare accessed May 3, 2013(sfi)<http://www.stockholm.se/ForskolaSkola/Svenskundervisning-for-invandrare-sfi/Swedish-for-immigrants/>

⁵⁴A. Sule Ozueken "Ethnic Concentration at the Neighbourhood Block Level: Turks in a Greater Stockholm Suburb (1989 and 1999)", 174.

⁵⁵Judith Narro *Under One Roof, On Becoming a Turk in Sweden*, 1. After the adaptation of the policy, the Swedish Immigration Board financially support to immigrant organizations, journals and magazines in other languages. Politically important, foreign citizens living in Sweden for more than 3 years attained the right to vote in local and regional elections beginning from 1976. Children of immigrants and of immigrant based families accessed the right to take courses in their mother language both in primary school. A, Sule Ozueken "Ethnic Concentration at the Neighbourhood Block Level: Turks in a Greater Stockholm Suburb (1989 and 1999)", 174.

⁵⁶Regeringskansliet Näringsdepartementet, 2002, accessed May 07, 2013.
<http://www.regeringen.se/content/1/c4/19/69/c034aa0e.pdf>

⁵⁷Berry, John W., Charles Westin, Erkki Virta, Paul Vedder, Rosanna Rooney, David Sang, *Design of the Study: Selecting Societies of Settlement and Immigrant Groups*,363.

⁵⁸Ibid, 363.

regardless of ethnicity and cultural background.⁵⁹ The concepts and policy have been kept with some more developments depending on the recent actions.⁶⁰ It was striking fact that there was a dominant immigration flow from outside Europe with status of refugee, asylum seeker, including families during the 1980s.⁶¹

There was another considerable improvement regarding the immigration issue, which is the change of the name of the immigration policy to an integration policy. This is a result of long process that the integration policy focuses more on society's ethnic and cultural diversity. This is also proof that immigrants are not regarded as just permanent citizens as different migrant minorities but also part of the Swedish society with equality, freedom of choice and partnership.⁶²

The integration policy, based on cultural and ethnic diversity, did not have visible developments in the society after the implementations. Correspondingly, the government of Sweden established commissions in 2001 and 2003 to inquire the accessibility and impact and of migrant communities to the system together with an investigation of structural discrimination that influence the integration. Last but not least, legally promulgation of dual citizenship is another noteworthy progress for the integration policy together with a law on discrimination was passed covering all kinds of discrimination by ethnicity, religion, sexual preference, or disability.⁶³

⁵⁹Nuran Bayram, Hans Nyquist, Daniel Thourburn, Nazan Bilgen, "Turkish Immigrants in Sweden: Are They Integrated?", 101.

⁶⁰1984 Parliament decided that the refugees should move to different cities around Sweden instead of being concentrated in a few places. This was called the whole country strategy. In 1986 The new ethnic discrimination ombudsman started to help immigrants in cases of personal discrimination arising from ethnic background.

⁶¹Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Department for Migration and Asylum Policy *Sweden in 2000 – A Country of Migration past, present, future*, 17.

⁶²In the 1990s, the integration program was revised. In the former program, the immigrants were not allowed to choose their residential area, but in the new program. The Swedish Immigration Board was divided into the Integration Board and the Immigration Board. 2000 The Immigration Board changed its name to the Migration Board. Nuran Bayram, Hans Nyquist, Daniel Thourburn, Nazan Bilgen "Turkish Immigrants in Sweden: Are They Integrated?", 101.

⁶³*The Prohibition of Discrimination Act (2003:307) accessed May 3, 2013*

<http://www.jamombud.se/en/theprohibition/default.asp>. After it, another law on discrimination that is called New anti-discrimination legislation and a new agency, the Equality Ombudsman which makes seven act one.

Regeringskansliet, Government Offices of Sweden, Fact Sheet, Ministry of Integratio and Gender Equality, accessed May 12 2013. January 2009, Legislationonline.org

http://legislationonline.org/download/action/download/id/3395/file/Sweden_Discrimination%20info_2009_en.pdf

Shorty, as it is because of the immigration flows at different ways during the second half of the twentieth century, Sweden has had adapted to policies related to immigration issues, from assimilation to immigration, from immigration to integration and multiculturalism, with many structural and institutional reforms since 1965.

Currently, the total population of Sweden is 9.555,893 according to the official statistic office. Of the total population, 1,473,256 of them are foreign-born residents in Sweden.⁶⁴ Add to this, 448,736 persons were born in Sweden having two foreign parents which means they have foreign backgrounds as Swedish citizens.⁶⁵ As it can be seen almost two millions of Swedish citizens have directly foreign backgrounds, excluding persons who were born in Sweden with one parent born in Sweden and one foreign-born parent.⁶⁶ These numbers do say something about the diversity of Swedish society; almost %20 of the total population of Sweden has foreign background which is quite high rate for a nation-state.

As to take a look at the numerical situation of Turkish community in Sweden, the official number of Turkish population is 67-70,000, according to the Swedish source.⁶⁷ For the Turkish official source, that of Turkish population is 67,731.⁶⁸ Yet there is one thing that should be pointed about the statistical system of Sweden. Religion, ethnicity, and race as categories are not registered in the census of Sweden. The official key categories are country of birth, citizenship, and parents' citizenship. Therefore the number of ethnicity or national identity of an immigrant group may sometimes be misleading, exaggerated or inconsiderable. In this case, it could be problematic and may lead to erroneous conclusions if these numbers were taken just as it is shown.

⁶⁴Statistics Sweden, *Summary of Population Statistics 1960 – 2012*, accessed May 10, 2013.

http://www.scb.se/Statistik/BE/BE0101/2012A02F/be0101tab8samdrag_eng.xls. This data is based on the online and registered database of official statistics office of Sweden. The latest update is December 31, 2012.

⁶⁵Ibid ?, According to the Swedish Statistic Office, the definition of a Swedish-born foreign background person is who are "persons who have foreign backgrounds are defined as persons who are foreign born, or born in Sweden with foreign born parents. Persons with Swedish background are defined as persons who are Swedish born with two Swedish born parents or Swedish born with one Swedish born parent and one foreign born parent". Accessed May 10, 2013, http://www.scb.se/Pages/SSD/SSD_TreeView_340506.aspx?ExpandNode=BE/BE0101

⁶⁶Statistics Sweden, *Number of persons by foreign/Swedish background and period, Finding statistics/population statistics/table and graphs*. Accessed May 10, 2013. The number of Swedish born persons with one parent born in Sweden and one foreign born parent is 681.094. This data is based on the online and registered database of official statistics office of Sweden. The latest update is March 30 2013.

⁶⁷Ibid, ?

⁶⁸Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, Yurtdisindeki Vatandaşlarımızla İlgili Sayısal Bilgiler(31.12.2009 tarihi itibarıyla),The Ministry of Work and Social Security, Statistical Information About Our Citizens Abroad accessed May 10 2013 <http://www.csgeb.gov.tr/csgebPortal/diyih.portal?page=yv&id=1>

To have an estimated number of ethnically Turkish population there are two consequential matters that should be taken into account. The first one is the background of Turkish immigrants who came from Turkey. There were different ways of migration to Sweden. First Turkish immigrants came from Kulu, who are ethnically Turkish; however, the general background of immigrants from Turkey may be ethnic Turks and Kurds. Most of the refugees and asylum seekers came from Turkey were Kurds, due to the political reason on the Kurdish question in Turkey. As ethnicity is not registered as a distinctive factor in the censuses it is very hard and captious to estimate the figures.⁶⁹ The second factor is that ethnically Turkish did not come just from Turkey but also from mostly Bulgaria, Macedonia and then Cyprus and Kosovo. Directly related to the first matter, it is very difficult to estimate but it is claimed that the number of Turk from Bulgaria is around 30,000.⁷⁰ They mostly came from Bulgaria during the assimilation policy of Bulgarian communist government.⁷¹

Taken into consideration of these two factors and the official numbers, it can be estimated that the maximum number of Turkish population is, more or less around 100.000, including Kurdish people that some of them mainly define themselves with Islam by not refusing to be perceived as Turk but it is, of course, not valid for the majority of Kurdish people in Sweden.

If the claim of John W. Berry et. all can be taken as a measure factor which is that emigrants from Turkey to Europe were ethnic Turks, and about 20% were Kurds, the estimated numbers could be more than 83,000.⁷² Assuming that this estimation is relatively true, that makes Turkish community one of the biggest ones in Sweden.

Apart from the numerical facts, another concrete feature of Turkish community in Sweden is that they encompassed “the most concentrated minority group in Sweden”.⁷³ This fact is very

⁶⁹Charles Westin *Sweden: Restrictive Immigration Policy and Multiculturalism*, accessed 12 May, 2013
<http://www.migrationinformation.org/USFocus/display.cfm?ID=406>

⁷⁰, Frank Laczko, Irene Stacher, Amanda Klekowski von Koppenfels, *New challenges for Migration Policy in Central and Eastern Europe*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 187.

⁷¹1,160,614 Turkish people have emigrated between 1879-1992, according to Eminov. Ali Eminov, *Turkish and Other Muslim Minorities in Bulgaria*, (New York: Routledge, 1997), 79.

⁷²John W. Berry, Charles Westin, Erkki Virta, Paul Vedder, Rosanna Rooney, David Sang. “Design of the Study: Selecting Societies of Settlement and Immigrant Groups”, 2006. Of %20 of Turkish population is Kurdish, it is around 13,400 taking the number of 67,000 (Turks; 53,600). Plus Turks with Bulgaria, as it is around 30.000 then the number of Turkish population is more than 83,000.

⁷³A. Sule Ozuekren “Ethnic Concentration at the Neighbourhood Block Level: Turks in a Greater Stockholm

much important for the formation of Turkish diaspora but not there are some obstacles to be homogenous community unlike this unique phenomenon.

More than %60 of Turkish immigrants originated from rural areas and villages in central Turkey, particularly from Kulu, and from the north of Turkey, around the Black Sea.⁷⁴

The background of Turkish immigrants based on regions is one of the determinant factor that can be claimed some information about them. Firstly, as they are coming from rural areas, they were not well educated, especially in the 1960s of Turkey, when the illiteracy rate was not very high. Secondly, as they are from the region Konya and rural areas, they are conservative Muslims, having strong collective, national and religious values with very intensive family ties. These social postulates can be valid for Turks from the north of Turkey as well. Previous studies showed that this is still considerable fact that has influenced the structure of Turkish community and relations among them.⁷⁵

First-generation immigrants were those who came as labourers during the 1960s were from these regions of Turkey. With family reunions, their children and wives came to Sweden during the 1970s. For the most part, they were born in Turkey, and active, young or middle-aged workers. Second-generation immigrants were the next generation of the first Turkish immigrants. They were born in Sweden or they came to Sweden when they were young.⁷⁶ In the 1980s they were started to be witnessed as a community in Sweden with the third generation numerical. The number of Turkish population in Sweden was about 36,000 in the second phase of the 1990s.⁷⁷

Since the changes of integration policy, like other migrant communities, Turkish immigrants in Sweden have had the same rights as Swedish citizens with an access to the welfare system. In their private lives, they are free to decide whether they wish to be assimilated or maintain their

Suburb (1989 and 1999), 173.

⁷⁴John W. Berry, Charles Westin, Erkki Virta, Paul Vedder, Rosanna Rooney, David Sang, "Design of the Study: Selecting Societies of Settlement and Immigrant Groups, 38.

⁷⁵These are very good case studies about Turks in Stockholm: A. Sule Ozuekren "Ethnic Concentration at the Neighbourhood Block Level: Turks in a Greater Stockholm Suburb (1989 and 1999)" *Housing, Theory and Society*, 2003, 20: 172-182; Charles Westin "Young People of Migrant Origin in Sweden", *International Migration Review*, 37,4 (2003)

⁷⁶Charles Westin "Young People of Migrant Origin in Sweden" *International Migration Review*, 37, 4 (2003), 992.

⁷⁷A, Sule Ozuekren "Ethnic Concentration at the Neighbourhood Block Level: Turks in a Greater Stockholm Suburb (1989 and 1999)", 175.

native culture or construct their own way themselves, as the base of the principles of freedom of choice.

3.2. Turkish community and Turkish Associations in Malmö

It should be better to mention more specifically about Turkish immigrants as diaspora community in Malmö with (a) some figures, and (b) the features of Malmö that it is thought that they have influenced them in some ways.

a) Malmö is the third largest city of Sweden in terms of population after Stockholm and Gothenburg. It is located in the south of Sweden, called the region of Skåne lies to the continental to Europe. The population of Skåne is over one million and it makes up around 13% of the nine million inhabitants of Sweden.⁷⁸ Malmö is the biggest and most crowded city in Skåne region. The population of Malmö is 307,758. The number of foreign born persons and that of born in Sweden with two foreign born parents, and that of born in Sweden with one parent born in Sweden and one foreign born parent in Malmö are 94.743, 32.870 and 24.717, respectively.⁷⁹ In other words, 152,330 of the population has directly and relatively based on family ties, foreign background which is almost %50 of the total population of Malmö.

As it can be understood from the figures, Malmö is ethnically and culturally diverse city. According to the official figures of Malmö municipality, there are more than 138 different numbers of countries of birth that people come from. The top ten of the number of country of birth for foreign-born residents in Malmö is, Iraq, Denmark, Yugoslavia, Poland, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Lebanon, Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan and Romania, respectively.⁸⁰

Malmö has had ethnically dramatic change of population last five decades. In 1999, the number of foreign-born inhabitants in Malmö is 56.903 while that of foreign-born residents in Malmö is 94.743 in 2012 with an increase of around 35.000 foreign-born inhabitants excluding that of

⁷⁸Region Skåne *Region Skåne in English* (The population of Skåne is 1 214 758 based on the figures of 2008.), accessed May 6, 2013 <http://skane.se/sv/Webbplatser/skanese/English/About-Skane/>

⁷⁹Statistics Sweden *Numbers of persons by region, foreign/Swedish background and period/Malmö* accessed May 7, 2013 http://www.scb.se/Pages/SSD/SSD_SelectVariables_340507.aspx?px_tableid=ssd_extern%3aUtlSvBakgTot&rxid=4364175c-561b-4dc6-8347-9230a6c87f6b

⁸⁰Malmö Stad, *Foreign-born inhabitants in Malmö*, SCB (Statistiska Centralbyrån), Malmö stadskontor, Avd. för samhällsplanering Elisabeth Pålsson (Annex). Based on the data of January 1 2013 (Annex 1)

persons who are born in Sweden, and one parent born in Sweden and a foreign born parent.⁸¹ It can also be realized that, based on the origin of countries, the Muslim population in Malmö is highly diverse, with countries of origins like Iraq, Lebanon, Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan and the Balkans (Bosnia and Herzegovina, the former Yugoslavia).⁸²

Turkish community mostly concentrated in Malmö over the region of Skåne. The number of persons living in Malmö who were born in Turkey is 2.246. That of persons, who were born in Sweden with both parents born in Turkey, is 982. Shortly, the total number of person from Turkey is 3228.⁸³ Following the same logic of that it is claimed about the total number of Turkish populations in Sweden, some of the persons from Bulgaria (722), Macedonia (1,148), and Kosovo (302) should be considered as Turkish but it is impossible to know the exact numbers as long as they do not ask them directly.⁸⁴ In addition to this, there is no information about the numbers of person who are born in Sweden with both parents ethnically Turkish from these countries. So to speak, to try to estimate these figures is like looking for a needle in a haystack but it can be said that the number of Turkish population is between 3000 and 8000. This estimated number, even it is the minimum number, of the population of Turkish community is pretty enough to analyse and make research, giving some other potential research topics.

b) Malmö as an ethnically diverse city, it has unique and interesting development during the last six decades. Parallel with the whole Sweden, Malmö was an important city in terms of industrialization during the 1960s, when there was a huge economic growth with manpower based industries. Since the second half of the twentieth century, Malmö has increasingly a lot of immigrants who were unskilled workers in those times. *Since those times* “Malmö was the central to the evolution of national social democracy”.⁸⁵ It can also be understood from the name of the places in Malmö such as *Folkets park* (people’s park), *Folkets hus* (people’s home), based on the people’s home strategy of Social Democrats in which they were between

⁸¹ Malmö Stad, *Foreign-born inhabitants in Malmö*, SCB (Statistiska Centralbyrån), Malmö stadskontor, Avd. för samhällsplanering Elisabeth Pålsson (Annex). Based on the data of January 1 2013 (Annex 4)

⁸² Nermin Abadan-Unat *Turks in Europe From Guest Worker to Transnational Citizens*, 38.

⁸³ Malmö Stad, *Foreign-born inhabitants in Malmö*, SCB (Statistiska Centralbyrån), Malmö stadskontor, Avd. för samhällsplanering Elisabeth Pålsson (Annex). Based on the data of January 1 2013 (Annex 3)

⁸⁴ Malmö Stad, *Foreign-born inhabitants in Malmö*, SCB (Statistiska Centralbyrån), Malmö stadskontor, Avd. för samhällsplanering Elisabeth Pålsson (Annex). Based on the data of January 1 2013 (Annex 3)

⁸⁵ Ibid pg. 19 The first ever Swedish Workers Association was formed in Malmö in 1886

1919 and 1985.⁸⁶

By the fact of the location of Malmö, where is the gateway to the Europe, and of that is a harbour city, it is attractive for any kind of immigrants. In addition, as it is relatively big city, at least at Sweden's standard, that makes it immigrant destination of Sweden. These geographical features of Malmö determine the diversity of the society in Malmö as it was explained by some numerical facts above. This is, of course, an advantage of Malmö in terms of variety of ethnicities and very social and liveable city but the other side of the coin is very different and tough.

The problem related to immigration is the housing and the structure of the city. For instance, Rosengård as one of the district of Malmö "symbolizes the success of the pinnacle of Swedish modernity" called Million Dwellings project, and failure of the immigration policy with high levels of stigmatisation and unemployment that is a characteristic of Rosengård itself.⁸⁷ Since the late 1990s Rosengård has been a district of Malmö's highest concentration of ethnic minorities that most of inhabitants have had non-Swedish background.⁸⁸

The very important milestone of Malmö is the construction of a bridge across the Oresund. The Oresund Bridge makes Malmö more cosmopolitan and accessible city that around 16.000 commuters cross between Sweden and Denmark.⁸⁹ These main points are the main features of Malmö that have influenced all inhabitants in a way, and constructed the characteristics of Malmö as a city which is explained by linking to the Turkish diaspora in Malmö.

The number of immigrant associations is unknown as not every association are registered into the system but it is very easy to understand that there are lot of immigrant associations. The number of Turkish associations is 8-9 excluding some Turkik associations, but this is not the certain fact.

⁸⁶Michael Harleo, *The People's Home, Social Rented Housing in Europe and America* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 55. Local Social Democrats constituted the first 'Folkets Park' and 'Folkets Hus' in Malmö.

⁸⁷Natasha Vall, *Cities in Decline? A comparative history of Malmö and Newcastle after 1945* (Malmö: Malmö Högskola 2007), 73. It was built between 1967 and 1974 in Malmö and was the Malmö's first suburb.

⁸⁸Ibid, 101

⁸⁹Region Skåne, *Skåne Reaching Out Looking In* (Malmö: Council region 2012).

4. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

This part includes the theoretical framework of the essay that focuses on the concept of identity, particularly a concept of diaspora with some features of a diaspora to use them in the fifth part which is the main findings and analysis section.

Identity both academic and daily use is complicated, constructed and controversial term, so that making a research about something directly related to the concept of identity, including an identification process of a diaspora may be academically hard and problematic. To overcome it potentially, it should be better, at first to discuss about the concept of identity with some main features and various definitions of it, including its drawbacks. Consequently, in this research, the theoretical framework needs to be explained clearly by limiting the concept of identity based a diaspora which is the ground theory of this essay depending on the content, context and research methodology, as it has been thought that it is the most appropriate concept and theory to use and analyze the identity of Turkish diaspora in Sweden.

4.1 The Concept of Identity

To begin with the variety of the concept identity, since the last quarter of the twentieth century, identity is not just an academic term but also a usual word commonly used in a daily life by persons, media, and groups. It basically includes three main dimensions which are individual, interpersonal and group identity respectively.⁹⁰ The latter could be referred to a collective identity as well, and the notion of collective identity can be helpful to understand the process of identification by directly linking with diaspora identity in this case study.

Identity, as to define basically, is “commonly perceived as a social process and political attitudes shaped by both social and geographical structures and national contexts”. In other words, identity includes “shared representations of collective past and also political myths, collective memories and elite competition of power”.⁹¹ As it can be understood, it is very wide with general definition. One should be added to it relation to the notion of representation. In addition to the comprehensive definition, representation comprise “the signifying practices and

⁹⁰ M. B. Brewer and W. Gardner “Who Is This “We”? Levels of Collective Identity and Self Representations”, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 71, 1 (2007): 83-93.

⁹¹ Checkel J. T., Katzenstein P. (eds.) *European Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 97.

symbolic through which means are produced and which position us as subjects”.⁹² More clearly, it can be explained based on the definition. It has some features: identities are created, and could be reconstructed based on many different facts such as age, social status, language and so on.

Identities are symbolic. The prominent example is probably national identities that were/are imagined⁹³. Identities are based on difference, because identity is also way of describing ourselves, pointing some distinct discrepancies between us and them. In this respect, people both personally and collectively can be “someone when there is another”.⁹⁴ This is because that, to put in a nutshell “who we are indicates who we are not”.⁹⁵ Moreover, identity refers to the definition that who is really member of a group in various levels. People do not have one dimension of their identities; on the contrary, people have multiple identities which is called nested identities that shows different levels of identities such as local, regional and national identities⁹⁶.

Another feature is that identities have their own narratives that people share together, called collective identity that some people “share and take as their identifying mark as collectively”.⁹⁷ This is also related to the notion of collective memory which is basically that what groups share the common past, and have the same feelings in terms of some marked socio-historical moments and events. Collective identity and memory are related to each other “as the experience of the present which is mirrored in the past”, for example, national identity is one form of collective identity.⁹⁸ Another example is diaspora identity, especially related to trauma or bad memories that construct the members of diaspora at collective level.

These different levels of identity could also be defined as multiple identities which means that

⁹² Paul Gilroy, “Diaspora and the detours of identity”, in *Identity and Difference* (eds) Katryn Woodward (London: SAGE, 1997).

⁹³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (London, New York: Verso, 2006).

⁹⁴ Umut Ozkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism, a Critical Introduction* (London: Macmillan, 1997), 89.

⁹⁵ Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: SAGE, 2004), 78.

⁹⁶ Neil Fligstein, *Euroclash, the EU, European Identity and the Future of Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁹⁷ Klaus Eder, “Remembering National Memories Together: the Formation of a Transnational Identity in Europe”, in *The Collective Memory and the European Identity; the Effects of Integration and Enlargement* Klaus Eder, W. Spohn (eds) (England: Ashgate Publishing, 2005).

⁹⁸ Checkel J. T., Katzenstein P. *European Identity*, 135.

people do not hold one type of identity but also have aggregated identities. There are three sorts of ways of how individuals have collective identities. First of all, identities are exclusive which are not related to same fields. Secondly, identities can also be nested as it is explained before. Lastly, identities can be 'overlapping' which have potential conflict⁹⁹.

It is best to pause here and think about the constructivist approach that is heavily criticized being defined it as "clichéd constructivism" to highlight the weak and wide definitions of identity. These weak definitions are easily "packaged with standard qualifiers including that identity is multiple, unstable, influx, contingent, fragmented, and constructed, negotiated" and so on. The use of the term, even in a daily life, it has sort of "self-sameness over time, some persistence something that remains identical, the same while other thing are changing".¹⁰⁰

Identity as a category of practice is used by "lay actors in some everyday settings to make sense of themselves, of their activities, of what they share with, and how they differ from others".¹⁰¹ In this respect, Turkish immigrants can be analysed depend on the concept of diaspora to explain the formation of Turkish diaspora.

4.2 Diaspora Identity

Related to immigration and ethno-cultural diversity, one of the trendy theories in academia but also in daily life is diaspora. To understand the term and views of some scholars of diaspora better, it should be very useful to overview the concept, including differences, connections and important distinguishing points that were used in the analysis of narratives of Turkish males in terms of a diaspora perspective.

As it is pointed in a prominent article, *the 'diaspora' Diaspora*, diaspora or diaspora related words arose one or two times for each year in any kind of academic works from the 1970s to the late 1980s, but just in 2001, as he stressed, it appeared about 130 times.¹⁰² The only numerical fact shows the development of the field but also the proliferation of diaspora in the social sciences.

⁹⁹Neil Fligstein, *Euroclash, the EU, European Identity and the Future of Europe*, 128-129.

¹⁰⁰Rogers Brubaker, Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'identity'" *Theory and Society* 29 (2009): 11.

¹⁰¹Ibid, 4-5.

¹⁰²The 'Diaspora' Diaspora, Rogers Brubaker, 1.

Before the discussion of the proliferation of diaspora studies firstly, it is better to focus on the term diaspora itself. If you look at a dictionary, it can be seen that there is a reference to Jewish by defining the term, at first that explain basically as “the dispersion of the Jews beyond Israel” and continues in the same way pointing that “Jews living outside Israel.” As a third meaning, it is “the dispersion or spread of any people from their original homeland: the diaspora of boat people from Asia. People who have spread or been dispersed from their homeland.”¹⁰³

Beyond its meaning, scholarly, the term diaspora appeared taking Jewish communities as diaspora and research about them, directly linking to conceptualization of homeland.¹⁰⁴ The root of this scholarly reason is based on the nineteenth century, when Jewish communities in Europe and Russia were exposed to racism and carnage of Jewish in the formation of European nationalism.¹⁰⁵

Following Jewish diaspora, there are some other diasporas that were and have been made research and written about.¹⁰⁶ They are also called as victim diasporas that “have significantly influenced the discourse on diaspora. These historical, often victimized and traumatized diaspora communities” are African diaspora, Armenian diaspora, Irish diaspora, Greek diaspora, and Palestinian diaspora.¹⁰⁷

The roots of the concept academically have three historical models, which are Jewish diaspora, African diaspora and post abolition, periodically¹⁰⁸. The fourth one, which can be called migration age, can be added to this historical model.¹⁰⁹

To begin with the first one, Jewish diaspora historically was formed by some different variables such as language, culture, traditions ritual practices and geographical locations. African Diaspora is more about amnesia and transatlantic slave trade from West Africa to Americas in

¹⁰³ Oxford Dictionary, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012), the article diaspora

¹⁰⁴The ‘Diaspora’ Diaspora, Rogers Brubaker, 2.

¹⁰⁵Jana Evans Braziel, *Diaspora, an Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 14.

¹⁰⁶The ‘Diaspora’ Diaspora, Rogers Brubaker, 2.

¹⁰⁷ Nadja C. Johnson, “Global Journeys: From Transnationalism to Diaspora”, *Journal of International and Global Studies Global Journeys* 4,1 (2002): 459.

¹⁰⁸ Jana Evans Braziel *Diaspora, an Introduction*, ?

¹⁰⁹Manuel Castells, *The Power of Identity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2010).

the late 1400s. Past abolition is related to a European migration to the Americas throughout the nineteenth century.¹¹⁰ As a consequence, classical diaspora highlights “forced movement, exile and a consequent sense of loss derived from an inability to return”¹¹¹. This is also conventionally applied to the mass movement of Africans via slavery to the Americas. The last one, migration age refers to opportunity of travelling and dispersion of as many people as to the different locations in the globe due to the both good and challenging reasons such as new technologies, advantages, cross-border companies but also war, genocide, unemployment, starvation.

The diaspora studies became very popular, and its definition have widened in the last two decades. Some radical changes on the concept of diaspora started in the late 1990s. Among scholars of diaspora studies, there are some different categorizations in terms of defining and pointing the main features of a diaspora. For instance, it is claimed that a diaspora have six main features¹¹². The first one says that diaspora “refers to people who have been dispersed from a specific original centre.” That is dispersal and scattering from a homeland. Second, those dispersed communities “retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland” which can be described as collective trauma. Third, diaspora communities are marked by a firm belief that “they are not fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated”. This alienation is the reflection of a problematic relationship with the majority of the society. Fourth, it is that their ancestral homeland, “as a place of their descendants should return when conditions are appropriate” that is a hidden or clear vision of many diaspora, promoting a return movement. Fifth, they should “collectively be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their homeland” which is named as cultural flowering. Lastly, a diaspora “relate personally or vicariously to that homeland in one way or another, and with no communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship but it is also a sense of community transcending national frontier”¹¹³.

¹¹⁰Jana Evans Braziel, *Diaspora, an Introduction*, 16, 23.

¹¹¹S. Kalra Virinder & Kaur Raminder & John Hutnyk, *Diaspora & Hybridity*, (SAGE: 2012) accessed May 13 2013. <http://knowledge.sagepub.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/view/diaspora-and-hybridity/SAGE.xml>

¹¹²William Safran, *Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return*,

¹¹³William Safran, *Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return*; Virinder S. Kalra & Raminder Kaur & John Hutnyk, *Diaspora & Hybridity*.

It should also be better to point the differences of diaspora from other fields and concepts such as transnationalism, ethnicity and migration theory that might also help the reader to understand the concept of a diaspora but also might give a clear explanation of why diaspora theory were taken to analyse the Turkish community in Malmö instead of other concepts. In this way, it can be understood how and why the diaspora identity fits with the Turkish community.

To begin with the content of diaspora studies, there are two main specialities. Firstly, diaspora studies focus on the members of a diaspora and put an emphasis on their self-identity, self-identification process to diaspora communities. After all, it tries to analyse and express formation of a diaspora with some variables. Secondly, diaspora studies have an interest on the relations of members with the home and host country, to put in a nutshell, “the ways in which members of diasporas connect only with the host country and the home country but also the ways in which they connect with each other”.¹¹⁴ In a phrase, it does not address the reasons of migration or effects of immigration, but this does not mean that it is not related to immigration at all.

Shortly, diaspora studies aspire more on the members of belongingness to their diaspora communities and the connection of both the host and home country, and the focus on the process that occurs after they migrate, not to describe reasons why people migrate. Instead, it aims to understand the process of the formation of diaspora after people migrate, in terms of their identifications.¹¹⁵

Another point to be mentioned is the difference of a diaspora community from an immigrant community. Some scholars use *immigrant community*; some prefer to use the term diaspora. This is not just permissive choice. It is because, diaspora community not only “suggest agency and action with economic and social levels” linking to homeland and host country which are crucial dimensions that construct the formation of diaspora community as compared to the term immigrant communities that has very wide meaning and content with no exact base.¹¹⁶

Apart from the focus on the content and aim of diaspora studies, there are two main advantages

¹¹⁴Nadja C. Johnson, “Global Journeys: From Transnationalism to Diaspora”, 43.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 46.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, 47.

of using diaspora. Firstly it provides to go beyond the notion of immigrant that is the static and steady one. For instance, “French-Algerians or Dutch-Guyanese are better descriptions than Algerian immigrants to France or Guyanese immigrants to Holland”, that shows that the use of the term diaspora is better descriptively better and precise¹¹⁷:

It also allows us to see migration not as a one-off event with one-way consequences, but rather as an ongoing process of building links and relationships at the material and cultural levels. We are talking here about a relationship that, changes both the sending and receiving countries. This relationship has many connotations which are absent when thinking in immigration terms alone.¹¹⁸

At last, the understanding of diaspora studies, highlighting transnational links and various levels of identities and identification process with hybrid identity academically force the limits and fixed content of ethnicity and the term ethnic identity.¹¹⁹ Therefore, as based on modifying conditions, academically it is valid for the social facts as compared to the term ethnicity that cannot explain the facts as it did before.

Incidentally, it is better to cite the words related to diaspora. It is also instrumental to understand better the proliferation of diaspora as a recognized field in the academia. Diaspora basically denominates a collectivity, a group of persons sharing some same values who are away from their homeland. Related to the collectivity there are some abstract nouns that point a ‘condition’ (diasporicity or diasporism), a ‘process’ (diasporization, de-diasporization, re-diasporization, even a ‘field of inquiry’ (diaporology or diasporitics). Apart from nouns being used, there are the adjectives ‘diasporic’ and ‘diasporian’, which refer ‘attitude’ or modality as in diasporic citizenship, diasporic consciousness, diasporic identity, diasporic imagination, diasporic nationalism, diaporic networks Like the term identity, diaspora as a term is consciously used anywhere related to diaspora¹²⁰.

¹¹⁷Virinder S. Kalra Kaur Raminder John Hutnyk *Diaspora & Hybridity*, 38.

¹¹⁸Nadja C. Johnson, “Global Journeys: From Transnationalism to Diaspora”, 43.

¹¹⁹Ibid, 46.

¹²⁰This is also a proof of the proliferation of diaspora studies in academia but also in daily life. For instance, the generation of dispersion as a daily word has been more striking outside the academia in media, on the web, in the self-representations of a wide range of groups. Rogers Brubaker “The ‘Diaspora’ Diaspora”, 4.

The reason that diaspora studies has proliferated its own content is based on some factors that have been influencing societies, and have changed the world in many ways. More clearly some facts like decolonization, increased immigration, global communications, transport.¹²¹

Depending on these substantial plots, its meaning has gained new denotations. Even though it is clear that diaspora studies and migration theory are different fields. It should be inevitably mentioned about transnationalism. This is because; diaspora communities are directly and categorically related transnational community. From the point of the transnationalism perspective, diasporas need to be advanced based on such factor mentioned above considering contemporary facts of the world like post-colonialism, postmodernity and the late capitalism. In this respect, diasporas can be adapted to the actualities which would lead to diasporas can be approached as new communities in global perspective. The newly need of theorizing diaspora is obvious based on these facts interlinking economical, technological, environmental, cultural and human factors.¹²². As to clarify it better, first of all, it should be mentioned about two prominent considerations: “the increasingly imperialist, hegemonic forces of globalization, and challenging both the strictures and structures of nationalism”.¹²³ It is claimed that the first one is more important for the content of this essay, so the author is focused more on it to explain the impacts on diasporas and diaspora discourse.

Globalization has influenced everything in some ways and levels and “changes are not only taking place on global and national scales. Identity formation also occurs at the local level and personal levels. Global changes have local impacts” in terms of identity and community formation.¹²⁴ In recent times with “commercially driven increased use of information communication technologies and the decreasing costs of travel”, the movement of people, information, goods and labour. Due to these reasons, diasporas have remained connected to their homelands easily.

From another perspective, diasporas are “transnational tentacles of nation states, also global capitalistic economic formations created by push/pull factors within national economies, regional trading blocs”. Immigrants from smaller countries go to the developed countries and

¹²¹James Clifford, “Diasporas”, 306.

¹²²Jana Evans Braziel, *Diaspora, an Introduction*, 25

¹²³Ibid, 25.

¹²⁴Paul Gilroy, “Diaspora and the detours of identity”, 21.

thus, smaller countries of these immigrants support the process of exporting human labour as they depend on remittance of hard currency. In this way, the discourse and structure of diaspora have already changed by the reason of economic factor. In its classical meaning, dispersion is the main point of diaspora that determines other features like homeland orientation, and it mostly happened forcibly and exceptionally voluntarily, however at postmodern times diasporas are not formed with the factor of forced dispersion and exile but “diasporas may be produced by the dominant flows of global capitalism, and ethnic nationalism and corporate transnationalism, among other forces”.¹²⁵ Thus, diasporas has been voluntarily or forcibly of global dispersion of migrant populations in general.¹²⁶ Economic problems and unemployment has led to that diasporas are constructed consciously and voluntarily by their members. Therefore, economic problems of smaller countries are the reason and results of new diasporas. Moreover, with this interconnectivity at international plane, diasporas are able to “access and maintain connections, deepen relationships and broaden networks with lesser investment in terms of time, cost and effort.”¹²⁷

Taking into these accounts, diasporas are classified as nine categories: a) Colonial settlers, based on the legacy of European colonialism, b) transnational corporate expatriates, who remain citizens of their country of origin, mostly from North America, Europe or East Asia, but work and live another country, c) student visas, d) postcolonial émigrés, “many postcolonial individuals sought educational economic and citizenship rights within the colonial motherland” e) refugees, f) asylum seekers, detainees, g) Internally displaced persons, h) Economic immigrants, j) Undocumented workers.¹²⁸ In the case of Turkish diaspora the best category of these classification is undoubtedly economic immigrants that individuals who “move from their home countries to host countries in response to capitalist push and pull factors within local, regional, national and global economies”.¹²⁹ Economic recession, depression, unemployment, scarcity of resources, labour shortages, increased demand for skilled employees as pull and push factors were challenging and attractive agents for Turkish immigrants.

¹²⁵Jana Evans Braziel, *Diaspora, an Introduction*, 26

¹²⁶Yasemin N Soysal, “Citizenship and identity: Living in Diasporas in Post-war Europe?” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23, 1 (2000), 2.

¹²⁷*Diaspora & Hybridity*, Virinder S. Kalra & Raminder Kaur & John Hutnyk Pub

¹²⁸Jana Evans Braziel, *Diaspora, an Introduction*, 28-29-34-35

¹²⁹*Ibid*, 16, 23, 34.

After briefly explained of diaspora, the main aspects of diaspora can be discussed, which allows the reader to understand with different dimensions and helps to make analysis depending on, more or less, the same categorization in the fifth chapter, Main Findings and Analysis.

4.2.1 Main Features of Diaspora

To give short description of diaspora it can be written that

*the term diaspora as referring to **ethno-national groups** whose members **reside out of their home country** (moved from there either **forcibly or voluntarily**) and who retain **a sense of membership** in their group of origin and **collective representation and concern for the well-being of their homeland** which plays significant role in their both **a symbolic and normative sense**.¹³⁰*

As it can be easily understood there are several characteristics of diaspora like ethno-national group, dispersion, home orientation, sense of membership, collective representation and identity. To discuss the aspects of diaspora, this definition is deconstructed by putting some more features based on the content of a diaspora.

4.2.1.1 Ethnic/ethno-national Category

Diaspora communities are made up members of an ethnic group. This is very flexible occasion while the term ethnicity can be perceived that all members need to belong to the ethnic group so “diaspora relies on a conception of ethnic bonds as central, but dynamic elements of social organization”.¹³¹ It should be mentioned that the sense of membership of the ethnic group is not very strict, but mostly a feeling in terms of culture, language, relatively religion and so on. That is to say, ethnic bonds are core factors but not distinctive and internal one, on the contrary, diaspora inherently rejects the essentialist version of ethnic identity and national identity. It focuses on transnational relations between the homeland and the host country with identification of diaspora “relating to ethnic communalities, which can recognize difference and

¹³⁰Ewa Morawska ”Diaspora’ Diasporas’ Representations of Their Homelands: Exploring the Polymorphs” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34, 6 (2011): 130

¹³¹Floya Anthias “Evaluating ‘diaspora’: Beyond ethnicity” *Sociology* 32, 3 (1998):576

diversity.”¹³² Related to the ethnic bonds, one should be discussed is the structure of the diaspora community. Although they are based on an ethnic group, diaspora communities are not homogeneous. First of all, “they are heterogeneous entities because they have a lot of differences at personal and collective levels such as personalities, gender, race, class, sexuality, immigration status, age, and religion among other differences.”¹³³ Secondly, they have enjoyed “different collective representations of the group under local conditions and they organise around cultural symbols, develop ethnic cultural organizations and promote their identity will be diverse”.¹³⁴ For example, Turkish diaspora in Europe. They are mostly coming from Turkey but from very different regions that they have very different cultures and values based on if they come from rural or urban areas. There are a lot of Turkish people among Turkish diaspora that they are from Bulgaria, Macedonia, Cyprus, and Kosovo as well. They are all Turks but have very distinct values and customs. To conclude briefly but in a sophisticated way, “diaspora is a way of theorizing formations that are ethno cultural, and that constitute foreignness within other nation’s ethnicities”.¹³⁵

4.2.1.2 Dispersion/Exile

Most scholars mainly have agreed, dispersion is one of the main aspects and “the most widely accepted criterion, and also the most straightforward” for diaspora communities. This term once historically described Jewish, Greek, and Armenian dispersion as classical diaspora communities. These diasporic communities are forcibly moved from their homeland for graceless reasons. If it needs to categorize diaspora as a classical and a new diaspora, it can be assessed that classical diaspora are formed due to the forced dispersion that can be called traumatic dispersion as well.¹³⁶ The relatively new diaspora communities migrated based on more voluntarily with partly compulsive reasons such as economic recession, high unemployment rate. As a result, dispersion of these classical diasporas has more widened meaning that includes words like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest workers, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community.¹³⁷

¹³²Ibid, 558.

¹³³Nadja C. Johnson, “Global Journeys: From Transnationalism to Diaspora”, 44.

¹³⁴Floya Anthias “Evaluating ‘diaspora’: Beyond ethnicity”, 558.

¹³⁵Yasemin N Soysal, “Citizenship and identity: Living in Diasporas in Post-war Europe?”, 3.

¹³⁶Rogers Brubaker “The ‘Diaspora’ Diaspora”, 5.

¹³⁷Jana Evans Braizel *Diaspora, an introduction*, 96.

4.2.1.3 Homeland Orientation

The term dispersion moves us to another main feature of diaspora communities that determines its characteristic, which is homeland orientation¹³⁸. “Diaspora implies that people have been removed from their original place of residence”¹³⁹. That’s because, this is the “primary orientation and attachment of diasporic populations is to their homelands and cultures and their claims and citizenship practices arise from this home-bound, ethnic based orientation”¹⁴⁰. In the prominent essay, *Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return*, as Brubaker points, of the six criteria to be counted as diaspora community, four of them concern the orientation to a homeland. These are an on-going collective memory and myth to the homeland; a (ancestral) homeland as an ideal place to return; collective feeling and perception with boundary maintenance of the homeland for its prosperity; personally attachment to the homeland that is a determinant for one’s identity.¹⁴¹

It is, however, a traditional conceptualization of diaspora that just includes trauma and an idea of return. Diaspora studies has more flexibly enlarged perspective that has been adopted to the transnationality of new diaspora communities that they have new connections and mostly access to it easily but still “home is a mythic place of desire in diasporic imaginations”¹⁴². This leads to that diaspora communities establish their own ‘world’ with their common ties and values to “make sure they feel ‘at home’ while abroad. Of importance is that they remain emotionally attached to an imagined homeland”¹⁴³. Therefore, they live abroad physically but live culturally, mentally and emotionally at their homeland as least with a desire to return one day by striking a balance between living here and remembering another place that makes them “diaspora communities are ‘not-here’ to stay”¹⁴⁴.

Shortly, the homeland orientation is an important determinant factor of diaspora communities not just because of their “the orientation to a real or imagined homeland as an authoritative source of value, identity and loyalty” but also by a reason of the impact on their daily life while

¹³⁸Rogers Brubaker “The ‘Diaspora’ Diaspora”, 2.

¹³⁹Nadja C. Johnson, “Global Journeys: From Transnationalism to Diaspora”, 44.

¹⁴⁰Yasemin N Soysal, “Citizenship and identity: Living in Diasporas in Post-war Europe?”, 3

¹⁴¹Rogers Brubaker “The ‘Diaspora’ Diaspora”, 5.

¹⁴²Khalid Khayati *From Victim Diaspora to Transborder Citizenship, Diaspora Formation and Transnational Relations among Kurds in France and Sweden*, 44.

¹⁴³Catarina Kinnvall, Paul Nesbitt-Larking *The Political Psychology of Globalization, Muslims in the West*, 26.

¹⁴⁴James Clifford “Diasporas”, 310-111.

living abroad.¹⁴⁵

4.2.1.4 Boundary maintenance

Boundary maintenance is much more related to the concept of homeland that members of diaspora communities feel that they belong to culturally their homeland, not just due to the reason of the cultural legacy of their family that transformed to them but for emotionally a necessity of a sense of having the roots as well. The environment that they have been living can also construct their views and feelings making them feel alienated or lead to the feeling of not to revert entirely to the society and culture. On the hand, diaspora communities do not refuse to adapt to the host society by living in a harmony. Nevermore, This fact depends on the specific case and structure of the diaspora and the country of arrival.

If it needs to think boundary maintenance at transnational level, diasporas as unique communities, have established a new way of communication with “active solidarity, dense relatively dense social relationship” that goes beyond the states’ borders by articulating “members of the diaspora in different states into a single transnational community”¹⁴⁶

The crucial point of this connection is the reference to the ethnic bonds with recognition of cultural values of both the host and home countries as well by making a balance in-between that make them have hybrid identities, however it should be pointed that the important matter is still to be culturally a member of a diaspora community.¹⁴⁷ Because still diasporas have a collective sense and representations keeping their identities, with an adaptation to the host society at different levels depend on some factors such as the openness of a diaspora group, the place of arrival and its culture, political system and so on. Namely, to have boundary maintenance, it is obviously needed that a diaspora community should accept the existence of two cultures by putting them into same melting pot via its own way of identity formation process. This is both collective and self-identification process depends on membership sense.

4.2.1.5 Sense of Membership

It can be claimed that “diasporas are not exactly immigrant communities” that migrated from

¹⁴⁵, Rogers Brubaker “The ‘Diaspora’ Diaspora”, 5.

¹⁴⁶Rogers Brubaker “The ‘Diaspora’ Diaspora”, 6.

¹⁴⁷Yasemin N Soysal, “Citizenship and identity: Living in Diasporas in Post-war Europe?”, 3.

one country to another one.¹⁴⁸ The determinant factor of diaspora and its identity construction is not just to immigrate to another country, conversely it does depends on the fact that the experience of immigrants who have some common cultural, ethnic, moral values and identities together that might make a diaspora with a common feeling of that they belong to the same community, that lead to have an outstanding conventional beliefs.¹⁴⁹ Shortly speaking, every migrant community is not and cannot be a diaspora. In other words, the formation of diaspora does not rely on just to being migrated. This is about the collective sense, bonds and beliefs. Hereby, some minority groups like “non-territorial minority often refers to minorities which are traditionally defined as diaspora”.¹⁵⁰

Another essential matter, which is the continuation of the one mentioned above, is the de-territorialisation of this belonging. “Diaspora can be seen as an alternative to the essentialization of belonging but it can also represent a non-territorial form of essentialized belonging”.¹⁵¹ Moreover the collective belief of diaspora that “they have a common and connected future because of this identity” is necessity for the formation of a diaspora thus; this is the clarification of why all migrant groups do not form their diaspora communities.¹⁵²

Incidentally, it should be pointed that aside from collective belonging there is also an individual sense of belonging that determines a self-identification. Because, a diaspora identity is “hybrid identity that is not necessarily restricted to an identity based on home or host” but based on the choice of a person’s conscious.¹⁵³ In other words, it depends on self-identification of immigrants. Accordingly it is not wrong to say that a formation of identity, of diaspora is

*a process, a practice and not a category of people. One can choose to join diaspora and become active within that entity, but no one is forced to do so; becoming a member of a diaspora community is a process of self-identification and consciousness. It is a social process and a practice that some persons actively engage in while others do not.*¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁸James Clifford “Diasporas”, 311.

¹⁴⁹Nadja C. Johnson, “Global Journeys: From Transnationalism to Diaspora”, 46.

¹⁵⁰Ibid, 54.

¹⁵¹Rogers Brubaker “The ‘Diaspora’ Diaspora”, 6.

¹⁵²Nadja C. Johnson, “Global Journeys: From Transnationalism to Diaspora”, 54.

¹⁵³Ibid, 53.

¹⁵⁴Ibid, 54.

it is apparent that diaspora is not a categorization of immigrants from the same country. It is individual, collective, social processes that are based on self-conscious, collective representation, a willingness of becoming a part of diaspora following the same lifestyle. This is maybe a repeating of the content of diaspora studies but is “more concerned with understanding the experience of the migrants, how they are negotiating their new identities and what factors motivate them to be involved, or not, in the home country”.¹⁵⁵

It is stated that “diaspora communities are simultaneously real in a geographical sense (the actual dispersal of people) and imagined in a conscious sense (the shared imagination of belonging to community)”.¹⁵⁶ Many scholars use often the concept of imagined community borrowing from the work of Anderson,¹⁵⁷ claiming that migrants are involved in long distance nationalism, as they maintain boundaries and are interested in their home country politics in some forms.¹⁵⁸

Diaspora is a post invented for the present, and perpetually laboured into shapes and meanings consistent with the present. (...) it exists not as a lived reality, but as part of a broader scheme to insert continuity and coherence into life stories that are presumably broken under the conditions of migrancy and exile.¹⁵⁹

4.2.1.6 Diaspora consciousness

Diaspora consciousness has forms. The one is negative diaspora consciousness that is negatively “constituted by experiences of discrimination and exclusion. This attitude has established with an exclusion and othering. When immigrants are excluded by the host society, they have a stronger and collective sense with their communalities. Another way is, as a diaspora community to exclude other communities. In spite of that diasporas have a transnational perspective they have hybrid identities but this does not mean that they do not have a strong national sense. On the contrary, some diaspora might prefer to be more

¹⁵⁵Nadja C. Johnson, “Global Journeys: From Transnationalism to Diaspora”, 50.

¹⁵⁶Ibid, 47.

¹⁵⁷Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 7.

¹⁵⁸Nadja C. Johnson, “Global Journeys: From Transnationalism to Diaspora”, 49

¹⁵⁹Yasemin N. Soysal, ”Citizenship and Identity: Living in Diasporas in Post-war Europe?” , 2.

nationalist as a way of keeping their identities that see others, external factors as a danger for their identity. Needless to say that “there are antinationalist nationalisms” among diaspora communities but also “some of the most violent articulations of purity and radical exclusivism come from diaspora populations”¹⁶⁰

Apart from negative diaspora consciousness another one is positive diaspora consciousness. Diaspora consciousness is about making a balance in two cultures having boundary maintenance. It is “produced through identification with historical cultural/political forces, such as Africa or China. The Process may not be as much about being African or Chinese or wherever one has settled differently. It is about feeling global”¹⁶¹. Diaspora community has a stronger sense of difference from nationalism that is a “sense of being a people with historical roots and destinies outside the time /space of the host nation is not separatist” or exclusive as long as it is positively structured, however, it is completely based on the immigrant community and developments in both a host and homeland.¹⁶²

“Diaspora implies a relationship between more than one society, one culture, one group of people” so the process of formation of diaspora is very interactive and transnational based on collective identity of a dispersed group and an affiliation with a homeland and a host country via social, cultural, economic, daily connections and experiences.¹⁶³

4.2.2 Critics of Diaspora Identity

Like any concept and theory, diaspora can be probably criticized for different reasons and from several perspectives.

To begin with the first one that criticizes the wide definition of diaspora, “If everyone is diasporic, then no one is distinctively so. The term loses its discriminating power to make distinctions. The universalization of diaspora paradoxically, means the disappearance of diaspora”.¹⁶⁴ Unlike the critic of widening meaning of diaspora, there is a view that as an analytical category, “diaspora is too limiting to explicate the contemporary contours of

¹⁶⁰ James Clifford “Diasporas”; 307

¹⁶¹ James Clifford “Diasporas”, 312.

¹⁶² Ibid, 315.

¹⁶³ Virinder S. Kalra & Raminder Kaur & John Hutnyk *Diaspora & Hybridity*, 4.

¹⁶⁴ Rogers Brubaker “The ‘Diaspora’ Diaspora”, 3.

membership and belonging. We have to move beyond the customary and static precepts of diaspora and expand our theoretical and political vocabulary".¹⁶⁵ As it can be understood there are two antagonistic approaches to the same point that shows the difference of the perspectives. As it is mentioned before, diaspora is very well concept as long as it fits the facts and situation. In the case of Turkish immigrants, diaspora might give an original approach rather than migration theory.

Diasporas are a transnational community, but the "assumption is that there is a natural and unproblematic organic community of people without division or difference, dedicated to the same political projects".¹⁶⁶ However, other scholars criticized this point because diaspora communities are not strictly organic communities, although it is based on ethnic bonds.

In conclusion, the thing that should be always remembered to understand and analyse diaspora better, "one must first understand the ways in which migratory patterns and the migrations of various groups of individuals inform what we mean by diaspora".¹⁶⁷

5. MAIN FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Categorization

This categorization is based on the main features of a diaspora as mentioned in the theoretical framework, to analyze the Turkish diaspora in Malmö that relies on the semi-structured interviews with a narrative analysis method. The lineage of the main characteristic of a diaspora is somewhat different from the theoretical framework because of the aim that would like to describe and analyze the Turkish diaspora with views of members of Turkish diaspora.

5.1.1. Ethno-national group

As it was given some figures about the Turkish community in Malmö, it is not necessary to repeat but it is better to remember that the diversity of Malmö is valid for the Turkish community as well which means the member of Turkish diaspora in Malmö are from Turkey,

¹⁶⁵Yasemin N. Soysal, "Citizenship and Identity: Living in Diasporas in Post-war Europe?", 3.

¹⁶⁶Floya Anthias "Evaluating 'diaspora': Beyond ethnicity", 563

¹⁶⁷Jana Evans Braziel, *Diaspora, an Introduction*, 27.

Bulgaria, Macedonia and the former Yugoslavia. This multiplicity of different countries leads to various impacts on the formation of diaspora and relations of some groups among the Turkish community. There are two main views about this fact.

The first one, as “diaspora is a particular ethnic category, one that exists across the boundaries of nation-states rather than within them”.¹⁶⁸ Ethnicity is sometimes a problem as a concept to define the Turkish diaspora in Malmö. There is a visible tension that can sometimes turn into a conflict among the members of the Turkish diaspora. Because, some of members who are from Turkey claim that the real Turks are themselves, those who were born in Turkey or have roots of Turkey’s culture:

*I do not want to talk about this issue, but mostly members of this association are Bulgarian Turks and Macedonian Turks. There are not many people from Turkey.¹⁶⁹
The profile of Turks from Malmö is very diverse. They came to Malmö from everywhere in Turkey. Not from a specific place, very mixed. They are mostly from the Aegean region, Istanbul and Sakarya.¹⁷⁰*

The concept of *Hemserilik*, which is a Turkish word that is used to define people who are from the same city, is not very visible as it is in Stockholm and Gothenburg. Historically, most of the Turkish immigrants in Stockholm are from the same villages and a district called Kulu, where is in the middle of Turkey. This sameness and collectivity have influenced the formation of Turkish diaspora in different cities, as previous studies showed.¹⁷¹ The way of seeing other Turks who are outside Turkey does not reflect the common view of all Turks from Turkey, but it presents considerable common perception as well. On the other hand, as a second view, Turkishness is ethnic and social cement for Turkish community in Malmö:

Turks... a person is what he feels. Actually, we (my family) have Macedonian roots but we feel that we are Turkish so we are Turkish (..) as it is not biological, we are

¹⁶⁸Floya Anthias “Evaluating ‘diaspora’: Beyond ethnicity”, 571.

¹⁶⁹“Bu konulara girmek istemiyorum ama şimdi buraya gelenlerin cogunlugu Bulgaristan Turku, Makedon Turku’dur. Turkiyeden fazla bir Turk yoktur” Zafer Ozdemir2013. It is translated by the author. 2013,

¹⁷⁰“Malmö’de Turkler karisik. Turkiye’nin her yerinde insan gelmis buraya. Belli bir yerden degil. Karisik, cogu Ege’den, Istanbul’dan, Sakarya’dan” Bilal Karabudak 2013It is translated by the author.

¹⁷¹Nuran Bayram, Hans Nyquist, Daniel Thourburn, Nazan Bilgen Turkish Immigrants in Sweden: Are They Integrated? Nermin Abadan-Unat *Turks in Europe From guest worker to transnational citizens*. A. Sule Ozuekren “Ethnic Concentration at the Neighbourhood Block Level: Turks in a Greater Stockholm Suburb (1989 and 1999)

*what we feel.*¹⁷²

As other diasporic group's members of Turkish have a common ethnic identity that they define themselves as a Turk although they came from different countries. This is a problematic point of the conceptualization of ethnicity and the nation-state not that of Turkish community.

Shortly speaking, Turkish diaspora is not a homogeneous in Malmö not because of that they came from some different countries but also they are from different regions of Turkey that can sometimes be a distinctive matter for their internal relations. However still members of the Turkish diaspora thinks that they are all in a way Turkish by agreeing on the general perception of being Turk as one of the interviewee told:

*We tell each other what kind of ethnic group each is come from; however, %80 of us says that we are Turks among Swedes. Still we tell each other which ethnic roots we have.*¹⁷³

Apart from a common ethnic root, a national identity is very much important while they are all Turkish. Therefore, coming from Turkey is a positive aspect to be a part of Turkish diaspora as compared to Turks from other countries, especially Turks from Bulgaria. Turkish people coming from Bulgaria describe themselves as Turk, in a phrase they usually use that they are the "children of Ottoman" that proves that they are ethnically Turkish and their ancestors lived there when that land was a part of Ottoman Empire. That's because, they are so sensitive and defensive about their ethnic identities that lead to a some conflicts between both groups in the past times that have still influenced the relations of Turkish diaspora and the establishment of a Union of Turkish Associations. The oversensitivity of them is very clear about calling them as Bulgarian Turks. For them, this highlights the ethnicity of being a Bulgarian which they definitely disagree. As they come from Bulgaria as a nation-state so they call themselves Turks from Bulgaria (Bulgaristan Turku), not as Bulgarian Turks (Bulgar Turku). The use of the word "Bulgarian" stresses the ethnicity and they refuse to use it. Instead, they just point the name of

¹⁷²"Turk deyince,.. insan kendini ne hissediyorsa odur. Alsinda biz (aile) Makedonya asilliyiz ama kendimizi Turk hissediyoruz. O yuzden, Turkuz yani. (...) Biyolojik olmadigi icin ne hissediyorsa odur" Bilal Karabudak 2013. it is translated by the author.

¹⁷³"Kendi aramizda hangi kokenden oldugumuzu belirtiyoruz ama disariya karsi, Isveclilerin arasinda %80'i Turkum diyor. Yine de kendi aramizda tam olarak hangi etnik kokenden oldugumuzu soyluyoruz" It is translated by the author. Bilal Karabudak 2013

the nation-state. It can be also realized the change of the order two words putting “Turks” as first also explain it in another way.

When the associations are discussed, it will be backed to this point in terms of the impact on Turkish associations.

In conclusion, as discussed in the theoretical framework, Turkish diaspora has a heterogeneous and flexibly ethnic identity, while there are high tensions from time to time. Therefore, the structure of ethnic group among Turkish diaspora is both social cement and a source of solidarity, and the reason for social conflicts among them that decreases their commonly political or social impacts on the society.

5.1.2 Dispersion

The main reason that Turkish immigrants arrived in Sweden was the better living conditions and high unemployment rate in Turkey. The view, from the beginning till now is to earn and save money and finally go back to Turkey. In other words, they mostly came to Sweden voluntarily as labour workers or immigrants who wanted to have higher standards rather than their home country:

*We came here for living standards but we miss our homeland. The reason I came here was the economic conditions.*¹⁷⁴

However, Turkish people from the former Yugoslavia and Bulgaria migrated because of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and assimilation policy of Bulgarian ex-communist state, respectively. Whatever the reason they came to Sweden is not an exile or forced dispersion. It can be claimed that forced dispersion may be valid for Turkish immigrants from outside Turkey but still it is not comparable to the classical diasporas' exile such as an Armenian or a Jewish diaspora. Still they are members of diaspora, and relatively voluntarily dispersion has made Turks in Malmö concerned about their identities. As they live in an ethnically very diverse city, they need to feel their Turkish identity more and this probably happens to them naturally as

¹⁷⁴”Buraya yasam standarti icin geldik, ama vatan hasreti var. Buraya gelme amacim ekonomik standartlariydi.” Ekrem Camur 2013. It is translated by the author.

they need to define themselves to each other and the rest of the society:

*Everyone is different around you. Different nations, you are in a different country. It is more comfortable in Turkey, everyone is the same. That's why you do not need to claim your identity; there is no need for this there.*¹⁷⁵

As they do not have a traumatic past or a reason for their 'dispersion' as well as the development of new technologies, their perception and practice of homeland orientation is, of course different from other diaspora communities.

5.1.3 Homeland Orientation,

As a structural feature of diaspora community, homeland orientation is very crucial concept that determines members of Turkish diaspora in two ways.

The one, directly related to dispersion, is the idea of a return. As most of them had a view of back to Turkey after they have enough savings to live their lives in Turkey, this fact can be easily understand. It should be pointed here that every interviewer from Turkey thought about returning to Turkey. Some of them have still had a hope for it:

*Everybody has a dream of return to Turkey, however after generations or you have a kid, it becomes hard. There were not a lot of people that return to Turkey from Malmö.*¹⁷⁶

*All came here to return back but they cannot back to Turkey. When I came here, it was for 5 years. After I had children I preferred to stay.*¹⁷⁷

*We all grew up with the idea of the return. We earned and saved money. It was the aim. We could not back to Turkey due to the reasons we had in our lives. We will return to Turkey when we die.*¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵"Herkes, etrafında farklı olduğu için. Farklı milletler, farklı bir ülkedesin. Türkiye'de biraz daha rahat, herkes aynı bayrağı taşıyor, herkes aynı amanda. O yüzden, fazla sahip çıkmak zorunda değilsin. Zaten oyle bir ihtiyaç da yok". Bilal Karabudak 2013 It is translated by the author.

¹⁷⁶Birgun herkesin dönme hayali var ama jenerasyon geçince, çocuk sahibi olunca, dönmek zorlaşıyor. Bugüne kadar evine dönen fazla olmadı burada (Malmö) Bilal Karabudak 2013. It is translated by the author.

¹⁷⁷Hep gelenler dönmek için geliyorlar da bir türlü dönemiyorlar. Ben geldimimde 5 yıl için gelmistim. Çocuklar olunca kaldım Necmettin Mert 2013. It is translated by the author.

¹⁷⁸Bizim dönemimizde su düşünceyle büyüdüm ben: Buradan döneceğiz. Çalışıp para kazanıp dönecektik. Amac böyleydi. Hayatın getirdiği bazı şeylerden dolayı dönemedik. Dönersek de cenaze olarak döneceğiz Adnan Malkocoglu 2013. It is translated by the author.

As it is asked them the reason of staying in Malmö, the answer is considerably to have family with children or bringing their families to Sweden after they have relatively good life standards that they had changed their idea of a return.

It can be interpreted that the idea of return to Turkey is not realistic for them. When they started to talk about it, they were happy then their mood changed. This is a kind of nostalgia and a structural hope that they feel in order to find a good reason to live in a foreign country.

The desire for a return is kind of emotional tie to the homeland. Moreover, it is the reason of idealizing of the homeland as well, mostly Turkey as a country where they had lived peacefully and happily under the strict circumstances but as a Turk, and around Turkish people. They may live there, their land by being surrounded by their own culture, own people, own music;¹⁷⁹

*If I have a chance, I will return. I miss it, although I was born here.*¹⁸⁰

The view and feeling of a return designate their homeland perception as well. They sometimes glorify Turkey in terms of collective life and solidarity in Turkey highlighting the lack of solidarity and eroding customary values in Malmö:

I love my home country. %90 of them who came here thought they would go back.

The reason for return is the weather. Look at it. The summer came to our country.

*Here there is no sun!*¹⁸¹

Still, they have a desire of going back to Turkey; they have known that they will not return to Turkey under these circumstances. It is just an emotional support for them to live happily or feel less alienated into the society. This is, of course, very different from generations but valid for first and second generations. Shortly, it is their subliminal desire; otherwise they have faced to the facts of their lives. After new generations emerge, the idea of returning to Turkey has

¹⁷⁹Ates 2013; Camur 2013; Demir 2013; Mert 2013; Malkocoglu 2013; Ozdemir 2013, Yildiz 2013 Yilmaz 2013;
¹⁸⁰”Imkanim olsa donerim. Ozluyorum, burada dogmamama ragmen” Malkocoglu 2013. It is translated by the author.

¹⁸¹”Vatan sevgisi var icinde. Buraya gelen Turklerin % 90 ni geri donecekler diye geldiler. (...)Geri donmek istemeleri de havasindan, suyundan. Su havaya bak ya! Bizim memlekette yaz geldi, millet yuzuyor. Daha gunes yok” Alper Ozdemir 2013. It is translated by the author.

changed, because the future of their children is in Sweden. They are born, they study, work, live in Malmö. Needless to say that homeland orientation is valid for the first and second generations but not for other generations:

Returning to Turkey is not the priority for us. (them). They have started to invest their money on in Sweden but if I have a chance, I will move to Turkey.¹⁸²

As they visit their relatives and have their holidays in Turkey, they always have some connections via different ways apart from it. Members of Turkish diaspora, especially the first and second generations are more interested in Turkey, following Turkish media, using Facebook and other social media. For the retired Turkish persons, it is easier as they live six months in Turkey, preferably in summer times and six months in Sweden. However third and fourth generations do not have emotionally strong ties to Turkey.

The homeland orientation is also just valid for Turkish immigrants from Turkey. When the same question is asked to the interviewees from Bulgaria, it was understood that that they do not have an aim to return to Bulgaria. It is probably because of that they were already part of minority group there so that they can live in Malmö by earning enough money with incomparable life standards and education quality for their children that might make their future better.¹⁸³

5.1.4 Boundary maintenance

Members of Turkish diaspora in Malmö have some connections with their home countries, relatives, in the age of technology that make any kind of communications easier, faster and accessible. Depending on this, there are different ways that Turkish immigrants as a diaspora maintain their boundaries and connections. These actions are following Turkish media (social media, online and printed media research), Skype meetings, visiting their relatives, by spending their summers in Turkey.

¹⁸²Gerci donmeyi kafada geri aldilar biraz. Artik buraya da yatirim yapiyorlar, ancak her zaman donmenin firsatini kolluyorlar. Bilal Karabudak 2013. It is translated by the author.

¹⁸³Andreev 2013; Yilmaz 2013

Boundary maintenance is more related to the first and second generations as compared to the last generations who were born in Sweden.

The first generation maintains their boundaries. 6 months in Turkey, 6 months in Sweden, for retired ones. The new generation is not like that. Young people are integrated into the society, but the bad thing is that they are not able to speak Turkish very well..¹⁸⁴

Boundary maintenance leads to new experience intentionally and unintentionally among members of Turkish diaspora. They have already experienced being an immigrant by living, studying, working in Sweden but going to Turkey and confront some different perceptions construct their identities and positions repeatedly:

I feel more Turkish in Sweden and in Turkey I feel more Swedish.¹⁸⁵

In Malmö generally in Sweden, they usually feel that they are not Swedish and they are living here as either immigrants or members of Turkish diaspora but as foreigners, non-Swedes. This constant feeling and some experiences remake their identities constructed in different ways. They feel their ethnic identities deeply in Malmö:

Being a Turk in Sweden... You care more about your national feelings. Because you have to feel like that as everybody is different here. Different nations... You are in a foreign country. In Turkey, it is easy. People around you have the same culture. Therefore you do not have to feel different. There is no need to think about it.¹⁸⁶

Boundary maintenance is directly related to the homeland concept. They are more sensitive and consciously feel their ethnic or cultural identities as compared to their situations and feelings

¹⁸⁴Eski jenerasyon aynen devam ediyor. 6 ay Türkiye, 6 ay Malmö, emekli olanlar için. Yeni jenerasyon oyle degil. Gencler simdi İsveçliler ile kaynasmislar. En kotu olay, Turkcemizi unutma seviyesine gelmisler Necmettin Mert 2013. It is translated by the author.

¹⁸⁵Burada daha cok Turk oldugumu hissediyorum. Turkiye’de de daha cok İsveçli gibi hissediyorum kendimi Karabudak 2013 It is translated by the author.

¹⁸⁶Burada (İsvec’te), Turk olmak! Biraz daha fazla sahip cikiyorsun kendi milli duygularina. Cunku sahip cikmak durumunda kaliyorsun. Herkes, etrafında farklı olduğu için. Farklı milletler, farklı bir ülkededin. Türkiye’de biraz daha rahat, herkes aynı bayrağı taşıyor, herkes aynı amacında. O yüzden, fazla sahip cikmak zorunda değilsin. Zaten oyle bir ihtiyaç da yok Bilal Karabudak 2013. It is translated by the author.

when they were in their homeland. They follow Turkish media and recent events in Turkey, apart from their personal contact. News on TV are directly and instantly a way of connection with Turkey. In this respect, there is another distinction about following the media.

Some just follow Turkish media because of two reasons. The one is the feeling and necessity of knowing the actual facts in Turkey with a strong tie with their country. The second is the language. A lack of speaking Swedish naturally directs Turkish people to follow Turkish-based media and channels instead of Swedish media. These two facts can be separately or/and concurrently a reason.

Some members of diaspora follow both Turkish and Swedish media thanks to their ability of understanding Swedish and interests on daily new in both countries that can give them an advantage to compare two cultures and countries on a daily basis event. However, this does not mean that they do not miss their country although they sometimes complain about Turkey:

My psychology goes down if I do not go to Turkey every 3-4 months. (...) You eat 'simit' on the ferry and when you taste it, it is different, you feel happy. It tastes. It is not like that here. You just go to work in mornings and come back in evenings. Nothing more here!¹⁸⁷

This is an idealization of Turkey as a homeland with very simple and typically an example of an ordinary life in Istanbul among Turks in Turkey that show how they have perceived their homeland and a daily life in Turkey. Most of them visit their families and relatives in summers or some religious fests that are important for them¹⁸⁸

5.1.5 Diaspora Consciousness

While Turkish diaspora is not homogeneous, the members have a collective sense and belongings to the Turkish identity and culture, otherwise they would not be interpreted as a diaspora community as it is explained the difference of diaspora communities, from immigrant

¹⁸⁷Turkiye'ye 3-4 ay gitmezsem psikolojik olarak boguluyorum. (...) Turkiye'de simit yiyorsun, zevkini aliyorsun vapurda. Tadi var. Burada o yok. Sabah evden ise, isten eve. Baska bir sey yok Necmettin Mert 2013. It is translated by the author.

¹⁸⁸A. Ozdemir 2013, Ates 2013, Yilmaz 2013, Karabudak 2013, Z. Ozdemir 2013, Demir 2013, Camur 2013, Malkocoglu 2013.

groups. All are ethnically Turkish as they describe themselves.

Their commonality is not just an ethnic identity but it is, of course, very obvious that, apart from their ethnic belonging, Islam as a “religion play a primary role for Turks and Kurds, Alevites and Sunnis.”¹⁸⁹ This is well-known and observable fact in Stockholm and Gothenburg more visibly as the populations of Turkish immigrants are much more than those in Malmö. Nevertheless, as the profile and background of Turkish immigrants are very diverse and not homogeneous as it is in Stockholm and Gothenburg, religion does not impact all members of the Turkish diaspora. Nevermore, “participation in family-centered or Turkish-centered networks” is also main features of Turkish diaspora in Malmö.¹⁹⁰ There are smaller fundamental religious groups, also having their own associations but they are not open for everyone. So to speak they are kind of gated communities among Turkish diaspora with incohesive relations with the rest. Some of them are not part of the Turkish diaspora because they are socially not accepted by other members of the diaspora.

In spite of their some cultural differences they mostly feel alienated in Malmö with feeling that they do not belong to either Sweden or Turkey:

*A lack of having a country. When I go to Turkey I cannot say I am Turkish. It is the same for in Sweden. However I support Turkey here. Also in Turkey I support Sweden. I am working and earning money here.*¹⁹¹

They feel emotionally trapped or unidentified by saying that they are viewed migrants in a way in two countries, although they do not have a visible discrimination or bad experience.

*We are foreigners in this country. Swedes are right. We came here later, it is their country.*¹⁹²
I have encountered difficulties here. It is worse when I am in Turkey. I am an

¹⁸⁹Nermin Abadan-Unat *Turks in Europe From guest worker to transnational citizens*, Introduction, 26.

¹⁹⁰Judith Narrowe *Under One Roof, On Becoming a Turk in Sweden*, 8.

Turkluk var. Turkiyeye gidince de İsvec’i savunurum. Ben buranın ekmeğini yiyorum”. Necmettin Mert 2013. It is translated by the author.

¹⁹²”Biz bu ülkede yabancıyız. Adamlar haklı yani. Biz geldik buraya, onların memleketi burası” Zafer Özdemir 2013. It is translated by the author.

*immigrant here in Sweden. I am a Swedish immigrant in Turkey.*¹⁹³

This is very crucial phenomenon that determines their integration level and a way of seeing Swedish society. Because, the negative perspective based beginning as they view direct them to feel and think about their identities more by separating themselves from the whole society with a sense of foreignness. On the other hand, not to think like that by perceiving that they are a part of society is another way to construct their identities combining both some aspects of both two cultures and daily life rituals.

Taken into a consideration, identification process of members of Turkish diaspora can be discussed by distinguishing into two categories as positive diaspora consciousness and negative diaspora consciousness. Primarily it will be shown that the reasons of this distinction.

Based on the interviews conducted and some observations and talks, Turks from Turkey have more negative feelings about this situation¹⁹⁴. It is probably due to the fact that they have very strong national identity with collective sense and family ties as compared to Turks from Bulgaria and Macedonia. These groups are more flexible and easily adaptable in terms of national identity and religion as they are less concerned about Islam. However there is very striking fact that Turks from Bulgaria are more nationalist than Turks from Turkey that can be seen in the name of their associations, attitudes, discourses and activities. In short, in terms of national perspective, they have a common view:

*We, as Turks are proud of our country, our nation, our land. You should keep your culture. You respect your country's flag. You should know your limits. To love your country, you have to feel it. If you do not like... however you cannot deny where you came from.*¹⁹⁵

They both glorify Turkey as a nation-state distinguishing Kurdish community and have a

¹⁹³“Burada zorluk yasiyorum. Kendi ulkemde de dada cok zorluk yasiyorum. Burada gocmen, Turkiye’de Isvecli gocmen”.Mert 2013.

¹⁹⁴A. Ozdemir 2013, Ates 2013, 2013Yilmaz 2013, Karabudak 2013, Z. Ozdemir 2013, Demir 2013, Camur 2013.

¹⁹⁵“Turk olarak bizim en cok gururumuz, vatanimiz milletimizdir, topragimizdir. Kulturune sahip cikacaksin. Bayragini bileceksin. Sinirlarini bileceksin. (...) Vatanini sevmek icin gonlunde olmasi lazim. Sevmiyorsan olmaz. Ama yine de aslini inkar edemezsin”Malkocoglu 2013,

collective attitude to Kurdish communities in Malmö depending on the recent politically Kurdish question in Turkey. The concept of the homeland and its symbols are seen as sacred and unique by Turkish people

They are all very sensitive about the assimilation issue as well. They do not want to be viewed as inadaptable nation or ethnic group but they want to keep their belongings and collective representations that make them a distinctive community among other groups and diasporas.

*Turks are people who are integrated into society easily. Turks, wherever they go all around the world, their integration is very easy. They know and learn culture of they are living in.*¹⁹⁶

Therefore, there are some representations that are really crucial for the members of Turkish diaspora such as the Turkish language, Turkish culture and Islam.

*We do not like to see that Turkish culture and Turkish language will disappear.*¹⁹⁷
*Members of a nation, who do not want to be assimilated, should not forget their language, culture and religion. as much as we can, we keep them. I am a Turkish as long as I keep my Turkish language. It does not matter where you come from.*¹⁹⁸

“Representations produce meanings through which we can make sense of our experience and of who we are”.¹⁹⁹ In case of a Turkish diaspora in Malmö these collective representations can be prolonged related to three main features. For example Turkish symbols, moon and star on the Turkish flag and dominantly choice of the colour red. To go deeply on the language which is very controversial and disagreeable matter for them, it can be pointed that it is one of the way of being Turkish and keeping their identities. Language as a mother tongue is “marker of collective identity not just for groups that claim territorial autonomy, but also for ethnic minorities that live dispersed among a majority population” including diaspora communities.

¹⁹⁶Turkler entegrasyonu kolay insanlar. Turk milleti dunyanin neresine giderse git, entegrasyonu guzeldir; gittikleri yerin kulturunu bilir, ogrenirler. Adnan Malkocoglu 2013.

¹⁹⁷Biz Turkcenin yok olmasini, kendi yasadigimiz kulturun yok olmasini istemiyoruz Necmettin Mert 2013

¹⁹⁸Bir milletin asimile olmamasi icin, dilini dinini ve kulturunu unutmamasi gerekir, biz de bunlari elimizden geldiği kadar unutmuyoruz. Dilimi, dinimi kaybetmedigim muddetce ben Turkum, nereden geldigin onemli degil. Ekrem Camur 2013

¹⁹⁹Katryn Woodward, *Identity and Difference*, 14.

Almost all interviewees complain about the last generation and their way of combining both languages. Because as it is told, young people can speak both Swedish and Turkish very well but they use some Swedish and Turkish words in a same sentence. Language as one of the identity marker lost its meaning in this case but has gained new one that shows the situation of young generation's not just in terms of language but also in terms of the complexity of their position between two cultures.

The demand of parents is that their children can speak Turkish better. They know that the home language program is not very effective but it serves something behind it which "has created a particular framework wherein the Turks could define themselves as Turks or more exactly as Turks in Sweden", previous study showed that it was more obvious in Stockholm.²⁰⁰

Language is also a determinant factor of the level of integration that can make it either harder or easier. Because, if they can speak and understand Swedish, they will follow Swedish media and therefore they know some recent events and culture, at least popular culture of Sweden. This is also related to their families:

*If you have a Turkish family, it is usually Turkish channel are watched. If you have a Swedish family... My wife is Swedish. I speak Swedish fluently. It is easy to watch for me.*²⁰¹

There is a remarkable difference between new generations and other generations. The new generations are more integrated into the Swedish society and culture but some of them feel more Turkish and some feel more Swedish. They are the symbols of the hybrid identity in Malmö. Regarding the integration, all interviewees have a positive view and support that new generation should be totally integrated into the society as long as they learn Turkish and know their culture. At least the common expectation is that young Turks can choose their identities but they should respect their family's culture behaving as they are desired by their parents at some way:

²⁰⁰ Judith Narrowe *Under One Roof, On Becoming a Turk in Sweden*, 5.

²⁰¹ Turk alien varsa Turk kanallari izlenir. Isvecli ailen varsas... Benim ailem Isvecli. Benim Isvecccem var, benim icin izlemek kolay Zafer Ozdemir 2013

*I strongly support the integration of young people as long as they know where they came from, who they are. (...) there are 'sambo's among them. They are not married. They have a kid but s/he does not speak Turkish. I do not oppose the integration, but they should live with an identity. (...) They should not forget their Turkisness. They should know their identity.*²⁰²

In this view, there are two things that can be realized: the one is the positive attitude on the integration and the second one is the concern about identity of young generations. This view and attitude are very common among the second generations of Turks in Malmö based on the interviews and observational notes during the research. The role of second generation is very important for a diaspora and in case of the Turkish diaspora, they are very active in the associations. They are “seen as enigmatic procedures of diasporic cultures and identities” as they mediate collective identities. “They appropriate their identity symbols as much from global cultural flow as host or home country cultural practices”²⁰³

It seems like that members of the second generation have already accepted the fact that the last generation is very much different with more Swedish mentality. The only thing they expect from third generation is to know their cultural roots at some level:

*You cannot just tell the culture. You have to live it. In our culture, there are religious fests, random family visits, and special wedding ceremony. New generations do not know and live these customs here. You cannot just tell this, especially in Swedish. Plus, you feel different among Swedes as you are Turkish. You are in-between.*²⁰⁴

As mentioned the second generations accept and support the integration process. New generations try to position themselves based on different variables such as family, school by

²⁰² Entegre olsunlar, ama nereden geldiklerini bilmeleri lazim, ne olduklarini bilmeleri lazim (...) Sambo'lar basladi. Evlilik disi iliski. Cocuk oluyor, Turkce bilmiyor. Bunlara karsi degilim. Ama bir kimlik altinda yasamaları lazim.(...) Turklugu unutmasin. Kimligini bilsin
Necmettin Mert.2013

²⁰³Yasemin N. Soysal, "Citizenship and Identity: Living in Diasporas in Post-war Europe?", 11.

²⁰⁴Kulturu anlatamzasin, bir de onu yasamak lazim. Bizim kulturumuzde bayramlar vardır, akraba ziyaretleri vardır. Dugun vardır. Bunlari burada yasayamiyorlar. Zaten bunu Isvecce anlatamazsin. Bu sefer, Isveclilerin icinde Turk oldugun icin bir de ayri hissediyorsun, tam arada kaliyorsun.Ekrem Camur 2013

having a chance to be what they want to be. In this respect, some members of Turkish diaspora in Malmö fits by the fact that “a continuous dialogue between the practice of specific (Turkish) ethnic obligations and the practice of (Swedish) general rights – between the young people identify as Turkish ‘pressure’ and Swedish ‘freedom’ “. ²⁰⁵ This fusion and a construction of individual identities shall make a new hybrid collective identity with very flexible ethnic sense in the future.

As it is mentioned before, for a diaspora, everyone does not need/have to be a part of the community. It depends on personal willingness and choice. This is also different for generations and related to the personal views and integration level. Some choose to be totally culturally integrated into Swedish society by not having relations with other Turks or having a few Turkish around him/her. Some choose to remain as they were in Turkey. Some try to make a balance between two cultures taking things from them as identity-markers. This is not certainly an intentional and discernible process. It happens unconsciously based on family ties, individual, education and so on that make it looked like natural.

No one choose an identity like buying tomatoes from the groceries. It is constructed by a lot of factor that it can never be thought. There are consciously choices but not everything. This is more complicated for members of diaspora as they live in-between two cultures but also as they are viewed migrants or foreigner for both culture that position them somewhere they try to be in, based on personal and collective attitude.

In Malmö, as the integration policy of Sweden is tolerably flexible with the principle of freedom choice that migrant communities can maintain their cultures without a restriction. This is, at least legally, valid for all persons as well.

5.1.5.1 Positive Diaspora Consciousness

Feelings of attachment to the group can be explained with a necessity of feeling secure, interest and comfortable within the culture of one group or community positively. ²⁰⁶ It means that it is also about the environment of a person.

²⁰⁵ Judith Narowe, *Under One Roof, On Becoming a Turk in Sweden*, 21.

²⁰⁶ Sinisa Malasevic, Mark Haugaard. *Make Sense of Collectivity, Ethnicity, Nationalism and Globalization* , 205.

Positive diaspora consciousness is an attitude to diversity and different, and a way of living in a foreign country being open for intercultural interaction that can construct an individual and/or collective identity.

It is clear that well-integrated individuals and communities have this kind of view and approach. However it should be said that, in this essay it is not seen a positive or negative attitude, as it cannot be evaluated person by person. In addition, the author believes that the word integration has already lost its meaning. It is used very much in order to point even irrelevant situations. Furthermore, without integration to the society communities can be live happily although it is not very common.

For positive diaspora consciousness, the first fact that should be mention is family and the environment. The structure of Turkish family has very strong and collective ties. In Sweden this can be seen in Stockholm. People from Kulu have still very collective sense and their own Turkish associations that have also impact on the Turkish diaspora, in general.

On the other hand, “parents who have migrated from different lands and carry histories of loss ...give their children more opportunity to belong and...to be, ‘like everyone else’”²⁰⁷. This can be seen among members of the Turkish diaspora but not carrying and telling collective and historical facts and memories but very individual meaning that how much first immigrant had suffered for them. This is a positive motivation for their children to be a part of Swedish society, according to some interviewees²⁰⁸

We try to adapt to the Swedes. We work for Swedish companies. We go to Swedish restaurants. I mean, being Turk... only the Language. I have nothing more ... I have two children. They do not know Turkish. They are growing up like Swedes. ²⁰⁹
I talk to Swedish people, I know their traditions, I celebrate what they celebrate. I will learn and go to celebrate. When they introduce me to

²⁰⁷ Ibid, 183.

²⁰⁸ Adem Ates 2013, Idris Yildiz 2013, Fehim Yilmaz2013, Muammer Dogan 2013.

²⁰⁹“Isveclilere uymaya calisiyoruz. Isvecli firmalarda calisiyoruz. Isvec restaurantlarina gidiyoruz. Yani Turkluk..! Bir dilde kaldi Turkluk. Baska bir sey kalmadi (...) Benim iki tane cocugum var, Turkce bilmiyor. Onlar simdi Isvecli gibi buyuyor”.. Zafer Ozdemir 2013.

someone, I expect him to say “my Turkish friend.”²¹⁰

Any members interviewed oppose to the assimilation of their culture and community in practice but they do want their children to be integrated in to the Swedish society. They, as said, are sometimes nationalist but people have a positive diaspora consciousness reject any kind of extremism:

I reject any kind of extremism. I also oppose to Turkish extremism. What does it mean! It is like Sveriges Democrats.²¹¹

“Identity is relational, and difference is established by symbolic marking in relation to others”.²¹² The difference can be a matter to have a new consciousness combining some aspects of two cultures as in the case of the Turkish diaspora.

To conclude positive diaspora consciousness is both an identification process, and approach that member of a diaspora flexibly belongs to two cultures in terms of identity. It is an attitude of self-identification. It is wide concept that could be limited with some more features but in short, it is a belonging to two for identification, feeling global by having plural identities.²¹³

5.1.5.2 Negative Diaspora Consciousness

Negative diaspora consciousness has approach on other migrant communities, and to the society. It does not have discriminating or negative attitudes while it might sound like that because of the ‘negative’. This highlights defensive feature of the identification process of members in the Turkish diaspora.

Some of members of diaspora respect other cultures and lifestyles, but do not prefer to be engaged in the society. They want to keep their culture and to see Turkish people around them. They are not isolated-actually it is pretty hard to be isolated if they work in Malmö- . You have to be a Turk, in some ways not with the blood but with the language, culture, moral values, and

²¹⁰”Isveçliler ile konusurum, bayramını bilirim, kutladığı seyleri bilirim, öğrenirim, giderim. Kendi kültürümü de tanıtırım. Baskısıyla tanıştırdığında, Türk arkadaşım dedirtirim”. Mert 2013

²¹¹“Ben her şeyin asirisına karşıyım. Türklüğün de asirisına karşıyım. Bu ne oluyor! Sveriges Democrats’lar gibi oluyor” Necmettin Mert.2013

²¹² Katryn Woodward *Identity and Difference*, London: SAGE, 1997, 12.

²¹³Ibid , 16.

Islam. They have a strong ethnic identity and they do not “identify themselves with the new culture has a separated identity”²¹⁴

*They do not spend time with Swedish people a lot. They live within their social environment.*²¹⁵

The second view is pessimistic claiming that foreign-born Swedish citizen and/or Swedish-born foreign background Swedish citizen can never be exactly a part of the Swedish society. They view Swedish and other immigrants as very different from them by pointing their Turkishness:

*As you wish to be Swedish, you are still foreigner. (...) Even if you want to be Swedish you cannot be.*²¹⁶

5.1.6 Turkish associations

There are more than 50 national immigrant organizations and more than 1000 local associations in Sweden.²¹⁷ This fact is the same for Malmö as more than half of the population has foreign background. There are 8-9 reached Turkish associations in Malmö. There are also some Turkik associations, especially Azerbaijan associations that cooperate with Turkish associations.

Some of them are not very active. As mentioned before, mostly they are a kind of café and meeting places for men. There is no gender distinction, but women do not go there as long as there is a conference or important event. This is because these places are masculine based, Swedish version of Turkish *kiraathane*. Another feature of them is that they do not locate in the very central. They have a lot of national and cultural symbols in particular Turkish flag, Kemal Ataturk, founder of Turkey, some other picture of Turkey. They are basically national masculine spaces where masculinity and ethnic identity are reconstructed repeatedly at chauvinist way.

²¹⁴Jean S. Phinney Gabriel Horenczyk Karmela Liebkind Paul Vedder “Ethnic Identity, Immigration, and Well-Being: An Interactional Perspective” *Journal of Social Issues*, 57, 3. (2001):493-510.

²¹⁵“Isveçliler ile pek fazla hasır nesir olmuyorlar. Kendi iclerinde kaliyorlar.” Bilal Karabudak 2013

²¹⁶“Yabancı olarak istedigin kadar İsveçli ol, yabancı olarak kalirsin (...) İstesen de olamazsin” Adnan Malkocoglu 2013

²¹⁷Khalid Khayati. *From Victim Diaspora to Transborder Citizenship -Diaspora Formation and Transnational Relations among Kurds in France and Sweden*, 230.

Interestingly, all interviewees complain about the plethora of Turkish associations. The reason of this, as mentioned a little bit before is some conflicts among Turkish immigrants specifically, the discussion between Turks from Bulgaria and Turks from Turkey as some of Turks called Turks from Bulgaria as Bulgarian. It was stressed that how Turks from Bulgaria are sensitive about it. After, some discussion, people established new associations leaving from the one. This repeated three times. As it is told, the Turkish diaspora are separated and there was a silent war that they stopped talking to each other.²¹⁸

*On one hand, there are Macedonian Turks' associations; on the other hand, there are Bulgarian Turks' associations, Kurdish-Turks' associations. Turkish associations! So what? Separation!*²¹⁹

*The relation of associations was so bad. This one was almost closed. There were some problems. Turks in Malmö should be directed by associations. We have power to do something more if we can make peace between us.*²²⁰

During the research, a regional union was established for all Turkish associations in Skåne²²¹. In spite of all disadvantages, some of the associations are pretty active aiming to impose to affect all members of the Turkish diaspora in Malmö by bringing them together with some activities.²²² Turkish associations are spaces for all immigrants, sometimes a few people from other ethnic groups spend time these places. It is good for Turkish people as it create meeting points for everyone. They bring different groups among the diaspora. For new comers, it is the first place where meet others by asking help to some problems or just only consultation. They also feel solidarity and collective sense trusting on others so apart from practical facilities; it is useful for emotional adaptation that they do not feel alienated. Therefore, it is a step to be a part of the Turkish diaspora.

²¹⁸Mete Demir 2013, Mehmet Mumin 2013, Fehim Yilmaz 2013, Alper Ozdemir 2013 Raif Andreev 2013

²¹⁹"Bir taraftan Makedon Turkleri Dernekleri, bir taraftan Bulgar Turkleri dernekleri. Bir taraftan Kurt-Turk Dernegi. Turk Dernekleri! Eee ne oldu? Ayrimcilik oldu". Zafer Ozdemir 2013

²²⁰"Derneklerin iliskisi cok kotuydu. Bu dernek (MTKF) neredeyse kapanacakti. Sorunlar cikti. (...) Malmodeki Turkleri, yonlendirmek gerekir. Eski kirginliklari giderirsek cok sey yapacak gucteyiz." Necmettin Mert 2013

²²¹It is called Skåne Union of Turkish associations. It is still in the building process with some gatherings and meetings, but officially it is active.

²²²There is Turkish cultural fest in the third week of April that has been organized regularly since last 5 years. The reference point is one of the national days (April 23) in Turkey, when the Turkish Assembly was established. The original name of the national day is national independence and children fest.

*These associations bring people together but they do not do anything more. Just some events!*²²³

*You meet with people here. You can consult someone about anything. We solve our problems asking to each other.*²²⁴

It is obvious that they are not the best associations, while their existence help Turkish people. Members of associations complain about the passivity of them and lack of a chance and place to the public space. In this way, on one hand, Turkish association provide place to Turkish people to meet and interact. On the other hand, they reproduce ethnic and masculine identity at different levels. This is also unintentionally separation and ethnification of them collectively at daily base:

*Here is a place where we killed time. I feel bored at home.*²²⁵

*I have nowhere to go. .Where can I go in Malmö? ... There is no place to go as we do not have a social life.*²²⁶

6. CONCLUSION

This study aimed to investigate the Turkish diaspora in Malmö. By comparing the material of semi-structured interviews with some observational notes, one can see that there is Turkish diasporic group in Malmö. The structure of Turkish migrant community corresponds the main features of a diaspora.

This essay attempts to approach this community from the view of a diaspora point to understand the formation of their collective identity and its effects on their individual identity as well.

²²³“Dernekler Turk toplumunu yanyana topluyor. Ancak pek bir sey de yapmiyor. Bazi faaliyetleri var.”Suleyman Kurtulus, 2013

²²⁴Cevre ediniyorsun. Bilmedigin bir konuda danisabiliyorsun. Sorunlarimizi birbirimize sorarak cozebiliyoruz. Idris Yildiz, 2013.

²²⁵Burasi zaman gecirme, zaman oldurme yeri. Evde de canimiz sikiliyor.Suleyman Kurtulus, 2013

²²⁶ Gidecek yerim yok. Nereye gidelim burada. (...) Sosyal bir yasam olmadigi icin dernekten baska gidecek yerimiz yok.” Ekrem Camur, 2013

Ethnically the Turkish diaspora is not pure and this leads to some visible and hidden conflicts and problems among the members of Turkish communities. This fact is based more on the view of the first and second generations which means that new generations do not see this situation. Therefore, one can say that this distinctive perception that makes problems shall not continue.

The difference between the last and other generations is increasing by causing some cultural tensions. In terms of boundary maintenance and homeland orientation, there are also some distinctive features among members. It can be claimed that there are two main points that all members have one of them. Some would like to be integrated into the Swedish society keeping their essential aspects and practice of their culture and values. They live peacefully in Malmö without having an important problem in terms of their self and collective identification. The other group is culturally more defensive and practically Turkish nationalist with a strong feeling to Turkish culture, Turkish language and Turkey. Sometimes their reactions is much more behind cultural nationalism regarding to the Kurdish issue and question in Turkey.

The results and process was very interesting both academically and practically. It is realized that there are a lot of Turkish people in Malmö as it can be seen. This is also a proof that most of the members of diaspora seem visible because of the fact that they do not access to public spaces randomly and usually. Regarding to the integration issue, it is realized that “integration is at two-way process and only the measures taken by the host society are not enough for success.”²²⁷ If individuals and communities want to be integrated, there are not many obstacles. At least the integration policy of Sweden is pretty supportive as one can wish to be involved in the society, however the one of three principles of this policy, freedom of choice that make individuals free to choose between the two, is also a reason of ethnification of migrants group as they do not have enough support. They naturally prefer to be around people from the same culture.

In conclusion, still diaspora is the only “human form of movement across geographical, historical, linguistic, cultural, and national boundaries”.²²⁸ In other words, it deserves more to

²²⁷Nuran, Bayram Hans Nyquist, Daniel Thourburn, Nazan Bilgen “Turkish Immigrants in Sweden: Are They Integrated?”, 107.

²²⁸Khalid Khayati. *From Victim Diaspora to Trans-border Citizenship, Diaspora Formation and Transnational Relations among Kurds in France and Sweden*, 27.

focus on and make research. This research humbly tries to research and contribute with its limitations mentioned above. It is hoped that this study will stimulate further investigations in this field.

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Alper Özdemir, MTFK, Personal interview by author, Malmö.

Bilal Karabudak, MUST, Personal interview by author Malmö.

Suleyman Kurtulus, Ataturk Kultur och Sport Föreningen, Personal interview by author Malmö.

Ekrem Camur, MTFK, Personal interview by author. Malmö.

Fehim Yilmaz, Balgöc Personal interview by author. Malmö.

Idris Yildiz, MUST, Personal interview by author. Malmö.

Mehmet Mumin, MUST Personal interview by author. Malmö.

Mete Demir MTFK, Personal interview by author. Malmö.

Muammer Duman, Ataturk Kultur och Sport Föreningen, Personal interview by author, Malmö.

Necmettin Mert MTFK, Personal interview by author. Malmö.

Raif Andreev, Balgöc Personal interview by author. Malmö.

Zafer Özdemir, MTFK, Personal interview by author. Malmö.

ANNEX 1

List of Turkish Associations in Malmö

Ataturk Kultur och Sport Föreningen, Ystadvägen 38, 3:c 214 45 Malmö

Balgöç Kultur Foreningen (Turknet.se), Amiralgatan 86A 214 37 Malmö .

Malmö Turkiska Kultur Föreningen, Edshällag 1 212 30 Malmö.

Malmö Unga Svenska Turkar-MUST, Ystadvägen 42, 4:e Vaningen 214 45 Malmö.

ANNEX 2

List of Interview Questions

- How do you feel as a Turk in Malmö, Sweden? Why?
- What does it make you feel like that?
- What does it mean to be Turkish in Sweden in your view? Why?
- What do you think of speaking both Swedish and Turkish languages in terms of identity?
- Do you think Turks can speak both Swedish and Turkish very well?
- How can you know Turkish language?
- How important is Turkish language to be a Turk?
- What do you think of being a Turk in Malmö Sweden and Turkey?
- How do you assess your life and other Turkish people's lives? Why?
- How do you keep your identity and culture?
- How do you evaluate Turks in Malmö in terms of their life and adaptation to the host society?
- Do you think Malmö is different from Stockholm or Gothenburg?
- What are the relations of Turks with Swedish society and other immigrant groups in Malmö?
- What do you know about the cultural and ethnic diversity of society? How does it influence Turkish community in Malmö?
- Do you think Turks are integrated into the society? Why?
- Is there something that bothers you regarding to the integration policy of Sweden?
- Do you correspond with your relatives in Turkey? How often?
- How do you define yourself? Turkish, Swedish?
- Have you thought about returning to Turkey ever? Why?
- How do you feel when you are in Turkey? Why?
- Do you follow Turkish or Swedish media? Why?
- What are the differences between generations in terms of their life styles and perspectives on their Turkishness? Why?
- Could you talk about the last generation? What are your views about them?
- How would you feel if your son/daughter/friend decided to marry a Swedish person?
- Why are you member of a Turkish association? Why do you attend its activities?
- Do you think that Turkish associations influence Turkish community? Why do you think like that?

ANNEX 3

Foreign-Born Habitants in Malmö, Malmö Stad.

Foreign-born inhabitants in Malmö. 1 Jan. 2012

(Invandrade från totalt 175 länder/countries)

Källa: SCB (Statistiska Centralbyrån)

Malmö stadskontor, Avd. för samhällsplanering Elisabeth Pålsson

Nr	Country of birth	Nr	Födelseland	Antal
1.	Irak 10 337	61.	Tunisien	229
2.	Danmark 8 710	62.	Saudiarabien	223
3.	Jugoslavien 8 354	63.	Sri Lanka	223
4.	Polen 7 037	64.	Gambia	217
5.	Bosnien och Hercegovina 6 009	65.	Japan	215
6.	Libanon 3 911	66.	Argentina	213
7.	Iran 3 440	67.	Australien	201
8.	Turkiet 2 246	68.	Litauen	188
9.	Afghanistan 2 154	69.	Israel	161
10.	Rumänien 2 090	70.	Förenad Arabemiraten	160
11.	Ungern 1 964	71.	Kanada	152
12.	Tyskland 1 808	72.	Kamerun	138
13.	Finland 1 620	73.	Albanien	137
14.	Somalia 1 608	74.	Schweiz	136
15.	Pakistan 1 395	75.	Estland	132
16.	Chile 1 387	76.	Uganda	126
17.	Vietnam 1 300	77.	Kenya	122
18.	Makedonien 1 148	78.	Lettland	120
19.	Kina 972	79.	Mexiko	120
20.	Thailand 970	80.	Libyen	107
21.	Storbritannien 951	81.	Irland	106

22.	Norge	831		82.	Elfenbenskusten	102
23.	Indien	793		83.	Slovenien	93
24.	USA	782		84.	Kuba	92
25.	Kroatien	762		85.	Vitryssland	87
26.	Bulgarien	722		86.	Sydafrika	82
27.	Syrien	656		87.	Eritrea	81
28.	Filippinerna	576		88.	Indonesien	81
29.	Grekland	546		89.	Tjeckien	79
30.	Marocko	539		90.	Kambodja	77
31.	Serbien	534		91.	Ecuador	76
32.	Serbien och Montenegro	534		92.	El Salvador	72
33.	Ryssland	530		93.	Belgien	69
34.	Italien	507		94.	Tanzania	68
35.	Tjeckoslovakien	498		95.	Nya Zeeland	65
36.	Frankrike	416		96.	Nepal	63
37.	Colombia	403		97.	Azerbajdzjan	61
38.	Ghana	393		98.	Venezuela	59
39.	Jordanien	392		99.	Armenien	57
40.	Palestina	390		100.	Montenegro	53
41.	Korea, Syd-	361		101.	Singapore	53
42.	Brasilien	354		102.	Kongo, Rep.	48
43.	Nigeria	354		103.	Taiwan	48
44.	Portugal	338		104.	Liberia	47
45.	Island	328		105.	Sudan	47
46.	Sovjetunionen	327		106.	Malaysia	45
47.	Bolivia	307		107.	Sierra Leone	41
48.	Spanien	304		108.	Uzbekistan	41
49.	Kosovo	302		109.	Cypern	38
50.	Uruguay	292		110.	Hongkong	37

51.	Etiopien	287	111.	Togo	36
52.	Ukraina	281	112.	Jemen	34
53.	Bangladesh	272	113.	Kazakstan	33
54.	Egypten	270	114.	Dominikanska Rep.	30
55.	Peru	265	115.	Senegal	28
56.	Kuwait	255	116.	Zimbabwe	28
57.	Österrike	254	117.	Guatemala	27
58.	Nederländerna	251	118.	Guinea	27
59.	Algeriet	234	119.	Jamaica	27

Nr	Födelseland	Antal
121.	Angola	24
122.	Nicaragua	24
123.	Zambia	20
124.	Moldavien	19
125.	Bahrain	18
126.	Kongo	18
127.	Burundi	17
128.	Trinidad och Tobago	16
129.	Luxemburg	15
130.	Panama	15
131.	Costa Rica	14
132.	Georgien	12
133.	Haiti	12
134.	Kirgistan	12
135.	Malawi	10
136.	Mauritius	10
137.	Turkmenistan	10
	Övriga länder/Other	293

Foreign-born in total	
Totalt födda i utlandet	92 228
Totalbefolkning/Population	302 835
Andel födda i utlandet	30 %

ANNEX 4

The Number of the Population of Turkish People in Malmö, Malmö Stad.

Källa: SCB (Statistiska Centralbyrån)

Malmö stadskontor, Avd. för samhällsplanering Elisabeth Pålsson

	2012	2000-12
Country of birth: Turkey	2 246	1 373
Malmö totalt(all countries)	92 228	33 730

ANNEX 5

Interview Transcriptions

Interview 1: Bilal Karabudak, 32, born in Sweden (54 minutes). April 10, 2013

Baslamak gerekirse, Isvec toplumunda Turk olmak nasil bir sey. Nasil bir duygu?

Genel olarak iyi bir duygu. Turklugu yasayabilmek tatli bir sey. Ozellikle, Turkiye'den yasayabilmektan daha tatli. Cunku Turkiye'de herkes ayni, ayni bayragin pesinde. Burada farkli bir seyin pesinde olmak daha bir haz veriyor.

Yani burada, Isvec'te belirgin olarak daha mi fazla Turk hissediyorsunuz?

Burada daha cok Turk oldugumu hissediyorum, Turkiye'de de daha Isvecli gibi hissediyorum kendimi. Buraya alistigimdan dolayi.

Bu dogrudan sizinle mi ilgili, yoksa her iki kesimin de sizi nasil algiladigi ile mi alakali?

Bu benim nasil hissetitgimle ilgili. Bize de "Alamanci" gibi bakiyorlar.

Anliyorum. Sizce Malmö'de Turk olmak ile Turkiye'de herhangi bir yerde Turk olmak arasinda nasil bir fark var? Ya da var mi?

Burada Turk olmak. Biraz daha cok sahip cikiyorsun kendi milli duygularina.. Cunku sahip cikmak durumunda kaliyorsun. Etrafindaki herkes farkli oldugu icin. Farkli millet, fakli bir ulkedesin. Turkiye'de, biraz daha rahat, herkers ayni amacta. O yuzden fazla sahip cikmak zorunda degilsin. Zaten buna ihtiyac ta yok.

Peki sizin aklınıza Turk deyince ne geliyor. Turklugu nasil tanımlarsiniz?

Turk deyince,.. Insan ne hissediyorsa odur. Aslinda biz (ailemiz) de Makedonya asilliyiz ama kendimizi Turk hissediyoruz. O yuzden Turkuz yani.

Yani bayrak midir, vatan midir? Nedir sizce?

Biyolojik olarak olmadigi icin, ne hissediyorsa odur. Bayrak, millet, Ataturk!

Siz burada Isvec'te dogdunuz. Turkce'yi nasil öğreniyorsunuz?

Sadece ana dil egitimi aliyoruz... Tamamen aileye bagli. Ailende nasil yetisiyorsan, ne görduysen. Bir de cevren nasilsa. En buyuk etken bunlar.

Malmö'de Turkler nereden geliyor? Belli bir bolgeden mi?

Malmö'de Turkler karisik. Turkiye'nin her yerinden insan gelmis buraya. Belli bir yerden degil. Karisik. Cogu, Ege bölgesi'nden, Istanbul'dan, Sakarya'dan.

Yani Stockholm ve Goteborg'daki Turkler gibi, herkes Kulu'dan degil mi?

Yok. Belli bir bolgeden degil. Malmö'dekilerin bir kısmi eğitim için gelmişler. Sırf çalışma amaçlı değil.

Buradaki Türkler, Türkler'den farklı mı? Daha doğrusu nasıl yaşıyorlar?

Burada çok farklı yaşadıklarını sanmıyorum. Tabii şartlar farklı olduğu için, yaşam tarzı biraz değişebiliyor. İş şartları ve sosyal şartlar. Bos vakit var, akraba ziyareti var. Bir de İsveçlilerle çok fazla hasır nesir olmuyorlar. Kendi içlerinde kalıyorlar.

Türklerin İsvec toplumu ve diğer göçmenler ile ilişkileri nasıl?

Neredeyse hiç yok.

Hiç yok!

Aile bazında hiç yok. Belki yeni yetişen jenerasyonun arkadaş bazında vardır ama, aile bazında, ailecek görüşme yok.

Bu diğer göçmen grupları içinde geçerli mi?

Evet. Hepsinin için.

Peki sizce bu bir sorun mu? Türkler açısından.

Hayır hiç öyle hissetmedim bugüne dek. Türkler çok zor entegre olur değildir. Özellikle Malmö'deki Türkler.

Bildiginiz gibi, Malmö'de çok sayıda etnik grup var. Burada bu çeşitlilik Türkler açısından nasıl?

Çok fazla etnik grup var. Fazla sorunlu insan geliyor buraya. Toplumu etkiliyor ister istemez. Kontrolsüz bir göç var,

Sizce peki bu konuda ya da İsvec toplumunda sizi çok rahatsız eden bir şey var mı?

Azinlik grupları. Buraya geliyorlar, adapte olamıyorlar. Geldikleri ülke farklı, şartları belli. Fazla oranda olunca bunlar da kendi içlerinde kalıyorlar. Entegre olmaları da zor.

Bu Malmö'nün farkı mı?

Stockholm daha büyük bir şehir olduğu için kenarda köşedeki kalanlar var daha az görülebilir. Malmö küçük gettoları yok o nedenle her şey daha görülür durumda.

Burada yaşayan Türklerin Türkiye ile bağlantıları nasıl?

Herkes dönmek istiyor. Bir gün, herkesin dönmeye hayali var ama jenerasyon değişince çocuk sahibi olunca, dönmek zorlaşıyor, burada kalınıyor. Bugüne kadar evine dönen fazla olmadı buradan.

Donmeyi kafada biraz daha geriye aldılar. Biraz daha bilincaltında kaldı. Artık buraya yatırımlar yapıyorlar ancak her zaman da dönmeyenin fırsatını kolluyorlar. Genelde algı şu: orada isimi kurarsam, yaşamımı sürdürebilirim.

Peki siz hic oyle dusundunuz mu?

Dusundum. Ailece dusunduk. Turkiye'ye tasiniriz, orada calisir, yasariz dedik.

Bu genel bir sey mi?

Evet burada herkesin kafasinda var.

Malmö'deki Turklerin Turkiye ile bagi nasil?

Burada Makedonya'dan akrabasi olan cok.

Jenerasyonlar arasindaki iliski nasil?

Amac farki var. Ilk gelenler calismak icin gelmis. Ikinci jenerasyon egitime daha co onem vermis. En azinda mesleki egtimis almis.

Yasam olarak bir fark var mi?

Pek yok. Hep birbirleri ile gorusurler, dusariyla fazla gorusmezler.

Aile yapisi? Geleneksel bir aile yapisi mi var?

Onu koruyorlar. Bazilari var tabi. Isvecli kadinlae ile evlenir. Tek tuk.

Peki bir Turkun Isvecli ya da etnik olarak farkli gruptan biriyle evlenmesi olagan mi?

Olagan degil. Hatta, insanlar arasinda dogrudan olmasa da neden bir Turk ile evlenmedi diye konusulur!

Bunun nedeni?

Bilmiyorum.

Kimligini korumak icin olabilir mi?

Yavas yavas asimile olursun.

Siz burada Turklerin asimile oldugunu dusunuyor musunuz?

Genel olarak dusunmuyorum, ama vardir ornekleri.

Gelelim dil konusuna. Turkce nasil ogreniliyor?

Ben ailemden ogrendim. Televizyondan ogrendim. Ana dil egitimi cok etkili degil, fazla bir sey ogrenemiyorsun.

Isvec dilinin ogrenme ile ilgili bir sorun var mi?

Aslinda iki dil avantaj. Egitimini de aldigin icin ogreniyorsun. Cift dil iyi burada. Anadilimizi konusuruz, fakat Isvecceyi de iyi biliyoruz.

Hangi medyayi takip ediyorsunuz? Turk medyasini mi Isvec medyasini mi?

Burada Isvec medyasiyla ilgilenen yok. Cok azdir. Azinliktir.

Neden?

Ozlem olabilir. Turkce olabilir. Buradaki sistemi bilmez ama Turkiye'dekini bilir.

O zaman pek bir politik tutum yok?

Aslında burada son yıllarda oluşan bir tutum var. O da Ermeni Soykırımı yasa tasarısı geçtikten sonra oluşan bir tutum. Malmö aslında sosyal demokrat.

Burada derneklerin aktiviteleri var mı? Türklerin katılımı nasıl?

Katılım iyi. Günlük faaliyetlere fazla değil ama genelde iyi. Dernek çok ama faaliyette olan az.

Sanki kiraathane gibi?

Onların kitlesi belli. Gelen belli. Yeni jenerasyon pek muhatap olmuyor.

Sizce yeni jenerasyonun Türk kimliği tehlikede mi, algıları nasıl?

Çok bilinçli değiller acıcası. Yerine göre, kendi aramızda herkes hangi etnik kökenden geldiğini belirtiyor ama dışı doğru, İsveçlilerin arasında %80'i Türküm diyor. Kendi aramızda hangi etni kökenden olduğumuzu söylüyoruz.

Yani her Türküm diyen Türk olabilir mi?

Bir sorun yok, herkes Türk olduğunu söyleyebilir. Ama yeni jenerasyon tam entegre olamıyor.

Türkleri bu konuda rahatsız eden bir şey var mı?

Zaten kültür entegrasyonu diye bir şey olmaz. Kültüre sadece saygı duyulur. Siyasi veya genel anlamda entegre olursun.

Buradaki ilişkiler nasıl? Birlik ve beraberlik duygusu var mı?

Genelde ortak ve milli bayramlarda beraber oluyorlar. Onun dışında, farklı dernekler var, farklı gruplara bölünmüş durumdadır. Tarikat grupları var, dini gruplar var. Milli görüş var.

Türkiye'deki gibi çok anlaşmazlık yok mu?

Ortak musterekte buluşuyorlar.

Türk derneklerinin bu konuda bir katkısı var mı ya da nasıl etkiliyor?

Olumlu açıdan yer sağlıyor, buluşma noktası oluyor. Kendini daha kolay ifade edebiliyorsun. Bir şey yapmak istiyorsan dernekle beraber yapabilirsin. Tek başına yapmaktan daha kolay hem maddi hem organizasyon olarak.

Peki ben bana zaman ayırdığınız için çok teşekkür ederim.

Ben teşekkür ederim.

Interview 2: Necmettin Mert, 36, born in Turkey. (79 minutes). April 13, 2013

Merhaba. Röportaj ve kayıt yapmama olanak verdiğiniz için teşekkürler. Başlamak gerekirse, siz kendinizi Malmö'de bir Türk olarak nasıl hissediyorsunuz?

Türk kimliğimi taşıyorum burada, daha rahatım beni kimse Türküm diye elestemiyor.

Malmö`de Turkler nasil, ne yaparlar?

Isvecliler önceden bizi bilmezdi. Araplarla karistirirdi. Biz Arap olmadigimizi gosterdik. Otobuslerde "Vilkommen" yazar pek cok dilde. Biz Turkce yazilmasini da sagladik. Malmö yönetimi Turklerden cok memnun.

Turk olmayi nasil tanimliyorsunuz?

Gurur duyuyorum. Benim kriterlerim, Turkiye Cumhuriyeti, savaslar. Tarihe deger veririm. Nereden geldigime deger veririm. Turklugumle gurur duyarim.

Peki dilin önemi?'

Tabi ki önemli. Turkce konustuk yillarca.

Turkler Malmö`de nasil yasiyor? Siz nasil göruyorsunuz onların ve kendinizin yasamini?

Eskin jenerasyon aynen devam ediyor. 6 ay Turkiye, 6 ay Isvec, emekli olanlar icin. Yeni jenerasyon öyle degil. Simdi Isvecliler ile kaynasmislar. En kotu olay, Turkcemizi unutma seviyesine gelmisler.

Daha mi Isvecli gibiler?

Tam entegre olmuslar. Isvecliler gibi yasamak istiyorlar. Turk toplumunun yasami, kulturu farkli. Bunlara Isvec kulturu ve yasama sekli daha degisik geliyor.

Ilginc!

Biz Turkiyenin yok olmasini, kendi yasadigimiz kulturun yok olmasini istemiyoruz.

Burada toplum bir enteresan. Vurdum duymaz.

Yani dayanisma yok mu aralarinda?

Dayanisma olsa zaten bu kadar dernek olmaz. Burada herkes bagimsiz. Toplum net degil. Oyle insanlar var ki dernege hic gelmiyor. Burada sadece Konyali yok, her kesimden, toplumdan insanlar var.

Yeni jenerasyon nasil?

Asimile oluyorlar.

Dil?

Entegre olsunlar ama nereden geldiklerinin unutmasinlar. Nereden geldiklerini, ne olduklarini bilmeleri lazim.

Dil disinda nasillar?

Yasam tarzi. Sambo`lar basladi. Evlilik disi iliski. Cocuk oluyor, ne evlilik var ne bir sey! Cocuk Turkce bilmiyor. Bunlara karsi degilim. Ama bir kimlik altinda yasamaları lazim. Turklugu unutmasin, kimligini bilsin.

Sonraki jenerasyon?

Onlar, tam standart Turk anlayisindalar. Ben her setin asirina karsiyim. Turklugunde asirisina karsiyim. Bu ne oluyor! Bizim Sveriges Democrats gibi oluyor.

Son jenerasyonun kimlik algisi nasil?

Hic bir sey. Nasilsa Isvec'te de göcmen, Turkiye'de de göcmenim diyor.

Bir arada kalmislik var, o zaman?

Ben de ayni seyi yasiyorum. Burada zorluk yasiyorum, kendi ulkemde de daha cok zorluk yasiyorum. Burada göcmen. Turkiye'de de Isvecli göcmen.

Siz nasil tanimliyorsunuz kendinizi?

En zor olay bu. Vatansizlik! Ne burada Isvecliyim diyebiliyorum, ne Turkum diyebiliyorum. Ama benim burada savundugum Turkluk var. Turkiye'ye gidince Isvec'i savunurum. Ben buranin ekmeğini yiyorum.

Peki, donme dusuncesi var mi sizde?

Hep gelenler dönmek icin geliyorlar da bir turlu dönemiyorlar. Ben geldigimde 5 yil icin gelmistim. Cocuklar olunca kaldim.

Turkiye özlemi var mi?

3-4 ayda bir gitmezsem psikolojim bozuluyor. Avrupa heveslisi insanlar var. Turkiye'de simit yiyorsun, tadi var. Zevkini aliyorsun. Burada o da yok. Sabah evden ise, isten eve. Baska bir sey yok.

Derneklerin islevi, durumu nasil Malmö'de?

Kisisel catismalar olmus. Ancak biz cok emek verdik. Herkes biraraya geliyor simdi.

Yani derneklerin iliskileri kotuydu onceden?

Cok kotuydu. Bu dernek neredeyse kapanma noktasina geldi. Sorunlar cikti.

Turklerin diger göcmenler ile iliskileri nasil?

Hicbir sorunumuz yok.

Malmö kendine has bir sehir. Burada Turk olmak diger sehirlerde Turk olmaktan farkli mi?

Oralarda Konyalilar cok. Onlar ayri dernek kurmuslar. Federasyon onlarin elinde.

Turklerin Isvecliler ile arkadaslik duzeyi ne?

Ben Isvecliler ile konusurum, bayramini bilirim, kutladigi seyleri bilirim. Öğrenirim. Kendi kulturumuzu de tanitirim. Baskasina tanistirildigimde Turk arkadasim dedirtirim.

Siz hangi medyayi takip ediyorsunuz? Isvec mi yoksa Turk medyasi mi?

Her evde Turk kanallari var. Isvec medyasi ile fazla ilgilenmiyorum. Hic önemli bir olay yok. Duyuyoruz zaten. Malmö kucuk bir yer."

Derneklere tekrar dönmek gerekirse, buradaki Turklerin yasamina etkis var mi? Nasil etkiliyor?

Halkimiz duyarsiz. Etkinlige duyarsiz kaliyor. Kutuplasmalar var. Kisisel gorus farkliliklari var. Herkesin pozisyonu olusmaya basladi.

Son olarak buradaki Turkleri kisaca nasil tanimlarsiniz?

Malmö'deki Turkler kafasi karisik insanlar. Yönlendirmek gerek. Eski kirginliklari giderirsek, cok sey yapacak gucteyiz.

Cok tesekkur ederim.

Interview 3: Zafer Özdemir, 28, born in Turkey. (52 minutes) April 13, 2013.

Öncelikle röportaj yapmayı kabul ettiğiniz için tesekkür ederim. Baslamak gerekirse, Malmö'de yaşayan bir Turk olarak nasil hissediyorsunuz kendinizi burada?

Turk gibi hissediyoruz ama İsveçli gibi yasiyoruz. İsveçlilere ayak uydurmaya calisiyoruz. İsveçli firmalarda calisiyoruz. Turkluk bir dilde kaldi. Baska bir sey kalmadi.

Turklugu nasil tanimlarsiniz burada?

Turk Türkiye'de dogan buyuyendir.. Ne bileyim!

Yeni jenerasyon nasil burada?

Cok nadir Turk gibi yasamalari. Cogunlugu İsveçli gibi yasiyor.

Turklerin yasami nasil burada sizce?

Bu konulara pek girmek istemiyorum, ama simdi buraya gelenlerin cogunlugu Bulgaristan Turku, Makedon Turku'dur. Türkiye'den fazla bir Turk yoktur cevremde. %80'i Turkiyeden gelen Turk degil.

Peki bir fark var mi?

Tabi ki var... Bilmiyorum. Buradaki Turkleri tanidikten sonra fikrim degisti, ya da onlar benim bakis acimi degistirdi.

Tam olarak ne bakimdan degisti?

Kimse kimseye guvenmiyor. Önceden herkes birbirine guvenirdi.

Sosyal iliskiler mi zayif?

Kimse kimseye borc vermez.

Anliyorum. Peki İsvec dilini konusma durumu nasil, seviye ne durumda?

Burada 20 sene kalanlar var, hala İsveçceyi öğrenme ve konusmlari cok zor.

Neden?

Ben bir seye inanirim. Yasli geldiysen buraya, Isvecceyi ogrenmen cok zordur. Genc ve yasinin ogrenme kapasitesi farklidir. Buraya 20 yasimda geldim. Ben daha genctim. 2 senede Isvecceyi anadilim gibi ogrendim, konusmaya basladim. Ama buraya kirk yasinda geldiysen ogrenemezsin kolayca.

Bu durum cocuklari nasil etkiliyor?

Benim iki tane cocugum var, Turkce bilmiyorlar. Onlar simdi Isvecli gibi buyuyorlar. O nedenle Turkce'ye bir yer koyamadik. Sen nasil bir hayat yasiyorsan o hayata dogru gidiyorsun.

Dil Turk olmak icin onemli mi sizce?

Evet, tabi. Turkluk insanin kaninda olacak. Icinde olacak. Dilmis milmis... Nasil hissediyorsan! Sen Turk hissediyorsan Turksundur. Isvecli hissediyorsan Isveclisindir.

Bunlar kisiye gore degisir mi?

Turkiye musluman bir ulke. Ama bizdeki muslumanlik baska. Turkler muslumanligi kendine gore yorumlamis.

Sizce Malmö'deki Turkler topluma entegre olmuslar mi?

Bazilari var, tam Turk gibi yasar. Hicbir sey yapmaz. Hicbir baglanti yok.

Bu her iki jenerasyon icinde gecerli mi?

Eski jenerasyon tam Turk gibi. Ogullari Isvec yoluna gidiyor. Son jenerasyon ise daha baska bir sey olacak.

Bir Turk olarak Malmö'de yasamak ile Turkiye'de herhangi bir yerde yasamak arasinda nasil farklar var?

Fark yok. Turkiye'de calisirsan para kazanirsin. Burada calisdirsan da kazanirsin.

Kultur olarak?

Ben hissetmiyorum. Malmö oyle bir yer olmus ki gocmen cok. Bakkali var. Her seyi var. Bilinmeyecek bir sey yok.

Turklerin Isveclile ile iliskileri nasil?

Aslinda hepimiz Isvecliyiz sonucta. Benim calistigim firmada 60 kisi var, sadece 4'u yabanci. Isveclililer yeri geldiginde Turklerden daha iyi insanlar.

Nasil yani?

Arkadasliklari daha iyi. Adamlar yalan soylemez.

Peki siz Turkiye'ye donmeyi dusundunuz mu`?

Evet, cevap evet.

Neden?

Sonucta, yine de vatan. Vatan sevgisi var icinde. Simdi buraya gelen Turklerin %90'i geri donecekler diye geldiler. Hepsi burada kaldi. Herkes ben donecektim burada kaldim der. Geri donmeyi istemeleri de havasindan suyundan. Su havaya bak ya! Bizim memlekette yaz geldi. Milliet yuzuyor. Daha gunes yok... Bir eksiklik var. Bir eksiklik var.

Isvec toplumunun kulturel cesitliliği Turkleri nasıl etkiliyor.

Isvecte bize isim koydular. Karakafa diye. Bu ismi Araplar getirdiler buraya. Ben calisiyorum, cogu Isvecliden daha cok vergi öduyorum. Ama disarida bana diyecekler ki karakafali, hayatini yasiyor.

Yabancı mi görüyorlar sizi?

Bu ulkede yabanciyiz. Adamlar hakli. Biz buraya, onlarin memleketine geldik.

Peki, Dernekler! Neden cok dernek var?

Ayrimciliktan dolayi. Bir tarafta Makedon Turkleri, bir tarafta Bulgar Turkleri Dernegi. Bir taraftan da Kurt Turk Dernegi. Biri acti Turk Turkleri Dernegi. Eee ne oldu? Ayrimcilik oldu. Simdi diyorlar birlesecegiz. Göreceksin, bir suru kavgalar cikacak.

Neden?

O ona laf atacak. Biri diyecek biz Osmanli cocuguyuz. Oteki diyecek biz bilmem neyiz, sonra kavga cikacak.

Peki derneklerin islevi ne? Sen neden geliyorsun?

Gidecek baska yer yok.

Olsa?

Oraya gideriz.

Ortamin olsa buraya gelir misin?

Yok. Ne geleceğim. Kagit oynuyorlar. Burasi zaman gecirme yeri. Zaman oldurme yeri. Evde de canimiz sikiliyor.

Gençler neden gelmiyor çok fazla?

Burada dogan buyuyen buraya gelmez. Onlarin kendi ortamlari var.

Siz hangi medyayı takip ediyorsunuz; Isvec mi, Turk medyasini mi?

Benim evde Turk kanallarim var, ama daha cok Isvec kanallarini izliyorum. Turk ailen varsa Turk kanallari izlenir. Isvecli ailen varsa... benim ailem Isvecli. Benim Isveccem var, izlemek kolay.

Turkiye'ye gidip geliyor musunuz?

Her yaz gidip gelirim. Ailem orada.

Son olarak, sizi oradaki Turkler nasıl görüyorlar?

Seni Alamanci olarak görür. Para kazaniyorsunuz diyor. Kolay degil yani.

Peki, cok tesekkur ederim size.

Ben tesekkur ederim. Iyi gunler!

Interview 4: Ekrem Camur, 32, born in Turkey (64 minutes) April 13 2013.

Merhaba, konusmayi kabul ettiginiz icin tesekkur ederim once size.

Önemli degil.

Evet, baslamak gerekirse Malmö'de yasayan bir Turk olarak siz kendinizi nasil hissediyorsunuz?

Ben Rosengård'ta yasiyorum. Orada kendimi Isvec'te hissetmiyorum. Ne zaman Rosengård'tan disariya ciksam o zaman anliyorum Isvecte oldugumu.

Siz nasil tanimliyorsunuz Turklugu?

Ben 400 yil oncesine kadar seceremi biliyorum. Isvec'te Turk olarak yasamak ailye bagli. Her toplumun kulturu, dini yapisi var. Bir toplumun asimile olmamasi icin, dilini dinini ve kulturunu korumasi, unutmamasi gerekir. Biz de bunlari elimizden geldigince unutmuyoruz.

Sizce Turk olmak..?

Dilimi, dinimi ve kulturumu kaybetmedigim surece ben Turkum. Nereden geldigin önemli degil.

Burada nasil yasiyor Turkler?

Cok farkli yasiyor. Komsuluk akrabalik, aile iliskileri farkli. Herkes gecim derdinde. Ama ekonomik gelirin varsa yasam standartlari yuksek.

Birliktelik duygusu yok yani?

Burada 10 tane dernek var. Birlik olup ta buyuk bit lokal olmaktansa parca parcalar.

Neden öyle sizce?

Malmö'de insanların bir kısmi Bulgaristan'dan gelme, bir kısmi Makedonya'dan. Bir kısmi da Dogu'dan, İç Anadolu'dan. Biraz karisik. Uyum saglanamiyor herhalde.

Dil konusuna gelirse. Sizin Isvecceniz var mi?

SFI'yi bitirdim Kendi isimi görüyorum. Esim Turk. Evimde Turk kanallari var. Dernekte de Turkce. Böyle olunca pratik yapamıyorum.

Yeni jenerasyonun durumu nasil bu konuda?

Ailenin yetistirmesine bagli. Turkceleri geri kalıyor. Kulturden de geri kalıyorlar. Kulturü

anlatamazsin, bir de onu yasamak gerek. Yasatmak lazim. Bizim kulturumuzde bayramlar vardir, kolyaanlatamazsin. Bu sefer İsveclilerin icinde oldugun icin de ayti hissediyorsun, tam ortada kaliyorsun. Onlarin kimliklerini tam oturtmalari lazim bu da aileden geciyor.

Dil cok önemli yani?

Tabi. Bir toplumun kimligi icin bence uc önemli sey var: din, dil ve kultur. Bunlari kaybedince geriye bir sey kalmaz.

Turklerin burada entegrasyon sureci nasil?

Entegre olmamız sart, ama asimile olmamak kaydiyla. Dilini, dinin, kulturunu unutmamak kaydiyla. İsvec toplumuna entegre olmaliz.

Bu oluyor mu?

Bence asimilasyonda var.

Nasil yani?

Cocuklarin yetisme tarzinda. İsvecli okullarda okuyorlar. İsvecli biriyle evli olan daha kolay entegre oluyor. Cunku esiyle İsvecce konusuyor. İsvec kulturunu öğreniyor.

Malmö´de Turk olmak ile Turkiye´de Turk olmak arasinda ne farklar var?

Ortamlar farkli. Ben Turklugumu gizlemem. Arada daglar kadar fark var. İsvecce konusmak zorundasın. Benim tum ailem Turkiye´de. Turkce konusabilmem icin derneklere girmem gerekli. Dernekten cikınca yine yalnızsin. Sadece evin var. Burada Turk olmak cok zor. Burada bazi seyleri daha iyi farkediyorsun, kimligin ustune dusunuyorsun.

Turklerin İsvecliler ile iliskileri nasil?

Benim yok. Olan arkadaslar var tabi. Ben dernekten baska bir yere gitmiyorum.

Malmö´de toplumdaki kulturel cesitlilik ve farklılık Turk toplumunu nasil etkiliyor?

Farkli kulturler ile birarada yasamak zor. Burada Ortadogu´dan gelen cok insan var. Kendi ulkelerinde pek cok olaya karismis. Bu kadar farklılık iceren bir toplumda cocuk yetistirmek zor.

Bu gocmenlerden dolayi mi?

Devlet olarak, kriminal olaylari onlemek polisin elinde.

Size gore, genel anlamda entegrasyon ile ilgili rahatsız edici bir unsur ya da durum var mi?

Buraya 25 yasından sonra gelmiş bir insanın entegre olamaz. Kendimden dusunuyorum. Ben 26 yasında geldim. Bu yastan sonra cok zor. ... İsvec´in bizden bir beklentisi yok; ama cocuklarımızdan beklentisi var. Yeni jenerasyonlar! Onlari bir sekilde asimile ya da entegre edip, onlari vatandas yapıp kendi ulkesine katacak. Nufusu korumalari gerekiyor. Insana da ihtiyaclari var.

Problem ne?

Devletin bazı kurumları göstermelik. Dostlar alıveriste gorsun. 3-5 kişi var ama hiçbir icraat yok. Ha, yaptıkları da var ama yarısı bosuna çalışıyor orada.

İs dışında nasıl, peki?

Girdiğin ortamlarda hissedebiliyorsun. Çok iyi, yüzüne gülün var ama insanın bir de hissi var, hissiyatı. Sana verdiği gülerek cevaptan içini hissedebiliyorsun.

Nasıl oluyor bu?

Ben mesela havuza gittim oğlumla. Sen tam bir şey sorunca sana cevap veriyor ama içinden de sunu diyebiliyor: Suna bak! Kendi memleketimizde biz azınlık kalmışız. Özellikle Malmö'de yabancı çok. Bunu hissedebiliyorsun. Gitseler de kurtulsak. Böyle bir şey var. Onu hissettiriyorlar.

Bu tüm göçmenlere karşı mı?

Evet.

Anlıyorum, siz Türkiye'ye ne sıklıkta gidiyorsunuz?

Her sene gidip geliyorum. Özellikle yazın.

Türkiye'de sizi nasıl görüyorlar, algiliyorlar?

Almanca. Sen İsveç'ten ya da Hollanda'dan gelmişsin farketmez.

Peki fark?

Onların gözünde ekonomik durumun iyi.

Hic Türkiye'ye donmeyi düşündünüz mü?

Çok düşünüyorum. İnsanoglu birini buluyor, birini bulamıyor. Buraya yaşam standardı için geldik, ama vatan hasreti, ana-baba hasreti var. Türkiye'deyken o yoktu ama ekonomik durum iyi değildi.

İmkan olsa doner misiniz?

Evet dönerim. Buraya gelme amacım ekonomik koşullardı.

Bir diğer konu! Hangi medyayı takip ediyorsunuz?

İsveç medyasını takip etmiyorum. Türk medyasını her gün takip ediyorum, haberleri izliyorum. Türkiye'de yasak gibi.

Bunun nedeni dil mi?

Ben buraya 25 yaşından sonra geldiğim için kendimi entegre olacak şekilde hissetmiyorum. Hissedemiyorum yani.

Yeni jenerasyon?

Onlarla pek diyalogum yok. Onlar derneklere gelmez.

Turklerin Isveclilerle iliskileri nasil?

Bence bir sorun yok.

Dernekler konusuna gelirsek? Neden dernege geliyorsunuz?

Gidecek yerimiz yok. Nereye gidelim. Ben Turkiye’de sabah ekme almaya gitsem bir saatte donerim eve. Hekele konusurum. Sosyal bir yasam olmadigi icin dernekten baska gidecek yer yok.

Dernekler iyi o zaman?

Tabi ki iyi. Insanlarin sosyalleşmesi acısından. Ama dernegin de dernek gibi calismasi lazim.

Dernekler Turkleri ne sekilde etkiliyor?

Cevre ediniyorsun. Bilmedigin bir konuda danisiyorsun. Eger iyi yonetilirse cok iyi bir sey.

Dernekler cok etkin mi Malmö’de?

Cok da degil. Pek de faydasi yok. Kagit oynuyorsun, stress atiyorsun. Daha iyi olabilir. Bir danismanimiz olsa, avukatimiz olsa. Haklarimizi arayacak biri olsa.

Anliyorum cok tesekkurler röportaj icin.

Interview 5: Adnan Malkocoglu, 36, born in Denmark (51 minutes) April 17 2013

Merhaba, konusmayi kabul ettiginiz icin tesekkur ederim once size.

Önemli degil.

Evet, baslamak gerekirse Malmö’de yasayan bir Turk olarak siz kendinizi nasil hissediyorsunuz?

Yasiyorum. Yasanir da. Simdi bir sey yok ama arkadan bize bir sey derlerse o sekil.

Size burada Turklerin yasami nasil?

Isvec’te bence iyi. Genc nesiller iyi egitim aliyor. Ben ve benden onceki jenerasyon egitimsizdi.

Neden?

Bizim donemimizde ben su dusnceyle buyudum: Buradan döneceyiz. Isci cocuguyuz. Biz ondan geldik buraya. Calisip para kazanip dönecektik. Amac böyleydi. Hayatin getirdigi bazi seylerden dolayi donemedik. Donersek de cenaze olarak döneceyiz.

Burada Turkler nasil yasiyor?

Cok farkli.

Nasil farkli?

Kultur cok farkli. Eski kultur yok.

Neden?

Turkiye´de hayatini yasiyorsun. Olmasi gerektiği gibi. Yabancı olarak kalırsın. Yabancı olarak istediğin kadar İsveçli ol, yabancı kalırsın. İstesen de olamazsın.

Hala öyle mi?

Tabi ki. Öyle!

İsveçli olmak için ne yapmak lazım?

Onlar gibi olmak için dinini unutmam lazım. Ama yine de seni yabancı görürler.

Peki sen Türklüğü nasıl tanımlıyorsun?

Anadolu insanı harbi Türktür. Türklük partizanlık değildir. Anadolu adetleri diyoruz biz. Biz de büyük küçük vardır. Saygı. Oturmasını, kalkmasını bileceksin.

Türk olmak için ne olmalı?

Türk olmak bizim gururumuz! Vatanımız, gururumuz. Topragımızdır. Kültürüne sahip çıkacaksın. Sınırların da bileceksin.

Bunları kabul etmek yeterli mi?

Evet. Vatanını sevmek için gönlünde olması lazım. Sevmiyorsan olmaz. Ama yine de aslini inkar edemezsin.

Peki bu dil meselesi! Türkçe önemli çünkü.

Ben burada doğdum ve büyüdüm. Türkçem gayet iyi. Ama yeni nesillere bakıyorum, bazı arkadaşların Türkçesi yok. Benim anadilim.

Aile ile mi ilgili?

Tabi ki. Sonra da kendi hevesin. Türkçe´yi sonradan öğrendim.

Dil Türklük açısından ne kadar önemli?

Türkçeyi bilmezsen Türklük nerede? Dilini kaybedince Türklüğünü kaybetmezsin ama farklı bir şey.

Size Malmö´deki Türkler topluma entegre oldular mı?

Türkler entegrasyon açısından uyumlu insanlardır. Türk milleti nereye gidersen git, uyum sağlar. Gittikleri yerin kültürünü bilir ve öğrenirler. Ama İsveçliler insan ayırmayı bilmiyor.

Türklerin yaşam koşulları nasıl?

Yaşam iyi. Bir insan olarak kendi hedeflerini oturtup ayarlarsan yasanır.

Malmö diğer İsveç şehirlerinden farklı mı?

Yabancı insan çok. Güzel bir kültür var. Bazı toplumlari sevmiyorum ama yine de bir problemim yok.

İsveçlilere belli konularda hak veriyorum. Onların yanlısı ise bunlar yanlısı yapani değil ama

tapan toplumu hatta tomlari yargiliyor. Genellemeler yapıyor.

Turkler ile İsveçlilerin ilişkisi nasıl?

Arkadaslik var. Malmö'de tek PKK yanlisi gruplar var. Onlarin bizi dislamasi var. Iskandinav ulkeleri de bunlari destekliyor.

Malmö'deki cesitlilik Turkleri etkiliyor mu?

Mesela Rosengård. Orada oturan insanlar var. 20-30 kisi pislik yapıyor diye butun aileleri kötuleyemezsin. Devletin burada yanlisi var. Hepsini biraraya topluyor. Onlari dagitsaydi İsveçli ailelerin yanina entegrasyon kolay olurdu.

Turkiyeye donmeyi dusundun mu?

Imkanim olsa dönerim. Ozluyorum. Burada dogmamis olmama ragmen. Dogasi guzel. Burasi soguk.

Son olarak gelelim derneklere!

Evet . dernekler Turk toplumunu yanyana topluyor. Ancak pek bir sey yapmiyorlar da aslinda. Bazi faaliyetleri var. Baska bir sey yok.

Peki cok tesekkur ederim.

*Other interviews were conducted without recording as the interviewees did not want me to record. Instead, I took some notes and quotations. I use some of them, while comparing and categorizing in the main findings and analysis part. (chapter 5).

Adem Ates, 43, born in Turkey, April 18 2013.

Alper Özdemir, 30, born in Turkey, April 11 2013

Suleyman Kurtulus, 52, born in Turkey, April 14 2013

Fehim Yilmaz, 54 born in Bulgaria, March 30 2013.

Idris Yildiz, 51, born in Turkey, March 28 2013.

Mehmet Mumin, 35, born in Bulgaria, April 4 2013.

Mete Demir, 24, born in Turkey, April 14 2013

Muammer Duman, 43, born in Bulgaria, March 30 2013

Raif Andreev, 23 born in Bulgaria, April 25 2013