



FACULTY OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SPECIAL EDUCATION

EXPERIENCES OF THE ACCULTURATING IMMIGRANT MOTHERS WITH TURKISH BACKGROUNDS IN SWEDEN

Values in a Changing Context

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Supervisor:	Adrianna Nizinska
Examiner:	Ilse Hakvoort
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Abstract

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Aim: The general goal of the study is to understand the experiences of acculturating mothers with a Turkish background who live in Sweden. The study aimed in particular at identifying and understanding possible changes in the parental behaviors and beliefs of mothers during the acculturation process, most notably at individual level.

Theory: In order to gain insight in to the experiences of these mothers, Berry's acculturation theory and several concepts such as culture, value and parenting were used to comprehend the experience of the mothers.

Method: Three Turkish immigrant mothers were interviewed separately. Furthermore, the collected data is analyzed by using qualitative content analysis.

Results: The results of the in-depth interviews show that they are in favor of maintaining their heritage culture in the private domain (separation), as they speak Turkish and have close family ties and friendships with other Turkish people. On the other hand, they show a tendency to establish contact with Swedish people in the locality, and they participate socially by joining public domains (integration) as they start to work and speak Swedish. With regards to parenting, the maternal practices and beliefs of the mothers are mostly adopted from their society of origin. Indeed, they tend to maintain the characteristics of collective family system of their home country culture. As a result, they expect similar heritage culture attitudes and values from their children.

Foreword

Studying at the University of Gothenburg was one of the best experiences of my life. I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the inspiring time spent in Sweden.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Families are perceived as the first and the fundamental social environment because it is the main social milieu in which children spend most of their time. As a result, their first interpersonal relationships are made within the family context. Childrearing practices and beliefs are specific to individual families and mostly shaped by the “concerns about morality cultural boundaries and risks in the cross-cultural spaces” (Bose, 2016, p.345). Within these boundaries, parents decide what is best for their children and they shape their parenting styles and practices based on how they should bring up their offspring. Parents’ duty is to prepare their children with the necessary competencies in their social environment for survival. How they chose to prepare their children depends on many overlapping concepts such as socialization goals, culture, value, and so on. Due to the risks in the cross cultural spaces, parental experiences are slightly different for the ones who migrated to a different country and are raising their children there surrounded by the unfamiliar social environment. Therefore, their practices, beliefs and experiences on parenting may vary from those of the ones living in their home countries.

The purpose of parental behavior in a particular culture is the development of those valued abilities (Forehand & Kotchick,1996). “Parenting practices are determined by the availability of environmental resources that facilitate the development of culturally valued competencies and traditional theories of childrearing that dictate the customary parental practices believed to be successful in fostering culturally valued child behavior” (Forehand & Kotchick,1996, p.192). Consequently, parental practices are affected by not only the micro milieu in which migrant families’ own culture is dominated but also the hegemonic cultural community in which they live. Subsequent to immigration, parents are expected to transmit both the traditional cultural values and the values of the society of settlement. The reason for this expectation is acculturation which comprehends the process of cultural change occurring due to the interaction between two or more cultural groups and their single fellows (Berry, 2005). Depending on acculturation approaches, immigrant parents may display diverse values and behaviors with respect to child-rearing. The aim of the current study is to fill gaps and expand the existing knowledge on parental practices and beliefs of acculturating mothers including culture-specific strategies in an immigration context. It will provide extensive information on the lives of

acculturating mothers, especially focusing on the current interests in their migration experiences including education, employment, cultural and value orientations, religion, family support networks, friends and social networks, and identities. The present study particularly intends to investigate the impact of acculturation on maternal beliefs and practices of the specific group of people who migrated from Turkey to Sweden.

1.1.1. Conceptual Framework

Various concepts are closely related to the research interest of this paper and inseparably overlapping with each other. The concepts included in my study provide starting points for building analysis. Eventually, they will be used for developing a deep understanding of social phenomena under investigation which is the maternal experiences of acculturation. Therefore, socialization goals, parenting, culture and value will be discussed below, respectively, in order to have a good comprehension.

Socialization goals, which are the characteristics that parents value and want their children to acquire when they grow up, vary among parents from diverse cultural backgrounds (Harwood, Schoelmerich, Ventura-Cook, Schulze, & Wilson as cited in Ekmekci-Bayar, 2014). Tam, Lee, Kim, Li and Chao (2012) stated that parents desire their children to acquire values they individually approve. Parental *socialization goals* can be termed as the attributes parents value, endorse, and want their children to attain (Hastings & Grusec, 1998). Socialization goals, in short, refer to the characteristics that parents believe most critical for their children to acquire. It is suggested that there are two types of socialization which are vertical socialization and horizontal socialization. The focus of this paper is vertical socialization in which adults (parents) socialize youth, it appears as a task of adults being perceived as experts conveying knowledge onto youth (Perez-Brena, Updegra, & Umana-Taylor, 2015).

Darling and Steinberg (1993) mentioned three different aspects of parenting; the objectives toward which socialization is oriented, the parenting practices which are used to assist children to reach those objectives, and parenting style or emotional climate in which socialization takes place. The socialization goals structure parents' daily relations with their children, creates their goal-directed behaviors and form their parenting styles (Bornstein, 2012). *Parenting style* is defined as "a constellation of attitudes toward the child that are communicated to the child and

that, taken together, create an emotional climate in which the parent's behaviors are expressed" (Darling & Steinberg, 1993, p. 488).

Another important concept playing a role on parenting is *culture* which can be described as the set of unique patterns of beliefs and behaviors serving to regulate daily living of a group of people and these behaviors and beliefs help to form parents and parenting by shaping how they should care their offspring (Bornstein, 2012). Talking about childrearing practices, inevitably, culture emerges as an important component of parenting. Culture is preserved and transferred by affecting parental perceptions which are believed to form parenting practices (Bornstein and Lansford as cited in Bornstein, 2012). In a cultural context, children's experiences with their parents eventually scaffold them to be culturally competent members of the society that they live in (Bornstein, 2012). The central aim of the paper is to understand experiences of immigrant mothers living in a different cultural context where they have to negotiate between two sets of cultural values. Therefore, their parenting might be affected by the host culture as well as the home culture so that culture emerges as a relevant concept.

"Values are commonly identified as the hard core of culture, which is most enduring in the face of culture contact or social change" (Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001, p.187). *Values* function as leading doctrines in individuals' lives, and as standards which are used to select and rationalize actions and to evaluate individuals and occasions (Knafo & Schwartz, 2001; Knafo & Schwartz, 2003). The transmission of value orientations may be seen as a core issue of culture maintenance and culture change (Schönplflug, 2001). Immigrant parents bring the values of their culture of origin with them and struggle to maintain those values in the new setting as well as struggle to transmit them to their children (Vedder, Berry, Sabatier, & Sam, 2009). Some global process involved in the transmission of values are assumed to be socialization (discussed above) which involves the deliberate shaping of individuals to become adapted to the social environment (Schönplflug, 2001). Frequently, teachers, parents and maybe elder siblings practice value transmission by socialization. On the other hand, families have been sustained as a main arena for value socialization even though parents are not the only agents contributing to the socialization of children (Maccoby, 1992) and most importantly the socialization goals of the parents shape their daily interactions and parenting styles with their children (Barnhart, Raval, Jansari & Raval, 2013). Ultimately, all the interwoven concepts described above are important components of meaning making process of the data.

1.2. Research Aims and Questions

“If culture is such a powerful shaper of behavior, do individuals continue to act in the new setting as they did in the previous one, do they change their behavioral repertoire to be more appropriate in the new setting, or is there some complex pattern of continuity and change in how people go about their lives in the new society?” (Berry, 1997, p.6). Initiated by these questions asked by Berry which are, in fact, at the core of acculturation concept, it was in the point of interest if the parents, especially mothers, continue to have parental behaviors in the new setting as they did in the previous one or in accordance with the practices that they have in the home country, do they change their parental behaviors to be more appropriate in the new setting or is there some complex pattern of continuity and change in how parents go about their parenting behaviors in the new society?

In rapidly globalizing world and particularly in contemporary multicultural Sweden, it is very important to learn more about parenting and culture. As Turkish-origin children represents a large and growing segment of European and Swedish population, studies which advances our understanding of Turkish immigrant mothers’ parental beliefs and practices in Sweden is essential. As family is a crucial context in which children’s value development takes place, the purpose of this study is to give an insight regarding the qualitative meanings of maternal beliefs and behaviors on children’s value development process. The findings of the study give an insight concerning the role of acculturating mothers in value transmission, their self-perceptions about parenting and their gendered experiences as females. To be more specific, the following questions are investigated in the current study.

The main research question in this thesis will be:

- A) What are the experiences of the acculturating Turkish immigrant mothers living in Sweden?
- B) How does the acculturation affect value transmission of the acculturating Turkish immigrant mothers living in Sweden?

Following sub-questions are emerging from the main research question for a comprehensive exploration:

- 1) What values do acculturating Turkish immigrant mothers want to transmit to their children in Sweden?
- 2) What are the strategies that they use in order to achieve transmission of preferred values?
- 3) What are the perceptions of mothers on gendered differences (if any) in acculturation experiences?
- 4) How do the acculturating Turkish immigrant mothers navigate between two sets of values embedded in two different culture?
- 5) What are the perceived cultural distances between Swedish and Turkish way of parenting?

In order to investigate the research questions, three in-depth interviews were conducted with mothers who migrated from Turkey.

1.3. Significance of the Study

Parental meaning systems create the environment in which children live and children's development takes place in the same context and these systems are not culture free (Bose, 2016). Parenting styles that are harmonious with cultural norms seem to be efficient in transmitting values from parents to children; likewise, children whose parents behave in culturally appropriate ways are expected to conform to similar values in their surroundings outside the family that reinforce their parenting experiences (Bornstein, 2012). However, it may not be the case for the migrant families living in culturally dissimilar communities. The literature for parental beliefs and behaviors which frames the child rearing practices is largely focused on relatively unchanging cultural contexts. On the other hand, fewer investigations had been done about parental beliefs and behaviors in the context of social transformation. In other words, in the literature, few studies are available on acculturating parenting beliefs and practices in relation to immigration, especially, the very specific group on focus which is the Turkish-Swedish mothers.

Parents choose and form the environments in which their offspring will spend their time, and to certain degree, the personalities of the individuals with whom the child will have a chance to contact, which means that parents are controllers of the access to things children desire (Maccoby, 1992). "An understanding of the social-moral world of parents from different

cultural backgrounds will open up the possibility of a meaningful dialogue between professionals and parents, whose actions may otherwise appear obscure and somehow out of place” (Bose, 2016, p.346). For interventions and parent support programs which are not being used effectively by the immigrant families to be effective, awareness of the culture of the parent is discovered to be essential (Ekmekci- Baydar, 2014). Therefore, this study is expected to be a contribution to whole Swedish society by means of increasing the understanding of the social-moral world of mothers from different culture. Understanding what acculturating mothers know and expect from their children and the experienced difficulties in child rearing process are crucial to comprehend and intervene in the problems of acculturating mothers. Outcome of this study might enrich our understanding of the lives of migrant females, including the problems that immigrant children are likely to undergo. Hopefully this will promote a meaningful dialogue between Turkish and Swedish cultures.

1.4. Structure

The thesis consists of six main chapters. First chapter is a general introduction of the study which is the one including the current section. In the second chapter, available literature on parental beliefs and experiences of acculturating parents, and parental values and parental acculturation combined with the basic knowledge on the society of origin and society of settlement are presented. In the same chapter, theoretical framework that have been used to explain the findings is discussed. In the third chapter, chosen research methods and the reasons behind the choice are explained. Forth chapter is a detailed look at the analysis of the collected data. The interpretations for the meaning making of the data are critically engaged in the fifth chapter. By concluding the study in a concise way, some further research recommendations are given in the final chapter.

2. Literature Review

Parents from different cultural backgrounds have been shown to differ in their socialization goals, which are the qualities that parents value and want their children to develop when they grow up. In the literature on migrant parents' transmission of values, most of the studies revolved around migrant family values, cultural transmission, cultural change, parental attitudes and practices both in the collectivistic and in the individualistic cultures. Although number of studies have been done in this subject area mentioned above, they lack the specific focus on the current topic. As a method, quantitative data collection methods were pursued by most of the researchers working on the value transmission process among immigrant families. However, qualitative measurements are very important for understanding why individuals act in a certain way and value some behaviors over others. Since the topic is a very subjective one, deeper understanding concerning the reasons behind the value choices can be achieved by qualitative methods one of which is the interview. The interview method is also the data collection technique in the present study which will be discussed in depth further in this paper additionally to the reasons behind conducting a qualitative study.

2.1. Previous Researches on Parental Beliefs and Experiences in a Changing Context

One of the rare qualitative study is conducted by Degni, Pöntinen, Mölsä (2006). They interviewed 21 Somali parents (11 women and 10 men) about their experiences of raising children in Finland. The results reveal that Somalis' experiences of raising children in Finland lead up to vital parenting challenges related to shifting generational, gender and family relations within the migrant family life. Besides the difficulties confronted by Somali parents in adjusting to new parenting practices, husband-wife relations and other changes in their lives, they are also confronted by cultural shock upon what they perceived as an abnormal behavior of Finnish adolescents and their parents' relative passivity.

Using a qualitative research method, Bose (2016) investigated the parental ethnotheories of Bangladeshi parents living in United Kingdom by interviewing 24 Bangladeshi parents in 2006-2009. The rich cultural meanings that orientate parental action and how parents generate new

meanings following migration and culture change has been illustrated in the study. Some common values that Bangladeshi parents perceived as important to transmit became prominent which are respect for elders and obedience, relating to others, belonging to moral community, and keeping respect/honor. Therewithal, they experienced some changes in their division of labor in the family, family routines and habits. In addition to that, there are new risks (difference in values between them and children) in the changing contexts which results in different parenting strategies (building emotional ties with the children through talking in a non-hierarchical relationship).

Tam et al. (2012) conducted a research to test the intersubjective model of value transmission which suggests that parents want to transmit both the values they personally endorse and the values they identify to be normatively important in the society. The current research backs up this statement. It is supported that families' social contexts and parents' personality moderates the use of perceived normative values. Parents' perceived normative values explain both their socialization practices and actual transmission. Evidence suggests that values parents perceive to be normatively important are to some extent internalized by children.

A study conducted by Güngör and Bornstein (2009) addresses the roles of gender and development in the acculturation, values, adaptation and perceived discrimination of 199 (96 girls, 103 boys) Turk heritage adolescents who was born and are growing up in Belgium. Findings of a statistical analysis showed that both girls and boys agree in their positive attitudes towards their heritage culture and willingness to maintain it in their private life but preferred to adopt to the mainstream Belgian culture in public life. Additionally, adolescent girls were better adopted to mainstream culture values than adolescent boys. On the other hand, adolescent boys were more conservative and attached a greater value to self-enhancement which might reflect persisting uneven power relations in the traditional Turkish family that is challenged by migration resulting in the loss of status and disempowerment of men at home and at work.

Perez-Brena, Updegraff, and Umana-Taylor (2015) investigated transmission of cultural values among Mexican-Origin parents and their adolescents living in United States across 5 years by using a longitudinal within-family design. They have found that the mother-to-youth vertical socialization pattern for familism and respect values was apparent for early adolescent youth. This age group might perceive their mothers' socialization attempts as experts conveying knowledge, and hence; they are willingly assimilated to similar cultural values. Moreover,

evidence suggests that immigrant adolescence reported a lower confirmation of respect values while immigrant mothers reported a higher endorsement of the same values, 5 years later. This result has been interpreted as mothers may increase their endorsement of their values regarding respect in hopes of increasing their cultural socialization efforts.

Schönpflug (2001), initiated a three-wave longitudinal study among 200 Turkish father-son dyads living in two regions within Germany and 100 Turkish father-son dyads living in Turkey. Results shows that Turkish father-son dyads living in Turkey did not reveal more transmission than did Turkish father-son dyads living in Germany after work migration to there. Transmission may be enhanced by some conditions favorable for transmission in a particular socioeconomic and cultural context, such as personal characteristics of the transmitter and the receiver like resources of education and age, and family interaction variables like parenting styles and parents' marital relationship. Dominantly, collectivistic values were transmitted since, probably, they serve group maintenance. Additionally, it has been found that cultural continuity through effective transmission in the value domain is better ensured and the collective values are more accepted as the transmission of values starts at early ages.

Phalet and Schönpflug (2001) have found that “significant transmission after controlling for gender and educational status strongly supports the directive force of parental values and goals in shaping their children’s value orientations, over and above structural opportunities or constrains” (p.198). Having shared the previous research on parental value perceptions and the strong influences of the parental values on their children in a changing context, it is important to look at the maternal perceptions on the values that they see as an important to transmit to their children in an acculturation context.

Another study clearly reveals the cultural differences in Turkish immigrant and German mothers’ socialization goals. Findings of the study conducted by Durgel (2011) shows that in the context of modernizing collectivistic cultures, parents recognize the adaptive value of education for social survival and encourage educational purposes more. Economic and emotional independence of the child appears to be desirable by German mothers while conservation of close family relations is less important for them. On the other side, Turkish immigrant mothers are struggling in providing a balance between having close family bonds and being autonomous (Durgel, 2011) The sufficient number of evidences given above suggest that acculturation influences socialization goals and parental behaviors.

2.2 Literature on Parenting: Similarities and Differences

Parenting is assumed to differ among different cultures. In this section, the characteristics of parenting in both Swedish/individualistic culture and parenting in Turkish/collectivistic culture will be discussed as it is important since “parenting styles are likely to influence parents’ success in transmitting the values they want to their children” (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Parents in Western cultures endorse autonomous socialization goals that focus on helping their children become independent, competitive, and self-expressive, while parents in Asian cultures emphasize obedience, respect, and social interdependence (Barnhart, Raval, Jansari & Raval, 2013). To illustrate, parents from a Turkish cultural background generally value and show more intrusive behaviors, such as demands without explanation, high-power control strategies and low autonomy encouragement than Dutch parents (Yaman, Mesman, Van IJzendoorn, & Bakerman-Kranenburg & Linting, 2010). Similar to Turkish and Dutch sample, a study investigating socialization goals of Turkish immigrant and German mothers in Germany indicated that Turkish immigrant mothers valued children’s respectful and well-mannered behavior and intimate family relations more, next to autonomy while German mothers valued independence, the capability to control undesirable impulses, and to be socially skilled (Durgel, 2011).

Identification of differences among peoples extensively stressed on, that is why it often escapes the attention that almost all parents irrespective of culture seek to lead happy, healthy, fulfilled parenthoods and to rear happy, healthy, fulfilled children (Bornstein, 2012). It is possible that parents show many similar cognitions and practices worldwide; in fact, similarities could present universals regardless of the differences in the form and the degree to that they are shaped by experience and affected by culture (Bornstein, 2012). Those forms of childrearing may present inherent aspects of caregiving, historical approaches in parenting, or they might be a side products of dissemination of information through potencies of globalization or mass media or migration that reflect parents nowadays alongside increasingly alike socialization models, concerns, and difficulties (Bornstein, 2012).

2.3 Acculturation Model of Berry

As individuals move to a new society, their cultural values and beliefs are taken with them. The contact with the hegemonic culture of the new society have an impact on these original cultural values and beliefs. Similarly, parental beliefs and practices are shifting within a cultural group undergoing sociocultural change as a result of migration. Migrant parents are experiencing a cultural and psychological transformation as being exposed to a second culture other than their own. Acculturation is a process of cultural change including two or more groups which has effects on all those groups; nevertheless, the interaction occurrences have more impact on the non-dominant group and its participants (Berry, 2001). Berry is explaining this process as an acculturation which is “the dual process of cultural and psychological variation that takes place as an outcome of interaction between two or more cultural groups and their individual fellows leading to some longer-term psychological and sociocultural adaptations between both groups” (2005, p.699). Parental beliefs, practices and socialization goals are also affected by the process of acculturation. Acculturating immigrant mothers’ parenting cognitions and beliefs resemble those of mothers in their country of origin and might also show some features of their country of destination. Investigating parenting beliefs and practices in a changing context would provide us with precious knowledge on parenting patterns among Turkish immigrant mothers living in Sweden.

Four acculturation strategies have been derived from two major issues which are *cultural maintenance* referring to preference for preserving one’s heritage culture and ethnic identity; and *contact and participation* referring to preference for having interaction with and partaking in a larger society along with other ethnocultural groups (Berry, 2005; Berry, 1997). Correlated to the attitude of an individual on these two issues, four acculturation strategies are described in the Berry’s model of acculturation which are assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization (Berry, 2005; Berry, 1997). In the *assimilation* strategy, the individuals do not want to maintain the values of original culture and their cultural identity instead they seek daily interaction with other cultures and become absorbed into the dominant society. In the *separation* strategy, while the individuals prefer to avoid interaction with others from the host culture, they hold on to the original culture. In the *integration* strategy, the individuals are interested in both holding on the original culture and involving in daily interactions with the host culture. Lastly, in the *marginalization* strategy, the individuals do not wish to maintain the original culture and to avoid interaction with the host culture.

Changes and modifications in immigrant mothers' parenting beliefs and behaviors are related to their involvement in the host society and their acculturation orientations. Acculturation is a significant predictor of mothers' developmental beliefs, parenting style, and communication with their children (Durgel, 2011). In the current study, change in parenting cognitions during the acculturation processes of Turkish immigrant mothers living in Sweden are under investigation. The aim of this paper is to look acculturation at the individual level in order to understand the possible changes in the mothers who are variably involved in the process of acculturation. Berry's (2005; 1997) model of acculturation, which describes behavioral changes in the context of acculturation, might have implications for clarifying the changes in the developmental expectations of immigrant parents. It is important to note that diverse areas of parenting may acculturate at different degrees and in different levels. Because of the fact that immigrant families acculturate at varying rates for different values and behaviors and for different generations, the change occurs slower for family related values and for older generations (Hynie, Lalonde & Lee, 2006).

A mutual accommodation is vital for integration to be achieved which contains the tolerance by both dominant and non-dominant groups of the right of all groups to live as culturally different peoples within the same society (Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 2002). Indeed, it is not only the responsibility of that particular group of newcomers to change but also the duty of the people and the government of the country of settlement to take actions in the process of acculturation. Berry addresses that "integration can only be "freely" chosen and successfully pursued by non-dominant groups when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity" (2005, p.705). This approach demands immigrants to adopt the fundamental principles of the accepting culture meanwhile both the receiving community and the host government should be willing to adjust national institutions to satisfy the needs of all groups in a better way coexisting in the larger plural society. "A mutual accommodation is required to attain integration, involving the acceptance by both groups of the right of all groups to live as culturally different peoples" (Berry, 2005, p.706).

Acculturation orientation might differ among private life and public life areas. The public domain in which cultural adaptation (integration) is preferred, involves social life activities such as following the news and language use, the private domain in which cultural maintenance (separation) is desired, includes personal value related matters such as celebrations and

childrearing practices (Güngör, & Bornstein, 2009). Therefore, immigrant parents have to change their frame of reference in order to help their children to internalize societal values and thereby function adaptively to the new social environment. Unlike native families, immigrant families usually experience stronger pressure related to adaptation of the host culture (Tam, et. al., 2012).

As an outcome of efforts to cope with these acculturation changes, some long-term adaptations would be accomplished. Adaptation means “the relatively stable changes that take place in an individual or group in response to external demands” (Berry, 2005, p. 709). It does not necessarily mean a positive dimension of acculturation. Long-term adaptation to acculturation is varying from circumstances depending on how individuals manage to live their lives in the new setting. Whether they manage their new lives very well or they are unable to carry on in the new society, it is greatly alterable ranging from well to poorly adapted (Berry, 2005). Psychological adaptation mainly concerns one’s psychological and physical well-being, whereas socio-cultural adaptation refers to how well an acculturating individual is able to manage daily life in the new cultural context.

It is quite important to mention some of the criticisms on acculturation theory. To begin with, it is claimed that there is no empirical evidence for the existence of four strategies and two dimensions, of acculturation (Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001). However, Berry (2005) states that recent studies backup the existence of these two basic dimensions. For example, Ryder, Alden, and Paulhus (2000, p.63) found empirical evidence “that people exposed to two cultures, either through birth or through heritage, can incorporate, to varying degrees, two coexisting cultural self-identities”. Furthermore, four different acculturation orientations emerged from a cluster analysis of the attitudinal and behavioral data in the study conducted by Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (2006) among 5000 immigrant youth from 13 different countries. Secondly, from the anti-oppressive and social justice perspective, investigation of social structures that favor particular groups in the society and oppress others by social division of class, race, gender, ability, sexual orientation, and so forth is criticized (Ngo, 2008). Ngo (2008) states that it comprises of socio-psychology of superiority and domination of Eurocentric ways of being. Besides, it is claimed that the field of acculturation has been dominated by white males of European origin, who mostly do not speak immigrant languages (Gans as cited in Ngo, 2008). Thus, they are not ready to discuss their weaknesses in relation to their understanding of languages, cultural nuances and histories (Ngo, 2008). One of the claims is that the

systematically formulated psychometric measures of acculturation have condensed complex psycho-social processes of acculturation to concrete disaggregated concepts such as language use, daily living habits, family socialization and cultural values (Ngo, 2008). Grounded on the compartmentalization of acculturative experiences, Ngo (2008) argues that it offers no insight into processes and interactions involved in acculturation. Another assertion is that acculturation theories cannot offer a complete description of unequal socioeconomic realities confronting some immigrants (Ngo, 2008). Without a richer understanding of social justice including formation and reformation of several identities of immigrants and their relations with the dominant culture, it is hard to give a full explanation (Ngo, 2008). In short, theories of acculturation are not paying the necessary attention to the social construction of socioeconomic inequalities that immigrants are facing in the context of power differential group relations (Ngo, 2008).

Lastly, it is important to clarify that the acculturation model will not be handled to have a certain assumption of acculturation orientations of the Turkish immigrant mothers participated but it will be used to discuss their acculturation processes while the critics made about the acculturation theory considered. Having engaged in critical reflections of the present theory, the model will be used to examine the acculturating experiences of the motherhood that the participant mothers with the Turkish background go through.

2.3.3 Society of Origin

Turks form one of the largest ethnic group living in Western Europe. Regarding the acculturation processes, Turkish immigrant families in the Netherlands frequently maintain traditional family values due to strong connections to Turkish culture, limited interaction with the society of settlement, tendency to have Turkish marriage partners, and continuance of the Turkish language among generations (Crul & Doornik as cited in Daglar, Melhuish & Barnes, 2011; Crul & Doornik as cited in Ekmekci-Baydar, 2014). People of Turkish descent living in Western Europe is estimated to be five million which scatter around approximately 3.5 million in Germany, close to half a million individually in the Netherlands, France and Austria, smaller but noteworthy groups in Sweden, Denmark and Belgium, and insignificant numbers in Norway and the UK (Güveli, Ganzeboom, Baykara-Krumme, Platt, Eroğlu, Spierings, Bayrakdar, Nauck & Sozeri, 2014). Because of these significant population,

Turkish community in Europe is an attractive group for researchers especially in terms of values. Turkish migrants and their descendants are important not only because of their large population but also because of the fact that they are the largest Muslim group in Europe, which can specifically enlighten the impact of connection to Islam on the settlement, community building and value transmission of its incumbents (Güveli et.al., 2014). Approximately 70% of emigrants from Turkey to Europe were ethnic Turks while the rest of them were mostly Kurds and Assyrians (Vedder, Sam & Liebkind, 2007).

Since Sweden has been welcoming and hosting a large number of immigrants for many years, it became a multicultural society with numerous diverse beliefs, cultures, feelings, thoughts and so on. One of these minority groups consists of people migrated from Turkey. The very first three Turkish men workers immigrated to Sweden on October 25, 1965 and they are followed by other Turkish immigrants who were mainly from Kulu district, Konya (Bayram, Nyquist, Thorburn & Bilgel, 2009). “According to the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Stockholm, 63.685 Turkish citizens are living in Sweden” (Turkish Ministry of Labor and Social Security, 2015, p. 186, own translation). “This number is based on the citizens who has used the services of the Embassy. However, the persons whose parents are Swedish citizens with Turkish background and persons with dual-citizenships are not included in the number stated. When the former and latter groups are also considered, Turkish Ministry of Labor and Social Security report (2015, p.186, own translation) estimates that there are approximately more than 100 000 Turkish citizens living in Sweden”. This represents a relatively significant group in Swedish population. Therefore, they are playing a significant role in the Swedish society which makes it important to understand their acculturating parenting behaviors.

Turkish culture is one of the collectivistic cultures (Schönpflug, 2001). In collectivistic cultures like Turkish culture, dependence, obedience, and having strong family and social ties are favorably valued; whereas; in individualistic cultures like western cultures, autonomy, independence, self-control, exploration, and taking individual responsibility are extremely valued (Ekmekci-Baydar, 2014). Turkish parents are traditionally more likely to have an authoritarian values and parenting behaviors (Ekmekci-Baydar, 2014). Traditional Turkish family relationships are described as stressing more on the authority of the parents mainly the father, by both material and emotional interdependence among generations, and submission by the children; and an obvious pattern of male supremacy (Fisek and Sunar, 2005). As Phalet and Schönpflug (2001) stated that parents in collectivistic countries like Turkey tend to emphasis

conformity goals such as obedience or respect, while parents from individualistic countries like Germany give importance to autonomy goals such as agency or independent thinking. Considering “collectivistic values will be more readily transmitted” than individualistic values (Schönplflug, 2001, p.175; Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001, p.187), the immigrant Turkish parents might have a tendency to convey collectivistic values to their children.

Religion is also playing a significant role in parenting depending on the parents’ religiosity. “Religiosity can be defined as the extent to which individuals assign importance to certain aspects of their religion in their daily lives” (Ekmekci-Baydar, 2014, p.59). Religiosity of the parents has an effect on their parental style. An authoritarian parenting style is more common among individuals with a collectivistic cultural background and those with strong religious beliefs (Ekmekci-Baydar, 2014). Parenting styles and parental values are highly related to each other. Parents are determining their way of parenting based on what they perceive as good or bad, right or wrong behavior. Surely, the religion of the parents plays an important role in determining what is right and what is wrong accompanied with their cultures.

According to Georgas et al. (2006), members of non-European countries hold greater values associated to family interdependence and respect toward parents as compared to people of north and west European origin (as cited in Vedder, Berry, Sabatier, & Sam, 2009). Examining Turkish immigrant parents’ parenting behaviors is important as they may be affected by the collectivistic values of their own parents as well as by the values of the individualistic country that they have lived in for the most of their lives (Yaman et.al., 2010). They might be affected by the belief systems of the society of settlement and transform towards the new values which they are exposed to. For example, Sunar conducted a study among three generations of Turkish parents in 2002 (as cited in Daglar, Melhuish, & Barnes, 2011), although they emphasized the importance of family over the individuals, newer generations are moving toward more authoritative parenting and are using more rewards, reasoning and encouragement of independence, though girls still receive more control than boys. Accepting that there are certain differences in Swedish and Turkish cultures, composition of these two cultures concerning parental meaning systems is worth paying attention which raise exciting questions about the transmission of values in a changing social context. These questions serve as the point of departure for the following study. It is also meaningful to state that, in a large scale study, it is found that despite the Swedish integration policy, Turkish immigrants were not well integrated

(Bayram et al., 2009). In this paper, the term “Turkish immigrants” does not only refer to ethnic Turks but also the people with other ethnicities who migrated from Turkey.

2.3.2 Society of Settlement-Multiculturalism

Throughout the previous 30 years, the number of immigrants in Sweden has increased significantly which makes it a multiethnic society (Wiesbrock, 2011; Bunar,2007). The multicultural approach was adopted in the mid-1970s with three basic goals: equality, freedom of choice, and choice of partnership (Berry et al., 2002; Andersson, 2007). “The 1975 parliamentary conclusion recognized the presence of a linguistically and culturally diverse population” (Andersson, 2007, p. 63). Grounded on the principles of diversity and multiculturalism, Sweden has a fairly liberal policy regarding its immigrant population (Wiesbrock, 2011). Unlike many other countries with assimilationist policies (e.g. Denmark), *multiculturalism was adopted in Sweden* (Wiesbrock, 2011, p.50). According to Berry, the push for uniformity corresponds with the assimilation strategy while diversity and equity objectives are linked closely to the integration and multiculturalism strategies which combines cultural maintenance with inclusive participation (as cited in Berry et al., 2002, p.378) Multiculturalism refers to *the orientation that accepts both the maintenance of cultural identity and characteristics of all ethnocultural groups and the contact and participation of all groups in the larger plural society* (Berry et al. 2002, p.375). Once “the diversity is a commonly accepted characteristic of the entire society involving all the diverse ethnical groups, it is called Multiculturalism” (Berry, 2008, p.332). Berry (1997) indicated that among all the acculturation strategies, integration seems to be the most adaptive strategy. However, integration can be preferred and effectively followed by non-dominant groups only after the dominant society has open and inclusive orientation regarding cultural diversity (Berry 2011).

Multicultural approach sees cultural pluralism as a resource so that inclusiveness is needed to be supported by the encouraging policies and programs (Berry, 2011). Parallel with that, Sweden gradually improved its policy and practices. The new policy aims to provide “equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities for everyone, irrespective of their ethnic and cultural background, social cohesion built on diversity and social development characterized by mutual respect within the boundaries of a democratic society”, in which all the members of the society must play an active and responsible role (Wiesbrock, 2011, p.50). In addition to policies, dominant society, in general, might go through some transformation because the early

dominant group it is exclusion.” (Berry, 2009, p.367). Lastly, as mentioned above, integration, when diversity is a widely accepted feature of the society as a whole, including by all the various ethnocultural groups, it is called multiculturalism.” Thus, the attitudes shown by the dominant society towards the ethnocultural minorities have a great impact on the acculturation process. *Mutual accommodation is required for integration to be attained, involving the acceptance by both groups of the right of all groups to live as culturally different peoples* (Berry, 2009, p.367).

Ethnocultural groups referring to all groups in a larger society who hold cultures and who have equal rights, irrespective of their size or power (Berry, 2011). As presented above, Swedish government made legal attempts to support equal opportunities and multiculturalism among diverse cultural groups. “In such complex plural societies, there is no assumption that some groups should assimilate or become absorbed into another group” (Berry, 2011, p.2.3). Does everybody in the Swedish society, regardless of their ethnic background, has equal opportunities (like employment, accommodation, education etc.)? Do the mainstream society perceive minority cultures as enriching in plural Sweden? From a perspective of minority mothers, answers to these questions will be sought critically grounded on the collected data.

2.3.3 Parental Values and Attitudes

People give diverse meanings to different actions. These meanings or interpretation of the behaviors are a subjective product of individuals’ values. Values are quite hard to specify within the certain boundaries. A particular attitude might be labeled as a “right behavior” by a particular individual whereas it might be wrong for another person. Therefore, the most important values might vary from person to person, family to family or culture to culture. “Values are one important, especially central component of our self and personality, distinct from attitudes, beliefs, norms, and traits. Values are critical motivators of behaviors and attitudes” (Schwartz, 2012, p.17).

Values are meaningfully critical in terms of life choices because of the fact that they provide standards for people’s actions which regulate their day-to-day behaviors (Schönplflug, 2001). Families build up their daily routines under the influence of the values that they internalized. For families with migration background, these routines might be different from the society of origin and the society of settlement since they are exposed to two different value patterns. Therefore, it is expected that they may experience dramatic changes in their values or

challenges to protect their previous values which they had before the migration took place. Values are used to characterize cultural groups, societies, and individuals, to trace change over time, and to explain the motivational bases of attitudes and behavior (Schwartz, 2012). Therefore, parents socialize their children into the values and practices of their society in all cultures (Vedder, Berry, Sabatier, & Sam, 2009). According to Maccoby, the preconditions of being acceptable adults is to develop routines, abilities, values, and motives “that will enable them to: a) avoid deviant behavior; b) contribute, through work, to the economic support of self and family; c) form and sustain close relationship with others; and d) be able to rear children in their turn” (1992, p.1006).

According to Schwartz and Knafo (2001), immigrant parents may have mixed motivations regarding value socialization. Parents’ willingness to socialize their children to values of their culture of origin as well as the values of their new homeland complicates the process of value transmission for them (Schwartz & Knafo, 2001). In addition to that, parents are in concern of the practices seen as normal by the society of settlement which contradicts with the values of their society of origin. Given the challenges immigrant parents face in their host country, it is important to understand their perceptions on and experiences of value transmission process.

2.3.4 Parental Acculturation and Culture

“Studies of childhood socialization need to examine not only parenting practices, which reflect parent–child relationships within micro-systems, but also the perceptions, or ideas, about socialization processes that stem from parents’ macro- environments.” (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Particularly for migrant parents, these macro-environments have diverse impacts on their parenting behaviors. When families migrate to the new culture and parents culture of origin may conflict, leading to stress within the family and parenting problems which may cause children to experience psychological difficulties. The stress linked to migration might be greater where migration is between countries (Daglar, Melhuish & Barnes, 2011), especially between the countries which has great differences in terms of culture since “parenting is shaped by perceptions of intercultural tensions and the dynamics of cultural discrimination in the larger society that influence the survival chances of members of that particular group” (Forehand & Kotchick, 1996, p.192).

According to Fiske, perceptions associated to parenting and socialization are included in the behaviors that are the most resistant to transformation possibly because such best enhanced schemas have a tendency to withstand change (as cited in Bornstein and Cote, 2004). Child-rearing beliefs are considered to be adopted from one's culture of origin; for example, for immigrant mothers, it is adopted from the country from which they immigrated (Bornstein and Cote, 2004). Similarly, when we think of how values are 'transmitted' from one generation to another, the typical notion is that of adults socializing their children, inculcating in their values that are in accordance with those of the parents (Knafo & Galansky, 2008). Although parents usually want to socialize their children with the similar values to their own, it is less likely to be the case for immigrant families with the evidence suggesting that immigration decreases parent-child value similarity (Schwartz & Knafo, 2001). Hence, it might increase the stress of parenting.

3. Methodology

The aim of this study is to understand the maternal perceptions on the values that they perceive as important to transmit and the socialization strategies being used by them as immigrant mothers with a Turkish background. Since they form a specific group of people sharing the similar cultural backgrounds, the current social research has an ethnographic character. Ethnography, simply, “aims to understand another way of life from the natives’ perspective” (Spradley, 1979, p.3). Ethnography as a methodology is concerned with describing people and how their behavior, either as individuals or as a part of a group, is influenced by the culture or subcultures in which they live and move. Firstly, Ethnographic approach was useful in developing interview questions because ethnographic interviews uncover the meaning participant make of their experiences, the context in which they live is a central feature of investigation (Ortiz, 2003, p.37). Since I had been living in Sweden before interviewing, I was familiar with the context so it gave me an advantage. Ethnographic approach is helpful to clarify the culturally shared experiences of Turkish immigrant mothers living in Sweden. In this chapter, the detailed explanation on the choice of the qualitative research methods and the interview as a data collection method are shared. Finally, the method of the analysis of the collected data is clarified.

3.1 Qualitative Research

For this thesis, qualitative research seemed to be a proper way of collecting data because social processes and phenomena are difficult to be measured by numbers through quantitative methods. Whereas, qualitative research is a naturalistic, interpretative approach concerned with understanding the phenomena such as actions, decisions, beliefs, values and so on since people attach different meanings to the phenomena that they experience within their social worlds (Snape & Spencer, 2003). On the contrary, quantitative methods might reduce the chances of exploring the phenomena or the social processes that people undergo due to the fact that it does not give a space for conducting naturalistic inquiry in the real world rather than experimental or controlled settings (Snape & Spencer, 2003). However, qualitative methods enable us to have a deeper understanding of the individual opinions, beliefs and experiences. Additional to the aforementioned motives, qualitative research was more applicable due to the small sample size. Therefore, researcher can focus more on an individual subject and her unique case. Qualitative

data often focus on smaller numbers of people than quantitative data, yet the data tend to be detailed and rich (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). Consistent with the literature, there was a great possibility of having a closer look at the individual experiences for a rich understanding of the process in the current study.

3.1.1 Interviews

The qualitative interviews with open-ended or semi-structured arrangement allows respondents to project their own ways of describing the world which “permits flexibility rather than fixity of sequence of discussions, allowing participants to raise and pursue issues and matters that might not have been included in a pre-devised schedule” (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p.182).

As a distinctive research technique, the interview has been selected for this thesis work. The decision of the research technique is majorly based on the superior merits of interview compared to questionnaires for this particular research design. Besides, interviews allow researching a small sample with the focus on deeper understanding of personal opinions since the characteristic of this study is to see the maternal values influenced by the new moral codes of the host country combined with the values of home country and perceived risks in a migration context. It is argued that the open-ended interviews enable respondents to demonstrate their unique way of looking at the world by giving their individual definition of the situation. Since what is a suitable sequence of questions for one respondent might be less suitable for another (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007), semi structured open-ended interviews give you a flexibility to move between the questions based on the respondents’ character. Similarly, I have moved in between the questions accordingly to the direction of the conversation during the interviews.

It is suggested that considerations on opportunities for response-keying, opportunities for asking and probing, rate of return and relative magnitude of data reduction provides better opportunities to the researcher (Tuckman, 1972 as cited in Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). On the other hand, the number of respondents who can be reached and overall reliability are rather limited. Considering the benefits, drawbacks, available time and possibilities; semi-structured and in-depth interviews have been used as the primary source of information which have been collected direct bearing in the research objectives. Below, detailed information about

the interview procedure, characteristics of the research sample and a broad picture of research field can be found. The data gathered will be largely perception based.

3.1.2 Reliability and Validity

Reliability refers to “the replicability of research findings and whether or not they would be repeated if another study, using the same or similar methods, was undertaken” (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003, p.270). In other words, reliability relates to the question of repeatability of the findings by other researchers or by the same researcher under similar conditions at another time and place. Nevertheless, it is important to note that there are different standards for achieving reliability in quantitative methodologies and in qualitative methodologies. Reliability in qualitative methodologies, according to Cohen, Manion and Morrison “includes fidelity to real life, context- and situation-specificity, authenticity, comprehensiveness, detail, honesty, depth of response and meaningfulness to the respondents.” (2007, p.150). Therefore, accomplishing reliability is particularly problematic in qualitative studies. It is because of the nature of the interviewing method that “there might be as many different interpretations of the qualitative data as there are researchers” as suggested by Kvale in 1996 (as cited in Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p. 149). Cohen et al. even claimed that “two researchers who are studying a single setting may come up with very different findings but both sets of findings might be reliable. In case someone would want to repeat the study, the process of the particular research including all the materials and the methods are elaborated step by step.

Validity, on the other hand, refers to the questions asked in the interviews seem in such a way that they are measuring what they claim to measure (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). For this particular study, answers to the designed interview questions (shared in the appendix) were more than enough to get a reply for all the research questions. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007), minimizing the amount of bias as much as possible is the most useful approach of achieving greater validity. These bias are grounded on the characteristics of the interviewer, the characteristics of the respondent, and the substantive content of the questions (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). “Validity of content analysis is achieved through thoroughly understanding the research objectives, preliminary reading of a sub-set of relevant content” (Macnamara, 2005, p.12). From the perspective of the researcher, in order to provide validity, attempts were made to minimize the possible bias. According to Ritchie and Lewis

(2003), validity should be criticized based on the adequacy of the proof proposed in support of the phenomena being explained because it can never be known with certainty that an account is accurate because we have no independent and entirely reliable access to 'reality'.

3.1.3 Generalizability

The present study is a small scale study conducted with a few interviewees. Due to the fact that it is an in-depth study of small sample, individual experiences of single informants are under investigation. It might remain limited to generalize a qualitative study since it is mostly focusing on individual incidents of randomly picked samples. This study neither can be generalized to the large population nor aims to have a generalizable conclusion but its objective is to have a deeper understanding of these unique and individual cases. Despite the fact that the extent of generalization is a significant criterion by which the convenience or value of a research study is judged, there might also be significance in single studies that cannot be generalized (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003).

3.2 Sampling Technique

In the study, snowballing or chain sampling technique was pursued since “it is a particularly useful approach for dispersed and small populations” (Ritchie, Lewis & El am, 2003, p.94). These terminologies are used for a method which implicates in requesting previously interviewed people to identify other people they know who is suitable to the selection standards (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003).

I have contacted a man who thought that his wife could answer better because, generally, she is taking care of the most of the things related to their children so he led me to his wife. By using her contact, I have reached the participants. There are two aspects to underline here. First of all, the study was targeting both male and female participants when it was designed in the beginning. After all, only female participants took part in the study. The reason might be the gender of the researcher which is female or the traditional gender roles of parenting as mothers taking care of children. Another important issue which needs to be stated is the possible limitation of snowball sampling. Unfortunately, the possibility of having participants with quite similar values and demographic characteristics is very high because of the fact that participants are all rather familiar with one another. Two of my participants are related to this social

friendship group. In the light of these information, my participants would be afraid and might not share some of their true feelings in the interviews.

3.2.1 Research Field

When I decided on the research method, I did not imagine it to be this difficult to find participants since I identify myself with them as being an expat with Turkish background living in Sweden. However, it is significant to understand the socio-politic context of the time that the research was carried out. My study was affected by the recent events happened both in Turkey and in the world. To begin with the worldwide incidents, there were many Islamic terrorist attacks happening in the big cities within Europe including Stockholm (2017 Stockholm attack), Sweden which emerged a contradictory debate related to the migration and migrants especially the ones with Muslim beliefs. Probably, it affected my study as there was a growing fear towards being labeled which will be explained further below.

I have conducted my study a couple of months later the military coup attempt in Turkey in 15th of July, 2016 which is claimed and officially accepted to be done by a religious group named “Gülen Movement” or “FETÖ”. After the attempt, government declared the state of emergency in order to detect the members of this terrorist group. Therefore, there is a growing fear of being labeled as a member of a terrorist group in Turkish society. This fear is beyond the Turkish lands. As a researcher, I have faced with it when I tried to contact possible participants. It was very difficult and sometimes impossible to convince people that my only intention is to do a scientific research.

In order to conduct a few interviews, I was invited to a social meeting of a group of Turkish women. I went to a neighborhood in Gothenburg which is known to be migrant populated area. Most of the women in the meeting were living in the same area. After a while, when I have conducted my first interview in a private room and just started with my other interviewee, two of them get into a room without even knocking the door. One of them was my previous interviewee. They started to ask me questions about my purpose and they told me about their fears to be labeled. When I have told them that I have nothing to do with the Turkish government because my research will be published by the University of Gothenburg (GU). Besides, I was awarded with a scholarship not from any Turkish organizations but from the

GU. I told this information to comfort them and make sure them that I am going to keep their identities as anonym as it is supposed to be in every ethical research project. I was only interested in their ideas and perceptions related to values in a changing context as parents. They left the room and come back again after discussing it with the other women in the next room. Then, they told me that it is still not okay that you are doing this study for a Swedish university because they were believing that Swedish government is trying to detect parents who are raising their children with Islamic ways. According to them, the “social” would take their children. By saying social, they were referring to Swedish authorities handling mistreatment towards children.

Although I tried to explain them that religion is a private matter and state cannot interrupt individuals’ private lives and take their children away from them just because of their religious beliefs as long as they do not abuse their children. However, one of the interviewee wanted to withdraw after we completed the interview and the others did not want to participate. As far as I understood, they felt uncomfortable because of the requirement of audio recording of the interview and informed consent form which they should have written their names and sign it as a requirement of an ethical research. From that meeting of more than 10 women, only one of them was agreed to conduct the interview and she was a student at the university who knew the procedure of conducting an ethical research. The one who withdrawn was even behaved as I am an unreliable person by insisting on deleting the audio record of the interview while she was watching the screen of my mobile phone.

Other 2 women that I had tried to contact via telephone did not respond to my messages either positively or negatively. Another woman said that she will get back to me when she has time to meet with me but I have not heard from her since that day. Given these points, I decided to keep my sample rather small and focus more on their personal stories and experiences in order to understand the whole picture of being an acculturating mother.

As a final remark, the incidents happened while I was collecting my data obviously proves that, one way or another, those women are feeling insecure. There might be many reasons for it which is not a focus of this paper. However, it clearly gives a picture of the psychological worlds of those women. It is also important to note that, somehow, acculturating mothers might be felt by the majority culture that as if their parenting is not welcomed in Sweden and their

practices might be even perceived as wrong or at least those women look like having a fear of being criticized by the dominant culture of raising a kid.

3.2.2 Characteristics of Participants

All the participants have similar backgrounds. They were born in Konya, Turkey and migrated to Sweden later in their lives. Two of them had arrived Sweden when they were at their early 20s after getting married to migrant men with Turkish background. One of them had come to Sweden in her early childhood years as her father was employed by a Swedish company during the intensive worker migration in 1960s. Additionally, they are all married. While one of them has a single child, the other two has three children. Having been fluent in Swedish, each of them has a job. Due to the fact that it is a very close group of people, there is a high risk of being identified. Therefore, pseudonyms are used in order to protect the identities of the participants. Besides, the stated ages of the participants and their children are the approximate numbers which are not far from the reality.

3.3 Data Collection

A semi-structured interview guide has been prepared considering the *prompts* and *probes* as Morrison suggested (as cited in Cohen et al., 2007). Prompts are designed to clarify topics to be discussed and specific possible questions were prepared for each topic. Probes are designed to extend, motivate and clarify the responses; however, probes have been used rather simultaneously (according to dynamics of the situation) in order to ensure that information from the respondents is *deep* and *open* (Cohen et al., 2007). In terms of openness, the interview guide was not strictly followed, since responses could easily differentiate significantly from one respondent to another. The deepness of the interview is in a sense that topics defined according to the guide are covered in detail unless the participants were not eager to talk about the particular issue.

In total 3 Turkish mothers were interviewed once over the course of the study. One of four withdrawn from the study for the reasons explained above. Each interview took around 50 to 80 minutes with minimal interference and occurred face to face at the places that interviewer and the participant agreed beforehand. The language for the interviews were Turkish. Notes were taken during the interviews while the whole conversations are tape recorded. Recorded

audio data is in total about 4 hours long which also includes pre-instructions and post-instructions. Interview transcripts were generated by listening the recorded audio files again and by writing the dialogues manually meaning that no software aid has been used. Moreover, it appears significant to point out that the researcher is a female international student at the University of Gothenburg. Thus, by clarity, as a researcher, I, myself, am a migrant in Sweden too. This fact might have maintained an environment for migrant mothers to speak open about their feelings and opinions on the process of raising children in an acculturation context.

3.3.1 Procedure

The typical way for assessing psychological concepts is to ask individuals to provide self-reports on their attitudes, values or behaviors (Fischer, 2006). The interviews were conversational style open-ended, semi-structured, and included questions about demographic characteristics and background of the participants. Open-ended questions were used so that the participants could elaborate on narratives and experiences, rather than give short answers (see the appendix for interview questions). In addition to that, interview questions were designed to cover the research questions and literature review. Averaging these self-reports, an estimate of the approximate level of that specific psychological construct within the chosen group is being investigated. Furthermore, “Interviews allow the respondents to reflect and reason on a variety of subjects in a different way than say opinion polls or party manifestos” (Folkestad, 2008, p.1).

Interviews took place in the different places as one of them in a participant’s house, and the other one was in the public café. However, one of the interviews was done in a crowded Turkish women’s meeting mentioned above so it was interrupted couple of times even though we were in another room alone. Due to the fact that all of the participants were native Turkish speakers, the language used in the interviews was Turkish.

3.3.2 Ethical Considerations

Researchers have a serious responsibility on the ethics when the study involves human subjects. Ethics are one of the main foundations of a successful research. It guaranties the rights of the researchers, the research and the participants involved in the research. The research carried out in Sweden is controlled and the rights of the participants are protected by Swedish research council (Swedish Research Council, 2011). The current study is carried out in suitability with

the Swedish research council and the Personal Data Commission policy statement for ethical conduct for research involving human. The Personal Data Act aims to protect the personal data including all kinds of information which is directly or indirectly related to a natural person who is alive (Swedish Ministry of Justice, 2006).

Considering the ethical responsibility, there will not be anyone else except me to have access to the collected data and deal with the raw data. In other words, I will be the only controller of the data. According to The Personal Data Act, the participants should be given a consent which means that every kind of voluntary, specific and unambiguous expression of will, by which the registered person, after the receipt of information, accepts the processing of personal data concerning him/her (Swedish Ministry of Justice 2006).

In this research, participants are well-informed about the study at the beginning of the interview. Since it is planned to be an anonymous data, their names will be anonymous. It is ensured that the study will not violate the anonymity and dignity of any participant. Individuals' rights and values will be prioritized. Additional to anonymity, participation, in this study, was voluntary. Moreover, they have given the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview and withdraw from the study. All the participants were given the letter of consents beforehand to make sure that they understand the extent of the study. It included clear information about participation that their involvement was voluntary and that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any time. In another form named "Consent for Participation in Interview Research", they received the detailed information concerning the interview process. The original texts were prepared in English and approved by the supervisor, and then; they have been translated into Turkish by me. Participants received the Turkish versions. English versions of both "Letter of consent" and "Consent for Participation in Interview Research" can be found in the Appendix. Additionally, I maintained participant anonymity by withholding information that may reveal the identity of the participants, in research publications including the participants' names. This study is carried out with respect to Swedish policy concerning ethical considerations involving humans.

3.4 Analysis

Opposite to quantitative analysis, clearly agreed rules or procedures for analyzing qualitative data do not exist (Ritchie, Lewis & O'Connor, 2003). Qualitative data analysis involves organizing, accounting for and explaining the data; in short, making sense of data in terms of the participants' definitions of the situation, noting patterns, themes, categories and regularities (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). Data reduction is a key element of qualitative analysis, one common procedure for achieving this is content analysis which simply defines the process of summarizing and reporting written data – the main contents of data and their messages. “In qualitative data the analysis here is almost inevitably interpretive, hence the data analysis is less a completely accurate representation (as in the numerical, positivist tradition) but more of a reflexive, reactive interaction between the researcher and the decontextualized data that are already interpretations of a social encounter” (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p.469).

3.4.1 Qualitative Content Analysis

In this study, content analysis method is employed. *Content analysis in which both the content and context of documents are analysed: themes are identified, with the researcher focusing on the way the theme is treated or presented and the frequency of its occurrence* (Ritchie, Lewis & O'Connor, 2003, p.200). Any types of recorded communication such as the transcripts of interviews can be the object of (qualitative) content analysis (Mayring, 2000). The meanings in transcripts can be subjective and are placed in specific contexts, discourses, and purposes (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). Therefore, content analysis involves coding and categorizing for creating meaningful categories of the transcriptions; then, comparing those categories and making links between them; and finally, drawing theoretical conclusions from the text (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). The purpose of this technique is to offer information and understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. Content analysis can be done by using one of the three different approaches. What is employed for this particular study is directed content analysis which enables researchers to start by classifying key concepts or variables as preliminary coding categories using existing theory or previous research (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). According to Hsieh and Shannon, all of the approaches to qualitative content analysis need a similar methodical procedure of seven standard stages which are “including formulating the research questions to be answered, selecting the sample to be analyzed, defining the categories to be applied, outlining the coding process and the coder

training, implementing the coding process, determining trustworthiness, and analyzing the results of the coding process” (2005, p.1285). Hence, in this study, the data is analyzed by developing detailed explanations of the data based on the chosen method of analysis.

3.4.2 Coding Acculturation Strategies

“The success of a content analysis depends greatly on the coding process” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p.1285). Thus, it is significant to formulate the accurate codes depending on the research question and the theory pursued. After adequate knowledge is obtained from the mothers navigating between conflicting demands of two cultures, comprehensive picture of the acculturation experience of the mothers and its outcomes will be presented in the next chapter by dividing them into relevant categories. Acculturation strategies or orientations refers *to what extent the individuals maintain heritage cultures and identities and to what extent individuals involve in and contact with the other cultural groups those who are outside their group and participate with them in the daily life of the larger society* (Sam & Berry, 2010, p.476). Berry (2001) suggests that, along with various other domains, the most common domains to assess process of acculturation are the ones relevant to intercultural relations such as language use, food preference, parent-child relations. Based on the data collected and the given model of acculturation, relevant domains are created. Therefore, two primary issues that has to be considered are cultural maintenance, and contact and participation. Several sub-categories will be coded under these two main categories. The coding process for the study began by reading the transcript and highlighting all the texts that on first impression appears to represent one of two main categories. The goal of the research is to identify and categorize all instances related to parenting among acculturating mothers. Then, by using different colors, the existing texts under two main categories have been divided into subcategories. Any text that could not be categorized with the initial coding scheme would be given a new code (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Therefore, as it is suggested by Hsieh and Shannon (2005), the rest of the relevant data that has considered to be important is given a new code under different emerging category.

4. Data Analysis and Presentation of Findings

Since the focus of this paper is subjective perceptions and experiences of acculturating mothers related to living in an unfamiliar society, citations from the interviews are used frequently in the analysis in order to give a comprehensive picture of the participants' insights. In this section, the data will be coded by considering the "contact" as the key element. Given the opinions of the mothers, interpretations will be made by sticking to Berry's acculturation model. Preferences with respect to cultural maintenance, and contact and participation with the larger society lead to the adoption of four different acculturation strategies that Berry terms assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization. These orientations are bound up with the extent to which the individual balances the two issues of culture maintenance and contact (Sam & Berry, 2010). Another significant issue to mention is the nature of the texts taken directly from the transcripts. Because of the fact that the interviews were held in Turkish, transcripts were also in Turkish. For that reason, the texts shared below are my personal translations of the transcripts. Given these points, direct quotations from the translated materials are shared below in order to keep the meanings as much as possible.

4.1 Cultural Maintenance

To what extent are cultural identity and characteristics considered to be important for the participants and how they are trying to provide their maintenance will be discussed in this part. By referring to some of the conversations from the interviews, the most important issues emerged from the data are shared below.

4.1.1 Language of the Home Country

All the participants emphasized the importance of learning the host country's language but at the same time preserving the language of their home country. As Berry (2001) states in his acculturation model, preserving own language and learning the local language are important components of acculturation. Emerging data related to language was divided into two which are learning Swedish and preserving Turkish. Participants perceive language as crucial for both maintaining their own cultural values and ethnic identity by maintaining Turkish and for integrating into the Swedish society by learning Swedish. Here, their eagerness to preserve the language of their home country is presented. They want to maintain Turkish language and

transfer it to their children in order to stay connected to their home country. On the other hand, they give a great importance to learn Swedish and teach it to the younger generations.

One of the participants stated that the maintenance of home country's language is very difficult for her but she is willing to preserve it:

At home, I actually want to speak Kurdish myself and also teach Turkish to my children but it is not happening because my Turkish is not well enough. Suddenly, we start speaking Swedish. In fact, I got angry with myself because of this reason. It is not right. It feels easier to speak Swedish. I don't want to but [...]

[Lale, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

In their private domain, they experience difficulty to preserve their languages. On the contrary, it feels comfortable for them to speak Swedish at home. Therefore, she has a fear of her children being like Swedes which will result in losing their language, religion and culture.

You do not feel it when you are young but after 40s you start thinking what is my religion? You want to listen to your music. You want to learn more about your culture and became more connected to it and to your religion. It would be different for my children because they are more adapted to here than me [...] my fear is that they become more Swedish... not becoming Swedish actually but forget your own culture, to forget your religion and language [...]

[Lale, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

It is important to state that some participants tend to have different acculturation orientations among private life and public life areas in terms of acculturation orientation. As they prefer speaking Turkish in their private lives, Swedish is spoken mostly outside of their houses. The public domain in which cultural adaptation (integration) is favored, the private domain in which cultural maintenance (separation) is chosen. One of the participants stated:

I was scared that my child will be separated from his own language. Whenever I look at the kids around me they speak half Turkish, half Swedish and I did not want this to happen to my child because we always say that a child who does not know his own language, can only learn other languages as no better than a street language [...] now s/he can differentiate the languages very well when I go to school, s/he speaks Turkish with me and Swedish with his/her teachers or at home sometimes I accidentally use Swedish words and my child says “Svenska (Swedish) cannot be spoken at home mum!

[Yasemin, in her 30s, having a child]

As it can be understood from the conversation above, each language has its own proper place, time and the person to be used. It is a sign of different orientations in the public domain and the private domain. Since it can be difficult to keep connected to your language, especially for the children who have spend the entire life in Sweden, parents have to develop strategies to avoid possible risk of losing the language of the home country or not being able to speak it properly:

My child is attending a preschool owned by Turks [...] when s/he first started, s/he was only 15 months old and s/he could not even talk a lot. For a year, only Turkish was spoken to him/her because I did not want him/her to be scared. Then, they switched to Swedish.

[Yasemin, in her 30s, having a child]

Gül is an active member of and has a leading role in one of the association formed to gather women with Turkish ethnicity.

With the voluntary mothers, we gave Turkish language courses in the weekends. Children who speak Turkish came together (there).

[Gül, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

The association is a place where they come together with the women that they identify themselves with. There, they have a chance to support each other in diverse areas one of which is language support.

4.1.2 Religion

Transmitting religious beliefs and religious cultures appear to be quite important in terms of various issues particularly in a context dominated by other belief systems. “Religious identity refers to the extent to which a person feels connected to his/her religion and interprets religion as part of his/her identity and religious socialization refers to parental attempts to transmit their religious beliefs, ideas, and related behavioral requirements to their children.” (Ekmekci-Baydar, 2014, p.17). As it was stated by the mothers, religion seems to have a big influence in other domains of everyday life like food choices and partner selection. Unquestionably, mothers have some special activities to transmit their religious identities.

I take my child to the mosque since s/he was 3 years old. Every Sunday, we go there. I cannot say anything like this is my perspective but I believe we must live that way. Knowing that the dead is there at the end, it is not okay to accept it as it (death) does not exist.

[Yasemin, in her 30s, having a child]

She believes that it is not about having different perspectives or views regarding religion but it is a common fact that cannot be changed. She does not accept religion as subjective that can differ from person to person. Furthermore, she continues with adding the following statement:

[...] I mean since we are coming from a certain religious background, my perspective on this issue is a bit strict. Dependent on this issue, my child's friendship with other people is the biggest fear of mine.

[Yasemin, in her 30s, having a child]

This statement will be discussed further in the section concerning the risks associated with the contact. Although the same mother indicated her happiness towards the importance of learning the language that connects her and her child to the people with various backgrounds, it also brings the risk related to losing their own culture including religious identities.

Lale mentioned that she does not know much about the religion which she reads about to educate herself. Furthermore, she realized the importance of the religion after reaching to the certain age.

I did not know about my religion in the past. Now, I read about it [...] now, I feel how important Islam is, I mean it has an important place. I teach it to my children. But I do not want to teach them in the way I learned it. When I was a child, we were learning this is sin, that is wrong and so on. Then, it is not you put a distance to religion but also you do not interest in that area.

[Lale, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

Lale continues with a liberating idea about religion. She criticizes the way how religion is pursued commonly among the Muslim society which she refuses to teach her children. She believes that religion is manipulated to limit women's roles in the society and she have an egalitarian tendency in terms of religious values.

It became like a religion of men. I mean everything is okay for men and when it comes to women, everything is forbidden, sin, hell. Then, you react on it. I do not want to teach my children that way. I want to teach them in a better way and better sides of religions.

[Lale, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

Acculturating mother seems to criticize the religious endorsement of patriarchal structures and traditions. As Sweden known to be gender equal country, she might be affected by the equality value of Swedish society. Additionally, she wants to transmit these to her children.

Religion also affects the parental rules that parents make their children obligated to obey even though the expected regulation is very personal.

I mean for me it is the same to be friend with boys or girls but I think this way if they are having a romantic relationship. According to our (religious) belief, you cannot have sexual intercourse outside of the marriage. For that reason, think about it before when you are having a relationship. You can go to the cinema, to the picnic or do other activities but, forward looking, when you think of getting married, then, I mean, I would say embrace that girl, do not upset her. I don't want neither my daughter nor any other girl to be sad.

[Gül, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

Physical contact with the opposite sex including sexual activities outside of marriage are indeed a big sin in Islamic belief which is also connected to purity, mostly for females. From above, it is not really clear if she only meant her son because, in between the conversation, she mentions about embracing the girl that his son is together. Yet, she has very liberating ideas which might be the result of acculturation. She, actually, is not thinking in a very traditional way in terms of friendship with the opposite sex. It is perceived as okay to have some romantic relationship with the opposite sex. However, there are still some boundary or limit to that relationship which is decided by the religious beliefs, and in the end, it has transformed into a parental rule.

Religion appears to be playing a big role, among many other determinants, for choosing a partner for their children. In the collectivist cultures, it is quite important to get the approval of the parents for the person with whom one wants to get married. One of the mothers, for example, explained how her daughter chose her husband.

[...] I said too early, please study. I really wanted her to study but she did not. Her dream was to be a housewife and a mother since her childhood [...] When she chose her husband, she came to me and said ‘mom you wanted him to be university graduate, he is. You said he should know both his religion and culture, and he should live here and know here (Sweden), he is exactly like that. As you wanted him to be, he is more mature than me, he has a job, he has good morals, and he is a person who is appreciated by other, they all exist together.

[Gül, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

Knowing the religion, probably, refers to the knowledge of religious doctrines and applying them into your life. It is one of the significant factors which has an influence on the partner choice as religion is emphasized to be one of the major motives for choosing a wife or husband. Additional to religion, it can be seen that the daughter decides accordingly to her mother’s criteria or her criteria for choosing her own life partner might be affected by her mother’s ideas.

4.1.3 Contact with Home Country Nationals

In this section, participants’ relations with other people migrated from Turkey and with their family members living in Sweden will be investigated further. As mentioned above, migrants might have different acculturation orientations for their private and public domains. Among

their social contacts in their private lives, building a friendship with the home country nationals is preferred. It seems that they feel close to the people that they identify themselves with. They even perceive their friends with Turkish ethnicity as a family.

[...] here we build our own circle of friends but depending on the occasion they become more important than the family because I do not have any close or far blood relatives here. I have my husband, his family and neighbors. I am living in a neighborhood where more or less 13- 14 Turkish families are living [...] you become a family. They know everything about you and you know everything about them. I mean most of their parents are in Turkey. For that reason, it is easier to be attached to each other.

[Yasemin, in her 30s, having a child]

Significantly, one of the interviewee mentioned the fact that they still keep close family ties which is an outcome of collective family culture common to the eastern societies. For her close relations with her family and friends, she says:

Our family is very crowded here. We visit each other's homes [...] we have an active social life here but; for example, it is just him/her (refers to a Swede) alone and maybe one or two friends here. S/he does not know anyone else. It is not like that for us [...] Since 1966, my family (referring to her husband's family) have been living here so our surrounding is very crowded.

[Gül, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

Lastly, Lale stated that she often calls and goes to see her mother every week.

The things that I didn't care like culture, like respecting elders. I didn't care visiting older family members but, somehow, I go back to my old culture as I grew older. I want to, I miss. For example, I visit my mother week after week [...] I call them frequently which I did not used to do.

[Lale, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

In fact, she did not feel it necessary in the past but she realized the importance of it as she grew older. It might be related to the collectivism which pose a risk toward old-age security value. Since she grew older, she might be afraid of being left alone. She even specified that she

emphasizes on the importance of visiting parents, or calling them frequently to her children which is elaborated more under the title of “Strategies to cope with possible risks”. In short, she seems to seek for more contact which also means that she is trying to keep collectivism rather than individualism. It is also important to mention here that Lale was the youngest of all to come to Sweden (she moved to Sweden in her early childhood years).

4.1.4 Own Food

As it emerged from the conversations, food appeared to be important for several motives. The main reasons behind the food choices are the religious requirements and seeking for the familiar tastes. As it is stated by Gül, food choices based on religious reasons has effects on diverse domains of their lives.

[...] and as coming from Turkey, I did not know about here (Sweden) and I did not want my children to be ashamed of me. Therefore, I started to work at the kindergarten in order to learn what they are doing there. There were foods, I have been asked: Is s/he eating meat? Is s/he a vegetarian? And I wondered a lot. I applied to work at the kitchen of the kindergarten to see how these foods are being prepared. I started to work at the main kitchen. I believe that I explained the right way of dining according to our beliefs to the people that I worked with. They were having a dilemma about it. For example, some eats cow meat, some of them only don't eat pork. For my kids, they did not eat any meat at all but they ate only the fish and vegetarian foods at the school. However, they eat everything at home. Halal food is very important for me. For that reason, I involved in this job.

[Gül, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

The food preference is not only related to culture but also related to religious beliefs that plays an important and superior role in food choices. She chose to work in the preschool where her children were studying due to the fact that the people who cooks there, were not aware of the requirements of the halal food. Therefore, it even affected her carrier choice. Along with the food preference, it also shows that she is in contact with the locals or other third nations. Subsequent to contact, there is a cultural exchange that can happen among two or more cultural systems. Berry (2005) underlines that acculturation is not only concerns the changes in migrant

attitudes but it also covers the changes in the locals' behaviors as a result of contact. Here, the migrant diet obviously affected the local habits.

The other significant motive is that they feel longing of the taste of their home countries. One indicated that:

Turkish restaurants increased in the last 2-3 years. Before then, it was only the pizzerias that we can go. To be honest, I could not trust and eat the food in the other places. But here, we bake our own bread, and also; we prepare the other things in order to find the same taste (the taste that she had back in Turkey) [...]

[Gül, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

The reason that she does not trust the other restaurants is because of the religious requirements regarding foods eaten. As she stated in the interview, she is a Muslim woman who tries to avoid eating the foods which are inappropriate according to Islamic beliefs. Additionally, she touched on the unfamiliar tastes of foods. That is why she feels the necessity of preparing her own foods for her family. Another participant also mentioned the similar issues:

[...] I still could not get used to the taste of the bread here so that we bake our own bread at home. You see, we even make a pizza at home. Therefore, I feel like a manual laborer. For example, I finished working around 16:00, I get back home, went to my neighbor for a cup of coffee; then, I came home, prepared the food and now, I am here.

[Yasemin, in her 30s, having a child]

It feels like they are experiencing difficulty with the foods that they eat which is a very important part of peoples' lives and the food is an important component of a culture. It can be interpreted that the participants quite connected to their food culture for diverse reasons. Furthermore, the necessity of the preparing all the foods that could be bought directly from the stores if they were living in Turkey, living in Sweden puts additional work on mothers. In other words, they perceive more pressure on them as women because of the extra work requirement. Having being mentioned by all the participants, gender roles in the acculturating Turkish migrant household appeared to be an important category which will be discussed further in this paper.

There are different kinds of foods prepared for diverse special days in each cultures that becomes a tradition at the end. For example, certain foods are specifically cooked for Christmas and Easter. In Turkish culture, the Ramadan Feast and the Sacrifice Feast are celebrated as those days are nationwide holidays to gather with the entire family. Lale mentioned that they meet up as a family to celebrate the feasts.

Entire family gathers. We cook meat. We celebrate our feasts. It is also (in addition to celebrating Swedish feasts) important for me. When it is the Ramadan, I ask if they (children) want to try fasting.

[Lale, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

Even tough they live in another culture and they celebrate Swedish feasts, she still tries to keep her home country's religious feast. Those kinds of special days are good reasons to meet with family and friends (contact with home country nationals) and cook familiar foods that are unique to those days. For the feast of sacrifice, it is very important to share the meat of the animal being sacrificed. Similarly, the feast of Ramadan is closely related to the food due to the nature of the Ramadan which is a month spent by fasting. Because of that, I find it significant to categorize under the "Own food" sub-category which could have been mentioned under the "Contact with home country nationals" sub-category.

4.1.5 Strategies to Cope with Possible Risks in an Acculturation Context

As mentioned earlier in the 'society of origin section', in compare to the western family model, the eastern cultures like Turkish culture differ in family values and practices. All of the mothers participated in the study was worried that their children would become more individualized just like the individualistic Swedish families. The biggest risk of raising children in an acculturating context which is Sweden, is to fail to maintain collectivism. Therefore, they have some certain techniques to protect and maintain their cultures. One of the participants mentioned the requirement of respect to the elder family members.

When we visit my parents, I teach them to kiss their hands. Sometimes, my daughter lays down when my dad enters to the room and I say to her 'get yourself together, show some respect' [...] Children imitate you. Sometimes when I call my parents. I tell them that I

called my mother and ask for her well-being [...] Sometimes, I cook food for my mum. You (her children) bring it to her (they live in the same neighborhood). Frankly speaking, I make them do it on purpose because, in the future, they understand why I do it. At the same time, they will understand and come back to me. As they say, sometimes, Swedes say that they learn not by speaking but by doing. I try to teach them by doing.

[Lale, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

Above, some cultural motives can be seen. As a requirement of collective families, it is very important to show respect to the elder members of the family. Kissing the hand of the elders is a motive of respect in the cultures of Turkey including Kurdish culture. Moreover, as it is a patriarchal culture, it is quite important that women behave properly according to the cultural codes when the males are around, especially near elder males. Additional to expected respect values, she awaits her children to visit and call her frequently when they grow older. Although she stated in the interview that she wants her children to develop autonomy, she also expects conformity like respect and obedience. She might be influenced by the collectivistic values of her home culture as well as by the values of the individualistic Sweden that she has lived in for the most of her life. Another mother feels that her child's interaction with others can be a treat for protecting their religious beliefs but, at the same time, she has her own way to deal with the risk.

The foundation! Whatever you fix the foundation the less change will happen in the future. I think of a child as it is a house. If I build the foundation, or somehow the walls or the columns are placed, some rooms can change, maybe some of the inside walls can be taken off. It can be decorated again but when you look from outside, it will always be the same building I think.

[Yasemin, in her 30s, having a child]

What she does to avoid losing their religious values is to educate her child starting from the very early ages as she takes her child to the mosque every Sundays. She encourages her child to learn Arabic by registering him to a language school. Other participant indicated that there is no punishment which can make children listen to you. What is important is to approach them by your heart to their heart. Gül says:

The biggest punishment that I give to my son was to ask him sit for 5 minutes [...] my father-in-law was saying get up my son, I am here, she cannot do anything. 'No my mom said 5 minutes, it is not over yet. I cannot get up before she come'. He (father-in-law) was going crazy, asking how can you make him listen to you, how? But I never approach by scaring them. I approach with his heart. Because he knew I would be sad if he got up [...] if you approach by heart and love. That love never finishes. On the contrary, it grows bigger. When he grows older, he will try to do as you ask him to do something that way.

[Gül, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

The participant above mentions the emotional connection between children and the parents. She also told that you cannot make them do things when they become 1.80 cm long grown adults. Her approach to deal with the risk of being in contact with an individualistic culture which gives autonomy that poses a risk for obedience, was to build emotional connection. It leads child to decide his/her actions based on the idea of avoiding his/her parents to be upset instead of choosing what to do based on his/her own will. It arrives at the conclusion that the collective family culture is one of the values that the participants want to maintain. Finally, this section is bringing together the elements of home country language, religion, food culture and it presents the maternal methods in order to protect those elements from being degenerated or disappeared in the next generation.

4.2 Intercultural Contact and Participation

In the following section, the findings related to the statements of participant mothers concerning the contact to the local people or other third nationals and their participation in the Swedish society.

4.2.1 Language of the Host Country

The knowledge of the host countries language is an important component of participation and contact. Without the common language, it is almost impossible to contact with the locals and to understand the cultural symbols of the host society. Therefore, communication with the locals has a great significance in the acculturation process. Good language proficiency is argued to be associated with increased interaction with members of the new culture, and a decrease in

sociocultural maladaptation (Sam & Berry, 2010). The participant mothers are aware of the importance of learning Swedish in order to survive in the host country.

One of the participants stated the power of language as below:

[...] When I look at it, my son can get along with people having different languages. They learn a lot from each other. Looking from that perspective, it is good, I mean it is also good to have friends from one culture but getting along with different people is very good. I can say the same thing for me, I mean when I first arrived here (Sweden), I only kept Turkish people around me. Now, I have Iranian, Albanian, Arab, Somalian friends and even more [...] being able to communicate with the people from diverse ethnicities is very good. Sometimes I look at my class, 12- 13 different nationals are present there. I really like the idea that I can even communicate to a Chinese friend in Swedish.

[Yasemin, in her 30s, having a child]

All of the participants were fluent Swedish speakers who were thinking that the learning Swedish is very important for their lives in Sweden. Being able to speak Swedish is not only affecting them but also their parental behaviors and their relationship with their children. One of the participant underlined the importance of the language as follows:

Anyway I think you should be learning the language first in order to provide your children's expectations, be sufficient for them, be more social with them outside and to plan their futures.

[Gül, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

Participants also mentioned the importance of language from a different perspective. It seems crucial as they feel being part of this country in a nationalist perspective.

[...] I live here; I earn my life here. I mean it is my homeland (Vatan) and I am a Swedish citizen. Therefore, of course Swedish language is my mother tongue in a way.

In order to explain myself, or even going to a hospital in the case of need, I have to know Swedish. Or else, I will need to walk around with a translator for the rest of my life.

[Yasemin, in her 30s, having a child]

Language is a vital factor in contacting the locals and participating actively in the society. Appel and Mysken (1987) suggested that minority people might adopt the mainstream language as their regular instrument of communication, mostly due to the expectancy of speaking majority language offers better possibilities for upward social mobility and economic achievement (as cited in Bagci, 2012). One of the informants highlights that:

When the language is learned, working life comes. Once you are into the working life, you start communicating with Swedes and building friendship. You observe. But if you do not have the language, it is hard to involve in the working life. Even if you get into the working life, you have certain jobs like cleaning which does not require communication and the people that you work with are mostly from your own culture.

[Lale, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

What she emphasizes here is related to the contact as well. Due to the lack of Swedish language skills, individuals chooses to work in the jobs where it is not required from them to speak Swedish so that they do not have any contact with the locals. Indeed, it is most likely that they will be surrounded by their home country nationals which will limit their social connections with the Swedes. “Language attrition is conceived of as a movement along a continuum ranging from language maintenance to language loss in a number of domains such as work, school and home. The changing process occurs gradually or more rapidly, sometimes taking many years or generations” (Bagci, 2012, p.15).

4.2.2 Learning the Local Culture

Having mentioned the cultural distance between the two cultures in contact, there is a need for greater culture learning (Berry, 1997). Otherwise, large differences might trigger negative

intergroup attitudes which often results in poorer adaptation (Berry, 1997). Overall, the findings concerning the attitudes of the participant mothers towards culture learning shows their eagerness to learn mainstream culture. Participants make an effort to learn some of the motives of the Swedish culture such as Swedish food, Swedish national and religious days, and so on. They are aware of the importance of learning and respecting as well as teaching those cultural elements to their offspring. Lale described it:

It is very important that my children follow Swedish culture as long as they live here... they learn at the school but I also do and teach to my children [...] I do not do anything for the Easter but I do give gifts in the Christmas, my children want. I do. Even I cook sausages, meatballs and toppings (korv, köttbullar and brunsås). I mean similar foods (similar to Swedish Christmas foods) [...] They should learn, see. They (Swedes) eat such foods. Then, in the future, they know what they talk about [...] It is important that they know if they are living here.

[Lale, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

It seems that the particular acculturating mother is trying to provide her children with the necessary local traditions that she perceives as important as a member of the society. Christmas is one of the most important traditional day for Swedes which they celebrate by exchanging gifts among close family members and friends. Food appears to be an important cultural motive for Christmas in Sweden as they have big feast tables (julbord). Therefore, as a member of Swedish society, she celebrates Christmas with her family. Another participants adds that:

Culture is important, knowing their religious days and national days, and respecting them. Actually, I think it is good if they also know my national days [...] For example, I attended Saint Lucy's Days with my daughter when she was a young child to introduce it to her [...] Except this, we attend to the end of term parties in our garden at nights, mid-summer (midsommar) celebrations and Christmas parties (julfest) [...] I do not want my children to be discriminated so that I want them to know. Anyway, we go down to the garden if we see a light there or any events going on there to celebrate together in our neighborhood (intensely populated by ethnic Swedes).

[Gül, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

Additional to the mentioned important days which have been celebrated once in a year, Gül also added that her children are given a certain amount of money to go for buying candy every Saturday. It is another important Swedish tradition, particularly for children, to have a candy day once a week on Saturdays which is named as “Saturday candy” (lördagsgodis).

4.2.3 Contact with the Locals

Overall attitudes of the immigrant mothers regarding contact with locals is not perceived as something to be avoided for themselves as parents. It is even encouraged till a certain point for their children. However, it is something that parents are afraid of or set some limits on children’s relations with the locals. As some of the traditions or habits of the local people are perceived as an unacceptable way of living, there are invisible borders for a certain extent.

[...] My children think like a Swede depending on the situation and think like a Turk when the occasion arises. They know very well how to behave accordingly. They can communicate with their Swedish friends and Turkish friends. Sometimes, they can be closer to their Swedish friends but they know the limits. ‘I cannot go further away from this’. They can build good relations within those limits.

[Gül, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

She has a close social contact with the locals as well as with her home country nationals. The frequency of the interaction with the locals might be affected by the fact that she lives in a neighborhood where, mostly, the ethnic Swedes are living. The same participant also adds:

I try to reflect my culture. when I bake a bread, I say it smelled now. According to our tradition, you should share it with your neighbors. I give it out to whole apartment. I do the same with ‘aşure’ (traditional Turkish dessert) and I say this is our culture. I explain why I give it out to them. They are very happy [...]

[Gül, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

Besides, she has a contact with the parents of her children's friends because she perceives it as important to know them. She stated that she invites them for coffee, tea, breakfast, or lunch just to get to know them better. Additionally, she identifies it as a culture which Swedes do not have. She believes that most of the Swedes do not know parents of their children's friends.

Yasemin declares that she has many friends from different cultures and beliefs. As long as her child does not forget her/his cultural and religious background, she supports her/his friendship with other nationals and locals.

First of all, my child should learn that s/he should not be looking at one's race, or clothing while evaluating people for establishing a friendship with them [...] shortly before, I told you that I am afraid of my child having a friendship with other people with different cultures, by this means, I have friendships (with different cultures) but, of course, I do not put it on the corner that I am a Muslim or s/he is a Christian. Or I have a Jewish friend on the other side. It is a bit weird mix when we sit together as a Muslim, a Jewish and a Christian. However, there, we focus on the things we share. I mean we do not discuss religion or our religions.

[Yasemin, in her 30s, having a child]

As it can be understood above, she is not opposing to the friendship with other nations as long as she keeps her religious identity. Besides, she respects the identities of other people as a requirement of a multicultural society. Religion seems to emerge as an important part of her identity and she perceives it as a sensitive topic which should be respected. Additionally, she mentioned that she has a contact with the native Swedes and the other third nationals both in her work environment and in her school (she gets vocational education in Sweden). Similar to Yasemin, Lale talked about the contact with the locals in the work environment as they share the same room to rest where they have a chance to talk with her colleagues. It appears to be very essential for women to involve in the job market as it is a good opportunity to socialize with the locals.

To sum up, participant mothers seem to favor in-group interaction over out-group contact which does not mean that they avoid contact. However, there might be several reasons which make contact too difficult to establish with the locals. First of all, due to the way they describe the social attitude of Swedes as cold and distant (even towards their offspring), they might be

hesitant to establish contact with the locals. On the other hand, they stated to have close ties with the other Turkish immigrants and family members living in Sweden (mentioned under “Contact with home country nationals”). The difference in the behaviors towards others grounds on the characteristics of these two cultures in contact. Individuals in individualist societies are expected to favor being separate from others and being in charge of their own choices and behaviors (Bagci, 2012). On the contrary, individuals in collectivist societies are supposed to have stronger tendencies towards securing the welfare of the group and family they belong to (Bagci, 2012). It might explain the preferences of having close ties with their home country nationals in their private domains and having interaction with the locals in their public domains only limited to distant relations. The other reason could be the stronger identification with their own ethnic group than the mainstream group. “Stronger self-identification often goes together with feelings of pride and satisfaction, referred to as self-esteem. Ethnic minorities often tend to stress the positive value of their ethnic background in order to avert negative stereotypes and discrimination” (Bagci, 2012, p.14). Therefore, satisfactory connections with their own ethnic group and positive value dedicated to this interaction might indicate their ability to deal with the foreign environment as well as the stress of acculturation.

4.2.4 Perceived Risks Associated with Contact

Some risks associated with dissolving inside a majority group possibly emerge when people live in another country which has dissimilar social norms, belief systems and culture. Participants perceive many threats for raising a child in Sweden as their children have contact to other people. One of the reasons of the risks associated with contact is religion. Two participants views are as follows:

I am afraid of my child having a friendship with other people (with different cultures) because of this (religion) reason.

[Yasemin, in her 30s, having a child]

They (her children) live here so my fear is to become more Swedish in everything [...] not being Swedish, in fact, I meant forgetting your own culture, religion, language.

[Lale, 42 in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

The other reason of the risks associated with contact is the treat which living in Sweden poses to their collective family systems. Lale believes that the more Swedish you turn out to be, the lonelier you become. Her fear might be losing control over her children when they grow older.

They (her children) get good education and they will have jobs. They will involve in the society easily. The risk is they become more Swedish. The concept of ‘my family’, I mean family concept is disappearing.

[Lale, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

On the other hand, Gül does not identify any specific risk associated with living in and raising children in Sweden which results in being unworried about contact with the locals. On the contrary, she is seeking for contact as she underlined through the interview (explained in the “Contact with the locals” sub-category). Out of all three participants, she is the only one living in an intensely Swedish populated neighborhood while other two is living in neighborhoods known as migrant populated regions of the city. I have both witnessed and heard from Gül that her children mostly have local friends from the school and the neighborhood. Living in an area blended with the people outside of one’s home culture might give a better opportunity to contact with the rest of the society which may result in higher chances to be integrated.

4.2.5 New Gender Roles Assigned to Mothers

All of the mothers identified themselves as the primary caregiver in socializing their children. This role of mothers might have been shared with the other family members in a closely related large families in Turkey. However, in an acculturation setting, mothers complain that they do not have that option. Moreover, being in an acculturation context, mothers required to take up new roles which has been repeated by the interviewees.

[...] They (the mothers living in Turkey) have support of grandparents (in raising kids. Here, not everybody has it. Besides, they can find everything ready. They do not need to cook food or bake bread. But, here, I have to.

[Gül, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

Gender has an impact on the acculturation process which is supported with the evidence that females might be more at risk for difficulties in compare to males (Berry, 1997). It perhaps depends on the relative status and disparity in the treatment of females in the two cultures (Berry, 1997). Gender dissimilarities exist in acculturation strategies among women and men since they experience acculturation in different ways (Güngör&Bornstein, 2009). Females' attempts to take on new roles offered in the host country with a possibility of bringing them into conflict with their heritage culture placing them at risk (Berry, 1997).

Following the migration, Swedish-Turkish mothers experience different gender roles as mothers. They entered to the working life which requires them to play an active role in the society. All of the participants stated that the job of the fathers is an obstacle to their family lives which makes division of labor quite difficult. It is not only increasing their responsibilities at home but also decreasing the time that children spend with their fathers which results in mothers as the main caregiver and responsible of raising the children.

In any meaning, we (women)are put off all the responsibility at home. Since, husbands are mostly working in the restaurant business, they are not at home most of the time. Or they work in Volvo. Sometimes, they have morning shifts, sometimes, night shifts. When they work at night, they have to sleep in the morning. If they work in the day time, they have to get rest. But women do not have that luxury.

[Gül, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

Then, she explains how she perceive the differences between native Swedish parents and Turkish immigrant parents in terms of genders and family dimensions.

For example, Swedes have working times that covers each other. Father brings the kid (to the preschool/school), mother picks up. It shortens the time children spend in the kindergarten. I mean grandmothers might take part there but it is not the same. You know Turkish men. New generation grew up more like Swedes. They help their wives. Division of labor is more common. They take care of their children more. The generation after us is different. I mean better. But our men are not raised up that way. I raise my son in a way that he will help his wife and share. He will undertake some of the responsibilities.

[Gül, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

She feels that the Swedish fathers have better opportunities to spend time with their children resulting in sharing the responsibility equally with women. Therefore, she perceives that their role in the family is different than Swedish mothers. Another important issue raised in the conversation that she raises her son accordingly to Swedish gender codes. Unlike the practices her husband regarding gender roles, it seems that she encourages her son to shift from traditional gender roles towards more egalitarian ones. She stated in the interview that their solution to this problem on an individual basis was to sell out her husband's restaurant so that he started to work in a job in day time. Then, they are having longer family time together. However, it is not the case for other participants.

Father is only preparing the breakfast which is the only time my children see their fathers. In the weekends, he is busy with other things I believe that the father's role in the family is really important [...] Fathers should take an active role in raising (emotionally) healthy child. Unfortunately, in our culture, maybe it is better if I do not generalize it but it is that way in the surrounding that I see and live in. Father role do not exist... they are outside, working 10 hours [...] all the responsibilities are on mothers' shoulders.

[Lale, in her 40s mother of 3 children]

She is also struggling between traditional gender roles and more egalitarian ones. She is mother of three, a wife, a student, and also she is working. All those roles, which she should manage all by herself, makes her feel hopeless. Nevertheless, she has a hope that it will change with the coming generations just like the other participant.

It is not different in my generation but my son's generation could be different [...] I tell with my son 'you will be doing this when you get married. You cannot sit at home as you do right now, it cannot happen.

[Lale, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

Similarly, Yasemin's story about her role as a woman is quite parallel to others. She also mentions the long working time of her husband resulting in changing his job.

My husband is a bus driver. Before, he was working as a taxi driver. He had to change it after my persistency because it was not a proper job for a family with a child... he was working 13-14 hours. He was coming very tired. Meanwhile, I started to study, my studies were quite intense. Our child needed care [...] We set our times according to our child. If I am working, I can be free after 16:00 or 17:00. Then, my husband picks up the kid because he works at nights. We come home, spend 1-2 hours and he goes to work [...]

[Yasemin, in her 30s, having a child]

She also struggles between many roles assigned to her. In her case, her husband seems to spend a few hours with his child. He picks up the child around 15:30 and spends time with his family until he goes for working. She also adds that they are spending the weekends together with diverse social activities. Although her husband does not do cleaning, washing the dishes, or cooking, she perceives her husband as supporting by doing the shopping for them sometimes and taking care of the children which she defines as the best favor done to a woman:

The biggest support to the woman is related to child. For example, if he takes care of the child when I am doing the house work or during the school recess time, it is the biggest favor for me.

[Yasemin, in her 30s, having a child]

From this point of view, her statement obviously shows the acceptance of child care as a females' duty. Indeed, it is a big favor to women if men take care of the children for a short time.

Migration is not only perceived as negative by mothers which requires them to do even more but also empowers them from certain points. As the women being interviewed are navigating between patriarchal Turkish culture and more gender equal Sweden, they experience a shift from the traditional gender roles through the new gender roles assigned to them subsequent the migration. Living in Sweden gave them opportunities to get formal education which results in empowering those women. Among all the participants, education seemed to be an important value that they linked to Sweden and Swedish culture. Following the education offered by Sweden, they have had new roles both in the family and in the society as women. Women's adjustment from traditional gender role behaviors toward more egalitarian attitudes can be

perceived as representing their motivation to contribute in public life and take part in responsibility alongside men in private life, and jointly better recognition of the majority culture (Güngör&Bornstein, 2009). Paragraph below is a clear example of changing perception of a migrant woman shifting from patriarchal culture to more gender equal one.

Yes it (some values) should change [...] First generation which the women started working, they worked but they did not get any help from men. My mother-in-law tells that she worked in three different jobs but still come home and bake bread. Back in the time, there was nothing that they can eat... it was very difficult conditions. Today, it is luxury for us compared to them. We can find everything. We can even find fresh daily halal meat. So values are changing. It is one of the biggest positive changes for us. I mean they share the life with their partners.

[Gül, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

Since education brings new roles to these women, it is essential to mention under this section. First of all, it is important to indicate that all of the participants assign Sweden a meaning to be able to get education correspondingly getting a job which gave them new roles as breadwinner alongside their husbands. Therefore, some of them prioritize education for their children and expect them to have high academic achievement.

My preliminary goal for my children to get education [...] of course the job (that they are going to choose) depends on them. Surely I want them to get university education. Then, they can take advantages of the possibilities in Sweden. They feel closer to themselves [...] Swedish people have closer connections with the educated people.

[Lale, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

Lale perceive education as the way through job but more importantly, she gave it a meaning to meditate to integration into the Swedish society.

4.3 Perceived Cultural Distance

Cultural distance referring to how dissimilar the two cultures are in language, religion and so on, which also lies not exclusively in the background of the acculturating person but in the

unlikeness of the two cultures in contact (Berry, 1997). Berry indicates that the greater the cultural differences between the two meeting cultures, the less positive is the process of acculturation (1997). It has been stated by the respondents that there are some obvious differences between two cultures. They underlined a few dissimilarities as they have lived in two cultures. Some dissimilarities are perceived as positive which they think is better in Sweden while the other orientations are seen as negative which they believe that it is better to do in Turkish way. Below, the characteristics of two societies are underlined based on one's own understanding of her home country and the country that she lives in.

In Turkey, an educated person is in a higher position than me and they undervalue a cleaner (person with a higher status would underestimate the ones with lower positions in the work environment). Here, there is no hierarchy. Everybody is equal. In the place that I work, we are sitting all together with both the doctors and the cleaners. We find a common topic to talk about together.

[Lale, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

Consistent with her observations, the literature states that “Turkish society is more hierarchical and authoritarian than Swedish society which is more egalitarian and democratic” (Özdalga, 2005, p.8). In addition to that, this hierarchical and authoritarian structure can be seen between parents and children because “children are expected to obey the authority of their parents even as grown-ups” (Özdalga, 2005, p.8).

Having acknowledged the egalitarian and the democratic Swedish society, Yasemin mentioned how a Swede stood for her child's right in an unfortunate incident that she experienced. After telling that the only missing thing is that they are not Muslims other than that Swedes (native Swedes) are very good people, Yasemin continues by adding the following sentences:

A few weeks ago, I went to a shopping place in our neighborhood with my child and there was a toy car in front of the store. My child broke the head lamp of that car. The owner of the store is another migrant with a different ethnicity and his worker was from the same country. That worker went out and started to yell at my child. I was in the cashier, paying so I could not interfere in. Then, I went there and asked what the problem was. He said that my child broke the toy in a very rude manner. While we were discussing with the man, everybody was looking. Only a Swedish woman approached

and reminded him that there are children's rights here and she could complain against him (to the authorities). She comforted my child because s/he started to cry... There were many people around and only a Swede defended my child's right.

[Yasemin, in her 30s, having a child]

4.3.1 Perceived Differences Between Swedish and Turkish Parenting Styles

Based on their observations, they underlined major differences between the parental attitudes of Turkish and Swedish parents. Since the main topic under investigation is the acculturating parents, it is necessary to touch upon their understanding of parenting in the host society and how they differ from their own approaches. They all agreed that Swedish parenting style have both positive and negative sides. To illustrate one of the positive perceived Swedish parenting feature, an informant explained the difference in their styles in teaching with an experience she had:

Swedes are raising their kids very well till the age of 18... Most of them are disciplined... They can communicate with their children... They are both like a friend and also a mother to them... They have specific times (like sleeping time), when they say something children understand it. Until 18, I think very good, and they teach very good too, I realized it... For example, I was in zoo with two of my children. There was a Swedish family right next to us. I said 'look, a snake' but Swedish parent said 'a long yellow snake'. Did you see the difference? [...] More detailed.

[Lale, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

Another informant underlined the same matter from her perspective which Swedish children are more disciplined as a result of the Swedish parenting style:

[...] Those (Swedish) children are more disciplined or they get used to the school life faster. I mean they know that they should put on their shoes and jackets themselves. But we put our children's shoes on even when they are 5-6 years old...

[Yasemin, in her 30s, having a child]

Since Swedish parents are more disciplined, according to her, it might bring a distance between parents and their children. Moreover, she compared what she observes about Swedish way of parenting with her parents' parenting styles:

[...] Their perspective is that they will be gone once they turn 18. They do not feel responsibility. Of course they are mothers and fathers, they love their children but their perspectives are different because they themselves also grow up alone after the age of 18...I feel like I would run after him even he became 50 years old. I myself is in my 30s and still my mother tells me to this that way, sit that way or talk like that. I mean she still interferes. I have many Swedish neighbors and their children mostly live in other cities. They only visit for their religious celebrations for 1 or 2 days and go. They do not have communication [...] As I always say "cold people of the cold land" but other than that, they are super good, helpful which I experience it in my school life. My ethnically Swedish teachers always did their best to help me.

[Yasemin, in her 30s, having a child]

She indicates the difference between collectivistic culture which is linked to obedience goals and individualistic culture which is associated with autonomy goals. Another participant agrees with Yasemin as she also thinks that Swedes are not warm people:

It (Swedish community) is a very cold community. They are not very friendly or warm which you can approach randomly say hi and talk. I mean it is a very cold society.

[Lale, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

Furthermore, particular features emerged in most of the interviews that are Swedes being distant even towards their children and let their children be free and survive on their own after the age of 18. They tell different stories from different parts of their lives to basically emphasize how cold they are towards everybody including their children which results in a lonely life when they get older. It is a threat to their old-age security value that they are accustomed to due to the collective family culture.

[...] Swedes sometimes ask me "do you live with your mother-in-law?" and I explain it this way. Today, since my children get used to see their grandmother and grandfather around, tomorrow, they will not feel weird or offended by seeing me in their homes when

I get older. I pray for being self-sufficient and I hope I wouldn't be in need of or be a burden to my children [...] I think the biggest culture deficiency of Swedes is this [...]

[Gül, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

One of the very significant difference between the collectivistic family culture and individualistic family culture is the value attributed to the respect to the elders of the family. Since they are perceived as wise, it is important to ask for elder family members' opinions before making decisions. It results in having close contact to the aged parents and even living with them. Especially, traditional values propose that sons should take care of their aged parents (Kagıtcıbası 1970 as cited in Güngör&Bornstein, 2009). Regarding loneliness of aged Swedes, Lale states:

Then, when they become 18, it is like s/he never been their child... go! They give the bag and go now. Neither you ask (communicate with) me nor I ask you [...] In days to come, I see that the mother and the father are very lonely [...] That family communication finishes [...] I worked so many years at the hospital, I can say eighty percent of them, they are really alone, one feels sorry for them.

[Lale, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

[...] As a family, they are not like us. Firstly, I am always telling that they are very distant to their children...when they go to pick up their children from a kindergarten, you can differentiate the Swedish children within a crowd with multiple ethnicities. When we go pick up our children, they jump on us and we kiss them, smell them as if we have not seen them but when a Swede comes, s/he only pats on the back and says 'hi honey (hej gumman), how was your day?' no kissing, no hugging.

[Yasemin, in her 30s, has a child]

Above, the informant states the difference with an example based on her observation. Another one adds that:

We give ourselves to our children. When they grow older, we interfere in their marriages, I mean we interrupt their everything until we die. It does not exist in Sweden [...] In Sweden, when their children are gone, they do things for themselves. Things like

dancing, going to a cinema, meeting with friends. We do not do that. We sit in our homes and wait for someone (referring to one of their children) to knock the door [...] We have a lot of expectations.

[Lale, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

Again, another informant is referring to relation of Swedish parents and their children after they grow up which refers to the period after the age of 18. Respect for the parental authority, even after the age of 18, is quite important part of collective families. Therefore, all the participants emphasized that Swedish parents are not interested in their children's lives after they turn 18. It is possibly because of the individualistic family values which attribute high value to autonomy, independence, self-control, exploration, and taking individual responsibility (Ekmekci-Baydar, 2014). Living in the Swedish society, they have a fear of becoming more individualistic. It is also a treat to their old-age security value which they expect their children to visit them frequently and take their advices seriously. As Lale mentioned above, it is very common to comment on their children's private adult lives.

In the individualistic cultures, autonomy, self interest and independence are highly valued whereas children are expected to be more obedient, interdependent and respectful towards adults in the collectivist cultures (Yaman et.al, 2010). That is, there is a distinction between Turkish culture and Swedish culture in terms of their parenting styles. While parents from collectivistic cultures are more likely to be restrictive, parents from individualistic cultures have a tendency to be more authoritative by supporting self-reliance, independence, exploration of the environment and place fewer stress on obedience (Tamis-LeMonda et al. as cited in Yaman et.al, 2010). One of the participant reveals the difference with the following words:

They raise them a bit freer. More libertarian [...] Our culture is different. Some people give more freedom to boys, some gives more freedom to girls, or both boys and girls. Or some limits the girl more. But it is not the same for Swedes (Swedish parents). Maybe, it is because of our cultural and religious values. We are a little bit more different. But apart from that, for me, the same rules apply for both a girl and a boy. Definitely!

[Gül, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

The participant accepts that there is a difference in terms of values in raising children which might be caused by religious and cultural beliefs. It can be obviously seen that the way which Swedish parents' behaviors toward their children are more libertarian compared to what she observes among her home country nationals. Furthermore, Gül commented on the variations in the parental practices across the gender of the child. Unlike sons, daughters are expected to be more obedient and dependent which results in more external control on girls compared to boys in Turkey (Kagitcibasi, 2007 as cited in Yaman et al., 2010). On the other hand, she is in the process of acculturation as a mother meaning that their parenting behaviors might be evolving from collectivism to individualism. Although, in Turkey, it is expected from daughters to be more obedient and dependent in compared to sons, she emphasized that she does not make a gender differentiation between her daughter and son.

Another difference being mentioned was related to hospitality perception of two cultures which is also in relation with parental attitudes. Gül shared an experience to explain the difference:

In Swedish culture, when the child went for playing, they would say 'Can you wait in this room because we will eat'. They do not have a tradition of inviting that child for eating food with them. But I changed it. Whenever children came to us, I cook food after asking 'Does s/he have any allergies? Does s/he eat this and that? Okay then, s/he is going to eat with us. We are eating now so s/he can eat with us'. They started to ask me the same question.

[Gül, in her 40s, mother of 3 children]

Participants are agreed on the idea that there are good things about Swedish culture which they can adopt happily and Turkish culture have positive sides which they should keep. Having close contact with the family members and keeping intimate family ties regardless of one's age is a very important part of their culture which they perceive it as negative since they believe that Swedes are lack of it and lonely. Moreover, Berry (2005) suggests that acculturation is a dual process and the example above can be a good case to show that not only Turks change behaviors but also the Swedes interacting with migrants shift their habits.

As a final comment, depending on the acculturation level of immigrant parents, their parenting behaviors might vary from those in their society of origin as well as from those in their society of settlement (Bornstein & Cote, 2004). Immigrants are mostly resistant to adopt the belief

systems of the mainstream group as they have a tendency to keep the family values and parenting practices of their heritage culture (Bornstein & Cote, 2004). Consistent with that, the participant mothers preferred to maintain parenting beliefs and norms from their culture of origin. According to Berry's Acculturation model, it can be interpreted as cultural maintenance as they resist to the individualistic family culture which is discussed further under the category named "Cultural maintenance".

5. Results and Discussion

For this particular study, interview method is chosen because of the possibility of asking open ended questions to a small sample related to their individual beliefs and experiences. The findings of this study are obviously not representative of all the Turkish mothers living in Sweden. For this thesis, Berry's model of acculturation seems to be a valuable framework which offers an important insight into the research topic. Yet, several other researches and concepts relevant to the topic are included. Besides, the acculturating mothers are not examined for which of Berry's acculturation strategies fit them the best; rather, they are asked to give information about how acculturation experiences have affected both their lives and their parenting behaviors. Those individual's self reports on parenting attitudes and behaviors are assessed with reference to both a mainstream culture and a minority ethnic group. Therefore, the present study would be a significant contribution to the acculturation process literature.

The social personalities they carry with them and the identities they build in the new setting have an impact on their behaviors *such as the clothes they wear, the foods they eat, the people with whom they associate, the values to which they adhere, and the strategies used to accommodate to the new culture and its people* (Padilla & Perez, 2003, p. 50). According to Berry, in plural societies, individuals and groups need to adopt various strategies to achieve a successful adaptation to live together interculturally (Berry, 2006). After having presented the findings of the interviews in the last part, Berry's four acculturation strategies will be paid attention with respect to the experiences of acculturating mothers, and, in what way the acculturation strategies suit to the findings in general. Berry mentioned two dimension of *acculturation attitudes* which are: 1) "To what extent do people wish to have contact with (or avoid) others outside their group, and 2) To what extent do people wish to maintain (or give up) their cultural attributes?" (2001, p.618). For this particular study, the first attitude is categorized as "Cultural Maintenance" and the other one is labeled as "Participation and Contact".

Regarding cultural maintenance, such themes as 'Language of the home country', 'religion', 'own food', 'Contact with home country nationals' and 'Strategies to cope with possible risks' are formed. Each of them discussed in detail under the relevant title and is supported with the collected data. To begin with the native language, participants desire to speak their home country language (Turkish) and other languages (e.g. Kurdish) in their private domain. It is

consistent with the literature as they might have different acculturation orientation for both private (integration) and public (separation) domains (Güngör and Bornstein, 2009). Parallel conclusions can be drawn regarding the attitude towards the language usage of their children. Since they believe that it is crucial for preserving their culture, they wish to teach their native languages to their children. As the findings showed, for their children, all the mothers were quite afraid of the risk regarding the possibility of becoming more like Swedes. One of the fear lies behind loosing their home country language so they came up with different methods to avoid it. While one of them chose a Turkish speaking school for her child, the other one preferred to be part of an association where her children can attend private Turkish lessons and have a chance to speak with other national peers. However, it does not necessarily mean their willingness to step away from learning the local language.

Throughout the conversations, religion arose both directly and indirectly. It appears to be an important (maybe the most important) domain in their lives and it is closely connected to their identities and cultures which they want to preserve. Ekmekci-Baydar (2014) stated that religious socialization might have a significant part in child-rearing; and consequently, associated strongly with other characteristics of parenting. One of the participant strictly underlined that religion is unquestionable fact which she wants to transmit to her child. Having mentioned the importance of religious socialization, she has a fear of failing in terms of transmitting religious values to her child in the host society. After the contact with the host society which is gender equal, another participant criticized the practice of religion today is manipulated to dominate females. She believes that religion is crucial to teach to her children but not in a patriarchal way. It seems that their ideas about religion changes within the new context. While one feels more attached to the religion in the foreign culture, the other one starts questioning the religious traditions. The findings show that religious socialization of children are quite significant for immigrant mothers who feels threatened by the majority culture. The results of the study also emphasize that the role of religion in the acculturation process deserves more research attention among diverse ethnic and religious migrant groups.

Consistent with the literature (e.g. Berry, 2001), food choices emerged as a repeated motive among the participants. Hence, it is classified as sub-category named “Own food” under the “Cultural maintenance” category. For the participants, food was important for two reasons. First of which is the aspiration towards the familiar tastes which they are accustomed to eat. Secondly, the food prohibitions of the religion played an important role on their food

preferences. Due to the reasons given above, they could not find a proper place to eat outside up until the recent times when the number of Turkish restaurants have risen. It certainly limited their agents of socialization and the areas that they socialize in. Most importantly, food increased their concerns on what children eat at school. One of the mothers developed a strategy to make sure her children eats appropriate (halal) food. Her method was to work in the kitchen of her children's school in order to explain it to other cooks.

Contact with the home country nationals are frequently preferred by the participants. Their social networks mainly consist of family members and Turkish friends those of who lives in Sweden. One of the participants even referred to national friends as her family in Sweden. Besides, family ties appeared to be essential among participants as specified by other scholars. Several studies have shown that having strong family and social ties, and dependence are particularly favored in collectivistic cultures (Yagmurlu & Sanson, 2009; Yaman et al., 2010). For this particular group, it seems that they would rather to keep close social contact with their home country nationals although they are actively participating in the society as working women in the work environment and as mothers in the school lives and friendships of their children.

Based on the findings, the biggest risk posed in the host society is towards their family relations. In literature, it is concluded that children's respectful and well-mannered behavior and close family ties valued by the Turkish mothers as well as autonomy, and family integrity and closeness (Ekmekci-Bayraktar, 2014). My findings are consistent with that the mothers asserted the importance of close family ties and participants added that they still respect and obey their parents as grown adults. It is an obvious sign of collectivism which should be protected according to participant mothers. Therefore, they have mentioned several strategies for preserving their children from the possible risks. Those strategies include being a role model in terms of how they behave with their parents, building emotional connection with children, constructing a strong foundation similar to buildings (as she described raising a child closely parallel to constructions) and creating new environments (Turkish-owned preschool, Arabic language course) for children which match up with her ideas. One reportedly widespread parental behavior among the Turkish families is demanding obedience from children which appears to be practical in the Turkish culture, where the care of dependent family members is assumed to be the social responsibility of family members while it is a role partially taken by governments in most Western countries (Yagmurlu & Sanson, 2009). Although the participants

live in a Western country, it is still demanded from children when they grow older. According to Berry, cultural adoption in Western societies would be correlated positively with approval of autonomy-oriented objectives and negatively with approval of obedience-oriented objectives; similarly, a higher cultural maintenance would correspond to less endorsement of autonomy goals and more validation of obedience goals (as cited in Durgel, 2011). Therefore, it can be said that the participant maintaining their culture by preserving collectivism and resisting to individualism just like suggested by the literature.

Along with the cultural maintenance, contact with the locals and other third nationals, and participating in the larger society are important components of acculturation. It is assumed that there is a direct relationship between language fluency and sociocultural adaptation (Sam and Berry, 2010). Therefore, language proficiency is a vital component of contact and participation with the locals. Participants agree with the literature on the importance of language and they were eager to learn the host country language. As it is stated by all three participants, it was very important for them to learn Swedish which they are all asserted to be speaking fluently now. Regarding their children's Swedish language development, mothers indicated to be encouraging for their children. In short, interviewees agreed with the literature on the significance to learn the local language to establish social network with and take part in the larger society

Since they have been exposed to Swedish culture, acculturating mothers were keen on acquiring some of the local culture which they perceived as positive. Furthermore, they were willing to teach those to their children due to the fact that their children are members of the society which makes it important for them to know. Therefore, the mothers seem to be eager to make small changes to harmonize with the differences where needed. On the other hand, they are not willing to make major changes instead they would rather to keep their cultures in a wider picture. They also stated that they celebrate or attend some of the Swedish national days, religious days and traditions such as celebrating Christmas with Christmas food and gifts, midsummer or/and Saint Lucia's day and buying candies on Saturdays (lördagsgodis). There are several reason for taking over those particular habits and traditions. First and the most important reason is that they think it is necessary to know and respect the local culture. Secondly, some of their children feel bad while other peers are enjoying those days such as receiving gifts in Christmas. Thirdly, it has been celebrated together with other peers at the school like Saint Lucy's Day or together with the neighbors in their garden. Especially, the mother living in the majorly Swedish populated

area tend to have a higher acceptance towards Swedish traditions compared to other participant mothers. The findings show that they are accepting and understanding the important parts of local culture but not necessarily shifting to it. Berry (2005) suggested that selective adoption of new behaviors should be done towards some of the basic values of the dominating culture for achieving integration.

Contact with the locals is an important part of acculturation process. The interviewed mothers show interest in social contact with the locals. They all indicated to have a contact with the locals as well as other third nationals in their work environment. Besides, one of the mothers who lives in a neighborhood where mostly ethnically Swedish people lives, she mentioned having a close contact with most of the neighbors including the parents of her children's friends. All of them seem to be seeking for contact for themselves but, for their children, it is perceived as risky and children can have contact as long as they do not cross the previously determined cultural lines. As discussed earlier in this paper, there are both positively and negatively perceived values in the Swedish society. It scares them as mothers due to the fact that some of their practices are not culturally appropriate and are unacceptable.

It is important to note that extreme spatial segregation of Swedish cities is visible since some neighborhoods are defined as "*Swedish*" housing areas while the others are defined as "*immigrant*" housing areas (Bayram et al., 2009, p.106). In the collected data, the mother living in a Swedish populated area seems to be more successful in learning the local culture and getting in touch with the locals. According to Bayram et al. (2009, p.106), access to space is important component of integration because it creates the environment for the essential elements of successful integration which are *learning culture and language* of the host society, having a *contact with natives and establishing social networks*. Hence, the segregation might have a negative effect on integration for the participants as suggested by the literature. On the other hand, all of the interviewed mothers show integration orientation in several public domains as they seem more eager to adapt to local work habits, local language or ceremonial traditions (e.g. Christmas, Midsummer) and preserve traditional Turkish values in private domains such as family relations. None of the interviewed mothers showed a clear enthusiasm to change her fundamental values.

Regarding the new gender roles assigned to mothers following the migration, they experience difficulty because they need to deal with both the gender roles of their home culture and new

gender roles of host society. They are struggling to negotiate between those two different expectations. Traditionally, females are assumed to be in charge of the housework and taking care of children while males are perceived as bread-winners but it is not the case anymore. They take up the role of bread-winning combined with the traditional roles. Since the mothers feel overwhelmed, their values might be conflicting with their heritage culture. All of them support the change of traditional gender cognitions, in that sense, they are eager to shift their values regarding gender roles. However, it seems to be discouraged due to the nature of the jobs that their husbands are pursuing. It requires males to work in unusual times which results in women doing most of the caregiving and housework alone. Interviewed mothers feel segregated on that issue because they believe that native Swedish fathers have better job opportunities which gives them a possibility to help their partners and spend more time with their children. The reason for migrants to pursue unskilled jobs might be because of the low education levels among people with migration background. In the study conducted among Turkish minorities in Sweden by Bayram et. al (2009), majority of the participants was primary or secondary school educated regardless of ones' age which is a predictor of low academic achievement. The other reason could be the employment disparity which does not give them a freedom to choose other jobs than the ones unwanted by native Swedes. According to ILO Synthesis Report, "the inequalities in the Swedish labor market concerning the access to employment for Swedish employment seekers of immigrant background and with a foreign-sounding name" (as cited in Bayram et.al., 2009, p.103). It is significant to mention that participant mothers want to shift from traditional gender roles towards more equalitarian ones. Thus, they indicated transferring egalitarian values regarding gender roles while socializing their sons. They have a hope that it will be different for the next generation despite of the fact that they fail to have equal gender roles within the family.

Cultural difference between the two cultures in contact has a great effect in acculturation process. The Bigger the cultural distance between two cultures, the higher the degree of culture conflict which lead to poorer adaptation because it implies the necessity for greater culture learning, and possibly big differences initiate negative intergroup feelings (Berry, 1997). That is why it is important to pay attention to differences in culture in general and differences in parenting practices in particular. Although acculturating mothers perceives huge differences between two countries, several of the differences identified as positive such as the egalitarian and democratic work environments which are free from hierarchy. In a different manner, Swedish culture of parenting seems to be contradicting with those of the ones mothers have.

These negatively perceived features mostly because of the differences between collectivism and individualism. The most criticized feature of Swedish parenting was the low affection shown towards their children which was not enough according to participant mothers probably due to the fact that traditional collectivist families have value of closeness among family members. Likewise, they believed that Swedish parents give too much freedom to their children and set them completely free after the age of 18 which can easily be explained by the collectivistic family value of close family ties regardless of one's age. Consistent with the literature, it seems that acculturating mothers tend to adopt most of their parenting beliefs from their heritage culture (Bornstein and Cote, 2004).

Having presented the main experiences of the acculturating mothers, two important components of the values that they want to preserve and transmit to the next generation which are religious values and collectivistic values. In line with the findings of the study conducted by Phalet and Schönplug (2001), Turkish mothers tend to transmit collectivistic values of relatedness among generations. Consequently, the biggest perceived risks posed by living in Sweden are to their family relations and religious identities. Furthermore, participant mothers, mainly, wanted to socialize their children with the values of their home culture (e.g. religious values, and family interdependence) in an acculturation setting. However, this does not mean that they completely ignore the host culture. To some extent, they tend to socialize their children with the values of the host culture (e.g. celebrating important days of Swedish culture) which do not contradict with their own cultures. "The socialization of acculturating youth occurs in multiple worlds, and thus requires constant negotiation of different norms and expectations of those worlds" (Güngör & Bornstein, 2009, p.545). As they are aware of it, participant mothers have their personal strategies (presented above) to negotiate between these different worlds.

Durgel (2011, p.67) found that, regardless of the time spend in the host culture, they still keep closer contact and communication with the Turkish community, rather than the host society because most of the participants who are Turkish immigrant parents living in the Netherlands and Germany, have a rural, traditional ancestry, have close interaction with the Turkish community, reside in areas where lots of other Turkish immigrants inhabit, and join Turkish associations in their spare times. Similar patterns of interaction with the Turkish fellows observed among the participants of the current study. Two of them indicated to reside happily in the neighborhood where many Turkish immigrants live while only one of them preferred to live in "Swedish neighborhood". Besides, two of them are active members of the Turkish

association. The other important finding of Durgel is that “many second-generation Turks in Europe tend to marry people from Turkey, and so Turkish values remain fresh and dominant within the family” (2011, p.68). In parallel with that, two participants married to a second-generation Turkish immigrant who chose to marry with women from Turkey. The other participant migrated here at the early ages of her life because of her father’s work and she chose to marry with a man from Turkey. It might be a relevant explanation for their emphasis on maintaining their cultural values and willingness to transmit those to their children.

Sweden has a very integrative multicultural policies and practices in compared to many other European countries (Bunar, 2007; Wiesbrock,2011; Bayram et al., 2009). However, it seems that housing and labor segregation are still visible in the data. Mother who lives outside of the segregated neighborhoods indicated more contact and higher interaction with the locals in compare to other two mothers. Therefore, housing segregation might have led to separation from the larger society. Furthermore, labor market inequalities seem to be affecting the participant mothers lives in a negative way. Those inequalities result in migrant men to take up the positions that are less wanted by natives; and consequently, they work in unusual working times. Because of that, participant mothers’ responsibilities increased in the new setting even tough they seem to take a closer stand on gender equality. The survey initiated by The Swedish Integration Board (Integrationsverket) evaluated public opinions and attitudes regarding ethnic diversity, integration, discrimination and Swedish migration policy (The Swedish Integration Board as cited in Bayram et al., 2009). Interesting results found which show the contradiction in the opinions and attitudes. While almost 80% of the respondents thought cultural diversity and mixed cultural structure good for the country and majority of the respondents agreed on the equal rights irrespective of background, 90% of them stated that immigrants are exposed to discrimination (The Swedish Integration Board as cited in Bayram et al., 2009). Additional to the survey, it is underlined that there are serious inequalities in the Swedish labor market; unfortunately, “female job seeker from the dominant group were selected on the forth application while a person from non-dominant group selected after applying for over twenty-six vacancies in Gothenburg” (The Swedish Integration Board as cited in Bayram et al., 2009, p.103). These numbers are scary in a way that it shows public attitude regarding diversity. Accepting cultural plurality by the public documents does not always represent the mainstream approaches toward the minorities. According to Berry et al. (2002, p.378), it is significant to “recognize the group’s cultural uniqueness and specific needs in the first place; and then, have to met with the group needs at the same level of understanding, acceptance, and support as

those of the dominant group(s)". Berry explained two basic social processes to live in plural societies (Berry, 2011). The first process includes the acceptance of the value of *cultural diversity* for a society by all constituent cultural communities and it should be seen as a resource, to be prized and nurtured (Berry, 2011, p.2.16). The second process is concerning the promotion of *equitable participation* by all groups in the larger society in which everybody has the right to access all aspects of the larger society, including culturally- appropriate education, work, health care, and justice (Berry, 2011, p.2.16).

6. Conclusion and Future Research Recommendations

Immigration will remain to be a relevant global social phenomenon in the immediate future, it is essential to provide an insight into the processes of acculturation for immigrant families. Up until the post-second world war immigration, conception of Sweden held as sexually liberal and homogenous with its reputation as gender equal, free from racism, patriarchy and sexism (Bredström 2008 as cited in Sherlock, 2012). Due to the dramatic increase in the migration rate to Sweden, demographic characteristics are transforming. How to handle the newcomers is an ongoing debate. That is why it is crucial to conduct more researches on acculturating immigrants. The main objective of this thesis is to provide an insight into acculturating Turkish immigrant mothers' experiences as mothers and females.

The ethnic group chosen for investigation, Turks, form the largest group of immigrants in Western Europe and very high percentage of whom indicated to be Muslim (Vedder, Sam, Liebekind, 2007, p. 126). Therefore, there is a significant cultural gap between these two cultures in contact which results in the need for developing strategies for finding a mutual way of living together, leading to acculturation. Although acculturation is a process of change ongoing only if culturally different groups are interacting, various forms of longer-term adaptations such as *learning each other's languages, sharing each other's food preferences, and adopting forms of dress and social interactions that are characteristic of each group* take place among the groups in contact (Berry, 2005, p.700), in accordance with some of the findings of the study.

According to Berry (1997, p.24), "acculturation strategies have been shown to have substantial relationships with positive adaptation: integration is usually the most successful; marginalization is the least; and assimilation and separation strategies are intermediate" which is found to be present for all kinds of acculturating groups. That is, the mainstream group has an obligation to be willing to modify national establishments (e.g. education, health, labor) in order to meet the needs of all groups which lives together in the plural society (Berry, 1997). Additional to national policies and programs, the society should achieve to be explicitly multicultural if the integration strategy is to be pursued (Berry and Kalin as cited in Berry,

1997). In press, Berry and Kalin indicated some pre-conditions which are: “the widespread acceptance of the value to a society of cultural diversity relatively low levels of prejudice; positive mutual attitudes among cultural groups; and a sense of attachment to, or identification with, the larger society by all groups” (as cited in Berry, 1997, p.11).

It is assumed that the individuals from both the dominant and the non-dominant group have the freedom to choose how they want to acculturate (Berry, 2011). In the present research, the patterns of change and continuity is observed in the data. Change seen in the public domains (integrated as they work and speak Swedish) and continuity in the private domains (separated as they speak Turkish at home and have close contact with other Turkish fellows). Regarding parenting, they prefer to pursue parenting values consistent with their heritage culture. Besides, they indicated a great perceived difference in two cultures in terms of parenting. Another important finding was that those acculturating females feel more responsibilities being demanded from them since they undertake both traditional roles (like caregiving and house works) and new roles as breadwinners in the new context. A transformation from traditionalism or conservatism concerning gender roles to more egalitarian ones may reflect women’s greater eagerness to take part in public life and share responsibility with men in private life, and receive more acceptance from the majority culture (Güngör & Bornstein, 2009). Interviewed females show positive attitude towards egalitarian gender roles. Nevertheless, they do not seem to have enough opportunities for shifting gender roles although they are willing to change. Based on the data, it seems necessary for Swedish authorities to develop family intervention programs regarding father involvement in child-rearing process. Grounding on the findings, the other significant shaper of the maternal behaviors and beliefs is religion which is why the role of religion in the acculturation process among diverse ethnic and religious migrant groups deserves more research attention.

“Teachers, therapists, and parents may all profit from knowing that the integrative way of acculturating is likely to lead these young people to more satisfactory and successful transitions to adulthood in their culturally diverse societies” (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006, p.329). The current study, represents an essential first step in documenting connection between immigrant Turkish mothers’ parenting experiences and their acculturation positions in Sweden. Further investigation is needed for researching acculturation attitudes of immigrant parents in relation to their parental practices and their children’s development.

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Appendix

Interview Questions

1. Can you tell me about your immigration story?
2. What would you want newcomers to know before coming to Sweden?
3. Can you tell me the values that you think is important for your children to develop or learn?
4. What kind of messages would you want your children to receive? What is important for you?
5. Who inspired you when it comes to be good parent?
6. How important is it for you that your children know about Sweden and be able to speak Swedish?
7. How important is it for you to teach Turkish culture to your children?
8. Can you tell me about your family routines, and daily practices? Are the routines different than the routines of Turkish families living in Turkey? (how different?)
9. What is your plans and expectations for your family in Sweden?
10. How do you think you can perceive your plans?
11. Does being in Sweden help you to perceive your plans?
12. Can you describe your experiences of raising children in Sweden?
13. What are your experiences of having children in Swedish schools? (positive, negative)
14. How do you overcome the difficulties (if any)?
15. What is the meaning of religion in your life?
16. What is your opinion about the lifestyle of the local people (native Swedish people)?
17. What is your opinion about the Swedish way of raising their children?

*Interview questions were approved by the supervisor for the English version and they were read by a native Turkish speaker for the Turkish version to detect if there were any misunderstandings in the questions.

Consent for Participation in Interview Research

I volunteer to participate in a research project conducted by Fatma Betül Demir from Gothenburg University. I understand that the project is designed to gather data for a master's thesis. I will be one of approximately 5 people being interviewed for this research.

1. My participation in this project is voluntary. I understand that I will not be paid for my participation. I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without penalty.
2. I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview.
3. Participation involves being interviewed by a master's student whom name is stated above from Gothenburg University. The interview will last approximately 30-45 minutes. Notes will be written during the interview. An audio tape of the interview and subsequent dialogue will be made. If I don't want to be taped, I will not be able to participate in the study.
4. I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in any reports using information obtained from this interview, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. The anonymity of individuals will be protected.
5. Nobody except the researcher and the supervisor will have access to raw notes or transcripts. This precaution will prevent my individual comments from having any negative repercussions.
6. I have read and understand the explanation provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.
7. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

_____ My Signature

_____ My Printed Name

_____ Date

For further information, please contact: Fatma Betül Demir

e-mail address: gusdemifa@student.gu.se

Letter of Consent

I am Fatma Betül Demir, a student at Gothenburg University (GU), Sweden. I am currently studying International Master Programme in Educational Research and one of the requirements is to write thesis. Therefore, the research project is a part of my education in the program mentioned above at the University of Gothenburg. The main concern of this research is to understand the Turkish immigrant's parental beliefs and practices related to the values that they want their children to learn in a changing socio-cultural context in Sweden. In order to insure that my project meets the ethical requirements for good research I promise to adhere to the following principles:

- Interviewees in the project will be given a detailed written information about the procedure of the interviews in another consent form.
- Interviewees have the right to decide whether he or she will participate in the project, even after the interview has been concluded.
- The collected data will be handled confidentially and will be kept in such a way that no unauthorized person can view or access it.
- The interview will be recorded as this makes it easier for researcher to document what is said during the interview.
- While analyzing it, some of the data might be changed to protect the identity of the participant so that no interviewee will be recognized.
- After finishing the thesis, the data will be destroyed.
- The collected data will only be used in the thesis mentioned above.

You have the right to decline answering any questions, or terminate the interview without giving an explanation.

You are welcome to contact me or my supervisor in case you have any questions (E-mail addresses below).

Student name, e-mail: Fatma Betül Demir, gusdemifa@student.gu.se

Supervisor name, e-mail: Dr. Adrianna Nizinska, adrianna.nizinska@gu.se

Category System

Table 1 Category of cultural maintenance

Theme	Cultural maintenance		
Sub-categories	Participant-1-LALE	Participant-2-YASEMIN	Participant-3-GUL
Language of the home country	<p>-At home, I actually want to speak Kurdish myself and also teach Turkish to my children but it is not happening because my Turkish is not well enough. Suddenly, we start speaking Swedish. In fact, I got angry with myself because of this reason. it is not right. It feels easier to speak Swedish. I don't want to but ...</p> <p>-You do not feel it when you are young but after 40s you start thinking what is my religion? You want to listen to your music. You want to learn more about your culture and became more connected to it and to your religion. It would be different for my children because they are more adapted to here than me... my fear is that they become more Swedish... not becoming Swedish actually to forget your own culture, to forget your religion and language...</p>	<p>-My son is attending a preschool owned by Turks... when he first started, he was only 15 months old and he could not even talk a lot. For a year, only Turkish was spoken to him because I did not want him to be scared. Then, they switched to Swedish.</p> <p>- I was scared that my son will be separated from his own language. Whenever I look at the kids around me they speak half Turkish, half Swedish and I did not want this to happen to my son because we always say that a child who does not know his own language, can only learn other languages as no better than a street language [...] now he can differentiate the languages very well when I go to school, he speaks Turkish with me and Swedish with his teachers or at home sometimes I accidentally use Swedish words and my son says "Svenska (Swedish) cannot be spoken at home mum!"</p>	<p>-“with the voluntary mothers, we gave Turkish language courses in the weekends. Children who speak Turkish came together.”</p>
Own food	<p>“entire family gathers. We cook meat. We celebrate our feasts. It is also (in addition to celebrating Swedish feasts) important for me. When it is the Ramadan, I ask if they (children) want to try fasting”</p>	<p>- ...I still could not get used to the taste of the bread here so that we bake our own bread at home. You see, we even make a pizza at home. Therefore, I feel like a manual laborer. For example, I finished working around 16:00, I get back home, went to my neighbor for a cup of coffee; then, I came home, prepared the food and now, I am here.</p>	<p>-“... and as coming from Turkey, I did not know about here (Sweden) and I did not want my children to be ashamed of me. Therefore, I started to work at the kindergarten in order to learn what they are doing there. There were foods, I have been asked: Is s/he eating meat? Is s/he a vegetarian? And I wondered a lot. I applied to work at the kitchen of the kindergarten to see how these foods are being prepared. I started to work at the main kitchen. I believe that I explained the right way of dining according to our beliefs to the people that I worked with. They were having a dilemma about it. For example, some eats cow meat, some of them only don't eat pork. For</p>

			<p>my kids, they did not eat any meat at all but they ate only the fish and vegetarian foods at the school. However, they eat everything at home. Halal food is very important for me. For that reason, I involved in this job.”</p> <p>- Turkish restaurants increased in the last 2-3 years. Before then, it was only the pizzerias that we can go. To be honest, I could not trust and eat the food in the other places. But here, we bake our own bread, and also; we prepare the other things in order to find the same taste (the taste that she had back in Turkey) ...</p>
Contact with home country nationals	<p>“The things that I didn’t care like culture, like respecting elders. I didn’t care visiting older family members but, somehow, I go back to my old culture as I grew older. I want to, I miss. For example, I visit my mother week after week...I call them frequently which I did not used to do”</p>	<p>-“... here we build our own circle of friends but depending on the occasion they become more important than the family because I do not have any close or far blood relatives here. I have my husband, his family and neighbors. I am living in a neighborhood where more or less 13- 14 Turkish families are living...you become a family. They know everything about you and you know everything about them. I mean most of their parents are in Turkey. For that reason, it is easier to be attached to each other.”</p>	<p>-“Our family is very crowded here. We visit each other’s homes... we have an active social life here but here; for example, it is just him/her alone and maybe one or two friends. s/he does not know anyone else. It is not like that for us... Since 1966, my family (referring to her husband’s family) exits here so our surrounding is very crowded.”</p>
Religion	<p>-“it became like a religion of men. I mean everything is okay for men and when it comes to women, everything is forbidden, sin, hell. Then, you react on it. I do not want to teach my children that way. I want to teach them in a better way and better sides of religions.”</p> <p>-“I did not know about my religion in the past. Now, I read about it...now, I feel how important Islam is, I mean it has an important place. I teach it to my children. But I do not want to teach them in the way I learned it. When I was a child, we were learning this is sin, that is wrong and so on. Then, it is not you put a distance to religion but also you do not interest in that area.”</p>	<p>- I take my child to the mosque since s/he was 3 years old. Every Sunday, we go there. I cannot say anything like this is my perspective but I believe we must live that way. Knowing that the dead is there at the end, it is not okay to accept it as it does not exist.</p> <p>-...I mean since we are coming from a certain religious background, my perspective on this issue is a bit strict. Dependent on this issue, my child’s friendship with other people is the biggest fear of mine.</p>	<p>-I mean for me it is the same to be friend with boys or girls but I think this way if they are having a romantic relationship. According to our (religious) belief, you cannot have sexual intercourse outside of the marriage. For that reason, think about it before when you are having a relationship. You can go to the cinema, the picnic or do other activities but, forward looking, when you think of getting married, then, I mean, I would say embrace that girl, do not upset her. I don’t want neither my daughter nor any other girl to be sad.</p> <p>-...I said too early, please study. I really wanted her to study but she did not. Her dream was to be a housewife and a mother</p>

			since her childhood... When she chose her husband, she came to me and said 'mom you wanted him to be university graduate, he is. You said he should know both his religion and culture, and he should live here and know here, he is exactly like that. As you wanted him to be, he is more mature than me, he has a job, he has good morals, and he is a person who is appreciated by other, they all exist together.
Strategies to cope with possible risks	- <i>"When we visit my parents, I teach them to kiss their hands. Sometimes, my daughter lays down when my dad enters to the room and say to her 'get yourself together, show some respect'... Children imitate you. Sometimes when I call my parents. I tell them that I called my mother and ask for her well-being... Sometimes, I cook food for my mum. You bring it to her (they live in the same neighborhood). Frankly speaking, I make them do it on purpose because, in the future, they understand why I do it. At the same time, they will understand and come back to me. As they say, sometimes, Swedes say that they learn not by speaking but by doing. I try to teach them by doing."</i>	- <i>The foundation! Whatever you fix the foundation the less change will happen in the future. I think of a child as it is a house. If I build the foundation or somehow the walls or the columns are placed, some rooms can change, maybe some of the inside walls can be taken off. It can be decorated again but when you look from outside, it will always be the same building I think.</i>	- <i>The biggest punishment that I give to my son was to ask him sit for 5 minutes...my father-in-law was saying get up my son, I am here, she cannot do anything. No my mom said 5 minutes, it is not over yet. I cannot get up before she come. He (father-in-law) was going crazy, asking how can you make him listen to you, how? But I never approach by scaring them. I approach with his heart. Because he knew I would be sad if he got up... if you approach by heart and love. That love never finishes. On the contrary, it grows bigger. When he grows older, he will try to do as you ask him to do something that way.</i>

Table 2 Category of intercultural contact and participation

Theme	Contact and participation		
Sub-categories	Participant-1-LALE	Participant-2-YASEMIN	Participant-3-GUL
Language of the host country	- <i>"When the language is learned, working life comes. Once you are into the working life, you start communicating with Swedes and building friendship. You observe. But if you do not have the language, it is hard to involve in the working life. Even if you get into the working life, you have certain jobs like cleaning which does not require communication and the people that you work with are mostly from your own culture."</i>	- <i>"...When I look at it, my son can get along with people having different languages. They learn a lot from each other. Looking from that perspective, it is good, I mean it is also good to have friends from one culture but getting along with different people are very good. I can say the same thing for me, I mean when I first arrived here (Sweden), I only kept Turkish people around me. Now, I have Iranian, Albanian, Arab, Somalian friends and even more...being able to communicate with the people</i>	- <i>"Anyway I think you should be learning the language first in order to provide your children's expectations, be sufficient for them, be more social with them outside and to plan their futures"</i>

		<p><i>from diverse ethnicities is very good. Sometimes I look at my class, 12- 13 different nationals are present there. I really like the idea that I can even communicate to a Chinese friend in Swedish (laughter)."</i></p> <p><i>-"... I live here; I earn my life here. I mean it is my homeland (Vatan) and I am a Swedish citizen. Therefore, of course Swedish language is my mother tongue in a way. In order to explain myself, or even going to a hospital in the case of need, I have to know Swedish. Or else, I will need to walk around with a translator for the rest of my life."</i></p>	
Learning the local culture	<p><i>"It is very important that my children follow Swedish culture as long as they live here... they learn at the school but I also do and teach to my children... I do not do anything for the Easter but I do give gifts in the Christmas, my children want. I do. Even I cook sausages, meatballs and toppings (korv, köttbullar and brunsås). I mean similar foods (similar to Swedish Christmas foods) ... They should learn, see. They eat such foods. Then, in the future, they know what they talk about... It is important that they know if they are living here."</i></p>		<p><i>Culture is important, knowing their religious days and national days, and respecting them. Actually, I think it is good if they also know my national days...For example, I attended Saint Lucy's Days with my daughter when she was a young child to introduce it to her...Except it, we attend to the end of term parties in our garden at nights, mid-summer (midsommar) celebrations and Christmas parties (julfest)...I do not want my children to be discriminated so that I want them to know. Anyway, we go down to the garden if we see a light there or any events going on there to celebrate together in our neighborhood (intensely populated by ethnic Swedes).</i></p>
Contact with the locals	<p><i>-Lale talked about the contact with the locals in the work environment as they share the same room to rest where they have a chance to talk with her colleagues.</i></p>	<p><i>-“First of all, my child should learn that s/he should not be looking at one’s race, or clothing while evaluating people for establishing a friendship with them... shortly before, I told you that I am afraid of my child having a friendship with other people with different cultures, by this means, I have friendships (with different cultures) but, of course, I do not put it on the corner that I am a Muslim or s/he is a Christian. Or I have a Jewish friend on the other side. It is a bit weird mix when we sit together as a Muslim, a Jewish and a Christian ☺. However, there, we focus on the things we share. I mean we do not discuss religion or our religions.”</i></p>	<p><i>-“...My children think like a swede depending on the situation. Think like a Turk when the occasion arises. They know very well how to behave accordingly. They can communicate with their Swedish friends and Turkish friends. Sometimes, they can be closer to their Swedish friends but they know the limits. I cannot go further away from this. They can build good relations within those limits.”</i></p> <p><i>- I try to reflect my culture. when I bake a bread, I say it smelled now. According to our tradition, you should share it with your neighbors. I give it out to whole apartment. I do the same with ‘asure’ (traditional dessert) and I say this is our culture. I explain why I give it out to them. They are very happy...</i></p>

<p>Risks associated with contact</p>	<p>-“They (her children) live here so my fear is to become more Swedish in everything... not being Swedish, in fact, I meant forgetting your own culture, religion, language.”</p> <p>- They (her children) get good education and they will have jobs. They will involve in the society easily. The risk is they become more Swedish. One turns in upon oneself on one’s own. The concept of ‘my family’, I mean family concept is disappearing.”</p>	<p>-“I am afraid of my child having a friendship with other people because of this (religion) reason.”</p>	
<p>New gender roles assigned to mothers</p>	<p>Father is only preparing the breakfast which is the only time my children see their fathers. In the weekends, he is busy with other things I believe that the fathers role in the family is really important... Fathers should take an active role in raising (emotionally) healthy child. Unfortunately, in our culture, maybe it is better if I do not generalize it but it is that way in the surrounding that I see and live in. Father role do not exist... they are outside, working 10 hours... all the responsibilities are on mothers’ shoulders.</p> <p>- It is not different in my generation but my son’s generation could be different...I tell with my son ‘you will be doing this when you get married. You cannot sit at home as you do right now, it cannot happen.’</p> <p>- My preliminary goal for my children to get education...of course the job (that they are going to choose) depends on them. Surely I want them to get university education. Then, they can take advantages of the possibilities in Sweden. They feel closer to themselves... Swedish people have closer connections with the educated people.</p>	<p>- My husband is a bus driver. Before it, he was working as a taxi driver. He had to change it after my persistency because it was not a proper job for a family with a child... he was working 13-14 hours. He was coming very tired. Respectively, I started to study, my studies were quite intense. Our child needed care... we set our times according to our child. If I am working, I can be free after 16:00 or 17:00. Then, my husband picks up the kid because he works at nights. We come home, spend 1-2 hours and he goes to work...</p> <p>- The biggest support to the woman is related to child. For example, if he takes care of the child when I am doing the house work or during the school recess time, it is the biggest favor for me.</p>	<p>...they (the mothers living in Turkey) have support of grandparents (in raising kids. Here, not everybody has it. Besides, they can find everything ready. They do not need to cook food or bake bread. But, here, I have to.</p> <p>- In any meaning, we (women)are put off all the responsibility at home. Since, husbands are mostly working in the restaurant business, they are not at home most of the time. Or they work in Volvo. Sometimes, they have morning shift, sometimes, night shift. When they work at night, they have to sleep in the morning. If they work in the day time, they have to get rest. But they women does not have that luxury.</p> <p>- For example, Swedes have working times that covers each other. Father brings the kid (to the preschool school), mother picks up. It shortens the time children spend in the kindergarten. I mean grandmothers might take part there but it is not the same. You know Turkish men. New generation grew up more like Swedes. They help their wives. Division of labor is more common. They take care of their children more. The generation after us is different. I mean better. But our men are not raised up that way. I raise my son in a way that he will help his wife and share. He will undertake some of the responsibilities.</p> <p>-“Yes it (some values) should change... First generation which the women started working, they worked but they did not get any help from men. My mother-in-law tells that she worked in three different jobs</p>

			<p>but still come home and bake bread. Back in the time, there was nothing that they can eat... it was very difficult conditions. Today, it is luxury for us compared to them. We can find everything. We can even find fresh daily halal meat. So values are changing. It is one of the biggest positive changes for us. I mean they share the life with their partners.”</p>
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Table 3 Category of perceived cultural distance

Theme	Perceived cultural distance		
Sub-categories	Participant-1-LALE	Participant-2-YASEMIN	Participant-3-GUL
Perceived differences between Swedish and Turkish parenting styles	<p>-Swedes are raising their kids very well till the age of 18... Most of them are disciplined...they can communicate with their children... they are both like a friend and also a mother to them... they have specific times (like sleeping time), when they say something children understand it. Until 18, I think very good, and they teach very good too, I realized it... For example, I was in zoo with two of my children. There was a Swedish family right next to us. I said 'look, a snake' but Swedish parent said 'a long yellow snake'. Did you see the difference? ... More detailed.</p> <p>-“it (Swedish community) is a very cold community. They are not very friendly or warm which you can approach randomly say hi and talk. I mean it is a very cold society.”</p> <p>-“Then, when they become 18, it is like s/he never been their child... go! They give the bag and go now. Neither you ask (communicate with) me nor I ask you... in days to come, I see that the mother and the father are very lonely... that family communication finishes... I worked too many years at the hospital, I can say eighty percent of them and they are really alone, one feels sorry for them.”</p>	<p>“...those (Swedish) children are more disciplined or they get used to the school life faster. I mean they know that they should put on their shoes and jackets themselves. But we put our children’s shoes on even when they are 5-6 years old...”</p> <p>-“... their perspective is that they will be gone once they turn 18. They do not feel responsibility. Of course they are mothers and fathers, they love their children but their perspectives are different because they themselves also grow up alone after the age of 18...I feel like I would run after him even he became 50 years old. I myself is in my 30s and still my mother tells me to this that way, sit that way or talk like that. I mean she still interferes. I have many Swedish neighbors and their children mostly live in other cities. They only visit for their religious celebrations for 1 or 2 days and go. They do not have communication...as I always say “cold people of the cold land” but other than that, they are super good, helpful which I experience it in my school life. My ethnically Swedish teachers always did their best to help me.”</p> <p>“...as a family, they are not like us. Firstly, I am always telling that they are very distant to their children...when they go to pick up their children from a kindergarten, you can</p>	<p>“...Swedes sometimes ask me ‘do you live with your mother-in-law?’” and I explain it this way. Today, since my children get used to see their grandmother and grandfather around, tomorrow, they will not feel weird or offended by seeing me in their homes when I get older. I pray for being self-sufficient and I hope I wouldn’t be in need of or be a burden to my children...I think the biggest culture deficiency of Swedes is this...”</p> <p>-“They raise them a bit freer. More libertarian...our culture is different. Some people give more freedom to boys, some gives more freedom to girls, or both boys and girls. Or some limits the girl more. But it is not the same for Swedes (Swedish parents). Maybe, it is because of our cultural and religious values. We are a little bit more different. But apart from that, for me, the same rules apply for both a girl and a boy. Definitely!”</p> <p>-“In Swedish culture, when the child went for playing, they would say ‘Can you wait in this room because we will eat’. They do not have a tradition of inviting that child for eating food with them. But I broke it. Whenever children came to us, I cook food after asking ‘Does s/he have any allergies? Does s/he eat this and that? Okay then, s/he is going to eat with us. We are eating now so s/he</p>

	<p>-“we give ourselves to our children. When they grow older, we interfere in their marriages, I mean we interrupt their everything until we die. It does not exist in Sweden...in Sweden, when their children are gone, they do things for themselves. Things like dancing, going to a cinema, meeting with friends. We do not do that. We sit in our homes and wait for someone (referring to one of their children) to knock the door...we have a lot of expectations.”</p>	<p>differentiate the Swedish children within a crowd with multiple ethnicities. When we go pick up our children, they jump on us and we kiss them, smell them as if we have not seen them but when a swede comes, s/he only pats on the back and says ‘hi honey (hej gumman), how was your day?’ no kissing, no hugging.”</p>	<p>can eat with us’. They started to ask me the same question.”</p>
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