



## The impact of migration on (re)negotiating one's gender identity: A qualitative study on first generation of Turkish migrant men living in Sweden

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**Abstract:** This article addresses the ways how Turkish migrant men acknowledge positioning about their gender identity with placing themselves in between of triadic categories, which can be indicated in their narratives as Turkishness, Swedishness, and the Self. While finding themselves at the intersection between three different groups and performing the role of 'generalized other,' migrant men negotiate, react, and respond to the gender identities that they encounter throughout the migration process. By collecting men's narratives of their experiences, the research provided opportunities to reflect on the symbolic meaning of gender identities and manhood. The features that influence gender identities are shaped by broader factors such as culture, class, ethnicity and social hierarchies and also by the elements that arise, individual's social interactions like their personal life stories, experiences, marriage, etc. By exploring first-generation Turkish migrant men's positioning and understanding, this study contributes to the growing research field of treating gender as a central analytic concept for the outcomes of the migration process.

**Keywords:** Migration, masculinities, the self, gender identity, symbolicinteractionism

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*'The marginal man, as Park conceived him was a, cultural hybrid, a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples; never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with his past and his traditions, and not quite accepted, because of racial prejudice, in the new society in which he now sought to find a place. He was a man on the margin of two cultures and two societies, which never completely interpenetrated and fused.'* (Goldberg, 2012:201)

Robert Park created the idea of the 'the marginal man' to describe migrants who came from Europe to the United States by the mid 1890's (Goldberg, 2012). Park's 'the marginal man', 'was himself a microcosm of cultural conflict, which reappeared in his mind as 'the conflict of 'the divided self,' the old self and the new' (Goldberg, 2012, p. 201). According to Park, the cultural conflict that the immigrants experience could provide an opportunity to be positioned and creating a new understanding of themselves in relation to their place and role in the host society. Park's marginal men, who had a potential to reconstruct their identity, turn into creative agents who, as immigrant, experienced cultural conflict as a crisis (Goldberg, 2012).

As Park also points out, when immigrant men move to a new context, conflicting relations with new and old cultural models come along as well. What I mean here with culture is in the sense of everyday life in households, families, streets, work; in everyday situations where is essential in building people's practices, assumptions, expectations, and identities. Turkish Migrants are one of the largest groups in Sweden who started to migrate by mid 1960's. Even though there have been several studies about Turkish Migrants in Sweden and about their integration processes and historical past, there is a lack of research about Turkish Migrant Men, which considers a gendered understanding of the migration process. There is a tendency to see migrant groups as homogenous, and thus we tend to ignore intersections of class, age, length of residency, and marital status in our research. Studying men and

masculinities in the context of migration offers us the possibility to redefine our prospects, such as that men can change their subjectivities and practices, and could serve as an opportunity to understand gender domination and the changing social relations of gender in daily practices of people.

A man's social identity can take different shapes, and some identities could be prioritized over others in different societal and cultural models (Hearn, 2012). If we say that one's own cultural model affects how gender roles and masculinity are shaped, we can ask the question in the case of migrant men: what happens to immigrant men who suddenly find themselves in another cultural context? As Hearn stated, maybe we can argue that for migrant men who find themselves in new cultural and gender expression of roles, old roles can no longer be enabled for them so we cannot take for granted the old gender identities that they have (Hearn, 2012, p. 23).

Throughout the article, this study tries to include a gendered understanding of the migration and settlement process, which suggests an analysis of how normative and social practices surrounding masculinity enter men's personal narratives and how they relationally construct their identities and practices. This article represents an attempt to make a place where the voices of first-generation immigrant men, who found themselves in a new cultural and gendered context, can be heard. My main aim was to avoid a homogenous understanding of Turkish immigration in Sweden. In doing so, I focused my research on the post migration status of educated heterosexual Turkish men who immigrated to Sweden after the 1960s for several different reasons.

By exploring Turkish immigrant men's ideas and understanding of gender perceptions, norms, and cultural practices in Turkey and Sweden, the study will contribute to the growing field of research on exploring and practicing masculinity in different locations. Another contribution of this article is the opening of places to see men and masculinity as shifting phenomena in the process of change and to deconstruct the relationship of men's formation within a gender order.

In light of the above, the main objective of the article is shaped as with following questions: 1.) How do Turkish migrant men position their gender identities in Sweden and Turkey? How do Turkish men perceive changes in their gender identities when moving from Turkey to Sweden? How do they define the shift in their gender expression affect relations in their private sphere?

2.) How do Turkish men perform their post-migration gender identity? To what extent are migration and settlement processes playing a role?

### Historical Background

Many Turkish Migrants are spread all around the world, but most live in Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden. Sweden has been an immigration country for Turks since the mid-1960s. Most Turkish migrants started to immigrate to Europe to seek employment and a better life. Sweden had signed a labor force agreement with Turkey in 1967, but most of the migration happened through unofficial networks (Baser, 2017). The agreement aimed to provide the Swedish economy with temporary unskilled labor, 'guest workers', while thinning the ranks of Turkey's unemployed. The Turkish men who had arrived on their own in the 1960s brought their wives and children to Sweden in the 1970s. People from Ankara, Istanbul and other provinces also migrated to Sweden, mostly through social contacts. The people who came from urban areas had higher socioeconomic position than migrants from rural areas. Turkish migrants came to work in big industrial cities like Stockholm and Gothenburg, where they found jobs mainly in the manufacturing sector as blue-collar workers (ibid).

Later on, people who found jobs as blue collar had a chance to change their careers or build their own job in Sweden. These people had found places in the job market as teachers, nurses, restaurant owner. The participants of this study consist of those people who built themselves another type of career path, different from the first one in respect to

when they arrived to Sweden. After the first phase of immigration ended around 1972, most of the people who immigrated to Sweden did so for political reasons and governmental pressure on political groups in Turkey. Most of the people escaped from the oppressive government. Another wave of migration began after the military coup in 1980, represented by as asylum-seekers, and mostly with a Kurdish origin (Baser, 2017). Since the mid-1980s, asylum seekers have been heading for Western Europe. They have been seeking protection from the consequences of the Turkish military's intervention in civilian politics in 1980, and from the increase in the violence surrounding efforts to suppress a separatist movement by Turkey's large Kurdish minority, which by most accounts makes up roughly 20 percent of the total population. The two sides have fought over a range of issues, including the right to use the Kurdish language and demands for a separate Kurdish state. According to governmental statistics, the violence surrounding the Kurdish problem in Turkey, especially during the first half of the 1990s, led to the displacement of approximately 330,000 people from their regular places of residence (Baser, 2017).

People immigrated to Sweden to find a way to escape from the pressure coming from the different leftist and rightist groups. According to official statistics, there were 47,06 Swedish residents in 2016 who were born in Turkey (Statistics Sweden, 2016)) and more than half living in the city of Stockholm. When we look at the gender ratio while 25,858 immigrants were men, women immigrants were 23,156. Baser mentions that if we include the children and grandchildren of the first generation immigrations from Turkey, the number of Swedes with their origins in Turkey far exceeds 100,000 (Baser, 2017).

#### Moving towards to intersectional and gendered understanding of migration

Starting from the 1980s, men's studies started to grow with the theoretical works of Connell about the construct of masculinity and the variations of masculinity in different contexts. Connell (1995) examined the

differences and similarities of masculinity at various times, places, and experiences. He argued that the way masculinity is constructed would be understandable through the study of local and cultural masculinity. The construction of an intersectional perspective on how class, race, ethnicity, age, and national context affect masculinity became an essential topic to investigate to different kind of stories of men that how this several factors affect their identity and masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

Collin's articulation of the concept of **intersectionality** can be contextualized in my research to understand how the organization of power in given societies is not only shaped by a single axis of social distribution but through many axes that influence each other like culture, ethnicity, class, gender, and nationality. As Collins states, 'For one is never simply just a woman or a man; one is defined by and operates within these other social constructs that have very real consequences that shape experiences, life chances, perspectives, and values' (Cole, 2017).

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The intersectional approach does not recognize individuals from the perspective of not as fixed entities, but rather as they produce their own life narratives and identities in different events. The self is multiple, shifting, changing according to one's own social interactions. According to Connell (2001), if we want to understand the concept of gender and inequalities between men and women, it is important to examine the different systems and institutions of societies like family, marriage, media, state, military, and, in the case of my research, 'migration'. Pease and Hibbins, inspired by Connell's work, suggested that if we want a more fully engendered understanding of the migration process, including the gendered dimensions of men's experience is a necessary component for development of migration and gender studies (Pease 2013, p. 78).

For many researchers who are interested in migration processes in Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities, gender served as a main analytical concept for studying the outcomes of the migration process (Pease 2013, p. 81). Traditional immigration research had a tendency to

generally focus on men 'by examining men as non-gendered humans and it too has ignored the gendered dimensions of men's experiences' (Hibbins and Pease et al., 2009, p. 5). Moreover, according to this understanding, instead of treating the gender as a variable 'within the causes and experiences of migration', rather there is a need to treat it as a 'central analytical concept for studying the causes and outcomes of the migration process' (Ibid). By adopting this approach, I have tried to develop a fully engendered understanding of the migration process through the use of intersectionality to connect the categories of gender, ethnicity, class, race, nationality, etc., together.

#### Theoretical Framework Framing social actors

In contrast to positivist theoretical approaches, which emphasize the statistical and objective understandings of data analysis, I tried to follow the tradition of **interpretive approach** as a theoretical path. The interpretive approach can be defined as human action, and human experience is rooted in people's meanings, activities, interactions, and interpretations (Prus, 1996). The positivistic method while emphasizes a statistical, scientific, and objective understanding of analysis, while the interpretive tradition for many positivist sociologists was criticized for being unscientific and subjective. Weber and the symbolic interactionist conceptualization were the ones that follow the qualitative path of the interpretive framework.

How social actors build their social reality through different cultural models plays a vital role in my analysis of Turkish immigrant men. Many theorists have discussed how to view social actors and their way of constructing social reality. Weber explained that action is something social that is the subjective meaning connected to it by the actions of the individual considering of the behavior of others (Ibid). According to this understanding, social action might be influenced by the past, present and future relationships (Ibid). Weber suggests a method of understanding the meaning of action from the actor's point of view. The actor is seen as a subject rather than an object of the research, in which

individuals organize their understanding and give it a meaning, rather than being unaware objects oriented by other forces (Ibid)

In the same line of Weber's discussion on social actors, symbolic interactionists like Goffman and Mead wrote how social actors are shaped through interactions with others. Turkish migrant men who changed their location to other positioned their individual experience through reflection on people's awareness of Mead's '*generalized other*'. Mead, in his work entitled *Mind, Self and Society*, focuses on the idea that one's mind is not given but rather that it emerges and is shaped when people interact with the others through the processes of communication (Mead, 2015). The mind develops itself through interaction with other people and becomes able to make meaningful implications of itself and others. As Mead points out people's image of the self are asserted through interaction with other and develop taking the 'role or adopting the viewpoint of other' (Cronk) The self is not an unsociable concept or object but instead is something that takes form when we encounter those around us. Humans' ability to think, interpret, define, and select is a 'reflective' process only with the accompany of others and anticipating the self as an object from the viewpoint of other (Prus, 1996. p. 55). Mead explained that 'the reflective essence of self that rooted in a society of others' as generalized other (Mead, 2015). Through the generalized other, individuals embody the expectations of many people and sets of cultural norms, behaviors, attitudes, values, and particular languages (Aboulafia, 2016).

Furthermore, also Goffman (1959) focuses on the human capacity for self-reflexivity in his work called 'The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life'. Goffman's social actors are alive and interactionist. Goffman writes 'they make mistakes, they watch, define, and try to anticipate the other, they plan, they perform, they adjust as objects of their awareness, people have images of themselves and others' (Goffman, 1959 cited in Prus, 1996, p. 80). In my research, my participants started to be reflective about their life experiences and conditions by comparing their past and present relations in different social settings. They were not merely 'dummy' objects that we can



analyze through statistical processes. In the case of my research participants, it was vital for me to acknowledge them as social actors who are reflexive and expressive about their own life choices, experiences, and encounter in different social settings.

Moving from here, Mead explained that 'the self' is not a passive reflection of the generalized other but rather the individual's active reaction to the social world. Individuals can decide what they will do 'in the light of the attitudes of others' (Cronk). According to Mead, there are two phases of the self; the first one is 'me' which refers 'the self' while representing the behaviors, expectations, and attitudes learned through interactions with others and acts in habitual ways; second one is 'the I' can reflect on these and make self-consciousness choices as we can conceptualize that 'it allows us to be different, both from other people and our former selves through reflection on our actions' (Appelrouth and Edles, 2011, p. 62). In this sense we can define the 'the self'(me) as not static or fixed but rather as something that can be developed over time from social experiences and activities.

The self can go through a transformation in relation to different interactions with others. In the light of the discussion of Mead, and partly Goffman, I started to ask this question to the Turkish migrant men migrated to Sweden; what would for one can mean being generalized other when they found themselves with the interaction of people who have different sets of symbols, norms, behaviors, cultural systems different from their previous self? If individuals create themselves through the social interactions with others and create a sense of self, when they move to one culture to another, new reactions can occur with interacting the social actors in the new context. Considering Mead's conceptualization, we can say that when the cultural system in which one resides changes, new selves can produce themselves.

The social interaction between me and my participants and myself positioned them in a triadic situation of 'Swedishness, Turkishness, and the Self'. In describing the generalized other by itself, they position themselves as actors (I) whose audience is their own actions (me). They

unfold the situation of finding themselves from Turkey to Sweden and how this affected their sense of self with the creation of new categories in their interactions. With their encounter of Swedish culture and interaction with Swedish people, Turkish migrant men describe, ascribe, think, position, question, and interpret the social context, norms, and ideas that they found themselves in host community.

*Defining in-betweenness*

The world is becoming more transnational; what we call men and gender relations is not hard to understand only locally or transnationally. What we call gender relations, men, and masculinity are both constructed through local and transnational borders. These local, national, societal, and cultural patterns and what is defined along specific cultures are not fixed entities. They are also shaped by global and transnational processes like migration (Hearn, 1990, p.23).

Immigrant men and their masculinity are not stable entities; men move between different national and cultural contexts where they are confronted '**multiplicity of potential trajectories**' (Howson et al., 2009, p. 5). In saying 'multiplicity of potential trajectories', I interpreted Howson as meaning that transnational migrant men have several kinds of directions they can follow in the new social contexts that they moved to. These migrant men do not consist of homogenous groups, but instead they differ depending on intersectional components. We must acknowledge that the migrant man does not directly assimilate or integrate himself into the new discursive practices of society. There are certain amounts of processes and different reasoning's in which they need to deal with 'multiple potential trajectories' and also a state of in-between-ness, even if they define themselves as having integrated or not integrated into the society they moved to (Howson et al., 2009). In the Turkish context, local masculinity can produce certain kinds of discursive practices to construct identities and organize practices. And in the Swedish context, migrant men can produce 'cultural blending or

corresponding relationships with other Swedish men' (Pease, 2013, p. 85).

As Grillo conceptualizes, I dealt with the states of '**in-between-ness**' of my participants in my analysis (Grillo, 2001). The experiences of migration for my participants were trans-migratory, which is marked by 'in-between-ness' where their identities cannot be restricted to the local society from which they came or the one in which they settled. As Nowicki describes, Turkish migrant men became 'little by little', instead of being someone from 'here' or 'there', they have become someone simultaneously 'here and there' (Ibid 2001, 103). This state of 'in-between-ness' can be explained with the formation of a hybrid identity. We can say that there is a three-way of possibilities of social integration. The first is *marginalization*, which refers to the distancing of oneself from both cultures at the same time. Second is *assimilation*, which can be defined as the full adoption of the host culture and segmentation and the complete identification and socialization inside the ethnic surrounding (Schumann, 2011). And last, *multiple integrations* allow for the development of a hybrid identity, which I prefer to call in my participants' feeling of being home neither represented in Turkey and Sweden for most of them, or 'in-between-ness' (ibid).

Transformations in what men do, with whom men engage, and what men understand emphasize the importance of going back to the social meanings about what is to be a man. And it is possible in this context to see why 'identity has emerged as one of the key dynamic concepts in... rethinking social and cultural change' (Hearn, 2013, p. 134). The process of transmigration is something linked to social, economic, and cultural relations, and the activities of daily life could take a different path or not in the new transnational social field that they settled. The identities of people cannot be constructed by itself, but rather must be through social relations. When transnational men move to a new context, they enter new social relations in which gender regimes and the gender order constitute specific discourse.

The main point that caused my participants to be in a state of 'in-betweenness' was the construction of the different cultural model in Sweden and Turkey. Turkey was drawing a picture of a collectivistic system of culture in contrast to Sweden's individualistic values. My participants were aware that these two formulated ways of constructing cultural norms and values affected how they act, define, speak, think, and how they perceived gender and gender identities.

Hofstede explains that there are four dimensions of social systems: power distance, collectivism vs. individualism, femininity vs. masculinity and uncertainty avoidance (Hofstede, 2011, p. 2). Power distance emphasizes how members of certain kind of institutions, like 'family', accept that power is something distributed unequally. While Sweden characterizes an attitude of culture that lowers inequality, meaning being independent, equal rights and power are decentralized, Turkey portrays the opposite picture. In individualism and collectivism, individualism measures the degree of interdependence a society maintains among its members. It can illustrate that the ties between individuals are weak and everyone is expected to look after himself or herself (Ibid. p. 13).

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In collectivism, people belong to groups, families, and organization, and throughout people's lives, it's essential to protect and keep ties strong with each other. In individualistic cultures, gender roles are not very distinct and the margin of being masculine and feminine is not sharp, while in collectivistic traits, the social roles of being women and men are highly differentiated. In social and family relations, gender equality is prominently essential regarding how societies differ. While the traditional gender roles of men are higher (men are the breadwinners, women are the caretakers) in countries with low gender equality, the roles of women and men have more freedom to destroy this traditional construction in countries with high gender equality like Sweden (Hofstede, 2011, p. 16).

My participants reflected on how they found themselves, and how migration from a collectivist society to individualistic society affected

their relations with gender, family, and connection in Sweden. What I call Swedish values or Turkish values are not static elements but are interchangeable and self-reflexive, like the migrant men themselves. It is important to point out that there is no homogenized picture of how Turkish society or Swedish society is framed, but the only thing that we pay attention to here is how these characteristic values affect the descriptions of Turkish migrant men exposed to Swedish culture.

### Methodological considerations

Schrock and Schwalbe (2009, 279) suggest that 'qualitative methods provide the best insight into how men present themselves as gendered beings.' Following the footsteps of Schrock and Schwalbe, I decided to avoid survey-based and questionnaire-based approaches since I wanted to dig into how Turkish men position themselves with their own perceptions. I wanted to stay away from materializing men and masculinity by treating them as fixed identities. As I adopted a qualitative method, methodological concerns emerged from the ethnographic tradition of research. Malinowski, an important figure of ethnographic research, insisted in his work that ethnography should not begin with a rigid hypothesis (O'Reilly, 2008, p. 54).

I had some concerns about how I was going to prevent myself from having assumptions and a hypothesis in my mind about what I kind of answer I might receive from my participants. From that moment on, I accepted that it is impossible start out with no preconceived ideas, thoughts, or theories. Since I am from Turkey and share the same cultural package with my participants, I was afraid to adopt the fully inductive approach that ethnographic research tradition requires. The inductive approach could be explained along the lines of the 'researcher starts with as open a mind as as few preconceptions as possible allowing theory to emerge from the data'. The deductive approach can be defined as the data that emerged from the theory (O'Reilly, 2008, p. 104).

As I was having these concerns throughout my research and rejecting the idea of deductive approach, I felt like I had to find a middle way to analyze my data with another kind of methodological approach. Instead of totally adopting an inductive approach, Karen O'Reilly suggests to use an iterative inductive method, which can be described as the acceptance that we have some preconceptions, theories, and goals as researchers and that it is impossible to think that an 'ethnographer can be entirely inductive' (O'Reilly, 2005, p. 2). According to O'Reilly, iterative- inductive approach includes 'drawing on a family of methods, involving direct and sustained contact with human agents, within context of their lives and cultures, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions, and producing a richly written account that respects the irreducibility of human experience, that acknowledges the role of theory, as well as the researcher's own role, and that views humans as part object/part subject' (O'Reilly, 2005, p. 2).

Instead of adopting a deductive approach, which is a theory-before-research method, I tried to start my research with as open and clear a mind as possible about what I was going to gather through data collection. I let my data lead my analysis and theoretical framework. During my research process, I tried not to close my mind to things that would surprise me, and during the data collection process, I focused on theories and concepts that could be useful for my research. 'This involved a constant iteration of participating, writing, reading, thinking, listening, and participating, in a circular rather than linear way' (O'Reilly, 2008). By acknowledging that the ethnographic research is not a 'clean experience' (O'Reilly, 2005, p. 5), I looked through the lenses of a Turkish person and with a baggage of an academic knowledge, and my role as a researcher was hard to ignore. The things I recorded as data were directly related to my own theoretical orientation and subjectivity. My preconceptions shaped my goals and theories, but I tried to minimize the effect of these and turn them into advantages was my main goal by trying to acknowledge and be reflexive in accepting this.

Moreover, my methodological considerations also came from the encounter between a woman researcher and my male participants is an

illustration of a gendered power which is gender as also performed and have implications on my own finding and analysis in my research. As one of the prominent standpoint theorist Donna Haraway discussed that the situated knowledges that produced in my research is in a relationship with certain power structures such as gender, class, ethnicity etc. (Haraway, 1988). Being in a neutral position towards as a woman researcher in my research was not completely possible. While interpreting their experiences, I acknowledged my privileged position as a woman from Turkey in an academic world which has the power to interpret my participants' social realities. The situated knowledge that I analyze with my own interpretation is produced in a specific social context and certain experiences.

As a female researcher, I tried to follow the footsteps of feminist methodology. As Pease and Pini and Dywer and Buckle underlines during the 1980's feminist postmodernist-standpoint researchers drew a three methodological highlight (Pease and Pini, 2013; Dywer and Buckle, 2009):

1.) 'a recognition of the open presence of the researcher as intrinsic to the process' (Pease and Pini, 2013, p. 40);

2.) 'non-hierarchical, non-manipulative research relationships which have the potential to over- come the separation between the researcher and the researched' (Dywer and Buckle, 2009, p. 62)

3.) 'transforming the research process into one of conscientization, a process of learning and critical self-reflection for the participants' (Pease and Pini, 2013, 40-41).

#### Interviews and experiences

The interviews were conducted by myself on eight Turkish migrant men. I needed to limit my sample to eight semi-structured interviews due to the time limitation in my research process. The length of my interviews was between 1.5-2 hour. The participants of my research were chosen through a snowball method, and selected through existing networks from my

own involvement with the Turkish community in Sweden and familiarities through people. I used a thematic analysis to analyze my interviews. A thematic analysis can be defined as a method identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns within data (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 79). As I discussed before I adopted an iterative-inductive approach which develops a process of coding the data without trying to fit them pre-existed frames in my mind.

As following to footsteps of thematic analysis, I listened the audio-records of my interviews more than one time and after I transcribed them, I re-read them during my analysis process. I coded every data item that could be have a potential for the themes. Among the several themes of analysis, there were work life, comparison between Swedish and Turkish culture, gender relation, family and social life for Turkish migrant men. The aim of both these chapters was to show how the movement of men to different geographical places could make them question and analyze their way of constructing identities and gendered identities in relation to home and host community.

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The research sample contained men who had left Turkey after 1970's and restricted the length of the stay in Sweden between 20- 50 years.

Name	Marital Status	Length of Stay	Education/ Occupation	Age
<i>Erdem</i>	Married to a Turkish woman	47 years	high school- owns his cleaning company	63 years old
<i>Ali</i>	Married to a Turkish woman	49 years	high school- trade sector	67 years old
<i>Mehmet</i>	Married to a Swedish woman	47 years	university- architect in Turkey and teacher in Sweden	70 years old
<i>Ahmet</i>	Married to a Swedish woman	20 years	university- doctor	45 years old
<i>Cem</i>	Married to a Swedish woman	34 years	university- teacher	65 years old
<i>Osman</i>	Married to a Turkish woman	47 years	university- engineer	68 years old
<i>Selim</i>	Divorced from a Swedish woman- now single	28 years	high school- tourist agency owner	53 years old
<i>Halil</i>	Married to a Turkish woman	45 years	high school- owns a restaurant	64 years old



The group is heterogeneous in terms of marital status, length of stay, education, motivation for leaving Turkey, but I tried to choose to class of my participants from middle-class men who at least highest completed education is high school. Here it is important here to acknowledge that all my interviewees were heterosexual, and if I were to extend my study to homosexual men, the results would have been different. All of my participants religiously were Sunni and had a Turkish origin.

I strove to get the interviewees to talk as openly and variedly possible about their lives in the old country and about the migration process and existence in the host country. I told my informants that I wanted to conduct their interviews in the manner of a casual meeting in a social environment. I wanted my interviewees to choose a place to meet because it was important for me that they felt comfortable enough to talk. Three of my interviews were conducted in a household environment, and the rest were conducted at coffee shops where my participants choose to meet in the Swedish cities of Lund and Malmö.

Although all of my participants had visited Turkey various time after they immigrated to Sweden, and one can assume that they can have an enough knowledge of current situation in Turkey, I must admit that there were no fixed facts in the sense when they talk about how the reality is in Turkey for all men nowadays. Their past relations of the social world have formed the men's self- concept and view of life. The experiences they had back then make it possible to identify certain patterns and processes about the discourse of Turkish culture, men, and masculinity.

The main question I tried to centered my interview questions was how the migration from one culture to another had influenced the men in my study in relation to their perception of themselves as men in general. Six general areas were covered in the semi-structured interviews: Their relations with Turkey, migrant experiences, ethnicity, work and family conditions, relation with Swedish women and men. The order of coverage varied, depending on the flow of conversation with each Turkish migrant man.

I had some concerns about conducting my interviews in Turkish because I was going to translate everything into English to analyze my findings. I was afraid that during the translation process specific meanings and phrases in Turkish were going to lose their meaning for my reader. I found it hard to translate some of the words to English.

Since I was sharing the same store of knowledge with my participants in my research, I had the chance to attribute more meanings to the things they said. I was aware of how a Swede, or someone from another culture, would interpret differently from my interpretation if they were to conduct this research. I am aware that my transcription and translation are not completely neutral and unbiased. Moreover, it is necessary to acknowledge that transcription and translation process was important to take into account for my analysis because the way I transcribe and translate contains my references and biases (Dong and Blommaert, 2010, p. 68).

During all the data collection and analysis processes, I tried to sustain my role as a researcher which I know that there is no neutral production of knowledge, as all knowledge is situated in relation to the researcher's positions and experiences (Harraway, 1988). My perspectives and my position were a part of my fieldwork. As Blommaert and Dong discuss, I think that 'an analysis of the interview is never just an analysis of what the interviewee said, it is an analysis of a dialogue between men and the interviewee' (Dong and Blommaert, 2010, p. 49) When I was putting together results, as a researcher, I was part of it in many ways; by selecting the research questions I found interesting, my interactions with interviewees, and the inspiration I got from my previous experiences, and theories.

#### Ethical considerations

The ethical decisions in this research were directed by the ASA/ Ethical guidelines for good research practice (2011). This study is not based upon to review by an ethical board. When the thesis began, I tried to make sure

that that I would have not posed any major ethical challenges. However, throughout my research, I tried to follow established ethical principles. Verbal consent received from all interviewees. When I was contacting with them and before we started the interview, I informed them that they would have been kept anonymous in the research, and asked their permission to record the interviews. I told them whenever they felt uncomfortable about talking for a topic to get recorded, we could have stopped (except one of my interviewees, no one wanted to stop recording during the interviews).

I also made clear that the data would have only been used for this research. I had to be sure that the interviewees were informed about the research objectives, that they agreed to participate, that their anonymity would have been preserved and that the recorded interviews would have only been used for research purposes. My participants wanted me to do keep their real name under cover so I changed their name because of ethical concerns. I was afraid to exploit my participants' good intention to help me out during my research. When we finished to interviews, some of the men's expressed that how they feel relaxed and happy to talk about these things because it made them to rethink to their life choices and experiences. Moreover, I believe that this kind of studies has a good effect on society level because it makes people to realize that starting a new life as an immigrant in a new society can be challenging for social actors, more than we think.

#### On emotions and Reflexivity

Ethnographers are in 'precarious situations' because of as researchers and 'participants in the life-worlds of others' (Prus, 1996, p. 187). My role in my research is a source of intrusive self who as a researcher forces to generalize and simply other people's lives (O'Reilly, 2008, p. 191). I found myself trying to maintain dramaturgical discipline (Goffman, 1959); I noticed that during the research process. I was on a stage while in the existence of interviewees in my field. I was trying to manage my

emotional experience through the challenges and ambiguities in field research (Prus, 1996).

I tried to locate myself in my research as openly and honestly as much as I can which my analysis filtered through my own subjectivity. Furthermore, I strongly believe that there is a need of acknowledging the emotional labor and subjective reflexivity involved in doing qualitative research. During the research process, I often found myself emotionally involved more than I needed to.

As a researcher, I was aware that my subjectivity could affect my research in different ways. The predominant part of my subjectivity which had an impact on my research was my gender, age and nationality. I was a female second-year master's student, coming from Turkey and living in Sweden for almost 2 years, which is less than my Turkish participants immigrated to here.

I experienced what Lyman and Scott defines as "stage fright" that I was worried about my ability to feel comfortable with my interviewees during the interviewee process (Prus, 1996: 188). After I conducted my interviews, I found myself emotionally drained and exhausted. One day after I finished one of my interviews, I went to grab a coffee with my friends and when they saw me, they told me that I was looking very saddened and exhausted. I tried to explain them how I felt connected when my participant talked about his migration process in a new context.

In the process of conducting interviews, I performed an emotional labor (Hochschild, 2003 cited in Seear and McLean, 2008) as a researcher while I was listening to the life stories of my participants. I suppressed my own emotions in exchange for making the interviewee feel comfortable. However, at the end of the interviews I was left on my own to process how they made me feel afterwards. When they started to talk about the loneliness that they felt, and the feelings of missing home, I started to memorize my own adaptation process to Sweden, and made me think about those days. When some of my participant expressed how throughout all these years they were never fully integrated in Sweden, it

led me to think about my own fears and feelings to live in another society and culture different than mine. I was in their same situation, coming to a new country and changing my whole life for my education at a younger age. I had hard times.

As a woman searching for men, I was aware that my research was including gendered power (Pease and Pini, 2013). I had some concerns whether my male participants would have been less willing to participate to my research, or would have been less talkative when answering to questions that I asked. Since I was a young female researcher, and way younger than my participants, I think that I was not assigned to a position of having an 'authoritarian researcher' female identity towards my male participants (Arendell, 1997). That gave a certain kind of strength to my research, as well as some disadvantages.

I felt like most of my participants would not full see myself in the researcher role, but rather as someone that had the same as their kids; I could have been their daughter, or one of their relatives. Suddenly, I found myself, instead of a researcher, as someone that they could share their concerns about life, inner thought, and the political and social situation and future of Turkey, with. Although after we finished the interview, they wanted to continue talk with me about their life, retirement plans, and the fear of getting old. I could see from my participants that they found in me as someone close to their nationality. some of them they invited to have dinner with their families since they were seeing me a young girl who came to study to another country. I felt like I was getting closer to them as I should have not to.

I tried to keep my position as 'working in the hyphen' while I was trying to position myself as insider and outsider status. As Fine and Sirin, Kanuha developed a strategy as strategies for researching at the hyphen of insider and outsider status, I tried to position myself in the betweenness of them (Fine and Sirin, 2007). Since my research focuses on the qualitative analysis of cultural narratives of the Turkish migrant men who moved to Sweden, I consider myself as an insider in this group because I am a native Turkish, born and raised in Turkey. Engaging in

the research from a feminist perspective also means not intentionally drawing boundaries between those doing the research and those being researched, although each person has a different relationship to the work being done (Lloyd, Ennis & Alkinson, 1994).

As Dwyer and Buckle defines, insider research refers to share as a researcher to same identity, language and experiential base with the participants of study (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). To be an insider researcher made my participant to more open to me and allowed me to collect more in-depth data. Some of my participants, at the end of interviews, told me that they would have not felt comfortable if they had spoken to a Swedish person or from another nationality, about this topic. Sharing a certain kind of national background made them to accept to do participate to my research.

As an insider, the linguistic easiness which I shared with my participants helped me to gain more data and insights about my research. I was familiar to the narratives and stories that they were telling to me about Turkey. It was easy to build a trustful relationship because I was coming from the same background and speaking same native language with my participants. They were seeing me as an acquaintance they could share their lives and thoughts about Turkey and Sweden with. I was afraid that my role as an insider would hinder my research process with the possibility of 'the participant will make assumptions of similarity and therefore fail to explain their individual experience fully' (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009, p. 58). The disadvantage of being an insider for me was that I could not ask simple questions that someone who is an outsider status would easily ask. I think as an insider, I unintentionally avoided asking the questions whose answers I already assume to know.

At the same time, I was on outsider in the Swedish society who moved here two years ago. I did not have any previous experience about Swedish culture and practices. As an outsider, I was able to keep my distance and objectivity towards Swedish culture but it was not the same for Turkish context. As an insider, I had difficult times to keep a distance

emotionally and objectively to my own culture. Even though I found some positive sides positioning myself not insider or outsider, I felt the pressure of losing my objectivity, being overly subjective with internalizing my participant's point of views. I was worried that as an insider perspective my research was going to be seen as biased or not scientific enough. I noticed that I was both the subject and object of my research.

I had my own challenges in identifying whether I was an insider or outsider, or somewhere in between in my research (Acker, 2000). I think that the terms of being an insider and outsider are something slippery. As Acker suggests, instead of focusing to restrict myself with the question of being insider or outsider, I prefer to position myself 'the space in it between' as researcher (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009, p. 57). I believe that since the process of research includes intensive process of reading and writing, my perspective shaped my position as researcher. Therefore, it was hard to drive a drive clear-cut position in respect to the one that I occupied as researcher.

### Men in betweenness

Turkish migrant men as active social actors, positioned themselves in a triangular structure of categorization as in relation to 'Swedishness, Turkishness and 'the Self'. Through their narratives, my participants positioned themselves with different verbal categories by viewing their own actions in previous self and new self. They structured certain kind of structural descriptions of themselves as in relation to Turkish women/ Swedish women, Turkish culture/ Swedish culture, Turkish men/ Swedish men. Using the method of contrast in their own narratives, they constantly compared and contrasted Sweden and Turkey through their own experiences.

Thus, a 63 years' old man, Erdem who had been living in Sweden for 47 years explained that the protection of Turkish identity was playing a vital role for him to sustain his life in Sweden:

I have never seen myself as Swedish after almost 50 years. I have always wanted to appear in my Turkish identity. I wanted them to accept me for who I am, how I am. I can say that maybe I integrated myself but I have never been assimilated and that's the most important thing. If you are living in another society and accept living in there, you need to accept being integrated but not assimilated. I'm seeing my friends who get assimilated, they are adapting custom and tradition of Swedishness especially the ones that marry a Swedish woman, and you can see the effect on their kids.

Erdem specifically emphasized that having a Swedish identity and Turkish identity are two different categories to describe 'sense of self' that he has. And then he continued through acknowledging that there is a difference between being assimilated and integrated to a new society. While he was describing that he feels himself integrated, he didn't accept to get assimilated by custom and tradition of Swedishness. For him being a Swede or Turk have a certain different appearing in his mind and he choose to positioned himself through his Turkish identity.

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Also, my other participant Ali, who is 67 years old, commented this:

My Turkishness cannot be erased. I'm the son of Ottoman women; this can't be changed, either by culture or other things. The thing that I'm sad about the changes that are happening in Turkey. Turkey is changing and not in a positive way, unfortunately. When you say Swedishness, I always supported my Turkishness in Sweden; I would never stamp down that. Us 'Turks' since we are Muslims there is always negative and disadvantage thoughts and behaviors against us. In my work life, I had hard times because of my name so many times. I'm here almost 50 years, and I'm sometimes regretting that I build my life in here. Of course, there are some other sides that it's beautiful, but I have



never felt belong to this country, and I'm not going to feel myself like that in the future either.

The positioning of one's self between Swedishness and Turkishness became clearer as a distinctive category when Ali expressed that he always wanted to expressed himself through his Turkishness. According to my participant, the reason behind the fact that that he never felt to belong to this country was the ethnic discrimination: he was going through because of his name and religious identity. In Sweden, his Turkish identity had a bad connotation in people's mind for him and this made him establish certain kind of close relationship with Turkishness rather than Swedishness. As Mead defines societies made up of human beings communicating mutually through making the meaning of 'shared symbolic representation of the generalized other' (Prus, 1996). In the case of my participant, through reflecting to his representation of self in the host society, Ali became aware of how he was seen in the eyes of others and in relation to that he develops a sense of self.

The 70 years old, Mehmet who is married to a Swedish woman was emphasizing on how he constructed his identity between Turkey and Sweden:

Well, I did this in this way... I always had a relationship with Turkey. My family was there, and we were visiting my family and friends in Turkey very often. I'm not Turkish or Swedish, but at the same time, I'm Swedish and Turkish. I can say that I'm in the middle of the two. I believe that I adapted myself to Swedish culture very well. I believe that I know Swedish culture and relations maybe more than a Swede. Even though my Swedish is not perfect, I can read every book. I'm a Turk who protected my Turkish self through adjusting the Swedish culture.

Mehmet was voluntarily trying to protect his relationship with Turkey through visiting Turkey time to time. When my other participants pointed out in their expression of understanding of their 'self' was emphasizing their Turkishness and Turkish identity more than others, Mehmet on the

contrary preferred to view his identity both from a category of Swedishness and Turkishness. As Khosravi states, migration itself does not need to be a traumatic experience of marginalization or being incomplete, but instead, one can have double identities and be able to maneuver among them (Khosravi, 2009). My participant asserted his position that having a distinct identity as Turkish and Swedish made him develop a different tactic towards building 'hybrid identities' (Schumann, 2011). He is aware that he is in this state of in-between-ness in Sweden with his ethnic Turkish background, but this turned out for him a way to position himself with old self and the new self that he has now.

#### Men's relationship with new gender relations

While my participants were having a state of 'in between-ness' towards their 'The self' in Sweden with comparison to Turkey, they were also having conflicting experiences reflection of in their family relation, women and expected gender roles. Coming from a culture in which the concept of a man and woman has been mapped in a distinctive way, moving from a collectivist and family-oriented society into a more individualistic and independent society in which gender roles are less distinctive was one of the biggest conflicted themes among my participants. Turkish men's ideas about male identities were knitted with women's identities, gender roles, and their relationships. Migration to Sweden made them to compare and contrast the discourse of being a woman in Turkey and Sweden in relation to family and gender relations. Migration allowed them to take different roles and performances through describing between what it means to practice family and gender roles in Sweden and Turkey. The men in this part emphasize how different the social context of gender relations was different from Turkey.

When I asked one of my participants, Ali, about what are the views about Swedish women, family and the reason of why he married a Turkish woman, he answered by saying;

I have never considered getting married to a Swede because of cultural differences. What was going to happen after kids born? I felt like if I married a Swedish woman, I'm going to feel myself in prison. I was afraid to get married to Swedish women because there is going to be a huge family difference. I had some Swedish girlfriends, but I always knew that I would get married to a black-haired Turkish girl. I was seeing the people around me that married a Swedish women getting divorced after 5-10 years and I was getting more afraid if I get married to a Swede, we will get divorced.

And then he continues,

I believe that Swedish women cannot be affectionate to her family, kids like Turkish women. I knew that Swedish women couldn't be with me; I wouldn't have the courage and enough time to change her ideas. Swedish women are more headstrong, independent and Turkish women are dependent. Women in Sweden have more freedom of thought, and they are living in a freer way for many years. I was afraid if I get married to a Swedish woman, to ruin the family will be easier. I wanted my wife to be attached to my mom, family and our culture.

Ali states that there are cultural differences that lie down in the characteristic values of Swedish and Turkish women in relation to family-life and gender- role expectations. By comparing Swedish women to Turkish women, Ali described Swedish women described as more attached to their freedom and interdependency, and this made to lose their ties to have affectionate family relations. In the contrary, he describes Turkish women as more dependent and attached to her family and kids. The emotion of 'being afraid' of getting married to a Swedish woman is related for Ali to the protection of Turkish cultural values and family relations with getting married a black-haired Turkish girl as he did.

My other participant is named Erdem, he is married to a Turkish woman, and preferred to marry a Swedish woman. He gave answers to my questions similar to Ali:

I had some Swedish girlfriends, but my family was extremely conservative so I couldn't do that. I didn't think that they were going to accept this. My mom told me that 'don't even try to introduce to your father, he will never accept this.' And then he emphasized that 'I thought that Swedish women customs and tradition were not going to fit my family life, I was seeing around me that many couples were getting divorced and families are getting destroyed. There are some differences between Turkish women and Swedish women; they are freer and have a broad vision. They have more self-confidence in family life comparing to Turkish women. If I had married a Swedish woman, I would have more responsibilities because Swedish women are growing up with more self-confidence when the equal rights matter of fact...

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Erdem illustrates himself as a migrant man who moved to Sweden with his whole family, continuing to carry on their conservative, traditional values that comes from previous cultural setting. Erdem's mother's behavior towards him to introduce his Swedish girlfriend to his parents was something that later on reflected on the idea. If he marries a Swedish woman, she was not going to be able to fit her into his family as he thought about this. Both Ali and Erdem had a common fear that if they married a Swedish woman, their marriage was going to end up with a divorce because of cultural differences. As Ali distinguished Swedish women from Turkish women, Erdem continued to do that using same kind of rhetorical categories like 'being free, having a self-confidence, giving importance to equal rights'; the later were representing, and the Swedish women, opposites of this were Turkish women.

And, he, continues to make some insightful comments about how domestic responsibilities are conducted inside of family life in Sweden;

Inside of home, with the care of the kid and raising them, everything needs to be at the same level, and that could be a problem between Swedish women and me. To give an example from my relationship, the reason why I ended up my last Swedish girlfriend was this. I came back home after work, and I asked her to bring me water and then she replied to that 'well I just got back from work too! You can go and get your water to yourself! I don't remember if my wife told me that kind of thing one day, these are maybe can sound too simple to you. But after she said like this, I didn't see her again. I just thought that if she is not able to get a glass of water to me how she will take care of a family or protect it.

One of the essential central parts of the societal interaction in Turkey is 'the family' (Boratav, 2017). In traditional family relations, husband-wife relationships reflect patriarchal values and generally based on hierarchical order in Turkey. According to this, men's authority and hierarchical superiority can be seen as the main gender norm in this order, and women can be seen as an object of men's authority. This means that it needs to be weak in relations, less valuable and needs to obey (Boratav, 2017). For Ali, to have an equal relation inside of the family relations was an obstacle for him to build a relationship with Swedish women. He is supporting this idea that he expresses giving of how he broke up his last Swedish girlfriend that he had. As Mansson states, *'the immigrant men's traditional propensity for controlling and dominating a love relation sometimes collides with the Swedish women's striving for independence'* (Mansson, 1993; Khosravi, 2009). His girlfriend's behavior of not bringing glass of water to Ali made him characterize Swedish women in the opposite of traditional role of women as 'caretaker' inside of the family relations.

## Conclusion

This article explored how first-generation Turkish migrant position their perceptions of gender identity concerning intersecting factors like ethnicity, class, social systems, and personal relations between Sweden and Turkey marked by migration, settlement process. This study gives importance to insights about first generation Turkish immigrant men's understanding of the post- factum status of their descriptions.

The profound findings showed that Turkish immigrant men generated a sense of 'generalized other' about their encounters with different gender relations, and norms in the host society. They have become aware of the dissimilarities between Sweden and Turkey due to their post factum status of the migration process. They have compared and contrast two sets of generalized others and become being able to position themselves in between two societies. That caused them to catch a moment of creativity to constitute a new way of understanding of themselves. As Mead's explains, immigrant men's 'the self' through interacting with new gender relations and the social system took a different form from the previous sets of symbols that they constructed themselves. In this moment of creativity through reflecting the 'I' they defined and positioned themselves in the triadic situation of 'Swedishness, Turkishness, and the self.' Turkish migrant men as social actors were alive subjects that they construct, contrast, contest their sense of their identity, belonging and gender through a critical re-appropriation of their 'past' and a creative redefinition of what was available to them in the host society (Goffman, 1959 cited in Prus, 1996).

Moreover, Turkish immigrant men's social interactions in their private spheres also created cultural tensions for them. Some of my participants reflected upon their fear of getting married to Swedish women because of cultural differences. When they were describing the Swedish women, almost all of men's emphasized to individualistic characteristics of society through attributing features like being independent, not being attentive and attached to her family, self-confidence, selfish in comparison to Turkish women. My participants

described Turkish women from a collectivistic societal setting with the features of being affectionate and connected to her family, husband, kid, dependent, and less self-confidence.

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**Appendix:**

**Interview Guide: General questions:**

- How old are you? What is your marital status?
- Do you have any kids? How many if you have?
- What is your profession?
- When did you move to Sweden? What were the reasons that caused you to move to Sweden?
- How do you feel as a Turk in Sweden?
- What does it mean to be Turkish in Sweden for you?
- How can you identify yourself as in terms of ethnically and culturally?  
-Swedish or Turkish?  
-If identify himself as Turkish ask How are you feeling as a Turk who are living in Sweden?
- What are the relations that you have as Turk within Swedish society?
- Do you try to keep the contact with Turkey and relatives?
- Do you travel to Turkey very often?
- How do you feel when you go back to Turkey as Turkish men living in Sweden?

**Family/ Fatherhood:**

- Do you feel that filling the breadwinner role is essential for you and your family in Sweden?
- Do you think to create equally shared housework chores is possible?
- If you compare Sweden with Turkey, do you think that to create an equal environment in housework chores is more important in Sweden?
- How is in your family? Who do you think is more responsible in housework?
- Do you help housework chores?
- What is your expectation from your wife or women in the housework chores?
- How is it to be a Turkish father in Sweden?
- How is it feels like to raise your kid in Sweden?  
- Do you think you have involved their life enough?

- Think about your relationship with your father in a Turkish context and your relation with your kids in Sweden? Is there any differences or similarities among them?
- What is being a 'good' father means in Sweden for you?
- What is being a 'good' father means in Turkey for you?
- Do you think your kid is more integrated into Swedish context or Turkish?
- Do you think fatherhood you are experiencing or observing is different from Turkish context?
- What do you think about Swedish men and their relations with their families and kids? Is it differing from Turkish men?
- What do you think for parental leave for fathers? Do you think parental leave for fathers is a good thing or not?
- How is your work life? Are you satisfied and happy what you are doing?
- Do you have good connections with your colleagues?
- What are your thoughts about your Swedish male colleagues?
- Do you think you have different personality traits from your Swedish male colleagues?
  - Are you feeling comfortable around them?
  - Are you sharing your problems?
  - Are you socializing with them outside of workplace?
- Do you face any social pressures in your workplace as a Turkish man?
- What do you think about pay discrimination in workplaces? Do you think women and men need to get paid equally?
- Do you believe that women and men have different places in different work fields?
- What do you think about how gender perceptions in workplaces differ in Sweden from Turkey?  
Do you think women and men need to have different responsibilities?

**Cultural setting and social relations:**

- Tell me about your experiences as Turkish male migrant in Sweden? It was hard for you to adopt a new culture or not? How did

you feel? Did you feel excluded or included?

- Do you think it is easy to connect with Swedish people? Do you think to know the language helped you to integrate more into the Swedish society?
- Are you socializing with more Turkish male migrants in your daily life activities? If it is yes what kind of things are you doing with them? What are the topics you are generally talking?
- Do you think that have you ever face or experience with racial attitudes and discrimination as a Turkish man living in Sweden?
- What was the first cultural differences that you notice when you move to Sweden that makes different from Turkish culture?
- Did you have any ideas about gender relations in Sweden before you move here?
- What are your perceptions about men and women relationships in Sweden? Do you think there is a big difference than Turkey?
- How can you define traditional male-female roles in Turkey? How? Why?
  - Can you observe the same kind of traditional roles in Sweden?
  - How was the being raise as a Turkish man?
  - What are your perceptions about Swedish men?
  - What are your perceptions about Swedish women?
  - Do you think Swedish men and Turkish men differs?

Cinsiyet Kimliklerinin (Yeniden) İnşa Edilmesine Göçün Etkisi: İsveç'te Yaşayan  
Birinci Nesil Türk Erkek Göçmenleri Üzerine Niteliksel Bir Araştırma

**Öz:** Bu çalışma, Türk erkek göçmenlerin cinsiyet kimliklerini kendi deneyimleri ve söylemleriyle Türklük, İsveçlilik ve Benlik triadik kategorilerini üzerinden nasıl konumlandıklarını ele almaktadır. Bu üç kategorinin arasında kendilerini konumlandırmaya çalışan İsveç'te yaşayan birinci nesil Türk erkek göçmenler 'genelleştirilmiş öteki' rolünü üstlenirken, göç süreci ve sonrasında cinsiyet kimliklerinin nasıl şekillendiğine dair cevaplar vermektedirler. Araştırma, erkeklerin kendi göçmenlik anlatılarını ele alarak cinsiyet kimliklerinin nasıl sembolik anlamlar yansıttığını incelemeye çalışmaktadır. Bir erkeğin cinsiyet ve sosyal kimliği farklı biçimler olabilir ve bazı kimlikler diğerlerine göre farklı sosyal ve kültürel sistemlerde öncelik görebilir. Farklı kültürel modeller erkeklerin cinsiyet rollerinin ve erkeklik kavramının nasıl şekillenebileceğini etkileyebilir. Buna bağlı olarak şu soruyu sorabiliriz; kendilerini farklı bir kültür ve sosyal model içerisinde bulan Türk erkek göçmenler, yeni cinsiyet kimlikleri ve söylemleri arasında kendilerini nasıl konumlandırmaktadırlar? Hearn'ün de tartıştığı gibi, yeni kültürel ve cinsiyet söylemleriyle karşılaşan Türk göçme erkekler, önceki geldikleri toplumsal sistemdeki eski rolleri eleştirebilir, mesafe alabilir ve yeni benlik ve kimlik anlayışları geliştirebilirler. Bunun tam tersi olarak kendi önceki kimliklerini ve benliklerini korumayı da tercih edebilirler. Cinsiyet kimliklerini etkileyen faktörleri iki gruba ayırabiliriz. Daha kapsayıcı faktörler olarak kültür, sınıf, etnik köken ve sosyal hiyerarşileri ele alırsak eğer bunlara bağlı olarak çıkan unsurları ise bireylerin kendi kişisel yaşam öyküleri, anlatıları, deneyimleri ve sosyal etkileşimleri olarak tanımlayabiliriz. Niteliksel araştırma yöntemi kullanılarak, İsveç'te ikamet eden birinci nesil göçmenlerle mülakatlar sonucu şekillenen bu çalışma, cinsiyeti analitik bir kavram olarak merkez noktasına almaktadır.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Göçmenlik, erkeklikler, benlik, cinsiyet kimliği, sembolik etkileşim