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INSIDE THE KEBAB SHOP & OUTSIDE OF SOCIETY

TURKISH IMMIGRANTS WORKING IN FAST FOOD SECTOR IN SWEDEN AND THEIR INTEGRATION

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Abstract

International immigration has always been a constant in human history; however, it concerns and affects the contemporary societies more than ever and it will likely continue doing so. Most of the Western European countries are concerned about new flows and they seem to be struggling with the integration issues. Sweden is one those countries, where ethnic diversity is very high. Accordingly, Turkish immigrants are one of the largest immigrant groups in Sweden. There are recently a great number of Turkish immigrants working in the fast food sector in Sweden. The aim of this study is to describe and analyze the social mechanisms, particularly social networks, surrounding Turkish immigrants working in the fast food sector and how they affect their integration process. The social mechanisms, particularly social networks, surrounding immigrant groups have important and leading effects on their immigration, settlement and integration process. The findings reveal that most of the respondents moved to Sweden through family reunification and social networks played a crucial role in their immigration and settlement process. These networks are still important factors in their lives and they are mostly depending on them. This dependency undermines the integration process. On the other hand, poor working conditions, such as working long hours, no insurance, black money etc, are affecting their lives and the integration process as well. They are exploited and their fundamental human and working rights are violated. Unauthorized and black money businesses exist in this fast food sector. For example, cheating on the taxes is a common phenomenon. Moreover, this sector is based on ethnic and gender segmentation. Besides, these people are partly marginalized and socially excluded. The respondents identify their selves as "ethnic minorities". Integration is perceived as an assimilation process and betrayal to their ethnicities. The picture poses tree questions marks; Are the Swedish authorities unaware of the situation? Is there ignorance under the claim of multiculturalism? Or do these two factors work in combination?

Key Words: Immigration, Integration, Turkish immigrants, Fast Food Sector

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CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction

Human beings have always been actively interested and motivated to look for something new in order to make their life conditions better. That has caused significant movements, which have taken place either inside or outside of nations all around the world. In modern terms, we call these movements "migration". In a historical viewpoint, it is possible to see that national borders were more permeable for temporary or permanent movements of people than today. However, the world is now divided by stronger and stricter borders. Hence, we should distinguish these movements by referring to the context where it takes place. If a movement is beyond the borders of nations it is called international immigration, on which this research will be focused.

International movements are constantly increasing and will likely be doing so in the foreseeable future. This is an important fact, which must be taken into consideration carefully and concerns all contemporary societies because almost every country in the world is affected and it will be affected in the future as well. For example; integration in immigrant receiving countries can be difficult[1].

The Definition of an international immigrant is controversial; however, the United Nation (UN) does the mostly recognized definition, which defines it as *"a person who stays outside their usual country of residence for at least one year*[2]. International immigrants are generally recognized as workers, highly qualified specialists, family members, asylum seekers, refugees, and so on. According to the UN estimation in 2005, there were approximately 200 million international immigrants worldwide.

People have different reasons to leave their origin of countries and move to a new country and there are different ways to categorize immigrants, such as "voluntary" or "forced" immigrants[3]. International immigration is influenced or caused by economic, social and political forces. Besides, it has a strong connection with global issues and globalization[4]. In relation to that, Richmond claims that *"the process of globalization has increased the proactive as well as reactive migration"*[5].

On the other hand, international immigration is differently perceived and its consequences are controversial. It is believed that it has advantages and disadvantages for immigrant receiving and sending countries as well as having global effects. It is also commonly accepted that international immigration poses different challenges to the concerned states and changes the face of societies. Castles and Miller emphasizes that *"In most instances, international migration increases diversity within a society. This presents a number of problems for the state*[6]. Consequently, it requires reorganization of related societies accordingly[7].

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[1] See, for example, Koser, 2007

[2] ibidem

[3] Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2001

[4] See, for example, Castles and Miller, 2009

[5] Richmond 1994; Kathleen, 2008, P; 2

[6] Castles and Miller, 2009

1.2. Problem at Issue

Europe is considered to be one of the attractive continents for people to immigrate to on temporary or permanent bases. As known, especially after the Second World War, most of the European countries started to build up "Welfare states"[8]. Those were based on industrialization and capitalism. Some industrialized countries launched guest workers programmes since labour force was required to meet the labour demand. Thanks to that, there have been flows of people, who immigrated to those industrialized countries in Europe[9]. By the mid-1970s, there were about 13.5 million immigrants residing in some western European countries including Sweden.

These flows of labour immigration can be related mainly to economical reasons. But, there are also other factors; such as wars, disasters and so on, which have increased the international immigration to Europe and continue doing so[10]. Moreover, family reunifications across the borders have enlarged the number of international immigrants in Europe. For example, almost one hundred thousand immigrants moved to Sweden in 2007. That resulted in a net immigration of 54,067 people, which is the highest number of the post World War period. Most of those individuals (almost 29.000) came to Sweden through family reunification[11].

Most European countries are concerned about regulation of international immigration. These concerns cause diverse debates, which very often occupy headlines and attract attention, on European security and its future. International immigration is, too, associated with unemployment, crime and such issues[12]. Especially, after the 9/11, it has also been related to terrorism[13]. On the other hand, other challenges that the EU faces, for example aging population, have taken an important role in paying attention to the matter primarily[14].

In addition, some immigrant groups come from variety of societies, where they have different traditions, values, religion and so on. And, they are most likely facing a different way of living in a new country. That might cause difficulties and problems, like distance from the receiving populations. This is linked with integration issues. *According to Constant, Kahanec and Zimmermann, the social and labour market integration of ethnic minorities in the European Union (EU) is still a major political, societal and economic challenge[15]".*

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[7] Ibidem

[8] The welfares states are known as the states that equally provide their own citizens with all the services (medical care, public schools, social insurance programs like sickness benefits, unemployment benefits, pensions and so on) as well as protecting and improving the conditions of people's well-being.

[9] Cohen, 2006

[10] Kamali, 2004.

[11] Bevelander, Hagström and Rönnqvist, 2009

[12] Parsons and Smeeding, 2006

[13] Koser, 2007

[14] Parsons and Smeeding, 2006

[15] Constant, Kahanec and Zimmermann, 2009, P; 1

Subsequently, all those factors have increased existing concerns and discussions on international immigration and integration.

In general, there are two notable ways to deal with international immigration in Europe. First way is to cope with the new flows from outside of the European Union borders[16]. In other words, it is the struggle of preventing international immigration by creating more restrictive policies[17]. The other way comes to pass within the territories of immigrant receiving countries. For which, diverse programs such as "integration"[18], "assimilation"[19], "multiculturalism"[20], are applied. These are also connected with discussions on racism, xenophobia, nationalism, notions of otherness etc[21].

Sweden is one of the former worker-recruiting countries. Until around 1970s, Sweden did not principally meet the issue of immigration as an immigrant receiving country. This is associated with its location and homogeneous culture as well as being lack of colonial past[22]. Nonetheless, the considerable economic growth and development of industrialization in Sweden, especially after the Second World War, seems to have played an important role in receiving new workers from other countries like Turkey, where a high number of people immigrated to Sweden as labour force under the quest programs. These movements were encouraged by transnational agreements[23].

Immigration in Sweden is generally categorized in two ways such as "labour immigration" and "refugee and kin reunification immigration". Whilst the second category starts in the 1970s and still continues, the labour immigration broadly dates back to the period between the 1940s and the early 1970s[24]. Researches show that the causes of migration were brought to the agenda in Sweden as soon as it was realized that it affected the society[25]. For instance, Crepaz mentions that "*Swedish immigration policies reflected an early realization that migrant workers were here to stay and that swift incorporation is preferable to leaving them waiting in the antechamber of citizenship*"[26]. It is believed that multiculturalists program in

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[16] See, for example, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2001.

[17] On the other hand, some European countries still attempt to receive more immigrants, but highly skilled immigrants. Therefore, they establish attractive immigration policies and programs.

[18] It will be largely elaborated in the next pages.

[19] Assimilation can be defined as absorbing a minority culture into a dominant culture, which has the grip of power and influence. In other words, it is a one-sided process of adaptation (See for example, Castles and Miller, 2009.

[20] Multiculturalism meant that immigrants should be able to participate as equals in all spheres of society, without being expected to give up their own culture, religion and language, although usually with an expectation of conformity to certain key values (Castles and Miller, 2009, P; 247-248).

[21] Cohen, 2006

[22] Crepaz, 2008

[23] ibidem

[24] See for example, Kamali, 2009

[25] Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2001

[26] Crepaz, 2008, P; 227

Sweden was put into action in 1974. This program was based on "equality" "freedom of choice" and "partnership"[27]. The basic principal equality and freedom of choice were corresponding to the welfare state and multiculturalism. Equality aimed at providing immigrants with the same living conditions as Swedes. Residence permits and citizenships including dual citizenship were also granted. As for the partnership, it was aimed to establish and promote the cooperation between immigrant and Swedes[28]. Regarding, many new programs and projects were launched, such as SFI (Swedish for Immigrants) courses. Furthermore, new bodies, for instance Immigration offices, Language Institutions and so forth, were established. Thus, those have been agents of integration[29]. Yet, it is confirmed by the parliamentary investigation that there are now more unintegrated people in Sweden than earlier[30].

Sweden is now cosmopolitan and multicultural society. The population contains people from all around the world, although the number of international immigration is not as high as it used to be in the 20th century[31], especially the period after the Second World War. 13.4% of the Swedish population, which is over than 1.2 million people, are born abroad[32].

One of the major immigrant groups in Sweden is the people with Turkish backgrounds, whose population is almost 57.000 people[33]. As stated above, that is associated with labour immigration, family unification and children of those people. Relatively, they are the third largest immigrant group that has been living in Sweden for the last 40 years.

Most of Turkish immigrants in Sweden were engaged in industrial sector through the guest worker programs stated above. However, there are recently plenty of restaurants, pizza and kebab shops, which are run by Turkish immigrants. This fast food sector and culture has considerably been spread all around Europe. Most European countries must welcome it because it is possible to find a kebab or pizzeria shop in nearly every corner of European cities, such as Gothenburg. Significantly, a great number of immigrants with Turkish origins seem to be engaged in that sector.

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[27] Crepaz, 2008

[28] ibidem

[29] Kamali, 2004

[30] ibidem

[31] See, for example, Goldschider, Bernhardt and F. Goldscheider 2008

[32] The concept of immigrant is used in a number of different ways. In everyday speech it often includes everyone who has moved to Sweden as well as their children. In many cases those who are then called immigrants in fact include Swedish citizens born in Sweden. Such persons are of course not themselves de facto immigrants although one or both of their parents may have moved to Sweden. Such persons should therefore not be referred to as immigrants in everyday speech. For statistical purposes, however, a person who moves to Sweden is counted as an immigrant when he/she is registered or re-registered as resident in Sweden. This also applies to Swedish citizens. In order to statistically make a distinction between persons with only Swedish origins, and persons with some foreign background, also the terms foreign born and foreign citizen are used (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2000).

[33] Goldschider, Bernhardt and F. Goldscheider 2008

Turkish people are the largest immigrant group in Europe and their population stands at approximately 4 millions, which includes naturalized and second-generations[34]. In addition, there are some undocumented Turkish immigrants living in Europe too, but there is no figure to show their accurate numbers. Additionally, Parsons and Smeeding claims that *"Turkish immigrants are widely considered to be one of the toughest groups to integrate, and they thereby put to the test the wide panoply of European national policies aiming at the integration of newcomers"[35]*. To come to the point, seeing so many fast food shops run by Turkish immigrants in Sweden have created a curiosity on their lives. Briefly, Turkish immigrants working in the fast food sector in Sweden are the center focus of this research in line with international immigration and integration issues.

1.3. Aims and Objectives

The aim of this study is to describe and analyze the "social mechanisms"[36], particularly social networks, surrounding Turkish immigrants working in the fast food sector and how they are affecting their integration process. The overall aim is to provide a resource and guidelines for further studies in the related studies as well as identifying and elaborating the factors affecting integration of concerned Turkish immigrants in Sweden. It is expected give a clearer picture to see if the integration process is actually working out in the way that the related authorities expect it. In addition, this research aims at presenting a general picture on how the life circumstances are perceived by the Turkish people working in this fast food sector. For example, how these people perceive their own culture and the host culture, what kind of views they have on family structures, gender roles and child raising etc.

1.3.1. Research question

This research shall attempt to answer the following question:

1. How are the social mechanisms, concerning mainly social networks, functioning with respect to integration of Turkish immigrants working in fast food sector in Sweden and how do those mechanisms affect their lives?

As for sub-questions of this research will be following:

- Why did they choose to move to Sweden and how did resettlement process materialize?
- What do their social networks look like and how do they utilize it?
- What are the daily routines like whilst working in the fast food sector?
- What kind of contacts do they have with the Swedish society?
- What kind of views do they have on Turkish and Swedish culture?

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[34] Parsons and Smeeding, 2006

[35] Parsons and Smeeding, 2006, P; 238

[36] Hedstroem and Swedberg defines social mechanism as "a set of hypotheses that could be the explanation for some social phenomenon, the explanation being in terms of interactions between individuals and other individuals, or between individuals and some social aggregate" (Hedstroem and Swedberg, 1998, P; 25).

CHAPTER 2

2.1. Previous Research

There has not been possible to find a research in English that specifically targets the same group and subject of this research. However, there are some other studies, which partly concentrate on the Turkish immigrants and the related subjects of this research. Some of them will be briefly presented below.

According to Kamali[37], whose research is based on racial discrimination in Europe and representing various examples from different European countries, institutional exclusion takes place daily and systematically in the European Labour Market. This exclusion affects immigrants' opportunities on the subject of careers, education, housing and participation in democratic society and so on. On the other hand, he also points out that non-European immigrants tend to be employed in low wages and low status positions regardless of which sector of the economy. Furthermore, he indicates that ethnic networks assist to spread information on employment opportunities for the same ethnic group members for certain jobs. With regard to that, he also claims that some immigrants that belong to the same ethnic group as the employers, rely on network hiring, can be abusive and exploitative as the bosses.

Constant, Kahanec and Zimmermann[38] study opinions and attitudes towards immigrants as well as minorities and the barriers as to minorities' economic integration. According to their findings, ethnic minorities face integration problems; native's general negative attitudes are a key factor of their challenging situation; discrimination is acknowledged as the single most important integration barrier; low education and self-confidence as well as cultural differences also hinder integration. They also point out that minorities want change on their situations and that it comes about by policies in line with principles of equal treatment.

Agerström and Rooth[39] examines whether Swedish employers implicitly/automatically hold negative attitudes toward Arab-Muslims, an ethnic minority group subjected to substantial labour market discrimination in Sweden and, more specifically, associate members of this minority group with lower work productivity, as compared with native Swedes. In relation to their findings, they indicate that employers have stronger negative implicit attitudes toward Arab-Muslims relative to native Swedes as well as implicitly perceiving Arab-Muslims to be less productive than native Swedes.

Bevalander, Hagström and Rönnqvist[40] focus on employment integration of resettled refugees in Sweden in their research by comprehensively touching upon distinct facets of the employment integration. Concisely, they reveal that there is a need in academic research on the situation of resettled refugees in Sweden, specifically in the area of employment and self-sufficiency.

Manco[41], in his research on the Turkish community in Europe, stress that Turkish immigrant communities in Europe is one of the lesser known immigrant communities in spite of their

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[37] Kamali, 2009

[38] Constant, Kahanec and Zimmermann, 2009

[39] Agerström and Rooth, 2009

[40] Bevelander, Hagström and Rönnqvist, 2009

[41] Manco, 2004

high population. He gives a general picture on the Turkish immigrants living in Europe. Moreover, he mentions Turkish people's self image, the formation of new individual and collective identities and the conception of integration and their connections to the complex social phenomenon of Turkish immigration in Europe. He also sees the Turkish community as a "silent majority", who are noticeable but the knowledge on them is conversely at a low level. Finally, he points out that the Turkish community in Europe shows signs of implementing social practices to improve their integration in society whilst preserving their community and religious ties.

Bauer, Epstein and Gang[42] investigate the channels through which ethnic linkages/networks affect the location choice of migrants. They illustrate that immigrants provide information on the local labour market, influence the quantity and quality of ethnic goods available in a location and aid in the adjustment and the settlement process. That is correlated location decisions of immigrants

Goldcheider, Bernhart and F. Goldcheider[43] focus on the integration of second generation and the factors affecting family transitions to adulthood in Sweden. They show the patterns between the children of Turkish and Polish immigrants compared to those of Swedish origin in terms of leaving home, forming a family with a partner and balancing work and family. With regard to their findings, they expose the importance of moving beyond economic integration and stress the need to focus on family related issues in the integration of immigrants

2.1.1. Integration

Integration on the topic of international immigration can be described as the process of being connected to the new country. This process can be considered as mutual one, which ideally takes place between native and immigrant populations. The overall aim with integration is to create a social cohesiveness in the host society, because most of the time there is a need to intersect two different migratory structures accordingly[44]. That is to say, integration can be viewed as the struggle of being an insider as an immigrant or adaptation of immigrant individuals and groups to a new society. That has a link with the immigrant's participation in the socio-economic structures and cultural and political legitimization of the receiving society. On the other hand, the migratory host country likely requires to be integrated to the new society as well. Sometime, this reality is not recognized or it is ignored. Concerning, it is believed that this mutual process is dominated by the concept of assimilation[45].

There are different theories and perspectives about integration. Some of them focus on economic integration whilst the others mainly concentrate on cultural, political and residential ones. Alternatively, factors on work, housing, political participation etc are generally the measurements of integration. As regards, some scholars claim that if an immigrant in a host country comes into the labour force the integration is achieved. However, it is also underlined that some immigrants start their own business activities by creating their own socio-economic sphere and they do not take part in the existing economic activities in the host country.

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[42] Bauer, Epstein and Gang, 2009

[43] Goldcheider, Bernhart and F. Goldcheider, 2008

[44] See for example, Givens 2007

[45] See for example, Bevelander, Hagström and Rönnqvist, 2009

Nevertheless, they are categorized as integrated since they actively exist in the economic sphere somehow, even though they are partly or entirely involved in deviant and unauthorized activities. Regarding, some other scholars, who believe that integration is not only a matter of fulfilling the demand in the market economy, criticize this approach. They believe that integration must include other vital parts of a social cohesion in the society such as social integration, which basically focuses on social justice and equality. Yet, it is also argued that capitalist market economy and its consequences, like individual egoism or unequal and unjust interdependency among the capitalists and workers, undermine the basis of the social integration[46].

On the other hand, it emphasized that there is an important interplay among group's resources (such as human capital, networks, internal cohesion, values, etc)[47]. Kamali sees the ideal integration in two ways following;

1. Participation in the production and reproduction of social life.
2. Sense of belonging and satisfaction[48].

The first way implies having the ability to recognize the social reality and being recognized by other members of the community. Kamali believes that this can happen between individuals and groups living in a harmonic society, where people can fulfill their self-realization and find more appropriate means for their social action. If this is achieved, it will improve the sense of belongings and satisfactions of people. That is one of the important tools for social cohesion in a society, which can contribute to progression of a society in a large sense[49].

Learning the Swedish language is considered to be the first and vital necessity in Swedish integration strategies and the language skills of the immigrant is one of the unique tools to measure the level of integration. In addition, Employment integration is also one of the fundamental and prioritized strategies in Swedish integration perspective since it is believed that one can learn the language, understand and encounter society better and quicker through a work placement than any other way[50]. In other words, instead of having several introductory or any other kinds of programs, it is assumed that it is more effective to get individuals into the labour market as soon as possible so that they can easily be integrated in a less fabricated way and at the same time contribute to the society. For that reason, there are free language courses (such as SFI courses)[51] and supportive employment programs (such as Insect Jobs)[52] in Sweden.

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[46] Kamali, 2004

[47] Bevelander, Hagström and Rönnqvist, 2009

[48] Kamali, 2004, P; 184

[49] Kamali 2004

[50] Bevelander, Hagström and Rönnqvist, 2009

[51] SFI (Swedish for Immigrants) courses are free of charge and available throughout the country. Newcomer Immigrants are supposed to take this course, which has different levels and a final exam to qualify.

[52] Insect job program is one of the programs that aim at supporting and encouraging immigrants, who have just moved to Sweden or have lived less than three years in, to find and get a job. If an individual immigrant finds a job, the state pays %75 percent of his/her salary for up to three years while the employer pays only the %25 percent of the salary (see for example, www.arbetsformedlingen.se).

2.1.2. Ethnic Minorities

According to Waqar and Bradby; *"like community, ethnicity is an over-employed term, sometimes used with such imprecision that it risks losing its analytical value"*[53]. Ethnicity is commonly conceptualized as a marker of identity in contemporary societies. On one hand, it is connected the sense of belonging to a community, which based on cultural and social characteristics such as shared language, traditions, religion, history and experiences. On the other hand, ethnicity is associated with inferior social positions, which is constructed by dominant groups in a society. With respect to that, Castles and Millers state that *"an ethnic minority is a product of both "other-definition" and of "self-definition"*[54].

According to Kamali; *"The creation of the "other" has been a part of the discursive construction of "us" where the other becomes its mirror image and is formed not only as a different group, different people, and different nation, but also as an inferiorized collectivity"*[55]. Additionally, He also stresses that *"Ethnic or "racial" "Otherism" entails negative stereotyping, stigmatizing, discriminating, and exclusionary practices with respect to a group of community differentiated and categorized based on their collective traits such as religion, ethnicity, colour of skin, disability and gender*[56].

On the other hand, Castless and Miller argues that; after an international movement and a permanent settlement taking place, the receiving state and society play a determining role in the course of constructing the terms of ethnic community or minority. According to them; in multicultural societies, ethnic community implies the formation of ethnic communities, which are seen as part of a harmonic society. Conversely, ethnic minorities, which are widely regarded as undesirable and divisive, are possibly constructed as the results of denial of the reality of settlement, refusal of citizenship and rights to settlers, and rejection of cultural diversity[57].

Cultural diversity can be perceived in two opposite ways; enriching the existing culture or destroying the dominant culture. In accordance with the second way, ethnic minorities can be seen as a threat to economic well-being, public order and national identity[58]. Castella indicates that *"in the context of globalization, culture, identity and community often serve as a focus of resistance to centralizing and homogenizing forces"*[59]. Regarding, it is argued that those concepts have a tendency to differ the ethnic boundaries and establish ethnic community formations and that some members of the dominant group use it in order to confirm the fear of foreigners. That is also related to discussions on discrimination, exclusion, racism etc[60]. More to the point, Kamali claims that *"cultural properties are used as ethic markers in the process*

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[53] Waqar and Bradby, 2008, P; 1

[54] Castles and Miller, 2009, P; 35

[55] Kamali, 2009, P; 14

[56] Kamali, 2009, P; 3

[57] Castles and Miller, 2009, P; 34-35

[58] ibidem

[59] Castella, 1997; Castles and Miller, 2009, P; 40

[60] See for example, Castles and Miller, 2009

of "otherization"[61]. On the other hand, Castle and Miller also assert that "*For ethnic minorities, culture plays a key role as a source of identity and as a focus for resistance to exclusion and discrimination. The culture of origin helps people maintain self-esteem in a situation where their capabilities and experience are undermined*"[62].

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[61] Kamali, 2009, P; 3

[62] Castles and Miller, 2009, P; 40

CHAPTER 3

Theories

3.1. Neoclassical theory

Neoclassical theory appears to be the dominant theory of explaining causes of international immigration. It interprets immigration by mostly taking pull-push factors into consideration and focusing on migratory movements from low income areas to high income areas. According to this theory, conditions like low living standards, lack of opportunities and so forth, which can be considered as "the push factors", drive people to seek new countries, where the life conditions and opportunities are supposed to be better and higher than their origin countries. That can be seen as "the pull factors". In short, pull-push factors are strongly connected to one another and work in combination. In other words, it is believed that international immigration runs in a business cycle and has mainly economical aspect[63].

In this theory, a migratory movement is seen as a rational choice and immigrant individuals are the main focus in the course of explaining of international immigration. Furthermore, it is claimed that a migratory decision is made by the individual, who is in the search of finding the best country to live and who calculates all the potential costs, advantages and disadvantages of his/her migratory action. For example, if immigration seems to be an ideal or a beneficial option, it will likely come to pass because it can be a good investment with reference to employment opportunities or relative incomes[64]. Nevertheless, this theory has been criticized as it is claimed that it misses out the real and social factors lying behind of these big movements. Furthermore, it is believed that the theory attempts to treat immigrants like market-players by concentrating on the supply side of migration.

3.2. Segmented Labour Theory

Segmented Labour Theory affirms that developed countries are the main factors that cause international immigration in order to meet the demands in the capitalist economies. Concerning, Piore argues that *"international migration is caused by structural demand within advanced economies for both highly skilled workers and lower-skilled manual workers to carry out production tasks (e.g. assembly line work or garment manufacture) and to staff service enterprises (catering, cleaning, aged care, etc)"[65]*. Regarding, the important position of employers and governments on international immigration is highly spotlighted. It primarily asserts that institutional factors result in labour segmentation and that workers in the labour market are selected on the basis of human capital. Memberships of an ethnic group, gender, legal/illegal and minority status etc. are, as well, important factors in the case of immigrants and their status in the labour market, where strong employer demand can create a black market for migrant labour.

This theory also emphasize that there is a great deal of demand for low-skilled workers because these people are simple to be controlled and exploited by their employers as well as

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[63] Castles and Miller, 2009

[64] See for example, Bevelander, Hagström and Rönnqvist, 2009

[65] Piore1979; Castles and Miller, 2009, P; 23

being cheap and flexible. That can result in new sectors like the "second labour market"[66], where low-skilled or even undocumented workers meet the demand. Furthermore, recruitment agencies, people smugglers etc. are becoming the agents of this circulation. Thanks to that, cheap services in food, agriculture, heavy industry, construction and so on are enabled in the high-income economies. Relatively, low paid workers can be inserted into the production process. In other words, sectors of the labour market, in which native workers have no interest despite low paying, insecure, low status etc, are dominated by migrant workers, who carry on meeting the demand for low-cost production and service provision[67].

In the literature, workers in the secondary labour market are often assumed to be low educated and lack of vocational training. Some of them are even undocumented or lack of sufficient language competence. Such circumstances make them disadvantaged and vulnerable in the market economy[68]. Regarding, Bevelander, Hagström and Rönnqvist mentions that *"Groups of immigrants who have poor prospects in the labour market for various reasons (e.g discrimination, their low level of education/training or inadequate language skills) may employ different strategies to compensate for the problems and difficulties that they encounter. In particular they may mobilize the existing resources of an ethnic network"[69]*.

This theory also draws attention to individual decision-making mechanisms as to international immigration. It attempts to reveal that how people's decisions on immigration are made and how communities, families and households play an important role in the decision-making process. Relatively, such groups can have different reasons to immigrate. For instance, they might wish to provide resources in existing activities in arrival country and increase income sources[70].

Moreover, it is also focused on enclave economies or niches for ethnic entrepreneurs in this theory. It is argued that divisions on the basis of race, ethnicity and gender result in dualism and complex labour market segmentation[71]. For example, an immigrant ethnic group starts a business, such as oriental restaurants or fast food shops, and expends it. And, the other members of this group get involved in it remarkably. Concerning this, there are two different ways of looking at the matter. In the first way, ethnic entrepreneurs and their dynamic efforts are considered to be a positive fact because it is believed that it enhances the economic growth and quality of life for customers. Conversely, the opposed perspective claims that this is linked to neoliberal policies of economic deregulation, which ignores the human exploitation and suffering entailed intense competition, long hours work, etc[72].

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[66] In the literature, job sectors are noticeably classed based on their characteristics. The second labour market represents some jobs, which are considered to be dirty, dangerous, heavy etc and contains some sectors such as catering, cleaning and so forth.

[67] Koser, 2007

[68] Castles and Miller, 2009

[69] Bevelander, Hagström and Rönnqvist, 2009, P; 134

[70] Castles and Miller, 2009

[71] ibidem

[72] See for example, Castles and Miller, 2009

3.3. Migration Systems and Network

This approach primarily draws attention to family and social networks of immigrants as well as relationships between states and other type of transnational connections. Besides, it attempts to explain big migration movements by referring to micro, meso and macro mechanisms in both of immigrant sending and receiving countries. As regards, it is supposed that a migratory movement is the result of interaction of macro-and micro mechanisms[73].

At the macro level, immigrant's networks, beliefs, practices etc are the main focal points. To deal with migration and settlement, immigrants generally establish informal social networks. Regarding, it is believed that these informal networks significantly support immigrants in the immigration and settlement process and they are the micro-structures as well as being "social capital"[74]. In addition, it is thought that informal networks are vital resources for immigrants and they contain personal relationships, family and household patterns, friendship and community ties, and mutual help in economic and social matters. Regarding, Boyd points out that *"Informal networks bind "migrants and non-migrants together in a complex web of social roles and interpersonal relationships"*[75]. Besides, families have a crucial position in the migration networks as a fundamental institution, which bears all the impacts and sanctions of immigration and settlement. That is, too, linked to family reunification, through which immigrants bring in their partners and children[76].

With in this theory, it is also underlined that migrants attempt to follow "beaten paths" after a movement and settlement is established. In other words, new migrants are supposed to receive a significant assistance from the other immigrants, who are already in the area of immigration and their relatives, friends or fellow countryman. Owing to these networks, it is believed that immigration becomes easier and safer. It is because help with shelter, work, bureaucratic procedures and any other sort of support are already provided. As regards, Murdie and Borgegard draw attention to that; *"living with other of similar national origin often provides networks of information and opportunities, given that the language barriers are low and the claims of kin and landsmen are still strong*[77]. Nevertheless, these networks can also be exploitative and abusive as well as causing conflicts and competitions in the ethnic groups.

On the other hand, it is stressed by Bevalender, Hagström and Rönnqvist *that " Close contacts with their own group become particularly important in cases where individuals for*

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[73] Castles and Miller, 2009

[74] According to Kathleen; Engagement in all the above areas of civil society activity can be seen as productive of social capital. Social capital refers to the mobilization of people through connections, social networks and group membership. It resides in the web of connections along which flow valuable information and support. Social capital is an asset which is 'convertible', materializing into valuable forms of assistance, for example, into employment references, or insider information on cultural norms and expectations (Kathleen, 2008, P: 53).

[75] Boyd, 1989; Castles and Miller, 2009, P; 28

[76] The concept of family respecting to nuclear and extended families is controversial and results in debates on cultural relativism/universalism when it comes to the family reunification matters in a migratory country. It is because a person over 18 years old is considered to be an independent individual according to the European laws rather than a dependent child. However, this might be different in another context, where extended family structures are established. In most cases, families from such structural societies are unable to bring in their children.

[77] Murdie and Borgegard, 1996; Goldschider, Bernhardt and F. Goldscheider, 2008, P; 226

various reasons do not have broad access to the institutions and networks of the majority society[78]. In terms of employment of immigrants, Battu, Seaman and Zenou mention that *"there are certain risks associated with being completely reliant on ethnic networks for finding work. If the resources of a certain network are limited, individuals stand to lose by being overly reliant on their personal contacts"*[79].

As known, after the settlement in the new country, some immigrants also develop their own communities, where owned social and economic infrastructures become available. That includes associations, shops, places of worships and so forth. The communities that some immigrants live in are also supposed to be significant structures in their lives. Regarding, Kamali highlights that; *"as soon as the immigrants arrive into new social context, they simultaneously engage in a process of interaction with other groups surrounding them. Their habitus is influenced by the relationships and contact with the surrounding groups and milieu"*[80].

It is also emphasized that sometimes strong community ties and networks exist in ethnic enclaves, where facto segregation affects immigrant's lives. In another sense, these some immigrants living in such ethnic enclaves are under the risk of facing inequalities, which might generate isolation, antisocial behaviors, crime and so forth.[81]. In relation to that, Goldcheider, Bernhart and Goldscheider underline that; *"Too close a residential or occupational connection with other immigrants can limit social integration into wider (...) society and access to its opportunities"*[82]. In a large sense, that can affect the well being of a society.

Goups and institutions are the central focus at the meso level. According to the theory, this group plays the mediating role among immigrants and related political and economic institutions. Yet, it is assumed that some people or institutions in this group can be helpers, but also exploiters of migrants[83].

The macro level in this theory is concerned with global political and economical factors, which are supposed to have a great deal of impact on international immigration. These macro factors are centered on interconnected economies, international relationships, laws, structures and structure, which are established by migratory sending and receiving countries[84].

Concluding, mechanisms and structures at the micro, meso and macro level are supposed to have a multipronged and cohesive function in international immigration. And, it is argued that distinguishing the lines among them in a migratory process is generally difficult[85]

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[78] Bevalender, Hagström and Rönnqvist, 2009, P; 135

[79] ibidem

[80] Kamali, 2004, P; 190

[81] Parsons and Smeeding, 2006

[82] Goldcheider, Bernhart and Goldscheider, 2008

[83] See for example, Castles and Miller, 2009

[84] Castles and Miller, 2009

[85] ibidem

3.4. Marginalization and Social Exclusion

Marginalization describes a situation, in which people can not fully participate in social, cultural and economical spheres of society because of their detached status. According to Kathleen; Marginalization and exclusion refer to individuals' and groups' positioning in society. He underlines that marginalization refers to the ways in which certain groups of people are placed at the margins of society, and thus are not part of the mainstream[86].

On the other hand, social Exclusion is a common concept among migration studies. It mainly focuses on breakdown relationships between individuals and groups with the main institutions of society as well as their limited participation in especially affluent societies. It is believed that, some groups cannot reach the same opportunities in society despite the inequalities and barriers. Diverse factors, such discrimination, language skills, race etc in terms of international immigration can be the causes of social exclusion. Moreover, disadvantaged circumstances related to difficulties with obtaining education, training, employment, housing and financial matters undermine people's equal social and occupational participation in society. However, poverty is a distanced terminology within this theory [87].

According to Castel, there are three distinguished zones of organization and social cohesion: the zone of integration, the zone of vulnerability characterized by precariousness of employment and fragility of relational supports, and a third zone, that of exclusion or extreme marginality[88].

3.5. Theoretical framework

As mentioned above, there are variety of theories based on explaining different aspects of international immigration and its patterns. The stated theories shall be privileged and applied in this research since it is believed that they are the ones that can mostly fit into the central subject of this research as well as to be useful to understand, explain and elaborate the matter. Nevertheless, some of the theories attempt to be one-sided and look at the matter in narrow perspective. It is believed that contemporary migration is a complex phenomenon, which requires a comprehensive approach. For that reason, all the theories that can possibly contribute to elaborate the matter will be used in this research, even though they have opposite views.

The social mechanisms that surrounding people can play a crucial role in constructing people's lives and these mechanisms can have a significant impact on their behaviors. The core purpose of this research is to present the social mechanisms respecting to the Turkish immigrants working in the fast food sector. When it comes to international immigration issues, the social mechanisms attempt to exist in two different contexts, such as sending and host migratory countries. That requires a large perspective to look at the issue. Regarding, the neo-classical theory is mainly used in order to understand the causes of immigration related immigrants. This is connected with the pull-push factors. However, this theory might be insufficient to elaborate the issue broadly. For that reason, the labour segmented theory is also applied to see the causes of immigration as well as the ongoing affects of a migratory movement, especially in the arrival country. Combining these two different theories, it is

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[86] Kathleen 2008, P: 87

[87] ibidem

[88] Castles 1996; Kathleen, 2008, P; 87

expected to have a comprehensive perspective; which can enhance the validity of the research.

The labour segmented theory is also supposed to help the researcher to present and analyze the social mechanisms surrounding the related immigrants, such as working environments and conditions. That can have a great deal of impact on the lives of the Turkish immigrants working in the fast food sector. Furthermore, the hypothesis of this theory will be examined in terms of the common characteristics of people working in this sector, decision-making mechanisms on international immigration, enclave economies or niches for ethnic entrepreneurs and so forth. This theory is also linked with the subject of social networks of the concerned immigrants. That is also one of the main focuses of this research. Concerning, Migration Systems and Network theory play a supportive and combining role in the course of understanding and explaining the matter by taking the micro, meso and macro mechanisms into consideration. Moreover, Marginalization and Social Exclusion theory is expected to help the researcher to analysis the "social status"[89] of the respondents in relation to integration.

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[89] Status is a reference point which indicates an individual's positioning in the society. Social status tells of an individual's ranking with respect to some socially important characteristics. As a concept in the context of settlement and integration, status also provides valuable information on where the individual or community is located in the public sphere, which is a critical arena of participation from the perspective of long-range integration (Kathleen, 2008, P; 41).

CHAPTER 4

Methodology

4.1. Qualitative Research

There are different applied methodologies in social sciences and they can be chosen in accordance with purpose of a social research. The core aim of this research is not to generate facts supported by statistical or quantification procedures. This research mainly focuses on questions of "why" and "how" rather than only "what", "where" and "when" In line with that, Alitolppa-Niitamo also emphasise that *"understanding of the human actions, which are based upon different interpretations, or social meanings, which are socially constructed, cannot be explained "…" by simple casual relationships, but needs to be described in more complex and dynamic terms"*[90].. Having considered those facts, qualitative method was chosen as the applied method in this research in order to seek possible answers to the research questions and gain a depth understanding and knowledge on the research subject. That requires detailed information, which can be obtained through comments, opinions, point of views etc rather than standardized questions. According to Gilbert; *Qualitative data often makes it easier to follow cause and effect, since one can track people through their lives or ask them to tell their life histories*[91].

4.1.1. Interviews and Observations

Qualitative research can be divided into three types of data-collection; interviews, observations and documentary research[92]. In this research "qualitative research interview"[93] and "observations" were used in the data collection process.

Seven interviews were made for this research. An Interview guidance was prepared and followed during the interviews. All the interviews were carried out in Turkish, which helped respondents to express them selves in their mother tongue. In addition, the interviews were recorded by a voice recorder and transcribed word by word.

The respondents were given a chance to choose a place to be interviewed. Except one, who was interviewed in a group room at the Social Work Department at the University of Gothenburg, all of the respondents attended the interviews in their working placements during the calm times of their shifts as they wished. Some of them also preferred to speak while their employers were away. The time durations of the interviews varied from 25 minutes to 1 hour and the interviews were openly interactive.

The interviews assisted the researcher to generate new findings and further develop the knowledge on the social mechanisms surrounding Turkish people working in the fast food sector as well as providing the opportunity to understand their perceptions on different matters such as integration, culture, family structures, gender roles and child rising.

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[90] Alitolppa-Niitamo, 2004, P: 71.

[91] Gilbert, 2008, P: 35.

[92] See for example, Gilbert 2001.

[93] According to Kvale, The qualitative research interview attempts to understand the world from subject's points of view, to unfold the meaning of their experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations" (Kvale, 2009, P; 1).

Additionally, observations, which were done by working and spending some time in the related working placements for the period of 3 days, also took part in this research. Spending some time with the respondents in their working placements and breathing in the same atmosphere enabled to gain the trust and have a better understanding of the circumstances by experiencing them closely. It was also aimed at having a better clue on the daily routines and conversations of concerned people as well as the interactions with other people like Swedish customers through observations.

Having some common properties such as the same origin of countries, speaking the same language, being immigrants etc significantly assisted the researcher to obtain the detailed information. Besides, according the respondents description; extraordinary Turkish outlook such as long hair and earrings on a man created curiosity about the researcher and this had a positive effect on the data-collection as it opened the doors to have a interactive interviews and conversation throughout the interviews and observations. On the other hand, some suspicious questions, for example on confidentiality, were occasionally directed to the researcher and that required a detailed explanation on the research and its aims. But, it did not have a negative effect on the data-collection part of the research. Throughout the observations, material like notebooks, recorder etc was avoided to make use of since it was thought that such things could have a negative effect on the ultimate purpose of the observation method.

4.1.2. Informant

Turkish immigrant populations in Sweden are generally spread out across the country; however, the majority live in the big cities such as Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. Relatively, Gothenburg has the second largest Turkish immigrant population in Sweden. Bearing in mind that and considering the practical reasons, Gothenburg was chosen as a representative city, where all of the respondents are living and working in.

All of the respondents come from Turkey and have lived in Sweden longer than a year, which is in line with the UN definition of an individual immigrant and the Swedish interpretation of it. The respondents were selected randomly. The social networks of the related people, which are the one of the main points of this research to investigate, appreciably helped the researcher to reach the respondents easily. All the respondents were males, whose ages were between 19 and 40. That is the general age standard for people to participate in the labour market. All the informants are continuously working in the fast food sector, even though some of them have worked in another sector for a while or run their own fast food shops.

4.1.3 Method of Analysis

In order to make the analysis of the gathered data easier, the respondents were given some codes such as A1, B1 and so on. Besides, the data was collected under some main titles, for example Immigration to Sweden and Resettlement, and then some of the data were selected to present in the finding parts. That made it possible to present and analyse the data in an effective way as well as helping to avoid confusion. The quotations in the findings chapter, was translated and presented as original as possible.

4.1.4 Validity, Reliability and Generalizability

The interview investigation was carried out by firstly thematizing the subject and interview project and then it was designed. After this process interviews were made and transcribed. That assisted the researcher to obtain the required information. All the gathered information

were analysed by utilising the theories and verified. Finally the research was reported to the related authority. These stages were followed step by step throughout the research[94].

The gathered information was also ensured by follow-up questions, clarifications and summarizing in the interviews. Thanks to interview guide, specific questions were directed to the respondents. In addition, the respondents were encouraged to speak freely and leading questions were avoided. The respondents were able to choose the interview places. That helped the respondents to express their selves without restraint. Besides, the observations provided additional information. Those can be seen as the factors that contribute to enhance the validity and reliability of this research since different methods are used and the respondents were given a room to affect the focus of the interviews.

The findings and results of this research can be difficult to generalize. Furthermore, one can think that these findings and results can only represent specific personal experiences of respondents; however, it is supposed that this research can contribute to the related studies, which can increase the generalizability of this research.

4.2. Ethical Consideration

There are some general ethical principles for social research, which must be taken into consideration by a researcher. These are following;

- "Informed consent"[95] was ensured by informing the respondents on the overall aim of and the results of this research.
- All the interviews were made via voluntary consent of subjects for participation in this research. That made sure of the requirement of consent.
- All the respondents were informed about "Confidentiality"[96]. The personal details of the respondents shall not be shared or used for a different purpose unless permission from the respondents is guarantied. All the respondents were assured on this matter. Besides, the large information about the respondents in the finding parts was avoided on purpose to ensure the confidentiality.
- The information, data and findings of this report are used for only academic purposes.

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[94] According to Kvale's classification, There are seven different stages in an interview investigation such as "(1) thematizing and interview project, (2) designing, (3) interviewing, (transcribing), (5) analysing, (6) verifying and (7) reporting" (Kvale, 2009, P; 19-20).

[95] It basically means that respondents taking part in a social research must be informed on the overall purpose and design of a study as well as all possible risks and so forth. See for example; Kvale 2009.

[96] It is a moral principle of a social research, which sets the rules on how to use and save personal details of informants.

CHAPTER 5

Findings and Analysis

This chapter presents the findings and results of this research. All the obtained information is based on the interviews and observations. Extensively, it will concentrate on describing as well as discussing how the social mechanisms, concerning mainly social networks, are functioning with respect to integration of Turkish immigrants working in fast food sector in Sweden and how those mechanisms affect their lives. Finding and analysis are presented under different titles in order to avoid any confusion.

5.1. Findings

5.1.1. Immigration to Sweden and Resettlement

Regarding the sending locations, most of the respondents outlined that they come from the same or close towns in Turkey.

"Almost %90 of the Turkish population living in Sweden comes from Konya Kulu or Cihanbeyli. We are mostly relatives and nearly know one another".

Majority of the respondents mentioned the reasons of why they moved to Sweden. Regarding, they pointed out that their immigration was linked with family reunification since their partners were born and has been living in Sweden. Moreover, they also highlighted that their marriages were done in an arranged way.

"I am married to my cousin who was born and has been living in Sweden. We knew one another from an early age and our families thought that we could be a good couple. So, we got married in Turkey and then I moved to Sweden".

When I turned 18 years old my family, especially my grandfather, thought that it was time for me to marry. They found a girl in my hometown. I did not see her until the wedding day. But, our families knew each other and I must respect to my family's decisions because I know that they wish the best for me. Finally, I got married and my wife, too, moved to Sweden two years ago. We have even just got a baby".

According to one of the respondents, arrange marriage is related to the traditions and customs.

"Marriage must be done in an arranged way as the traditions and customs require that. For instance, two cousins get married and then the one living in abroad would bring the other one. That is the way how it functions".

Besides marriage, other types of family reunification also took place among the respondents.

"I came to Sweden when I was 14 years old since my father and close relatives were living in Sweden".

Most of the respondents emphasised that they received a significant assistances from their families and relatives especially in the arrival country. Concerning, two of the respondents underlined that;

"My relatives living in Sweden helped me to find a decent partner as well as assisting me with the visa issues and practical things after I came to Sweden. My wife and I lived with my wife's family for a while because it was hard to find an accommodation".

"My brother firstly got married and moved to Sweden and then he helped me to find my wife and come to Sweden".

One of the respondents mentioned that

"My father in law has a pizza shop and he always needs a trustworthy worker. After I got married, I moved to Sweden. As soon as I arrived I began to work for him".

Besides the family reunification, one of the respondents drew attention to employment reasons;

"I am a cook and I was hired to work in a Turkish restaurant. Thanks to common connections in Turkey, my employer and I could get in touch. Then, we agreed on the working conditions and they helped me to move to Sweden. So, the work was the main motivation for me to come to Sweden".

According to one respondent;

"The core reason lying behind of the Turkish immigration to Sweden is to find better life conditions".

One of the respondents outlined the picture of Sweden in his mind before he immigrated. He implied that Turkish immigrants, who live in Sweden and go on holiday in Turkey, had an impact on his views on Sweden.

"Turkish people living in Europe and going on holiday in Turkey give the impression that life conditions are great in Sweden. They travel to Turkey by luxury cars, they spend a lot of money on holidays, they have houses in Turkey and so forth. Therefore, I thought that life conditions were really good and making money was relatively easy in Sweden. In addition, I did not have a decent job in Turkey. These factors encouraged me to move to Sweden".

Regarding, one of the respondents drew attention to an expectation from the Turkish immigrants living in Europe.

"Turkish people in Turkey suppose that we are very rich people as we live in Europe. For example, they ask what my car's brand is maybe I do not even have a car. I mean we have to work hard and make money to meet people's expectation. Some people have to send money to Turkey to support their families".

Additionally, some respondents talked about on their experiences with bureaucratic matters such a visa[97] and their first times in Sweden.

"I did not have a difficulty with the visa. But, when I first arrived at Sweden, I totally felt bad and lonely. I was moody and tired most of the time. I could not sleep properly about 15 days".

"The first month I just stayed home without going out. It was the first time I was away from the ones I care about and everything was rather different here. It was really hard for me. I especially hated the weather but after a while things started to get better thanks to the help that I received from my family and friends".

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[97] It is essential to point out that all Turkish people who do not hold an EU passport have to apply for a visa in order to enter in the EU regardless of time duration and reason.

"Few days later after my arrival, I started to go to some Turkish associations to socialize and meet other people; otherwise I could have become worse psychologically because I did not feel well at all.

Conversely, one of the respondents pointed out that;

"I have never felt like living in a foreign country since I have the same life I had in Turkey. Everyone around me is either my relatives or my countryman. I work and hang out with only Turkish people. So for me there is no difference".

5.1.2. Education and Language

On the topic of educational backgrounds, one of the respondents stated that;

"It was not so popular and common to study in my home town. So I did not feel inspired to study at all. I only graduated from the premier school, which I had even difficulty finishing. I started to work at an early age by helping my father."

Nevertheless, some of the respondents indicated that they tried to continue studying after they immigrated.

"Before moving to Sweden I was attending secondary school in Turkey and I was almost done with it. I kept on going to school in Sweden; however, I must have started from the beginning level of the secondary school here. That was difficult. After graduation from the high school, I attended a vocational training but I had trouble with the lectures. Finally, I decided to quit it as I found a job in a factory."

Some respondents also mentioned that they have information on some available vocational trainings provided by the Swedish state[98]. However, none of the respondents confirmed their presence in such trainings.

"I am aware of that there are some possibilities to go to some vocational training and get new skills. I am thinking about doing that. But, I cannot dare to do it somehow because I need money".

"I went to the SFI courses for three months and then I got a job in a kebab shop. So I began to work as I was short of money and it was hard to continue due to my long hour working shifts".

Some respondents stated that they regret for leaving the language courses before completing.

"While I was attending the language course, I got a job offer. I thought I should not have missed this opportunity. Moreover, people around me also encouraged me to take it because they also thought that it was a good chance for someone who does not speak Swedish so I took it but I really regret for it now…"

Most of the respondents find their language skills pretty low.

"I do not think I can speak Swedish well although I have been living in Sweden for about eight years. I want to speak to people but knowing that my language skills are not strong

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[98] The core propose of such trainings is to support newcomer immigrants to get some vocational skills if needed.

enough make me feel ashamed and discouraged. So I avoid talking to people most of the time. Even if I do, the conversation lasts in few minutes because I am limited to continue.

"My Swedish is only based on restaurant language, which is bound to some brief conversations. I mean I have the ability to speak Swedish only whilst we are serving food. That is it."

"Sometime, I cannot even do the things that I have to do by myself, like going to hospital, bank and so on. I always need someone who can do translation to me. That does not feel comfortable".

Besides, some of the respondents connected their languages skills with the job opportunities and their working conditions.

"I do not believe that I can find another job due to my poor Swedish".

"My boss knows that I cannot find another job and I am stuck here because of my poor language skills. So, why should he pay to me more or …?"

"I worked in this restaurant over than three years but I have not been able to attend any language course. It is because my working hours were about fourteen hours per day and more importantly my boss did not let me do it. Besides, all my colleagues were speaking in Turkish and I did not have the opportunity to talk to our Swedish customers since I was working back in the kitchen As a result I can not speak the language as I wish".

On the other hand, one of the respondents stressed that;

"I usually speak Turkish. My wife is Turkish and we speak in Turkish home, in my working placement everyone is Turkish and we speak in Turkish and in my spare time I hang out with Turkish friends and we speak in Turkish. Sometime it feels like I do not need to learn Swedish in deed."

In opposition, some respondents highlighted that

"You are nothing without speaking Swedish in Sweden. So I have to learn it well".

"When I was working at Volvo, my Swedish colleagues helped me a lot to improve my Swedish. I can speak Swedish now even though it is not perfect".

5.1.3. Fast Food Sector

Some of the respondents explained the reasons why they are working in such a sector.

"This sector was totally and utterly irrelevant to me. I did not know even how to peal an onion. I somehow got involved in it because I needed a job and the fast food sector is the easiest way to get a job.

"There is no job in factories or other sectors in Sweden any longer. So, a person, who has just moved to Sweden, has to work either in a restaurant or kebab/pizza shop, where there are usually jobs available".

"Almost every Turkish knows how to make a pizza/kebab. It is like a widespread inheritance Fathers teach their children how to make it and encourage them to get experiences working in

such business. I mean it is a common thing to do among Turkish immigrants so you are automatically involved in this sector".

Most of the respondents indicated that they found the jobs through their networks

"I was ready to do any kind of job after arriving in Sweden. I found a job in a kebab shop thanks to people I know".

"Turkish immigrants do not generally go to the job centres when they are unemployed and looking for jobs since the Turkish associations are the places where employers and employees can easily reach one another. Everyone leaves a message there..Actually everyone knows each other so there is no even need to leave a message. Automatically, people find each other".

Turkish people almost have the monopoly in this sector in Gothenburg. Everyone knows each other more or less and they have a really strong network.

Some of the respondents mentioned the conditions in their working placements.

"I am working twelve hours per day. If you include the time that you spend on way to the work, it will be fourteen hours. My employer officially shows only four hours working time. So I have almost no insurance".

"The working conditions are harder than Turkey. But, the working and employers mentality is still Turkish and it is the same as how it is in Turkey, cheating on the taxes and salaries, exploitation etc..I am totally working black".

"People working in this sector have no right to be sick. I hardly know people who do not go to work when they are sick. So you should not get sick".

"Even though I am sick, I have to work. If I call my employer and say that I am sick and I cannot work he tries to convince me to go to work. According to them; staying home can make you feel worse so you had better work. I mean there is no chance for me to take time off".

"If you are sick and stay home, you do not get paid at all. So you have to be strong. Otherwise, it is financially hard, especially if you have a family to take care of".

On the subject of their social lives, some of the respondents included that;

"We have no social life. More significantly, there is almost no time to see even my family".

"Long working hours affect you socially and psychologically. I know many people working in this sector and being addicted to some drugs or alcohol".

"Some of my friends work in restaurant kitchens. It is a closed place and the work is too stressful. So, unfortunately some of them take some drugs and drink alcohol very often in order to get rid of stress".

"I finish my work too late and when I go home my child is generally asleep. When I wake up, he is at school. So I do not have the time to spend with him. That upsets me".

On the contrary, one of the respondents stated that the long hours and taking time-off is also up to the worker's choice.

"If I want I can take two days off per week but I do not do it because I need money to be in better economic position".

One of the respondents, who moved to Sweden through a job contract and work permit, mentioned that;

"I worked for seven months by taking only two days off in total. That included thirteen hours shift per day. I also did all the work in the restaurant like cleaning, even though I was to work in the kitchen as a chef. These were totally against to the agreement that we made before I moved to Sweden". But I could not do something about it and I had to obey with the rules".

My boss arranged an accommodation, but the thing is that I had to share my room with other four or five people most of the time.

Additionally, he also gave information on how he has got his residence permit;

"After working three years, I got the right to get a residence permit. And, my employer had the responsibility to assist me with the visa as I was officially working there. But, they told me that the migration office required some big amount of money for the visa. Finally I had to pay it because I made a lot of sacrifices during these three years. I know the migration office does not charge people that much. So, I know my employer fooled me but I could not do anything apart from quitting the job as soon as I have got my residence permit".

Some of the respondents stated also that;

"My boss does not let me speak to foreigners because he says that there are some people, who are jealous of us due to our success in this sector. He also claims that they can change my mind in a negative way. If he sees me talking to a foreigner he questions what I have talked about and what the person has said. So I am not that free to even talk to people. But, I know they are afraid of me to learn some things because they want to keep me obeying with their rules".

I never get my salary regularly and I must usually tell them to pay to me several times. Yet, I am still glad that I am getting paid eventually.

On the other hand, one of the respondents stressed that

"While working I had to ignore all the difficult and indigestible things as I was an undocumented worker for a while".

Some of the respondents, who own/owned a fast food shop, gave some information on how to run a business in that sector.

"Owing a fast food shop is not something easy. I run a shop for seven years by working everyday fifteen hours alone. If I could find a friend or relative to take care of the shop I would have some time off. But, at the end I gave up and started working for someone else in this sector".

"If you have your own small shop, most of the time you must work minimum sixteen hours per day by taking no time off because you cannot afford to employ someone".

To make money in such a sector, you have to cheat on the taxes that you are bound to pay. Otherwise you cannot earn anything since the taxes are too high. That is the fault of the state".

"The profit that I used to make when I had a pizza shop was around fourteen/fifteen thousand Sek. That was not even sufficient for me. So I could not hire a staff. Besides, I had to do something about it in order to pay less tax..".

"You can not pay all the tax. If you did it most of your profit would go to the state as a tax. So, there would be no meaning of doing such a business, would it?".

Some respondents mentioned the benefit of employing people from the same origin of country. Furthermore, they indicated that the employment permits for non-EU/EEA citizens are manipulated.

"It is economically beneficial for employers to bring people from Turkey or hire Turkish people here since they are easier to comply with the rules. Thus, they pay fewer taxes and so forth".

"Many Turkish immigrants get benefit from the employment law for non-EU/EEA citizens in order to bring people, especially their relatives in Turkey. For example, an employee claims that a cook is required in his restaurant and brings his relative, who is totally irrelevant to this sector. They only pay the taxes that they have to pay to the state as they seem to be employing them. The thing is sometime the person does not actually work there. Otherwise, they teach them the work so that they can really work. And three or four years later the person gets the residence permit in Sweden".

5.1.4. Views on Culture Family, Gender and Child Rising

All respondents talked about cultural differences or similarities between Turkish and Swedish culture and gave their opinions;

"Do Swedes have a culture? I do not think so".

"These two cultures are totally contradictory and there is no similarity. For instance; their children are rather free, they can go out and drink, they can wear any clothes they like and so on. I mean Swedish families have no control over their children unlike our culture".

"We cannot keep up with the Swedish culture. It is a different culture. For example, Swedish women can cheat on their men. They can go out and be with different men. Our women do not do such things. They do not have the concept of honour".

"I do not want to make comment on their culture so much but I do not believe they have a culture in here. I start working in this pub/pizzeria shop at 10.00am, which is the time they start drinking until late time. I am here for 12 hours to earn money but they are here to drink. This is their culture, which is totally against to our culture. Maybe, that is connected to their loneliness or weak family relationships".

"Sweden has the third highest suicide rate in the world. Most of them are depressed and they do not have support from their families either. Besides, they do not have big responsibilities in their lives. For them, life is easy. They drink every weekend and go wild. That is their life".

Some respondents also talked about the Swedish culture referring to social skills;

"Swedish people are cold. They are not as social as we are. They do not even like talking and they are boring. I do not know maybe despite the cold weather here they are like this".

"In turkey, people know each other more or less in the same street. They say hi to each other and they start chatting away. It is not the same here. People do not know even their neighbours. One day, we run out of sugar home and my flat mate went out and rang our neighbour's door to borrow some sugar. But they could not communicate as my friend cannot speak Swedish well. I went out and persuaded my friend to go back home because I said to him that they are not used to such things and he could call the police if he misunderstands you".

In contrast, some respondents indicated that

I like the Swedish culture because they are well-disciplined and systematic, they do not lie and they are very honest, unlike us.

I like that Swedish people do not violate human rights. For example, if you work they pay to you fairly and they would not cheat or violate your right. However, Turkish people can do it without respecting your rights and efforts. We say that we are good muslim people but we steal, violate other people's right. Our minds are working for mainly bad things.

Additionally, some respondents perceive the concept of culture in a comparative way.

"Swedish culture is better than Turkish culture on some specific subjects. But, it cannot entirely be better than the Turkish culture as Swedish culture is a new culture and they do not have a long history as we do. Turks established many enormous imperials throughout the human history. The Swedish community has a five hundred years old history and experience. But the Turkish community has a longer history and experience. That's why I believe that the Turkish culture is a lot better than the Swedish culture even though it has bad sides too".

"As most of the Turkish immigrants come from rural areas in Turkey, there are many cultural differences and clashes. It is the same in Turkey. For instance, there are many cultural differences between Istanbul and Konya. It depends on the contexts".

"There is of course dissimilarity as it is a different race. Every culture experience the same things but some cultures are more advanced thanks to the industrial development than other cultures, which couldn't make the same progress. I mean cultures are the same but people are different. It depends on where a person comes from, his educational level etc".

One of the respondents also outlined a contradictory view;

The Swedish culture is not favourable for me in terms of religion and other things. Going out every weekend, dancing, getting drunk etc are not tolerated and practiced in our Turkish Islamic culture. We can't go out with our families and do such things. But, I also go out sometime here because it is not like Turkey. It is freer and people do not question what you do and so on. So, I started to socialize like them too.

During the research period, three different Turkish cultural associations were visited by the researcher to see what kind of activities these cultural associations organize as they are directly related to cultural issues. According to the observations, most of time men are going to these places to spend their spare time. It was not possible to see any woman or Swedish participants in such places. The main activities are to play some games such as card game, watch football on the TV and so on.

On the subject of interaction with Swedish people some respondents pointed out that

"I do not know what is wrong, but we do not communicate with Swedish people except the communication we do while serving food. We do not interact with each other. I would like to have a Swedish friend of course, but I do not have any".

"I tried hard to establish friendships with Swedish people, but it did not work out. So, all my friends are Turkish".

Conversely, one of the respondents said that

I go to school and I do practice in a company. So, I am always with Swedish people. As a result I have many Swedish friends.

The respondents were asked to draw pictures on a typical Turkish and Swedish person in their minds. Some of the drawn pictures are summarized below;

A typical Swedish person is someone who has a blonde outlook, eats outside very often, pays the meal debt separately although they are life partners, goes out every Friday and Saturday night and gets drunk, has always an income but not big responsibilities, takes no risk, gets up and goes to work early, obeys with the rules, likes easy life, has no big problems, takes his/her dog out for a walk every day, etc.

A typical Turkish person, who has a moustache and many gray hair in his black hair, works in a Kebab or Pizza shop, cares about his family strongly, lives in abroad and works 17-18 hours but still does not complain etc.

There are different opinions on child rising and some respondents mentioned that;

"It is hard for people working in this sector to raise a child. We have almost no power on it despite the working conditions. My children go to kindergarten and they are almost raised by only their teachers. It feels like I am not engaged in my children's development at all although I want to raise my children with in accordance with Turkish culture".

"I want my child to grow up by gaining the good both sides of Turkish and Swedish culture".

"My family and my relatives live in the same area so my child is always in the Turkish context. He plays with his relatives, the school he goes to is full of Turkish students. So, he is learning his real culture and I like that"

Some respondents commented on some issues concerned about gender.

"I want my wife to work like me because there is need for that. But, there is no job for her and staying home can cause psychological problems".

I support my wife to learn the language as soon as possible and be active in the social life.

On contrast, according to some respondents;

"There are some Turkish people who bring their wife and do not allow them to work or study. They are like slaves being home and doing the household works".

"Everything changes in a negative way. Schools and working placements are not that save places for a woman, who just moved from a rural area. People can try to benefit from her. So I do not feel comfortable with that".

"I did not want my wife to go to school because she was talking to males there. I warned her about it because I do not like it. But, she wanted to continue studying and then we had some arguments as a result. One day, she did not come back home from the school and I found out that she contacted to the social services. I do not know why. I have not heard from her since then. But I am now trying to find her".

According to the observations, macho culture is well-respected and trend among most of the respondents. Most of the conversations or jokes in their daily working life imply that. For example, some sentences from the conversations are presented below;

"I did not hold any of my children until they turned 6 months. During this time, woman must do the work. I have not changed any diapers so far because it is none of my business".

"Woman must listen to his man and respect. They cannot question what the man does, where he goes and so forth. She should know her position".

"It is hard to manage a Swedish woman. I do not understand how Swedish men succeed it".

5.1.5. Views on Integration

Some respondents shared their opinions on integration issues. Some of them are presented below;

"The more you contribute to the society the closer you feel with the society. When you work and pay your taxes, you can be a part of the society".

"Integration is strongly linked with education. First of all, one must learn the language of the host country so that you can express yourself as well as understanding the culture. Secondly, one must strive to keep up with the host culture as much as he/she can".

On the other hand, some respondents pointed out that

"As we are not in the same environment, we do not interact with Swedish people. So, we do not have a problem or difficulty with integration. There is nothing new or strange for us since we are always in the Turkish environment and live in the same area. I mean we carry on living our lives as we do it in Turkey. There is no difference".

"I do not feel so integrated. The thing is that we cannot be integrated exactly because there are huge differences between Turkey and Sweden. If I go to Turkey I feel strange with some of my attitudes, when I am here it is the same. While trying to adopt you to the foreign country, it feels like you betray your own culture. But I am still trying hard to be a part of this society".

"Integration means that you adjust yourself to the life style of the host country and live accordingly. I am trying to do that but I do not think I can. It does not matter how long time I spend here, I have the feeling that I cannot succeed in it. Well, I actually feel like being a part of this society but existing in the second or the third class of the society".

According to one respondent;

"Turkish immigrants are a though group to be integrated. They live too closed with each other. That is the main obstacle. It is because they keep their own traditions and customs, they only hang out with their fellows and they are too crowded. The other immigrant groups are not like this. For example, a family who comes from Palestine does not have a huge social network in Sweden so maybe the father and mother can keep living in accordance with their

culture but their children grow up by learning and being closer to the Swedish culture. When they are adults, they can choose a Swedish partner for instance. However, that does not apply to the Turkish immigrants because they are culturally and financially strong in the Sweden. So to say, Turkish immigrants do not even need Swedish people".

The respondents talked about their future plans and majority of them pointed out that they would like to continue living in Sweden. For example;

"I am going to keep living in Sweden. I do not consider going back to Turkey".

Nevertheless, one of the respondents indicated that

"I would like to go back to Turkey but my wife and my children do not want to do that".

Besides, they also mentioned their carrier plans in the future.

"If someone works in this sector and if you ask what he wants to do in the future, the answer would definitely be that they want to have their own business place, such as a restaurant".

"Even a Turkish youngster born in Sweden does not dream about something else apart from running a restaurant and making a lot of money thanks to it".

"I want to open my restaurant in the future. That's why I am making a lot of sacrifices".

Conversely, some respondents emphasized that

"I wish I could get out of this sector. I am really sick and tired of it".

"My biggest dream is to get a permanent job in a factory or elsewhere. I just want to work eight hours and be off at the weekend like other people do".

"We are the losers so we cannot even have a small dream on the future. We are stuck here and will be so in the future too".

Some of the respondents answered the question "If you could have the power for one day – what changes would you make in the Swedish society to simplify the process of integration" as follows;

"I would strive to get rid of this black money sector as well as to create better and more ethical working conditions for everybody. Besides, I would try to change the circumstances which drive people to work under bad conditions. Working and living conditions have a crucial importance in people's lives and their well-being. Depending on the conditions this can have a negative or positive effect on integration of immigrants. That is the reason why I would like to make a change".

"I would love to turn back the time and start everything from scratch. I would definitely learn Swedish well. I would like to go back to the language courses if I had some money to cover my living expenses including the expenses of my family for a year".

"As we could never ever have the power I cannot answer this question".

On the other hand, one of the respondents pointed out that

"I would change all the Swedish policies, especially on refugees. They bring in many people, who experienced violence, war etc. Some of them must have killed some people. They come

here and see the quality of life and then they do not want to go back. They are having problems here because they have not experienced such a life before. Thanks to them, crime rates have increased in Sweden. That affects all immigrants as some people think that all immigrants cause such problems".

5.2. Analysis

5.1.1 Immigration to Sweden and Resettlement

According to the findings, most of respondents come from two main rural towns, called Kulu and Cihanbeyli. These towns lie in Konya province, where is located in the Central Anatolia Region of Turkey. The city is known to be one of the most religiously conservative metropolitan centres in Turkey. Besides, it used to the "citadel of Islam" and it still attempts to be more spiritual than other cities of Turkey[99].

As stated earlier, there are two different categorization of immigration such as voluntary and forced immigration. Regarding, the persons interviewed in this study moved to Sweden on voluntary basis. Most of them came to unite with their families[100] and in most cases it was in the form of arrange marriage[101]. This was a prevalent phenomenon among Turkish community according to the respondents. In addition, marriage between family members (cousins) and early marriages also appear to be quite common. It can be recognized that traditional values and customs are essential elements that require loyalty and respect from the respondents. Arranged marriage, marriage among relatives and early marriage seem to be common and normalized phenomenon. That concerns international immigration since the marriages are made between two different countries and result in a migratory movement, as exampled.

As understood in the Migration systems and Networks Theory, immigrants generally establish informal social networks to deal with migration and settlement. And, these networks contain personal and family relationships etc. and provide significant assistance during a migratory movement by constituting the micro structures and other kinds of social capitals. Families and personal relationships seem to have a crucial position in decision-making and the immigration process of the respondents. These facilitated the adequate conditions to motivate the migratory movements and then made the immigration possible through family reunification. Additionally, the families obviously provided all the essential assistance during the settlement process too. In other words, it can be recognized that the micro mechanisms and social capital of close relationships played a key role in the immigration and settlement period of the respondents. Furthermore, as indicated previously, immigrants attempt to follow the "beaten paths". Concerning, it is possible to say that the respondents got a significant support from the people, who had previously experienced the immigration and already live in the arrival country.

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[99] See for example, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Konya#cite_note-6.

[100] Family reunification is regulated by the migratory laws.

[101] According to the European Council; "Forced marriage" is an umbrella term covering marriage as slavery, arranged marriage, traditional marriage, marriage for reasons of custom, expediency or perceived respectability, child marriage, early marriage, fictitious, bogus or sham marriage, marriage of convenience, unconsummated marriage, putative marriage, marriage to acquire nationality and undesirable marriage – in all of which the concept of consent to marriage is at issue" (Antoine, 2005, P; 14).

On the other hand, living with the partner's family looks like a common and practical thing to do among the related immigrants. That can partly be linked with the housing system in Sweden[102] and financial matters. But, apparently it is also perceived to be accurate along with the cultural values of the respondents. The Turkish associations can be considered to be the meso mechanisms that mediate between immigrant groups. Such associations also appear to be helpful for people to meet and socialize with their fellows because according to the findings, they were the first places that immigrants got to know and then started to be attached with.

Employment is another motivation for some respondents to immigrate. According to the Labour Segmented Theory developed countries are the main factors that cause international immigration in order to meet the demands in the market economy through employers and governments. Concerning, the finding shows that some of them moved to Sweden to work in some Turkish restaurant as cooks. That is a sort of labour immigration, which is regulated by a migratory law in Sweden[103]. Considering that, it can be claimed that the law allows employers to meet the labour force demand in the market sector. This bears a resemblance to the labour force immigration to Sweden, though the number of immigrants is not as high as it used be after the Second War World. As regards, some Turkish employers in Sweden seem to make use of this law. In line with that, employers can be seen as a bridge to assist people to cross the way to another country.

Some respondents indicated that the circumstances in Turkey like limited job opportunities, unemployment etc. forced them to look elsewhere and moved to another country (push factors). These factors encouraged them to look for new opportunities in Sweden, which has a good and attractive reputation in Turkey in terms of social welfare. The circumstances in the new country are perceived as pull factors, while explaining the causes of international immigration consistent within the Neo-classical theory.

There are several mechanisms working conjointly in international migration. In respect to the area of this report, one can distinguish a shortage of reliable and stable staff, which builds up a demand for new people who are willing to work, often in special branches such as these small enterprises in the service sector. This mechanism can be connected to cultural tradition of arrange marriage. These kinds of marriages have some benefits to the family as a whole. That is to say, people might attempt to get their children married with someone, who can possibly contribute to the existing family business or income. As a result, it can be acknowledged that family businesses such as kebab and pizza shops resulted in immigration of the respondents as well.

Regarding the pull-factors that attract people to move, one has to consider the socially constructed image of Europe in Turkey. Europe is one of the attractive continents to immigrate in eyes of Turkish immigrants. Turkish immigrants in Europe, attempt to give the impression that their life conditions are greater than the ones in Turkey. This measurement of

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[102] Finding an accommodation in big cities like Gothenburg can be difficult for immigrants as there is a queue system, which normally requires long time waiting and stable income.

[103] Thanks to the law, which was come into force in December 2008, it is easier for non-EU/EEA citizens to find a job and get a work permit in Sweden. In other words, if an employer in Sweden wishes to employ a non-EU/EEA citizen, this law makes it possible. It can be said that finding and getting a work permit was harder in Sweden earlier for such citizens (See for example, www.sweden.se)

quality of life is mainly linked to high economic incomes. Consequently, some people in Turkey see the European continent as "the land of dreams". This perception has an important positive effect on people's motivation and their decisions on immigration. On the other hand, the perception of the dream land evokes an expectation from Turkish immigrants living in Europe, according to the respondents in this study. That is to say, Turkish people expect from Turkish people living in Europe to be able to make more money than their selves because they tend to think that there are more possibilities and better opportunities in Europe than Turkey. So, immigrant individuals can feel that they have to meet the expectation; otherwise they might face inferior attitudes in their communities in Turkey. To put it briefly, this expectation creates a social pressure on Turkish immigrants.

To conclude, there are two ways, in which the respondents moved to Sweden; family unification and employment in the labour market. These factors can be understood by using the Neo-classical theory consideration, which explains the reasons of international immigration by mainly focusing on economic factors. To more fully understand the individual to migrate, one must also look at the wishes and hopes of finding opportunities to have better life conditions, even though the ways of immigration varies from person to person. In the migration process, the findings outlines that the social networks are used both; while they were immigrating to Sweden and when they were settling down in Sweden. The social networks are one of the most powerful things working to make immigration possible, easier and safer. In terms of international immigration, these facts can be an example to demonstrate the importance of social networks and the way how they function as well as to show how the families bear all the impacts and sanctions of a migratory movement.

5.1.2. Education and Language

As mentioned in the labour segmented theory, people engaged in the so called secondary market commonly have low educational backgrounds. Most of the informants of the study have relatively low education, even if some of them hold a "premier school" [104] or high school degrees. Besides, most of the respondents have not a vocational education background either.

Most of the respondents started to attend the SFI courses after their settlement. The duration of attendance such courses vary from two months to six months; however, it seems to have lasted in a short period of time. This is strongly linked with the employment and economical reasons, which resulted in withdrawals from the courses. Although most of the immigrants are encouraged to attend the SFI courses after they moved to Sweden, the working conditions prevent them from doing so.

The findings show that the low language competence has a negative impact on some of the respondents' self confidence in their social life. More significantly, this situation has also the tendency to put them in a disadvantaged and vulnerable position in the labour market. Along with the low educational backgrounds and language proficiency, lacks of vocational skills are outstanding facts too. As a result, these factors can cause and increase the potential manipulation and exploitation of such people in the market economy. The core-spoken language in the working placements and their social life is Turkish even if Swedish is spoken in the short time interactions with the customers. In other words, Turkish language remains as the dominant language in respondent's lives.

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[104] That was a compulsory 5 year premier education in Turkey; however, it has been recently changed. At the present, it is a must to study 12 years, which is considered to be the premier education.

To sum up, it is possible to say that low educational levels characterize the respondents of this study. Besides, getting high/higher education does not seem to be a possible option for the respondents, although some of them are aware of the disadvantages of their status and considering making a change in their educational level. It can, too, be recognized that most of the respondents are considerably lack of sufficient language competence and vocational qualifications. Sweden has active policies to develop the labour market positions of immigrants through language courses, education and vocational training and so forth. However, the findings indicate that attendance the available trainings and courses can be pretty low among the respondents, if there are more attractive choices at hand at the present situation. That can be connected to their working conditions and surrounding environments. On the other hand, working and earning money attempts to be more ideal and desirable fact than any other options. Finding a job is also the main reason for withdrawals from such courses and trainings but in some ways a quick move from language training can result in an "encasement" in a certain branch.

5.1.3. Fast Food Sector

The finding demonstrates that fast food sector is a widespread business among Turkish immigrants. Many families support their male children to learn how to make a pizza or get experience working at kebab shops. The reason for which is that it is perceived as a professional job that can help the immigrants to earn money even in the hard situations, like economical crisis, as there is always job availability. In other words, this business is like an inheritance that constantly makes their survival.

The fast food sector can be strong in Turkey as well. But, most of the respondents have got involved in it first after their immigration and settlement, even lacked of any experience before. This sector seems to be the easiest and quickest way for some newcomer immigrants, whose language skills and their educational backgrounds are in a certain degree of level, to get a job. In relation to that, their main motivations concerning their participation in such sector give the impression that the respondents were voluntarily engaged in it. However, imperative conditions also had an impact on their motivations. These conditions can be related to high unemployment rates, the fear of being unemployed, the social pressure from the sending communities and so forth. As s result, the respondents seem to choose it as a fall-back solution otherwise they would be unemployed and could not apply to different social demands.

As stressed in the segmented labour market, inadequate language skill and low level of education of immigrants can be one of the reasons that mobilize the existing resource of an ethnic network. In line with that, the findings reveal that there is a strong networking working that tie employers and employees together. More significantly this network seems to be centred on the same ethnic group. The Turkish associations are the mediating meso group in this case by helping employers and employees to reach each other. In other words, these associations tempt to take over the responsibility of authorized job centres and perform to assist some ethic group members in terms of employment. Nonetheless, such networks contain some risks, as mentioned in the segmented labour market. For instance, if networks are limited and reliance on them is overly high, that can restrict the options on employment.

Too long working hours, unauthorized employment, black money market, low paid salaries, no insurance, no time off are the striking findings concerning working conditions of the respondents. Moreover, the respondents seem to be subject to a range of constraint since they are lack of power in the faces of employers. These can be deviant factors in the Swedish

Labour Market context. According to the Segmented Labour Theory, these situations are the outcomes of the capitalist market economy, which is bound to continuity of production tasks by meeting structural demand in the market. Production tasks are carried out by high or low-skilled immigrants. Concerning, it can be claimed that the respondents are to carry out services, like catering, corresponding to the demand in the second labour market. In other words, they service the needs of highly paid workers in other sectors, such as finance, management etc.

Furthermore, the Segmented Labour Theory also implies that such secondary market can reduce the costs of staff services and create a competitive market, which is able to cope with the conditions in the capitalist economies. This can make cheap services available. In proportion to the findings, it is possible to say that such a competitive market strongly exists in this fast food sector. That has a tendency to affect the working conditions of the respondents as the competition to provide cheap services for the customers is relatively strong. Besides, the respondents allege that high taxes and unequal competition in this sector force them to act in unauthorized way.

On the other hand, as stated above, it is also argued in the Segmented Labour Theory that divisions on the basis of race, ethnicity and gender result in dualism and complex labour market segmentation. It can be assumed that such fast food shops are one of the outcomes of an enclave economy, which supports such ethnic entrepreneurs. There is almost a monopoly of Turkish immigrants in this sector (especially kebab/pizza shops) because most of the fast food shops in Gothenburg are run by them. This reveals that this is an ethnic based entrepreneur and business. The reason for which can be that such immigrant entrepreneurship can be recognized to be positive actions since it is supposed to enhance the economic growth and the quality of life for customers. Besides, all the respondents involved in this research are male workers. That can also be an evidence of gender segmentation in this sector.

On the other hand, the Segmented Labour theory also focuses on the selection of workers in the primary labour market referring to the basis of human capital. It is obvious that the number of workers from the majority ethnic group in this sector is too low. That also shows why this sector is based on ethnicity and how it fills the gaps avoided by the dominant group in the labour market. Furthermore, establishing such ethnic based and owned business might be a reflection to negative labour market experience. Conversely, according to the findings, there is a high income to gain in this sector. However; some group of immigrants are able to take advantage of it when the majority go through poor working conditions.

As indicated above, some employers in Sweden can recruit workers from non-EU/EEA countries, like Turkey, thanks to the employment law. The findings indicate that this seems to be a common phenomenon among the Turkish immigrants. Especially, some Turkish restaurant or kebab/pizza shop owners make use of this programme and bring employees from Turkey. But, the findings imply that this employment program is sometime misused by some employers in order to bring in their relatives or friends through their social networks. On the other hand, the working conditions of the respondents, who moved to Sweden under employment reasons, reveal that the situation is much harder for them. The reason for that can be connected with that some of them do not have any contact and support in Sweden, apart from their employers. Besides, they are totally unfamiliar with the host country's context. Such factors can make them more dependent on their employers. Besides, this fast food sector seems to be the one of the open doors for undocumented immigrants to find a job and earn money. Their illegal status can also be one of the factors that make such workers vulnerable and disadvantaged in the labour market.

The Segmented Labour Theory claims that there is also need for low skilled workers since they are simple to be controlled and exploited by employers. Taking that into account, it can be recognized that manipulation and exploitation is a matter of majority of the respondents involved in this research. In addition, their fundamental human and work rights seem to be abused by some of the employers. One of the striking points is that exploitation takes place among the same ethnic group members including family members. According to the theory, these factors are ignored by the governments as they are the one causing immigration and creating such circumstances in order to meet the demand, as indicated above.

To sum up, catering sector is a common business between Turkish immigrants and many of them are engaged in it on voluntary or involuntary basis, the causes of which can vary from person to person. The findings disclose that the respondents lack of language competences and educational backgrounds and this has a tendency to increase the mobilization of ethnic networks. As regards, social networks play a crucial role through networking hiring in terms of employment. This business sector can be considered an ethnic based entrepreneurship, which meets the demand in the second labour market and can be related to the enclave economies. Besides, the findings expose that exploitation of workers, poor working conditions and black money market are considerably high in this fast food sector.

5.1.4. Culture and Integration

The findings demonstrate that the respondents often follow their cultural practices and there is a divide "we" and "they". In other words, most of the respondent distance and disassociate themselves from the others. The other represents the Swedish people and other immigrant groups and we refer to mainly their own culture and religion. This can be connected with ethnicity, which is a marker of identity, as stated above. Furthermore, this identity entails some prejudices and stereotypes on the host country's culture and its people. Besides, owned culture is proudly dignified.

The majority of the respondents do not have any contact with Swedish people excepting short time interactions in their working placements. Besides, they mainly work and socialize with their fellow countrymen. On the other hand, some respondents indicate that they tried to get Swedish friends and get to know them; however this did not work out somehow. The findings also draw attention to how the perception of "the other" is constructed, and that the other in this sense also can be the Swedes. They meet this other in a restricted sense as customers, and from this meeting prejudices and stereotypes are contested as well as shaped. In other words, their working placements are the profound areas, from where they can reach out other parts of the Swedish society and it works like a making mechanism.

For example, profiles of their customers can play the representative role for the majority. Accordingly, the findings outline that they are lack of adequate information on the host culture and they do not share the same opportunities as the majority. These factors can be a result of long working conditions, insufficient languages skills, living in and working in enclave areas and so forth.

In addition, most of the Turkish cultural associations as the messo mechanisms, which can or are supposed to build a bridge between two cultures and receive some support from the authorities for cultural activities, seem to be functioning far away from their main activities. Such places mainly give the impression that they are segregated based on ethnicity and gender

as well as aiming at making profit by providing possibilities for mainly men to spend their times on some games[105].

On the subject of gender and child raising, patriarchal conditions seem to be dominant among the respondents, although there are some tendencies towards change on these conditions. For example, some of the respondents do not support their partners to go to school or take part in the labour market, unlike the others. When it comes to children issues, the respondent seem to be more open to the Swedish context as they believe that the conditions are better in Sweden than their origin of country as to child raising. However, the wish to raise their children in accordance with their own culture is considerably high. One of the striking points is that their children are also living in enclave areas and mainly socializing with their fellows apart from kinder garden or schools. These educational places, too, seem to be segregated.

Concluding, the findings confirm that most of the respondents do not fully take part in social, cultural and economical spheres of the Swedish society despite their detached status, such as long working hours in the working placements. Furthermore, they do not seem to have the possibilities to reach the same opportunities in the society. And, they realize that it is hard to build relationships between individuals and groups with the main institutions of society due to their insufficient language skills, their working conditions forcing them to long working hours. Consequently, it can be recognized that the most of the respondents are partly marginalized and socially excluded. According to the zones of organization and social cohesion distinguished by Castles and stated in the theory part, respondents' positions fit into the second zone since they face the vulnerability characterized by precariousness of employment and fragility of relational supports. That means they are not neither completely socially excluded or included but they face the risk of being excluded – they are on the edge of (extreme) exclusion.

With reference to integration, one of the striking findings is that the majority of the respondents do not wish to go back to Turkey after a while and they are mostly here to stay permanently. The findings also show that most of the respondents do not feel integrated and they do not believe that one day they will fully be integrated into the Swedish context. On the other hand, the findings point out that there is no need for being integrated for some respondents as the same life styles and cultural practices are followed and there is no difference between their lives in Sweden and their previous lives in Turkey.

The findings also give the impression that integration is commonly perceived as assimilation among the respondents. In other words, integration means "being assimilated" to the majority of the respondents. Therefore, integration is seen as a betrayal to their own culture, religion, and nation as well as a threat, which can undermine their ethnicity. Nationalism and conservatism seem to be the dominant point of views among the respondents. In contrast, there is also a tendency to embrace some parts of integration between the respondents. Still, the sense of belonging to the host society appears to be low.

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[105] Such places have the similar characteristics with some places called "Kahvehane" in Turkey. It is mostly and culturally unapproved that women go and socialize in such places. So, only men generally go to such places to socialize by playing some small games, which aren't considered to be gambling games but there can be still some amount of money in the game. Briefly, most of the Turkish cultural associations seem to have the same functions as Kahvehanes in Turkey.

As indicated above, almost all the respondents are willing to continue living in Sweden. Some of them wish to keep on working in this sector by aiming at having their own business, which can expectedly enable better working conditions and higher incomes for them. That is the main motivation among the respondents. Besides, some of the respondents seem to be pessimistic on their carriers and they believe that they are stuck in this sector and will be working in it for a longer time involuntarily. Conversely, some of the respondents seem to be looking for new options to get out of sector and build a new carrier as they do not want to continue any longer. However, satisfaction with their working lives and conditions is outstandingly low and their hopes for a change are conversely high. Thus this part of the fast food sector can be understood as a context working towards semi-integration, giving some of the important connections to the new country in respect to having an own income and a social network, but still it is a rather restricted connection that cause renewed dreams of a better future for the one involved.

Conclusion

Europe is seen as the lands of dream for some people, who are in search of finding a better or the best country to live. The guest worker programs increased the number of immigrants in some Western European countries and Sweden is one of these former worker receiving countries, as stated above. Accordingly, Turkish immigrants are one of the largest immigrant groups in Sweden. A big number of them moved under the guest programs and then their families followed them. The labour recruitment from Turkey stopped long time ago, apart from some highly skilled Turkish immigrants, however; family reunification seems to continue. For instance, most of the respondents moved to Sweden through family reunification. Besides, employment permits are granted if a company in Sweden wishes to employ a non-EU/EEA citizen. In relation to that, there seem to be some Turkish employers, who recruit workers for catering sector, such as cooks, from Turkey. Thanks to that, labour recruitment partly continues but it is not as high as it used to be after the Second World War.

Pull and push factors, such as limited opportunities in the origin of birth and the positive reputation of Sweden in terms of social welfare, seem to be important reasons of Turkish immigration to Sweden. Besides, Turkish immigrants have a strong social network between each other. These networks play a crucial role in their immigration and settlement process.

Most immigrants come from same or close rural areas in Turkey, where opportunities are limited and religious conservatism is high. An important number of them are relatives. More significantly, it can be claimed that interacting macro and micro structures have resulted in the migratory movements of Turkish immigrants. Furthermore, family and community decisions are also important facts among them. Arrange marriage, early marriage and marriages between family members (such as cousins) seem to be prevalent phenomenon. So, the numbers of Turkish immigrants in Sweden have the potential to increase through family reunification and children of the immigrants. Germany is an example of this process.

Although most of Turkish immigrants were engaged in industrial sector earlier, nowadays it is possible to see a significant shift towards the service based activities. A great number of Turkish immigrants are now involved in small service enterprises in catering sector through restaurants, pizza and kebab shops. In line with that, there is a significant bloom of exotic food sector in Sweden and Turkish fast food culture is one of those ethnic oriented food services. This sector is totally based on ethnic entrepreneurs and there are a great number of Turkish immigrants working in it.

There can be two different or interrelated factors regarding this shift and bloom. The Swedish labour market does not need that many manual works any longer to cope with the technological and industrial development. As a result, there is no demand for manual workers as it used to be especially after the Second World War. Besides, the economical growth in Sweden is not as strong as it used to be in this period. However, the number of immigrants is also higher than before and unemployment rates in Sweden are increasingly climbing up. As indicated in the previous research part, the chance of finding a job for immigrants is relatively low in Sweden, especially one lacks low language skills and has low educational background. There are also some sectors avoided by the dominant groups such as catering, cleaning sectors. Those can be the factors that drive people to create or get involved in different sectors of economy. That is to say, some immigrants are subjected to finding their ways to earn money. On the other hand, Swedish people seem to enjoy testing exotic food and Turkish fast food culture is considerably welcome. Consequently, this situation apparently results in ethnic entrepreneurs. In relation to that, some immigrants establish their own business and they get other group members involved through their social networks as a fallback solution.

Such ethnic entrepreneurs might present a better situation for immigrants as there is a possibility to gain higher incomes. However, the findings reveal that some ethnic members only get benefits from that, while the others undergo long hours, poor working conditions and exploitation. Besides, there are huge unauthorized and black money businesses, which obviously exist in such sector. Cheating on the taxes seems to be well-known in the sector. High taxes for small businesses in Sweden, strong competition among in the fast food sector and insufficient controlling mechanisms must encourage people to find other ways to gain higher incomes. Significantly, there are many immigrant groups that end up in the most precarious positions. Their human and worker rights are totally deprived as they are easily controlled and exploited. This deprivation even takes place in the same ethnic group members that include family members, as exampled among the Turkish immigrants. Network hiring seems to be very strong among the immigrant groups and social networks are playing a key role in network hiring. Nonetheless, these networks can also be abusive in terms of employment as there is a strong monopoly in spheres of business, such as catering.

Most of the workers in such sector are lack of language skills and have low educational backgrounds. Moreover, attendance the available language courses and vocational trainings appears to be pretty low. Regarding, the levels of self-sufficiencies are quite limited. These factors make them disadvantaged and vulnerable in the market economy. On the other hand, some employers apparently manipulate employment visa permits by bringing in workers and acting exploitatively. Besides, it is also possible to see the gender segmentation in this sector. These workers obviously fill the gaps that the natives avoid in the labour market. Thanks to them, the production tasks are carried out. That must enhance the economic development and the quality live for customers. But, the wild and unequal competition is a matter of this sector. There is an obvious unjust and unequal interdependency between employers and workers. It would be wrong to recognize it as a black market since some of the activities are partly authorized and there is still white money circulation in the business, such as showing officially four hours working time instead of twelve hours per day. Therefore, maybe a new term can be developed in migration studies in order to describe the situation properly. This might be "gray market"[106].

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[106] A grey market or gray market is the trade of a commodity through distribution channels which, while legal, are unofficial, unauthorized, or unintended by the original manufacturer, This term mainly applies to industrial sector but it can be applied in other sectors too (see for example, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grey_market).

As indicated above, getting immigrants into the labour market is perhaps the most fundamental strategies in the Swedish integration perspective. Immigrants are supposed to get integrated in a less fabricated way by being part of the labour market. However, this study shows that these strategies do not reach out and apply to some immigrants in the society. Moreover, expected integration process through working placements does not provide a less fabricated way for some newcomer immigrants. In contrast, these working placements can be one of the factors, which can affect the integration process, as exampled in this study. Ethnic entrepreneurs can raise possibilities to decrease high unemployment rates among immigrants, open new spheres in the economy and contribute to the economy. Therefore, it can be supported by the state. But, there is obviously a need of strong control mechanisms and the reasons of individuals actions towards illegality must be discussed comprehensively. Unauthorized actions and extreme egoism can surely be unacceptable in an egalitarian society and equal conditions for everyone should be provided and protected. That is the main task of social welfare states.

Marginalization and Social exclusion are the matters of some people involved in the fast food sector. There are barriers and inequalities, which have a negative effect on their fully participation in social, economical and cultural spheres of the Swedish society. Breakdown of relationships or being unable to establish contact with the main institutions of society are also important facts. They are lack of adequate information on the host culture and the sense of belongings to the Swedish society is pretty low. Moreover, the respondents talk about their identity as an ethnic minority and integration is perceived as assimilation and betrayal to their ethnicity. Turkish remains as the dominant language. Most of Turkish immigrants work and live in enclave areas of Gothenburg. They mainly work and socialize with their fellows. For example, they spend their spare times in Turkish cultural associations, which are segregated on the basis of ethnicity and gender. Most of these cultural associations seem to function far away from their main tasks and responsibilities. Patriarchal family conditions remain dominant among some of them. The fast food sector and culture is like an inheritance and children at an early age start working in this sector. The main motivation for which is the belief that children should learn it in order to make their survivals in any case. Children are also subject to living, studying and socializing in the enclave areas so the role models for them are in a narrow context.

The social mechanisms surrounding the Turkish immigrants working in the fast food sector are presented above. The depressing picture of the situation poses tree question marks; are the Swedish authorities are unaware of the situation? Is there ignorance under the claim of multiculturalism? Or do these two factors work in combination?

There cannot be straight answers to these questions. However the study shows that there is a need of more research on the problem area, which can be carried out by multidiscipline professional areas. Thus, awareness can be raised. Sweden needs to take on more sustainable approach to immigration.

Secondly, there can be tendency to ignore the situation knowingly or unknowingly and both of unawareness and ignorance of the problems can result in unwanted situations as well. Multiculturalism requires respect for different cultures, which is also stated in Swedish immigration policy. This study points at questions regarding the balance between acceptance and avoidance. It can be argued that some aspects on the respect is over the line because there is a matter that affects and concerns society's well-being and henceforth measures must be taken promptly.

On the other hand, as known, some governments can attempt to deny the problems in the society. When it comes to international immigration and integration, this can be a result of the belief that one day immigrants will return to their origin of countries because they are the guests. However, the study reveals that most of Turkish immigrants do not have plans to go back to their countries and they are here to stay permanently. This reality must be acknowledged first and then effective measurements can be taken and constructive way can be opened to make the situation better for both sides. Otherwise, for example high unemployment and disadvantaged working conditions among immigrants, marginalization and social exclusion corresponding to racism, extreme nationalism, discrimination and so on can result in different consequences, which can deeply affect the well-being of this group as well as other parts of the society. These outcomes have already started to create explosions in the society, especially in the segregated areas. Such issues must be considered and recognized as societal problems instead of being problems of some groups.

There is also a tendency to create a class and ethnic based society in Sweden by moving away from the Swedish Social Democratic system. Instead of identities that link people to each other in a fundamental discourse of solidarity, ethnic minorities offer separatist identities. The multicultural society already exists in Sweden but a fuller realization of this and adaptation of the society through institutions are in great need. These institutions are formed to structure human interaction. That's why they play a crucial role in the adaptation process, which must include two-sides, the dominant population and minority population, so that the social cohesiveness in the society can be strengthen. On the other hand, the number of cultural national and international activities can be increased in order to let people be introduced to other communities and elaborate the diversity closely. This can have positive results in the society. The reason for that, there is obviously a need for people to get to know each other better and break up the prejudices and stereotypes. Cultural associations already exist and they can be encouraged to arrange or increase the number of cultural activities. However, they need supervising or leading through the controlling mechanisms as well since some of them attempt to function far away from their main responsibilities, as mentioned above.

The social networks can have a double face regarding immigration and integration processes. These social networks can be helpful and useful factors in providing information, jobs etc as well as being abusive and increasing the marginalization and social exclusion. Beside, strong ethnic social networks can also cause and develop ethnic minority structures as they attempt to provide various resources. In order words, this can cause distant minorities from the society. The process of interaction with the host context is under the risk of deprivation for newcomer immigrants. It is important to point out that the context surrounding the individuals has a vital position in the establishments of attitudes and habits of immigrants as they are open to be influenced easily. For example, individuals, who experience exploitation, might be the ones that can act exploitatively in the future when they have their own businesses because the surrounding environment influences them somehow. These factors seem to undermine the integration process of immigrants.

Official or societal denials of settled immigrants can likely lead to community formation, social exclusion, and enduring link among class and ethnic as well as the maintenance of ethnic minorities. Residential and employment segregations are important facts, which are strongly connected with exclusion, marginalization and ethnic minority structures. In such places, immigrants do not have the chance to reach out the society, get to know it and adapt them selves accordingly. That can result in isolation and this isolation has the potential to increase the numbers of problems in the society. Besides, these segregations can lack social networks from the dominant groups, knowledge on the local places and so forth. The

segregation can be caused by the authorities, but also immigrants. For example, some respondents indicated that they like living close to their social networks. This can raise the feeling that they do not need to know the host culture. More significantly, children with immigrant background also grow up in such enclaves by being distant from the society. So, it can be claimed that social exclusion process kind of starts as soon as they come to the earth.

As stated above, integration is a mutual process and immigrant groups have also some responsibilities in this process. Cultural respect should be mutual too. While expecting to be respected for cultural differences, they should also respect to the dominant culture. For example, there are some expectations of conformity to certain key values in the host country. In other words, immigrant's efforts and positive attitudes towards the host country is vital and necessary. Acceptance of cultural values does not mean to reject fundamental values of self-owned values. This way of thinking can be helpful to digest the diversity.

In conclusion, the social mechanisms, particularly social networks, surrounding immigrant groups have important and leading effects on their immigration, settlement and integration process. Regarding, the future of Sweden is strongly linked with its attitudes towards international immigration and integration. Multiculturalism is a long progress to achieve and requires some efforts from every segment of the society. This regards continuous process of creating a country, where human dignity is valued and respected and life conditions are equal for everyone. Therefore, every person in the society has a great responsibility to contribute to the social cohesion in the society. As stated above, integration involves the participation of the immigrants in the social, economical, cultural and legal framework of Swedish context. If this can be achieved, integration can be successful. In relation to that, understanding the social mechanisms surrounding immigrant groups can be beneficial. Immigration contains cultural richness and wealth as well as contributing the growth of the economy. These can enrich the Swedish culture and Sweden as a whole.

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Appendix

Interview Guide

1. **Personal information**
   - What part of Turkey do you come from?
   - What kind of educational background do you have?
   - What kind of previous work experience do you have? In what business were you engaged in before moving?
2. **Immigration to Sweden**
   - What were your main motivations to move to Sweden?
   - What kind of contacts did you have in Sweden before moving?
   - What help did you gain from personal contacts? (If any)
   - What kind of process did you go through to move?
3. **Resettlement**
   - How did the resettlement process work out after arrival? Can you please describe your first experience in Sweden when you arrived and the first period of time? How did you spend your days?
   - What are your experiences from the Swedish migration authorities?
   - Which contacts did you establish with friends, relatives etc?
   - What kind difficulties did you face in the new country regarding accommodation, work, language etc?
   - What kind of support did you receive formally and informally?
4. **Fast Food Sector**
   - What were the main reasons to get involved in the fast food sector?
   - How did you start working in such sector?
   - What kind of advantages and disadvantages do you see working in the sector?
   - What are your daily routines like?
   - What kind of working schedule do you have?
5. **Social Network**
   - What kind of social network do you have and how do you utilize it?
   - How do you spend your time off work?
   - Have you own experience from helping people coming from Turkey in different ways? How?
6. **Culture**
   - How do you perceive Turkish and Swedish culture?
   - What kind of similarities or dissimilarities are there among those cultures?
   - What is the typical Turkish or Swedish person like according you?
   - How do you perceive family life in Sweden?
   - What kind of family principles do you have regarding raising a child?
   - How do you perceive gender roles?
7. **Integration and Future**
   - When and in what way do you have contact with Swedes?
   - What does integration mean to you?
   - How integrated do you feel?
   - How do you identify their selves regarding belongingness to the new country?
   - What are your future plans?
   - If you could have the power for one day –what changes would you make in the Swedish society to simplify the process of integration?