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The Development of the Turkish Minority's Social Challenges in Denmark from 1970 to 2021, for the Purpose of Integration

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Abstract

Beginning in the 1960's, Denmark recruited Turkish guest workers. Today, the Turkish minority is Denmark's largest minority group from non-western countries. This article examines the social challenges of the Turkish minority in Denmark from 1970 to 2021, and their integration during this period. This study uses several methods to obtain insight into the integration process of Turkish immigrants over three generations in Denmark and the challenges they faced and continue to face. In addition to the source criticism and a comprehensive literature review, this study uses qualitative and quantitative methods to understand Turkish immigrants' immigration processes. Qualitative and quantitative analysis in the field of Danish historical research, specifically the area concerning the Turkish minority are not adequately covered by the existing literature. This study finds that all three generations of the Turkish minority in Denmark experienced social challenges in several areas that are related to each other, and these social challenges have an effect on their integration status. Some social challenges have decreased over generations but specifically discrimination and racism have not.

Keywords

Turkish Minority,
Denmark, Integration,
Social Challenges,
Turkish Diaspora

Introduction

Migrants who leave their home country take their cultural background with them, which leads to an acculturation in the recipient country. They have to integrate, to some degree, into the new society by learning its language, culture, norms, and values. When diving deeper into the history of the Turkish people, migration has been a way of life for them. For millennia, Turkish people have migrated to and from different places for various reasons.

Starting from the guest worker period in the 1960s, the Turkish minority became a significant factor in Denmark's immigration history. After World War II (1939-1945), many Western European countries, including Denmark, were hit by an economic boom,

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which necessitated the recruitment of guest workers. Turkey sent several Turkish workers to these Western European countries, including Denmark. Like other Western European countries, Denmark recruited guest workers to develop the economy in the country. Turkey saw this situation as an advantage and sent many Turkish guest workers. The acceptance of guest workers to solve the worker shortage problem during the boom led to the still current debate among the elites: immigrants and integration. After arrival, Turkish immigrants faced some challenges. Several generations have passed, but the question remains about whether or not they still have the same social challenges, or do they face some new ones now. This article examines the social challenges of the Turkish minority in Denmark between 1970 and 2021. Social challenges can affect many areas, but this study discusses whether or not the social challenges faced by the Turkish minority affects their integration process.

Data and Methods

In addition to the source criticism from primary and secondary sources, this study is based on qualitative and quantitative methods. Qualitative and quantitative methods are important because there are not many sources about the social challenges and integration of the Turkish minority in Denmark. In the qualitative method, a total of six Turkish people were interviewed. Three of them are from first generation, two from second generation, and one from third generation. The purpose of the interview was to gain a more detailed understanding of the Turkish immigrants' social challenges and integration. As there are relatively few interviewees, it must be emphasized that the interview survey does not represent the entire Turkish minority in Denmark. However, it can provide an overview of Turkish immigrants' social challenges and integration, as supplementary empirical data with the help of the study's questionnaire survey and other sources. For the quantitative method, a questionnaire, open from April 9 to May 3, 2021, was prepared using the SurveyXact analysis tool. The questionnaire was published in Danish-Turkish groups on social media and in total there were 203 respondents. This may be the reason that the majority of respondents are from the third generation. In the questionnaire, it is made clear that the participants must also answer for their parents and grandparents. From the 203 participants, 8% completed the questionnaire for another person. This may mean that 8% of the participants could not speak Danish or there were other reasons that prevented them from answering the questionnaire without someone's help (for example difficulty using the technology). The questionnaire did not ask to which generation the respondents belonged because the respondents may have different perceptions of the concepts. Therefore, the respondents born in the 1950s and 1960s in this study are considered to be the first generation. Those born in the 1970s and 1980s are considered to be the second generation and those born in the 1990s and 2000s are considered to be the third generation.

Conceptual Background

A simple definition of the term culture can be described as “a lifestyle shared by a group of people” (Lee & Tse, 1994, p. 59), which means that culture can separate a group of people from other groups. When these people with different cultures live in the same society, there is an integration process. According to John Berry and David L. Sam there is an “acculturation” process and they present a model with 4 strategies (Sam & Berry, 2010). The acculturation model is the most commonly used model when researching immigrants from different cultures in a society. The four acculturation strategies are *assimilation*, *integration*, *separation*, and *marginalization*. Assimilation means that individuals do not want to preserve their original cultural identity and thus move closer to other cultures. In the separation strategy, instead, individuals stick to their original culture and avoid interacting with people in the new society in which they are living. With the integration strategy, individuals maintain their original culture while having daily interactions with other groups of society. The marginalization strategy is defined by a lack of interest in cultural maintenance and the intake of other cultures. According to Berry and Sam, this is often due to exclusion or discrimination (Sam & Berry, 2010, p. 476).

Individuals’ positions in this model may change depending on situational factors. An example is the Muhammad cartoon crisis in 2005 and how it affected Muslims causing them to have to renegotiate their identities. Berry’s study shows, among other things, that 40.3% of Turkish participants prefer the separation strategy over the other 3 strategies (Sam & Berry, 2010, p. 477). Whether or not this applies to the Turkish minority in the various generations in Denmark is investigated in this study. The acculturation theory by Berry and Sam is used to investigate how Turkish immigrants’ social challenges have an impact on where they belong in the acculturation model.

A remarkable and classic migration theory in sociology is the Push and Pull Theory. In this theory, push factors are defined by the causes from the place of origin that repel people from their current habitat. Pull factors, on the other hand, are defined by the reasons that attract people to another place. The Push and Pull Theory is used to understand factors that pushed Turkish people out of their country and factors that pulled them to Denmark.

Towards Europe and Denmark

There were various push factors that caused the Turkish people to migrate to Denmark. Population growth was enormous in the latter half of the 20th century, the economy was poor, and the Turkish currency lost its value. In addition, the CHP (Republican People’s Party) took strict measures, such as *Milli Koruma Kanunu* (National Protection Law). This law damaged society’s sense of justice and the harsh economic measures put a lot of pressure on the people (Aydin, 2019). Following the DP’s (Democrat Party) takeover of power from the CHP on May 15, 1950, there were positive democratic approaches.

Among other things, the DP promised to improve working and living conditions, and to reduce unemployment. The DP's program, in article 5, promised employment to any unemployed citizen who wanted to work. Work was therefore launched in various areas, but because there was a shortage of labor in Europe, Turkey's focus was particularly on Western European countries. The dispatch of Turkish workers abroad had the purpose of developing the country economically, politically, and sociologically (Kanca, 2012). One of the main reasons for Turkish migration abroad to work was primarily economic, unemployment, and the risk of unemployment in Turkey (Demirbaş, 1997). According to the Turkish government, this Turkish migration was an opportunity to tackle unemployment and it was an economic advantage because the Turkish guest workers, among other things, would send foreign currency to Turkey. There were also some cases where Turkish people migrated to Europe because of political reasons. This was particularly due to the prolonged political unrest, which ended in two coups, one on May 27, 1960 and the other on September 12, 1980. However, this push factor only covers a small proportion of Turkish migration to Europe and Denmark compared to labor migration.

After World War II in the early 1950s, Western Europe experienced an economic boom. The economic growth created a demand for manual labor in certain jobs, which led many Western European countries to recruit foreign workers. Guest workers consisted mainly of young unskilled men, and they were often given dangerous, dirty, low-security, and low-paying jobs. Typically, these people migrated with the help of family members and friends, meaning this selectivity happened among male acquaintances. It was important to have a social network that could initiate chain migration. The boom reached Denmark in the late 1950s, but it was not until the mid-1960s that guest workers appeared. Although Danish women and unskilled workers in the agriculture field became more visible in Danish industry, there was still a demand for work (Skaksen & et al., 2016, p. 27). The largest group of guest workers who arrived in Denmark were from Yugoslavia, Pakistan, and Turkey.

West Germany was the first country that Turkish people migrated to as guest workers. West Germany needed unskilled labor from abroad to rebuild the country after the devastation of World War II. They did so on the basis of agreements, including with Turkey. It started with twelve Turkish artisans migrating to West Germany as trainees and on October 31, 1961. Then, Turkey signed an agreement with Germany to send more Turkish workers.

The discussions about whether Denmark should use foreign labor started in the early 1960s. The Minister of Trade, Hilmar Baunsgaard, made two suggestions about how Denmark could solve the labor shortage, "...either to limit the scope of production to the performance of the existing labor force, or to procure more labor from abroad, which in

other countries such as Germany and Sweden had created greater prosperity”¹ (Emerek, Ibsen, & Kold, 2000, p. 8). Baunsgaard believed that procuring foreign labor could stabilize progress at a higher level, rather than limiting the volume of production. The Danish Minister of Economy, Kjeld Philip, agreed with Baunsgaard that Denmark should consider the use of foreign labor and added, “Even if we opened today, we would hardly get any immigration in the coming months.” (Coleman & et al., 1999, p. 288), which was wrong. Denmark became a new destination for guest workers and in the following years immigration increased markedly.

Access for foreigners in the 1960s was regulated by the Aliens Act from 1952. This meant that Turkish guest workers, like all other foreigners, could travel freely into Denmark as tourists and then get a job. Even though guest workers traveled to Denmark to find work, the border police could not do anything if they said they were tourists. After finding a job and obtaining a work permit, they were free to live in Denmark, after the local labor market authorities were consulted (Skaksen & et al., 2016, p. 29). After they found a job, they could bring their acquaintances to Denmark as tourists and then find a job for them. The Aliens Act of 1952, which did not contain detailed rules for issuing residence and work permits, contributed to the increasing number of immigrants in Denmark. In other cases, Turkish guest workers could show fake letters of employment. For example, in 1969 a Danish company issued false letters of appointment to Turkish guest workers, and others received them in West Germany (Demokraten, 1969, p. 8).

This may mean that there were more Turkish people who migrated to Denmark than the formal statistics show. Technically, they first had to find a job to get a work and residence permit. Guest worker immigration was organized in several countries, but there was also unorganized, spontaneous and illegal immigration seen in Denmark. Denmark had not entered into an agreement with other countries, including Turkey, and therefore many Turkish people entered the country in these ways. The chain migration of Turkish people therefore provoked criminalized migration. It was also normal for many Turkish people to be cheated. They would be lured both by Danish employers and their own countrymen. An example is when on May 9, 1970, a Turkish guest worker named Hanefi Cosar, gave 6200 kroner to his farmer to assign him a job in Denmark, a job that did not exist (Eba, 1970, p. 2-3).

Although Denmark had not entered into an agreement with countries to recruit foreign labor, Danish employers and politicians invited them. According to the employers, foreign labor was a solution to their shortage of labor and to keep the level of production up. The need for Turkish guest workers in Danish workplaces was exemplified in that the workers were specialized, had the necessary qualifications for dirty and dangerous jobs, as well as lower than normal salary requirements. This could be seen in the 1960s when

¹ All Danish quotes have been translated by the author.

construction of the Schell refinery began and required welding work. There was a need for skilled welders and Turkish workers possessed these skills. Turkish welders were recruited and started working in 1965. In general, Turkish guest workers came from villages and were accustomed to hard and dirty work. They accepted low-paid work because it corresponded to a higher wage compared to what they earned in Turkey. This led employers to prefer cheap foreign labor.

The temporary recruitment of guest workers in Denmark created internal unrest. The trade union movement believed that the recruitment of foreign labor could create unemployment for Denmark's own unskilled workers and be the reason for wages to be reduced. Foreign labor was a short-term solution, whereas the trade union movement wanted a long-term solution (Jønsson, 2018, p. 5). Under pressure from the trade union movement, a temporary halt was introduced for the issuance of first-time permits starting on January 1, 1970. The trade union movement wanted to control foreign labor imports and to be ensured that guest workers had the same pay and working conditions as Danish citizens.

On October 6, 1973, the Yom Kippur War broke out and countries in the Middle East reduced their oil production, quadrupling oil prices (Farbøl & et al., 2018) and cutting 25% of deliveries to the countries that supported Israel (Aarhus University, 2011, p. 399). Western European countries were hit by the oil crisis. The oil crisis caused rising unemployment, which immigrants, in particular, felt but still many chose to remain. Denmark responded immediately by stopping the issuance of new work and residence permits to persons from third countries. In return, the guest workers who were in the country received a permanent residence permit. There was now a permanent halt to immigration in Denmark, which meant that Turkish people could not enter Denmark for the purpose of working or staying. However, the immigration halt did not lead to a real stop to immigration. Turkish guest workers who were already in the country were given the opportunity to bring their families. Family reunification was an important access route to Denmark, and it resulted in a large number of Turkish people arriving.

Turkish guest workers who migrated to Denmark did not know the country or its language. This led to difficulties for them and their family with coping in the new society in which they found themselves. After Turkish guest workers brought their families and settled in Denmark, like the other guest workers, the question of new immigrants' social rights became relevant. Debate about social problems became visible both in *The Folketing* and in the media. Following the arrival of guest workers and an increase in immigrants and refugees, Denmark made efforts for integration by, for example, adopting the Aliens Act or integration law. However, still today Denmark lags with integration, even though it has improved compared to the first period of guest workers who became immigrants.

It was clear that Denmark was unprepared for the arrival of guest workers because these guest workers experienced immediate problems. The use of foreign labor made the Danish government realize that there was the lack of a foreign worker policy and a foreign integration policy. The Danish Employers' Association had the view that "the expected shortage of labor cannot be solved by a massive immigration of foreign labor" (Hjarnø & et al., 1973, p. 75). After discussions with the Ministry of Labor and The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions (LO), the employers' association expressed that a Foreign Workers Policy should be organized.

Denmark, as country without a foreign worker policy, integration policy, and its lack of preparation, contributed to Turkish immigrants' socially challenging experiences. In this article, Turkish immigrants' social challenges in Denmark between 1970 and 2021 are examined with an inquiry into whether or not social challenges have changed or disappeared with the development of the integration process.

The Turkish Minority's Social Challenges

First, it is important to describe what is meant by social challenges in this article. Social challenges are factors that might affect the integration of Turkish people. Social challenges include education, employment, racism and discrimination, language skills, housing situations, social networks, adaptation and identity problems, and cultural differences. The Presidency of the Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) published a report in 2011 about the problems Turkish immigrants experienced in Europe. Interviews were conducted with Turkish immigrants from various European countries, including Denmark. The problems were divided into hostility towards foreigners, unemployment, language problems, children's education, gender equality, generational conflict, use of alcohol and drugs, lack of organization, and other (YTB, 2011, p. 34). The survey showed that the largest problem (54.1%) based on the participants' answers, was hostility towards foreigners, including Turkish immigrants in Denmark. The interviewees from Denmark even thought that hostility towards foreigners had increased in the last few years (YTB, 2011, p. 44). They believed that unemployment (63%) and Islamophobia (74.1%) contributed to the increasing hostility towards foreigners.

Two main primary sources were used to examine the social challenges faced by the first generation. The first one was the feature "Velkommen Mustafa," written in 1970 by the director of the Danish Employers' Association, Jens Fisker. The feature is about the benefits that immigration and the introduction of an immigration policy can bring. It was published in the magazine, *Arbejdsgiveren*, and other Danish newspapers. It also warned that a large influx of immigrants could lead to major social and cultural problems. In the feature, Fisker introduces a list of ways to solve the problems that the Danish government was facing, in which the social challenges of guest workers are tracked. On the list, there

is a point where Fisker believed that, “All the social obligations and rights that a Dane has, the guest should also have. First and foremost, the same pay for the same work” (Fisker, 1970). He later writes in the article, “... but the crucial thing is that we keep in mind that guest workers are not lousy supplicants that we can treat as if we were a master people. On the contrary, we must acknowledge that the guest helps us more than we help him” (Fisker, 1970). In these sentences, it can be understood that the Danish people treated guest workers as slaves and as if they were the master people. This can also be seen in Danish newspapers, when employers and homeowners exploited guest workers. In addition, he believed that the guest workers must be taught the Danish language and culture on the same terms as Danish people, because they did not know Danish or anything about Denmark when they arrived.

The other source was “Samme Vilkår” by The Danish Workers’ and Special Workers’ Union (DASF) published in 1970. DASF was a Danish trade union for unskilled and a few skilled workers, as well as specialist workers. In the report, the committee presents various proposals with the intention of solving the foreign worker problem. An important area they present in the proposals is the guest workers’ wage, work, and terms of employment. The solutions show that the Turkish guest workers did not have good pay or working and employment conditions, including not being able to register with the unemployment fund and health insurance (Andersen & et al., 1970, p. 10). It can be seen that during the guest worker period, Turkish immigrants fought for their human rights. According to a news article written by the nationwide newspaper, *Aktuelt*, on February 6, 1974 (Sønderjyden Aktuelt, 1974, p. 15), a Turkish guest worker described that they were treated like animals at Gørlev Iron Foundry and that a Turkish worker was not allowed to go to the hospital from his workplace after an occupational injury. The incident at Gørlev Iron Foundry led to the first guest workers’ strike, which consisted of 38 Turkish guest workers (Jh., 1974, p. 15).

This incident about poor working conditions and the safety of guest workers is just one example out of many. First and foremost, it was not only workers who came to Denmark, but humans. The lack of a foreign worker policy was therefore a problem when it came to the rights of guest workers. A question still remains as to why Turkish guest workers did not go on strike until 1974. Many Turkish guest workers feared being fired because they did not have the ability to change jobs. In addition to that, they came to Denmark with a debt to acquaintances in Turkey. Employers who exploited guest workers could therefore threaten dismissal when the workers demanded better working conditions. Also, many of the first generation of Turkish guest workers had a weak labor market position due to their low level of education and a lack of Danish skills.

There were also housing problems, where exploitation of the Turkish people occurred because of their ignorance of Danish society and what a rent normally costs. They had

language problems as well and did not know their rights. Turkish guest workers lived with several people in a single room or in a basement room. It was not allowed for them to live with Danish workers in the dormitories, even if there was space. DASF believed that the lack of information among the Turkish workers led to discrimination, conflict, and misunderstandings.

DASF mentions problems with the guest workers' leisure time. Turkish guest workers had difficulty getting time off for activities other than work. K.r. informs in *Demokraten* on December 13, 1971, about guest workers' leisure problems (K.r., 1971, pp. 1-2). The Turkish people in Aarhus said that many of them were religious, but they had challenges practicing their religion because they did not have a mosque to go and pray. Turkish culture houses and mosques were established in the following years, but there was still a shortage of second-generation Turkish people in Danish leisure and youth clubs.

A study from 1999 showed that a large proportion of Turkish immigrants (16-70 years) had neither vocational training nor higher education (Rockwool Fonden, 1999, p. 4). The highest completed education for Turkish immigrants who came to Denmark was mainly primary school (91.1%). Denmark wanted and needed unskilled labor in the late 1960s. This may explain why there were primarily unskilled Turkish guest workers with low levels of education. Therefore, it is also not surprising that a study from 1995 shows that Turkish immigrants were less educated (Seeberg, 2002, p. 7). It seems that the third generation started to be able to become more educated.

Turkish immigrants experienced discrimination and hate as soon as they arrived in Denmark. In Denmark, hostility towards Turkish people had already begun to be visible in the media in the late 1960s, although these were few, compared to recent years. On May 12, 1969, the newspaper *Sønderjyden* wrote about a group of Danish citizens who were charged with vandalism, aggravated violence, and violation against Turkish immigrants (Sønderjyden, 1969, p. 1). Turkish guest workers experienced hatred because they took the Danish peoples' "girls and work", but today the hatred is primarily because of their religion and culture. In a survey, about 550 Turkish immigrants were interviewed and they believed they were being discriminated because of their ethnicity and religion (Frøslev, 2009). Turkish immigrants are discriminated and excluded from society and this can be the reason they are pushed out of the community, which can affect their affiliation and integration status.

The Social Challenges of Turkish Immigrants, Based on the Study's Interview and Questionnaire Survey

There were, in all, 203 who participated the questionnaire survey, but two of them were deleted because they were not a part of the Turkish minority. 143 of the respondents were women and 60 were men, and most of them were from third generation. When it

came to education most of the participants had either recently completed or were in high school (33%), in second place was primary school / 10th grade (18%), and in third place was long-term higher education (17%). The study showed that the majority of the first generation had completed primary school / 10th grade. Already in the second generation, a change in the level of education was seen. The majority of the second generation had completed or were in long-term higher education (10 people), and 8 people were in the process or had completed medium-term higher education. In contrast, the majority of the third generation were still students (101 people). 58 people had completed or were in high school, 24 people in long-term higher education, and 21 people in medium-term higher education. In addition, it was seen that the gender difference had diminished because girls had begun to receive an education. They also started participating in leisure activities and youth clubs. For example, an interviewee from the third generation went to different sports activities and worked in her spare time. 66% of the participants had Turkish neighbors and 36% of the participants spoke most often with their Turkish neighbors (see Figure 1). The results showed that the first and third generation mainly spoke with their Turkish neighbors, whereas the second generation spoke with their Danish neighbors. Among them, 63% of the participants preferred to speak a mixture of Danish and Turkish with their Turkish neighbors. This is seen especially in the second and third generation. However, the proportion of participants who only preferred to speak Danish with their Turkish neighbors was a small proportion (6%) compared to those who preferred to speak only Turkish (30%).

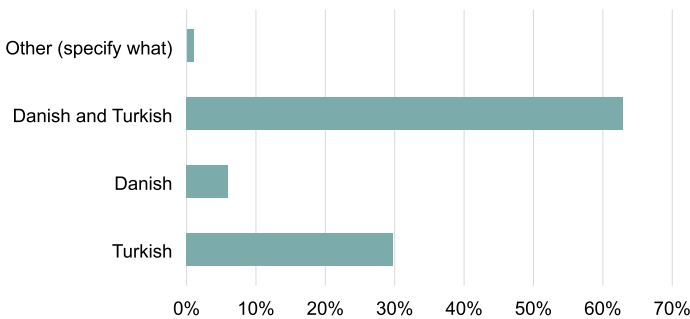


Figure 1. Which language do you prefer to speak with Turkish people?

In all 3 generations, the respondents were mainly with their Turkish friends in their spare time. Two of the interviewees from first generation said that they only met with their Turkish friends in their spare time, and this is obvious because they could not speak Danish. 64% of the participants lived close to a Turkish culture house or mosque, and the majority of first generation and second generation visited a Turkish culture house or mosque more than 5 times a month. The majority of the third generation visited 1-10 times a year. This may mean that both the first and second generation were more attached to Turkish culture houses and mosques. This can have many reasons, for example, the first

generation generally had poor Danish skills and therefore they meet with other Turkish people in culture houses or mosques. This indicates that the first generation of Turkish immigrants are still using the separation strategy in the acculturation model.

For the question of what social challenges the respondents experienced, they could choose between several answer options. “Discrimination and racism” were the leading category with 69.2%. Both women (56 responses) and men (18 responses) experienced discrimination and racism as the leading social challenge (see Table 1). Turkish immigrants from the first and third generation experienced the most social challenges. However, it is necessary to look at what kind of social challenges are involved in the different generations.

Table 1. What social challenges have you experienced?

	Respondents	Precent
Language Problem	46	43%
Discrimination and racism	74	69,20%
Unemployment	23	21,50%
Affiliation problem	39	36,40%
Identity problem/Identity crisis	33	30,80%
Homelessness	1	0,90%
Lack of social network	11	10,30%
Poor economy	12	11,20%
Crime	2	1,90%
Other (specify what)	2	1,90%
In total	107	100%

The generations’ experiences of social challenges were more or less the same. The first generation mainly experienced (in order) language problems, and discrimination and racism as social challenges. The second generation mainly experienced discrimination and racism, and language problems. The third generation, on the other hand, mainly experienced discrimination and racism, and affiliation problems (see Table 2).

Table 2.

	1st Generation	2nd Generation	3rd Generation
Language Problem	7	8	31
Discrimination and racism	6	10	57
Unemployment	2	7	10
Affiliation problem	2	2	34
Identity problem/Identity crisis	2	2	29
Homelessness	1	0	0
Lack of social network	0	5	6
Poor economy	2	2	7
Crime	0	0	2
Other (specify what)	1	0	1
In total	8	17	81

Jeppesen's study from 1989 showed that there was still a large gender difference in the second generation of Turkish immigrants, because men were far more integrated when it came to schooling, Danish knowledge, work, sports, and contact with Danish people (Jeppesen, 1989). However, the gender difference was drastically reduced in the third generation. There were various factors for why women in the second generation were less integrated than women in the third generation. First, their parents from first generation did not allow them to get an education or play sports and they married at a young age. This could mean that women from the second generation did not have Danish skills, which made it harder for them to find a job. Today possessing an education is an important area for immigrants. A study showed that every other immigrant parent wanted their child to be an academic (Jessen, 2017).

In terms of housing, about 70% of Turkish immigrants were more disadvantaged than Danish young people and two-thirds of them were still living with their parents. 73% of men and 75% of women watched TV news every day. There was also a large number who read Danish newspapers almost every day or every week. However, there were only 17% of men and 11% of women who read Turkish newspapers. Limited media access can have an effect on their choice of newspapers. Living in two cultures allowed the second generation to have affiliation and identity problems, like the third generation. Compared to the other ethnic groups in the study, Turkish immigrants had poorer living conditions, rarely had contact with Danish people, were less fluent in Danish, thrived less in Denmark, often spoke Turkish with their family members, and performed poorly in the Danish education system. The study assumed, that the second generation would still have a poor

Danish knowledge after 20 years. However, this study's methods showed that it was very different. Which means, there were Turkish immigrants from second generation that were actually knowledgeable of Danish in recent times.

According to the majority of the second generation, discrimination had increased, and it did so in both the first and third generation in 2021. One of the interviewees from the third generation believed that racism against immigrants increased after the Covid-19 pandemic. This suggests that Covid-19 is not only a contagious virus, but more or less also about immigrants and racism or the Turkish immigrants' perception of how the government and ethnic Danish people handled the pandemic. The fact that a person would not want to be vaccinated by a certain religious person could even be a racist act. Politician, Martin Henriksen, from the Danish People's Party did not want to be vaccinated by a "headscarf- dressed Muslim" (Weichardt, 2021).

Discussion on Turkish Immigrants' Integration in Denmark

This section examines Turkish immigrants' social challenges, and their effect on immigrants integration in Denmark and their place in the acculturation model. Social challenges can reveal different levels of integration in the host country. However, the level of integration can change continuously because there may be a shift in Turkish immigrants' social challenges over time.

Peter Seeberg believed that it is impossible to define the concept of integration precisely and that there are different perceptions of integration. This is a correct assessment of the concept because it is "a movable fence post that continuously draws the divide between 'us' and 'them', majority and minority, Danes and foreigners" (Rytter, 2018, p. 6), as the Danish anthropologist, Mikkel Rytter, wrote in his book *Integration* in 2018. Rytter referred to the French anthropologist, Marcel Mauss' essay from 1924 on gifts and their logic: give, receive, and reciprocate (Rytter, 2018, p. 44). Rytter compared this with the situation of the immigrants. The Danish welfare state had, for example, given them the opportunity to be educated as a gift and so they must work in return. Integration is, therefore, only possible if the immigrants contribute to the community. Education and language have an impact on the opportunities that Turkish people have in the labor market. The lack of language meant that the first generation, in particular, had difficulty finding work. Claus Larsen confirmed that Turkish immigrants from the first generation mainly did not have an education. 80% of Turkish immigrants (16-70 years), from an interview survey by Statistics Denmark, had at most completed primary school in their home country. At the end of 1997, there were relatively few Turkish immigrants who had an education above the primary school level in Denmark. Judith Davison believed that the second generation should not become a lost generation and therefore Denmark should know about the problems immigrants experience and try to solve them, in order

for them to do well, like ethnic Danes, and contribute to the Danish community (Hjarnø & et al., 1973, p. 190). This included the immigrants' participation in the labor market and education is an important part of integration.

According to Peter Nannestad, the goal of the integration process is: "by integration is meant a process if the result is that ethnic minorities are economically and socially equal to the majority population" (Seeberg, 2006, p. 102). Peter Seeberg believes that research on integration has begun to move away from multiculturalism. He believes that there should be a greater integration effort, "where the right of minorities to maintain special forms of social or cultural behavior is supported by the authorities of the majority society" (Seeberg, 2006, p. 104). Seeberg had a point here because the Turkish minority faced particular discrimination and racism, no matter how much they wanted to be integrated, and this could affect their integration process. The authorities in the majority society should make a special effort in this area if integration is to succeed. This means that if integration is to succeed, the concept of integration must be understood as a mutual adaptation between the majority and the minority. Rytter compared immigrants and the concept of integration with Sisyphus from Greek mythology, who was doomed to roll a stone up a mountain (Rytter, 2018). The stone rolled down the mountain every single time and Sisyphus would have to roll it up again. He believed that no matter how hard the immigrants tried in terms of integration, it was never enough. This is reminiscent of one of the interviewees' statements on the question of whether immigrants would always be strangers no matter how integrated they become: "Exactly! Even though I was born and raised in Denmark ... even though my colleagues say, 'you are Danish, you were born and raised here, you are one of us,' I can still have a little trouble finding out where I belong". From this statement, it can also be understood that this interviewee still had affiliation problems.

Studies show that immigrants were portrayed as a burden to society, and they were associated with negative issues such as crime, illegality, forced marriage, and oppression. Turkish immigrants are dissatisfied with the way Danish news presents immigrants and Muslims. When asked what Danish media should do to meet their needs, most answered that Danish media should be neutral and not present immigrants and Islam negatively because it influences the population's attitudes about immigrants and Islam and also prevents positive development in the integration process.

A study by Hussain, et al. (1997) showed that minorities are largely mentioned negatively in the news, which fills much of the consciousness of media consumers (p. 259). This makes it difficult for minorities to trust Danish media and creates social distance between the minorities and the majority. They believe that the media's negative coverage of minorities does not promote integration (Hussain et al., 1997, p. 260). At the same time, the media portrays a society between "us" and "them" and Danish news presents and

repeats negative stories about immigrants and specifically Muslims.

This study’s questionnaire survey shows that 65 of the respondents watch Danish television and 42 do not. When divided into the different categories for social challenges and whether the respondents watched Danish television, the figures showed that the Turkish peoples’ social challenges do not repel them from watching Danish television (see Table 3). It must be emphasized that the Turkish peoples’ consumption of and opinions about Danish television are very different topics. Their distrust of Danish news does not mean that they opt out of Danish news, but it can risk repelling them and negatively affect integration.

Table 3. What social challenges have you experienced?

Do you watch Danish TV?	Yes	No	In total
Language Problems	29	17	43%
Discrimination and racism	42	32	69,20%
Unemployment	13	10	21,50%
Affiliation problem	22	17	36,40%
Identity problem/Identity crisis	24	9	30,80%
Homelessness	0	1	0,90%
Lack of social network	6	5	10,30%
Poor economy	7	5	11,20%
Crime	1	1	1,90%
Other (specify what)	1	1	1,90%
In total	65	42	107

Rockwool Fondens Forskningsenhed’s 2013 study shows that second generation immigrants had come a long way in their integration compared to the first generation immigrants in Denmark (Rockwool Fondens Forskningsenhed, 2013). When looking at the qualitative and quantitative methods in this study, integration is even better in the third generation than in the previous generations, however, all participants from all three generations experienced discrimination and racism, to varying degrees.

In their free time, Turkish immigrants were most often with their Turkish friends (72.9%), while a small proportion were with their Danish friends (3%). When compared with the other answers in the questionnaire, there are possibly different reasons. The majority felt more Turkish than Danish, and they experienced discrimination and racism (69.2%) as the largest social challenge. Language problems were the second most experienced social challenge for Turkish immigrants, with 43%. This shows that even though Turkish people have social challenges, there is a slow but positive development in their integration status, which puts them in the integration strategy category in the acculturation model,


not the separation strategy category as shown in Berry's 2010 study.

Conclusion

During World War II and the in following years, there were difficulties economically, politically, and sociologically in Turkey, all of which more or less affected Turkish migration to Europe. Western Europe became Turkish peoples' main destination for external migration in the mid-20th century. This was mainly due to pull factors, such as good wages and safe living conditions in Western Europe, including Denmark. Turkish peoples' spontaneous immigration to Denmark and Denmark's lack of preparation resulted in Turkish immigrants experiencing problems both in the short and long term. Turkish immigrants' social challenges are not concentrated in a single area, but in several areas. The level of difficulty in individual areas changes in relation to the generation in question. Studies show that the first-generation experienced housing, work, cultural and religious, leisure, and language challenges as well as discrimination, racism, and adaptation problems. The degree of the challenges changes over time, though. Immigrants have experienced language challenges both before and still in recent times. Sam and Berry's (2010) study shows that 40.3% of Turkish participants prefer the separation strategy of acculturation over the other 3 strategies, but this study concludes that the Turkish minority in Denmark prefer the integration strategy of acculturation. Although the development of integration points to a slow but positive approach in recent generations, discrimination and racism have not diminished. Turkish immigrants feel that the Danish media contributes to discrimination and racism, and because of negative news about Muslims and immigrants. They also believe that this plays a large role in how Turkish people feel unaccepted in Danish society.

It's difficult to analyze exactly how much their social challenges, as push factors, prevent integration, but the study shows that the focus should not only be on the Turkish minority. It is also necessary for the majority society to put in effort for integration, especially in the areas of discrimination and racism. This should also happen through media. Even though Turkish people want to integrate, there is a risk of repelling them from the majority community because of discrimination and racism. It is not surprising that they spend most of their free time with their Turkish friends because they feel more accepted.

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