UNIVERSITETET I AGDER

CBOS ROLE IN SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF REFUGEES
Case study in Kristiansand, Norway.

HIROSHA LAKMALI KALUPE
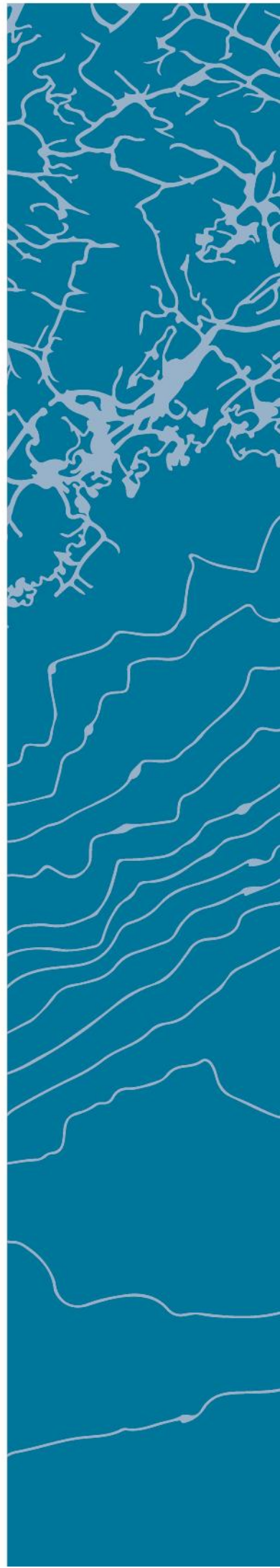
SUPERVISORS

Hanne Haaland and Hege Wallevek

Exploring the role of CBOs in the social integration of refugees.
Case study in Kristiansand, Norway.

By

Hirosha Lakmali Kalupe

Supervisors

Hanne Haaland and Hege Wallevek

This master's thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as a part of this education. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

Abstract

The arrival of refugees to European countries have increased with the conflicts around the world. However, the influx of more migrants in search of safety, better lives and work in the developed world continues to create a deep social cleavage. This thesis investigates some commonly neglected dimensions of forced migration and refugee integration. It examines the challenges refugees face in their everyday lives, and how CBOs address the challenges through their social integration programs and activities. Norway has a refugee integration plan and most of the responsibilities of the integration has been given to the municipalities. Municipalities get the support from the civil society, as the refugee integration should be a bottom up plan. The thesis explores the importance of social connections, networks, the trust for increase of social capital for refugees, which helps them to overcome some of the challenges they face in their everyday life. It contributes to the theorization of social capital theory of Putnam and Fukuyama, Ager and Strang's refugee integration model, Berry's acculturative theory. The study feeds into the broader debate on making social bonds and bridges of the refugees' social integration programs. My aim is to find out how these refugees accommodate to the new environment, and what are the best practices of CBOs to integrate them into the society, and the importance of social integration as a solution to their challenges they face in the host country. The thesis is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter gives the background for the research. The second chapter is explaining key concepts of the thesis. The third chapter analyses the theoretical background and literature which supports my research. The fourth chapter describes the methodology I have used in my research. The fifth chapter provides a micro-analysis of the challenges of refugees, and the sixth chapter is explaining how the selected three CBOs contribute for the refugee integration, challenges of CBOs. Finally, I summarize my research findings.

Keywords: Refugees, social integration, CBOs.

Acknowledgement

Declaration by candidate

I, Hirosha Lakmali Kalupe, hereby declare that the thesis "CBOs role in refugees, social integration, a case study in Kristiansand, Norway" has not been submitted to any other universities than the University of Agder, Norway, for any type of academic degree.

Hirosha Lakmali Kalupe   December 2017

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Abbreviations and acronyms

ADB	Asian Development Bank
CBO	Community Based Organization
CSO	Civil Society Organisations
CV	Curriculam Vitae
ECBO	Ethnic Community Based Organization
EU	European Union
HL Senteret	Holocoaust center
ICMC Europe	International Catholic Maigration Commision Europe
IMDi	integrerings- og mangfoldsdirektoratet
IOM	International Organization for Migration
KIA	Christian International Arbreid
LUNAR	Likestilling, Utvikling, Nettverk, Aktivitet og Relasjon
NGO	Non Governmental Organisations
PTSD	Post Traumatic Stress Disorder
SSB	Statistics Norway
UDI	The Norwegian Directorate of Immigration
UN	United Nations
UNESCO,	United Nations Educational Social, Cultural Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Chapter one: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis is about refugee social integration and the role of Community-Based Organizations (hereafter CBOs) in Kristiansand, Norway.

According to UNHCR report 2016, approximately 65 million people displaced due to different reasons such as ethnic conflicts, natural disasters. Most of the asylum seekers are coming from the conflict zones in Eritrea, Syria, Somalia, Sudan, Afghanistan (OECD, 2016). Hence, asylum seekers find their destination to live safe, especially most asylum seekers find their destination in Europe (ibid). One hundred and forty thousand people crossed the Mediterranean Sea in early March 2016 to seek asylums in European countries (OECD, 2016). Moreover, 1.3 million asylum requests recorded in European countries in 2016 (ibid).

Norway as a European country, it has received more asylum seekers last few years. According to the statistics, the highest immigration growth of Norway was in 2016 (SSB, June 2017). Most of the immigrants to Europe are asylum seekers. Approximately, 30,000 asylum seekers arrived in Norway in 2016 and the largest portion was from Syria (ibid). However, 15 200 new refugees resided in Norway in 2016 (ibid).

When the refugees arrive in a host country, integration becomes a domestic responsibility (OECD, 2017). Refugee integration has different dimensions such as economic, political, cultural and a social dimension attached to it. Therefore, host countries focus on having a successful integration process in their countries. Hence, different host countries have different strategies for the refugee integration.

Everyday life in Norway is sometimes more challenging than anticipated for non-western migrants. Accordingly, I am exploring how the CBOs address the challenges and difficulties of refugees' face in their everyday life. Recent research has identified the importance of CBOs in successful refugee integration process (Halland & Wallevek, 2017).

CBOs are also as a typeof Civil Society Organisations (hereafter CSOs), they are generally organized to directly address the immediate concerns of their members. CBOs provide mostly social services at the local level and they are non-profit organizations whose activities are based primarily on volunteer efforts. This means CBOs depend heavily on voluntary contributions of labour, material and financial support. Furthermore, CBOs' have a wide

range of functions that encompass activities relating to economic, social, religious, and even recreational issues (ADB, 2009; Salles & Geyer, 2006). Therefore, I have focused on the CBOs who are working on refugee social integration.

The Norwegian government has given more responsibilities of integration to the municipalities and the municipalities have their own programmes for refugee integration (ICMC Europe, 2013; Kristiensen, 2016). Kristiansand municipality also has identified the importance of CBOs in refugee integration process (Kristiesen, 2016). Hence, Kristiansand municipality has become the **best-settled city in Norway in 2010** (ibid). According to the records, Kristiansand has the twice as many as the average. This number is also three times higher than the capital city in Norway (Kristiensen, 2016). Therefore, I selected Kristiansand municipality as my research area.

I have selected three CBOs in Kristiansand, Norway who are focusing on refugees' social integration. They are the following: LUNAR women's group Kristiansand, KIA international organization and Natteravnene organization in Kristiansand.

This research follows two inter-related objectives. One is to explore the difficulties of refugees facing in their everyday life. The second is to explore the role of the CBOs in Kristiansand to address these challenges through their social integration programs and activities.

1.2 Background of the research problem

Migration is a reality and it is increasing with the world conflicts, political discriminations, natural disasters, education, and work. Europe has seen a large influx of refugees and migrants over a long period and the number is increasing rapidly (OECD, 2015; MPI, 2015; Jacob, 1994). According to UNHCR (2015), sixty million people were impacted by armed conflicts worldwide.

As most refugees are from non-western countries, they face more challenges than western refugees do, when they arrive in Norway (Fangen, 2006). As Norway is a European country, non-western refugees experience different cultures and practices that are different from their cultures. Therefore, it is natural to face more challenges in their everyday life in the host country. Moreover, most of the challenges affected their psychological well-being. Hence,

there are many psychological problems among refugees, like anxiety, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder(PTSD) and depression (Silove et al., 1997). Refugee women and children have identified as the most vulnerable groups of refugees (UNICEF, 1996; Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1996; McMichael & Manderson, 2004 and Silove et al., 1997). Therefore, Norway allows quota for the most vulnerable groups of refugees, for example, female quota refugees (ICMC Europe, 2013). According to the researches, one of the best ways of releasing their post-migration and pre-migration stress is having a good social connection and social network (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1996; McMichael & Manderson, 2004). Therefore, host society has a major responsibility and capability to help refugees to make strong social networks and have an active relationship with different ethnic group's refugees. CBOs as a type of CSOs, they have a strong ability to help refugee social integration by making social networks and giving social support.

1.3 Problem statement, purpose and research questions

CBOs have a major role to play in refugees' social integration, but more literature on refugee social integration has focused on Ethnic Community-Based Organizations (hereafter ECBOs) (Newland, Tanaka & Barker, 2007). Hence, there is a lack of literature on the CBO's role in refugees' social integration.

Valenta (2008) argues some refugees from non-western background has difficulties to find Norwegian friends. Furthermore, more refugees face difficulties in rebuilding their social identities in the host society. Hence, researches have shown the importance of social connections and social networks, but there is limited focus on the CBOs contribution in refugee integration process.

The purpose of this research is to *explore the challenges and difficulties of the refugees' experience in their everyday life and how CBOs in Kristiansand contribute to overcoming the difficulties and challenges through their social programs and activities*.

This study seeks to address the following research questions:

1. What difficulties do refugees experience in their everyday life?

2. How do these challenges relate to lack of social integration with the host society and lack of social capital?

3. How do the CBOs design their projects and programs to address the challenges of refugees?

1.4 Research area

This study explores three CBOs in Kristiansand, Norway, which are organizing social activities in Kristiansand municipality. Norway is located in Northern Europe, bordering Sweden, the North Sea and the North Atlantic Ocean with a population of about 5,053,500 (SSB, 2012). The Norwegian economy is a prosperous mixed economy, with an exciting private sector, huge state sector and a wide social safety net (IFAKTA, 2012, p.14). Once refugees arrived in European bordering countries, they find their final destinations. Scandinavian countries are one of the popular destination for refugees. As Scandinavia has reliable political institutions and the role of the state is the greatest in the world, most refugees wish to have their destination be in Scandinavia (Borchmann & Hagelund, 2012). Norway is also as a Scandinavian country, it has a strong welfare system. Moreover, the welfare state has been a central component in the nation-building process in Norway after the World War II (Brochmann, 2011). Accordingly, a legally established immigrant in Norway immediately has access to civil and social rights (Suszycki, 2011).

 Norway has eleven regions and Agder region is one of them. Agder region includes both east and west Agder and Kristiansand is the fifth largest city in Norway and the municipality is the sixth largest one in Norway, with a population of 85,681 in 2014. Kristiansand region is a statistical metropolitan region in the counties of vest-Agder (population: 137,527) and Aust - Agder (population: 14,442) in southern Norway. Kristiansand is the largest municipality in the Agder region. Kristiansand is a city, municipality and the county capital of Vest-Agder in Southern Norway.

Kristiansand municipality was named as the best city for children and teenagers in Norway a few years ago and it became the best-resettled municipality in 2010 (Kristiensen, 2016). Having more crime prevention programs, the great diversity in cultural activities and many

youth centres were the reasons for giving that recognition (ibid). The region is becoming increasingly multinational, with more than 160 nationalities represented in the city of Kristiansand alone. Kristiansand was recently named as the *best cultural city in Norway,* because the municipality's strategic efforts to develop a broad range of cultural activities.

Figure 01. Kristiansand municipality
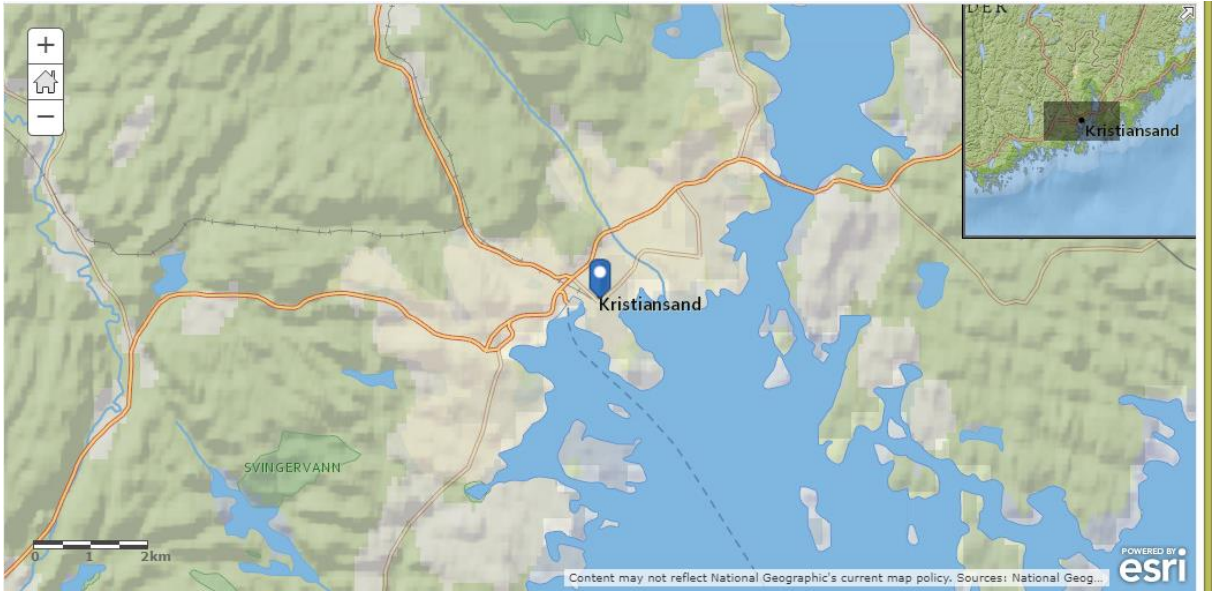
Source: ESRI (2017).

Every year, approximately 15000 asylum seekers come to Norway and more of the refugees are living in Oslo, which is the capital city of Norway. Six to seven percent of the inhabitants of Oslo have a refugee background. Kristiansand, Skien and Fredrikstad also among the cities which have a higher percentage of refugee background people in Norway (over 5.53 percent) (Ostby, 2016). I selected Kristiansand municipality as my research area because it is one of the municipalities, which receive more refugees in Norway. In addition, Kristiansand municipality gives more importance to local community organisations in their refugee integration process (Kristiensen, 2016).

1.5 The importance of CBOs in refugee's social integration

When refugees arrive in Norway, they are distributed to different municipalities. All the municipalities in Norway receive refugees (SSB, 2017). But, municipalities are accepting the number of refugees, according to their financial capacities and resources. Moreover, the municipalities receive some funds from the central government for accepting to welcome and accommodate refugees. Hence, there is also an economic support for the municipality in the welcoming phase. Since the responsibility for integrating refugees into Norwegian society very much lies in the municipality. Different municipalities have their own integration programs. Some of the municipalities are making better progress in terms of the refugee integration and some municipalities' refugees are not satisfied with their own integration programs. Municipalities get support from the local community to make the successful refugee integration in their own municipality. Thus, some CBOs get funding to assist in the integration work (ICMC Europe, 2013).

Figure 02: Refugee integration in Norway
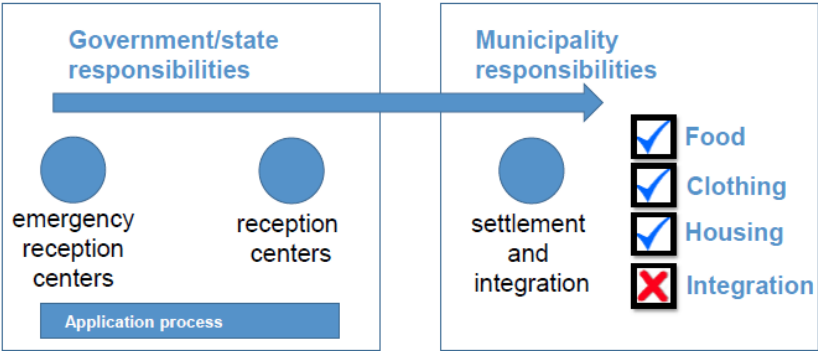
Source: Kristiensen (2016).

The figure above shows how the municipalities receive most responsibilities in refugee settlement and integration. The refugee integration is a process and it is not only providing food, cloths and housing. It needs the support from all the sectors of the society. Therefore, the state has the major responsibility of resettlement of refugees and doing integration

programs (Ekholm, Magennis & Salmelin, 2005). However, the state cannot go through the integration process alone. Hence, the state gives more responsibilities of integration to municipalities (ICMC Europe, 2013). Accordingly, a successful integration needs the support from all sectors of the society, as it is a bottom-up plan.

Refugees face many challenges in Norway, due to the weather, the language, cultural practices, local and national laws, religious practices, the difficulties in establishing new social networks, loss of social status, finding friends; *"Newcomers may experience everyday life in the host society as problematic because they are insufficiently familiar with cultural codes of the host country"* (Miller & Steinberg, 1975; Gudykunst & Kim, 2003 in Valenta, 2008). Thus, the host country should give more attention to refugee integration. What follows from the above is also how refugee integration has different dimensions as economic, cultural, political and social.

Much research has focused on economic integration, for example, discussing which refugees can participate in economic activities in the host country (Bakker, Dagevos & Engbersen, 2014), but other types of integrations are also equally important. Even though, social integration of refugees has received a less attention (Neumann et al., 2003; Brekke, 2004; Radtke & Gomolla, 2002 in Seukwa, 2013). Hence, in this thesis, I have focused on refugees' social integration.

Previous researchers have found that community participation is the most effective way to successful social integration (EPRC, 2017). Therefore, CBOs' support municipalities for a better social integration through their programmes and activities. Accordingly, I have focused on how the CBOs' address the challenges of refugees, which they face in their everyday life.

1.6 Importance of the research

The global commission on international migration (UN, 2005) has emphasised that civil society, local and national authorities, should actively support the refugee integration process. Furthermore, the commission has mentioned the importance of promoting active citizenship and foster social cohesion and tolerance.

Most studies have identified the importance of the refugees' community organisations in refugee social integration (Phillimore, 2011; Phillimore & Goodson, 2010; Gameledin-Adhami et al., 2002 and Griffiths et al., 2006). This research will show the importance of CBO's in the effective social integration of refugees.

Spencer (2006) has mentioned that building bridges between the host community and the refugees is a part of the successful integration process. Pennix (2003) has suggested, refugee integration is not a responsibility of one group, but it is a responsibility of different actors of the society. Local policies of refugee integration make it is possible to have interaction between the immigrants and the local people in the host society. Hence, the local integration policy should combine with the top-down activation model with bottom-up mobilization (ibid). Therefore, CBO can be identified as an effective way of refugee's social integration.

1.7 Methodology in brief

Regardless of my personal and former experiences of working with refugee women, youth in Kristiansand, Norway, it is my deep conviction to research the CBOs role in refugee integration process.

As Kristiansand municipality is a one of the municipalities which have received more refugees in Norway (SSB, 2016; A-magazine, 2016 in Kristiensen, 2016). There are several active CBOs who work on refugee integration. In this research, I focus on three main CBOs who have different approaches of doing social integration in Kristiansand municipality. They are as follows;

1. LUNAR
2. Natteravnene Kristiansand
3. KIA Kristiansand (Kristent Interkulturelt Arbeid)

I selected the research sample through my personal contacts and snowballing sampling methods. Data collection techniques were participant observations and unstructured interviews (Conversations).

1.8 Conceptual framework

According to the research objectives, questions and corresponding my empirical data, I have selected two theories, which is helpful analysing my data; Acculturation theories and social capital theory describes the importance of social networks, bonds, bridges. The challenges that refugees face in their everyday life can be explained by the acculturative theories. Lack of social networks and social life can make refugees more susceptible to post migration stresses

(Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1996; McMichael & Manderson, 2004). Therefore, I find Berry's acculturative theories and acculturative stress relevant, as CBOs can contribute to facilitating for social networks and friendship for refugees within the host community. Research shows that increasing the social activities, social capital and network can reduce the acculturative stress of the refugee. Therefore, I will also apply Putnam's perspective on social capital (Putnam, 1995), which explains bridging, bonding and networks in the society. Putnam's social capital theory does not explain much about the concept of social trust which I find relevant for this research. Thus, I have also added Fukuyama's views (1995) of the social trust in social capital theory. The theories give a broader idea about the importance of the CBOs role in creating social capital and the social network as well as the importance of social activities to reduce acculturative stress.

1.9 Key terms and definitions

The following concepts are defined as such, make clearer their usage in the present study.

Refugee: The 1951 UN Convention and the 1967 Protocol delineate the status and rights of a refugee: A refugee is any person who is: "Owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence because of such events is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.'(Stedman & Tanner, 2003, p. 139).

Asylum seeker: A person who seeks safety from persecution or serious harm in a country other than his or her own and awaits a decision on the application for refugee status under relevant international and national instruments. In case of a negative decision, the person must leave the country and may be expelled, as may any non-national in an irregular or unlawful situation, unless permission to stay is provided on humanitarian or other related grounds (IOM, 2004).

Former refugee: This used to refer a refugee who has held a refugee status in Norway decades ago and no longer identify themselves as refugees.

Social integration: This has been defined as fitting together of the parts to constitute the whole society (Angell, 1968).

Refugee integration: The term of refugee integration has different definitions. I use the definition of refugee integration by the IOM, refugee integration as a two-way process of mutual adaptation by migrants and host societies (IOM, 2008).

Host country: This is a country which facilitates asylum seekers and give the feeling of secure. Asylum seekers can get the refugee status after the legal verification of the particular host country.

CBO- CBOs are generally organized to directly address the immediate concerns of their members and It provides social services at the local level. It is a non-profit organization whose activities is based primarily on volunteer efforts. This means that CBOs depend heavily on voluntary contributions for labour, material and financial support. A key characteristic of CBOs is that they can mobilize communities by expressing demands, organizing and implementing participatory processes, accessing external development services, and sharing benefits among members. They have a wide range of functions that encompass activities relating to economic, social, religious, and even recreational issues (ADB 2009, Salles & Geyer, 2006).

Assimilation - Adaptation of one ethnic or social group – usually a minority – to another. Assimilation involves the subsuming of language, traditions, values, mores and behaviour or even fundamental vital interests. Although the traditional cultural practices of the group are unlikely to be completely abandoned, on the whole assimilation will lead one group to be socially indistinguishable from other members of the society. Assimilation is the most extreme form of acculturation (IOM, 2004).

1.10 Thesis outline

The study is presented in seven chapters:

Chapter One. Introduction. Present the problem statement, the clarification of the main objective and research questions and the study area.

Chapter Two. Conceptual background and context elaboration. Present the major concepts related to the thesis.

Chapter three. Theoretical framework: Provides the major theories I use in the research and the logical background behind the selected theories

Chapter Four. Methodology. Presents the description and justification of the methodology applied in the thesis in relation to the research strategy and design, data collection and analysis, ethical considerations and challenges in the field.

Chapter Five. Findings and analysis. This chapter presents the findings and analysis related to the research questions. Specially in this section, I am discussing the major challenges I found from my research data.

Chapter Six. Discussion: This chapter explains the CBOs contribution in addressing the challenges of refugees.

Chapter Seven. Concluding remarks: This chapter presents the concluding remarks of the study, together with an analytical overview of the findings.

Chapter two: Conceptual background and Context Elaboration

2.1 Integration in Norway

Norway does not have a specific legal basis for refugee resettlement, but **Norwegian immigration act of 2008** provides general criteria for the resettlement process (ICMC Europe, 2013). However, Norway allocates sixty percent of the refugee quota for women and girls because females are more vulnerable to war and armed conflict (ibid). Moreover, once refugees settled in the host society, many are suffering from pre-migration, and post-migration stresses (Teodorescu et al., 2012). Therefore, refugee integration programs are aiming to make refugees feel more comfortable in the host society and to feel that they are also a part of the host society. Thus, the feeling of belonging to the society is hard to measure, but there are some of the criteria to measure them, i.e., having more Norwegian friends, engaging in social activities and collaborating with host culture citizens, speak Norwegian, the ability to participate in economic activities. CBOs support refugees to feel that they are not alone in the host country and CBOs are organizing more activities and arranging more programs to support refugees from the beginning of their arrival, by providing clothes, utensils and language training programs, social events to strengthen the feeling of belonging.

The Norwegian CBOs and the municipalities have a close connection and collaboration in their refugee integration programs. Notwithstanding, Norway is the only country in Europe where NGOs are encouraged to give advice to the government (ICMC Europe, 2013). Thus, when the municipalities are planning the yearly allocation of the quota and the selection process, suggestions from NGOs and CBOs are more important (ibid). However, the municipalities get more suggestions and opinions making efficient and effective integration plan (Personal communication, Head of the board, LUNAR CBO, 2017). Therefore, the suggestions from CBOs are valuable for the municipalities.

Municipalities are accepting the refugees according to municipalities' capacities and economic resources. Hence, once they agree to get the certain number of refugees, it becomes a municipality's responsibility for hosting and integrate them into the host society (ICMC Europe, 2013). The Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDI) has the responsibility for

the integration and social inclusion of the immigrant population and refugees in Norway. Moreover, the IMDI was established in 2006 to act as a competence centre and a driving force for integration and diversity (IMDI, 2017). IMDI has regional offices in all the regions of the country. Accordingly, the directorate cooperates with immigrant organizations/ groups, municipalities, government agencies and the private sector. It provides advice and implements government policies, help refugees to resettle in the municipalities and it often places refugees from the same or similar ethnic or minority groups are in the same municipality or neighbouring municipalities to promote the development of social networks and reduce isolation and assist municipalities to provide better integration (ICMC Europe, 2013).

2.2 Acculturation

As I have already mentioned, when new people come to the host country, they need to understand the host country's culture. Hence, the concept of acculturation is related to that process. Moreover, the acculturation process is a part of an adjustment to the values and norms of the new society and possibly the loss of values and norms of the society of origin (Hassen et al., 2008, p. 10). There are four different forms of acculturation and they are as follows;

 (i) Integration (holding on to the norms and values of the society of origin and integrating them into the norms and values of the new society),

(ii) Assimilation (rejecting norms and values of the society of origin and taking on the norms and values of the new society),

(iii) Segregation (holding on to the norms and values of the society of origin and rejecting the norms and values of the new society),

 (iv) Marginalisation (rejecting both norms and values of the society of origin as well as those of the new society). Each form of acculturation is related to different stresses (Hassen et al., 2008, p. 10).

According to Berry's social, psychological approach (Berry, 1997; Berry, 1998), migrant incorporation is seen as a series of phases that eventually leads to permanent settlement within the host society (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 1987 and Phillimore, 2011). As dominant culture has more power than non-dominants (Berry, 1997), dominant culture naturally wants the non-dominant culture to adjust to the mainstream. In the Norwegian history of integration, some

refugee groups from western cultural backgrounds became more successfully integrated into Norwegian culture than some non-western refugee groups. For example, Bosnia has been perceived as "champions" of integration, because it was easy for them to adapt to the new culture, as they are familiar with European culture (SSB, 2015).

2.3 Refugee integration

Refugees are as strangers to the host society, many of them can potentially end up marginalized or in isolated environments where they reproduce values, lifestyles and identities that are in opposition to those of mainstream society (Valenta, 2008). Therefore, they need a support to adapt to the host culture and take some of the dominant cultural practices into their lives. The process of taking some cultural practices of the host community while keeping some of their own cultural practices can be identified refugee integration (Castles et al., 2002, pp. 112–113). It can be viewed as a two-way process of mutual adaptation by migrants and host societies (IOM, 2008).

There are more definitions and explanation of refugee integration in the literature and it can quickly get confusing. It is not only because the authors use different terms to refer the refugee integration (i.e. absorption, accommodation, toleration, adaptation, incorporation, assimilation, acculturation), but the integration can also be taken to denote the process by which immigrants become part of the society, both as individuals and as groups (Hamberger, 2009).

Refugee integration is a specific process where the different levels of the society participate, to contribute in the process (HCI, 1991, p. 18 in Jacob, 1994). Refugee integration must also be understood as a multigenerational process because refugee children potentially try to cooperate better with the host society than their parents (Newland, Tanaka & Barker, 2007). Therefore, some refugees are disquieting about their culture, legacy, as well as some are contented to create a new identity for their children, which allows them to have a better future.

The feeling of the trust and security is the key to virtuous collaboration (Kandal, 2014). Therefore, building trust is a long-term process, but strong communication, collaboration and connections make it easier. Moreover, some cultures are naturally not open to strangers and not used to have a more multicultural background. Accordingly, Norway can be identified as having been a homogeneous society for a long time (Saetersdal et al., 1991). Hence, some

Norwegians do not have much interaction with refugees, compared to the volunteers and language class teachers (Kandal, 2014). As refugee integration is a multidimensional process, every level of the society should be included to the process. However, integration is not simply about access to the labour market and services, it is about changing attitudes or civic engagement (Spencer, 2003, p. 06).

Cultural diversity is essential to promote creativity within a community and it strengthens social cohesion and contributes to cross-cultural relations and international peace and security (Swing, 2010). If the nature of the host society is multicultural, it is easy for refugees to integrate into that society. Furthermore, if the society is inclusive and accommodating, it will make easier the refugee integration process (Berry, 1991). Besides, the refugee integration can only be freely chosen and successfully pursued by non-dominant groups when the dominant group is open and inclusive towards to cultural diversity (Berry, 1991). Thus, mutual accommodation is required to achieve successful social integration.

2.4 Social integration

As stated by Strobl in George (2007), social integration refers specifically to elements in a social system. The term of social integration means the relationship between people in a society. It refers to social harmony, how people live and organize them in a community. In the mainstream of sociology, "social integration" has been defined as "the fitting together of the parts to constitute the whole society" (Angell, 1968 Quoted by Kaladjahi, 1997, p. 116).

In Turner's (2006) opinion, the different parts of social life depend on each other and fulfil functions contributing to social order and its reproduction. Furthermore, Landecker (1951), has distinguished four types of social integration as follows;

1) Cultural integration: the degree to which cultural standards are mutually consistent.

 2) Normative integration: the degree to which the conduct of individuals conforms to the cultural standards of the group,

 3) Communicative integration as the degree to which the members of the groups are linked to one another by exchange of meanings,

4) Functional integration as the degree to which they are linked to one another by exchange of services (Landecker, 1951 quoted in Kaladjahi, 1997, p. 116).

Most definitions of social integration describe the social relationships between the new group (Marshall, 1994, p. 488). According to Spencer *"We have not succeeded if migrants are*

working, but leading parallel lives, with little social contact or civic engagement in the broader community" and he highlighted the importance of refugee social integration. (Spencer, 2003, p. 07)

In this research, I focus on social integration. As I have understood it, the social integration is a feeling refugee have or get, when they feel a sense of belonging to Norwegian community. This seems to occur when they get more Norwegian friends, social networks and become active participation in the social programmes. Furthermore, immigrants' and refugees' social networks can be described as webs of interpersonal relations based on friendship, kinship or shared ethnic and national origin (Korac, 2001; Krissman, 2005 in Valenta, 2008).

If the refugees have a lack of social connections with the host culture, they can end up with separate social and cultural identities (Baubock et al., 1996, p.09; and Westermeyer, 1989, p. 28). Sometimes policy-makers use the word of "integration" in place of rather than in contrast to assimilation (Brunner, Hyndman & Mountz, 2014, p. 84), but the refugee integration is a balanced state of coexistence of host and guest culture where both cultures are treated equally, whereas assimilation is a state of glorifying the host culture (Berry, 1997). Some refugee groups in Norway are worrying about disappearing their original culture and some new generations of Bhutanese and Nepalese believe that their identities as a 'refugee' have changed to 'Norwegian citizenship', but still they feel that they are either Nepalese or Bhutanese (Bhattarai & Mahesh, 2014). Hence, some researchers argue that both host society and refugees adapt to each other, in their own way (HL-senteret, 2014; Brochmann, 2014). Therefore, it is important to respect each other to keep the social harmony and it is the key feature of successful social integration.

2.5 Social integration creates social cohesion

People's social life is depending on the relationships that they have with the society. Moreover, social connections increase the social trust between individuals and the society (Glanville et al., 2013). Hence, the neighbourhood, social relations, enhance the social capital as well as it illustrates the social cohesion (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). When refugees have more sources for the social network, they can build more social relationships and expand their social network. CBOs have identified as a social support network and a great source of refugees to enhance the social connections (Brunner et al., 2014).

Chapter three: Theoretical background

1.3 Introduction

My major intention of this research is to identify the challenges of refugees' face in their everyday life and how the CBO support refugees to overcome their challenges through their social integration programs and activities. In this chapter, I will explain the theories which support to understand clearly the importance of social connections, integration, social networks and social trust.

Figure 03: Refugees arrival in Norway
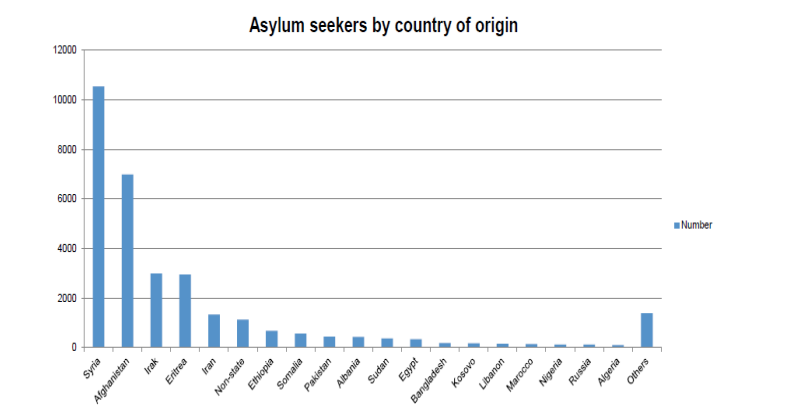
Source: Kristiensen (2016).

As I have mentioned earlier, the number of refugees in Europe is increasing with the increment of world conflicts. Some non-western refugees who settled in western countries have experienced traumatic experiences and they have higher psychological problems including stress and PTSD (Fazel, Wheeler & Danesh, 2005; Gorst-Unsworth & Goldenberg, 1998; Carlson & Rosser-Hogan, 1991). Therefore, researchers have suggested that having a strong social connection and social network with the host society support them to overcome the post-migration and pre-migration stresses (Boscarino, 1995; Solomon et al, 1991). In this

research, I am using few theories according to the research objectives and I am discussing how the CBO assists refugees to integrate into the host society.

Berry's acculturation theories give the foundation for the concept of integration and he explains the four models of acculturation. Furthermore, Berry has a special focus on acculturation stress. In addition, I use Ager and Strang's refugee integration model in my research because it explains core domains of the integration. As I have an intention to emphasise the importance of social connections, I use Putnam's social capital theory which has more consequences in social bonds, bridges, and social ties. Moreover, I wanted to explain social trust is the key to social integration and expand social network. Hence, I use Fukuyama's views on social capital theory and social trust.

Figure 04: Theories of the research

Acculturation theory /Acculturative stress   Social capital theory (Putnam)

| Refugee | → | Host country | → | Being a part of the big society |

Ager and Strang refugee integration model   Fukuyama in social trust
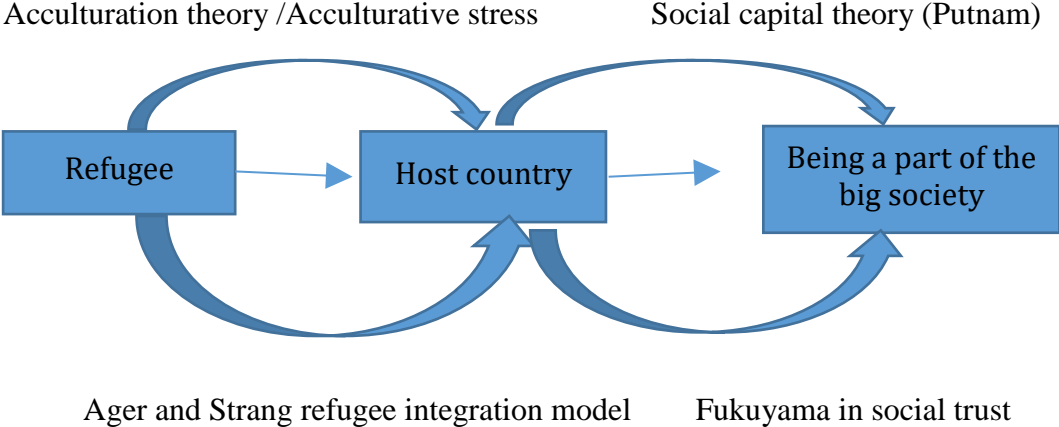
Source: Author (2017).

Figure 04; explains the major theories and models I am using in my research and how do they link with my research problem.

3.1 Acculturation theory

Acculturation theory has developed recently in cross-cultural psychology, but its origin is from anthropology (Berry, 2001, p. 615). Multiculturalism and refugee integration are very close to each other's (Berry, 2012) and societies are becoming more plural and multicultural due to different reasons such as immigration, slavery, colonization and refugee movements (ibid). According to Berry, all contemporary societies which have existed today are culturally plural. But some cultures are more diverse than other cultures, for example; the United States is more culturally diverse than Norwegian culture, due to different reasons; geographical

background, colonization and slavery. There is no culture in this world can exist only with one religion, one language and one identity (Sam & Berry, 2006 in Berry, 2012). Moreover, there has been argued that by the time diversity between the cultures and the nations will be disappeared (Gordon, 1964 in Berry, 2012). Migration is also one of the major reasons for multiculturalism (Green & Staerklé, 2013). As stated by Berry, above reasons do not necessarily lead to a culturally homogeneous society (Berry, 2008).

Acculturation refers that cultural and psychological changes that result from contact between cultural groups and their individual members (Berry, 2012). New waves of immigrants and refugee flow also become a reason to increase the cultures more plural. Acculturation can be individual, group or psychological acculturation. Psychosocial acculturation can identify as changes in an individual who participates in a cultural contact situation (Berry, 2012).

Figure 05: General framework for understanding acculturation
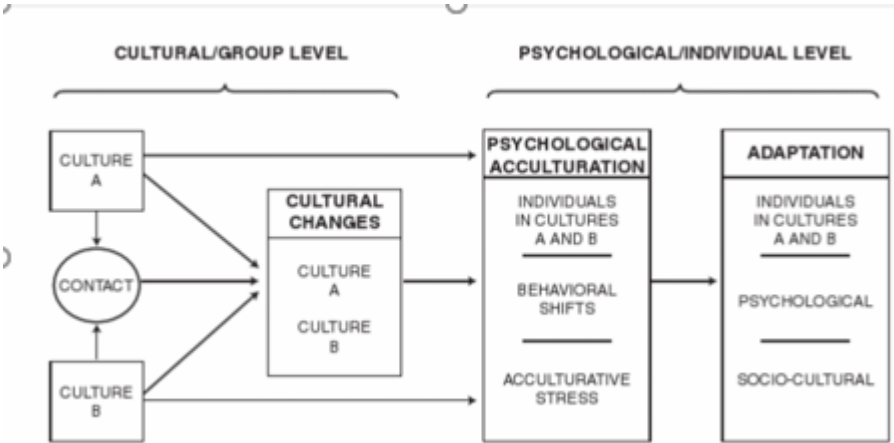
Source: Berry (2012).

When refugees come from "A" culture to "B" culture, they experience different experiences of the new culture. Refugee from non-western countries face more difficulties in the host country and they have higher post-migration stress (Silove et al., 1998)

3.1.1 Acculturation strategies

Acculturation strategies refer to the idea that individual and the groups (both dominant and non-dominant ethnic groups) living together in the same society engage with each other in different ways (Berry, 2012, p. 44). Consequently, when non-dominant ethnic groups try to have social connections with the dominant ethnic group, it identified as acculturation

strategies (Berry, 1997 in Berry, 2012). Berry has found three criterias in intellectual strategy framework.

1. Relative preference to maintain one's heritage, culture, and identity.
2. Prefer interaction between the cultures, participating intercultural activities. Dominant society activities as well as intercultural activities
3. The role played by the larger society in above one and two with their policies.

Non-dominant cultures wish or forced to follow the dominant cultures, cultural practices and norms than their own cultures (Berry, 2012). If a person wants to integrate into the new society, there is less opportunity for them to practice more of their own culture. As stated by Berry, often it happens because of the discrimination by policies and the practices of the larger society (host society) (ibid).

Figure 06: Maintain heritage and identity
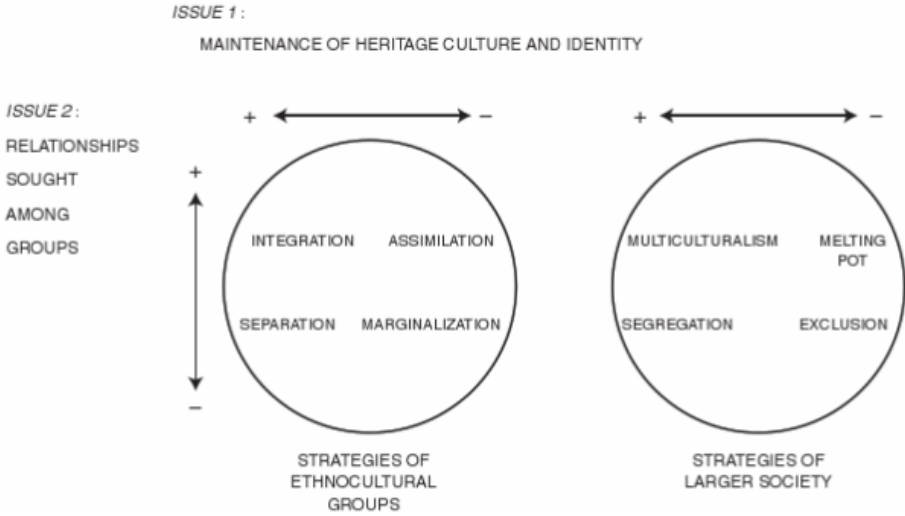
Source: Berry (2012).

As stated by Berry, keeping someone's own culture and having healthier relationships with the host culture has few strategies. Therefore, the strengthen of the relationship depends on individual's expectations and behaviour. Both host culture and refugee groups are trying to keep their culture and they have their own strategies. Among those strategies, integration can identify as the best acculturation strategy because it allows ethnocultural groups to keep some of their cultural practices while adapting to the host culture.

3.1.2 Psychological level of integration

Berry follows the main three criteria to explain integration: process, competence and performance (Berry, 2012 in Sternberg & Grigorenko, 2004). Processes are identified as psychological capacities of individuals that are fundamental ways to deal with their day to day experience, i.e.: perception. learning, categorization. Furthermore, competence has been identified as features which individually develops with the experiences, such as abilities, attitudes, and values. Performances can explain as activities of individuals that are expressed as behaviours, i.e.; carrying out the project, engage in political action (Berry, 2012).

Figure 07: Cognitive activities in acculturative Strategies

Cognitive Process, Competence, and Performance				
Intercultural Strategy	Own Culture Retention	Own Culture Shedding	New Culture Learning	New Culture Rejecting
Integration	High	Low	High	Low
Alternation (Code Switching)				
Merging (Hybrid)				
Assimilation	Low	High	High	Low
Separation	High	Low	Low	High
Marginalization	Low	High	Low	High

Source: Berry (2012)

According to the figure 07; the healthiest acculturative strategy is the integration. It is more important to accept the cultural diversity and change both dominant culture and non-dominant cultures (Berry, 2012).

Figure 08: Culture level meaning of multiculturalism

Component of Multiculturalism	Dominant Larger Society	Nondominant Ethnocultural Groups
Cultural Diversity	Policy and program acceptance and promotion of all cultures as valuable resources for larger society	Retention of heritage cultures; acceptance of basic values of the larger society
Equitable Participation	Promotion of full access for everyone to all domains of the larger society	Seeking of contact, participation, and knowledge of main domains of larger society
Institutional Change in Larger Society to Achieve Mutual Accommodation	Acceptance that major institutions will evolve to accommodate all ethnocultural groups	Participation in changing institutions so that they also reflect heritage culture needs

Source: Berry (2012).

As Berry (2012) stated, non-dominant ethnocultural groups have to respect the basic values of the larger society. In a plural society, it is necessary to respect all the cultures, state laws, regulation and traditions (Berry, 1997).

3.2 Acculturation stress

Acculturation strategies have based on two major criterias. One is the cultural maintenance aspect and another one is people's social contacts and the participation of the host society and the refugee groups (Phillimore, 2007, p. 579). The process of acculturation is acknowledged to be stressful and can be associated with social and psychological problems (Berry, 1997 in Phillimore, 2007, p. 579). Moreover, the level of the stress can increase with the lack of the host societies support, the pressure to adapt so quickly, the seriousness of their pre-traumatic situation (Phillimore, 2007, p. 579). Lack of social support, the pressure to adapt quickly to the host society, inability to follow the desired strategy cause for acculturative stress (Phillimore, 2011). Berry (1997) argues that inability to follow the preferred acculturation strategy or too much pressure to acculturate quickly can lead to psychosocial stress in the non-dominant community (Phillimore, 2001).

According to psychologists, when an individual becomes a part of another culture, they change both culturally and psychologically in various ways and they named it as

acculturation. The literal meaning of acculturation is "Move towards a culture" (Berry, 1987). Changing to another culture can be difficult for the immigrants. Especially refugees as non-purposive migrants, acculturation can be more difficult for them as they have experienced traumatic experiences in their home countries.

According to Berry (1987), there are three circumstances affecting to acculturative stress;

1. Their preferences (acculturation attitudes)
2. How much change they undergo (behavioural shifts)
3. How these changes make problems for them (the phenomenon of acculturative stress).

According to Berry (1987) acculturative stress depends on the refugee's preferences, how much they change their behaviour.

Figure 09: Factors affecting acculturative stress
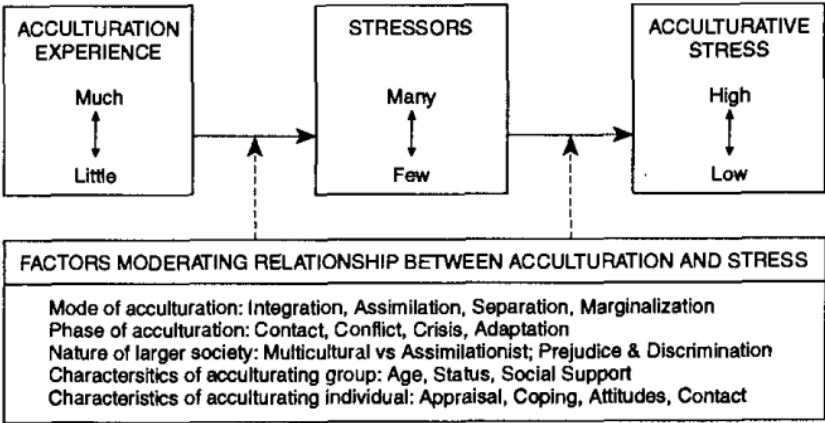
 Source: Berry (1987).

According to Berry, the stress level of the person depends on several factors. Mode of acculturation, the phase of acculturation, the nature of the larger society, characteristics of acculturation group and the characteristics of acculturating individual effect of the stress of refugees.

Another factor is dominant society exerts its acculturative influences. There are assimilationist societies and pluralist societies (Berry, 1987). When refugees go to assimilationist societies, refugees get more stress because minority's language, religions do not have much importance in that society (ibid).

The personal and societal outcomes of acculturative stress have been known for decades (Berry, 1987). When people have more stress, it can be a threat to the social security.

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Furthermore, it will increase the criminal activities, societal malaise and substance abuse (LaFree, 1998). Therefore, they need more social support (Yang & Clum, 1994).

3.3 Ager & Strang model of refugee integration

The framework proposed by Ager & Strang (2004) points to the fundamental role that social connection is seen to play in driving the process of integration at the local level. This model makes it easier to understand the social capital and it relates to the social capital theory of Putnam (1995). Furthermore, Ager & Strang (2004) have used the social capital theory of Putnam and they have made a model which can directly explain it with the refugee's aspect.

Figure 10: Ager & Strang's refugee integration model
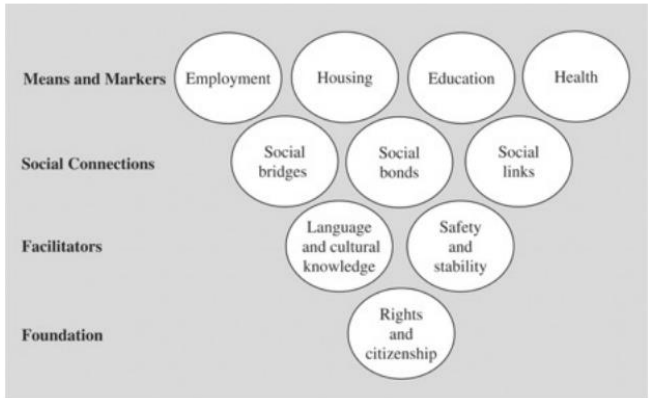
Source: Ager & Strang (2008:170).

Ager & Strang (2008) mentioned various indicators which can promote the refugee integration. This can relate to Maslow's hierarchy of needs. When a person reaches one level of the expectation, they are aiming to gain the next level. According to Ager and Strang's integration model, the first step of asylum seekers wants to get the refugee status, Then, they want to learn the language and to be stable in the society. According to the model, the social connections and network is in refugees third level of expectations.

The sense of belonging to the new society is more important in the integration (Ager & Strang, 2008). The analysis indicates a distinction between friendly social contact and intensive contact with locals. Thus, having strong social contacts between the host society and refugees makes the environment more secure in the host society.

3.4 Social capital and CBOs role in refugee integration

Social capital provides the invisible glue to hold the society together (Elliott & Yusuf, 2014). Putnam (1993) has mentioned the social capital as the relationship between the people and their social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness. Therefore, this leads the society to be together. According to McMichael & Manderson (2004), the utility of social capital as a construct to understand "successful" resettlement in refugee integration of the host country.

Putnam has discussed the social capital and the importance of the voluntary organisations in building networks and increase social connections. Well-being has different perspectives and social well-being has identified as a key factor of social life. Therefore, social integration is one of the major aspects of the integration.

Putnam (1993) defines social capital as the 'features of social organization such as networks, norms, and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit'. Putnam mentions that there are three kinds of social capital as bonds, bridges, and network. This increases the trust of the society. Moreover, Putnam has emphasized the importance of using community organizations in decision making. Social capital and community cohesion, and they are also valued as public goods or 'ends' in their own right, facilitating integration, sustainability, resilience and hence the health of society as a whole (Sullivan & Taylor, 2007).

Putnam (2000) mentions that like-minded people and social bridges with other communities. Moreover, social connections increase the feeling of belonging (Walton et al., 2012). The sense of belonging can define in different ways as follows;

1. Connected to the family
2. Friendship
3. Neighborhood
4. Sense of respect
5. Shared values

Social connections are a healthy sign of wellbeing and the measure the quality of the life.

3.6. Putnam and social capital theory

Social capital is a collective resource which individuals can benefit from that. According to Putnam, social capital includes social organizations, trust, norms, networks and more. (Putnam, 2000, p. 167). Social capital as a collective approach resources are controlled by individuals, but individuals have a relationship to the society together.

Putnam has mentioned trust as a significant component of the society when people trust the society, it increases the volunteer participation as well as the social connection, friendship, connection between the neighbourhood, colleagues. Social capital is a creation of socialization. Putnam (2000) revealed Civil Society Organisations (hereafter CSOs) areas the transformation of social capital. Society gets social capital because of a network of civic engagement. This promotes trust and shared culture (Putnam, 2000). Putnam has explained social capital is the foundation for a functioning society. Moreover, organisational activities are promoting social capital and the bridges between the society.

3.6.1 Bonding and Bridging of Putnam's social capital

Bonding can explain as a social network between homogenous groups. This is valuable for oppressed and marginalized members of the society. The network supports their collective needs. Bonds have shared norms, cooperative spirits and it creates the social safety nets for individuals and groups to protect themselves from external invasion, i.e., bonds can explain the family relations, neighbourhood, own ethnic community people's relations. Individuals have thicker and emotions, close connections with the bonds. When people have more bonds, it feels them secured, i.e., When individuals have close connections to the neighbourhood it can feel the individual safe. As there is someone to help them when an emergency happens.

Putnam explains bonding and bridging the new immigrant groups in the American society. Building cross-racial bonds or bonding social capital in ethnic associations as a foundation which to bridge other ethnic and racial group. This is necessary for the multicultural society.

3.6.2 Importance of social connections

Putnam emphasized the importance of social ties and social connections for finding a job. The quality of the network of a person is more crucial in job finding (Putnam, 2007). This can emphasize the importance of having host society people's relationships. Living a more social recognition area is worthy to have greater social capital. Putnam mentioned the power of the living area for having greater social capital (Putnam, 2007). Social connections also depend on the countries and the regions people are living in. But the place people are living in affected by their social recognition and the social capital. Social networks often have powerful externalities (ibid).

Social capital can come in different forms. It can be with good friends, civic organizations. As a result of higher social capital, children grow up healthier, safer and better educated, people live longer, happier lives, and democracy and the economy work better (Putnam, 2000). Ethnic diversity will increase substantially in virtually all modern societies over the next several decades, in part because of immigration.

According to Putnam's view of social capital theory, diversity reduces ethnocentric attitudes and fosters out-group trust and solidarity. He mentions the importance of the mixing people, especially different ethnic group and the host society people. It reduces the ethnocentric attitude of the people and it leads the social solidarity. He states if the racial groups are together they are reducing each other's prejudgments.

Putnam (2007) emphasizes the importance of the trust for the safer society. When it related to refugee integration access to economic activities and social security has direct linking. "Poverty (less trust among inhabitants of poorer neighbourhoods), crime (less trust in high-crime areas) and ethnic diversity (less trust among inhabitants of ethnically heterogeneous neighbourhoods). *It is sadly true in the United States that poverty, crime, and diversity are themselves interrelated* (Putnam, 2007, p. 153). This can apply to the refugee's host country as well. When refugees do not have the access to the economy and when they do not feel they are part of the host society, it can increase crimes. When the social distance is small, there is a feeling of common identity, closeness, and shared experiences. But when the social distance is great, people perceive and treat the other as belonging to a different category' (Alba & Nee, 2003, p. 32). Hence, Putnam has emphasized the significance of the social networks.

3.6.3 Reciprocity, honesty, and trust

Putnam has mentioned trust is the most important element when it comes to the social connections. He stated the importance of the trust in societies: "*A society that relies on generalized reciprocity is more efficient than distrustful society*" (Putnam, 2000, p. 135). Honesty and trust lubricate the inevitable frictions of social life (Putnam, 2000, p. 135). Social trust is an asset, but only if it is a warranty (ibid).

3.6.4 Honesty

Honesty-based on personal experiences as well as it is based on community norms (Putnam, 2000, p.136). Honesty between two people can depend on the personal experiences, but if more people have the same experiences with the same person or a group of people or ethnicity it can be generalized as well as it can be a community norm as well. Putnam has explained social trust depends on strong personal relationships, frequent as well as nested in the wider network. He called it as thick trust (Putnam, 2000, p. 136). CBOs are helping to start to thin relationships and develop it into thick relationships. It depends on the personal willingness. Putnam mentions the thinner trust can start or build in small meetings at coffee shops, shared social networks. If a person meets someone in a context which leads to thin trust. It can increase if a person knows the mutual friends. Moreover, ethnocentrism can lead for people to build trust.

3.6.5 Connection between trust and prejudices

Social trust is strongly associated with many other forms of civic engagement and social capital (Putnam, 2000, p. 136). If the people in the society, trust each other, willing to do volunteering, contribute more to charity and participate more in CBOs activities, it shows high social trust and social cohesion (Putnam, 2000, p. 137).

Putnam mentioned naturally there is a big trust for the people who "have" than "have-nots". (Putnam, 2000, p. 138). Norwegian society's **haves** are the people who are Norwegians and **have-nots** are the "refugees". It is natural to have less trust on "have-nots", as they do not have the economic capacity. He mentioned that haves are treated by Others with more honesty and respect (Putnam, 2000, p. 138).

3.6.6.1 Informal social connections

According to Putnam informal social connections are one of the foremost ways to make social capital. "Getting together, drink after work, gossiping, coffee, parties watching movies together. Informal social connections help refugees to expand their social network and they are important in sustaining social networks (Putnam, 2000, p: 95). According to Putnam, "Women are more socially adept and intimate than men" (Putnam, 2000, p. 95).

3.6.7 Religious group participation in integrations

Refugees meet new people and find more social contacts by participating in the religious organizations. Religious places also need to bring and recruit more people to their organizations, they use refugee integration as a good method of spreading the religion at recruiting new members.

According to Putnam churches provide an incubator for civic skills, civic norms, community interests, civic requirements. Active members of these organizations learn to give speeches, run meetings, get responsibilities, manage disagreements, administrative responsibilities. "Churches have been and continue to be important institutional providers of social services (Putnam, 2000, p. 67). If there are more secular committee organizations it can lead in the culture war because the majority religion group of the host country have more power than other minority religious groups. It can create ethnic, religious groups' anger.

3.7 CBOs and social capital

Putnam noted that voluntary-based organisations are the heart of the social capital (Putnam, 2000). The theory of social capital explains how people use the voluntary based organisations to expand their connections and networks. His general use of the term incorporates more abstract features of social organisation, including how trust, norms, and networks positively contribute to the social organization (Putnam, 2000; Putnam et al., 1993 in McMichael & Manderson, 2004).

CBOs are working as a origin of social connection for its members. It can be described as a formal entity and creates the threats of informal social connections. According to Putnam, informal social connections also important for the social capital. These informal social connections provide the immigrants' access to the information and goods which are important for them. Informal and formal social connections work mutually. Sometimes informal social connections give information for the formal social connections. As community-based organisations use social media as their main communication method they update events and programs around the municipality which can be important for the participants. The information they provide can create the link to other CBOs. It increases the network of the refugees.

The World Bank uses social capital to refer to the "norms and networks that enable collective action" (McMichael & Manderson, 2004, p. 89). Social capital is necessarily mentioned in the social networks. When a person has more social networks it can lead to more social capital.

Putnam's views on social capital pay more attention to bonds, bridges and social ties. I wanted to use Fukuyama's views on social capital because he pays more attention to the radius of trust and multiculturalism. Refugee integration has highlighted multiculturalism and social trust. Hence, I use Fukuyama's views of the social capital.

3.8 Francis Fukuyama in social capital

Community trust is essential in refugee integration (Store, 2015). Social capital is an instantiated informal norm that promotes cooperation between individuals (Fukuyama, 2001). He mentioned many definitions of the social capital and refers to manifestations of social capital rather than to social capital itself. Moreover, he explains social capital as the actual relationships of the people. According to his definition trust, network and civil society arise as a result of social capital. But they are not constituting social capital itself. Fukuyama mentioned the norms related to social capital such as honesty, keeping commitments, reliable performance of duties and reciprocity.

3.8.1 How refugees build social bonds and bridges, Fukuyama's view of social capital

Social capital is an instantiated informal norm that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals (Fukuyama, 1999). Social capital can start from the reciprocity of two people from the big organisations. According to him, social capital includes the trust, network, civil society organisations and so on, It is more about "actual relationship of the human, the centre of the relationship is "Me», and he builds the relationships, "my dealing with my friends". (Fukuyama, 1999). As stated by Fukuyama, trust and civil society networks are the result of the social capital. According to the argument of Fukuyama, CBOs can be described as a form of social capital. It creates social trust as a result of their social activities.

Social capital leads to cooperation between the groups as well as to increase the honesty. But sometimes, he argues social capital can lead to bad results like hate groups and inbred bureaucracies (Fukuyama, 1999).

3.8.2 "Radius of trust" and Fukuyama

If a group of the social capital provides more positive externalities, it produces more radius of trust. As stated by Fukuyama, economic activities and economic participation also play a major role in trust. More refugees have post-war stress because they are suffering from unemployment. This affects them to feel that they are powerless and not part of the new society.

Fukuyama mentions bonds have a narrow radius of trust and bridges have a strong radius of trust. While bonds cultivate the trust and cooperation, collective strength, bridges represent the diversity of interest, social harmony, the ability to enforce the rule of law and social security. Trust is the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest; and cooperative behaviour, based on commonly shared norms, on the part of other members of the community" (Fukuyama, 1995, p. 26 quoted in Blunden, 2003).

"Economic activity represents a crucial part of life and is knit together by a wide variety of norms, rules, moral obligations, and other habits that together shape the society. One of the most important lessons we can learn from an examination of economic life is that a nation's well-being, as well as its ability to compete, is conditioned by a single, pervasive characteristic: the level of trust inherent in the society" (Fukuyama, 1995, p. 07).

All bodies representing social capital have their own radius of trust and it is built among a group of people. Moreover, the radius of trust can be explained as a mutual understanding that; honesty increases the radius of trust. According to Fukuyama, modern societies are more complex as individuals join more groups the radius of trust overlaps. This can start with the friend's groups to religious groups.

Figure11: Network of trust
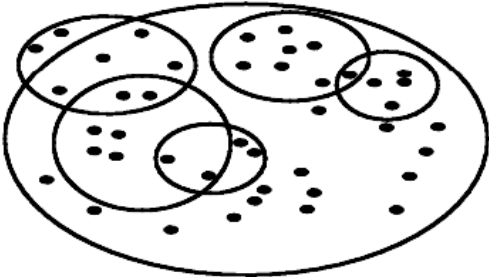
Source: Fukuyama (2001).

According to Fukuyama, there are more cultural entities which are based on shared norms and shared cultures like social groups, tribes and clans. These are existing in society and the same individuals are members of different organisations.

In-group solidarity reduces the ability of the groups' members to cooperate with outsiders and often imposes negative externalities on the latter (Fukuyama, 2001, p. 09). It is difficult for people to trust outside narrow circles (ibid). Fukuyama explains some well-organised entities also fail because the ethnic communities do not trust outsiders from their ethnic circle. This is one of the reasons ethnic communities like to be in their own ECBOs, as they trust their own group of people.

Modern societies, by contrast, consist of many overlapping social groups that permit multiple memberships and identities. These overlapping groups in modern societies make weak ties (Fukuyama, 2001). It is because the members of an organisation in the modern society do not frame only one organisation. They move with different organisations, for example; a person who is a Muslim can join with the Bible school of the Kristiansand with the purpose of

learning Norwegian and to get to know people. It does not necessarily mean that he broke the rule of being an Islamic person.

While the group may be united around some common interest or passion, the degree to which individual members are capable of collective action based on mutual trust depends on their relative position within the organisation (Fukuyama, 2001, p. 14). When the organisation becomes bigger it tends to have a small radius of trust. The factors which affect society's supply of social capital concerns not the internal cohesiveness of groups, but rather the way in which these relate to outsiders. Strong moral bonds within a group in some cases may serve to decrease the degree to which members of that group can trust outsiders and work effectively with them (Fukuyama, 2001, p. 14).

3.8.3 Low trust and high trust

Fukuyama mentioned two types of trust as high trust and low trust. Bonds have higher trust while bridges have lower trust. Bonds are happening in the short distance and the bridges have long distance. People keep in touch with their bonds and make commitments to the bonds, such as close friends and family. So, they have high trust.

According to Fukuyama, the capacity of making new bonds is called sociability. He has recognised three types of sociability.

1. Family and kinship
2. Voluntary associations, eg: clubs, schools, professional associations
3. State

CBOs can be categorised as voluntary associations.

3.8.4. Multiculturalism and Fukuyama

"People's ability to maintain a shared "language of good and evil" is critical to the creation of the trust, social capital, and all other positive economic consequences that flow from these attributes. Diversity surely can bring real economic benefits, but past a certain point it erects new barriers to communication and cooperation with potentially devastating economic and political consequences." (Fukuyama, 1995, p. 270 in Blunden, 2003).

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"A situation in which people in a society have nothing in common besides the legal system, no shared values, consequently no basis for trust, indeed no common language in which to communicate" (Fukuyama, 1992, p. 308 in Blunden, 2003).

Fukuyama has emphasised the importance of having more connections with the host society other than the laws and regulations.

The theories and the literature I have used in this chapter will give the foundation to understand the research methodology of the next chapter.

Chapter four: Methodology

This chapter focuses on the philosophical background and the foundation of my research. In the previous chapter, I wrote about the theories which can explain more about my research problems and the research questions. In this chapter I explain the philosophical background of my research. Then I explain the research methodology, data collection methods and the data analytical approach. At the end of the chapter I reflect on the ethical consideration of the research and limitations I faced in my research.
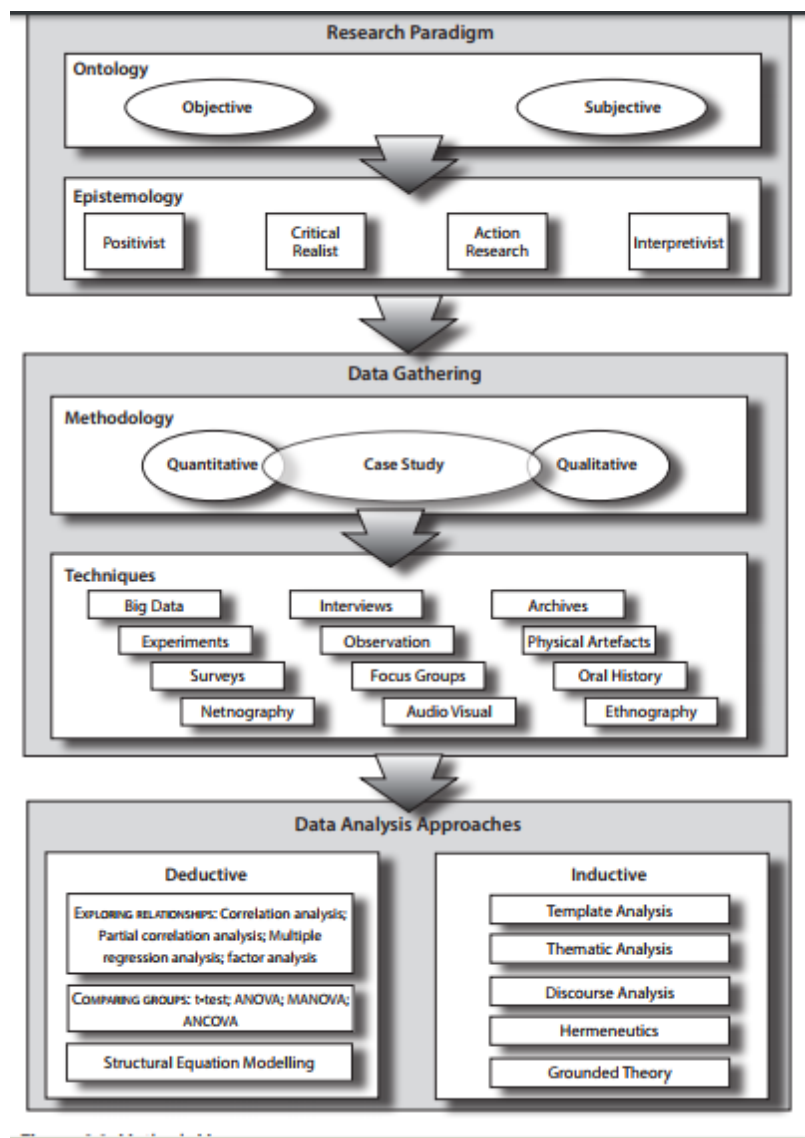
Source: O'Gorman & MacIntosh (2014).

The above diagram of the research philosophy gives a clear idea about the foundation of my research.

4.1 Research paradigm

Research paradigm or research approach is the philosophical foundation of the research which helps the researcher to direct the research. The paradigm may be viewed as a set of basic beliefs, it explains the development of knowledge and the nature of the knowledge (Bryman & Bell, 2015; Guba & Lincon, 1994).

There are three major ways of thinking about the research philosophy. They are epistemology, ontology and axiology. Guba and Lincoln (1994) state that the basic beliefs that define a research paradigm may be summarised by the responses given to three fundamental questions:

a. The ontological question, i.e. what is the form and nature of reality?

b. The epistemological question, i.e. what is the basic belief about knowledge?

c. The methodological question, i.e. how can the researcher go about finding out whatever she/he believes can be known?

4.2 Epistemology

The epistemological question explains what is the basic belief about the knowledge of how one thinks about the world (Guba & Lincon, 1994). There are three major aspects of the epistemology. They are positivism, realism and interpretivism.

The positivist researcher uses the highly structured methodology and uses more quantifiable observations and tends to use statistical analysis (Gill & Johnson, 2002). More of the natural sciences use the positivism as their epistemology.

Realism is another epistemological position which relates to scientific enquiry. The essence of realism is that the senses show the reality is the truth. The objects have an existence independent of the human mind. Realism is a branch of epistemology which is similar to positivism in that it assumes a scientific approach to the development of knowledge. This assumption underpins the collection of data and the understanding of the data (Gill & Johnson, 2010).

Interpretivism emphasises the difference between conducting research among people rather than objects such as trucks and computers (Gill & Johnson, 2010). The term 'social actors' is significant here. Interpretivism interprets everyday social roles in accordance with the

meaning we give to these roles. Social sciences use interpretivism as their epistemology. I use interpretivism as my epistemology because social actors are significant in this research.

4.3 Ontology

The ontology answers the question of what is the form and nature of reality and what is there that can be known about? (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). There are two aspects of the ontology.

The first aspect of ontology is objectivism and it portrays the position that social entities exist in reality external to social actors concerned with their existence. Objectivism portrays the position that social entities exist in reality external to social actors concerned with their existence (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2012). More natural sciences use objectivism as their ontology.

The second aspect of ontology is subjectivism and it has a view that social phenomena are created from the perceptions and consequent actions of social actors (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This is a continual process in that through the process of social interaction these social phenomena are in a constant state of revision (Remenyi et al., 1998). My research follows from the interpretivist position that it is necessary to explore the subjective meanings motivating the actions of social actors in order for the researcher to be able to understand these actions.

4.4 Research strategy

Research strategy is the orientation to conduct the social science research (Bryman, 2012). This study follows a qualitative research strategy because the selection of a qualitative approach also fits well with Hussey and Hussey's views (1997) which defined qualitative research as, "a subjective approach which includes examining and reflecting on perceptions in order to gain understanding of social and human activities". Qualitative data can be collected through interviews, focus groups, observation, or review of documents. Qualitative research methods were developed in the social sciences to enable researchers to study social and cultural phenomena.

4.5 Data gathering

4.5.1 Qualitative case study methodology

I am using the qualitative case study methodology as my methodological background of the research. Case study has been identified as a qualitative methodology (Johansson, 2007). A case study is expected to capture the complexity of a single case, and the methodology which enables this has developed within the social sciences. Qualitative research methodology is my research methodology because it answers the questions of the whys and how's of human behaviour, opinion and experience. It is hard to collect the information from quantitively oriented methods of data collection (Guest et al., 2013).

The qualitative case study methodology is applied not only in the social sciences, such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, and economics, but also in practice-oriented fields such as environmental studies, social work, education, and business studies (Johansson, 2007). One major feature of case study methodology is that different methods are combined with the purpose of illuminating a case from different angles: to triangulate by combining methodologies (ibid). Case study methodology is developed within the social sciences. Generalisations from cases are not statistical, they are analytical. They are based on reasoning. There are three principles of reasoning: deductive, inductive and abductive. Generalisations can be made from a case using one or a combination of these principles. Taking account that the research strategy is the orientation to the conduct of social research (Bryman, 2012, p. 35), the study followed a purely qualitative research strategy.

4.5.2 Selecting the organisations

I have selected three CBOs. The first organisation I have selected was LUNAR CBO in Kristiansand, which has a major focus on refugee integration. I selected the women's group of LUNAR because previous researchers have found that refugee women are more vulnerable to PTSD and psychological problems (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1996; McMichael & Manderson, 2004) and this may interfere with their ability to integrate. Therefore, I wanted to focus on LUNAR women's group. The second organisation I selected was Nattaravnene in Kristiansand. The aim of this organisation is to make the city safe at nights. As some studies have found that social trust and security are the foundation of making social capital and social

cohesion (Kawachi & Berkman, 2000). Lastly, I selected KIA International, Kristiansand, which is a faith based organisation which focuses more on refugee integration through organising tours, making international cultural events, sports and language classes. Even though they have a religious purpose, non-Christians are also welcome for their activities and events. I selected three different organisations in order to explore how different CBOs work with integration of refugees.

4.6 Research design: Mini ethnography

I have selected ethnography as my research strategy in this research. Ethnography is a qualitative research strategy which helps the researcher to explore how people make sense of their world and aimed at exploring the cultural interactions and meanings in the lives of a group of people (Barbour, 2010; Thomas & Quinlan, 2014). Ethnography is a qualitative research design for qualitative field research. Ethnography involves learning the feelings, beliefs, and meanings of relationships between people as they interact within their culture or as they react to others in response to a changing phenomenon, for the research takes place within the culture being studied (Fields & Kafai, 2009).

Qualitative research techniques help researchers define and interpret the ambiguities that exploratory research designs address (Thomas & Quinlan, 2014). The data collection methods of the ethnographic research strategy are unstructured interviews, in-depth interviews, direct observations (Fusch & Ness, 2017). As one of the definitions of ethnography describes that ethnography as a description and interpretation of a culture or social group (Holloway et al., 2010, p. 76). It is an in-depth study of a culture and studies everyday behaviour of participants (Fusch & Ness, 2017).

The classic ethnographic study can take years to complete because the researcher must be familiar with the culture in order to obtain the type of data the researcher wants (Storesund & McMurray, 2009). Culture data is much more complex than one's usual data from a study (Storesund & McMurray, 2009). Mini-ethnographies can be conducted within a week, a month, or up to a year (Storesund & McMurray, 2009). Data saturation is somewhat relative with an ethnographic design depending on the length of the study because the study has been typically on-going for a number of years (Fusch, 2013). With a mini-ethnography, of course, data saturation is reached far sooner because the research is bounded in time and space by a

case study design (Fusch, 2013). Traditionally, ethnographic research has involved a researcher's total and prolonged immersion within a study community, often for a year or longer. As I had a limited time period for my research, I selected mini ethnography as my research design.

4.6.1 Mini-ethnography

The mini-ethnography is, also known as a focused ethnography (White, 2009). This study became a mini ethnography because this was conducted for less than a year period. It allows the researcher to be with the target group and make closer connections, make in-depth interviews and unstructured interviews. As I wanted to build more understanding and trust between me and the informants the mini ethnography research designed matched with my research objectives.

As a researcher, I have engaged with volunteer activities, but I got my research idea to collect data on the topic in less than a year (Yang et al., 2011). The intent of mini-ethnography is for a researcher to understand the cultural norms, values, and roles as pertaining to what is remembered by participants (White, 2009). Observing individual and group behaviour in its natural context and participating in that context can generate insights that other forms of research cannot.

I wanted to find the challenges refugees face in their everyday life and how the CBOs address these challenges through their programmes and activities. Therefore, I had to be with refugees and CBOs social activities and programmes to understand their challenges and the CBO's contribution. Mainly I participated in three CBOs' meetings and activities and talked with refugee participants and volunteers. Moreover, I participated in social events, birthday parties, Christmas parties and new year evenings organised by refugees and CBOs which allowed me to have a conversation with them. According to my research objectives, mini-ethnography was selected as my research design.

4.7 Data collection methods

4.7.1 Unstructured interviews

Pioneers of ethnography developed the use of unstructured interviews with local key informants, i.e.; collecting the data through observation and record field notes as well as to involve themselves with study participants (Gray, 2009 in Pham, 2014). Unstructured interview resembles a conversation more than an interview and is always thought to be a "controlled conversation," which is skewed towards the interests of the interviewer Non-directive interviews, a form of unstructured interviews is aimed to gather in-depth information and usually does not have a pre-planned set of questions (ibid). Another type of unstructured interview is the focused interview in which the interviewer is aware of the respondent and at times of deviating away from the main issue. The interviewer generally refocuses the respondent towards the key subject. Another type of the unstructured interview is an informal, conversational interview, based on an unplanned set of questions that are generated instantaneously during the interview (Gray, 2009 in Pham, 2014).

4.7.2 Participant observation

Observation is a type of qualitative research method which not only includes participant observation, but also covers ethnography and research work in the field. In the observational research design, multiple study sites are involved. Observational data can be integrated as auxiliary or confirmatory research.

4.8 Research choices

There are two main research choices named as deduction and induction. Deduction owes much of what we would think of as scientific research. It involves the development of a theory that is subjected to a rigorous test. As such, it is the dominant research approach in the natural sciences, where laws present the basis of explanation, allow the anticipation of phenomena, predict their occurrence and therefore permit them to be controlled (Collis & Hussey, 2003).

The other research choice is induction. The purpose here would be to get a feel for what was going on and, to understand better the nature of the problem. The task, then would be to make sense of the interview data collected by analysing the data. The result of this analysis would be the formulation of a theory. Followers of induction would also criticise deduction because of its tendency to construct a rigid methodology that does not permit alternative explanations of what is going on. In case studies, this is done through inductive theory-generation, or conceptualisation, which is based on data from within a case (Glaser & Strauss, 1967 in Johansson, 2007). Hence, I found induction as my research choice in this research.

4.9 Data analysis

Inductive thematic analysis is probably the most common qualitative data analysis method employed in the social, behavioural and health sciences. The process consists of reading through textual data, identifying themes in the data, coding those themes, and then interpreting the structure and content of the themes (Guest, MacQueen & Namey, 2012). For the purpose of this study, thematic analysis was appropriate. Thematic analysis consists of reading through the collected data, identifying themes in the data, coding those themes, and then interpreting the structure and content of the themes (Guest, MacQueen & Namey, 2011).

A basic principle of qualitative research is that data analysis should be conducted simultaneously with data collection (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 02). This allows the researcher to progressively focus her/his interviews and observations, and to decide how to test the emerging conclusions. Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collecting data. It is a messy, ambiguous, time consuming, creative, and fascinating process. It does not proceed in a linear fashion; it is not neat. Qualitative data analysis is a search for general statements about relationships between categories of data (Marshall & Rossman, 1990, p. 11).

4.10 Ethical considerations

A key ethical issue that this study had (and which the researcher anticipated) was the possibility of emotional harm to the participants. The British Sociological Association (BSA) Statement of Ethical Practice requires researchers to *"anticipate, and to guard against,*

consequences for research participants, which can be predicted to be harmful and to consider the possibility that research experience may be a disturbing one". Some of the questions asked from the interview guide were rather sensitive, personal and elicited an emotional response. When I ask the questions about family and why had they come to Norway, it reminded them of the situations in their country and the traumatic experiences that they have experienced in their home countries. They were more emotional questions for them. Therefore, I did not ask more sensitive questions of them and when I felt that they could not answer the questions and became emotional, I skipped to another question.

As I collected data through my personal contacts, they trusted me to be open enough to continue the conversation naturally. Qualitative research allows researchers to use the subject experiences. As I became a volunteer of two organisations, Natteravnene as well as LUNAR women's group, it helped me to understand and collect more reliable data from the participant as well as the aims, objectives and the programmes of the CBOs. As I started volunteering in the organisation before I started collecting data for my research, more refugees and volunteers knew me and opened up me to give the information. Therefore, I had to respect their privacy and write the data anonymously. In accordance with this, the interviews in this research work were identified by codes and not by the personal names of the respondents.

As I have done the research in Norway, I had to follow the Norwegian laws and ethical consideration of the research. All the research must carry responsibility as all participants of the research gave the information and their views because they trusted in the researcher. According to Bryman (2004:520) it is not ethical for a researcher to harm participants, lack informed consent, invade privacy or deceive.

Most refugees are afraid to express their feelings, opinions when there is a voice recorder. As some of them are still waiting for the UDI confirmation, they do not want to record their voice and the conversation. I collected data from unstructured interviews which flew like a conversation. Therefore, I also felt it is not appropriate to use a voice recorder.

4.11 Challenges in the field

Language was one of the limitations for me. When some participants were not good at expressing their feelings in English and I did not speak Norwegian, I had to get the help of a translator to overcome the challenge. But, still there was a limitation as there was a possibility

of losing the information. I had a limitation of reading Norwegian published articles on refugee integration. Therefore, I used only English published articles and books.

Time was also a limitation of my research. As I selected ethnography as research design It needs more than one year to stay in the research field. Even though it was a limitation I selected mini-ethnography which allows the researcher to stay in the research field for a few months. Therefore, I could collect the data in six months.

Chapter Five: Findings and Discussion

The purpose of this chapter is to present my key results. According to my research objectives, I wanted to focus on the challenges of refugees' face in their everyday lives. Moreover, I wanted to explore how the CBOs arrange their programs to address the challenges which refugees face in their everyday life.

Through my fieldwork also I have identified four major challenges which refugees face in their everyday life. They are the followings; fear, prejudice, discrimination and stress.

I have categorized my findings for increase the readability. I have noticed that the challenges are interlinked. Prejudices seem to cause for fear of discriminations. Discriminations cause for fear. Fear can occur because of losing something important or for feeling threatened. At the end, all the challenges mentioned above, become a stress for refugees when trying to cope with the host culture.

Figure 14: Major themes of the discussion
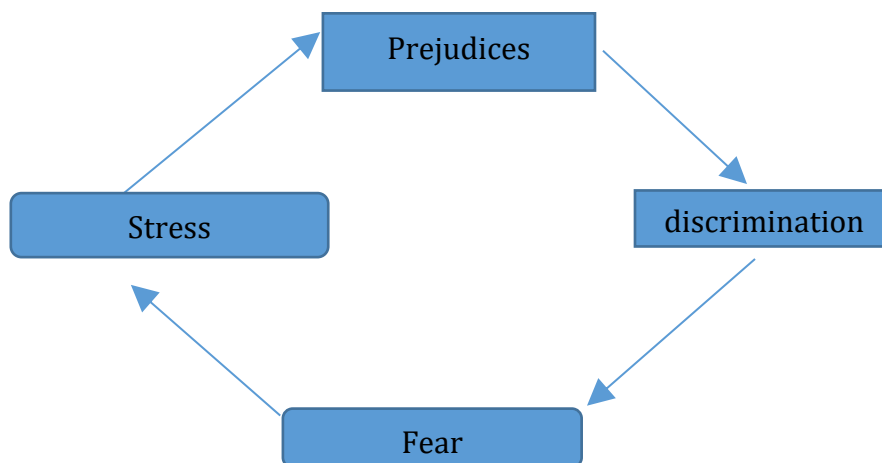
Source: Author (2017).

5.1 Prejudices and discrimination

My research participants have told me of several other situations where they have experienced or seen examples of prejudice. According to my informants, prejudgments leads to discriminations. Most of the discriminations against foreigners and immigrants are invisible. "*Sometimes you feel it, but you cannot prove it exactly a discrimination*" (Afghan refugee,

2017). Through my interviews and informal conversations, I have identified several kinds of discrimination which refugees have experienced in their everyday life in the host society.

Dress

Refugees from different ethnic groups and some Norwegians think that Muslim women have less freedom because of the way they dress. One of the participants in my research has described her experiences in detail to me. Here are some excerpts of the experienced she has shared with me.

*"One of my schoolmates, who is a Norwegian man, asked me; "**Samina, can I free you***? *Then I was wondering and asked why and how. Then he told me "I feel your hijab is a firm of headache for you. It is a hot summer, still you are wearing that headscarf. I feel you are not comfortable and free". Then I replied him "Actually, for me it is comfortable, as I am used to this since my childhood". I explained it to him and he was satisfied with my answer"* (Samina from Somalia).

Some Norwegian and other ethnic group employers think Muslim women are not prepared for the Norwegian job market. One Afghan female refugee described it in the following manner;

"I went to a Norwegian restaurant to apply for a waitress job- The owner told me, if I agree to not to wear the hijab at the workplace, I would get the job" (Nera from Afghanistan).

Another Somali woman shared the following experience: *"Somalian people think that women should cover their hair and should not wear jeans. Driving as a job for Somalian women is okay for them, but wearing trousers is not accepted by most of Somalian men and women. There is a Somalian female refugee bus driver, she gets more pressure from her own community, because she is wearing trousers. Other than her own ethnic group, she gets discriminated by Norwegian racists because she wears a hijab in the bus"* (Somalian female refugee).

An Iraqi woman has a similar experience; *"I am doing skiing, I am eating reindeer meat, I speak Norwegian, but with this hijab will you identify me as a Norwegian?"* (Iraqi refugee female participant).

On the experiences above, some Norwegians and the other ethnic group refugees think Muslim women have less freedom because of the way they dress. Discrimination on the dress code can happen within the refugees own ethnic group and outside of their ethnic group.

Nationality

Some Norwegians think refugees have never experienced comfortable life styles, modern facilities and technology in their home countries. Participants from Ethiopia and Sri Lanka, who are refugees, have experienced discrimination because of their nationality. Some of the host country citizens, as well as some other refugee groups, have a bad impression of people coming from specific developing countries.

"*Somalians have some difficulties to adapt to the Norwegian culture. Sometimes they talk loud, they do not behave decently. Most of them cannot understand the Norwegian culture and norms*" (A Norwegian employer).

Most Somalians are unemployed in Norway, as most Somalians education level and qualifications are not considered adequate enough for the Norwegian job market (SSB, 2016). Some of them do not have even the primary education in their home countries. They are labelled by some Norwegian citizens, as well as the Norwegian media and by national authorities, as a refugee group who has difficult time to integrate to Norwegian society and norms.

"*I studied in a Norwegian high school and I have a bachelor's degree in economics in a Norwegian university. I have applied for many jobs, but still, I did not receive any call for an interview. I think employers also have the same view on Somalian refugees. My Norwegian classmates are not worried about jobs as I am. They have connections, good network and they know they will get a job easily, with the support of their network. Some have already found jobs before they get their degree*" (Somalin female refugee).

A Norwegian man confirms this impression through the following statement. "*Most of refugees from Vietnam, India, Sri Lanka, are doing well in Norway. Somalians have a bad reputation from employers because of their ethics* "(A Norwegian employer).

Other ethnic groups have faced similar cultural stigmas: *«When my dad came to Norway from Lebanon, his co-workers asked him "**where are you from?**". As he has lived in Italy for a long time and speak fluent Italian, he told them he was from Italy. Then his colleagues told "oh, you are also from Europe, and welcomed him. He did not tell his original country because people have a different reputation for countries"* (Lebanese Norwegian participant).

One of the research participants added his experience; *"Some European people think the Africa is a country and people are dying from hunger. When I say, I am from Ethiopia, people ask me, did you have enough food there? They have that image of Ethiopia, because of the development agencies show only the dark side of Ethiopia to the world. They think that we don't have any hygiene and even the basic facilities in our homes"* (Ethiopian refugee).

*"One Norwegian girl asked me, **did you enjoy more new facilities in Norway, which you couldn't experience in your home country? Do you have flushed toilets in your home**?"* (Sri Lankan refugee).

The reputation for the nationalities which people born, also affected to the refugees to be employed. International recognition of the country seems to affect individuals' self - recognition. It affects refugee's self-esteem as well.

"Some African and Asian people are like barbarians. Eating with hands, even pasta. Use water for everything. Sometimes I feel these people have lack of hygiene" (Middle east refugee participant).

As the above quote reflected, refugees also discriminate each other's. I have noticed how different cultures have their own definitions of what is considered "hygiene". For example, Europeans prefer to serve dry plates on the food table. South Asians countries such as India and Sri Lanka, like to serve plates wet, as this is a cultural indicator that the plates have just been cleaned.

Religion

People do not only characterise each other in terms of ethnicity or national identity. Religion is another factor, as the quotes below illustrate.

"When people ask about my religion, I say I am Islamic, but more people think that Islamic women are conservative, not social, do not like to talk to men and do not like give hugs. I feel very uncomfortable when they feel uncomfortable around me" (Palestine girl).

"My dad did not like my boyfriend, because he is not religious enough and do not practice the Palestinian culture" (Palestine girl).

Some Norwegian people have prejudgments on different religions, especially Islamic religion.

"When I was with some of my Norwegian friends, they were afraid to eat beef in front of me, because they thought I am a Hindu. One Norwegian boy asked me, If you don't mind, can I eat cow? I am afraid. Please don't be angry with me. I know the cow is holy for you" (My personal experience).

Prejudgments on different people make as a invisible barrier, it makes it harder to develop and start friendship and connections. It can make people have less social connections with different ethnic and religious groups of people.

Skin colour

*"I was born in Norway, I identified myself as a Norwegian rather than Vietnamese, because I do not speak Vietnamese, I do not cook Vietnamese food at home and I do not have Vietnamese friends in Norway, but some people do not identify me as a Norwegian. They ask me **where are you from**? Even the person inside me and my nationality is Norwegian, people still think and want me to say I am a foreigner in Norway. It is because of my eye, hair and skin colour"* (Vietnamese refugee female participant).

*"One drunk Norwegian man told me**, you burnt hair girl. Go back to your country**"* (Vietnamese refugee girl).

Some Norwegians have prejudices against dark skinned, curly haired immigrants. They have an impression of them as drug dealers, or being themselves, addicted to drugs. One of the participants from Ethiopia told me when he goes to the city at night and stay near to the beach, after a few minutes some Norwegians and other people approach him to buy

marijuana. This kind of mistrust and prejudgments are stress for refugees (Westerhof, 2007; Westerhof, 1997).

It seems many people have a hard time of identifying the nationality and the ethnic group. Research shows non-western refugees face discrimination and prejudices because of their nationality, hair, skin and eye colour (Noh et al., 1999).

Discriminations based upon skin colour does not just happen or occur between westerners, but also among different kinds of non-western group. One Somalian female refugee told me: *"People are really stupid. Middle eastern have discriminated groups of refugees, such as afghans, Indians and Africans.* Then I asked why do you feel they discriminate these groups of people? She replied me*: "Most of these countries got servants from the Asian and African countries in their past when they have a good economy. Hence, they still think the people from Africa and south Asia people are servants of their countries. She told even Somalians also have discriminated other black skinned people, who are darker than Somalians. This occurs because of their skin colour"* (Somalian refugee participant).

According to my research, discriminations based on skin colour seem to happen because of two reasons: one is economic power related to the skin colour, second one is related to the perception of beauty. Some cultures think lighter skinned people look more beautiful, as well as lighter skin people have better economical capacities and therefore, deserve more respect.

"A Syrian refugee told his dad doesn't like his girlfriend because she is an Asian. Then I asked from him*:* why your dad doesn't like you to marry her? why he accepts only Middle east or Caucasian people? *His reply was his dad is worried about the colour of their grandkids and he is afraid of his family's identity. May be the grandkids will not look like Europeans or middle eastern when they have dark skin*" (Participant from Arab).

It seems racists have different reasons to justify discrimination people. Moreover, fear of their legacy and keep the identity pure can be linked to as a cause and reasoning to discriminate.

Trust based on skin colour

As I observed, global reputation of the countries also affects people's reputation. It is related to the economy as well. According to my participant observation, China has less reputation because of their cheaper quality of the products and black market. Some people use this under estimation and the mistrust for the individuals as well. Many people cannot see difference

between East Asian people from their appearance. Therefore, the majority of East Asian people are labelled as *Chines* and they face discriminations because of their appearances.

After some conversations with Norwegians citizens, as a lot of fake goods are produced in East-Asia (mostly the Chinese market), the countries have gotten a bad reputation on a global scale. This has sharped and created a mistrust of people from East-Asian countries.

Refugees think the bad reputation of their country also became a challenge for them to make new friends and social connections in Norway.

Languages

Language is considered an important component of the successful refugee integration. Refugees have several opportunities to learn the language, but there are few options or moments to use the language in practice.

Research shows that refugees who have higher education, as well as knowledge of the English language, are easier to integrate into the host society (Krahn et al., 2000).

"*When I went to a parents' meeting at the school, I heard from my child that more Norwegian students have bad perspectives about Africa and my son get bullied. All the parents' meetings are in Norwegian language, I was not good at explaining things in Norwegian at that time. Even though, I wanted to tell the teacher to give a little awareness to the students about why refugees come to Norway. She accepted that. I could explain this because I knew English*" (Samina from Ethiopia).

She was able to communicate to the teacher about her child's difficulties due to her knowledge about the English language.

Samina told me that she came to Norway with the help of a smuggler, even though she has settled in Norway, she did not plan to come to Norway. She could talk with police officers and communicate directly with them because she knew English. She said most of the asylum seekers who cannot communicate in English face difficulties when they just arrived in Norway.

"*Norwegian is easy to learn when you know English, but people from Non-European countries do not have English letters and same source of the language origin. Then they have more difficulties to learn the language*" (Abbas, Iran refugee).

According to my research data, many Norwegians expect from refugees to learn Norwegian and if they learn the host country's language, they can expand their social network significantly in Norway.

"*All foreigners should learn Norwegian because it can secure Norway from future conflicts*". (Norwegian citizen). It shows, some native people see having one major language in a country helps to prevent future conflicts.

"*When I came to Norway as an asylum seeker, I could talk with police officers and express my story without mistranslation, because I could speak English*" (Samina from Somalia).

"*I was a teaching assistant in my country. I found a training opportunity in a kindergarten when I came to Norway. After the training, my boss wanted to keep me in the kindergarten, because I had previous experiences and they impressed by my work*" (Lebanese refugee participant).

Knowing English and having a higher educational and professional background makes easier to integrate into the host society.

The stress of learning a new language

It is a challenge for refugees to learn a new language and reach a level to communicate well with local people.

"*Sometimes native people surprise when refugees are speaking fluent Norwegian. Most native people don't support foreigners to practice their language. Those are the one who surprise when they see foreigners speak good Norwegian* (Bosnian Female refugee informant).

"*I have been in Norway for nine years, but I didn't get UDI permission, still I am waiting for that. But I know without learning Norwegian, I cannot live in this country. So, I joined with different volunteer organizations. There are more native people than foreigners. Volunteers are friendlier. We have been walking in the streets for hours and talking. That's how I practiced my Norwegian*" (Iran female refugee informant).

Refugees use volunteer organizations as an opportunity to practice the language with natives. It helps them to practice the dialect and correct pronunciation.

"*When you can speak their language, it is your home, no matter where you are*" (Syrian male refugee informant).

Being able to communicate in Norwegian makes living in Norway more comfortable and easy. Even though local Norwegians know the English language well, they often prefer to talk in Norwegian. Some Norwegians are shy to talk or they do not feel comfortable to talk in English. When refugees need to have more Norwegian friends, it is useful and valuable to know Norwegian language.

"*Norwegians prefer when refugees speak Norwegian. Host society people highly appreciate when immigrants respect Norwegian culture, language and admire what their traditions*" (Kurdish refugee).

Language is one of the major criteria for local Norwegians to measure the integration level of immigrants. Many younger people integrate into the host society than older people because of younger people can learn the language and new things faster than elders (Stevens, 1999; Van-Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2005).A refugee seemes to be identified as a well-integrated person. If he or she can speak Norwegian fluently. This plays an important role in the job seeking process, as employers actively need employees that speak Norwegian.

"*One of my friends wanted to invite me to a party. Then he said as I do not speak Norwegian, it is a bit difficult him to bring me to the party. He said, if I come to the party, everyone must convert to English. He told there are some Norwegian people who don't like to speak English. So, I could not join with them*" (female refugee informant).

"*I have had several opportunities to get a job, but sadly didn't get any of them. At the time, my Norwegian was not very good. I feel sorry myself*" (Female refugee participant).

"*When I came to Norway I did not know English, I did not know Norwegian. I could not do anything alone. I had to ask help from one Kurdish man all the time. I feel sorry for myself when I remember the first two-years' time in Norway, I cannot believe how did I manage that. I feel more comfortable and independent now as I can speak Norwegian*" (Iraqi Kurdish female refugee).

Language can help people become more independent. Especially refugee females feel more independent when they learn the language. Learning the host country's language also makes them feel more comfortable working and living here.

"*I don't want to speak Arabic or English. I speak only in Norwegian. If you want to learn Norwegian, you must forget other languages and speak only Norwegian*" (Syrian refugee participant).

According to my data, it seems that host country's language is more important to integrate into the host society. As well as getting employed in the job market, to be independent, to find friends and to be more social.

Stresses of learning dialect and pronunciation

Understanding and learning different dialects at the same time is a challenging task for refugees. It seems to be wise to focus on one dialect first.

"*When foreigners focus on one dialect, it is easy for them to find jobs in their municipality. As well as Norway has many dialects which can make you confuse. It is easy to learn, if you focus on one dialect*" (Norwegian citizen).

"*Do you want to speak Norwegian? You have to focus on dialect*" (Syrian refugee informant).

As Norway has hundreds of dialects, most Norwegians advise foreigners to focus on one dialect when they practice Norwegian.

Norwegian people likes it if the immigrant practices the own regional dialect. i.e., Kristiansand people like to hear refugees try to practice their dialect. It makes them happy to see a newcomer to their region, follow their tradition.

In one meeting, I was observing the following:

"*A Daughter of a Syrian refugee talk with one Norwegian lady in a meeting of LUNAR CBO. The Norwegian lady said 'oh. You speak pure Kristiansand-dialect' she ended the comment with a thumb up* (personal research observation).

Speaking the dialect of the specific region makes the local people of that area happier. It can also make an impression on the local people to get acquainted with new people.

"*Knowing Norwegian is not enough to get a job in Norway. You should have that region's dialect. Norwegian people are more conservative*" (Somalian refugee).

According to the same informant, sometimes there is an unseen discrimination which can occur based on the dialect.

"*I am married to a Norwegian man and I speak Norwegian fluently. But I wanted to get a job in my husband's living area, but it is a bit conservative place in Norway. They preferred to*

recruit the people who speak that region's dialect" (Cambodian refugee). A Somalian woman adds to this:

"*The lady who is an asylum seeker and could not get an opportunity to go to Norwegian language school speaks better Norwegian than us. She has a good Norwegian accent. We studied Norwegian language at the language school. But we didn't get enough opportunity to practice the language with natives. Practicing the language with native people is the best way for learning the language*" (Somalian refugee).

Being a volunteer of a CBO helps refugees to practice Norwegian with local people and understand the difference and similarities between several dialects.

"*I went for an interview and they asked If I speak New-Norwegian. They didn't want to hire me, but they wanted to emphasize me that that job was only for a native Norwegian*" (Bosnian refugee informant).

Based on the above, it seems a lot of immigrants feel that language is used as an excuse or weapon against them getting a job in the Norwegian job market.

Name

According to my informants, there are invisible discriminations based on the names of the refugees.

There are invisible discriminations on the names of the refugees.

"*My name sounds Arabic, but my nationality is Norwegian. When I select my nationality as Norwegian, they still think I am a foreigner, it is because my name is Arabic*" (Norwegian Syrian mixed participant).

When refugees apply for jobs, many employers are prejudiced because of their names, which sounds foreign or they belong to a religious group. Many refugees think they do not even get job interviews because of their names.

"*I am from Pakistan and I have Mohammed in my name. When they see my name, they recognized me as a Muslim and a refugee, because of that they won't call me for interviews*" (Pakistani participant).

Discriminations in the job market

Qualifications are not sufficient for the new job market

Most refugees get short-term work environment trainings from the municipality, along with opportunities to practice their language (Kristiansen, 2016), but the

training does not last long. After a few months, municipality changes the place of work or the refugees rarely get the opportunities to gain this kind of work-experience for more than a year. When they adapt to the work environment, municipality change them to another workplace. As well as refugees do not get a certificate or letter about the training. This is also a challenge for them. Refugees do not get an opportunity to sufficient time in one place to improve their skills.

"*I have one friend from Somalia. She worked at a kindergarten for two years as a trainer, and she did not get paid for her work. She had to take care of little kids in the kindergarten. The kids loved her and her employers also liked her. But when the kindergarten had a vacancy for the same position she worked, Kindergarten wanted a Norwegian person who has a degree related to Kindergarten teaching*" (Somalian refugee).

The Somalian lady who told me the story, thinks that there should be a structured program for refugees to enter a work-related education qualification process, but at the same time, this programme might highlight another challenge present to refugees, specifically older refugees. When people grow older and their cognitive age is increasing, they have less desire for learning new things (Ilmarinen, 2001). Most older refugees do not have the right attitude or mindset to start an education when it presented to them as an option, for example: after the language school, both females and males over age forty tend to find jobs without selecting the option of education.

I met two refugee participants, one was a chef from Syria, one was a professional deep-sea diver in Iran. Even though, both of them have professional qualifications, they do not have a European valid qualification or certificate. If there was a process where refugees can get a European valid qualification after showing their skills in examination, it would be an asset to the host country, as well as increase the quality of life of the refugees.

Some refugees who had well reputed jobs in their home countries as lawyers, doctors and professors showed that they do not willing to do a job which is not reputed jobs in their cultural contexts. Most of non-European countries have personal recognition according to the

jobs. It seems they need to change their attitude towards job opportunities available to them. If they were more flexible and open-minded, they might get a job in today's job market.

Some refugees in my research sample, told me that they feel their bosses at the work place seems not listen and respect their ideas.

"*My boss is a Norwegian, I feel they don't listen to my ideas in the workplace. They have underestimated my ability to help around the work-place*" (Bosnian refugee).

"*Even I speak good Norwegian and have good enough education qualifications, when I go to job interviews, the interview boards always tell me that my Norwegian is not good enough to get the job. As I am not a native Norwegian speaker, it is not fair. I feel there are discriminations against refugees, immigrants*" (Bosnian refugee).

''Immigrant only villages'' and areas (discrimination against the refugees)

According to the data of the research, most local Norwegians and refugees recognized that some areas in Kristiansand municipality, have more refugees than local Norwegian people. Most refugees receive homes from these areas to live.

"*There is a place called Slettheia, the majority of the inhabitants are immigrants, it is kind of colony for refugees*". (Somalian refugee).

According to some Norwegians, they think sending more refugees to one specific area of the municipality create and form ghetto areas of the country or city.

According to the Norwegian refugee integration strategy, municipalities often receive the same ethnic groups or put in nearby areas together (ICMC Norway, 2013). When people create ghettos areas, the refugees will have less interaction with local Norwegians.

Making refugees to live in the same areas create ghetto areas of the country, and is a form of discrimination of refugees and can be the threat for social mobility (Phillimore & Goodson ,2006). When refugees have their own community members to associate with, they integrate into their own refugee communities, but less interaction with the host society. Refugees feel isolated when they move to areas that are separate from the host society.

"*There are some streets in Oslo, where only immigrants and refugees live. There is not much sanitary and hygiene in these areas. There are some areas in Oslo, which is very expensive, where refugees and immigrants cannot afford to live*" (Palestine refugee participant).

"One old Norwegian person asked from me where I am living. Then I told I am living in Gimlekollen, Kristiansand. Then she looked at me from bottom to top and asked. Do you really live in Gimlekollen?" (Cambodian participant).

"If you go to the place called Drammen in Norway, you will not find more "Norwegian-Norwegians". Most refugees and immigrants are living that area than Norwegians. Some immigrants have their own food shops, cloth shops" (Iraq Kurdish participant).

According to my research data, refugees only areas are a symbol of a unsuccessful integration process, because it creates a gap between the hosts and refugees. The difference between the haves and have-nots, can lead to the dissatisfaction of refugees and it can be a root of social problems.

Refugees also have different prejudgments on different refugees

Refugee have prejudgments on different ethnic groups and different nationalities refugees.

One of the refugee participants, who came from Asian countries who lived in Norway more than thirty years told me, "now it is very unsecure to walk alone in the city, especially at night time. More crimes are happening here, because there are more refugees from Africa and other middle east countries. If you walk in the city, you will see more immigrants than local Norwegian people" (Sri Lankan refugee participant).

It has been shown, some former refugees and some anti-immigrant Europeans think that increment of refugees is the cause for social insecurity (Schneider, 2008).

The same nationality refugees as well as refugees from neighbouring countries who have experienced war and ethnic conflicts long time ago, still have prejudgment and anger due to lack of reconciliation. This shows from the finding below;

"I want to go to work at an Indian restaurant. But I heard that owner doesn't like to hire Pakistan people" (Pakistan guy).

Another participant added her experience related above incident; *"My parents don't like my boyfriend. Because he is Sri Lankan Sinhalese. I am a Sri Lankan Tamil. They don't tell me the clear reason for their dislike. But I know it is because they came to Norway as war refugees "(Sri Lankan girl).*

It shows some refugees still have the anger towards the nationalities, ethnic groups because of some of traumatic experiences they have experienced (Boehnlein & Kinzie, 1995).

5.2 Stress

Much of the stress I have identified is related to acculturative stresses which I have mentioned in my theoretical framework.

Home countries connections and social integration of refugees

"*My husband is in Somalia, but he calls me every day and always advise me, ask everything. He does not like if I go somewhere in the evening. I have to tell him everything and get permission*" (Somalian refugee).

Women who have most of their family connections with their own culture, try to maintain the same cultural practices in Norway. According to my informants, their own ethnic community organisations also stick to their own cultural frame, which they have practiced in their home countries. This is also one of the reasons for them to stick on their own culture and it becomes a barrier for them, causing them to have less interaction with the host culture, and therefore more difficult to become independent in the integration-process.

Some women do not get permission to go to social events and meeting in the evenings. When they do not get the approval from their husbands, elder brothers, they cannot do what they want. If a woman comes from a culture which is mostly male-dominated. Then it tends to become difficult for the women to be as social as they wish.

"*Without Alcohol, you cannot socialise in the Norwegian society*" (Somalian female refugee).

More non-alcoholic men and women have this view about Norwegians. They think being abstinent from alcohol is an obstacle to find Norwegian friends.

Religious organization's view on integration and spreading Christianity (acculturative stress from the host country)

"*A Norwegian lady used to come to my apartment once a month and try to talk with me about Christianity. She asked to come to the bible class and learn and practice Norwegian language. These religious organisations want to teach about Jesus and convert us to Christianity*" (Somalian refugee).

"*When I was waiting for my friends, there was a Norwegian couple and they started to talk with me. They asked about my religion and friends and where I am from. Then they told me*

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about Christian international gatherings and talked about Jesus and the conflicts in the world. They told me that I did not have to be Christian to participate in their meetings, as they already have lots of Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist people at the meetings. She also invited me to join their social events" (personal experience).

"*KIA is arranging good social events in refugee camps, dinners, language classes, sport events. It is very important to us as we can enjoy and get to know people, but their hidden purpose is to spread their religion*" (Afghan refugee).

It seems there are several social events organised by religious organisations, that are available to refugees, but my informants feel these events are just part of a recruitment source to the Christian organisation groups.

The stress of keeping cultural practices

Research shows refugee children from a strict religious family background have less freedom and less social contacts with the host society (Basit, 1997). One of my research participants added his experience:

"*My father is a Muslim and he wanted to tell us that our religion is Islam. But I have never been to a mosque, I don't know the Quran. I don't pray. We do not celebrate during Eid. Sometimes we eat pizza in Eid, but still my father wants to say he is Muslim and if someone asks me what is my religion in front of my dad, I would say I am a Muslim*" (Lebanese participant).

Even though people have changed with the host society's culture, still they do not want to totally forget their cultural identity even though they do not practice a lot.

"*Female circumcision is a part of my culture. When a girl becomes matured, an adult female does circumcise the girl. It is painful and stupid. I don't want to do it for my daughters, but my mother in law always asks me when will I do it to my daughters. She wants me to go Somalia with my daughters to perform this procedure*" (Somalian refugee).

This shows that some refugees have changed their attitude towards their own cultural practices. They are becoming more critical of their own culture.

"*I feel very comfortable eating with my hands, it is my culture and it just feels better eating directly from my hands, but I do not want to do it in front of western cultural people. As they see it as uncivilized and barbarian thing* (Somalian refugee).

"*I don't want to stop wearing the hijab. I feel like naked when I don't have it. I am comfortable with the way I used to dress* "(Palestine lady).

Some refugees who have been living for decades in the Norwegian culture, do not want to change some of their cultural practices. Some of the cultural practices, they do not want to do in public or in front of Norwegians, but they are practicing them with their own cultural people or at homes.

Perspective on interracial marriage

Research shows that religious family background refugee parents like their children to marry the same cultural partners (Basit, 1997). This has reflected in my research findings

When I was at the meeting of LUNAR I asked from a Palestine refugee mother *"Do you allow your daughter to marry a Norwegian man. Then she replied me "No, it is not allowed in my culture and they are not fitting with our culture. If he converts to Islam, I can consider about that"* (Palestine lady).

One another Burmese participant added her personal opinion about marriage; *«I prefer to find a man from my Burmese ethnic group. I feel more comfortable with language and cultural practices"* (Burmese girl).

According to my research informants, most refugees like to marry their own culture partners because they can respect their cultural values. Following quotes from refugee participants also shows their views on interracial marriages:

I asked from Somalian refugee mother "Will you allow your daughter to marry a Norwegian man. Then she replied "No. I don't like it. They are not in my culture. I asked her again, "But you speak good Norwegian and your daughters know the language and culture. Then she replied me "It is not only my decision to accept my son-in-law. My family in Somalia also have to accept him. They will never accept outsider from our culture" (Somalian lady).

"I am very happy I found the same cultural Arabic man who does not try to control me. He is not against partying and drinking. It is very hard to find a guy like that in the Islamic culture" (Kurdish girl).

Some refugee participants themselves expect the new partner to be a liberal and modern person, but still they prefer to find from their own culture.

Building one's identity in the host culture

People change their religion for different reasons. Research shows some refugees feel freer of changing the religion after changing their religion. Some people gain more benefits from the host society and different organizations. Some people gain recognition and more social connections in the host culture.

"I changed my religion to Christianity, The Christians helped us a lot, I feel like they are a part of my family now" (Sri Lankan refugee).

"I could not become a Christian in my country, even though I wanted it. Iran does not have freedom of religion. In Norway, I have more freedom to be myself" (Iranian refugee).

According to some of my informants they wanted to build their own identity in the Norwegian society. Some of my informants have changed their religion to be better build and evolve their new identity. It seems they feel being a Christian allows them to expand their social network with locals and increase their recognition and freedom.

Some Refugees are willing to keep their own identity in Norway because they feel it is their legacy. As language is often linked to one's culture, it is not surprising to see that a lot of refugees prefer to use their own native language with their family members.

This is one of the reasons that some refugees do not wish to improve their Norwegian language skills. They practice their own language at home. They speak their own languages when they are with their families and relatives, even in public.

"We speak Tamil at home. My son goes to kindergarten and he speaks and listen in Norwegian every time, but we need to practice Tamil at home, then he learns our mother tongue. If we do not do that, he cannot communicate with our families back home. Me and my husband feel more comfortable to speak our mother tongue. It is weird to talk in Norwegian at home as all of us can understand our mother tongue" (Indian female refugee informant).

People feel more comfortable to talk in their own language and to associate their own community people. Even though refugees are in language classes they seem like to be with their own ethnic group friends and talk in their native language.

"Some refugees sit with their own cultural people in the language school. For example, Somali people sit with their own Somali group people. Syrians sit with their own Syrian people, Afghans are with their own Afghan people. When they get free time, they speak with their friends in their own language. Some refugee women do not learn Norwegian that fast,

because they prefer to talk with their ladies from the same culture. Some are also shy to talk with other groups, or have prejudice towards others" (Syrian refugee participant).

When people practice the language with their own community, they will not get the correct pronunciation of the words. And when refugees feel the difficulty of speaking Norwegian, naturally they convert to their mother tongue (participant observation).

ECBOs are one of the major ways for refugees to practice their own culture. They gather with their own community people, celebrate their cultural festivals, cook together. Practicing their own culture should happen as it is a part of their identity. It is important for them as well. But if a refugee has more connections with his own community and less connections with the host society, it will not lead to the successful integration with the host society.

Fear of the future of their children and themselves

Some refugees have a fear of their children's future.

"*First, we were in Arendal and It was not a big municipality like Kristiansand. One old Norwegian lady helped us and she was our neighbour. My children went to Arendal school. My daughters had mostly Norwegian friends in Arendal, but after five years, we had to move to Kristiansand and my children had to change their school. My son has more friends in the new school of Kristiansand, but my daughters do not have any new friends. They do not like to go out because they do not have any friends in Kristiansand. Their routine is going to school and coming back, watching films and reading books. That's all. Their teachers told me that they should be socially active. I tried in my best to tell them to find friends, but I know it is not possible to find friends as buying something from a shop*" (Somalian refugee).

This shows an example of how less socialization of the children makes refugee parents insecure about their children's future.

Clash of children's and refugee parent's expectations in the host culture.

One of my research participants explained me her experience in Norway, which shows the clash of expectations between refugee parents and children.

Samina is a refugee from Somalia and she came with her three children. Mohammad is her son, who is fourteen years old. He wanted to get rid of bullying from his classmates. Because of that, her son asked branded clothes and shoes from her, but she could not afford those things. Then Mohammed refused to wear the new clothes which Samina bought for him from

cheap brands. Samina wanted to explain how much better lives they are experiencing in Norway compared to their home countries. She tried to explain her son that most children in Somalia does not have even basic needs. She thinks her son has a luxurious life in Norway. She wanted to send her son to see the life in Somalia for one year. She thinks he will understand the life and appreciate the things he has in Norway.

Clash of the attitudes of parents and children also seems as a challenge for refugee parents and children. Even though the refugees moved to a new culture, people still shape their way of thinking and attitudes according to their past experiences and the cultural context they have lived in their childhood (Rutter, 1989), but their children are also facing problems in the host countries, like bullying. Sometimes refugee parents have a difficulty to understand it.

Samina has the challenge of understanding their children and the new society. The clash of parents and children's attitudes made them a hard time of understanding the different contexts. Hence, both parties have the stress.

Importance of sports and Norwegian leisure activities

I asked from an Iraq Norwegian refugee, "do you know how to swim. Then he said I do not know. When I was at school, I learnt sports and outdoor education period, but after the school I do not practice with my family. My mom is a traditional Islamic cultural woman, she does not go to swim. So, I also did not get any chance to practice, but Norwegian students they get the opportunity to practice with their parents" (Iraqi-Norwegian refugee)

Iraqi Kurdish informants expressed the following: "*My Norwegian girlfriend knows how to ski, skate and swim. I don't know these sports. I feel less masculine*" (Iraqi-Kurdish refugee)

Winter sports have made people enjoy the cold and dark winters. Most refugees do not get the experience of winter sports as they do not know how to do it.

Another informant added his view on Norwegian sports. *«Norway is not a country to spend time when you get old*" (Kurdish refugee). There is Norwegian saying which emphasise the importance of winter sports for Norwegian culture; "*Norwegians are the best in winter sports. They born with skies on their feet* (Norwegian saying).

"*My uncle told me that he talked with a refugee in the first time of his life, even he does not like immigrants. I was surprised and asked the reason for that. He said, It is because he saw an Indian refugee tried to do skiing. Then he felt that refugee respected the Norwegian culture and Norwegian traditions*" (Former refugee).

From interviews with my informants, it seems as if immigrants find winter sports to be a part of the social integration.

"If you don't know how to do winter games, Ice skating, skiing you will feel miserable in the winter. You cannot go out, dark weather and slippery, dangerous outside will not make people happy. I cannot imagine me growing old in Norway. There are less opportunities to enjoy life when you are old'' (Norwegian citizen).

This shows that refugees have the challenge of enjoying the nature in winter times in Norway without knowing winter sports, outdoor activities.

The stress of finding friends and neighbours

Most refugees have difficulties of finding Norwegian friends. At least according to the majority of my participants. ***Norwegians are naturally cold people*** who do not like to have a lot of friends, and do not wish to talk to strangers. The refugees want to associate with more Norwegian people, and have a conversation that goes beyond "hi and bye" with them. The opportunities for these kinds of conversations are slim. They do add that they like the volunteers, as they feel they are quite open-minded. Some people claim that Norway is not exposed to a lot of multiculturalism because of being an isolated European country for a long time. That the people have grown to become culturally introvert people, that prefer to enjoy their time with few friends or to be alone. It is quite common for local Norwegians to have enjoyable trips to the forest and mountain cabins. This view of local Norwegian habit and perceived introvert-culture is viewed as an obstacle for making friends with refugees.

Refugees seems to have the challenge of finding neighbours who they can share their feelings with, both happiness and sadness.

"*We have very good neighbours in Eritrea. I knew all the people around my neighbourhood, but in here I do not know who lives next to me* "(Female Refugee informant).

Having good neighbours is important for the refugee integration (Brunner, Hyndman, & Mountz, 2014, p: 85), but this seems to be a challenge for many refugees. According to on of my informants:

"*Many refugees find difficulties of having good neighbourhood with Norwegians, as Norwegians do like to visit nearby homes and talk with them. We barely see them*" (Syrian refugee male Informant).

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It seems more refugees want to have friendly neighbours because they know if any emergency happens, they need the help of neighbours. As most of non-western refugees have close relationships with their neighbours, they like to have good neighbours in the host country too. According to my observations, most Norwegians have less connections with their neighbours. As Norway has a good welfare system (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2008), citizens have more trust on the state than neighbours.

The stress of being asylum seeker

Asylum seekers are the most vulnerable immigrants in a host country (Malloch & Stanley, 2005, Fekete, 2005). As asylum seekers do not have access many of social welfare facilities as refugees, they have more difficulties in the host country.

"*I have been living in Norway for more than nine years. But I cannot leave this municipality. One time I wanted to go to Denmark and I went by ship. I came back the same day, but at night. The police came to my home to ask about my trip. This feels like a prison for me*" (Iran Kurdish asylum seeker).

This quote showed that asylum seekers who have lived in the host country for many years have more stress. Not only asylum seeker parents, but also their children. Iranian-Kurdish participant expressed to me: *My daughter wanted to attend a martial arts competition in Denmark. She is very good at martial arts, but she couldn't participate in the competition because we are still asylum seekers in Norway*" (Iranian-Kurdish asylum seeker).

Some asylum seekers had to die in Norway as a person who does not belong to a state. One of my informants told me; "*One male asylum seeker died in the refugee centre. He stayed in refugee centre more than eight years without having a hope about the future. At the end he died where he did not belong*" (Somalian refugee).

According to one of my informants he feels being an asylum seeker means a person who does not have rights. He told "*This is an open prison for me. Not much happening and I don't feel I am living here*" (Afghan asylum seeker).

Another participant added this quote. *«I don't have much things to do here. I cannot travel anywhere. I have to get permission*" (Afghan asylum seeker).

 "*This is a hopeless country for me*" (Afghan refugee).

According to my informants, asylum seekers are suffering from more stress.

"*I met more Afghan young refugees, they have fled from their home countries because of the Taliban. They stayed in Norway for two years as asylum seekers, Norway was an open prison for them. Then suddenly they deported to their country. They have anger with Norwegians. One guy said he can even kill the people who could not understand their fear*" (Afghan refugee).

The anger of the people who are deporting also can be a threat to the host society. According to my observations, asylum seekers also should be a part of the integration process. As there is no exact time for the UDI approval process, asylum seekers also stay for years. Some of the refugees have stayed in Norway more than ten years. They also should have a proper plan for the integration. For example, learn the language, state laws, culture. When they deport to their country, government should explain reasons to them that why they are not allowed to stay. It will help them to understand the reasons why did not Norwegian government accept them as refugees.

"*I cry in the nights when I miss my children's future. I cannot think about this. I am burning inside. I am a volunteer of more organizations. All people talk about the newly arrived asylum seekers from Syria. No one talks about us, who stayed here more than eight years*" (Iran Kurdish asylum seeker).

The challenge of making decisions

Some refugees have difficulties in making decisions.

A Somalian refugee told, "*When I came here, I didn't know what to do after the language school. They told me to choose one of the two options, continuing the education or work. I selected to continue the education because I was thinking without Norwegian education, how can I find a job. I talked with some Somalian refugees who has established in Norway. I saw how they are facing difficulties. After continuing the education, I went to high school and university. But still I am facing difficulty to find a job. But I am happy about the decision I took that day*" (Somali refugee).

The quote shows that refugees who took decisions with aims got advice from former refugees who have succeeded in the Norway.

"*After the language school, I wanted to work. I am still looking for a job. It has been nine years since I finished language school. No one is giving me a job. They are asking experiences and work-related qualifications. I don't have it*" (Eritrean refugee participant).

This seems most refugees have difficulties of taking decisions. Some refugees take wrong decisions because they have a lack of understanding and guidance.

5.3 Identity crisis

Trying to be like a Norwegian

Sometimes I would observe people try to include more Norwegian cultural practices into their lives, along with their cultural practices.

"*I am somewhere in the middle of typical Palestine and Norwegian girl. For Norwegians, I am not matching with their typical Norwegian girl standards. I feel I am more than a Palestinian girl. Some Palestine girls do not accept me as a typical Palestinian girl because I do not behave as a typical Palestinian girl. Norwegians also, never accept me as a Norwegian because of appearance, accent and some of the non-Norwegian qualities which I have. I am somewhere in the middle*" (Palestine refugee participant).

One refugee participant who called himself Iraq Norwegian, never like to introduce himself as Norwegian. Depend on the situation, he introduces himself and his nationality. He enjoys Arabic music and the cultural food when he is alone. But among his Norwegian friends, he does not like to behave like that (participant observation).

This identity crisis is visible in some refugees. Some refugees have "situational nationality". This can identify as an identity crisis.

Weather as a factor for integration

Especially during dark winter times, rainy and snowy days, female refugees participate less of the CBO meetings. One of the reasons for less participation, is the difficulty to find someone to take care of their children while they are at meetings" (participant observation).

"*I feel afraid to go outside when it is dark. My children also don't like to go out outside in the dark*" (Somalin participant).

"*It is so cold and slippery in the roads. I don't like to go outside in winter*" (Iran refugee).

These reasons make them to have less participation in social activities in winter times. The participation of the refugees increases in sunny days (Participant observation).

Some families who came from non-western countries, still practice the same gender roles from their home country in Norwegian society. The typical example is that women have the sole responsibility of raising the children, and having to do all of the housework.

One of the participants in my research, who is from Somalia told about her relative who is living in Norway. *"My aunt came with her husband from Somalia, she has to do household work and take care of children, therefore, she has less time to join in the social activities and find friends"* (Somalian refugee).

This presents a challenge for them to become more independent as a human being. If they have no time for education, job or meetings, they cannot truly ever become independent.

Majority of Kristiansand CBOs in having their meetings in the evening, hence refugee females have some difficulties of making time for the meetings, as they have to stay at home and take care of their children, make dinner for the family.

Some women feel fear for the darkness in the winter times. They feel less secure when there is darkness. It is visible some refugee women have less participations for social gatherings, meeting in the winter season.

Some females have hesitated to mix and talk with male strangers.

"I started my own organization for refugees and immigrant. Some Kurdish ladies didn't want to see males in the meetings even my husband. It made the situation uncomfortable" (Immigrant Norwegian participant).

The stress of finding reputed people who can make recommendations

When people are applying for jobs, they try to find strong and well reputed and well-known references, because it will gain the attention of employers. attraction. Refugees have difficulties finding Norwegian people who are willing to recommend them for other future jobs.

"She got a permanent job because She put one of the most successful businessmen in Kristiansand as her reference" (Refugee from Egypt).

She explains having a strong social network can increase the capacity of the employability. Refugees as immigrants to the country, they have difficulties to find Norwegian references for them.

Stress caused by lack of awareness of Norwegian laws

One of the refugees from Iran, lost her two children because her children said to the teacher that their parents are arguing at home and parents hit them. She did not know the strict parenting law in Norway at that time. Most non-western countries accept hitting children when they do unacceptable things according to their culture. Some refugees do the same punishment to their children, even they are in Norway. But when the children report it to their schools, these parents get warning from the teachers or the police. Sometimes they lose their children.

"*Hitting my own children is illegal in Norway, but in my country, it is a sign of to be a good mother*" (Indian refugee).

"*I met one of Eritrean lady's daughters. She loved to be with me when she comes to CBO meetings with her mother. The daughters name is Sara. I asked from her "why do not you like to be with your mom. Then She replied me "I don't like her". Then I told her not to say like that, your mom loves you so much. Then she told, my mom does not allow me to do anything. She always tells me, don't do it,*" (Samina from Somalia).

The lady from Eritrea is a single mom and Sara is the only child. Sara's mom is unemployed and she is staying at home most of the time. She tries to over protect her child because she loves her and she tried to control her behaviour. As Sara is five years old, she does not like it. Because of that, when she closes to someone apart from her mother, she says she does not like to stay with her mother.

"*One of my friends had to go back from Norway because her child told everything happened at home to his class teacher. Mother and father argued at one night and the child told about this to the class teacher. The teacher advised parents but it happened for the second time also. At the end, they lost their child. Even refugees can get a state lawyer for free of charge, they always have a bias in the Norwegian state as they are employees of the state. Most of the time foreigners lost their children. But in this case, mom hired a private lawyer even with difficulties. When she got their child back, she went back to Iraq*" (Iraq refugee participant).

According to the stories from my participants, it seems refugees have a lack of understanding about parenting laws.

When I was listening to these stories, I remembered the parenting in my own culture, Sri Lanka. There is one idiom says "*you have to hit your child to make him better, it is similar to make a tasty curry, you need to mix it with a spoon. Then you will get the good taste*".

Some cultures accept controlling, punishing children are as reasonable. More non-western parents have difficulty of understanding parenting laws in Norway, as they have used different culture in their home countries.

The difficulty of reading and understanding the facial expressions

Most refugees, immigrants have difficulty of reading the body language and facial expressions of Norwegians. According to the participants, it is easy for them to see the emotions and read other cultural people like an anger, happiness, question mark from their faces. But according to some refugees, they have noticed Norwegians do not show their anger even they are angry.

"*Sometimes Norwegians are fake. Even they cannot help, they smile and say the same thing without anger or showing the angry emotions, even we feel they are angry*" (Ugandan refugee).

"*You can have an enemy for your lifetime in Kristiansand, but you will not get to know he is angry with you. They do not show their anger*" (Oslo, Norwegian citizen).

Some refugees see this as a bit difficult as more cultures where refugees are coming from use more facial expressions and nonverbal communication when they are talking.

Stress of having strict bureaucratic system and more paperwork

According to some of my research participants, Norwegian state offices have lots time-consuming procedure to follow even for small assignment.

LUNAR CBO's women group committee members had a discussion on how to give awareness about their CBO to refugees. Then one of the Iranian refugee woman said" Oh. Don't give leaflets or posters on notice boards. We are fed up with papers. All the time we receive so much paper. Now we have no desire to read them"

It seems that they are unsatisfied with more papers and posters with information. Some refugees do not have enough language skills to read through them properly. Therefore, giving information verbally is a more productive and efficient method of spreading information to the refugees.

Stress of family responsibilities

Most refugees have most of their family members in their home countries. Some refugees said that the families back home in their countries think that they have gained the same level economic status as local Norwegians, when they first arrived in Norway as a refugee. Refugees have families in their home countries who could not escape from the conflict areas, but they are still dependent on the monetary support of their family members who have now field to developed countries.

I asked on how they could afford to travel to Norway. Some of them said they got loans, lend money from money lenders from their home countries. Some people had to sell their properties. Therefore, some refugees have the stress of finding money to send back to their home countries.

When the person is the elder male one of the family, they are considered to have the biggest responsibilities in a family. This applies to many non-western countries, especially like Asia and Africa. males have more responsibilities in their families. They have to take care of all the different family members, unmarried siblings, their own parents and family. Therefore, they are mainly looking for economic integration, rather than social integration. They are motivated by monetary goals because of their family obligations and other reasons. Once they get the UDI permission with refugee statue, most refugees seem to seek jobs.

It is also related to their self-esteem. Being employed increase their self-esteem. Research shows most refugee women and single moms want to be economically independent.

"*I don't mind doing a cleaning job even I have a master in economics. The money I get from the government is not enough for me for food, clothes and other expenses*" (Somalian refugee woman).

People who had a good education, a well reputed profession in their home countries are willing to do a professional job in Norway. Some refugees, who are worrying about their previous prosperity, education, wealth and reputation wish to get the same kind of jobs in Norway. When they do not or do not see any opportunities for improvement, they get disappointed and unhappy.

5.4 Fear

Fear of criticisms of the own culture

I met two Islamic girls who came to Norway as refugees. One of them is from Pakistan and the other one is from Palestine. They wanted to enjoy their lives, go to clubs, drink, dance. They were afraid of the people who are from their own ethnic group and religious group as they will criticise their unacceptable behaviour.

ECBOs make refugees integrate with their own society and religion, but some of ECBOs gives them fewer opportunities to interact with local people and other ethnic groups people. But some refugees seem happy to be a member of ECBOs, because they feel like second home for them. They make their own cultural food and they organize, host and celebrate their unique festivals and events.

"I am a member of our Pakistan community organization, we arrange our religious festivals, making food. We get to know our people through that. My wife made more friends from that" (male refugee from Pakistan).

Research showed that more ECBOs make Islamic women frame into their own culture. According to my informants, of the research, ECBOs have created some barriers for the people in their own community. These barriers have made it harder for them to integrate into the host's society.

The fear of lack of security

"*We trust people and we feel secured to walk alone at late nights in my home village. But I do not feel fully safety in Kristiansand. There are lots of immigrants who are not used to safe society and who can be violent because it is normal in their societies. I do not have enough confidence to walk alone at late nights*" (Norwegian citizen).

"*One of my friends told that there are crimes and rapes can happen in dark places, because there are more immigrants in the city who are used to take drugs and alcohol, under the bridges and the dark places. I am afraid to walk at late nights and use the small paths in the forest. My friend told that more eastern Europeans, Somalians are here. They can be violent*" (Ugandan refugee).

"*My friend told immigrants have to be careful from drunk local Norwegians, because they can be racist and violent when they are drunk. The most suitable thing is not walking alone at the nights. Especially Friday and Saturday*" (Indian refugee).

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"Our professor came to Norway as a refugee. He lived more than thirty years in here. He told us there are more people from Syria, Somalia and more African countries in Kristiansand and we would see more immigrants than locals in the road. He said it is not secured to walk at night times in the city" (Sri Lankan girl).

Local Norwegians and some different refugee groups who lived in Norway for a long Have a mistrust on the newly arrived immigrants. Newly arrived immigrants also have mistrust on locals.

"I have a fear about typical Norwegians and how they will look like after fifty years. They will lose their identity" (Norwegian citizen).

Refugees take more advantage of the welfare system (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli ,2008). Most local Norwegians earn money and pay taxes. Most refugees get money from the government as grants and they get money from the social security system when they have sick-leave, getting and having children. This social benefit is also available for Norwegian citizen.

"Some refugees receive more money from the welfare system without doing anything. Sometimes it is more than hard-working Norwegian person" (Norwegian citizen).

Fear of refugees from native Norwegians occur, as well as the other way around.

"I am afraid to do jogging at the night time. I feel afraid of being raped" (Norwegian citizen).

"People have to listen to the right wing as well. Thirty or forty years ago Norway has received more refugees and there was not strong proper investigation for giving refugee status at that time. We received a lot of immigrants, some are nor real victims of the war. But the government did not listen to the people who asked for proper investigation, they have labelled as racists. Policy makers have to listen the opposite views on refugees. If it is not these people can be extremist or Nazis later" (Norwegian citizen).

According to my research participants, refugees from different cultures, religions, ethnic groups as well as locals, are fearful of each other with the increment of more immigrants arriving in Norway.

Chapter Six: CBO's contribution to address the challenges of refugees

In this chapter, I explain how the three CBOs, which I have selected as my case studies, contribute in overcoming the challenges refugees face in their everyday life through their programmes and activities. First, I will introduce each of the CBO and their activities, programmes and events separately. At the end of this chapter, I will have an overview of how the CBOs address the challenges of refugees in general.

6.1 LUNAR

LUNAR is a CBO which started in 2008 with a few Norwegian women. LUNAR stands for equality (likestilling), development (utvikling), network (nettverk), activity (aktivitet) and relations (relasjon) in Norwegian, and it has four groups; a women's group, a girl's group, a teenagers' group and a men's group. They are active in two different municipalities, Kristiansand and Lillesand. In this research, I focus on the women's group of LUNAR in Kristiansand. The women's group has a special focus on refugee integration, which is why many refugees are invited to join.

LUNAR believes having more friends, as well as expanding one's social network in a multicultural background, and the engagements and activities can make for a better integration of refugees. LUNAR gives an opportunity for its participants to find new friends in social gatherings. LUNAR also has a special focus on promoting gender equality and refugee integration.

LUNAR allows an opportunity for Norwegians and refugees from multicultural backgrounds to have a conversation and a mutual understanding. LUNAR strongly believes that the combinations of a social network and social activities can improve make the integration of refugees. LUNAR pays special attention to network building, activities, leisure activities and the sharing of different cultural activities involving volunteers and refugee women.

The programmes of the LUNAR group are run by the coordinator of the organization, and she has the responsibility of creating events. LUNAR's women's group has meetings every week for two hours, where they are talking together, asking questions, meeting new people, getting to know about new information, tips for applying jobs, cooking together and drinking tea

together. The women's group has the aim of building friendship between the participants and volunteers.

Most of the volunteers are Norwegian, but there are also a few volunteers who are non-Norwegians, who lived in Norway for a long time. Many of the volunteers have a professional background, but it is not necessary to have a professional career background to be a volunteer of LUNAR. Volunteers can give advice or direction when the participants ask questions, as well how to arrange events. LUNAR welcomes anyone who likes to be a volunteer and respect the organization's core values.

The number of participants of the meetings is not stable. Some of the participants regularly attend, but some cannot attend to the meeting regularly due to different reasons. Sometimes refugees' participation depends on the weather condition, the type of the programme and activity or family obligations. Women groups gather and discuss where to improve, what are their challenge and how the women's group can help their participants. LUNAR uses social media as their main communication method among volunteers, as well as group members. Improve the quality of the group is a constant process, which involves getting feedback, filling the questionnaires, volunteer meetings, as well as discussions and suggestions from within the organization.

Some of the activities of LUNAR are to plan and organise day trips, cabin trips, hiking, skiing, skating and horse riding. Physical and outdoor activities which leads women to experience the Norwegian nature and Norwegian culture, as well as organized events gives knowledge and insight about different cultures, such as cooking dishes, singing and dancing. The themes for which are discussed in the meetings includes the general problems of life, parenting, Norwegian laws, cultural practices in different countries, love and care. This also includes organizing events for international women's day, how to conduct speeches or speaking in public and to share their experiences. Women who come from war and conflict countries like Syria, Somalia and Afghanistan get an opportunity to express and share their experiences with the Norwegian members of society and other refugees.

Other than the group meetings and activities, LUNAR also arranges workshops, debates, events and projects. LUNAR organized several major seminars in collaboration with the "Centre for equal opportunities in the University of Agder". LUNAR has asked to hold

lectures in different contexts at UiA. LUNAR arranges and participate in debates related to gender equality, rape, refugee integration and refugees' rights. Moreover, they arrange workshops for the volunteers and participants. Every year LUNAR group has their own projects which is related to women's and immigrant's social problems. LUNAR had a project on radicalisation in 2017, which had a main focus on religious extremism and how to build the harmony between different religions and nationalities. LUNAR cooperates with municipalities, states, various foundations and other voluntary organisations. It is important to share one's competence and complement each other's work. LUNAR gets funds for some of their projects from the municipality and different organisations. but LUNAR also has some challenges in funding.

LUNAR members can gain numerous benefits by being a member, such as: Improved leadership and guidance skills, the experience of youth work, an opportunity to get to know a group of top contenders, meet other committed volunteers, great experiences, challenges and great memories, a course certificate and excellent references for your resume. Last, but not least, the opportunity to make a difference in someone's life.

6.2 How does LUNAR address the challenges refugees face in their everyday life?

According to my data, most refugees have weak ties with Norwegians. They also have difficulties getting or making Norwegian friends. Research data showed most refugees find Norwegian friends through voluntary organizations. As LUNAR is focussed on forming friendships with multicultural background refugees, to give them an opportunity to find Norwegian friends, but also from different ethnic groups and from their own ethnic group.

According to my findings, having a strong network with the host society and having Norwegian references, increase the opportunities of getting a job for refugees. LUNAR helps refugees find good references. Norwegian volunteers also get to know the refugees during this period. Being an active volunteer, or member, allows them to improve their teamwork abilities.

"Qualification are not enough to get a job, they need good references as well" (Somalian refugee).

Getting a membership of a CBOs increase the opportunities for refugees. Members get an opportunity to meet Norwegian people with a professional background. When refugees

become more active in CBOs, they will be able to increase their social network. The different activities of LUNAR allow refugees to meet new members.

Most refugees do not know enough information and tips for how to find a job (Somalian lady).

"If you want to know about the jobs you have to have more contacts of the Norwegian institutes and workplaces. Before they advertise the job, they inform about the jobs to their well-known people, friends who are looking for jobs or whom they feel fitting for the vacancy. I know someone who got a job like that" (Somalian lady).

CBOs gives an opportunity to its members to get to know more professional people, finding references to their resumes, as well as getting to know how to find the right job. There are some programmes for refugees about curriculum-vitae (CV), writing and internet usage and research. It helps refugees improve their soft skills and fulfill the basic requirements in finding a job.

The majority of refugees in my research have experienced traumatic experiences. It is necessary for refugees to have strong social connections (Ozbay et al., 2007). Refugees get an opportunity to talk with other members of LUNAR and to find other refugees who have experienced the same kind of traumatic experiences from different contexts. They get to share their pain and might lead to release of stress and sadness. Having good listeners is the best ways to release the stress and traumatic pain (Furman & Robbins, 1985). Refugees need some nice friends who can understand and empathize with them. Therefore, there is a need of having old friends around them. This is a challenge for refugees.

LUNAR gives an opportunity for refugees to discuss with Norwegians and other ethnic group refugees. It allows them to understand the Norwegian culture and the difference between the other cultures and their own culture. This helps them reduce the prejudices against different ethnic groups.

LUNAR has formed partnership with different organisations, as well as collaborations with different organisation in the municipality. LUNAR thinks it is important to invite and let other organizations inform refugees about their own goals, and what they can offer them. Organizations, such as: The police, The Red cross and even law firms. It helps them to discover other opportunities, social activities and it enables them to expand their social network.

LUNAR arranges motivational speeches and stories from successfully integrated people, which gives inspiration to other refugees. This helps other members to get the motivation and an idea to overcome their challenges, and the decisions they must make.

Refugees need to practice the Norwegian language, as it has lots of different dialects. One of the most effective ways to learn the language is practicing with native language speakers. Therefore, they should speak more often with native Norwegians (August, Shanahan & Escamilla, 2009). LUNAR helps to make this possible.

A major objective of the LUNAR organization is gender equality and refugee integration. When there are issues, and a lack of attention related to refugees' rights, such as deporting, rapes, discrimination, they try to increase awareness of these problems. LUNAR fought for asylum seekers' rights in 2017 because of the refugee centre in Kristiansand planned to be closed, and refugees was being transferred to other municipalities (participant observation). They make a public opinion using these strategies like organising non- violence protests, debates.

6.2 Natteravnene's organization

Natteravnene (translated as Night Ravens) is a famous organisation in the Scandinavian countries. It is a volunteer organisation working for securing the society through patrolling the streets at night, to keep areas safe for all inhabitants. Natteravnene mentioned that they are a political and religious neutral grassroot level organisation (Natteravnene, 2017). Natteravnene has identified themselves as a humanitarian organisation which operates crime prevention together with the police and other NGOs. Natteravnene is based on the idea of ''sober adults present in cities and towns in the evening and night walks neutralising the violence and crime''(ibid). Natteravnene has a collaboration with the police. Volunteers cannot fix the problems themselves, they are merely watchers and helpers.

Natteravnene contributes to make a safer environment for children and young people in the area, and the volunteers of Natteravnene are wandering out in the streets during the night. They have a special care about children and young people by being present to them when they need help. Natteravnene volunteers are good observers, listeners, provide guidance and help when children and adolescents need to talk with someone. Natteravnen is a politically and religiously neutral organisation (Natteravnene, 2017)

Nattaravnene's membership is voluntary, and the members have to agree with lots of basic rules and principles. The volunteer wants to create security and well-being in their local

environment, if they wish to help create good social meeting places between young and old, if they want to get insight into the lives of children and wish to keep young people safe outside the walls from their homes. They also have to be sober and a responsible during the time they are volunteering for Natteravnene (ibid).

6.2.1 Natteravnene activities

Natteravnene is mainly focused on social security. Research data shows refugees are motivated to join Natteravnene, because they fear they will be discriminated from the drunken racist people. Moreover, many of the volunteers of Natteravnene are Norwegians, so this presents an opportunity for volunteer refugees to have conversations with Norwegians, practice Norwegian and make new friends. Furthermore, this voluntary work adds value to their CV, as well as social recognition and get to know the city better.

I personally participated in the Natteravnene activities for the purpose of observing the activities. Most of the adult volunteers have volunteered for Natteravnene for years. Before volunteers start their activities (walking in the city), they divide the volunteers into groups and give instructions.

*"Even though I am a Norwegian, I am also new to Kristiansand, and it is an opportunity for me to get to know the city better. I am from northern Norway, there are so many new things for me to learn from southern Norway" (*Norwegian volunteer).

"We help drunk people find a taxi. Sometime people drink near to the sea and try to harm themselves or fight with others. As our volunteers are walking in every corner of the city, we keep a special attention to that area. If they see something dangerous or inappropriate, we call the police" (Volunteer of Natteravnene).

"Natteravnene volunteers, especially Norwegians, are very friendly. Older volunteers who have more experience, tell other volunteers how to talk with people and behave as a Natteravnene volunteer. Such as smile with people and talk with them. If someone asks for help or if volunteers see anybody needs help, volunteers can ask for assistant from the police" (Refugee volunteer of Natteravnene).

Volunteers are not allowed to bring alcohol when they are volunteering. Natteravnene volunteers help to clean the environment. Most Norwegians go clubbing at social gathering on Friday and Saturday nights. Usually this ends up spoiling the environment. Natteravnene

volunteers help to clean the environment by throwing the beer cans and bottles into garbage bins (participant observation).

According to my observations, refugees get very few opportunities to hear a praise and positive comments from the host society. One of the best benefits that volunteers can gain as a Natteravnene volunteer is that many local Norwegians appreciate their time and effort by saying thank you, giving high fives and smiles.

6.3 KIA international organisation

"Kristent Interkulturelt Arbeid" (KIA) is a voluntary and non-profit organisation, one of Norway's first and the largest nationwide organisations in the immigrant field (KIA, 2017). KIA established in 1947 with the collaboration of various churches. Their vision is a multicultural society, in the church and the society. The main objectives of KIA are supporting more multicultural communities, promote equality, caring and friendship among all people in Norway, regardless of the cultural background, language or religion. Regardless of the cultural background, KIA wants to make Norway a warm and welcoming country for everyone. "*Vår visjon er et flerkulturelt fellesskap, i kirke og samfunn. Vi gjør Norge varmere!"* (KIA, 2017).

KIA has linked up with the management of the refugee camps in Kristiansand and they organize different events at the refugee camps. The overall aim is to build a multicultural society and make friendship with people of different nationalities, which helps refugees to be more social and be able practice Norwegian. The KIA organisation has its own religious purpose, as it is a Christian organisation. KIA Norway is active in six regions around the country and Kristiansand is one of them.

KIA receives funding from the state budget. They apply for grants from the grants scheme for non-profit organizations in the health and social field for 2018.They also apply for grants from the municipality budget, but still KIA lacks funding possibilities (ibid).

KIA arranges different programmes and activities for their members. KIA international arranges programs, Norwegian language training cafes, multicultural choirs, football matches and Norwegian language lessons. They believe there is no better way to get to know people than going on tours, hiking, and enjoying food together. Which is why KIA organizing an international dinner event once a month. KIA has links to the refugee camps, and they organize different events in the refugee camps, which helps refugees to be more social and to practice the Norwegian language.

Other than these major activities, KIA builds a public opinion on refugees' rights. There was an unfair treatment of young asylum seekers in Norway (KIA, 2017). Most of the asylum seeker children get an opportunity to stay in Norway until they turn eighteen, for which they can be deported back to their countries. KIA discussed this issue in their general assembly, and they see it as a sign of poor integration in Norway (Ibid).

6.3.1 How the CBOs address the challenges for refugees

CBOs give an opportunity for refugees to widen their social network. Therefore, some active members join several CBOs, to increase the amount of opportunities they can get.

According to my research data, asylum seekers are the most vulnerable immigrants in the host country. Asylum seekers get the least attention in the integration process, even though there are asylum seekers who stay nearly a decade in Norway. These asylum seekers gain the most benefits from CBOs as they have the fewest opportunities to practice the Norwegian language and to participate in social events. They can be a volunteer or a member of CBOs, to make friends, practice the Norwegian language and to get to know the city during their stay in the host country.

Some of the refugee women have never spoken in public, as they didn't get any opportunities to speak in their public life. Being a member of the organization gives them an opportunity to be a public speaker.

Some CBOs have identified the food table as one of the best places to build friendship and social connections. Cooking food from different cultures helps members understand different cultures, and it increase the harmony among members. Most refugees and Norwegian people participate in these events. Some people like to taste different cultural dishes. It brings opportunities for refugees to expand their social contacts.

"*My daughter's class teacher told her to learn the recipe of a Norwegian cake. But I do not know how to make that. So, I suggested to make a Norwegian cake in our next meeting*" (Somalian refugee).

"*Today we are eating traditional Norwegian food, soup, bread and potatoes. I know it is bit boring food for you. But our forefathers ate this traditional food. Norway was a poor country*

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before we discovered oil. So, these simple meals do not cost much, but it is nutritious" (Norwegian volunteer).

It shows CBOs give an opportunity for refugees to learn the history and traditions of Norwegian culture.

"*Today we are eating Sri Lankan food. In Sri Lanka, we eat with our hands. For us it tastes better this way"* (Sri Lankan participant). This allows refugees and Norwegians to get to know better other cultures, and to respect each other's culture.

CBOs arrange hiking, day and cabin trips, camping, outdoor activities and skating. These activities are expensive and difficult to afford for refugees. Most non-western refugees do not have much information and knowledge about many Norwegian outdoor activities and sports, as most of them do not have these prior experiences. CBOs give them an opportunity to enjoy these events with experienced Norwegian volunteers. Refugees find ways to explore Norway and Norwegian culture through these programs.

"*On the way to hiking, they are talking about Norwegian cultures and their cultures, and compare the cultures and admire good and bad, and the difference of the cultures. It creates them to make new friends*" (Syrian refugee).

CBOs help refugees to be more positive about their lives. LUNAR's women group starts every meeting by asking about what positive things they have experienced the week prior. Some of the participants have less positive things to talk about, and some do not see any positive things in the week, but when other participants say mention a small positive experience to the group, such as: "*It was a sunny yesterday, I feel happy" (Iraqi refugee).* This helps other participants admire the little things in life (participant observation).

Refugees get a chance to talk about their problems in the CBOs. There are some asylum seekers who did not get permission to stay in Norway, even though they stayed in Norway for many years. CBOs arrange some events to give a voice to these asylum seekers. CBOs get to gather these kinds of social issues. Therefore, CBOs are working as a pressure group for the government and the policy making process.

Some CBOs give more opportunities for refugees to use their skills. Refugees from different cultures have different kinds of skills. Knitting, sewing, painting mehendi, African hair styles, martial arts and baking different baked goods. They can share their knowledge and teach it to

other participants who are from another culture. It helps others to experience new things and culture.

CBOs are one of the best way to find friends, as it is not easy to find friends in a new culture. They need to be able to have a conversation with people from the host society. Saying "hi" and "goodbye" is not a conversation that leads to finding long term friends. When people go for cabin trip and hikes, it creates an opportunity for people to have a conversation with each other, and to get to know better. It is a good way for refugees and immigrants to find friends.

Being a volunteer or a member of an organisation, gives an opportunity for refugees to find good references for their CVs. Referents also get to know the individual refugees' attitudes, their capacities, skills, teamwork abilities in the activities, and it helps refugees to find a Norwegian reference from a CBO.

It is important that refugees get an opportunity to talk with Norwegians to gain insight and tips in getting a job, as most Norwegians know about the capacities, places to work, part time jobs and the future job market requirements.

"We will have a meeting with NAV, they will inform us who is eligible to register and how they are working for unemployed people" (LUNAR meeting participant observation).

"There will be more jobs available in the healthcare sector and the kindergarten, maybe you can select to study something related to this (Norwegian volunteer).

"Eating and talking is not everything we want. We need some tips to be employed. I think being economically independent can solve all the problems we have" (Somalian refugee).

The activities that are organised by selected CBOs help refugees gain answers to the problems they face in their everyday lives for my research, LUNAR has had their major focus on social networking. Natteravnene is working on creating a safer environment during the night-time in the city, for which refugees also benefit from. KIA international has a religious purpose, but their intention is to welcome immigrants and help them.

Chapter seven: Concluding remark

This chapter presents a summary of the main study findings and analytical contributions to the challenges that refugees face in their everyday life and how the CBOs' address those challenges through their social integration programmes and activities. The study has attempted to reveal the importance of CBOs in refugee's social integration process in Kristiansand, Norway.

As I stated earlier chapters, the refugee crisis is increasing in the world due to different reasons and Europe has received a significant number of refugees recently. The state has the responsibility of integrating refugees into their society. However, refugees face several challenges in the host country due to different reasons. I have explored the challenges that refugees face in Kristiansand municipality, Norway. CBOs support the municipality to successfully integrate refugees in the municipality. Therefore, I have selected LUNAR, KIA international and Natteravnene organisation in Kristiansand with the objectives of better integration and safer society for everyone.

The data collected pertained to issues about What difficulties do refugees experience in their everyday life? How do these challenges relate to lack of social integration with the host society and lack of social capital? How does the CBOs design their projects and programs to address the challenges of refugees?

7.1 Approaches

Recognizing the challenges of refugee's everyday life and the contribution of CBOs' program and activities to help refugees. The qualitative case study methodological approach was employed to achieve this end. The emphasis was recounting on their views and reflections. This was achieved through semi ethnographical study and semi-structured interviews; active participant observations were used as data collection methods. A snowballing sampling technique was particularly adapted to identify informants for the study. In all, the flexibility of the chosen methodology helped to produce coherence between the chosen theories and analysis of the field data.

The concepts of social integration, Berry's acculturative theories, Ager and Strang's refugee integration model, Putnam's social capital theory as well as views of Fukuyama's on the

social trust in his social capital were reviewed as the theoretical framework to study the social integration of the refugees.

7.2 Findings

One major finding of this study is that there are several challenges which refugees face in Norway. Previous researchers also found that refugees face challenges in the host country, especially in psychological terms (Thulesius & Hakansson, 1999; Berry et al., 1987). According to them, refugees have faced several traumatic experiences in their home countries and because of that refugees are suffering from both pre-migration and post-migration stresses. Therefore, they need strong social connections with the host country, as it feels they belong to host culture (Ager & Strang, 2004).

The findings from this research indicates that refugees like to have more social contacts with Norwegians and keep the friendship, but they have lack of opportunities and difficulties to make good Norwegian friends and neighbours (Valenta, 2008).

Another interesting finding, I have found is refugees from non-western countries face many difficulties in the host country because of their nationality. Some nationalities have a bad impression of the host culture and some other ethnic groups (Fangen, 2006). The research data indicate that darker skin refugees face invisible discrimination and mistrust from the host society than lighter skinned refugees. Another special finding, I have found is an increment of non-western refugees made a fear of lack of social security in the host society.

I have observed that fluency of Norwegian language and has the dialect of the region has increased refugees' opportunities and it is a one of the major measurement for Norwegians to have an idea of the refugee's integration level. In addition, Norwegians use their language (New Norwegian, Norwegian dialects, Standard Norwegian (bokmål)) to discriminate and disqualified refugees in the Norwegian job market. One of my research participants explained how did the Norwegian language discriminate her in the Norwegian job market.

«When I went to the job interview they asked several questions from me and I answered them well. I learned Norwegian at the University of Bergen and I passed the Bergen Norwegian language test, which is the foreigner can show his/her fluency in Norwegian. Then They asked that do I speak New Norwegian. Many Norwegians also found that new Norwegian is difficult

for them as well. I felt the interview board wanted to tell me indirectly that their job is only for a local Norwegian» (Bosnian research participant).

Refugee women who stuck to their cultural practices in Norway have close connection with their home countries family members, same ethnic group people as well as their ethnic community-based organisations, religious organisations in the host country.

Refugees also lack opportunities to enjoy the Norwegian winter as they do not know the winter sports. Moreover, Norwegians appreciate the refugees who knows the winter sports as some of the winter sports like skiing has become a proud of Norwegian culture.

According to my research findings asylum seekers who have stayed more years in Norway have more challenges in their everyday life, as they are not eligible to access many of the welfare facilities they require. Asylum seekers feel their stay is more difficult and uncertain. Not only the parents, but also their children also face difficulties in their schools and everyday lives. It seems they do not have their basic human rights as to move inside the country. As some of them have stayed more than nine years in Norway, they have been experiencing these difficulties over decades. The asylum seekers who have stayed in the host country for many years, have faced more difficulties and psychological problems (Laban et al., 2004; SSB, 2017).

I wanted to find the CBO contribution for addressing the challenges of refugees through their programmes and activities. As a result, I selected three CBOs in Kristiansand name as KIA, Natteravnene and LUNAR as case studies to find how they address the challenges of refugees through their programmes and activities. The analysis of the field data, especially interviews from the refugees showed that they were utilizing the available opportunities in the society and they have found CBOs as one of the major ways to support them in the society in different ways.

LUNAR has its major focus on social networking, Natteravnene is working for making a safer environment in the city at night times, but still refugees get benefits from that, KIA international has a religious purpose but they have an intention to welcome immigrants and help them.

An interesting finding of the study is CBOs arranging cultural activities, international dinners to create harmony between the host society and multicultural refugees and immigrants. They cook different foods from different cultures, potluck dinners and international dinners.

Specially KIA and LUNAR arrange these events. It helps refugees to understand other cultures and meet new friends.

The CBOs are arranging language classes. KIA is arranging Norwegian language classes for immigrants. They have a special focus on refugees and asylum seekers. As more asylum seekers are not eligible to participate in the language course sponsored by the municipality, they can learn the language from the CBOs' programmes.

Another interesting finding, I have found is as refugees need to practice the Norwegian with locals and have conversations with them. Three of the organisations are; KIA, LUNAR, Natteravnene, gave an opportunity for refugees to make new friends and keep the friendship.

In addition, CBOs' give an opportunity to experience Norwegian cultural activities like cabin trips, winter sports and hiking, which is an opportunity for them to learn the Norwegian culture with locals. Especially LUNAR and KIA arranges these events. Doing activities together allows having a good friendship (Ager & Strang, 2004).

I have found that CBOs give a voice to refugee problems such as deporting them back to their countries and moving asylum seekers to other municipalities. Specially KIA and LUNAR organised this peaceful protest and make a public opinion using social media.

As more refugees and locals are afraid about the security with the increment of immigrants From Norway, it seems to increase mistrust on refugees, as well as refugees also has a fear of discrimination from the locals. Therefore, both of the groups tend to contribute to the safer society, refugees tend to be volunteers of the organisation and it gives them an opportunity to meet new people and have a conversation with locals and get to know the city better. Some of the strategies of the states, refugee integration has a better purpose of the integration. My research data showed refugees receive their homes in some specific areas of the municipality, which is recognised as immigrants only areas. It gives them less recognition and isolated in the society.

Some of the new findings that I have identified from my research data are, social integration is the foundation for other integrations, it increases the employability, a voice for refugees also has politics as it pressures the current government to reconsider their immigration policy.

Social integration seems of the best way to integrate as it allows the refugees to keep some of their cultures and learn host cultural practices, but at the same time, they have to take more of the Norwegian tradition and keep less of their host cultural traditions.

Some CBOs who organise social integration activities have religious purposes, but still, it helps refugees from other religious backgrounds and it gives a voice for all the refugee's rights. But some refugees tend to change their religion as a part of their integration as refugees feel they belong more to the host culture, it increases the opportunities too.

Joining to Natteravnene help both host culture and refugees to keep the society secure and take care of their own people. Prejudices also cause for them to join in the organisation as both groups have mistrust on each other, but it creates an opportunity to reduce mistrust and prejudgments and increase their self-esteem.

Having a separate activity for only women gives an opportunity for non-western women to be more social in the host society. CBOs are not working only as a way to find friends but also keep the friendship. Language is playing a key role in the integration and fluent in Norwegian and have a dialect is one of the major criteria for measuring the integration level as well as it is one of the discriminating factors in a job market.

Although, being a member of CBOs gives more opportunities, but according to my observation more refugees do not feel that the social activities are not much important as they want to find a job and earn money in the beginning. However, most of them understand the importance of social connections when they fail to find jobs in the Norwegian job market. According to my opinion, municipalities integration programmes and institutes, like refugee centres and the language course institutes should give more information and why it is more important to be a member of CBOs.

7.3 Limitations of the study

As I mentioned in my methodology chapter, I have faced two limitations in this research. The language was one of the limitations for me. While some of the participants have problems of expressing their feelings in English and I did not speak Norwegian, I had to get the help of a translator to overcome the challenge, but still, there was a limitation as there was a possibility to lose the information. I had a limitation of reading Norwegian published articles on refugee integration. Therefore, I used only English published articles and books.

Time was also a limitation of my research. As I selected ethnography as research design It needs more than one year to stay in the research field. Even it was a limitation I selected mini

ethnography which allows researcher to stay in the research field few months. Therefore, I could collect the data in six months.

7.4 Recommendations for future study

As there is a lack of research done on refugee social integration and the importance of the CBOs in refugee social integration, I had to do more researches on this to find necessary literature. As there is a lack of literature on the importance of CBOs for refugee integration future researches can focus more on the areas like challenges of second generation refugees, psychological well-being of refugees and the role of CBOs, Women and children in refugee integration, asylum seekers challenges in the host society, CBOs role and asylum seekers. Finally, there is a lack of attention on social integration than other integration, such as economic integration, but the social integration needs more attention in the successful integration process in the host society and CBOs should get more support from the state and the municipalities to strengthen their activities and programmes.

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Ontology, Epistemology And Axiology In Quantitative And Qualitative Research: Elucidation Of The Research Philophical Misconception Aliyu Ahmad Aliyu1 , Ibrahim Musa Singhry1 , Haruna Adamu1 And Mu'awuya Muhammad Abubakar1 1department Of Estate Management And Valuation, Faculty Of Environmental Technology, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa University, Bauchi, P.M.B. 0248, Bauchi, Bauchi State, Nigeria

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