UNIVERSITETET I AGDER

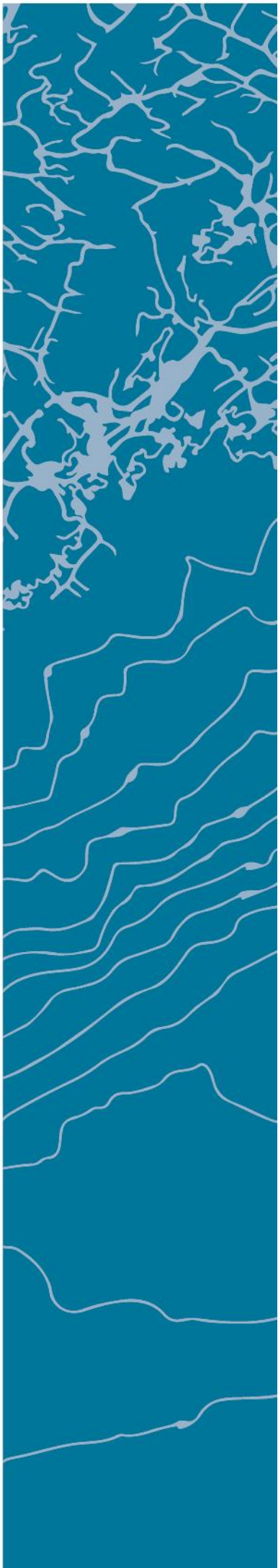
Community-Based Organisations' Role in Refugee Integration

A Case Study in Kristiansand, Norway.

Hirosha Lakmali Kalupe

Supervisors
Hanne Haaland & Hege Wallevik

University of Agder, 2018
Faculty of Social Sciences
Department of Global Development and Planning



UNIVERSITETET I AGDER

Exploring the Role of Community-Based Organisations in Refugee Integration

A case study of three selected CBOs in Kristiansand, Norway

By
Hirosha Lakmali Kalupe

Supervisors
Hanne Haaland & Hege Wallevik

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.

University of Agder, 2018
Faculty of Social Sciences
Department of Global Development and Planning

Abstract

Refugees is one of the major concentration of the world without considering the borders or economic level of the country. Recently, Europe also has received large number of refugees. Norway has also received many refugees from conflict zones recently. When refugees arrive to the host country it is the country responsibility to start and conduct the refugee integration process. Norway has its own refugee integration plan, and municipalities are given more responsibilities in refugee integration process. I have selected the Kristiansand municipality as my research area which is one of the municipalities in Norway which have received many refugees. Refugees as forced migrants, face different kinds of challenges in their everyday life. I wanted to explore what these challenges were for refugees in Kristiansand, and research how the community-based organisations (hereby known as CBO) helps to address the challenges of refugees with their programmes and activities. I have selected three CBOs in Kristiansand: LUNAR's women's group in Kristiansand, Natteravnene organisation and KIA organisation Kristiansand. I used qualitative research methodology to find answers to my research questions. Ethnographic data collection method was used in order to collect the data. The challenges of refugees which I found during my fieldwork, have been categorised into three major themes: A feeling of lack of belonging to the Norwegian society, feeling lack of safety and the stress of maintaining their own cultural identity and family responsibilities. As I discovered, the selected CBOs try to help refugees, especially on increasing their social capital. Three of the organisations give refugees an opportunity to expand their social network, improve their language and to find friends. Refugees see these organisations as a good place for them to meet local Norwegians, and get to practice their Norwegian language skills. At the same time, they could find Norwegian references for their CV as well. As I have identified, some refugees join these organisations after they failed to find jobs in the Norwegian job market, as well as discovering the benefits they can gain and get from these CBOs. The majority of my research participants have identified CBOs as helpful in their everyday integration in Kristainsand, Norway.

Keywords: CBOs, Refugees, Refugee Integration and Social Capital

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank University of Agder (UIA) for giving me an opportunity to study the master program of Development management, and I would like to thank Dr Sumanarathne, head of the department of economics, University of Ruhuna, Sri Lanka, for granting me the scholarship to study in Norway.

I would also like to thank my two supervisors, Hanne Haaland and Hege Wallevek, for your invaluable guidance throughout my thesis. Both of you motivated and supported me psychologically, giving me invaluable comments, feedback and encouragement for me to be an independent thinker. I highly appreciate both of your feedback and the trust you kept of my work.

I would like to thank all the volunteers at LUNAR CBO, where I volunteered for two years. I cannot mention all the people by names here, but I am happy that all of you become good friends of mine. I especially thank May Linda Magnussen, Gullale Palani, Lene Mordal, Natalia Hefner, Amina Hijabi for being good friends to me and thank you for the support you gave me. I would also like to thank Jannik, Siv Iren, Ida for your support throughout the stay in Norway. Special thanks and appreciation to Mary K. Evjen Olsen and her family for giving me the sense of home in Norway. I would also like to thank Amir Arefjell Hayek, for your care and support, as well as help with proofreading of my thesis.

I wish to thank all of my informants and participants for sharing their honest thoughts with me. I acknowledge the trust you had in me when you shared your experiences, opinions and ideas.

Last, but not least, I would like to give my most sincere thanks to all of my friends, Especially my fellow students and friends in the master programme: Alhassan, Nulu, Andrea, Emma, Ronny, Deepika, Naomi, you all encouraged and supported me. My sincere friends Sasha, Aji, Gibran and Philemon, thank you for your friendship and motivation. Finally, I thank my family for all the support throughout my life. Especially my dad, my mom, my sister and brother, you always supported me. Thank you for everything.

Declaration by candidate

I, Hirosha Lakmali Kalupe, hereby declare that the thesis “CBOs role in refugee 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 May of 2018

Table of Contents

Table of Figures

Abbreviations and Acronyms

ABAYA	A full-lengh garment worn by some Muslim women
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AFD	Acculturative Family Distance
AUGUR	It is an international research project of the European Union
BSA	British Sociological Association
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CV	Curriculum - Vitae
ECBO	Ethnic Community Based Organisation
ESN	Erasmus Students Network
EU	European Union
HIJAB	A head covering worn in public by some Muslim women
ICMC Europe	International Catholic Migration Commission Europe
IMDi	The Directorate of Integration and Diversity (Integrerings og Mangfolds Directoratet)
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
KIA	Christian Intercultural Ministry (Kristent Interlkulturelt Arbeid)
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
LUNAR	Likestilling (Gender Equality), Utvikling (Development), Nettverk(Network), Aktivitet(Activities) og Relasjon(Relationship)
NESH	Norwegian National Committee for Research Ethics in a Social Sciences and Humanities
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
SSB	Statistical Norway (Statistisk Sentralbyrå)
UDI	The Norwegian Directorate of Immigration
UIA	University of Agder
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational , Social, Cultural Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

USA	United States of America

1 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This thesis is about the challenges and difficulties of refugees' everyday integration and the role of Community-Based Organisations (hereafter CBOs) in refugee integration, Kristiansand, Norway.

According to the 2016, UNHCR report, approximately 65 million people are displaced due to various reasons, such as ethnic conflicts, natural disasters (Østby, 2016). Most of the asylum seekers are coming from the conflict zones in Eritrea, Syria, Somalia, Sudan, Afghanistan and more than half of the asylum seekers in Norway in 2015, were from Syria (Østby, 2016). Hence, asylum seekers look for their destination in their attempt to live safely and many of them find their destination in Europe (ibid). One hundred and forty thousand people crossed the Mediterranean Sea in early March 2016, to seek asylum in European countries (ibid). Moreover, there were 1.3 million asylum requests recorded in European countries in 2016 (ibid).

Norway as a European country has received more asylum seekers over the last few years. According to the statistics, the highest immigration growth of Norway was in 2016 (SSB, 2017c). Most of the immigrants who go 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 and 3.6 per cent of the Norwegian population are refugees (SSB, 2017c ; Østby, 2016).

When the refugees arrive in a host country, integration becomes a domestic responsibility (ICMC Europe, 2007). 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 refugees, especially for non-western migrants who are the largest portion of refugees in Norway (SSB, 2016a). Accordingly, I am exploring how the CBOs address the challenges and difficulties that refugees' face in their everyday life in Norwa. Recent research has identified the importance of CBOs in successful refugee integration in Norway (Haaland & Wallevik, 2017).

CBOs also act as a type of Civil Society Organisation (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 organisations whose activities are based primarily on volunteer efforts. This means that 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; Chechetto-Salles et al., 2006). Therefore, I have focused on the CBOs who are working on refugee's social integration.

1.2 Problem Statement

Norway granted a resident permit for resettlement refugees, according to an agreement with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (UNHCR, 2018). Resettlement refugees are settled directly in the municipality when they arrive in Norway and the Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDi) cooperate along with the municipalities regarding the settlement process (IMDi, 2017). There is a national committee, which determines the need to settle newly arrived refugees and distribute them among different municipalities. This distribution is based on the municipality's population, qualification services, housing market and previous experience of settlement work. The national committee is chaired by IMDi representatives of the state and the representatives of the municipality. The municipality also receives an integration grant if they settle refugees and persons who have been granted a residence permit on humanitarian grounds. The integration grant covers the additional expenses of the resettling and integration programs in the municipality (Ministry of Justice and Public security, 2018). 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; Kristiansen, 2016).

My research area is the Kristiansand municipality in Norway, which received many asylum seekers over the last eight years (Kristiansen, 2016). However, in 2010, Kristiansand was voted as the best settlement city of the year (ibid). As refugee integration and resettlement becomes a municipality's responsibility, the municipality gets the support from the CSOs to success their refugee integration plans (ibid). There are different definitions of refugee integration. I have selected the definition of UNHCR to explain the integration in my research.

"*Integration requires a preparedness on the part of the refugees to adapt to the host society, without having to forego their own cultural identity. From the host society, it requires*

communities that are welcoming and responsive to refugees and public institutions that can meet the needs of a diverse population" (UNHCR, 2006).

The definition has emphasized how the host society has a major role to play in the refugee integration as refugees need to adapt to the new culture. Most of the refugees that arrive in Norway are from Non-western countries (Østby, 2015). Therefore, they face more cultural differences. Refugees in Norway have very different educational backgrounds, varying from no education at all to having a university degree (Council of Europe press, 1994:33). Within one or two months after arrival in Kristiansand, adult refugees are offered a programme of language training, social studies and labour training. The participation for the programme is compulsory but refugees from African and Arab countries often prefer to try to find a job instead (ibid). There are different aspects of aiming to achieve refugee integration in Kristiansand municipality, such as; training, qualifications, education, employment, living conditions and social mobility. There is major focus and importance has given to the civil society and local community (PwC on the refugee situation in Kristiansand, 2016 in Kristiansen, 2016).

I am going to focus on the challenges of the refugees in their everyday integration in Kristiansand, Norway, and how the Community Based Organisations (hereafter CBOs) address the challenges of the refugees through their programmes and activities.

1.3 Research Objectives and Research Questions

This research follows two inter-related objectives. One is to explore the difficulties that refugees are 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.

This study seeks to address the following research questions:

1. What difficulties do refugees experience in their everyday lives?
2. How do the CBOs address refugees' challenges through their programmes and activities?

1.4 Research Area

I used Kristiansand municipality in Southern Norway as my research area. Norway is located in Northern Europe, bordering Sweden, the North Sea and the North Atlantic Ocean. It has a population of about 5,053,500 (SSB, 2018). The Norwegian economy is a prosperous, mixed economy, with an exciting private sector, huge state sector and a wide social safety net. Scandinavian countries are popular destinations for refugees. As Scandinavia has reliable political institutions and the role of the state is comprehensive in terms of welfare politics, most migrants wish to have Scandinavia as their final destination (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012). Norway has a strong welfare system and the welfare state has been a central component in the national-building process in Norway after World War II (ibid). Accordingly, a legally established immigrant in Norway immediately has access to civil and social rights (Suszycki, 2011).

Norway has eleven regions and the Agder region is one of them. The Agder region includes both East Agder and West Agder. Kristiansand is the fifth largest city in Norway. The municipality of Kristiansand is the sixth largest one in Norway, with a population of 85,681 in 2014 (Kristiansand municipality, 2017). Kristiansand region is the district capital of the counties of West-Agder (population: 137,527) and East-Agder (population: 14,442) in southern Norway (ibid).

A few years ago, the Kristiansand municipality was named as the best city in Norway for children and teenagers to grow up in and it also became the best-resettled municipality in 2010 (Kristiansen, 2016). This recognition was given due to it having more crime prevention programs, the great diversity in cultural activities and many youth centres (ibid). The region is becoming increasingly multinational, with more than 160 nationalities represented in the city of Kristiansand alone (Kristiansand municipality, 2017). Kristiansand was recently also named as ***the best cultural city in Norway***, because of the municipality's strategic efforts to develop a broad range of cultural activities and there are about 75 volunteer organisations in the Kristiansand municipality (ibid).

I selected the Kristiansand municipality as my research area because it matched well with my research objectives. As Kristiansand is one of the municipalities which receive more than the average number of refugees in Norway, I could find many refugees from different cultural backgrounds there. In addition, the Kristiansand municipality emphasizes the role of local community organisations, NGOs and the civil society in the refugee integration process

(Kristiansen, 2016). Therefore, it was easy for me to select three CBOs who are working for refugee social integration.

Figure 1: Kristiansand Municipality

Source: Google map (2017).

1.5 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). But, I found there is less attention to the host society CBOs in refugee integration. Therefore, this research will show the importance of the local CBOs in the successful refugee integration.

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 the responsibility of different sectors of the society. Local policies of refugee integration make it possible to have interaction between the immigrants and the local people in the host society. Hence, the local integration policy should combine the top-down activation model with bottom-up mobilization (ibid). Therefore, CBOs can be identified as an effective part of the refugee integration.

1.6 Methodology in Brief

I selected qualitative methodology for my study and case study research design. In this research, I focus on three main CBOs which have different approaches (directly or indirectly) to refugee integration in the Kristiansand municipality. They are as follows;

1. LUNAR's women's group in Kristiansand (A local CBO in Kristiansand)
2. Natteravnene Kristiansand (Translated as Night Ravens, a community organisation)
3. KIA Kristiansand (Christian intercultural work- Kristent Interkulturelt Arbeid)

I selected the research sample through my personal contacts and snowballing sampling methods. I used ethnography as my major data collection method. The Ethnographic fieldwork included two major data collection techniques: participant observations and unstructured interviews. The data has been analysed using qualitative analysis and I used thematic analysis for that.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

According to the research objectives, questions and the corresponding empirical data, I have selected four theories, helpful for analysing my data; theories of acculturative stress (Berry, 1997), Ager and Strang's refugee integration model (2008), Putnam's social capital theory (2000) and Fukuyama's views on social capital theory (emphasis on social trust) (1995). The challenges that refugees face in their everyday lives can be explained by the acculturative theories. Lack of social networks and social life can make refugees more susceptible to post-migration stress (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1996; McMichael & Manderson, 2004). Therefore, I find Berry's (1997) acculturative stress theory as relevant to my reserach question. As I found that CBOs can contribute towards facilitating social networking and friendship building for refugees within the host community, and as such, help to reduce much stress many refugees

may experience. Research shows that the increase of social activities, social capital and networks can reduce the acculturative stress of the refugee. I also apply Putnam's perspective on social capital (Putnam, 2000), which explains bridging, bonding and networks in the society. Even Putnam's social capital theory (2000) noted about reciprocity and trust he does not explain much about the social trust which I find relevant for this research. Thus, I have also added Fukuyama's views (1995) on the social trust in the 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.

1.8 Key Terms and Definitions

The following concepts are defined as such, to make their usage clear 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: 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 the 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, 2018).

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

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

Refugee integration: The term "refugee integration" has different definitions. I use the definition applied by the IOM (2018), *refugee integration as a two-way process of mutual adaptation by migrants and host societies* (IOM, 2018).

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

CBO- *CBOs are generally organized to directly address the immediate concerns of their members and it provides social services on a local level. It is a non-profit organisation whose activities are 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; Chechetto-Salles et al., 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, 2018).

Western Refugee- Refugees from the Europen region (ex: Bosnia, Kosovo).

Non-Western Refugee- Refugees from outside of the Europen region.

1.9 Thesis outline

The study is presented in seven chapters:

Chapter One. Introduction: Here, I present the problem statement, the clarification of the main objective and research questions and the study area.

Chapter Two. Conceptual Background and Context Elaboration: In this chapter, I 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 and rationale behind the selected theories

Chapter Four. Methodology*:* Presents the description and justification of the methodology applied in this 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. Particularly, in this section, I am discussing the major challenges I found out 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.

2 CHAPTER TWO: CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT ELABORATION

2.1 Integration in Norway

The population in Norway was about 5.2 million at the beginning of 2017, and among them were 725,000 immigrants (SSB, 2017a). Immigrants have different reasons for moving to Norway and the number of asylum seekers has increased in Norway recently. In 2016, there were 199,400 people with a refugee background who were living in Norway (SSB, 2017e). Most of the asylum seekers and refugees in Norway have non-western backgrounds. Moreover, the largest portion of refugees in Norway are from Somalia and second and third places go to Iraq and Eritrea (SSB, 2016a). Moreover, almost all municipalities have people with refugee backgrounds and there were people with refugee background in 416 out of the country's 428 municipalities (ibid). But, Norway does not have a specific legal basis for refugee resettlement, but the Norwegian immigration act of 2008 provides general criteria for the resettlement process (ICMC Europe, 2013). However, Norway allocates sixty per cent of the refugee quota for women and girls because females are more vulnerable to war and armed conflict (ibid). Moreover, once refugees are 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 criteria to measure this by, i.e. having more Norwegian friends, engaging in social activities and collaborating with host culture citizens, speaking Norwegian, the ability to participate in economic activities. CBOs support refugees so they 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. They do this by providing clothes, utensils and language training programs, and 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 on making an 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 the municipalities' capacities and economic resources. Hence, once they agree to take a certain number of refugees, it becomes a municipality's responsibility for hosting and integrating 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, IMDi was established in 2006 to act as a competence centre and a driving force for integration and diversity (IMDi, 2017). IMDi has its regional offices in all regions of the country. Accordingly, the directorate cooperates with immigrant organisations/groups, municipalities, government agencies and the private sector. It provides advice and implements government policies, helping refugees to resettle in the municipalities and it often places refugees from the same or similar ethnic or minority groups into 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., 2008:10). 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., 2008:10).

According to Berry's social and psychological approach (Berry, 1997), 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; Phillimore, 2011). As dominant cultures have more power than non-dominants (Berry, 1997), the 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, Bosnians have been perceived as "*champion*s" of integration, because it was easy for them to adapt to the new culture, as they are familiar with European culture (SSB, 2017d).

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 support to adapt to the host culture and take on 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 as refugee integration (Castles et al., 2001: 112–113). It can be viewed as a two-way process of mutual adaptation by migrants and host societies (IOM, 2018).

There are more definitions and explanations of refugee integration in the literature and it can quickly get confusing. It is not only because the authors use different terms to refer to 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 to the process (HCI, 1991:18 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 disquieted 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 trust and security is the key to a 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 are not used to having 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 in 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: 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, 1997). 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, 1997). 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: 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, 1997:116).

Most definitions of social integration describe the social relationships between the new group and the host society (Marshall, 1994: 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 refugees social integration. (Spencer, 2003: 07).

In this research, I have special focus on refugees' social integration. As I have understood it, social integration is a feeling refugee has or gets, when they feel a sense of belonging to the host community. This seems to occur in Norwegian society when they get more Norwegian friends, social networks and become active participants 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: 09; Westermeyer, 1989: 28). Sometimes policy-makers use the word "integration" in place of, rather than in contrast to assimilation (Brunner, Hyndman & Mountz, 2014: 84), but 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 the disappearance of 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, 2014). Hence, some researchers argue that both the host society and refugees adapt to each other, in their own way (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.

People's social lives are dependent 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 and social relations enhance the social capital as well as it illustrates the social cohesion (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). When refugees have more sources for social networking, they can build more social relationships and expand their social network. CBOs have identified the social support network as a great source for refugees to enhance their social connections (Brunner et al., 2014).

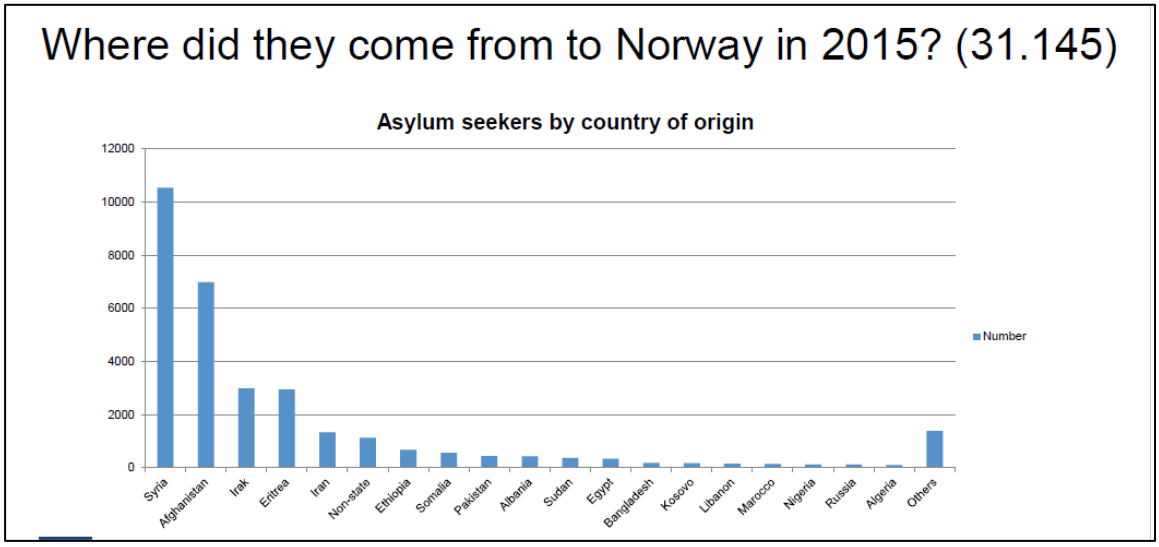
In the next chapter, I will explain the theoretical background that I have used in the research.

3 CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 Introduction

The major intention of this research is to identify the challenges that refugees face in their everyday lives and how the CBOs support refugees to overcome the challenges through their programs and activities. In this chapter, I will explain the theories I have chosen for this research, and to show clearly the importance of social connections, social integration, social networks and social trust.

Figure 2: Refugee Arrival in Norway



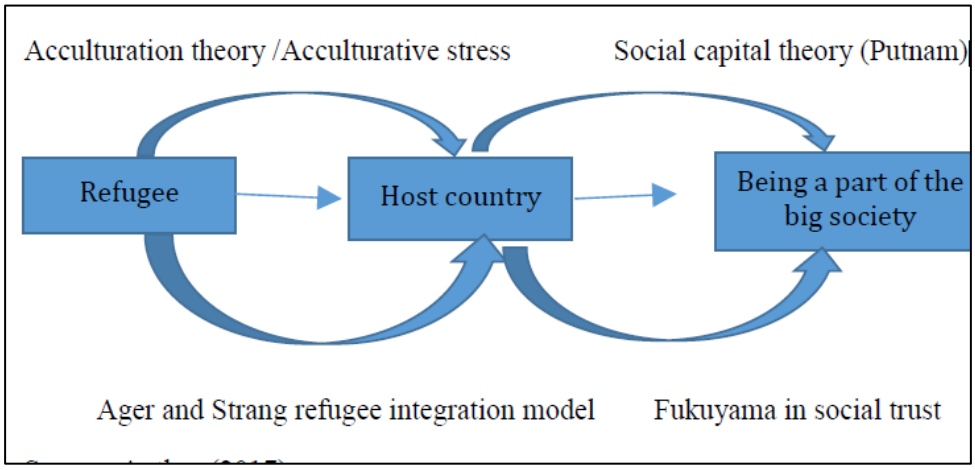
Source: Kristiansen (2016).

As I had 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 more challenges, as they have experienced traumatic experiences and because of that, they have higher psychological problems, including acculturative 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 support from the host society, helps support them to overcome the post-migration and pre-migration stresses (Boscarino, 1995; Solomon et al, 1991). In this research, I am using a few

theories, according to the research objectives, and I am also going to discuss how the CBOs assist refugees to overcome the challenges they face in their everyday lives.

I will use Ager and Strang's refugee integration model (2008) in my research because it explains core domains of the integration. In addition, I will use Berry's theory of acculturation stress (1997), which explains the reasons for acculturative stress among refugees. As I intend to emphasise the importance of social connections, I will use Putnam's social capital theory (2000), which has more about the consequences of social bonds, bridges, and social ties. Moreover, I wanted to explain about social trust, as it is the key to social integration and the expansion of the social network. Hence, I use Fukuyama's views on social trust and social capital (1995).

Figure 3: Theories of the Research



Source: (Author, 2017)

Figure 03, explains the major theories and models I am using in my research and how they are linked with my research problem.

3.1 Berry's Acculturative Stress

Stress can be defined as a pressure or strain due to environmental demands, with physical, emotional or psychological risks (Berry et al., 1987). Acculturation stress is also a type of stress, and it happens during the process of learning to adapt to a new culture; individuals, families and groups, experience substantial stress and it's labelled as acculturative stress (Thomas and Choi, 2006: 124). Wei et al. (2007: 386), define acculturative stress, "*as a stress reaction in response to life events, that are rooted in the experiences of acculturation, the psychological difficulties in adapting to a new culture, or psychological stressors resulting from unfamiliarity*

with new customs and social norms". The acculturative stress framework has been conceptualised for immigrants and refugee populations (Williams & Berry, 1991; Thomas, 1995). Refugees who are forced migrants have acculturative stress higher than other types of migrants (Kirmayer et al., 2011). Cultural contact and change inevitably lead to stress (Berry & Annis, 1974 in Thomas and Choi, 2006: 125).

There are different challenging adaptations which are increasing the effect of acculturative stress among immigrants (Berry, 1997). They have the burden of learning a new language, adapting to the new culture and society. Acculturation stress is defined as a reduction of the health status of individuals, who are undergoing acculturation, and for which there is evidence that health phenomenon is related systematically to acculturation phenomena (Berry et al., 1987: 491).

According to Berry, the socio-economic status before acculturation, the nature of the larger society, the type of acculturation group, mode of acculturation is some of them. If the nature of the larger society is homogeneous and does not have much multi-culture or multi-religious, it will be a bit difficult for the refugees to adapt to the new society and it can increase the acculturative stress. At the same time, the type of the acculturation group, which is not multi-cultural, or religious, they also face many troubles and suffer from more acculturative stress. As there are four modes of acculturation, integration, is the acculturative mode which has the least stress (Berry, 1997) and assimilation gives the most stress. Integration is valuing one's own culture, while at the same time interacting with the host culture and assimilation, on the other hand, is giving up one's original culture in favour of the host culture (Berry, 2003 in Thomas & Choi, 2006). Therefore, integration causes less acculturative stress compared to assimilation.

The process of acculturation is acknowledged to be stressful and can be associated with social and psychological problems (Berry, 1997 in Phillimore, 2011: 579). Moreover, the level of stress can increase, with the lack of the host societies supports, the pressure to adapt so quickly, and the seriousness of their pre-traumatic situation (Phillimore, 2011: 579). Lack of social support, the pressure to adapt quickly to the host society, and the inability to follow the desired strategy, are causes for acculturative stress (Phillimore, 2011). Berry (1997) argues that the 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, 2011). Especially for non-Western society immigrants, such as South Asia, Middle Eastern immigrants

face many difficulties in the western societies, such as Canada and European countries (Nashwan, 2014; Thomas and Choi, 2006).

According to psychologists, when an individual becomes a part of another culture, they change both culturally and psychologically in various ways and they named this process as acculturation. The literal meaning of acculturation is, "*move towards a culture"* (Berry, 1997). 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 (1997), 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 the acculturation group and the characteristics of the acculturating individual, have an effect on the stress levels of refugees. Another factor is the dominant society, which exerts its acculturative influences. There are assimilationist societies and pluralist societies (Berry, 1997). When refugees go to assimilationist societies, refugees get more stress, because the minority's language and religion do not have much importance in their society (ibid).

Individuals also use their own strategies to reduce the stress. These strategies can be described as coping devices; expanding social contacts, and telling their problems to friends (Kim et al., 2012). Furthermore, social support and social networking are important to release acculturative stress. According to Berry (1997), the supportive relationships of the migrant, with both networks in their own heritage and culture, and networks within the receiving societies, predict the successful adaptation of each individual. If the receiving societies have more opportunities which provide social support, express tolerance and acceptance for the newcomers, the individual might experience an easier acculturation process. Some policies of the receiving society also affect the level of acculturative stress (Phillimore, 2011). According to Phillimore (2011), the laws, regulations and policies of the host society, also can increase the acculturative stress among refugees and asylum seekers. Berry and Sabatier (2011), highlight that the policies promoted in a country, affect the acculturation strategies and attitudes of migrants.

Non-western refugees experience more stress in western countries, because almost everything they experience, such as environment, culture, and language, are so different from their home culture. Some of the challenges they experience are intergenerational conflict, discrimination, depression, and inability to cope (Samuel, 2009). Acculturation Family Distance (AFD) also increases the acculturative stress (Hwang, 2006). When the cultures are strict, it also makes for

some difficulties and increases the acculturative stress. For example, South Asian families are stricter when it comes to marriage and dating, and it creates conflict between the generations and increases acculturative stress (Samuel, 2005). Discrimination also increases acculturative stress (Allport, 1954). However, the current view is that the level of stress depends on a number of factors such as acculturation attitudes, the phase of acculturation, and cultural pluralism in the host society (Krishnan & Berry, 1992; Berry 1997). Immigrants who feel marginalized and maintain a separation from both their ethnic culture and the host culture, tend to be more highly stressed (Thomas & Choi, 2006).

Therefore, researchers realise the importance of finding ways to cope, to relieve the acculturative stress. High social support is required for releasing the stress, such as talking with friends, social support from the host country and the social organisations (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Pearlin, 1989). Acculturative stress requires the host society to provide strong social support (Thomas & Choi, 2006; Park, 2000). Several researchers examined social support systems and protective processes during adolescence (Fukuyama, 1995; Garnefski & Diekstra, 1996; Garmezy, 1993; Gore & Eckenrode, 1996; Hoffman et al., 1988).

However, the idea that support from the social network acts a buffer for stress, was not supported by Salgado de Snyder (1987) on Mexican immigrant women. The researchers identified five sub-areas from which adolescents generally receive social support, namely, support from friends, support from parents, support from religious organisations, support from social organisations, and support from cultural associations. (Thomas and Choi, 2006). Williams and Berry (1991: 75) found that "*societal disintegration*" occurs when previously learned cultural norms are not found in the new culture and the change creates a personal crisis. They also discovered the negative effects of acculturative stress; including anxiety, depression, somatic complaints, identity confusion, feelings of marginality, and identity confusion.

Williams and Berry (1991: 635) identified specific pre-existing factors that can lead to higher or lower levels of acculturative stress, including the ability to speak the new dominant language, prior knowledge of the culture, motives for contact, attitudes towards acculturation, level of education, values, and self-esteem. Furthermore, the type of contact and the level of contact can also mediate acculturative stress (Sirin et al., 2014). For example, positive contacts with the host society can lead to reduced levels of acculturative stress. Other research has also found that social support from friends, families, and or social institutions can reduce acculturative stress (Hovey, 2000; Thomas 34 & Choi, 2006; Wei et al., 2007; Williams & Berry, 1991). Hovey (2000), found a connection between the lack of language proficiency and acculturative

stress. When refugees started to cope with the acculturative stress through the social support, they experienced benefits such as increased opportunities in the new country and a reduction in acculturative stress (Hovey, 2000; Hovey & Magana; 2003; Williams & Berry, 1991).

However, resettlement states must offer refugees the support and opportunities they require to facilitate their integration into their new community (UNHCR, 2013). UNHCR has identified volunteer organisations and CBOs as stakeholders of refugee integration. UNHCR has categorised the social support into four major themes; counselling, mediation and relevant agencies, family reunification and legal support, and advocacy and community outreach, the transition to mainstream services. They have identified that the host society community-based organisations are important in this process (UNHCR, 2013).

The personal and societal outcomes of acculturative stress have been known for decades (Berry, 1997). When people have more stress, it can be a threat to social security. Furthermore, it will increase the criminal activities, societal malaise and substance abuse (LaFree, 1998). Therefore, refugees need more social support (Yang & Clum, 1994).

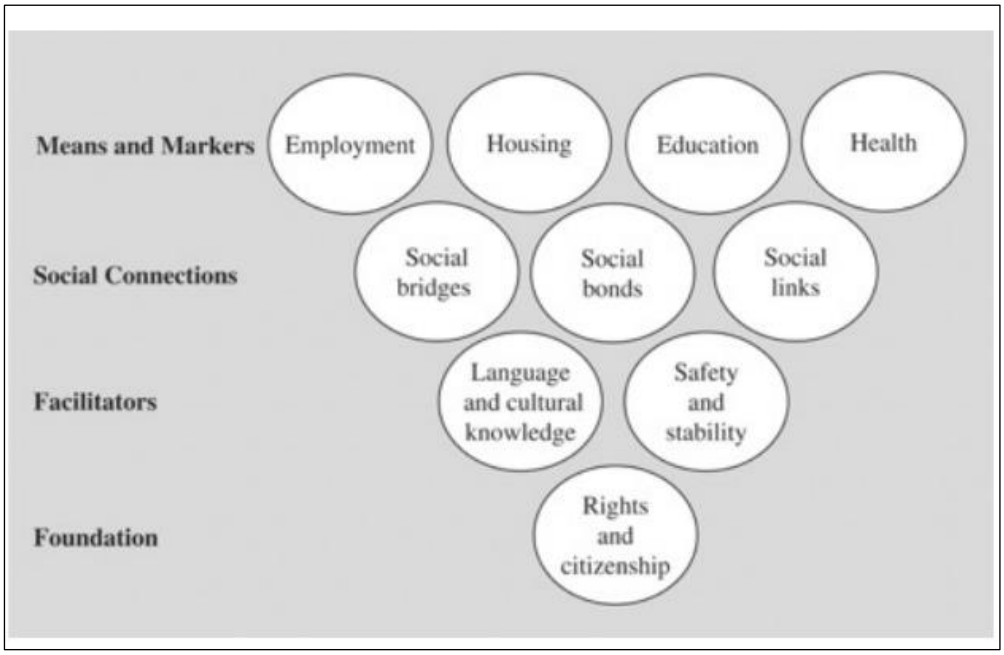
Next, I will explain Ager and Strang's (2008), model of refugee integration, as it will explain in more detail how social support and social networking are involved in refugee integration.

3.2 Ager & Strang's Model of Refugee Integration

Integration has become both a key policy objective related to the resettlement of refugees and other migrants (Ager & Strang, 2008). As I mentioned in the previous chapters refugee integration has been identified as a chaotic concept and there is no specific standard definition of refugee integration (Castles et al., 2001). As a solution, Ager and Strang, has introduced a theoretical framework for refugee integration, and it has mentioned key indicators of refugee integration (Ager & Strang, 2008). The framework specified ten core domains that shape the understanding of the concept of integration. The domains cover achievement access across the sectors of employment, housing, education, health assumptions and practice regarding citizenship and rights, processes of social connections within and between the groups in the community. In the end, they mention some of the barriers to the successful integration into the host country for refugees; language and cultural knowledge and fear and instability (Ager & Strang, 2008: 185). In this research, I put my major focus on the social integration of refugees, which focuses on the refugee's social life, social connection, social network, social ties, and

bonds, due to the fact that social integration can be seen as a dynamic and principled process, where all members participate in a dialogue to achieve and maintain peaceful social relations (UN, 2005). Therefore, I use Ager & Strang's model of successful refugee integration (2008).

Figure 4: Ager and Strang's (2008) Model of Successful Integration



Source: Ager & Strang (2008: 170)

Under the category of social connections, they have mentioned three key domains; social bridges, social bonds and social links. According to Ager and Strang (2008), the emphasis should be put on the importance of the local community in building social connections between refugees and the host society (Ager & Strang, 2008: 177). When they were building the model, they used the theory of Putnam's social capital theory (2000). Theorists have defined the social connections into three major divisions, (Putnam 2000; Woolcock, 1998) They mentioned three forms of social connections; social bonds, social bridges and social networks (Ager & Strang, 2008: 178).

Social connections are majorly focused on, with regards to the local community social connections. Especially in this area, Ager and Strang have mentioned that the social connections between the host society and the refugee groups, is one of the major factors in the successful integration into the society (Ager & Strang, 2008: 177). Social bridges are mainly identified by the connections which refugees have with their families and co-ethnic, co-national, co-religious or other types of groups (Ager & Strang, 2008). Especially, it seems that the social bonds occur within the refugees' own communities and their own ethnic groups. The

social establishment of connection with '*like-ethnic groups'* is seen to have various benefits contributing toward effective integration" (Hale, 2000 in Ager & Strang , 2008).

Social bridges consider the social connection between the refugees and the host society and this leads them to feel like they are 'at home' (Ager & Strang, 2008: 180). Social bridges make them feel like they are in a friendly environment in the host society, in their everyday lives, as well as it leads them to have social cohesion and social mobility.

Social links explain the connection between individuals and the structure of the state such as the government (Ager & Strang, 2008: 181). Other than the social connection, Ager and Strang (2008) mention the role of facilitators, language, employment, housing, and health. Ager and Strang mention the role of facilitation, which is the area most refugees face difficulties with, in regard to t local integration, and they need support in these areas and it has been identified as helping to remove the barriers to integration (2008: 181-182) . Language and cultural knowledge are one of these areas where there should be facilitation and also with regard to their safety and stability. The language of the host country must be learned by the refugees because the making of social connections depends on their ability to communicate in the hosts' language. Safety and stability includes the feeling of being 'at home' and 'peaceful' and non-refugees should also feel that new arrivals are not a threat to their freedom and cause for unrest in their community (Ager & Strang, 2008: 183).

Ager et al., (2001) mentions the importance of NGO's in refugee integration. According to them, the major role of NGOs in the refugee integration is to work for refugees and provide the links to the host society (2001: 07). They provide the majority of reception and settlement. Ager and Strang have identified that the host society is seen to have the responsibility to adapt to changes in the population profile, to accept refugees as part of the national community and facilitate access to resources and decision-making processes in all aspects, including social, economic, cultural, civil and political rights. Ager and Strang highlighted the importance of local community organisations in the successful integration of refugees in terms of expanding the social connections in practice (Ager et al., 2001). I selected Ager and Strang's refugee integration model (2008), because it made it easier to understand and elaborate on the key features involved in refugee integration and because my major focus is on social integration. I used the major domain of their social connection model, and under that, there were social bonds, social bridges and social ties. Moreover, they explained the barriers to refugee integration. It made me explore more deeply and explain in more detail, how the CBOs address these barriers. Ager and Strang's views on social connections, have a direct link with the social capital theory

of Putnam (Putnam 1993; Ager and Strang, 2008: 178), as well as they explained about social trust and social networks (Ager et al, 2001). I am going to explain more about this from the Fukuyama's social network (Fukuyama, 1999). Furthermore, Ager and Strang (2008: 179) mention the stress of refugees when they fail to integrate into the society. I am going to explain it using information from Berry's acculturative stress (1997).

Next, I will use Putnam's Social Capital theory (2000) which explains the importance of social connections, social bridges and social networks in the society.

3.3 Putnam and the Social Capital Theory

I have used the concept of social capital in my research (Putnam, 2000; Fukuyama, 1995). As there are many thinkers who have contributed to the social capital theory, it is difficult to give a specific single definition for that. Therefore, commonly, social capital is defined as "*the links, shared values and understanding in the society, that enable individuals and groups to trust each other and so work together*" (Phillips et al., 2014).

"*Social capital refers to features of social organisations, such as networks, norms, and trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit"* (Putnam 1993: 35 in Hunt et al., 2015). Furthermore, Putnam (2000) explains that civil society is formed with different human associations in the forms of the organisations and their relational networks, with the aim of achieving shared goals (Walzer, 1992: 89). NGOs and CBOs are also types of civil society organisations (AUGUR, 2012). Such associations are facilitated by the existence of the social capital. Moreover, trust and the shared values of the members of the society that have interacted over time, and created norms that have led to cooperation, openness and compromise between its members (Putnam, 1993).

I have used the social capital theory of Putnam (2000) in terms of explaining the forms of social capital. According to Putnam (2000: 19), physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to the properties of the individual, Social capital refers to the connections among individuals, social networks and the norms of reciprocity and the trustworthiness that arise from them. The strong interaction between people leads to building communities and it knits together the social fabric. When social connections and the social wellbeing happens in their primary group and it has referred to as 'social bonding' (Isham et al., 2002: 59). There are a variety of social capitals according to Putnam; social bonds, bridges and links.

Social bonds can be described as links to people, based on a common identity (people like us); such as family, close friends and people who share the same culture or ethnicity. When the primary groups' well-being and social connections transition to the network of secondary associations, whose most important characteristic is that they bring together people who in some ways are different from themselves (Isham et al., 2002: 59). Moreover, their social bonds, highlight the importance of common identity and it includes strong relationships, such as within the family, and close friends (Marlowe, 2011 in Elliott & Yusuf, 2014). According to the refugee integration perspective, social bonds are their refugees' community organisations, their own ethnic group friends (Spencer, 2006 in Elliott & Yusuf, 2014).

Social bridges can be explained as links that stretch beyond a shared sense of identity, for example to distant friends, colleagues and associates (Spencer, 2006 in Elliott & Yusuf, 2014). Bridging social capital, emerges from an inclusive solidarity among people of different backgrounds and can 'traverse social gaps,' Therefore increasing contact with various other people, supporting tolerance, and preventing groups from becoming inwardly focused (Paxton, 2002). Social bridges have looser connections compared to social bonds, but it allows them to have connections with other groups of the society and with the host society, and it also creates the diversity and social mobility of the society (NCVO, 2010 in Elliott & Yusuf, 2014). Bridging social capital can be done through dialogue, as refugees participate in different activities in the wider community. Through this, collective norms, values, and governance processes can emerge (Dale 2005 in Elliott & Yusuf, 2014).

Linkages, links together people or groups further up or lower down the social ladder. The link with social capital refers to the connection between refugees and refugee groups with state structures and institutions, and therefore, relates to power and authority (NCVO, 2010 in Elliott & Yusuf, 2014). 'Linking' social capital was proposed to account for relations that span vertical arrangements in society. Linking social capital enables greater access to powerful actors, such as law enforcement officers, social workers, and healthcare providers, NGO officials, politicians, and the public administration in general (Szreter & Woolcock 2004 in Hunt et al., 2015).

In this research, I paid specific attention to social bridges, because the social bridges involved in refugee integration, caused the refugees to develop connections with the host society as well as outside from their own ethnic group, friends, and nationality. Simply, it is the connection

with the wider society (Hunt et al., 2015). The widely cited literature on bridging and bonding social capital (Cantle, 2005; Putnam, 2000), argues that contact with predominantly co-ethnic, national or religious groups and non-contact with out-groups is harmful to integration and can lead to further social fragmentation (Finney & Simpson 2008 in Cheung & Phillimore, 2013: 11). It has emphasised the importance of having social connections with the host society, which highlighted the value of social bridges, over social bonds.

Drawing mostly on the writings of Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti (1993: 167), the cooperation literature emphasizes "features of social organisation, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society, by facilitating coordinated actions". Bridging social capital, allows a different group of people to work outside of their comfort zones, beyond their own family, friends and neighbours. It allows them to share information, understands different cultures and communicates. On the other hand, it can create the radius of trust and it allows for high trust societies (Fukuyama, 1995).

3.3.1 Importance of Social Connections

Putnam (2000), 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 relationships with people in the host society. Living in a more socially recognised area is worth it to have greater social capital. Putnam mentioned the power of the area where you live, 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 is affected by their social recognition and their social capital. Social networks often have powerful externalities (ibid).

Social capital can come in different forms. It can be with good friends, civic organisations. 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). Putnam (2007), emphasizes the importance of trust for the making of a safer society. There is a direct link between social capital and access to economic activities and social security: 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). This can apply to the refugee's host country as well. When refugees do not have 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: 32). Hence, Putnam has emphasized the significance of social networks.

Putnam has mentioned trust as the most important element when it comes to social connections. He stated the importance of trust in societies: *A society that relies on generalized reciprocity is more efficient than distrustful society* (Putnam, 2000: 135). Moreover, *'Honesty and trust lubricate the inevitable frictions of social life'* (ibid). as Putnam (2000) stated, social trust is an asset, but only if it is a warranty (ibid). Honesty is based on personal experiences, as well as based on community norms (Putnam, 2000: 136). Honesty between two people can depend on their 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 a community norm as well. Putnam explained that social trust depends on strong personal relationships, frequent as well as nested in the wider network. He referred to it as 'thick trust' (Putnam, 2000: 136). CBOs are helping to start 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, and shared social networks. If a person meets someone in a context which leads to thin trust, it can be increased if a person knows their mutual friends.

3.3.2 The connection between trust and prejudices

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

Putnam mentioned naturally there is a bigger trust for the people who '*have*' than for the '*have-nots'* (Putnam, 2000: 138). Norwegian society's 'haves', are the people who are Norwegians and other immigrants, and the 'have-nots' are the "refugees". According to Putnam, it is natural to have less trust towards the "have-nots", as they do not have the same economic capacity. He mentioned that the 'haves' are treated by others with more honesty and respect (Putnam, 2000: 138).

As I wanted to explain and have a deeper understanding of the social trust's role in social capital, I used Fukuyama's views on social trust.

3.4 Fukuyama's Views on Social Trust

Trust is regarded as a necessary component for running a smooth society (Giddens, 1990) and it helps to glue the society together (Luhmann, 1979). All the theorists of the social capital theory, have also identified trust as an essential and necessary component of social capital (Graham, 2016). Putnam also made further comments about trust, and he talked about the "*thick trust*" and the "*thin trust*" (Putnam, 2001). But, Putnam's understanding of "*trust*", is in a narrower sense, and he provides a minimal distinction between the "*thick trust"* and "*thin trust*" (Graham, 2016: 23). Trust, embedded in personal relationships which are strong, can be categorised as the "*thick trust*", and the "*thin trust*", as in the generalised order, where the trust arises because of the shared social network and expectations of reciprocity (Putnam, 2001: 136). Moreover, Putnam mentioned that the "*thin trust*", is even more useful than the *"thick trust*", because it extends the radius of trust beyond the roster of people of whom we know the personality of (ibid). Fukuyama argues that "*trust arises when a community shares a set of moral values in such a way as to create expectations of regular and honest behaviour"* (1995: 153).

The "*thick trust*", is a trust where the trust arises within the well-known and closed networks and relationships, such as friends, within their own ethnic group, relatives, and close friends. The "*thin trust*", is a trust which arises because they have shared social networks and due to the feeling of having something in common with them. For example, refugees from different countries can have a "*thin trust*" when they have shared networks. But it is not as strong as a "*thick trust"*. Putnam argues that social trust is strongly linked with the social capital (Graham, 2016).

As I mentioned earlier, Putnam (2000) does not give more explanations and attention about social trust and deeper discussion on the "*thick trust*" and the '*thin trust'*. Fukuyama (1995) gives more attention to social trust in his views of the social capital . Therefore, I have used Fukuyama's view on social trust and social capital in this study.

Fukuyama (1995) has explained the word "*trust*"; "*social capital is a capability that arises from the prevalence of trust in a society or in a certain part*". Furthermore, he elaborates on his idea: "*communities depend on mutual trust and will not arise spontaneously without it"* (Fukuyama, 1995: 159). Moreover, he explains that trust is an expectation of a community, which arises because of honest, cooperative behaviour, based on a community of shared norms, on the part

of other members of the community. According to Fukuyama, trust is also central to the functionality of social capital.

Even Putnam (2000) explains the 'thick trust' and the 'thin trust', Fukuyama (1995) defines two types of societies, based on trust as high trust societies and low trust societies. According to Fukuyama (1995), in high trust societies, there is an abundance of social capital and anticipated benefits, whereas, in low-trust societies, there is very little social capital to be found. According to Fukuyama (1995), low trust societies are the societies where the social relations/connections are primarily within the family, familial piety, and these societies will be less trusting of people outside of the family (Fukuyama, 1996). Moreover, he argues communities with strong internal ties, will have the weakest bonds with the outside' (1996: 154). According to him, when there are strong ties, it has high trust, and if there are weak ties, it has low trust (ibid). Therefore, Fukuyama argues if a society has a lack of trust outside of the family, it also had for unrelated people who formed groups or organisations (Fukuyama, 1996: 73). According to him, China. Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea are low trust societies and they have high trust families (ibid). He also presented the UK, USA and Germany as having high trust societies (Fukuyama, 1996 in Ward et al., 2014). Even though he does not explicitly talk about Norway, I assume he views it as a high trust society, because the countries he mentioned as high trust societies, were specifically European societies, as well as the societies of low trust countries which are based on Confucianism (Ward et al., 2014).

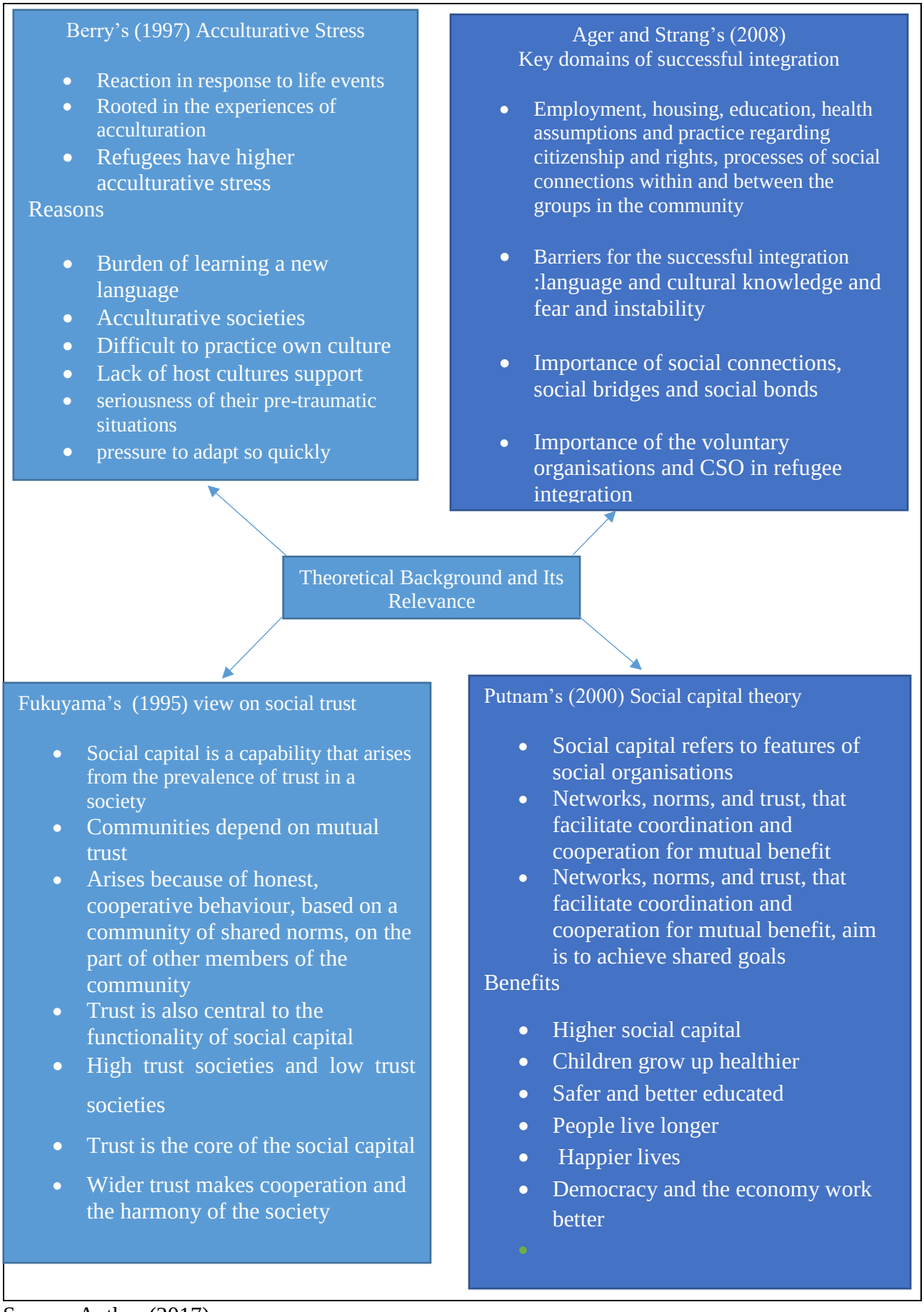
3.5 CBOs and Voluntary Organisations as Agents of Social Capital

Coleman (1990: 304) argues that social organisations are the constructors of social capital. To activate social capital, both internal and external organisations are required, NGOs and CBOs can play an important role to activate the social capital (Ahmed & Haque, 2007). As we have identified, Putnam (2000) and Fukuyama (1995) also highlighted that voluntary associations and community organisations are important to create social capital. Graham (2016: 24), "*Social Capital is maintaining within the sphere of civil society, through voluntary associations and everyday social interactions*". Putnam (2000), also defines social capital as features of social organisations, such as networks, norms and trust that facilitation coordination and cooperation for mutual benefits (Adhikari, 2008). Putnam explains the forms of social capital, dividing them into two main sections; formal and informal. Formal forms of social capital like parent-teacher associations, national organisations, and labour unions, were formally organised with a chairman, president and memberships (Putnam, 2001). Informal forms of social capital can be explained as a group of people who gather in a bar every weekend and going to clubs on Friday

evenings (ibid). These two forms, constitute a network in which reciprocity can easily be made (Putnam, 2001). CBOs are a formal form of social capital, which is working to build a social network, and social trust that leads to reciprocity. Edward (2004: 07) explains the importance of voluntary organisations within a society, due to the fact that it curbs the power of centralised institutions, protects pluralism and nurtures constructive social norms, such as trust and cooperation among different groups. When Putnam is explaining about social bridges, he explains the importance of social bridges, as they create more connections between the host society (Putnam, 2000). Moreover, he has clearly mentioned, that the existing social bridges in the society and local community organisations and voluntary associations, can be considered forms of social capital, who are working to make social bridges.

Based on the theoretical background of my research, I will build my research on these findings. My research findings will make my further discussion on this topic, easier to understand and elaborate on, and also aid in answering the research questions. I have made a summary of my theoretical background in Figure 05. After that, I will explain the Research Methodology in the next chapter.

Figure 5: Theoritical background and its relevance



Source: Author (2017).

4 CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the methodology employed in the research. I start out with some reflections on the epistemological and ontological considerations. Then I explain how I did the research step by step; research design and strategy, study population and sampling techniques, sampling size and data collection method. I also discuss the validity and reliability of the data and data analysis. The chapter ends with a reflection about ethical considerations throughout the research and the challenges I was confronted along the way.

4.2 Positioning

The idea of doing a research on the challenges of refugees in their everyday life and how and to what extent the CBOs work help them to meet their challenges was not a sudden idea. When I started volunteering at LUNAR, which is a CBO in Kristiansand, Norway which focuses gender equality, networking, the relationship between local Norwegians and immigrants. Moreover, LUNAR has different groups such as women's groups, men's group, teenagers group. I participated LUNAR's women's group in 2016 and I met a female refugee from different countries. I got to know the different kind of difficulties they face in their everyday integration. Different refugees had different purposes and expectation from LUNAR. When I was talking with many refugees, they were looking for, finding friends, expand social networks as they had challenges with their social integration (Fieldwork, 2016). However, some refugee participants suddenly stopped attending meetings and when I was talking with them, they could not see any point of participating as joining LUNAR did not meet their expectations. Some moved on other CBOs. This triggered an interest to see how CBOs address the challenges of refugees and the need for social integration through their social integration programmes and activities.

As I was a volunteer of LUNAR as well as in "Natteravnene": an organisation which aims to make the city safer in the night times, especially weekends, I decided to go ahead with the idea in my MSc research. My previous voluntary work experience and my personal motivation formed a basis to proceed. I also had a network of people who could be informants.

4.3 Planning My Research

I started my fieldwork in October of 2016. At that point, I had an idea about what to focus on and who would be my research informants. I started out by talking to people I already knew. Based on initial talks I planned for my data collection. I decided on three different volunteer CBOs. These are all concerned with refugee integration in many ways. I selected LUNAR women's group as this was the organisation I volunteered for. LUNAR is a local CBO in Kristiansand, which focus on different age groups and gender. I selected the women's group as it was the most active group of LUNAR at that time. The other groups were not as active as the women's group. I also chose to focus on KIA, a CBO with a Christian religious background, linked to the Norwegian Church as this was an organisation that attracted many refugees. The third organisation I selected was "Natteravnene" in Kristiansand, which has as its mission making the society, especially urban areas, safe at nights. When I was volunteering there, I could see refugees also were volunteering there. Thus, I knew that this was an organisation that included refugees in their work.

During my fieldwork, I participated in the above selected CBOs activities and programmes. I collected data while I was volunteering and participating in their programmes. I also interviewed people in these organisations, both the volunteers and those participating in meetings and events. I also used the websites, the official Facebook pages of the organisations as secondary sources of data.

4.4 Epistemological and Ontological Consideration

Before I present my research method, I will explain the epistemological and ontological considerations of this research. First, I will explain the ontological position of this research, according to Guba and Lincolin (1989: 83), *the ontological assumptions are those that respond to the question "what is there that can be known?" or "what is the nature of reality?"* According to Bryman (2016), questions of social ontology are concerned with the nature of the social entities, ***as it is the theory about the nature of social units. The question of whether social entities can and should be considered as objective entities with an external reality to social actors, or if they can and should be considered as social constructions that are built up from perceptions and actions of social actors, is central in ontology*** (Bryman, 2016: 693). Having this definition in mind, I will explain the ontological position which I have in this research. According to Bryman (ibid), there are two major positions of the ontology name as objectivism and constructivism. ***Objectivism is an ontological position implies that social phenomena confront us as external facts that are beyond our reach or influence*** (Bryman, 2016: 693). Therefore, natural sciences use objectivism as their ontology. *Constructivism is the other*

ontological position which is commonly used in social sciences. **Constructionism is an ontological position which asserts the social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors. It implies that social phenomena and categories are not only produced through social interaction but that they are in a constant state of revision***(ibid).* This study uses constructivism as its ontological position. As in this research, it has assumed the reality we are exploring depends on people's thoughts, feelings and perspectives. Therefore, according to the nature of this research, the ontological position is constructivism.

Epistemology is a way of understanding and explaining how we know what we know', and what are the researchers viewing regarding what constitutes acceptable knowledge (Crotty, 2003: 03). Epistemology is also "*concerned with providing a philosophical grounding for deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible and how we can ensure that they are both adequate and legitimate*" (Maynard, 1994: 10 in Crotty, 2003: 08). In another word, epistemology is what is known to be the truth. According to Bryman (2016), ***Epistemological concerns the question of what is regarded as the acceptable knowledge in a discipline***. Furthermore, Bryman (ibid) stated three types of epistemological positions. First one is positivism; ***an epistemological position that advocates the application of the methods of the natural sciences to the study of social reality and beyond, which is majorly use in the natural sciences***. The second position of epistemology is interpretivism, majorly use in social sciences which explains ***the social world has influenced in different traditions, cultures and institutions it requires social It is predicated upon the view that a strategy is required that respects the differences between people and the objects of the natural sciences and therefore requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning*** (Bryman, 2016). The third epistemological position is realism, which acknowledges a reality that is independent of the senses, which is available to the researchers' tools and theoretical speculation. ***It is an epistemological position that implies that categories created by scientists refer to real objects in the natural or social worlds*** (Bryman, 2016: 695).

Therefore, the goal of interpretivist research is to understand and interpret the meanings in human behaviour rather than to generalize and predict the causes and effects (Neuman, 2000; Hudson & Ozanne, 1988). For an interpretivist researcher, it is important to understand motives, meanings, reasons and other subjective experiences. As According to the research question of the research, I wanted to get people's emotions, perspectives and interested in gaining in-depth understanding. Therefore, my research reflects the interpretivism as the epistemological position.

4.5 Research Strategy

A research strategy simply means the general orientation to the conduct of social research (Bryman, 2012: 35). As I wanted to understand more about the daily challenges of refugees, I chose a qualitative approach. According to Bryman (2012), The reasons for me to adopt the qualitative study are my interests to explore perspectives, perceptions, thoughts, behaviours, feelings, ideas and views of the refugees on the challenges they face in their everyday integration in Kristiansand, Norway. Furthermore, I want to explore how and to what extent the CBOs address such their challenges through their social integration programmes and activities. Moreover, a qualitative strategy allows the researchers to collect data which is occurring naturally through an ethnographic approach which refers to understanding the social world of people through immersion in their community to produce detailed descriptions of their culture and beliefs (Ritchie, 2014), I did participant observation. As part of doing participant observation, I had unstructured interviews with participant participants and volunteers in the three organisations. I also followed them in their day to day doings. I will return to this later.

4.6 Research Design

As my research questions required an "in-depth" description of refugees' everyday challenges and the role of CBO's in meeting these challenges I found that a case study research design was suitable. According to Bryman,

> *It is certainly true that exponents of the case study design often favour qualitative methods, such as participant observation and unstructured interviewing because these methods are viewed particularly helpful in the generation of an intensive, detailed examination of a case (*Bryman, 2016; 68*).*

I wanted to know more about the challenges that refugees meet in their everyday integration into the Norwegian society and explore how the selected CBOs address the challenges refugees voice through their programmes. I had already decided that a qualitative approach would be necessary, and I had selected three CBOs to work with. A case study research design was considered suitable to answer my research questions. According to Yin (1981), doing ethnographic work and choosing a case study design are closely related (ibid).

Bryman states that a case can be a person, an organisation, an institute, an event or an action (Bryman, 2016). In this research, I have selected three organisations as my case. Case study research can mean single or multiple cases (Lather, 1992; Robottom & Hart, 1993. Lather, 1992; Robottom & Hart, 1993). According to Yin (2003) multiple case study is a type of case studies and there are some advantages of multiple case studies;

> *A multiple case study enables the researcher to explore differences within and between cases. The goal is to replicate findings across cases. Because comparisons will be drawn, it is imperative that the cases are chosen carefully so that the researcher can predict similar results across cases, or predict contrasting results based on a theory* (Yin, 2003).

I would not say that I am concerned with predictions, but I am interested in finding out how various CBOs attend to the challenges with social integration, also to see if they work towards the problem in similar or unlike ways. Also, selecting a case study research design allows a researcher to do an in-depth study of the cases which has selected. Bryman (2016) mentions the longitudinal element in the case study. According to him;

> *Case study, research frequently includes a longitudinal element. The researcher is often a participant in an organisation or a member of a community for many months or years. Alternatively, he or she may conduct interviews with individuals over a lengthy period. (Bryman, 2016, 71).*

I have not carried out research over a period of several years, but I have followed my informants through a period of 6 months as a researcher and in addition to this time I have also been a volunteer in two of the organisations for a long time.

4.7 Study Population

The target population for this study were people who came to Norway as refugees and who lived in Kristiansand municipality. The refugees were from different countries in Africa, Asia and Europe. The other target group was the volunteers within the selected three CBOs; LUNAR, KIA and Natteravnene.

4.7.1 Selecting the Organisations

As mentioned above, the first organisation I selected was LUNAR, a CBO in Kristiansand, which has a major focus on refugee integration. LUNAR has four groups; men's group, women's group, girls group and teenagers' group. LUNAR is active in two locations in southern Norway; Lillesand and Kristiansand. I selected the LUNAR women's group in Kristiansand because it was the most active group in 2016 when I was doing my data collection. Furthermore, previous researchers have found that refugee women and children are the most vulnerable to PTSD and psychological problems (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1996; McMichael & Manderson, 2004). Therefore, women and children need a special attention in the refugee integration process, and this was also a concern of mine.

The second organisation I selected was Natteravnene in Kristiansand. Natteravnene has branches in almost the whole of Norway (Natteravnene, 2017). The aim of this organisation is to make the city safe at night. I found this organisation to be an interesting case in the research because I was a volunteer with the organisation before I started the research. Here, I observed many foreigners and refugees volunteered with the organisation. It gave me a motivation to study how this organisation helps refugees to overcome their challenges and explore why refugees are volunteering there.

Lastly, I selected KIA International, Kristiansand. KIA international is also a big organisation based in Norway, which is supported by the Christian church. KIA is a nationwide, organisation that works with and for refugees and immigrants and natives in Norway. KIA works actively to make Norway a "warmer place to live" by promoting multicultural fellowship in churches and society (KIA organisation, 2017). Even if KIA has a religious purpose, the organisation focuses more on refugee integration through organising tours, making international cultural events, sports and language classes. Before I started my research fieldwork, I got to know about this organisation from the refugee participants in Nattevnene and LUNAR. They found this organisation both important and useful. Therefore, I selected KIA Kristiansand as one of my cases and it added variety to my cases as it also had religious purposes behind the work with refugee integration (Fieldwork finding, 2016).

4.7.2 Sources the Data

To meet the research objectives and answer the research questions, I collected data from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data was collected using ethnographical research

method. Doing ethnographic work often involves participant observations with unstructured interviews as its major data collection tools (Bryman, 2012). As secondary data, I have used and referred to Statistics Norway (SBB) documents, municipality presentations and reports, Norwegians laws related to refugees and asylum seekers, reports which have been published by the selected CBOs, official websites of selected CBOs and their posters and leaflets.

4.7.3 Sampling Techniques

I used purposive sampling as my main sampling technique. The purposive sampling method is the most commonly used sampling techniques in qualitative studies, where study participants are selected based on their relevance to the research questions. (Bryman, 2012). As I was already a volunteer within a CBO in Kristiansand and I had people known to me. I used a purposive sampling technique when I chose the organisations in my case. This was also the case when I started interviewing people; refugees, and volunteers.

I also used snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is also a purposive sampling technique, this means that initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic can be an entry point to establish contact with others (Bryman, 2012). According to Bryman (2016: 202), snowball sampling is also talked about as a convenience sample. According to Bryman;

> *With this approach to sampling, the researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contacts with others. (Bryman 1999).*

In my case, I knew refugees both from LUNAR and Natteravnene as I had volunteered in both organisations prior to my fieldwork. I got to know new refugees from other refugees whom I already knew and through my volunteer friends and personal contacts. Social research is also frequently based on convenience sampling (Bryman, 2016). I choose to do fieldwork in an area known to me, as well as focusing on a theme also known to me. As I am a foreigner in Norway and at the same time a person who had an initial understanding about the refugees participating in CBO activities, it was convenient to base my research on initial contacts and a familiarity with the field. I had established contact with refugees living in and near to Kristiansand and found that if my research took place in organisations where they participated it could be easier to also recruit them as informants.

> *Convenience sampling is a type of nonprobability or non-random sampling, where members of the target population that meet certain practical criteria, such as easy accessibility, geographical proximity, availability at a given time, or the willingness to participate are included for the purpose of the study* (Dornyei, 2007*).*

I also selected the organisation by using convenience sampling. I have volunteered at LUNAR since 2015 September and I knew the volunteers and the refugee participants a little. I had connections with them outside the organisation as well. Most refugees were participants of several CBOs. Some refugee members of LUNAR participated in KIA international, and that guided my choice of KIA international as my second case of the study. I was the SocialErasmus Coordinator of Erasmus Student Network (ESN) of the University of Agder 2016, which helped me to participate and arrange meetings with Kristiansand municipality to talk about Natteravnene. I had participated in Natteravnene volunteer activities and I selected Natteravnene organisation as my third organisation of the research.

I had an open research approach to my sample size because I used ethnography as my data collection method. I was in the field and it allowed me to do close participant observation and have informal discussions with refugees and volunteers. Instead of having a specific number of a sample size I had a time frame when I should finish my data collection.

4.8 Data Collection Method

4.8.1 Ethnography

I used ethnography as my data collection methodology. The overall goal of the ethnographic data collection method is to collect "richest possible data" (Lofland & Lofland, 1995 in Phelps & Horman, 2009). Mainly the richest data came from the participant observation, non-verbal communication and unstructured interviews. According to Shagrir (2017: 09), ethnography is a research approach that refers both to the process and method according to how research is carried out and its outcomes. It provides rich and wide-ranging data which provide insights into life as lived, ways of life, social interactions and people's perceptions. It is also concerned with context (ibid:10). As the study aims at exploring the challenges refugees face in their everyday life and also how CBOs work helps them to overcome the challenges. The ethnographic method employed in this study allowed me to spend more time in the field, have long conversations, observe daily routines, participate in activities and listen to refugees problems. Sometimes I

met them in and through the activities run by the organisations and sometimes in various places; birthday parties, New Year fests, X-mas parties and dinners.

4.8.2 Role of the ethnographic researcher

Shagrir (2017: 10) explains the role of the ethnographic researcher. According to him, ethnographers have to join the natural environment they are investigating, remain there for some time and thus establish contacts through participant observation. Informal conversations and unstructured interviews with people who are part of the society is carefully written down as field notes (Shagrir 2017: 10). I have already mentioned in the beginning my motivation to do this research. Here, I will elaborate a bit on my motivation linked to the data collection method I have used. As I am a migrant to Norway and I had volunteered at LUNAR since 2015, I could get to know more Norwegian and non-Norwegian volunteers as well as refugees participating in CBO activities. Being a part of the LUNAR women's group, I listened to women's everyday problems when they talked about their everyday life challenges. Prior to my work, I had become a good friend of many participants and volunteers. Many of the members find their friends from the group as the group meets every week. There are outdoor activities like walking, cabin trips as well as cooking different cultural foods, having tea and food with the talks. It was an opportunity for me to understand their day-to-day life in a better way. As most of them were well-versed in English, this made it easier for me to understand them. When I could not understand them, others translated for me what was told. As I was acquainted with them, some invited me to their homes and chat with them. As mentioned above, I was invited to New Year parties, Christmas parties, where I met more refugees. Since I was a member of the LUNAR and Natteravnene organisations, and I had these contacts the choice of doing participant observation seemed to be wise.

I started collecting data for my thesis from 2016 October to 2017 March. I had an opportunity to establish trust through talking to people and get to know them before I asked them to be informants in my research. Since we knew each other from before I had their trust to open up to me.

I was also a volunteer of Natteravnene. This came about as a part of University of Agder's Erasmus Students Networks (ESN) Social Erasmus Coordinator. I got an opportunity to talk with the municipality members who were in charge of the Natteravnene activities. They gave the overview and purposes of their organisation and I decided to be a member. With that, I

could do volunteering at Natteravnene and talk with the volunteers. I experienced that since I was also a volunteer, refugee participants were more open with me.

Even though I was not a member of KIA organisation, I met some refugees who were my friends in different settings, including Norwegian language class of another organisation, through LUNAR and Natteravnene as well as, at some of the social events like dinners, New Year parties. I talked with them and asked about KIA programmes which they recommended. I even participated in KIA international dinner, which allowed me to see some of their work and meet people there.

In addition, my personal background as a foreigner helped me a lot. Being a citizen of Sri Lanka, where there were thirty years of civil war also helped me get acceptance from other refugees. Experience with difficult situations helped them to trust me and open with me more.

4.8.3 Ethnographers Research Tools

Ethnographers gather their information using different research tools such as; participant observations, interviews, structured and informal conversations, document analysis and others (Stemler, 2001 in Shagrir, 2017: 11). The major two principles ethnographic research tools are interviews and participant observations as I have mentioned above (ibid).

4.8.3.1 Ethnographic interviews

Ethnographic interviews are naturally involved in-depth interviews, which allows the researcher to collect rich and detailed information directly from the research population presented in their words (Shagrir, 2017: 11):

> *The major purposes of doing the in-depth interviews are transmitting information, opinions and perceptions while giving interviewees time and opportunities to express their opinion fluently and openly and giving interviewer's time to ask questions and request clarifications to get a broad picture of information, opinions, thoughts and emotions (ibid).*

I found this imperative in my study as I had a more informal conversation with refugees as well as volunteers of CBOs; it helped me to understand their everyday life challenges, their future ambitions, hopes and feelings of being a refugee in a foreign country, as I have discussed above

I systematically wrote down as fieldnotes what I discussed with them right after the conversation.

4.8.3.2 Participant observation

The other major data collecting tool of the ethnography is participant observation. Observations are a further means used by ethnographers to collect data for the research. In observations, researchers watch personal happenings in specific contexts, by making them suitable to the environment, but not making them a part of it (Shagrir, 2017: 13). During my research, while observing the behaviour of participants in the conversations, their facial expressions, conveyed more than their words.

After collecting the data from the field, I wrote them in a field notebook for the ease of coding and data analysis I wrote my participant observations, unstructured interviews when I returned from the field. I did not use a tape recorder in my field as an ethnographer, I did not want to do more technical or get a professional researcher's role. As most refugees were in a sensitive situation where they were afraid of being deported from the country or criticizing or being open to others. As I found many of my participants from my own network, keeping the tape recorder on the table would have made the conversation more technical, unnatural and it made them think twice what they are saying as it recorded. Therefore, I did not want to use it.

4.9 Data Analysis

The 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, 2011). For the purpose of this study, thematic analysis was appropriate. The 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: 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. Qualitative data analysis is a search for general statements about relationships between categories of data (Marshall & Rossman, 2014: 11).

4.10 Reliability and Validity

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985: 277), there are four criteria in order to establish rigour and ensure trustworthiness in qualitative research; credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. Credibility is about the authentic representation of the real lived experiences of the respondents from whom data is collected and reported. Transferability is how the qualitative research findings fit outside of the specific study situation. Dependability referred to the minimization of personal ideas and perceptions in the interpretation of the data. Confirmability, on the other hand, was conceptualised as how the level of bias and the interests of the researcher in fact influence interpretations which is translated as objectivity in research.

The ethnography data collection method allowed me to be in the field and do unstructured interviews and participant observations. As I used purposive sampling techniques, convenience sampling approach and snowball sampling approach led me to find more trustworthy and reliable data in the field. My personal role as a volunteer and social event coordinator helped me to find my research population. Using the ethnographic data collection method allowed me to find bigger sample size compared to other data collection methods. It was also an advantage for me to collect data from the field. As I maintained field notebook to write the data which I collected from the field right after I came from the field helped me to avoid forgetting or missing any data.

4.11 Ethical Considerations

Qualitative research in social sciences has a high probability of arising ethical problems. Ethnography; the data collection method I have used have been criticised and debated with reference to ethical issues (Sanjari et al., 2014). Overall, qualitative research may deal with sensitive, in-depth, topics that can pose emotional and other risks for participants as well as the researcher (Sanjari et al., 2014**).** Therefore, as a qualitative researcher, I had high concerns about ethics.

A key ethical issue in this study (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 (BSA, 2002).

Some of the questions asked were rather sensitive, personal and elicited an emotional response. For example, when I asked questions about family and reasons to come to Norway, it reminded them of the situations in their country and the traumatic experiences that they had experienced back in their home countries. When I felt that they could not answer the questions, I did not ask for more sensitive information from them and when respondents became emotional towards some questions, I skipped the questions.

Qualitative research allows researchers to use their subjective experiences. As I was a volunteer of two organisations, Natteravnene as well as LUNAR women's group, it helped me to understand the respondents in context and thus collect more data from the standpoint of the participants in addition to data on the aims, objectives and programs of the CBOs themselves. As I started volunteering in the organisation before I started collecting data for my research, more refugees and volunteers knew. As I collected data from already known contacts, I experienced that they trusted me to be open and continue the conversation naturally. I was careful with anonymity and the interviews in this research were identified by codes and not by the personal names of the respondents. I experienced that most refugees talked to were afraid to express their feelings and opinions when there was a voice recorder. As some of them are still waiting for the UDI confirmation, they did not want to record their voice and the conversation we had. All data has been carefully noted down after the data collection of the field. When I was writing up my findings, I did not use the real names of respondents. I have also altered the information on age and home country to secure anonymity. The organisations, however, have been identified by name.

According to Bryman (2012), it is not ethical for a researcher to harm participants, lack informed consent, invade privacy or deceive respondents. The study has been guided by the standards of the National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities (NESH), which emphasize the principles of respect, good consequences, fairness, and integrity (NESH, 2014).

As I have done the research in Norway, I have followed the Norwegian laws and ethical consideration for research.

4.12 Challenges

The language was one of the limitations for me. When some participants were not good at expressing their feelings in English and I was not speaking Norwegian, I had to get the help of a translator to overcome the challenge. But, still, there was a limitation to this as there was a possibility of losing the original information through the interpreter. The language also gave me another challenge, as 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 data collection method, I needed time to do fieldwork. I did not have the ideal one year to spend in the field, But I did manage to allocate extra time and I collected the data within a period of six months.

The cultural translation was also a challenge for me. Especially, understanding the expressions of people with diverse cultural background was a challenge, in particular people coming from the western countries. As I stayed with international students at the university who came from different countries I learned from my friends and the people whom I associated with. Furthermore, as I lived in Norway for two years, volunteering in LUNAR and Natteravnene and knew the respondents I felt confident by just asking if I was in doubt.

Fear of the refugees to talk or criticize about Norwegian government refugee integration programs as well as CBO activities in front of Norwegians were challenging. But as I mentioned above, knowing respondents beforehand enabled me to collect their stories.

5 CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

The next two chapters will present my key findings from my fieldwork which I did in Kristiansand, Norway. In this chapter, I will present the key findings of my first research question; *what are the challenges refugees face in their everyday integration*?. Therefore, I tried to find many challenges as much as possible in my fieldwork, through my data collection method in ethnography; participant observations, unstructured interviews and conversations. I have identified the different challenges refugees face in their day to day lives in Norway, and I have categorised the challenges into three major themes: **A feeling of lack of belonging to the Norwegian society, maintaining their cultural identity and family responsibilities, and a feeling of a lack of safety**. Throughout this chapter, I will discuss and analyse my findings in relations to the theoretical framework which I have discussed in my third chapter.

Chapter six will answer my second research question; *how the CBOs address the challenges of refugees' everyday integration through their programmes and activities*. I will discuss my findings under three sections; the role of LUNAR, the role of KIA and the role of Natteravnene.

The first major challenge I am going to discuss in this chapter is "**Feeling a lack of belonging**".

5.2 Feeling a lack of belonging

Feeling a lack of belonging to the host culture is one of the challenges which refugees majorly face in the host culture (Valentine et al., 2009; Correa-Velez, 2010). Especially non-western refugees face this situation, compared to western refugees (Guerin, 2003). It has been recognized as one of the causes of acculturative stress (Hovey, 2000). As I have mentioned before, many refugees who go to Norway, are from non-western societies such as Somalia, Syria, Eretria, Iraq and Afghanistan (SSB, 2017a). The reasons for and challenges of being able to have a sense of belonging are: employability, having many friends and good neighbours within the host society, and actively participating in social activities (Kebede, 2010). According to Ager and Strang (2010), a feeling of belonging to a community increase the social capital of people as it gives them recognition in the society and increases their self-esteem as well (Ager & Strang, 2010; Kelaher et al., 2001). Some refugees have a less feeling of belonging to the host society. When I was doing my fieldwork, I found some incidents and

occasions where they feel less belonging to the Norwegian society (Fieldwork, 2016). Therefore, it has a negative impact on successful refugee integration.

When I was collecting my data from the field, I found some challenges which are directly linked to the feeling of belonging to the host society among refugees. In this category, I have found some challenges such as dress code, names, nationality, skin colour, fluency in Norwegian and regional dialects, finding friends, and finding references that can be used on their CVs. These are just some of the challenges which have caused them to feel a lesser sense of belonging within the Norwegian society.

I have explained some of my findings from the research and here I have mentioned some dialogues I have had with some of my refugee informants.

5.2.1 Dress code

As I observed and according to my informants, 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 described her experiences in detail to me. Here are some excerpts from her experiences that she shared with me.

> "*One of my schoolmates, who is a Norwegian man, asked me; "Can I free you?" Then I was wondering and asked, "Why do you want to free me?" Then he told me, "I feel your Hijab is a form of a headache for you. It is hot in summer, still, you are wearing that headscarf. I feel you are not comfortable and free". Then I replied him, "It is not a headache to me, as I am used to this since my childhood*" (Female informant from Ethiopia).

From the above quote, it shows that some Norwegian people feel that the traditional dress of Muslim women; Abaya and Hijab, is uncomfortable for them, and they have less freedom because of that. Most of the non-western refugees in Norway are Muslims (Trooglivssyn.no, 2017). According to Islam, women should cover their whole body (Martin et al., 2003). Many Norwegians are Christians themselves (Trooglivssyn.no, 2017) and they do not have religious restrictions on their dress code. According to some Norwegians, in their eyes, they feel Muslim women have a lack of freedom as they have to cover their whole body without consideration for the weather conditions (summer or winter). But according to the above Muslim female informant, she does not see that covering her whole body as having less freedom, as they have

gotten used to wearing their traditional dress code from their childhood. When I was asking about this from above informant, she told me that she feels uncomfortable if she does not wear it. The prejudices of some Norwegian people on Muslim women's traditional dress code (Abaya and Hijab) and the questions related to that make them feel uncomfortable. As well as statements such as: "*your dress is not a part of the Norwegian culture*". Therefore, a lack of belonging to the Norwegian society. But, respecting everyone's cultural values is part of a successful integration (Ager & Strang, 2008), when it is absent refugees may have higher acculturative stress (Berry, 1997).

I have heard from my research informant, who is Norwegian and lives in Kristiansand, that Kristiansand is a more conservative and religious place than other parts of Norway, as it is in the "Bible-belt" (Foss, 2013). If a society is conservative and religious, it can be a cause of increased acculturative stress (Dijkstra, 2001, Sodowsky, 1987). According to Bulcha (1997) culturally, homogeneous societies are a bit difficult for refugees to build their identity as well as difficult to have social connections with the local people. As I found from my research, when the society's majority predominantly have one religion, sometimes it causes difficulties for the minority of religious people to practice some of their cultural practices (Fieldwork, 2016). But, successful integration requires that we respect each other and respect other cultures (Berry, 1997). Integration itself describes that refugees can keep some of their cultural practices and have to adopt some cultural practices of the host society (Ager & Strang, 2008). But, as I understood, some refugees have problems and are confused on what they should practice and what to keep in the host society (Fieldwork, 2016). As well as, some Norwegians from the host society thinks that integration should assimilate immigrants to be more like them (Fieldwork, 2016). I will explain further with the previous example, wearing a Hijab and an Abaya is a part of the culture as well as the religion for many Muslim women. But, at the same time refugees feel a less sense of belonging to the society because of their dress code as they feel they discriminated in the host society because of their dress. When refugees feel a less sense of belonging to the society, it does not lead to successful integration, as the meaning of successful integration has made refugees have a feeling of belonging to the host society (Ager & Strang, 2008). Some Muslim refugee women have been discriminated in host societies because of their cultural dress; Hijab and Abaya and at the end result, it can lead refugees to have acculturative stress in the host society (Betancourt et al., 2015).Generally, non-western refugees have more challenges than western refugees (Samuel, 2009).

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 job as a waitress. The owner told me, if I agreed to not wear the Hijab at the workplace, I would get the job*" (Female refugee from Afghanistan).

According to the above informant, wearing a Hijab was the cause of her being disqualified in getting a part-time job as a waitress. Employability in the host country is one of the important signature factors that make immigrants and refugees feel a sense of belonging to the host society (Kim, 2008). Some Norwegians have misunderstandings and prejudices based on the Muslim women's' dress code (Hijab and Abaya). From the above conversation, it shows that some employers feel Muslim women are not suitable for some jobs, like waitressing, as they have prejudices, such as that Muslim women who wear a Hijab have fewer skills at communicating with men, and will not work long hours, including working at night. As well as that, they feel hiring a woman with a Hijab will not be suitable and make them less attractive for the job. It shows that at times, some Muslim refugee women feel their traditional dress code has created a challenge for them to become an accepted part of Norwegian society and the Norwegian job market. Therefore, I have I identified that the dress code of refugees has at times become a barrier for them because outside of their culture do not understand why they dress the way they do, and hence they develop a prejudice against them.

Sometimes the dress code of Muslim refugee women has brought about difficulties for them to keep their cultural identity, as well as to build a new identity in the Norwegian society. When refugees move from one culture to a new one, they will face difficulties and acculturative stress in their everyday integration, regarding keeping their cultural practices, while trying to adopt the new cultural practices of the host culture (Berry, 1997).

Another Muslim female informant from Somalia shared the following experience with me;

> "*Somali people think that women should cover their hair with a Hijab and she should not wear jeans. She should always wear an Abaya. It is acceptable in the Somali culture for women to do a driving job, but wearing trousers are not accepted by most of Somali's men and women. There is a Somali female refugee bus driver. She has been criticised by her own Somali community because she wears trousers. On the other hand, she is discriminated against by some Norwegian racists,*

because she wears a Hijab while she works as a bus driver" (Somali female refugee).

This highlights the previously discussed challenges which some of the Muslim women face in Norwegian society. When the above Somali woman is working on the bus, she is faced with difficulties, as some Norwegian people did not want to see a bus driver with a Hijab. At the same time, the people from her own Somali community did not want to see a Somali Muslim woman wearing trousers. This shows how some refugees face difficulties and stress in their day to day integration into Norwegian society. As these women face two kinds of cultural pressure, it can increase their stress levels. I have identified this as another challenge refugee females' face in their everyday lives in Kristiansand, Norway.

Sometimes some Muslim female refugees seem to have doubts about whether they can ever become a part of Norwegian society due to their dress code; the Hijab and Abaya. When I was talking with one of my research participants reflected this idea. She expressed; "I am doing skiing, I am eating reindeer meat, I speak Norwegian, but with this Hijab, will you ever identify me as a Norwegian?" (Iraqi refugee female informant).

The above quote shows, that sometimes refugees' think that due to their religious identity, local Norwegians will never recognise them as a Norwegian citizen. Even if they get the "Norwegian" nationality status on their passports and eligibility to stay in Norway, they still feel that they never are going to be accepted as a Norwegian citizen, due to their dress code and Hijab. I wanted to ask for more information from this informant. So, I asked her when did she came to Norway. As she told me, she came to Norway when she was five years old and she was in her 20's by the time I interviewed her in 2016. Even though she has lived in Norway for 20 years, and speaks good Norwegian, has Norwegian friends, does winter sports like skiing, she still has doubts about if the local Norwegians really accept her as a "real Norwegian", due to her dress code; the Hijab and Abaya. It is a challenge for some Muslim female refugees in Norway because these issues raise questions about their sense of identity and belonging.Berry (1997) also have emphasised that when refugees do not feel belonging to the host culture because of their cultural practices , it increase their acculturative stress.

When I was talking with many refugee informants in my study, they told about *"real Norwegian"*. So, I wanted to ask from the refugees, who mentioned about "*real Norwegians*", what they meant by that. According to the informant above, she mentioned, "*A citizen who has*

a Norwegian passport, speaks Norwegian and do more activities like winter sports". She feels a less sense of belonging to Norwegian society, only because of her traditional dress.

The above informants and quotes show that the dress code of traditional Muslim women, especially Abaya and Hijab, made them feel a lesser sense of belonging within Norwegian society. The discrimination based on the traditional dress is especially found among non-western Muslim female refugees. I did not observe or hear of such challenges from any of the refugee males. The next challenge I am going to explain is "feeling a less sense of belonging because of their nationality".

5.2.2 Nationality

According to my informants, some Norwegians think that some refugee groups from developing regions like South Asia, and Africa, have never experienced comfortable lifestyles, modern facilities and technology in their home countries. I observed and heard this from some of my refugee informants. Some refugees have experienced discrimination and felt that some Norwegians underestimated them because of the prejudices they had towards their home countries. Some of my research participants from Ethiopia and Sri Lanka, who are refugees, have experienced discrimination because of their nationality.

Some Norwegians have underestimated Somalis because the majority of them have a lower educational background compared to other refugee groups (Østby, 2016), and Norway has a bigger portion of refugees from Somalia, and they are struggling to find jobs in the Norwegian job market. As some employers have a bad impression of Somalis, it has created a barrier for them to get employment. With the intention of getting some views from employers about workers from different countries, I went to meet a successful Norwegian businessman in Kristiansand. When I was talking with him, he mentioned about Somalian employees as follows;

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

I did some research in the Statistics Norway (hereafter SSB) and I could see that most Somalis are unemployed in Norway, as most Somalis educational level and qualifications are not considered adequate for the Norwegian job market (SSB, 2017b). Some of them do not even

have a primary school education from their home countries. They are labelled by some Norwegian citizens, as well as by the Norwegian media and national authorities, as a refugee group who has a difficult time to integrate into the Norwegian society and norms. Somalis are the largest refugee portion in Norway and they are the people who are still not performing well in the Norwegian job market, even though they arrived in Norway a few decades ago (Østby, 2016). According to the above quote, one of the reasons that they are not successful in the job market is because some employers have a mistrust of their capabilities and ethics. When refugees fail to be employable, even after a few years of their establishment, some Somalis feel that they do not belong in Norwegian society. The prejudices of their nationality and the generalisation that all Somalis are not ready for the job market is a real challenge for the educated Somalis as well.

I talked with another Somali female refugee and she has also faced a similar situation, which I already discussed above. She expressed how she faces challenges in the Norwegian society because of being Somalian:

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

This quote shows a good education is not necessarily a way into the workplace for Somalis in Norway. When I was talking with the informant I put close attention to her facial expressions. I could see that she had the look of frustration and hopelessness in her face when she was talking to me about how her Norwegian classmates could easily find jobs from their contacts, but that even though she had the same qualifications, she could not even get a job interview. Even though some Somalis try to overcome this challenge by taking a higher education and getting volunteer skills and do community service, they still experience discrimination in the job market because many people of their nationality have a bad reputation. The participant who talked with me had a very disappointed and hopeless expression on her face. Even though she did not have a higher educational background in Somalia, she could obtain a degree in a Norwegian university with much sacrifice and effort. Still, she feels no one has valued her in

the job market as she is "Somali". These types of prejudices and generalisations towards specific nationalities, make them feel that they are not an accepted part of the Norwegian society. This is also a challenge which other refugees face in Norway in their everyday lives.

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

Some Norwegians and other ethnic groups have stereotyped some characteristics as being unique to certain nationalities. It's a type of prejudice, but still, people make decisions based on that. In answer to my question about whether he had Somalis working in the above employer's firm, he told me that Somalis have a bad reputation in the organisations and that they have bad ethics. I then wanted him to explain to me what he meant by ethics. He told me that punctuality, trustworthiness, and their overall behaviour came under that. Compared with other refugee groups, he said that he feels that Somalis have lower ethics. I think that his reason for judging Somali people in this way is due to his previous experiences, and perhaps mainly from other employers' experiences. From our conversation, I understood how many Somali people face the challenge of having to try to break the mould caused by generalisation and the prejudice of them as a group, and having to prove their capability to employers.

Some of the other refugee ethnic groups have also faced similar cultural stigmas. Some other refugee groups also felt that they were discriminated against because of their original nationality, and some Norwegians have prejudices about their nationality, which leads them to have an underestimation of them. When I had another informal conversation with another research informant, he told me his personal experience related to this topic as below;

> "*When my dad came to Norway from Lebanon, his co-workers asked him, 'Where are you from?'. As he had lived in Italy for a long time and could speak fluent Italian, he told them he was from Italy. Then his colleagues said: 'Oh, you are also from Europe', and welcomed him. He did not tell them his original country of origin, because people have a different reputation from for Middle-East countries*" (Syrian-Norwegian male research informant).

I asked from this informant that "*why did not your dad tell his real nationality?",* Then he replied *"if he mentioned his original nationality and introduced himself as Syrian, it could*

cause other Norwegian colleagues have a bad impression of him. Therefore, he attempted to say he is from another European country, 'Italy', where he stayed for a few years. He (Dad) had noticed and felt how his Norwegian co-workers welcomed him due to his answer. He thinks if he had told them that his original country is Syria, he would never have got that kind of reaction and acceptance from them.

Above conversation also reflects that some refugees' feel they have less reputation because of their nationality. Some of my other research participants have explained to me how they feel that some Norwegians have built an image about their home countries. Some of my research participants added their personal experiences as below;

> "*Some European people think that Africa is a country where people are dying from hunger. When I say, that I am from Ethiopia, people ask me, "do people have enough food in Ethiopia?" They have created this image of Ethiopia, because of the development agencies showing only the dark side of Ethiopia to the world. They think that we do not have any hygiene and even the most basic facilities in our homes*" (Ethiopian male refugee).

According to the above informant, he thinks some Norwegians think that refugees experience all the modern facilities for the first time when they arrive in Norway. He told me that sometimes he feels bad about how some Norwegians generalise and built an incorrect image of their countries.

Another refugee participant also added her experience to me as follows:

> "*One Norwegian girl asked me, "Did you enjoy many new facilities in Norway, which you have never experienced in your home country? And she asked, "Do you have flushed toilets in your home?"* (Sri Lankan female refugee).

When I was talking with the above informants and the quotes I have mentioned above, shows what some Norwegian people imagine and have heard about some developing countries. It shows that these prejudices and underestimations, as well as a lack of recognition, have had an effect on the refugee's self-esteem and makes them feel that some Norwegians have a lack of recognition towards their home countries. The reputation and the recognition of different nationalities in which people are born also has an effect on the refugees' chances of being employed, as well as their chance of increasing their self-esteem in their everyday lives. It has

become a challenge for them to overcome the generalisations that Norwegians have about their countries, which has also had a bad effect on them being employable in the job market, as well as in their everyday life interpersonal relationships and contacts.

When I was doing my participant observations and unstructured interviews with refugees, I found another interesting finding. I mentioned the loss of recognition happening with Norwegians towards refugees, but the lack of recognition and reputation with regard to specific nationalities is not only happening with some Norwegians towards some refugees. Sometimes the same thing happens between refugee groups towards to other refugee groups. When I was talking with some refugees from Afghanistan, Somalia, Ethiopia. They told me that some refugees from Middle-East think they are of higher status than Asian and African refugees.

When I was talking with a refugee from Syria, he had a quite similar view on Asian and African refugees'. The following quote reflects this:

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

As the above quote reflected, some refugees have also been underestimated and given low recognition by another group of refugees. The lack of recognition, I mentioned in the above has been based on some African's and Asian's hygiene. Different cultures have their own definitions of hygiene (Davey et al., 1998 in Curtis & Biran, 2001). For example, as I have observed, Europeans prefer to serve dry plates on the food table and 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.

Lack of knowledge of other cultures creates misunderstandings and difficult interactions. It seems that some Norwegians, as well as some refugees, also have a lack of understanding about other countries and their cultures. Based on their lack of knowledge, it sometimes causes them to verbalise their discriminations and marginalisation, which leads some refugee groups to feel that they are less accepted in the host society. Recognition of one's original identity is also linked to their self-esteem, feelings of belonging and acceptance in the new society. A lack of reputation in some refugee nationalities has also become a challenge which refugees must face in their everyday lives.

Some nationalities have good recognition among people and it can increase the social capital of the people who are belonging to those nationalities. For an example, developed nations such as Scandinavian countries, have good recognition than developing war-affected countries like Ethiopia, Somalia, Afghanistan (Independent.uk, 2018). A lot of these countries are developing countries. They feel less recognition because of their home countries have less recognition it affects their unemployment as well (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007). This makes refugees decrease their social capital and it affects their self-esteem as well (Williams & Berry, 1991). When refugees face discriminations because of their nationality, it can make them have high acculturative stress (ibid). When there is a successful integration, refugees also should feel they are also part of the host society than thinking as separated nationalities (Strang & Ager, 2010; Korac, 2003). This is also one of the challenges I have identified in my fieldwork.

5.2.3 Racism against non-white people

When I was doing my data collection using ethnography, I could observe as well as hear from some refugees, there is discrimination of non-white people from some Norwegians as well as some refugee groups who have lighter skin colour than others.

Skin colour related prejudices and discriminations are also challenges which refugees face in their everyday lives in Norway. Research shows non-western refugees face discrimination and prejudices because of their nationality, hair, skin, and eye colour (Noh et al., 1999). Norwegian society is made up of white people and the typical Norwegian appearance stereotypes them as white skinned, blonde haired, with blue or grey eyes (Rödin & Ozcan, 2010). As I have mentioned earlier, recently, many non-western people from some parts of Asia and Africa came to Norway as refugees. In time some of them are able to gain refugee status and stay in Norway. They do not have the same appearance as local Norwegians have. When I was interviewing some of my refugee participants, they told me that they feel some visible and invisible discrimination, and marginalisation because of their skin colour and hair colour. This gave them a feeling of a lack of belonging to the Norwegian society.

One of my research participants expressed to me her experience as follows:

> *"I was born in Norway, I identify myself as a Norwegian rather than as Vietnamese because I do not speak Vietnamese, I do not cook Vietnamese food at home, and I do not have any Vietnamese friends in Norway, but some people do not identify me as a Norwegian. They ask me, 'Where are you from?', Even though the person I*

feel inside and my nationality is Norwegian, people still think of me 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).

The informant I mentioned above, was born in Norway, but her parents are refugees from Vietnam. Even if she was a Norwegian citizen, she does not blend in with the Norwegian stereotype. Sometimes she feels uncomfortable when local Norwegians ask her where she is from. She especially feels this when local Norwegians and others ask her about her nationality. She feels uncomfortable as some of them do not want and expect to hear from her that she is Norwegian. As she mentioned, with her dark hair and brown skin, some Norwegians do not accept that she belongs to Norwegian society. Because of that, she feels a less sense of belonging to the Norwegian society, and it is has become a challenge for her.

Another informant amongst my participants told me that racism sometimes occurs when some Norwegians get drunk. She told about her experience to me as follows:

"One drunken Norwegian man told me, "You burnt hair girl. Go back to your country" (Vietnamese refugee informant).

She told me, even though she was born in Norway, some conservative Norwegians do not accept dark-skinned people as Norwegians. Furthermore, she explained that the racism towards non-white people can occur when people are drunk. She based this on her own experience. This demonstrates that second-generation people, as well as refugees who already have gotten their permanent residency in Norway, sometimes feel that they do not belong to the Norwegian society because their appearance does not match the Norwegian stereotype. Some of the refugees have identified it as a form of racism. This can happen due to a lack of understanding and a lack of respect. As I have already mentioned, successful integration needs new people to feel that they belong to the host society and it leads to them to have social mobility (Ager & Strang, 2008).

"When I was talking with an Ethiopian informant I could find another interesting finding. Sometimes due to their physical features, some Norwegians and other Europeans have suspected some African country ethnic groups such as Ethiopians, Eritreans, and Somalis of being drug dealers, or being themselves, addicted to drugs. The above Ethiopian informant told me that when he went to the city at night

and stayed near to the beach, after a few minutes some Norwegians and other people approached him to buy marijuana" (Ethiopian refugee participant).

According to him, some Norwegians as well as other Europeans approached him and asked him for marijuana, because they have this impression that all black, curly-haired people are drug dealers and smoke marijuana. According to him, it is due to a lack of recognition and trust which non-white people get from some Norwegians. Sometimes skin based mistrust and prejudices cause a lot of stress to some refugees (Westerhof, 2007; Westerhof, 1997).

Discrimination based on skin colour does not just happen or occur by Norwegians towards different refugees, but also among different kinds of non-western groups towards other non-western refugees who have darker skin than them.

When I had an informal conversation with a refugee participant, she told me:

"People are really stupid. Middle Eastern refugees from Syria and Iraq have discriminated against other groups of refugees, such as Afghans, Indians and Africans. Then I asked her, "Why do you feel they are discriminated against these particular groups of people?" She replied to me: "Most of these countries have got servants from the Asian and African countries in the past when they had a good economy. Hence, they still think of people from Africa and South Asian as servants of their countries. She told me even Somalis also have discrimination towards other black skinned people, who are darker than Somalis. This occurs because of their skin colour" (Somali refugee participant).

This quote shows that racism happens among refugee groups as well. The racism among refugees does not happen only based on the skin colour but also based on their previous economic prosperity. According to my research participants, some Syrians and Iraqi refugees discriminate against refugees from South Asian countries like India, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka and African countries like Somalia, Ethiopia, because they have lighter skin than them. Another reason, as well as those middle-eastern countries, had a prosperous economy before they had wars in their country and they have received domestic workers from the previously mentioned countries (Moukarbel, 2010; Baldwin-Edwards, 2005). This has also become a reason for middle-eastern refugees discriminate against other refugees.

Surprisingly, among African regional refugees also discriminate against other darker skinned refugees from the same region such as Burundi, and some of their own countrymen, from different parts of Somalia, based on the darkness of their skin. It seems that racism is not only an issue with Norwegians towards non-western refugees but also amongst the refugees themselves. According to my research, discrimination based on skin colour seems to happen due to two reasons: one is the economic power of their country, secondly, it's related to their perception of beauty. Some cultures think lighter skinned people (white) look more beautiful (Gopinath, 2005), as well as white skinned people's countries have better economical capacities and therefore deserve more respect. I heard it from one of my refugee participants in my fieldwork. It shows the skin colour based discrimination, plays a significant role when it comes to marriage-related decision making.

I could observe and hear from some of my participants about another form of discrimination in interracial marriages. One of my informants told me his experience:

> *"My dad doesn't like my girlfriend and don't allow me to marry her because she is an Asian. Then I asked him: "Why isn't your dad like you marry her? Why does he accept only Middle Eastern or Caucasian people?" His reply was that his dad is worried about the colour of their grandkids and he is afraid of his family's identity. Maybe the grandkids will not look like Europeans or Middle Eastern people when they have dark skin*" (Male participant from Iraq).

It seems non-western people think they receive lower recognition and less of a chance of belonging to the host society if they marry someone with a darker skin than them. As I observed, there are two visible reasons for them to dislike darker skinned people. One is that they want to have more connection with the Norwegian society and marry someone Caucasian; the other one is, some refugees want to keep their cultural identity by retaining their skin colour. Some people feel more like they belong to the Norwegian society when they try to find partners from Norway. It opens more links and connectivity to the host society, as well as for their future generations not to only to be recognized as being a person with the refugee status.

I found many stories related to racism and intercultural marriage failures. As I have already identified, this is one of the major challenges which refugees face in their day to day lives. As I saw from my participant observation, racism among refugees also has become a challenge towards making a multi-cultural society in Norway. Some refugees told me that with their skin colour they feel that they cannot become and create a Norwegian identity in Norway. Even

though they receive “Norwegian citizenship” status, it doesn’t necessarily mean that they will feel a part of the society.

Dark skin and black skin refugees face many difficulties because of their skin colour in the host country, and because of this, they face challenges in interracial marriages, employment. Sometimes, having lighter skin increase the social capital (Hunter, 2002). It can see as another type of discrimination which refugees are facing. This is a problem for social mobility and it can increase the social mistrust between host society citizens and different refugee groups (Spaaij, 2012). When there is discrimination based on skin colour it makes refugees have psychological problems and acculturative stress (Nwadiora & McAdoo, 1996). I could observe that there was an economical reason behind the racism. Putnam (2000: 138) mentioned that strong economic capacity people have high level of social capital.

Next section, I will explain another type of discrimination where refugees feel a less sense of belonging to the host society. I have titled it as “Language”.

5.2.4 Language

Language is considered an important component of successful refugee integration (Ager & Strang, 2008). When refugees go about rebuilding their identity in the host society, language is essential for them, as it is the major requirement for them to connect and communicate with the host society. Norway’s official language is Norwegian, and refugees must learn the Norwegian language once they get refugee status. Municipalities provide language courses for them (Participant observation, 2016). Refugees have several opportunities to learn Norwegian in Kristiansand, but there are few options or opportunities to practice the language (Participant observation, 2016).

I have seen in my fieldwork that some refugees face challenges in learning Norwegian. Refugees coming to Norway have different educational backgrounds (Council of Europe, 1994). When a refugee has a good educational background, and if they are young, it makes easier for them to learn the language faster (National Research Council, 2000). Research shows that refugees who have a higher education, as well as knowledge of the English language, find it easier to integrate into the host society (Krahn et al., 2000).

One of my female refugee participants explained to me how the difficulties of language, create challenges for her in her day to day life in Norway:

> *"When I went to a parents' meeting at the school, I heard from my child that more Norwegian students have a bad perception of Africa and my son gets bullied. All the parents' meetings are in the Norwegian language, and 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 Norwegian students, about why refugees come to Norway. She accepted that and I could explain that to her because I knew English. But there are some refugee mothers I know who aren't able to communicate in either English or Norwegian. They have difficulties in communicating at the parents' meetings"* (Ethiopian female informant).

According to the above quote, that refugee participant could communicate with the teacher about her child's difficulties, due to her knowledge of the English language. Some of the refugee parents have challenges in communicating with their children's teachers and being able to have an everyday connection with Norwegians. Until they learn the language, it can be helpful for them to know the English language; but most of the female refugees from Middle-Eastern countries are not good English speakers either (participant observation, 2016).

Above Ethiopian female informant told me that she came to Norway with the help of a smuggler. Even though she has settled in Norway, she did not originally plan to come to Norway. When she came to Norway, the smuggler just dropped her in front of a police station. She could talk with police officers and communicate directly with them as well as explain what happened because she knew English. She said that most of the asylum seekers who cannot communicate in English face difficulties with communication in their everyday lives when they first arrive in Norway.

Furthermore, it shows the importance of the English language, until they learn Norwegian to the level that they can communicate. I met another refugee informant, I met in my fieldwork explained to me how she felt about learning Norwegian as stated below:

> *"Norwegian is easy to learn when you already know English, but people from Non-European countries who do not have the English letters in their alphabet and the same root language, they have more difficulties in learning the language*" (Iranian male refugee).

According to the above refugee informant, due to the fact that he is a native Persian speaker, and that the Persian letters and sounds are so different from English sounds and letters, he has a bigger challenge to learn the Norwegian language, as do other refugees in the same situation. He feels that people who have studied English as their second language, or who have similar letters or sounds in their language to English, this makes it easier for them to learn Norwegian by comparison.

From my participant observation, when refugees come to the CBO meetings, sometimes refugees from the same region congregate together and once there is a break in the meeting, they talk in their own language. As I observed, it is one of the reasons they have difficulties to speak Norwegian fast, as well as to find new friends from other ethnic refugee groups and Norwegian (Participant observations, 2016)

It is a challenge for refugees to learn a new language and reach a level to be able to communicate well with local people; even though refugees get access to Norwegian language classes, and it is compulsory to learn Norwegian once refugees receive permission to stay in Norway as a refugee (Trygstad, 2016). Asylum seekers are not allowed to participate in governmental sponsored language programmes. As some asylum seekers have been staying in Norway for more than five years, they have more challenges compared to other refugees. I met an Iranian female refugee who came with her family to Norway and she expressed her difficulties in her everyday life as stated below:

> "*I have been in Norway for nine years, but I did not get UDI permission, still I am waiting for that. But I knew without learning Norwegian, I cannot live in this country. So, I joined different volunteer organisations. There are more local Norwegians than foreigners. Volunteers are friendlier. We have been walking in the streets for hours and talking. That's how I practised my Norwegian*" (Iranian female refugee informant).

The above asylum seeker and her family wanted to overcome the communicational challenges they experience in their everyday lives and it was one of the ways they could earn the right to belong in the Norwegian society even if they did not get refugee status. She used to volunteer in organisations as it gave an opportunity to her to practice the language with native speakers. It helps them to practice the dialect and correct pronunciation.

Another male refugee participant, who is from Syria, expressed how he felt like he belonged in the host country when he could communicate with local Norwegians. It shows the benefits which can receive from the CBOs made some refugees to volunteer. According to Putnam (2000) CBOs have shared goals. Sometimes refugees and CBOs have their own aims and when both parties can meet their goals, it will increase the benefits for both sides.

.

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

According to him, being able to communicate in Norwegian makes living in Norway more comfortable and easy. Researchers also found that refugees can increase their feelings of belonging to the host culture if they know the host culture's language.

Another conversation I had with a refugee female in my fieldwork confirmed the above idea, that being able to speak the language increases a refugee's confidence in the host culture, as well as it makes it easier for them to find some ways to increase their feeling of belonging to the host society. An Iraqi Kurdish refugee confirmed that as stated below:

> "*Norwegians prefer when refugees speak Norwegian. People from the host society highly appreciate it when immigrants respect the Norwegian culture, language and admire their traditions*" (Kurdish refugee).

The above quote shows, 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 want to have more Norwegian friends, it is useful and valuable to know the Norwegian language, and it increases their chances of making Norwegian friends.

Language is one the major criteria that local Norwegians use to measure the integration level of immigrants (Goodman, 2010). Many younger people integrate into the host society quicker than older people, because younger people can learn the language and new things faster than their elders (Van-Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2005). A refugee seems 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. The below quote confirms that:

> "*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 felt sorry for myself'* (Female refugee from India).

This shows how knowing Norwegian is important to increase their employability in the Norwegian job market.

Sometimes many non-western female refugees do not experience gender equality and it is easy to notice, that in many cases they depend on males. It could be an older male, dad, husband or son. Many refugees came to Norway from those non-western countries like Somalia, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, and Syria, where the male is very dominant in the culture. One of my interesting findings is that the learning of the host culture's language makes non-western women more independent than others in their societies.

One of the Iranian refugee females confirmed the above details from her quote:

> "*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-year' time in Norway, I cannot believe how I managed that. I feel more comfortable and independent now as I can speak Norwegian*" (Iraqi Kurdish female refugee).

It shows that clear communication in host societies language can help refugees to 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 there.

Another interesting finding, I found from my fieldwork is that some refugees ended up assimilating rather than only integrating, because of having the aim of becoming fluent in Norwegian. One of the refugee participants whom I have interviewed told me:

> "*If you want to learn Norwegian, you must forget speaking other languages and speak only in Norwegian. Associate with local Norwegians and talk with them. I always try to hang out with Norwegian friends and do activities with them*" (Syrian male refugee informants).

The refugee participant, with whom I communicated, was a Syrian refugee who recognised the importance of learning Norwegian and he identified a language learning tip, which helps people to learn Norwegian faster; that is to stop using other languages, even not to speak his mother tongue anymore and only speak in Norwegian with local Norwegians. Practising speaking the language with locals and trying to communicate in the new language has been identified as the fastest way to learn the language (Rubin, 1981). But at the same time, I see that it leads some refugees to assimilate into the Norwegian culture, rather than only integrating, because indirectly refugees are forced to move and associate more in the Norwegian culture, and find Norwegian friends. In turn, it causes them to become more fluent in Norwegian and its dialects.

Understanding and learning different dialects at the same time is a challenging task for refugees. When I was participating in CBO meetings at LUNAR and KIA, some Norwegians advised refugees that it seemed to be wise to focus on one dialect first. One of the Norwegian volunteers advised a refugee as below:

> "*When foreigners focus on one dialect, it is easier for them to find jobs in their municipality. Norway has many dialects which can be confusing. It's easier to learn if you focus on one dialect*" (A Norwegian volunteer informant).

She gave this advice to the refugee because Norway has hundreds of dialects, and she said that Norwegians can even identify the person and region from their dialect. Refugees face challenges to understand different dialects, even when they can speak Norwegian. I heard from some Norwegians that some dialects are difficult to understand for locals as well. As the above Norwegian participant told me, some municipalities also prefer to hire candidates who have the municipality's dialect.

I heard the same idea expressed by a former refugee who has established himself in Norway as a refugee fifteen years ago. He emphasised the importance of focusing on one dialect at a time when learning Norwegian.

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

The advice of focusing on a particular dialect when learning Norwegian, as a beginner, is advised by both local Norwegian volunteers as well as former established refugees.

I observed that it is easy to impress some Norwegian people if the refugees practice or talk in their particular regional dialect. For example, Kristiansand people like to hear refugees try to practice their dialect. It makes them happy to see a newcomer come to their region and embrace their traditions. In one meeting, I observed the following: A daughter of a Syrian refugee talked with one Norwegian lady at a meeting of a LUNAR CBO. The Norwegian lady said: "*Oh. You speak pure Kristiansand-dialect".* She ended the comment with a thumb up (Fieldwork, 2016).

From the above statement and the local's reaction, as well as my observation of participants, I have come to the realisation that, speaking the dialect of the specific region where they abide, it makes the local people of that area happier. It can also make such an impression on the local people, that they want to get acquainted with the newcomers.

One of the female refugee participants from Somalia, included in my research, expressed her feelings and what she had come to realise from her friends' experiences; that it is very important to know the dialect of the area where you live, and the relationship of knowing the dialect and how it is closely linked to the Norwegian job market. When I was in my fieldwork, I could hear this from one of my participants as below;

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

According to the above informant, sometimes there is an unseen discrimination which can occur based on the ability to speak their dialect. The above perspective of the Somali refugee has been confirmed by another immigrant, who came to Norway as a PhD holder from the USA because she married a Norwegian man. She told me she also felt and experienced discrimination while in a job interview, because of the fact she did not speak the interviewers' areas dialect:

> "*I am married to a Norwegian man and I speak Norwegian fluently. But I wanted to get a job in the area where my husband lives, but it is in a bit of a conservative part of Norway. They preferred to recruit the people who speak that region's dialect*" (USA female immigrant).

The above conversation with immigrants where they expressed their views on speaking a region's dialect, highlights how it has played a significant role in being recruited for a job.

Sometimes language is one of the major discriminations refugees face in the job market because it is difficult for them to have equality with the local Norwegians language level. Norway has two major divisions of the language; one is called the New Norwegian (Nynorsk) and written Norwegian (Bokmål). I asked some Norwegian volunteers if they knew both the languages, but many of them in Southern Norway do not know "Nynorsk". But sometimes, the language of the host country makes refugees feel less confident and feel like they do not belong in the host society. According to Berry (1997), burden of learning new language can increase the acculturative stress.

One refugee participant from Bosnia also has experienced a discrimination because of not knowing the New Norwegian (Nynorsk). She expressed me her experience as follows:

> "*I went for an interview and they asked if I speak New-Norwegian"* (Bosnian female refugee participant)

Furthermore, the above informant expressed to me how hard it was for her to learn Norwegian, and she told me she had studied Norwegian at the Bergen University in Norway and she took the Bergen test which has been recognised as a test which immigrants can use to demonstrate their fluency in Norwegian (Folkeuniversitetet.no, 2018). As she has mentioned, sometimes Norwegian employers choose to find weak points in their use of the language, when they do not want to hire foreigners. It seems a lot of immigrants feel that the language, is used as an excuse or weapon against them getting a job in the Norwegian job market and it makes them feel less like they belong in the Norwegian society. Berry (1997) has noted that dominant cultures have more power than non-dominant cultures, however, they always want to adopt non-dominant cultures into the mainstream culture. As I understood, language became a powerful tool of the dominant culture, and my research findings show there are some disadvantages for refugees in the Norwegian job market because they don't know the language well.

Learning the host country's language is essential for refugees in the integration process and this can identify as a factor which refugees have to get from the host society as integration allows refugees to keep some of their practices as well as get some of the practices from the host society (Cheong et al., 2007). Knowing the host society's language can increase the social capital of the refugees with the host society and it builds bridges between refugees and locals (Kanas et al., 2009). As well as increase the opportunities such as in the job market (Boyd & Cao, 2009). When refugees do not know the host country's language, it can make them have

some communication problems and increase their stress level'; high acculturative stress (Segal & Mayadas, 2005). As I found in my research fieldwork, knowing the host society language increase the independence of female refugees.

5.2.5 The consequences of having a foreign name in Norway

I have already discussed some occasions and incidents where refugees feel a less sense of belonging to the Norwegian society. Another interesting finding, some refugees feel a lack of of belonging to the Norwegian society because of their names, as it reflects their nationality or cultural identity.

Sometimes the sound of names gives the idea of a person's religion, which country or region they are from. For example, when there are names such as "Mohammed" or "Fathima", they are presumed to be part of the Muslim tradition. As I have heard from some of my informants, their original names reveal their religious identity or where they are from in the world, when they apply for job interviews, it creates some prejudices towards them from their employers. As they have already mentioned, most of the time it affects them in a negative way. It also makes them feel a lack of belonging in the Norwegian society because of their names.

According to my informants, there are invisible discriminations based on their names. Some names sound non-western and sometimes they feel they cannot say they are Norwegian as people will not recognise them as Norwegian because of their name.

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

The above participant is a child whose mother is Norwegian, and his dad is from Syria, although he was born in Norway. His first name sounds Arabic and usually, he uses his first name. He feels that many local Norwegians and his friends, will never recognise him as Norwegian, and this causes him to feel a lack of belonging to the Norwegian society because of his name.

When refugees apply for jobs, many employers show prejudice because of the applicants' name, which sound foreign or they presume they belong to a certain religious group. Some refugee participants whom I have interviewed thought that they did not even get job interviews

because of their names, as people became prejudiced due to them and formed a certain opinion of them, even they had never met them in person.

One of another research informant, explained about his fear of unemployment even though he has completed his master's degree at a Norwegian university. The major reason for his fear was, he will not select even for job interviews, because of his name and nationality can bring bad impression to the employer. He explained it as below:

> "*I am from Pakistan and Mohammed is my name. When employers see my name, they recognize me as a Muslim and a refugee, and because of that, they won't call me even for interviews. I have applied for jobs together with my Norwegian friend. He got the interview, but I did not*" (Informant from Pakistan).

According to my above informants, they felt that their names became like a barrier for them to build up their identity, and have access to some of the opportunities within the Norwegian society.

I met some refugee participants who had changed their names with the intention of increasing their sense of belonging to the Norwegian society. Especially I could see this when I was participating in the CBO meetings at LUNAR and KIA. I was asking some refugee participants about the names of their children. Some refugee parents have given names to their children which sounds Norwegian. Even some parents, who have a Muslim background, gave their children first names that sounds Norwegian.

With all of this information, I came to the realisation that sometimes non-western refugees feel a lack of belonging in the Norwegian society due to their original names, as sometimes it reveals their original cultural or religious identity.

The identity of a person and names as "revealing" their culture and nationality. It is natural to have prejudices. Refugees can have some stress because of thinking they get discrimination in the host society because of some of their personal identity. Some discriminations against refugees in the job market are invisible (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007). Name-related discriminations in the job market can also be invisible or unknown, when there is a successful integration, refugees should have the right to access economic activities. If they do not, it can increase the stress level of refugees, and the ending result of less employability among refugees decrease the social trust (Rothstein, 2005).

5.2.6 Discrimination in the job market

Employability is one of the criteria which contributes to making refugees feel they are belonging to the new society (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007). Most refugees get short-term work environment training from the municipality, along with opportunities to practice the language (Kristiansen, 2016), but the training does not last long. Some non-western refugees seem to rather find jobs than learning the language (Trygstad, 2016).

Some refugee informants in my study, told me they are facing some difficulties, because of some of the jobs which they had done while in their home countries, were not available in the job market in Norway. Apart from the fact some of the refugees not having any job-related education or degrees. This is one of the major challenges I heard about from refugees, which they face in their everyday lives.

One of the refugee participants from Somalia explained to me about another Somali ladies experience:

> "*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 in which she worked, the Kindergarten wanted a Norwegian person who had a degree related to Kindergarten teaching*" (Somali refugee).

As this Somali informant's experience shows, many refugees face the challenge of proving their abilities without an education qualification related to the area in which they work. She suggested municipalities should allow refugees to work in a workplace for at least one year to get the experience in one workplace, and then gives them a certificate or letter about their work. At least it would help the refugees to find another job.

As I heard from my participants, after the compulsory language course, refugees get two options; either to further their studies at Norwegian schools or find a job. I met a female refugee from Eretria who had selected the second option, to find a job; but after seven years she had failed to find a job in the Norwegian job market as she did not have a job-related education (personal conversation with Eritrean female refugee). At the same time, this programme might

highlight another challenge presented 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). Older refugees do not have the right attitude or mindset to start an education when it is presented to them as an option. At the same time, refugees from war-affected countries, who did not have basic education qualifications in their home countries have many challenges. For example: after the language school, both females and males over the age of forty tend to prefer to find jobs without selecting the option of education.

I met some refugees who do not want to do less recognised jobs, such as being a cleaner, or a waiter in Norway as they are thinking about their previous social status. I met some refugees who had well-reputed jobs in their home countries such as lawyers, doctors and professors but showed that they were not willing to do a job which is not a reputable job in their cultural contexts. In most non-European countries, personal recognition is given according to the job titles (Mestheneos & Ioannidi. 2002). Because of this, some highly educated refugees seem they need to change their attitude towards the job opportunities available to them.

One of the Syrian male refugees, who was a lawyer in his country and now works as a waiter told me about some of his friends who are still unemployed:

> "*If they were more flexible and open-minded, they might get a job in the Norwegian job market*" (Syrian refugee).

According to him the major reason that some refugees are unemployed is that they are not open-minded enough and too conservative. The conversations with my participants reflected that they have challenges in finding jobs in the Norwegian job market due to the mismatch of their qualifications, and failed to prove the documentation of their skills and the professions according to European standards.

5.2.7 "Immigrant only villages and areas" (Ghetto areas)

I have already discussed how some refugees feel a lack of connection or belonging to the Norwegian society. Personal recognition, self-esteem is also important for people to live in the society (Gonzales & Hancock, 2011). Social capital also explains how much it is important for refugees to have the feeling of recognition and self-esteem in a host country. According to Ager and Strang (2008) feeling of belonging and have a self-recognition and not being marginalisation are important for having successful integration into the society.

I heard from some refugees during my fieldwork, that there is one area in Kristiansand, where many more refugees are living than local Norwegians. When I asked from some Norwegians about the area called Slettheia, Kristiansand, they also told there are many more refugees and foreigners than locals (Fieldwork, 2016). The places called lower recognised and less economically developed name as "ghetto areas". The word "ghetto" implies a low level of economic activity (Ager & Strang, 2008). There are some areas in host countries which have been labelled as "ghetto areas", which have less recognition among locals based on their economic status (Phillimore & Goodson, 2006). As I have observed and heard from my participants, most refugees receive homes in these areas to live and they feel these areas have lower recognition due to their lack of participation in economic activities, social status, and professional backgrounds.

As I heard from some local Norwegians in Kristiansand, the land prices also sometimes are lower than other most Norwegian living areas. One of the Somali refugees in my study added her opinion as follows:

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

As she mentioned, in the area of Slettheia, there are many refugees living there and she identified the area as have been labelled as a low recognised area among local Norwegians in Kristiansand city.

When I was asking about Slettheia from one of the local Norwegians in Kristiansand, she replied me as follows:

> *"Some Norwegians do not like to buy land in refugee living areas, even if it is cheaper than Gemlekolen, or in the city areas, because they are concerned about the recognition and the reputation*" (Norwegian citizen).

This shows invisibly some Norwegians have built a lower recognition of the majority of the refugees living areas. This has had an effect on the refugee's feeling of belonging to the host society. According to the Norwegian refugee integration strategy, municipalities often receive the same ethnic groups or put them together in nearby areas (ICMC Norway, 2013). When people create ghetto areas, the refugees will have less interaction with local Norwegians.

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

One of the refugee participants in my study, who has lived in Oslo for a few years told me:

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

According to him, the Norwegian capital city, Oslo, has some areas where they can significantly be identified as Ghetto areas. As I observed in the Kristiansand municipality, these are not clearly identifiable ghetto areas, but some Norwegian people, as well as immigrants, have identified some areas in Kristiansand, like Slettheia, which are close to having the features of Ghetto areas.

Another refugee participant in my study told me about another area in Norway, which she could clearly be identified as a majority immigrant living area. She told me in her own words as follows:

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

According to my research data, I heard from research participants, that living in a place where more refugees are living, creates a sense of low recognition for them, as well as it gives them fewer opportunities to have social connections with local Norwegian people. As it gives them less recognition as dwellers of the less recognised area, it affects their self-esteem as well as creating a feeling of a lack of belonging to the host culture.

The challenges I have discussed different issues are directly linked to the feeling of belonging to the host culture and these are the challenges they face in their everyday lives. The area of the people living also can increase the social capital (Forrest & Keqarns, 2001). If a refugee living in a well-recognised and highly reputed area, it increases his self-esteem and allows him to make more friends. Vice-versa when people live in lower recognised areas it makes them have less recognition and it causes them to have lower self-esteem (Phinney et al., 2001). This can create acculturative stress for refugees as well. Because it has identified having recognition and living in a decent area cause less stress (Bhugra, 2000). Living in a highly recognised area creates opportunities for job opportunities as they have a good network and friends in the area (Cattell, 2001). But when they do not have it, it can create stress for refugees. According to Fukuyama (1995), social trust can increase when there is social equality. When there are specific areas where many immigrants live and economic inequality. Moreover, social inequality will lead to crime and unsafe society (Cullen, 1994).

Next section, I will explain another challenge which refugees face in their everyday integration in Kristiansand Norway: the challenge of finding friends and neighbours.

5.2.8 The challenge of finding Norwegian friends and neighbours

I have already mentioned above, some difficulties which I could hear and observe from refugees when I was in the CBO meetings, programs as well as different occasions and events. In this section, I have categorized some other challenges refugees face under the topic ***the challenge of finding Norwegian friends and neighbours.*** Previous research found that having good friends and neighbours from the local community increases the feeling of belonging to the society and refugees in Norway have some difficulties to find Norwegian friends and neighbours (Helliwell & Putnam, 2004; Valenta, 2008). I also found that some refugee participants are unhappy in Norway because they have some difficulties of finding Norwegian friends in my research. One of the female refugee participants who I met in my fieldwork explained her experiences to me as follows:

> "*First, we were living in Arendal, and it is not a big municipality like Kristiansand. When we were in Arendal, one old Norwegian lady helped us and she was our neighbour too. My children went to Arendal School. My daughters had many 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 in Kristiansand, but my daughters do not have any new friends. They do not like going out, because they do not have any friends in Kristiansand. Their routine is, going to school and coming back, watching films and reading comics. That's all. Sometimes, I find old birthday invitation cards from their classmates, but they have not attended. Their teachers also told me that they should be more socially active. I have tried my best to encourage them to find friends. They also told me their classes are made up of mainly Norwegians, and they have their own gangs. Because of this, my daughters are not connecting with their classmates. I do not know what should I do to make them have friends. That it is not possible to find friends, like buying something from a shop" (Female refugee participant).

The above conversation reflects that the changing of the environment and moving municipalities has an effect on refugees' everyday lives. It is easy to understand that above participant and her family put effort to adopt the place they lived; Arendal but they moved to Kristiansand. As a foreigner to the municipality, she and her children had to start their social connection from the beginning. At the same time, I could see she has a fear of her future. I met some refugee parents who think like above refugee informant, who are worrying about their children and their isolation in the school, due to being without friends. According to Valenta (2008), many refugees have difficulties in finding friends in the Norwegian society. Having good friends and neighbours increase the social capital of the people and it is considered as a sign of a successful integration (Ziersch, 2005). According to psychologists, refugees need to have good friends and neighbours as it helps them to have less stress and psychological problems (Sam & Berry, 1995). In addition, refugees as forced migrants, many of them have experienced traumatic experiences. Therefore, they need to have good friends (ibid). When refugees fail to find friends from the host society, it creates challenges and difficulties for them.

When I was in the LUNAR meetings some refugee women were criticising and commenting about the nature of Norwegian people based on their personal experiences. When one woman was talking about her experience, it was always some inputs from other women. One female informant, she explains about the difficulties of finding friends in Norway:

"*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 more with the Norwegian people, and have a conversation with them that goes beyond "hi and bye", but many Norwegian volunteers are very open-minded*" (Somali female refugee participant).

According to the above informant, she experienced how it is not easy to have Norwegian friends, and she has also experienced that many Norwegians does not seem to like to have conversations with strangers. It seems she has generalised the qualities of the Norwegians based on her previous experiences and it made her think that it is difficult to find Norwegian friends. At the same time, she has identified it as a challenge.

As I have already mentioned there is some research done in the field of psychology that many refugees are suffering from psychological disorders such as PTSD (Berry & Sam, 1997). To reduce those stresses and depression, they tend to find friends to tell their stories and relieve some of the stress (Fazel et al, 2005). But refugees seem to have the challenge to find neighbours who they can share their feelings with; happiness and sadness, and it became a challenge in their everyday integration in Norway One female refugee informant from Eritrea explains how she feels that difficulty as follows;

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

According to the above refugee, she feels loneliness, and cultural shock, when she cannot find good friends and neighbours. The above informant feels living in Norway is challenging as she was not able to find good neighbours. Having good neighbours is important for refugee integration (Brunner, Hyndman, & Mountz, 2014: 85), but this seems to be a challenge for many refugees.

According to one of my other informants, his sentiments, reflect my previous refugee participants' views, states the following:

> "*Many refugees have difficulties in experiencing good neighbourliness in Norwegian neighbourhoods, as Norwegians do not like to visit nearby homes and talk with them. We barely see them*" (Syrian refugee male informant).

It seems more refugees want to have friendly neighbours because they know if an emergency happens, they may need the help of neighbours. As most of the non-western refugees have experienced having close relationships with their neighbours in their own countries, they like to have good neighbours in Norway too. According to my observations, most Norwegians have

less connection with their neighbours. I asked a Norwegian volunteer what is the reason for Norwegians to have fewer contacts with their neighbours. According to her, Norwegian citizens have more trust in the state than their neighbours (Fieldwork, 2016). Norway has been identified as a country with a strong welfare system (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2008), and another reason she mentioned was that many Norwegians like to enjoy their lives alone in a cabin, forest and enjoying their coffee.

As I have heard and observed from my participants, having good social connections, and good friends not only for the psychological support of the people. it has a direct influence on their employability (Fieldwork, 2016). When people are applying for jobs, they try to find strong, well reputed and well-known references, as it attracts employers. Refugees have difficulties finding Norwegian people who are willing to recommend them for other future jobs. One of my refugee informants, explains the importance of having Norwegian friends to get a job as below:

> "*One of my friends who came to Norway from an African country as a refugee, got a permanent job in a Norwegian company as an accountant, because she put one of the most successful businessmen in Kristiansand, as her reference*" (Refugee from Egypt).

According to the above informant, she highlights the importance and the influence of having a Norwegian persons' reference on your CV, and how it can increase their job opportunities. But many of my refugee participants explained that they have few Norwegian friends.

According to another interesting finding of my fieldwork is, having good friends from former refugee groups, as well as local Norwegians, can influence newly arrived refugees to make the right decisions related to finding work, part-time jobs, continue education, select subjects. At least they can guide them to make good decisions, and show them the opportunities available to them. One of my refugee informants explained to me her experiences with regard to decision making:

> "*When I came to Norway, I didn't know what to do after the language school. The language school teacher told me to choose one of the two options; the furthering of my education or going to work. I chose to continue my education because I was thinking that without a Norwegian education, how I would be able to find a job. I talked with some Somali refugees who were established in Norway. Some of them*

had selected the choice to work, but they told me not to choose that option, as, without a Norwegian educational qualification, they had faced difficulties. Therefore, I chose to further my education, and after that, I went to university. But despite this, I still have been facing difficulties in finding a job. But I am happy about the decision I took that day" (Somali refugee informant).

The quote shows how important it is to get good advice and listen to others' experiences to help make decisions, as it guides them to think more about what are their best options. Having close friends makes it easier for refugees to make decisions.

Another interesting finding is that many of my refugee informants have difficulties in understanding the Norwegians facial expressions and reactions. One of my female refugee informant from Uganda explained to me her experience, and how she feels about Norwegians;

"*Sometimes, some Norwegians are fake. Sometimes they do not show their real emotions and cover their emotions with smiles. Even though they are angry, you cannot identify it*" (Ugandan refugee informant).

I feel that refugees find it is a bit difficult to understand the Norwegians' emotions and reactions because understanding nonverbal communication is a type of cultural knowledge (Fieldwork, 2016). According to above informant, to the facial expressions and reactions is more difficult for them than in their own culture. Moreover, lack of cultural understanding seems a challenge for refugees to make friends.

5.2.9 The feeling of belonging to the host society and the importance of sports and Norwegian leisure activities.

Leisure activities are very important to every human being. Norway is as a country which has longer periods of winter with snow than most countries, and this is shown in the famous snow-related activities. Many Norwegians are proud to say that they are the best in the winter Olympics (Fieldwork, 2016). Especially skiing, ice skating, hiking and cabin trips are famous Norwegian activities. For non-western refugees, most of these activities are not very familiar to them. Knowing about the major cultural activities and sports of the host society increases the feeling of belonging to the Norwegian society. Sometimes, refugees find this as a challenge for them to make Norwegian friends and enjoy the nature in Norway. A refugee informant who got

a Norwegian girlfriend expressed the challenges he faces because he does not know famous Norwegian sports such as swimming, skating and other winter sports as follows;

> *When was talking with the above informant, I asked: "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 school, I did not practice with my family. My mom is a traditional Islamic woman, and she does not go swimming. So, I also did not get any chance to practice, but Norwegian students, they get the opportunity to practice with their parents. My girlfriend is Norwegian and she knows almost all winter sports and swimming. I feel she has something more than to me and less masculine*" (conversation with the researcher and an Iraqi refugee informant).

This conversation shows that sometimes refugee children face a lack of belonging to the Norwegian society when they do not know how to do some of the sports which many Norwegians know. Swimming is a sport which many Norwegians know as their everyday sport. But, some refugee parents from non-western cultures, do not know how to swim and teach it to their children. I also observed a lack of opportunities for refugee children to practice sports with the family, which is another challenge for them.

Sometimes refugees feel frustration and less optimistic about their future in Norway. Another informant added his view on his life in Norway as follows:

> "*Norway is not a country to spend time in when you get old*" (Kurdish refugee informant).

Some refugees do not see that they can spend their old age happily in Norway. The major reason for that is, they do not know how to enjoy the winter in Norway. Winter sports is one of the major reasons which made Norwegians enjoy the snow, but many refugees from the countries from African region and some Asian countries do not enjoy the winter as Norwegians (Fieldwork, 2016). As well as, sometimes the snow is slippery, and it can be risky for old people who do not know how to walk on snow. There is a Norwegian saying, which emphasises the importance of winter sports in the Norwegian culture; "*Norwegians are the best in winter sports. They were born with skis on their feet*" (Norwegian saying).

Sometimes knowing winter sports as a refugee, adds value to their character, and it also opens up more opportunities for them to find Norwegian friends. One Norwegian person shared his experience as below;

> "*My uncle called me on my phone and told that he talked with a refugee for the first time in his life, even though he does not like immigrants. I was surprised and asked the reason for that. He said that it was because he saw an Indian refugee trying to ski the same place he did ski; that made him feel the refugee respected the Norwegian culture and Norwegian traditions*" (Norwegian male informant).

According to the above quote, it shows that sometimes Norwegians also have prejudices against refugees, as they do not seem to respect the Norwegian culture. This shows that sometimes it makes Norwegians feel happy to see foreigners also respect their traditions by doing winter sports.

This shows refugees face different difficulties in the Norwegian society when they do not know the Norwegian sports. Some of the difficulties I have found; feeling a lack of belonging, feeling a lack of masculinity in the Norwegian society, as the majority of refugees are not familiar with the winter sports culture in Norway. Ager and Strang highlighted that successful refugee integration needs refugees to get some cultural practices from the host culture (Ager & Strang, 2008). Sports is also a major source which refugees learn from the host culture and it is considered as a source of social capital (Olliff, 2008; Skinner et al., 2008). When refugees can not understand and adapt to new cultural practices , it can increase the acculturative stress (Berry, 1997). According to previous research, the family has the major influence on kids to learn sports (Fedricks & Eccles, 2005). One of the challenges I could observe from refugees' children was many of them did not familiarize themselves with winter sports because their parents did not have any knowledge or experience of these kinds of activities (Fieldwork, 2016). It makes them have fewer opportunities to make friends, increase social capital. Sometimes host society people expect from refugees to respect their culture, as the mutual respect of culture is also a sign of successful refugee integration. Therefore, as I found in my research, refugees have challenges in their everyday integration because of having lack of understanding of Norwegian winter sports.

5.3 Feelings of insecurity

When I was doing my fieldwork, I could find another challenge which refugees face in their everyday life in Kristiansand, Norway. It is the feeling of insecurity. Feeling secure is important for everyone. Refugees also should be able to feel safe in the host society. One of the fears that refugees have is that they will get discriminated against, or face physical or verbal violence from local Norwegians or other immigrant groups because they are foreigners to the host society. Sometimes the discrimination can happen, based on their skin colour, ability to talk the language, educational qualifications, recognition. There are different reasons behind the discrimination, and one of the major ones is prejudice. As I have mentioned before, sometimes there are some negative prejudices towards refugees from non–western countries. The mistrust related prejudices can see between both refugees among other refugees, as well as Norwegians towards refugees (Fieldwork, 2016). The Norwegian society receives asylum seekers from different countries in the world and an increasing number of immigrants coming from different countries sometimes get a feeling of insecurity among local Norwegians, as well as some refugee groups, who have established themselves in Norway decades ago. I came to understand that fear and insecurity when I was talking with some of the refugees in my fieldwork. One of the refugee participants, who came from Sri Lanka, and lived in Norway for more than thirty years, told me how he feels insecure in the Norwegian society, with the increment of refugees recently as follow:

> "*Now it is very unsafe to walk alone in the city, especially at night time. More crimes are happening in Norway because there are many refugees from Africa and other middle-eastern countries. If you walk in the city, you will see more immigrants than local Norwegian people*" (Sri Lankan refugee informant).

According to the above former refugee informant, he feels unsafe and has prejudices based on mistrust of the newly arrived mass refugee groups. Norway received a higher number of refugees in 2015, from different conflict zones in the world, namely Syria, Afghanistan, and Somalia (SSB, 2017a). As he mentioned, it is very apparent that he could see more foreigners in the city compared to previous years. Norway used to be a homogenous society, with fewer immigrants, but times have changed. Former refugees, as well as Norwegians, mistrust immigrants with the increment of refugees coming to Norway. They see it as a threat to the social security welfare system, and as a threat to the society in general (Schneider, 2008). This mistrust is based on prejudices from former refugee groups and has also become a challenge for newly arrived refugees, as it can be a barrier for them when they try to find good friends and neighbours. It can affect their self-esteem, as well when they realise some another refugee groups mistrust them.

Another research participant from Uganda confirms that she also mistrusts some other refugee groups in Norway because one her best friends advised her as follow;

> "*One of my friends told me 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 late at night and use the small paths in the forest. My friend told me that more Eastern Europeans and Somalis are here and they can be violent*" (Ugandan refugee informant).

As my above participant has mentioned, she got advice from former refugee, not to walk alone in the city and dark places at the night, because it can be dangerous. It seems the mistrust can happen with the prejudices and even among refugee towards to other refugee groups.

Another interesting finding, I could find from my fieldwork is that even though some refugees come from the same country, with the same nationality, but have a different ethnic identity, can mistrust and feel insecure amongst each other. At the same time, the same nationality refugees, and refugees from neighbouring countries, who have experienced war and ethnic conflicts long time ago, still have prejudices and anger due to different reasons, such as a lack of reconciliation. It can also become a reason for them to have mistrust between each other in Norway. This is highlighted by 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 refugee informant).

Pakistan separated from India in 1947, and they had conflicts related to their borders (Varshney, 1991). The above Pakistan refugee informant feels Indians hate them and do not want to have connections with Pakistanis as Indians mistrust them. This also shows how refugees feel insecure, based on their ethnic relations, nationalities, and their previous experiences.

Another participant added her experience related to the above incident:

> *"My parents don't like my boyfriend, because he is a 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 my parents came to Norway as war refugees, and they think all Sinhalese people are enemies* "(Sri Lankan Tamil female refugee informant).

This might be related to the ethnic conflicts they have experienced before. For example, Sri Lanka experienced a thirty-year war, and the war happened between the Tamil LTTE and Sri Lankan government who are majority Sinhalese. Many war refugees from Sri Lanka came to Norway during the war period. There are still some misunderstandings between the Tamils and Sinhalese, due to the failure to reconcile (Rotberg, 2010). Moreover, some refugees still have anger towards other nationalities, and ethnic groups, because of some traumatic experiences they have endured (Boehnlein & Kinzie, 1995). This shows that some refugee groups do not trust and feel insecure towards other refugee groups, based on various reasons, such as a failure to reconcile, and prejudices against other ethnic groups. I have identified this is also a challenge for refugees in their day to day lives.

Previously, I mentioned about the feeling of insecurity among refugees towards other refugees. I could see that this unsafe feeling happens with some Norwegians towards refugee groups as well. One of the Norwegian research informants expressed her feelings of insecurity with the increment of refugees in Norway as stated below:

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

The above participant is from a village in Northern Norway, and she moved to Kristiansand in 2016. She identified Kristiansand city as having more refugees compared to her village, and she feels unsafe to walk alone late at night in the city. The major reason for this is that she has prejudices based on knowing about the background of refugees, that they are coming from non-western countries and war zones. She thinks they have become used to seeing violence and living in unsafe societies, therefore the experiences of refugees can make them more likely to be violent. The mistrust from local Norwegians can also add to the challenge for refugees to find Norwegian friends, and in the end, it can be a real barrier to their social integration.

Another Norwegian participant has confirmed that some Norwegians feel insecurity with the increment of refugees in the Norwegian society. She expressed herself as below:

"*I am afraid to go jogging at night time, especially near to the forest area. I feel afraid of being raped*" (Norwegian female participant).

The Norwegian, female participant, is a resident of Kristiansand and a mom of two children. As she mentioned, in her younger years, she used to go jogging in the forest areas, but now she has a fear to go jogging in the evenings, near to the forest areas, because of the increment of immigrants she feels walking alone in the evening is unsafe. This shows that some Norwegians have a mistrust of refugees.

Another interesting finding, from my research, is that some refugees also have a mistrust of some Norwegians because sometimes they can be racists, especially when they get drunk. One of my research participants from India expressed her feelings as below:

"*My friend told me that immigrants have to be careful of drunken local Norwegians because these can be racist and violent when they are drunk. The most sensible thing is not to walk alone at night, especially on Fridays and Saturdays*" (Indian refugee informant).

According to my observations, many local Norwegians are going out and having social gatherings on weekends. Many Norwegians especially like to have alcohol at their social gatherings. According to the above research participant, she told me that she was advised by other adult refugees, not to walk alone, especially on Friday and Saturday nights, as sometimes some Norwegians can be violent towards refugees. This kind of mistrust and prejudices can be a challenge for refugees in their everyday lives, as it creates fear for them to walk alone in the city. Ager and Strang (2008) also mentioned the importance of feeling safe to get a successful integration. My research findings show that there are some prejudices towards refugees, which cause local Norwegians to mistrust refugees. As I mentioned earlier, Putnam has also stated that the economy of a group of people will define the amount of trust they can gain. (Putnam, 2000: 138). This can cause an increase in acculturative stress for refugees.

Next section I will explain another finding of my research. Refugees face some challenges in the host country because of keeping their cultural practices and the responsibilities and liabilities of their families.

5.4 The stress of keeping cultural practices and family responsibilities

Many refugees in host countries left their families in their home countries or different countries. Some refugees said that their families back home, think that they have gained the same level of economic status as local Norwegians. Some 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 fled to developed countries. Therefore, those refugees always try to find a way to support their families as much as they can. It also becomes a challenge for them.

I asked from some refugees that how they could afford to travel to Norway. Some of them said that they got loans, or borrowed money from money lenders from their home countries. Some refugees had to sell their properties. Therefore, some refugees have the stress of finding money to send back to their home countries. Some non-western cultures like South Asian, some African countries like Somalia, consider the elder male of the family have more responsibilities than other children in the family, such as taking care of parents and unmarried siblings (Folbre, 1983). I could see that some refugee males, as well as some single refugee moms in Norway, whose husbands are in their home countries, face some stress, because of the responsibilities they are expected to carry out towards their families back home. I found that some refugees wanted to get a job right after they finished at the language school. One of the reasons was that refugees expressed they wanted to get money to send back to their families. One refugee expressed his responsibilities that he has for his family:

> "*My husband cannot come to Norway, even though I'm in a position to apply for him to be brought to Norway. It is because he is the eldest one of the family, and he has to take care of his parents. I have three children, and they haven't seen their dad for three years. I am collecting money to fly to Somalia, so my children can meet to their dad* " (Somali refugee informant).

Another male refugee told me how his responsibilities in his home country stressed him. He explained his challenges and family responsibilities as follows:

> "*My family pawned land and got money from a person who gave it with high interest. I have to pay that money soon, that's why I want to get a job and start earning. If I do not do that, my family do not have a place to stay*" (Refugee participant from Iran).

Refugees have used different means to escape from their home countries. The above participant found the necessary money to escape, by pawning his parent's land and inheritance. Now he has the responsibility to pay back the money as soon as possible, and this puts the pressure on him to find a job right away. According to my findings, refugees get more acculturative stress because they left their families and escape to safer places. But the responsibilities and the connections they have with the home countries can make them have higher stress level (Fieldwork, 2016). The connections with the home culture, and the forementioned liabilities, can increase the acculturative stress among refugees (Berry, 1997).

5.4.1 Clash of the views of refugee children and their parents

In this section, I am going to explain another challenge which refugees face; clash of the views of refugee children and their parents. Some of the opinions of refugee children and their refugee parents are clashing because some refugee parents want their children to keep their cultural identity and obey their advice. I could see that sometimes this has become a challenge for both refugee children and their parents.

One of my research participants told me about her experience in Norway, which shows the clash of expectations between refugee parents and their children:

> *A female refugee from a country in the African region, and she came with her three children. Mohammad is her son, who is fourteen years old. He wanted to stop the bullying he was getting from his classmates. Because of that, her son asked for branded clothes and shoes from her, but she could not afford those things. Then Mohammed refused to wear the new clothes which his mom bought for him from cheap brands. This refugee mom wanted to explain to him how much better their lives are in Norway, compared to their home countries. She tried to explain to her son, that most children in African region don't even have the basic needs. She thinks her son has a luxurious life in Norway. She wanted to send her son back to her home country, so he could experience the life back in there for one year. She thinks it will help him to understand and appreciate the life he has in Norway* (Eritrean refugee informant).

The clash of the attitudes of parents and their children also seems a challenge that refugee parents and children face. Even though the refugees' have 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 since their childhood (Rutter, 1989). However, their children also have to face problems in the host societies, such as bullying. Sometimes refugee parents have difficulty in understanding children's demand. The above refugee informant has the challenge of understanding her children's thoughts and the new society. The clash of parents and their children's attitudes, make the hard time for both sides to understand the different contexts. Hence, both parties have stress.

Some refugee parents want their children to behave according to their home cultures, and their religion. Research shows that refugee children who come 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 as below:

> "*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, and I don't pray. We do not celebrate during Eid. Sometimes we eat pizza on Eid, but still, my father wants to say he is a Muslim, and if someone asks me what is my religion in front of my dad, I would say I am a Muslim*" (Middle-East country refugee participant).

Even though people have changed with the host society's culture, sometimes they get pressure from their families back home to practice the traditional cultural things. Sometimes, when refugees stay in Norway for a long time, they do not follow the religion strictly as they followed when they were in their home countries. But, still, they do not want to say that they are not practising the religion. Above conversation shows this clearly.

Another interesting finding, I could find from my fieldwork is, sometimes relatives and families back home, are also the reason for refugees to stick to their cultures. Some practices are prohibited, but they are still practising them as a part of their cultures. Circumcision of females is also one of those prohibited practices, but some African countries, such as Somalia, are still practising this secretly as it is part of their culture and religion. I met one refugee informant from Somalia, and she got pressure from her mom who lives in Somalia, to perform circumcision on her daughters. She expressed her feelings as below:

> "*Female circumcision is a part of my culture. When a girl becomes mature, an adult female performs circumcision on the girl. It is painful and stupid. I don't want to do it to any of my daughters, but my mother in law always asks me about when I will*

do it to my daughters. She wants me to go Somalia with my daughters to perform this procedure" (Somali refugee).

From the above conversation, I felt that this Somali participant has come to realise that some of her cultural practices are myths, and she does not want to do it to her daughters. Being in a western culture seems to change the views of some refugees on some of their cultural practices. At the same time, it shows how some refugees are influenced by their home countries, families and relatives, to practice their original culture. This is an added challenge and stress; which refugees must deal with during their integration process. According to Norwegian laws, human rights, it has prohibited the female circumcision, but sometimes some refugees from Somalia, living in Norway, get pressured by their family to practice this tradition. The above conversation shows, that some of the cultural practices in their home countries, make it difficult and uncomfortable for them in the Norwegian society, and is a challenge for them.

Acculturative stress can happen because of refugees try to practice many of their home country's traditions. Especially when refugees try to stick only their home cultures, traditions and practices, it can create challenges in their everyday integration in the host country. In the end, it can lead them to have acculturative stress (Poppitt, 2007). Sometimes refugee parents cannot understand the expectations of their children and it makes both parents and children have hard times to understand each other. It causes stress for both groups. This is also a challenge which refugees face in the host culture.

5.4.2 Perspective on interracial marriage

In this section, I will explain a common challenge which I could hear from many of non-western refugees; the challenge of marrying someone from another race or ethnic group.

Marriage is one of the major events which reflects cultural identity. Many cultures prefer to marry within their own culture and ethnic group. Marrying a partner who shares the same religion makes easier to have a good mutual understanding. As refugees are staying far from their home countries, sometimes the younger generations of refugees, seem to find their partners from different ethnicities. I could see that from some of my refugee participants, that they face some challenges in their marriages. Some second-generation children seem to face this situation as their parents want them to marry a partner from the same culture. Some refugee parents, who are very religious, would like to see their children marry similar cultural partners

(Basit, 1997). This has been reflected in my research findings. One Iran refugee informant told me her views on interracial marriage:

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

This shows how some Muslim refugee parents think about the marriage of their children, and how they wish, and how much they want to control their children's marriage decisions. It seems that some of the refugees can be flexible enough to accept their children to marry a Norwegian, but they expect them to convert to their religion and cultural practices. Another mom from Somalia also had the same view on her children's marriage. As she told me, marriage is not just an event for them, but it is the collective decision of the family. She expressed her views as follows:

> *I asked from a Somali 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 must accept him. They will never accept an outsider from our culture and religion*" (conversation between me and Somali refugee informant).

According to above participant, some refugee families from non-western countries, consider marriage as a family decision, and not only as the choice of their children. At the same time, it reflects how much they are trying to keep their culture and identity in the Norwegian society, even though they live in another country. Surprisingly, some second-generation children also prefer to marry their own cultural people. One of the Burmese, second generation young females, expressed her view on marriage as below:

> "*I prefer to find a man from my Burmese ethnic group because I feel more comfortable with my own language and cultural practice. It is easy to keep family connections as well*" (Burmese refugee participant).

According to above the informants, some refugee second-generation children, also like to marry within their own culture partners, because it feels more comfortable and makes it easier to have

strong family relations with their parents, home countries, as well as relatives. The following quotes from refugee participants, also shows their views on interracial marriages:

> *"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 Kurdish culture*" (Kurdish refugee participant).

According to the above refugee participant, she wanted to find a partner in her own culture, but at the same time, she did not want him to follow all the strict rules of her religion and culture, which makes her feel less free. It shows some refugees from non-western cultures, expect their partner to be a liberal and modern person, but they still prefer to find them from their own culture. According to the above conversation, it shows that some refugee children, have issues with the traditional views of their parents, and with respecting their conservative ideas. As many refugee parents have grown up in their traditional cultures for many years, their views and attitudes have been shaped by their cultural background (Fieldwork, 2016). At the same time, it shows how the relatives and families of refugees in their home countries, gave them pressure to stick to some of their cultural practices, which are not accepted in the Norwegian society. According to my informants, Muslim refugees had higher focus and stress on keeping their religion and cultural practices. According to Berry (1997), refugees have higher acculturative stress when they try to keep most of their cultural practices.

5.4.3 The challenge of keeping their religious identity, while integrating into the Norwegian society

Some refugees want to get help from different organisations, as well as to keep their religious identity. The Church is one of the major institutes where refugees can get help. Many refugees have identified that church volunteers are very helpful, as they do many things to help them financially, and in providing them with goods and opportunities. But at the same time, they face challenges and feel there are some threats and tricks from these organisations. I heard from some refugees that religious organisations create pressure for them to participate in church activities if they want to get help from them. One Afghanistan refugee participant expressed himself this way:

> "*KIA is arranging different activities for refugees, which are very useful for language practice, finding friends, and arranging football matches. However, at the same time, they have a hidden agenda to spread Christianity. If we are wise, we*

can get the good things we need from them, but at the same time keep our religion" (Afghan male refugee informant).

It seems that refugees get help from the religious organisations, in return, refugees sometimes had to listen and participate in church activities. Some refugees feel this is a trick that the church tries to convert them to Christianity. Another Sri Lankan participant told me that she converted from Buddhism to Christianity because she felt the church volunteer people are like a family to her in the strange host country. She explained to me her experience as follows:

"*When I moved from my old house, one of the volunteers in the church helped me. They are always taking care of me, they help me because of Jesus' teaching told them to be kind to people like us. There are some people from my own country, they did not help me even a word. But the people I met in the Church were very kind to me*" (Sri Lankan refugee participant).

It seems that some refugees' want to change their religious identity, so they can get help from the church. Moreover, it shows, in return for their, some refugees are changing their religious identity. Sometimes some refugees feel there are some groups in the Norwegian society that are strategically trying to convert them to Christianity. One of the refugee informants from Somalia explained her experience to me as follows:

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

The above participant shows that how some religious groups use refugees and try to help refugees, while trying to spread Christianity, by teaching Norwegian through the Bible. I also have my personal experience related to this, which reflects the Somali refugees' experience:

"*When I was waiting for my friends in the city, there was a Norwegian couple and they started to talk with me. They asked about my religion and friends, and where I was from. Then they told me about Christian international gatherings, and stories, teachings of Jesus and the conflicts in the world. They told me to participate in their meetings and it does not matter that I am not a Christian. They told me that they already have lots of Muslim, Hindu, and Buddhist people at the meetings. She also*

invited me to join their social events" (My personal experience in the fieldwork, 2016).

It seems some of the religious organisations who have the purpose of promoting Christianity, use social integration programmes, as these can be some of the best places achieve their goals. But some refugees feel stress because they do not want to lose their religious identity. Above conversations show how some of the refugee integration focused organisations, and some of the religious activities from the church in the host country, become a challenge and a threat for refugees to keep their religious identity. But none of their activities is done with apparent force, but they have used some tricks to spread their religious views among refugees.

As I mentioned above, stick only to their culture and religion is one of the main reasons which make refugees have acculturated stress (Fieldwork, 2016). Sometimes host cultures also misunderstand the difference between integration and assimilation (Fieldwork, 2016). Therefore, some of the major religious organisations try to convert other religious people to their main religion. As Christianity is the dominant religion in Norway, some religious organisations try to convert other religious people to Christianity by using different methods and tricks. But according to Ager and Strang, successful refugee integration needs to respect each other's cultural values (Ager & Strang, 2008). When refugees feel that some religious organisations try to help them with a hidden purpose of converting them, they have some doubts about participating their integration programmes (Fieldwork, 2016).

5.4.4 Keeping the identity by speaking their native language

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 native language among their family members. As I observed, this is one of the reasons that some refugees do not improve their Norwegian language skills even when they stayed in Norway for many years. Many of the refugees I met in my fieldwork, only spoke in their native language at home with relatives. One of my research informants explained her view on speaking the native language and its comfortableness as follows:

"*We speak Tamil at home. My son goes to kindergarten and he speaks and listens to Norwegian every time, but we need to practice Tamil at home, so he learns our mother tongue. If we do not do that, he cannot communicate with our families back home. I and my husband feel more comfortable to speak our mother tongue. It is*

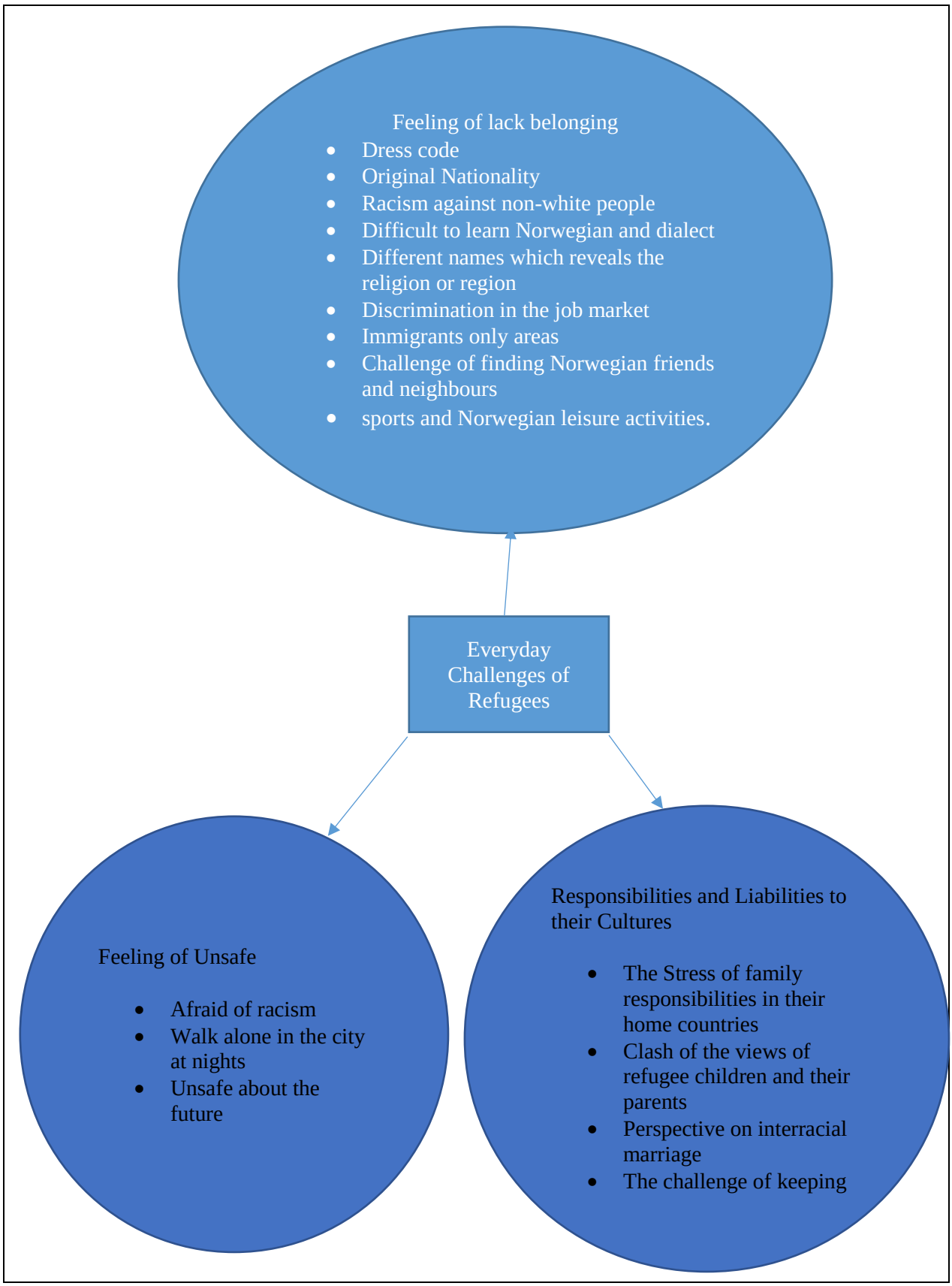
weird to talk in Norwegian at home, as all of us can understand our mother tongue" (Indian female refugee informant).

According to above participant, it shows that some refugees feel more comfortable to talk in their own language and to associate with their own community of people. Even though refugees are in Norwegian language classes, they still seem to prefer to like to be with their own ethnic group of friends and talk in their native language (Participant Observation, 2016). One Syrian participant told me her experience as follows:

"*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 other ladies from the same culture. Also, some are shy to talk with other groups or have the prejudices towards others*" (Syrian refugee participant).

The above conversation shows that refugees have their own barriers and challenges to improve Norwegian because they get fewer opportunities to speak and practice Norwegian. According to some previous research related to learning new languages, has showed that talking with native speakers help to learn the language fast (Cohen, 2014). Moreover, successful integration requires refugees also to speak the host country's language because it creates opportunities such as expanded social capital, it can build bridges between host culture and refugees, and create job opportunities. When refugee fails to learn the host country's language, it becomes a challenge for them and it is a cause for acculturative stress too.

Figure 6: Everyday challenges of refugees



Source: Author (2017).

6 CHAPTER SIX: CBO'S CONTRIBUTION TO ADDRESS THE CHALLENGES OF REFUGEES

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I explain how the three CBOs, which I have selected as my case studies, contribute to overcoming the challenges refugees face in their everyday lives, through their programmes and activities. First, I will introduce each of the CBOs and their activities, programmes and events, and then I will explain how they address the refugees' everyday challenges in their programmes and practical activities. The presentation is based on my ethnographical study. At the end of this chapter, I will give an overview of how the three CBOs address the challenges that refugees face in general.

6.2 LUNAR

6.2.1 Background of LUNAR

LUNAR is a CBO which was founded in 2008 by a few Norwegian women. LUNAR stands for likestilling (equality), utvikling (development), nettverk (network), aktivitet (activity) and relations (relasjon) in Norwegian. It is made up of 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 that having more friends, as well as expanding one's social network in a multicultural background, and involvement in engagements and activities can facilitate the smoother integration of refugees. LUNAR gives an opportunity for its participants to find new friends in social gatherings. LUNAR also puts a particular focus on promoting gender equality and refugee integration. LUNAR creates opportunities for Norwegians and refugees from multicultural backgrounds to get together, to converse and to develop mutual understanding. LUNAR strongly believes that the combination of both social networking and social activities can improve the integration process 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 organisation, and she gets the team together. The women's groups' main aim is to build friendships 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 these volunteers have a professional background, but it isn't necessary to have a professional background to be a volunteer of LUNAR. Volunteers can offer advice or direction when the participants ask questions, as well as how to organize events. LUNAR welcomes anyone who likes to be a volunteer and who respects the organisation's core values. The number of participants at the meetings is not consistent. Some of the participants regularly attend, but some cannot attend the meetings regularly due to various factors. Sometimes refugees' participation depends on the weather conditions, the type of programme and activity and/or family obligations. The women's group gathers to discuss where there could be an improvement, what are the challenges 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. Improvement of the quality of the group is a constant process, which involves getting feedback, filling in questionnaires, volunteer meetings, as well as discussions and suggestions from within the organisation.

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 enable women to experience the Norwegian nature and culture; as well as organized events give knowledge and insight about different cultures, such as cooking dishes, singing and dancing. The themes that are discussed in the meetings include 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 how to share their experiences. Women who come from war-torn 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.

6.2.2 What I have observed in my fieldwork

As I have already mentioned, I have selected LUNAR's women's group for participatory observation. In LUNAR's women's group, the major aim is building networks between the Norwegians and the refugees as well as inter-ethnic immigrants.

I have participated in their programmes as a volunteer. Normally LUNAR women's group gather every week on Monday evenings; different volunteers come to the meetings and the group leader is the one who has the responsibility of planning the programmes. Even though they have an annual programme, with the requirements and the requests of the participants, they still may change the week's plan. Usually, the meetings start with tea, coffee, bread, cookies and fruit. Everyone sits around a table and if they are new members, they get to introduce themselves, which helps them to get know other people as well. Women talk about what they have been doing and what are the positive things that have happened in their lives in the past week. When they are asked about the positive things they have experienced that week, some refugees think long to identify what kind of positive things they can share. They may say things like; I made rice and ate with my family, I went for a walk with my friends; it was sunny yesterday and I enjoyed it. Appreciating the little things also seems to help refugees to enjoy their lives more and sharing with others their positive perspectives; even though sometimes they would not have previously considered these things as positive, helps them to get a different perspective of the lives. For example, a Somalian refugee woman told a Norwegian woman in the women's group told she felt happy and positive as it was sunny. When that Norwegian woman admires the sun and the sunlight, she also remembered she felt happy to see the sun as she could go for a walk. According to the Somalian informant, it is good to ask questions from everyone what made them happy last week as it allows them to appreciate even the little things and it motivates women. Appreciating even little things help to reduce the stress and it is important for refugee women as they have higher stress level (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004).

CBOs enable refugees to meet new people, make new friends and allow them to keep the friendships outside of the organisation as well. Refugees have expressed to me particular grievance and difficulty; that they meet new people, but then they have a hard time keeping the friendship. As a member of CBO, I have experienced myself that I could attend some parties and events of the members of the organisation. From these events, I got to know their friends and network as well. I have identified that is a good opportunity for refugees to be more social and find friends. Especially refugee women can benefit from these opportunities.

Most of the refugees have difficulty making and finding friends. The women's group creates the opportunity for people to talk and meet new people, and to continue their friendship outside of the women's group as well. I joined the group as a volunteer. When there were some women who would like to go for walk or want to have tea, they would post it on Facebook's secret group or send their nearby neighbours a message. I have also joined with some of the refugee females a few times and while I was walking with them I listened to their stories. There was one lady from Eritrea who lived in the Kristiansand municipality. When she wanted to go outside, she would call me. I also liked to walk with her, because I felt as if she did not have many friends and she preferred me as a friend. I have noticed some refugee women who have a common language or who can understand each other became closer.

Some of the refugees, as they are new to Norway they did not understand the Norwegian language. As all the meetings are conducted in Norwegian, whenever the participants cannot understand, their friends or volunteers kindly seek to act as translators for them. Norwegian volunteers help refugees and other immigrants to pronounce the words correctly. Sometimes non-Norwegians have a hard time pronouncing the unique sounds of the Norwegian language. Native speakers as well as refugees who can speak better Norwegian, help the newcomers to learn the language. Two Sundays per month, the LUNAR's women's group, cook different cultural food, that the ladies from that particular country decided to make and she or they become the chefs for that particular day. Other members support them and learn how to cook. This brings about cultural understanding and harmony. Non-western countries like India, Afghanistan, Eritrea, Somalia use their hands to eat. They explain to others how they eat. For example it was the day for me to prepare Sri Lankan food and people were excited to learn how to make rice and curry. When we were eating at the table, I taught them that we eat with our hands and that's how we feel we get the real taste. Then some of the other members also tried to eat with their hands. This is an example of how people, through collective activities people, can learn to understand and to respect other cultures and their traditions. Respecting cultures is a good sign of successful integration (Ager & Strang, 2008) and bridging social capital (Fukuyama, 1995; Putnam, 2000).

All LUNAR groups arrange international food festivals, which are organised with the collaboration of different female groups. They invite some other people who are living in Kristiansand and Lillesand to attend. Local Norwegians get an opportunity to taste the different cultural food and talk with refugees. It was in the effort for LUNAR to create the situation for refugees to talk about their countries and their own unique traditional clothes. It also has the

added benefit of increasing the self-esteem of the people involved. The activities give the cultural awareness for both different refugee groups as well as local Norwegians, which is important for bridging social capital. Respecting different cultural values is a characteristic of a pluralist society. According to Berry (1997), refugees have less acculturative stress in pluralist societies than acculturative societies.

LUNAR has their board meeting which invites volunteers to give input about their ideas on how to design LUNAR's programmes, as well as what the weaknesses are and how to overcome them. As the suggestions come from the volunteers, LUNAR makes its projects and programmes according to the demands of refugees. Likewise, they arranged two projects in 2016, where one was about radicalisation. I also participated in the project programmes. For the project of radicalisation, they invited a Norwegian Muslim girl who was the speaker, as well as a Norwegian girl who had been rescued from the mass murder in the Norwegian island Utøya. They expressed their thoughts on how to improve integration and what their religion means to them and what kind of prejudice they have experienced. LUNAR especially arranged these programmes in schools as well as in hotels in the town who were interested were allowed to participate and allowed to ask questions.

When there was a radicalisation project in schools, students have asked questions from the Muslim girl who was the presenter: "*Why do you wear a Hijab?", "is that a headache for you?" and "do you sleep with the Hijab?"*. The Muslim girl answered the questions as well as she could. It was a good opportunity for people to understand, especially other religious people about other religions. This shows how CBO's play significant role in bridging social capital and giving opportunities to understand other cultures. As I have mentioned in the previous chapter, there are prejudices among refugees, as well as local Norwegians, on religions, especially on Islam. This kind of activities of CBOs helps refugees as well as Norwegians to improve their understanding of other religions. These type activities help both refugees and Norwegians to understand each other and reduce prejudices. The mutual understanding develops the bridge between Norwegians and refugee groups.

LUNAR uses Facebook as their major communication method. The women's group have their own secret group and public group. As some refugee women do not want to show their identity, the women's group uses secret groups to communicate. Whenever they want to ask questions; when they want to participate in an event, go for a coffee, or go for a walk, they ask if anyone wants to join. Moreover, when they need something they post it. Then the capable members help them or ask from their friend's network to help them. Keeping friendship needs to

communicate and meeting other than meeting for two hours once a week. Therefore, this is a good strategy that LUNAR follows which help refugees to keep the friendship. It helps to build trust and reciprocity which are results of the social capital (Putnam, 2000).

Moreover, the women's group collaborate with the municipality, police and some other NGOs like Red Cross, and Save the Children. Sometimes the member representatives come to the organisation and explain the laws, how to be members and what are the benefits refugees can gain. As many have activities directed towards children, they also explain also what opportunities there are for children. Sometimes LUNAR gets free tickets to events in Kristiansand's cultural centre "Kilden" and to the zoo. It is a great opportunity for members to enjoy an excursion together. Moreover, the women's group arranges hiking and cabin trips which are difficult to afford individually for refugees. The benefits they are getting from the women's group allows them to enjoy their time with friends.

When a refugee is a regular member, who participates effectively in the group, LUNAR can easily provide references for them if they are applying for jobs. Through the membership in LUNAR refugees also get experience from a voluntary organisation. Refugees get advice from volunteers and other members, as well as they, get to hear about some employment opportunities from the women's group network. 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 gender equality in the University of Agder". LUNAR has also been asked to hold lectures in different contexts at UiA. LUNAR arranges and participates in debates related to gender equality, rape, refugee integration and refugees' rights. Moreover, they arrange workshops for the volunteers and participants. Every year the LUNAR group have their own projects which are related to women's and immigrant's social problems. LUNAR had, as already mentioned, a project on radicalisation in 2016, which had the main focus on religious extremism and how to build 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 the resume. As I have identified

refugees have challenges in finding friends, Norwegian references, learn Norwegian sports, practising the language and dialects, it is a good opportunity for refugee females. Some Muslim refugee females are hesitant to join organisations where males are participating. Therefore, the women's group is a good option for them.

6.3 How does LUNAR address the challenges refugees face in their everyday lives?

According to my data, most refugees have weak social ties with Norwegians. They also have difficulties getting or making Norwegian friends. Research data showed most refugees find Norwegian friends through voluntary organisations. LUNAR is focussed on forming friendships with refugees who have a multicultural background, 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. According to Putnam (2000), social capital is important for the economic transaction. 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.

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

Becoming a member of a CBO increases the opportunities for refugees. Members get an opportunity to meet Norwegian people with a professional background. When refugees become more active in CBOs, they are able to increase their social network. The different activities of LUNAR, allows refugees to meet new members.

> *"Most refugees do not have enough information and tips on how to find a job"* (Somalian lady).

Another participant added a similar view as shown below:

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

LUNAR gives opportunities to its' members to get to know more professional people as many Norwegian volunteers are capable for that (Fieldwork, 2017), finding references for their resumes, as well as getting better informed on how to find the right job. There are some programmes for refugees about how to make a curriculum-vitae (CV), writing and internet usage and research. It helps refugees improve their software skills and fulfil the basic requirements in finding a job. Having access to the job market is a key domain of Ager & Strang's successful refugee integration (2008).

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 this might lead to a release of stress and sadness. Having a good listener 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 for having familiar friends around them. This is a challenge for refugees. LUNAR gives an opportunity to talk about their problems with the group members and their volunteers and they keep the privacy as it is their core value. According to Berry (1997), one of the best way to reduce the acculturative stress is having strong social connections. Having an opportunity to talk about the problems and traumatic experiences help to release pain. Therefore, LUNAR women's group create opportunities to release the stress. 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 differences between the other cultures and their own culture. This helps them reduce the prejudices against different ethnic groups.

LUNAR has formed partnerships with different organisations, as well as collaborations with different organisations in the municipality. LUNAR thinks it is important to invite and let other organisations inform refugees about their own goals, and what they can offer them. Organisations, 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 give inspiration to other refugees. This helps other members to get the motivation and ideas 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 practising with native language speakers. Therefore, they should speak more often with native Norwegians (August et al., 2009). LUNAR helps to make this possible.

A major objective of the LUNAR organisation 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 the refugee centre in Kristiansand was planned to be closed, and refugees were being transferred to other municipalities (participant observation). They raised public opinion by using strategies like organising non-violence protests and debates. According to Putnam (2000), civic involvement is a major feature to increase the social capital. Membership in voluntary organisations, as well as collaborate with different volunteer organisations, are regarded as a useful indicator of community involvement.

6.4 Natteravnene organisation

Natteravnene (translated as the Night Ravens) is a volunteer organisation working to keep the society secure through patrolling the streets at night, to keep areas safe for all inhabitants (Natteravnene, 2017). Natteravnene is a political and religious neutral grass root 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 also collaborates with the police. Volunteers cannot fix the problems themselves as they are merely watchers and helpers.

Natteravnene contributes to making a safer environment for children and young people in the area, and the volunteers of Natteravnene when they are wandering out on the streets during the night. They especially care about children and young people by being available for them when they need help. Natteravnene volunteers are good observers, listeners, provide guidance and help when children and adolescents need to talk with someone. Natteravnene is a politically and religiously neutral organisation (Natteravnene, 2017). Natteravnene's membership is voluntary, and the members have to agree with lots of basic rules and principles. The volunteers want 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 of their homes. They also have

to be a sober and a responsible person during the time they are volunteering for Natteravnene (ibid).

6.4.1 Natteravnene's activities

Natteravnene is mainly focused on social safety. Research data shows refugees are motivated to join Natteravnene because they fear they will be discriminated against by 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 getting to know the city better.

I personally participated in the Natteravnene activities for the purpose of observing the activities and also for exploring how people, both refugees and other foreigners to Kristiansand make use of Natteravnene to find a way into the social network. 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 Norwegians who are new to the city also use Natteravnene as a place to find friends and know the city better. Norwegian Natteravnene volunteer expressed how important the organisation to her:

> "*Even though I am a Norwegian, I am also new to Kristiansand, and it was 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). The quote reflects how do volunteers use Natteravnene as a place to socialise.

Another volunteer explained how Natteravnene works to make the city safe. As she explained below:

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

Above quote reflects how Natteravnene help to make city safe. Another volunteer, who is refugee how Natteravnene helped him to find friends and expand his social network. He explained his experience as follow;

"*The majority of Natteravnene's volunteers are Norwegian, and they are very friendly. I found many Norwegian friends from Natteravnene. volunteers who have more experience, tell other volunteers how to talk with people and behave as a Natteravnene volunteer; such as smile at people and talk with them. If someone asks for help, or if volunteers see anybody needs help, volunteers can ask for assistance from the police*" (Refugee volunteer of Natteravnene).

Volunteers are not allowed to bring along or drink alcohol when they are volunteering. Natteravnene volunteers help to keep the environment clean. Most Norwegians go clubbing at social gatherings 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, 2016).

According to my observations, refugees get very few opportunities to hear any praise or 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. An asylum seeker from Sri Lanka who has been living in Norway for more than ten years expressed how he feels the appreciation from the local Norwegian as follow:

> "*I have been volunteering in Natteravnene more than six years. I feel all the regular volunteers are as my family members. I feel happy when local Norwegians come to me and salute me when they ask me to join their selfies and say thank you. It is not easy to get this kind of compliments and I feel I have done something to the society*" (Sri Lankan informant).

Above quote reflects how the compliments and appreciation from local society increase refugee's self-esteem and self-satisfaction. As I have mentioned in the previous chapter, feeling less recognition in the host country is one of the challenges of refugees which they face in their everyday life. This show how Natteranene helps its members, especially refugees to increase their self-recognition and build an identity in Norwegian society.

Moreover, it shows how Natteravnene bridge the social capital, creating a better image of refugees and local Norwegians by allowing them to have a conversation and visible in the society as they are doing something important to the Norwegian society. When the citizens of the society put efforts to keep the society safer, it reflects the social capital. According to Putnam (2000: 42) statues, social capital would facilitate cooperation and mutually supportive relations in communities and nations. Therefore, being valuable means combating many of the social disorders inherent in many modern societies, such as crime. Moreover, it reflects the importance of Natteravnene for creating social trust and it is the key for building bridges between Norwegians and refugee groups.

6.5 KIA international organisation

"Kristent Interkulturelt Arbeid" (KIA) (translated as Christian Intercultural Work) is a voluntary and non-profit organisation, one of Norway's first and largest national organisation in the immigrant field (KIA, 2017). KIA was 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: in Norwegian it is, "*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. Their overall aim is to build a multicultural society and form friendships with people of different nationalities, which helps refugees to be more social and be able to 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 organisations 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 these camps, which helps refugees to be more social and are able to practice their Norwegian language skills.

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

6.5.1 What I have observed in KIA

KIA especially arranges formal language classes and cafes which allows refugees, asylum seekers and other immigrants to participate and learn the language. As they have a religious purpose behind it, I have noticed most of the volunteer teachers have strong Christian religious backgrounds. But, it wasn't a barrier or bad influence on the participants because KIA welcomes all kind of religious backgrounds. I noticed the majority of the participants and refugees are non-Christian. The classes are well structured. Both grammar and conversation practice is done with the Norwegian people. It helps them to practice the dialect, as well as to improve their pronunciation. Asylum seekers gain benefits more from this as they don't have the opportunity to participate in language school programmes. When refugees do not know the language of the host country, it can increase them acculturate stress (Berry, 1997). But, an increased knowledge of the host society's language makes it easier to bond with Norwegian. Thus, increasing the social capital because communication is the major way to understand each other.

KIA organize football matches every month which allows refugees to feel more relaxed in their minds as they don't get many opportunities for these kinds of activities. They get a coach as well, and this is not only limited to males. I met a female refugee from Somalia, who is good at football. She teaches other women how to play football. This is a new experience for many non-western women and they enjoy this new experience. Team spirit, team building and the ability to release their stress are increased with these outdoor activities. Sports have been identified as a major way to build social connections (Skinner, 2008).

KIA also has an international dinner event once a month, which is one of the most attractive events for local Norwegians, as well as for refugees and immigrants. Different countries get to

prepare meals for people to taste their food. They get the opportunity to see, and maybe even participate, in unique cultural customs and performances too. I have noticed it is one of the best ways to impart cultural understanding. From my observations, Norwegians in Kristiansand come to these events to enjoy the food with their families, and to talk with refugees. This is also a very effective method that KIA is doing; to bring about harmony among locals and refugees. Sunday hikes are also arranged by KIA volunteers; which involves them finding nice places to walk with its members. But as I've noticed, not many refugees actively participate in these hike events. I asked one of the Somalian refugee ladies why she did not participate in hiking. She told me she doesn't enjoy it as much as Norwegians do. But I have noticed that while walking, people are talking with each other and they can learn to understand the Norwegian culture, practice the language and build a better understanding and make new friends.

Many of the members know that KIA has a religious agenda. This has been highlighted by one of my research participants.

> "*KIA wants to spread Christianity, but they don't force people. If we are wise enough, we can get the good things and what we want*" (Afghan refugee).

As I observed KIA helps refugees to integrate socially. According to Ager and Strang's (2008: 170) domains of successful integration status, the foundation for the successful integration is the individual's rights and to gain citizenship. Furthermore, they explain that of identity, keep cultural and religious identities are contained in that category. To keep their own religious identity is the refugees' right and if there are barriers to maintain their identity it would be perceived as a threat to a successful refugee integration. When refugees have barriers to practice their culture and religion it can cause acculturative stress (Berry, 1997). While some refugees criticise that KIA has its hidden agendas to spread Christianity, some refugees appreciate their good work in refugee integration such as language cafes, international dinners and arranging football matches.

6.6 How the CBOs address the challenges for refugees

CBOs offer the opportunity for refugees to widen their social network. Therefore, some active members join several CBOs, to increase the number of opportunities they can get. When I was studying the actual practice of the three organisations, I could see that they address refugees' everyday social integration. LUNAR and KIA have identified that refugees cultural and traditional food can play a large part in the integration between different refugee groups as well

as the host society. As I have observed many Norwegian people come to taste the different cultural foods with their friends and family, and not only those from different refugee groups. This shows that the sharing of food at the table together, is one of the best places help achieve social integration of refugees. Normally, the LUNAR women group meetings are based on sitting around a table with some kind of food. Refugee women, other immigrant women and Norwegians volunteers all together to enjoy tea with some cookies or bread, to discuss their lives and problems, as well as planning for future events. I have noticed that it is one of the best ways to have nice conversations. When refugees discuss, they respect each other's ideas, listen to each other and offer insight with their personal views. This increase the mutual understanding and collaboration between different refugee groups, as well as Norwegians. Good communication is the key to bond the social capital (Chia, 2011; Putnam, 2000).

Learning the language and practising it, is one of the difficulties that refugees face in their everyday lives. Three of these organisations help refugees to improve their language. In the LUNAR organisation refugees talk with Norwegian volunteers and other members in Norwegian, and it helps them to practice the language. KIA formally arranges language classes and language cafes; which helps them to study Norwegian lessons, as well as practice the language. As well as refugees informing me, I noticed from my own observations, that Natteravnene also helps refugees to practice the language with Norwegians during their night activities.

Some of the refugee women have never spoken in public, as they didn't get any opportunities to do so in their past lives. Especially LUNAR offers this opportunity to some refugee women, they get to make speeches about themselves on the international women's day and inspires women to speak up. Being a member of the organisation gives them an opportunity to be a public speaker. Outdoor activities, Sunday tours and hikes are arranged by both KIA and LUNAR. LUNAR especially puts a focus on this kind of activities. They organize outdoor activities, camping trips, horse riding sessions and skating events, which helps refugees to learn some new cultural activities of Norwegians. This is another challenge that I have identified which refugees face, as they do not know about Norwegian leisure activities.

Volunteerism is admirable in Norwegian society, and are highly valuable for job interviews. Moreover, through volunteerism refugees can expand their network. One of the grievances that refugees have is that to be employed in Norwegian society, they need to have more social connections, recommendations, and experience. Being a member of these organisations gives

them an opportunity to become a more compatible candidate. Self-esteem is also something that refugees want to have in the host society and being a volunteer increases their self-esteem.

Mistrust and feelings of insecurity at night are one of the challenges refugees face in everyday society in Norway. Normally Friday nights are the going out nights for Norwegians. Many Norwegians and refugees, different migrant's groups go out drinking and partying on Friday nights. As I've observed there is a high chance of fights and arguments breaking out, as most people are not sober. Therefore, Natteravnene volunteers contribute towards making society safer, by keeping an eye on what's going on and if an accident should occur, they immediately inform the police, so they take action. In turn, this makes immigrants feel much more secure. As Natteravnene is not only for Norwegians, it is a good opportunity for them to do volunteering.

Finding friends and keeping friendships is also something which refugees can achieve by being a member of these CBOs. Due to the fact that they meet every week, as well as they have an active communication platform, Facebook, they can maintain their friendships and find other social events in Kristiansand. LUNAR does this especially. Sport is good for relaxing and it's a good way to work towards refugee integration. Both females and males participate in this. Refugee males and females enjoy this outdoor activity and it increases harmony among refugees and their ability to work as a team. KIA is arranging these sports events. LUNAR is also arranging outdoor events for refugee and immigrant females. Refugees get information about Norwegians laws, their rights, NAV-system (which helps unemployed people to find jobs) and other volunteering opportunities. Resource people come to the LUNAR meetings to give create awareness and give information to refugees. They have discovered that this is important to them. The programmes are specifically designed based on listening to the refugee's problems and giving advice, as well as listening to the refugee's requests. Due to the fact that some of the refugees are also members of the organisation, and they participate in the programmes, they have a unique insight into the needs of refugees. Another one of the unique things about LUNAR is that refugees get to talk privately about their problems with volunteers and as they are good listeners, and most of them have sound professional backgrounds, they show them the right paths to find solutions.

Even though KIA has a religious agenda, they have done a good job in aiding refugees' social integration. It has been reflected by one of my refugee participant comments and their feedback:

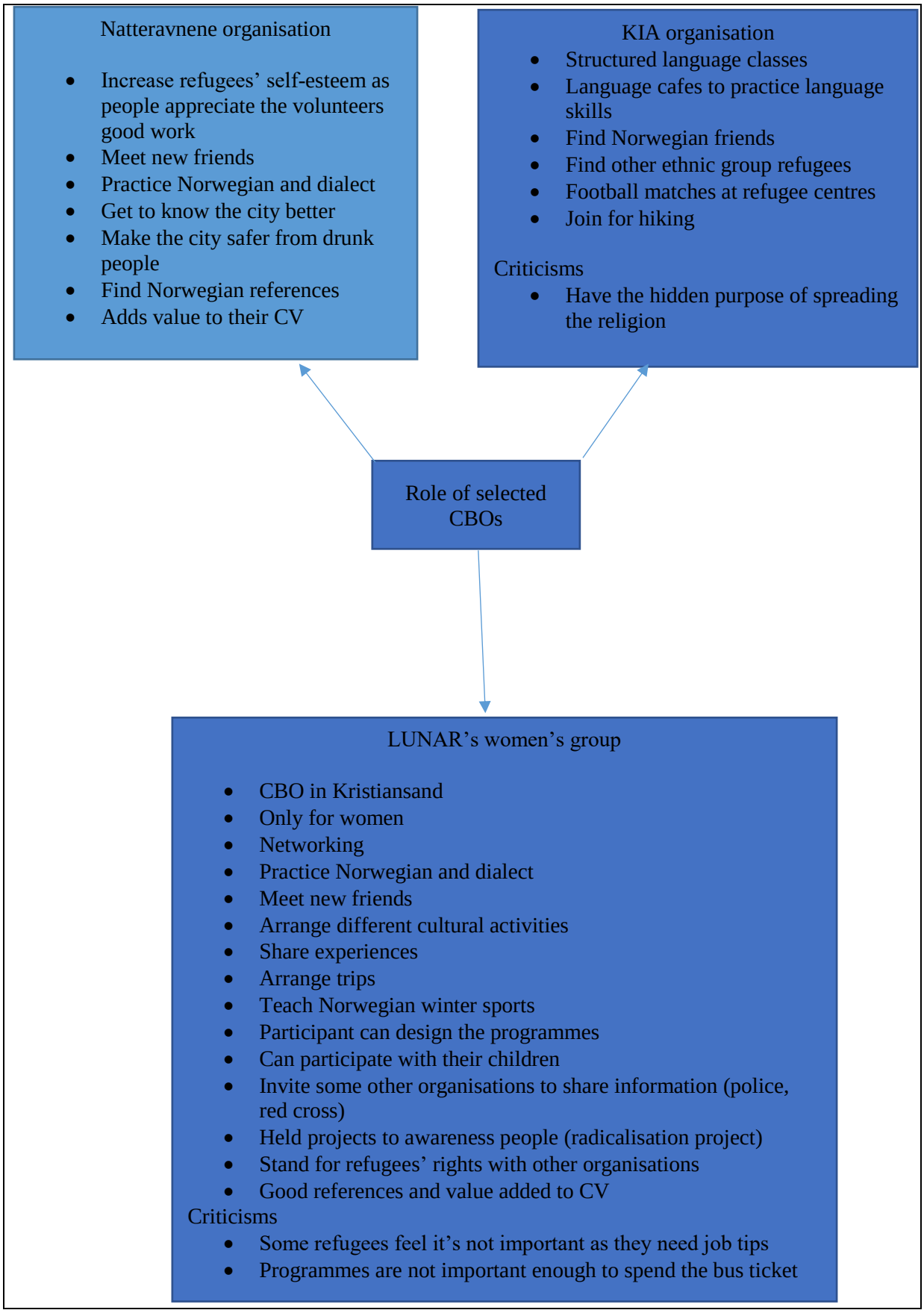
> "*KIA arranging useful events and we are participating. I have participated in their activities as they have a link to the refugee centre as well. Even they have their religious purpose, if we are wise we can take the good things from them*" (Afghanistan refugee).

LUNAR is organizing programmes and design programmes by taking time to find out about the demands and requirements of the refugees. As the ideas are coming from the members themselves, the results are fruitful for the refugees. Some refugees do not come regularly to the meetings, but there has been an increase in numbers of participants for the trips and the social events lately. Some refugees have grievances, but they still consider the meetings as timewasting, as they must pay for transportation to attend the weekly meetings.

Natteravnene's major focus is on helping the police to keep the safe city at night. Other than this major purpose, refugees have identified this organisation as a source of social integration, learning and practising Norwegian, getting to know new friends, adding value to their CV and good experience.

Overall, I feel the challenges which refugees face in their everyday lives, happens because of the lack of integration; such as fear, discrimination, and stress, As I have observed and according to my findings from the research of being a member of CBOs, they provide more opportunities for refugees to have better integration and increase their connection with the host society.

Figure 7: How CBOs address the challenges of refugees



Source: Author, (2017)

Figure 8: How do the theories reflect the research findings

Berry's acculturative stress theory (1997)

Challenges of refugees' everyday life

- Feeling a lack of belonging
- Feeling unsafe
- Responsibilities and liabilities to their home cultures

These challenges of refugees are related to **acculturative stress theory** according to Berry. He also has emphasised the important of having social contacts in order to release and reduce the stress level

Ager & Strang's (2008) model of successful integration

- **Ager and Strang emphasis the key domains for successful integration**
- According to research findings those **domains that match with refugees' expectations**
- First, they need to get the refugee statue, it feels secure and part of the Norwegian society
- Next they want to learn the language
- Third domain for Ager and Strang is social connections bridges, bonds, as I found some refugees find social bridges are important when they fail to find jobs in Norwegian job market.
- As I found in my research , forth domain of Ager and Strang's refugee integration model is the many refugees struggle and feel stress when they couldn't meet : such as employment, housing.

Putnam's social capital theory (2000)

- **Being a member or volunteer of CBO increases the refugees' social capital**
- Brings opportunities to overcome some of these stresses
- Finding own ethnic group friends: create **social bonds**
- Finding Norwegian friends: creates **social bridges**
- Gain volunteer experience and meet people can use as references , job tips: it makes easy to find a job for refugees
- Talking in Norwegian with Norwegians: easy to learn language and dialect
- Can talk about refugees problems: easy to release stress
- Social awareness programmes(ex: LUNARs radicalisation project), and cultural activities help to reduce prejudices on refugees cultures
- Give opportunities to experience activities , Norwegian sports(hiking, skating, skiing, cabin trips)

Fukuyama's views on social capital and social trust (1995)

- **Refugees feel confidence of the city's security when they are also part of the "make city safer programmes"**: Natteravnene provides this feeling
- Give a message to locals also that refugees are also a part of a Norwegian society
- Increase refugees self esteem: volunteers get small appreciations : high fives, thankings.
- According to Fukuyama (1995), **Social trust** is central to the social capital
- It reduces prejudices among people
- Wider trust makes social harmony and cooperation
- According to Putnam (2000) Having strong social connections between the host society is important for refugees. It made them to feel they are belonging to the society, increase opportunities.
- Social organisations are a sign of high social capital

Source: Author (2017)

7 CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUDING REMARKS

7.1 Introduction

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

As I stated earlier chapters, the refugee crisis is increasing in the world due to different reasons and Europe has over the past few years received a significant number of refugees. 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 and how the CBOs in Kristiansand aim to support to overcome refugees' everyday challenges through their programmes and activities. Therefore, I have selected LUNAR, KIA international and Natteravnene organisation in Kristiansand with the objectives of better integration and safer society for everyone.

7.2 Approaches

As already mentioned I wanted to understand what are the challenges of refugee's everyday life and the contribution of CBOs' program and activities to help refugees. A qualitative case study methodological approach was employed to achieve this end. The emphasis was recounting refugees' views and reflections. This was achieved through an ethnographic 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 stress (1997), Ager and Strang's refugee integration model (2008), Putnam's social capital theory (2000) as well as views of Fukuyama's on the radius of trust in his social capital (1995) were reviewed as the theoretical framework to study the social integration of the refugees and to help analyse my findings.

7.3 Research findings

As my research findings, I have identified the challenges of refugees and organised them under the three major themes; **a feeling of lack of belonging to the Norwegian society, feeling a lack of safety and the stress of maintaining their own cultural identity and family responsibilities**. In each category, I have identified some specific challenges they have experienced and how they are interlinked. I have tried to categorise them for the reader, but it must be stressed how one category has a close relationship with other categories and may be overlapping.

Under the "Feeling a lack of belonging" category, I have identified how Norwegians and refugees from other ethnic groups have prejudices and discriminations based on refugee's dress code, especially females from non-western cultures. Females with an Islamic religious background face this more because of their *Hijab and Abaya*. Surprisingly, some women got discriminated by their own ethnic group because of their dress code. Especially once these women wanted to adopt what in their culture seems to be a male profession they have faced this. For an example, a female refugee from Somalia wants to start her profession as a bus driver. For the comfortability of work, she wanted to wear trousers instead of *Abaya* but still, she had her *Hijab*. Some people from her own ethnic group criticise and discriminate her because she started to wear trousers and some Norwegians criticise her because she was wearing *Hijab*. In the end, this became a reason for stress and fear felt by the Somalian woman. As I mentioned earlier it was difficult me to have strictly separated the challenges of refugee's face under the categories, but it is interesting to notice that discrimination is not only something members of the host population is doing, but equally other refugees are criticising and discriminating, but based on different criteria. Ager and Strang (2008: 170) stated rights and citizenship are the foundation for successful integration. "Sense of identity" is also included to citizenship. According to my findings, some refugees (especially female Muslim refugees) feel less belonging to the Norwegian society because of their cultural dress. It is visible as a fail sign of successful integration. According to Putnam, it is necessary to respect each other to build social bonds; local citizens and newcomers (Putnam, 2000). My research findings reflected discrimination on dress code as a negative factor for social capital.

According to my findings, some refugee groups face discriminations because of their nationality and they feel less belonging to Norwegian society. I could find from my research that the discrimination happens towards refugees from non-western countries such as Somalia, Afghanistan, India than western refugees such as Bosnia, Kosovo. Among refugees also there

are clearly different measurements and pride about their nationality. Some refugee groups such as Syrians tend to discriminate Afghanistan refugees and some South Asian refugees. I found from my research these groups have prejudices and underestimate others based on the assumption of the refugees' previous economic prosperity. Some of the Norwegians also have these prejudices against people from some developing countries in the African region such as Eritrea and Somalia. According to my findings, the reasons for that is some development agencies have created a very narrow or stereotype image of the developing countries. The prejudices people face may again have affected their self-esteem and it has become a challenge for many refugees in Norway. As I mentioned earlier feeling less belonging to the host society is a bad sign for successful integration (Ager & Strang, 2008).

Sometimes refugees experience, prejudices related to their religion. Some Norwegians are afraid to shake hands and talk with Islamic women as they think all Islamic religious women do not talk with men and do not like to have social connections. Like-wise the refugee's names also make people have prejudgments. Some of the non-western names sound as if they belong to a specific religion. According to some of my informants, they think sometimes they do not get invited to job interviews in the Norwegian job market because potential employers have prejudices based on the applicants' foreign names. Moreover, finding a job and to be employable is one of the challenges which refugees face. According to them, it is related to their self-esteem as well as many of the refugees in my research have more liabilities and family responsibilities to their home countries. They have the intention of finding a job, earning and helping their families in their home countries. They have the challenge of finding good references for their CVs and majority of my refugees told me that they have noticed the personal connections and network can increase the chances of being employed. Ager and Strang stated (2008: 170) four markers and means for successful integration in the conceptual framework for successful integration. Employment is one of them. Discriminations against refugees due to different reasons have negative effects for successful integration. Unemployability and unequal access to the job market create also a reason for acculturative stress (Berry, 1997).

Another challenge refugees face is discrimination based on their skin colour. Many of the refugees identified this as an invisible discrimination, but which is something exist in the Norwegian society. However, many of my informants have experienced this type of discrimination mainly among other refugees from different nationalities and groups than the host culture. Especially when it comes to the inter-ethnic marriages, discrimination based on skin colour has experienced by some of my research participants. Refugees with dark skin colour from African and South Asian countries have faced this more compared to refugees from

western society refugees such as Bosnians. I have observed, there is more mistrust towards dark skin people compared to white or lighter skin people. This has made a reason for dark skin non-western refugees to be afraid of discrimination and stress as well. My research shows dark or black skin has less social capital in Norwegian society. According to Putnam (1995, 2000) and Fukuyama (1995) social trust and reciprocity are the core of social capital. But, when there is mistrust based on skin colour it has negative effects on the society. Fukuyama (1999), stated the importance of trust in the society as it creates safer societies. Moreover, refugees who have a prior cultural understanding of the host society have less acculturative stress. It shows that non – western refugees have more acculturative stress than western refugees.

Learning Norwegian language and to have an ability to speak Norwegian fluently is a challenge for refugees in their everyday life. Fluency of Norwegian is essential in everyday life in Norway as if they want to be employed, find more Norwegian friends, volunteering. Some of the refugees who are middle-aged (more than 40 years), refugees who have no education from their home countries, who have a mother language which does not have the same origin of the language and different grammar rules and letters, seemed to face this challenge more compared to other refugees who have English letters in their language and hear English language often. Berry (1997) also mentions refugees who have prior knowledge the languages have less acculturative stress than the refugees who do not have any idea of the language. Learning the host country language is important refugees to communicate with the local people and it makes easy to build social bridges.

Some refugees experience stress about their self-recognition and self-esteem because of being a refugee in Norwegian society. As I found in my research some refugees feel there are some areas (ghetto areas) in Kristiansand where more refugees live than the Norwegians and those areas have less reputation. As I stated earlier having self-respect and self-esteem is important in successful refugee integration (Ager & Strang, 2008). The major reason for having ghetto areas is economical inequalities, which refugees feel they have unequal access to the Norwegian job market. Having less access to economic activities has negative effects on social capital. Putnam (2000) suggests that communities with a "good" stock of social capital are more likely to benefit from lower crime figures, better health, economic growth (Leonard, 2004: 928). Therefore, the negative effects of social capital can be a threat to a safer society.

Refugees experience the stress of keeping their cultural practices in Norway. Especially middle-aged refugees who have lived more years of their life in their home countries prefer to practice their culture in Norway and raise their children according to their culture, but they face

difficulties in practice all their cultures in Norway and it has become a stress for them. Moreover, refugees also experience stress when it comes to maintaining their identity in the Norwegian culture. I have seen this particularly among the children of refugees as well as refugees who have lived in Norway for many years (Over 15 years) and many of them adopted to the Norwegian culture and traditions, they speak the language fluently, but still, they have some cultural practices from their own culture. Some of my research informants expressed to me how they feel that they are in the middle of their own culture and the Norwegian culture. For an example, one of my informants from Palestine told me that "when I am with Palestinians they do not accept me as typical a Palestinian girl who practice the traditions when I am with Norwegians they also do not accept me a Norwegian as I do not look like Norwegian". I have identified this from my research as a challenge which refugees face. According to Berry (1997), there are a number of factors which cause the acculturative stress and trying to keep many of the own cultural practices also a reason to have high acculturative stress. Moreover, Berry stated, in most societies, some groups are more acceptable than others and those less acceptable face difficulties such as discrimination, prejudices, exclusion, which may lead to the marginalisation of the group and which are likely to introduce greater stress (Berry 1997: 214). This has reflected in my findings as many non-western refugees told they face challenges in Norwegian society because of some their cultural practices. Enjoying the Norwegian culture, weather, sports and the leisure activities also challenge for non-western refugees. As they are not familiar with the new culture. According to Berry (1997), the differences which refugees have to experience in a new culture can be a reason for an acculturative stress.

As I have met some asylum seekers who have stayed in Norway more than ten years I have found that they showed more disappointed and have fewer hopes and plans for their future. They were waiting for the UDI response for years and they are afraid of their future and their children's future. As they cannot access the facilities which are allowed only for refugees such as a language school, working, travelling somewhere outside from the municipality they seem to have more difficulties in their everyday life.

These are the major challenges I have identified in my research and then I wanted to find how the CBOs help refugees to overcome these challenges. I have focused only the social integration perspective of the selected three CBO's; LUNAR, KIA and Natteravnene. As I have identified the three organisations have their own major purposes. LUNAR women's organisation has the major purpose of social integration, networking, building dialogue among Norwegians and immigrant women as well as harmony among different ethnic groups in Norway. KIA international organisation is majorly sponsored by the Christian religious organisation which

has the religious purpose as well as refugee integration in their organisation. Natteravnene has the major purpose of making the city safer during night time, and it doesn't directly work for refugee integration. But refugees are volunteering in the organisation and they have identified the organisation as one of the best ways to find friends and practice Norwegian while giving back something to the society to have a safer environment. When the CBOs started their organisations, they did not have a major purpose on refugee integration. But, there were many refugees came to Kristiansand in 2015 and especially KIA and LUNAR focused on refugee integration as a new aspect of their organisations. Natteravnene had a majority of Norwegians as their volunteers, but later it became an attractive organisation for refugees to volunteering. The projects and programmes they have introduced helped for refugees to expand their social network, make friends, practice Norwegian, practice the Kristiansand dialect.

As I selected LUNARs women's group, it was a good opportunity for Muslim refugee women, who did not like to interact with males. LUNAR arranges activities for refugee women and allows them to bring their children also for the meetings. It encourages refugee women to participate in the meetings as they do not have babysitters or kindergarten in the evenings. LUNAR arranges events like cooking different cultural food, self-defence lessons, meditation programmes, Yoga lessons, CV writing, presentation of different countries, arranging cabin trips, ice-skating and skiing sessions, horse riding, projects and social awareness programmes. All these programmes are flexible and sometimes, participants suggest and request what they like to do. According to the suggestions group leader make a plan for the season. Some refugees did not satisfy with their work as they wanted more on help from LUNAR to find a job and tips to find jobs. Some refugees came to the organisation to spend their time effectively, meet new people, make friends, find references for their CVs as it is important to have Norwegian references, to get experience. It was visible to see an increment of participants when it was outdoor activities and cabin trips, as many of the refugees do not get this kind of opportunities participate with their children.

According to previous research, female refugees have higher stress level (Ozer et al, 2003). As LUNAR women's group is good for female refugees to expand their social network and reduce acculturative stress (Berry, 1997). LUNAR works as a source for making social bonds and bridges. Bonding social capital occurs among a homogeneous population, such as ethnic minority groups. Therefore, ethnic minority refugee women get an opportunity to meet their own cultural refugee women. Bridging social capital occurs between two groups; refugees and Norwegians. Refugee women meet Norwegians and expand social connections with them. Putnam (2000: 23) argues that bonding social capital is good for "getting by" but bridging social

capital is essential for "getting ahead". LUNAR gives an opportunity to build trust among refugees and Norwegians, make friends and reduce prejudices through dialogue between people. Especially, they give awareness and try to reduce prejudices among refugees and Norwegians through their projects (ex. Radicalisation Project in 2016)

KIA has a religious purpose as it gets funding's from the Church as well as the majority of volunteers are also Christian religious background people. Even they have religious purpose many refugees participate in their programmes because KIA has structured language classes and language cafes. Many asylum seekers and refugees participate in its events. Especially KIA has collaborated with the refugee centre in Vennesla and they arrange football matches and sports activities for them. Once a month they arrange international dinners, which invites local Norwegians and other immigrants also to participate. As they use Facebook and official website as their major communication methods, it helps refugees to know the events and activities. Sunday tours, choirs are also some of their other activities. Some refugees criticise that KIA has the hidden purpose of spreading religious views and converting other religion refugees to Christianity. According to Ager & Strang (2008), successful integrations foundations are rights and citizenship, which includes refugees should have their freedom to practice their religion. But the majority of refugees see it as a place to improve their language skills, practice Kristiansand dialect, make new friends and meet new people from their own country and neighbouring countries.

Natteravnene has its major purpose to make the city safer, especially on weekends. It does not have any refugee integration intention, but refugees are volunteering with the organisation. The reasons for refugees to volunteer in Natteravnene are getting to know the Kristiansand city better as volunteers have to walk every corner of the city, get to know many Norwegian people as majority of Natteravnene volunteers are Norwegians, make city safer help refugees and other immigrants to have fewer threats from the drunk people and racists, expand social network, add value to CV and find Norwegian references. As Natteravnene has its main purpose to make the city safe is the foundation for social capital. Reciprocity and the trust are the major features of social capital (Putnam 2000 & Fukuyama 1995). It helps to make a safer society. As refugees are getting the membership of the organisation, it is a sign of a prevalence of honesty and trust (Putnam, 2000). However, Natteravnene creates social bonds between refugees and Norwegians which is a good sign of successful integration (Ager & Strang, 2008).

As I have observed refugees majorly focus on economic integration than social integration once they get the refugee status and legal permission to stay in Norway. When they fail to find jobs

most of them realised the importance of having social connections as Norwegian job market prefers candidates with good recommendations, sound social networks. Even the CBOs not directly not focus the economic integration it indirectly links with the economic integration. According to my findings, refugees everyday integration is closer to assimilation than integration. That is also one of the challenges they face as some refugees have the stress of keeping their cultural practices. As I have identified CBOs put an effort to do the integration while allowing them to keep their cultural practices and give some knowledge about the Norwegian culture by teaching the language. Teaching the Norwegian cultural practices. But as I have identified and observed in my research many refugees, as well as Norwegians, identified "well-integrated person" as an assimilated person, who have more Norwegian cultural practices and less of their own cultural practices.

Overall, findings also highlighted that CBO's play a greater role in increasing the social capital of refugees; which helps both refugees as well as to the Norwegians. For refugees, it gives the benefit of helping them to overcome their everyday challenges, which I have identified as having strong personal contacts and networks, which in turn improves their employability, ability to find references, tips for jobs, and language practice. With regard to Norwegians, having a good understanding of new groups and their society makes for building more trust in them, and therefore creating a greater feeling of safety. In the end, it will make for more social mobility and social harmony. Natteravnene is especially working to make for social security in the society. The other two CBO's, KIA and LUNAR have the invisible role of making social security by building social trust, and social networks through social capital.

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 research on this to find the necessary literature. As there is a lack of literature on the importance of CBOs for refugee integration, future research can focus more on areas like the 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, the CBOs role and asylum seekers. Finally, there is a lack of attention given to social integration compared to other integrations, such as economic integration. However, the social integration of refugees needs more attention with regard to 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.

References

ADB. (2009). *Civil Society Organisation*, Manila, Philippine.

Adhikari, K. P. (2008). *Bridging, Linking, And Bonding Social Capital In Collective Action.* Collective Action an d property rights CAPRi, 1-23.

Ager, A. and Strang, A. (2004). *Indicators of Integration: Final Report*. Home Office Development and Practice Report 28, London: Home Office.

Ager, A. and Strang, A. (2008). *'Understanding integration: a conceptual framework'*. Journal of Refugee Studies, 26: 2, 166–91.

Ager, A., Myers, F., Kerr, P., Myles, S., & Green, A. (2001). *Moving home: Social integration for adults with intellectual disabilities resettling into community provision*. Journal of Applied Research in Intellectual Disabilities, 14(4), 392-400.

Ahmad, A, A. K. Haque, I. (2007). *NGOs, CBOs and social capital – A study of Community-Based Fisheries Management in Bangladesh*, Discussion paper. Lund University School of Economics and Management workshop in March 2007.

Alba, R., & Nee, V. (2003). *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contempory Immigration*. USA: Harvard University Press.

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Michigan: Addison-Wesley Pub.Co.

Angell, R. C. (1968). *Social integration. International encyclopedia of the social sciences*, 7, 380-386.

AUGUR. (2012). *Civil Society Organisations*. Retrieved from http://www.augurproject.eu/IMG/pdf/cso_note_provisional_draft5_june_2012.pdf

August, D., Shanahan, T., & Escamilla, K. (2009). *English language learners: Developing literacy in second-language learners—Report of the National Literacy Panel on Language-Minority Children and Youth*. Journal of Literacy Research, 41(4), 432-452.

Baldwin-Edwards, M. (2005). *Migration in the Middle East and the Mediterranean* (pp. 1-38). Geneva: Global Commission on International Migration.

Basit, T. N. (1997). *'I Want More Freedom, but Not Too Much': British Muslim girls and the dynamism of family values*. *Gender and education*, *9*(4), 425-440.

Baubock, R., Heller, A., Zolberg, R. (1996). *The Challenge of Diversity: Integration and Pluralism in Societies of Immigration*. USA: Ashgate, Alderhost

Berry, J. W., & Annis, R. C. (1974). *Acculturative stress: The role of ecology, culture and differentiation*. Journal of cross-cultural psychology, 5(4), 382-406.

Berry, J. W., & Sabatier, C. (2011). Variations in the assessment of acculturation attitudes: Their relationships with psychological wellbeing. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *3*5(5), 658-669.

Berry, J. W., & Sam, D. L. (1997). *Acculturation and adaptation*. Handbook of cross-cultural psychology, 3(2), 291-326.

Berry, J. W., Kim, U., Power, S., & Bujaki, M. (1989). *Acculturation attitudes in plural societies*. Applied Psy cholofu, 38,185-206.

Berry, J., Kim, U., Minde, T. and Mok, D. (1987). *'Comparative studies of accultrative stress'*. International Migration Review, 21: 491–511

Berry, J.W. (1997). *'Immigration, Acculturation and Adaptation'.* Applied Psychology: An International Review, 46: 1, 5–68.

Betancourt, T. S., Abdi, S., Ito, B. S., Lilienthal, G. M., Agalab, N., & Ellis, H. (2015). *We left one war and came to another: Resource loss, acculturative stress, and caregiver–child relationships in Somali refugee families*. Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 21(1), 114.

Bhattarai, M. (2014). *Integration challenges for Bhutanese refugees in Norway via third country resettlement* (Master's thesis, Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Ås).

Bhugra, D. (2000). *Migration and schizophrenia*. Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica, 102(s407), 68-73.

Boehnlein, J. K., & Kinzie, J. D. (1995). *Refugee trauma*. Transcultural Psychiatric Research Review, 32(3), 223-252.

Boscarino, J. A. (1995). *Post-traumatic stress and associated disorders among Vietnam veterans: The significance of combat exposure and social support*. Journal of traumatic stress, 8(2), 317-336.

Boyd, M., & Cao, X. (2009). *Immigrant language proficiency, earnings, and language policies*. Canadian Studies in Population, 36(1-2), 63-86.

Brochmann., B. (2014). Scandinavia. Governing Immigration in Advanced Welfare States, In James F. et al. Hollifield (ed.), Controlling Immigration. A Global Perspective. Stanford University Press. ISBN 9780804786270. 9. s 281.

Brochmann, G., & Hagelund, A. (2012). Welfare state, nation and immigration. In Immigration Policy and the Scandinavian Welfare State 1945–2010 (pp. 1-24). Palgrave Macmillan UK. 93

Brochmann, G., & Kjeldstadli, K. (2008). *A history of immigration: the case of Norway 900-2000*. Universitetsforlaget.

Brunner, L. R., Hyndman, J., & Mountz, A. (2014). *Waiting for a Wife": Transnational Marriages and the Social Dimensions of Refugee "Integration*. Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees, 30(1).

Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods*. Fourth edition. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Bryman, A. (2016). *Social Research Methods*. 5th ed. Oxford University Press. New York.

BSA (British Sociological Association). (2002). *Statement of Ethical Practice for the British* Sociological Association Retrieved from https://www.britsoc.co.uk/media/23902/statementofethicalpractice.pdf

Bulcha, M. (1997). *The politics of linguistic homogenization in Ethiopia and the conflict over the status of Afaan Oromoo*. African affairs, 96(384), 325-352.

Cameron, K. S., & Quinn, R. E. (2011). *Diagnosing and changing organizational culture: Based on the competing values framework*. John Wiley & Sons.

Cantle, T. (2005). *Community cohesion: A new framework for race and diversity*. Springer.

Carlson, E. B., & Rosser-Hogan, R. (1991). *Trauma experiences, posttraumatic stress, dissociation, and depression in Cambodian refugees*. The American journal of psychiatry, 148(11), 1548.

Castles, F. G. (2001). *On the political economy of recent public-sector development*. Journal of European Social Policy, 11(3), 195-211.

Cattell, V. (2001). *Poor people, poor places, and poor health: the mediating role of social networks and social capital*. Social science & medicine, 52(10), 1501-1516.

Chechetto-Salles, M., Geyer, Y., & Tyler, J. (2006). *Community-based organisation management. Handbook series for community-based organisations*. Pretoria: Institute for Democracy in South Africa.

Cheong, P. H., Edwards, R., Goulbourne, H., & Solomos, J. (2007). *Immigration, social cohesion and social capital: A critical review*. *Critical social policy*, *27*(1), 24-49.

Cheung, S.Y. and Phillimore, J. (2013) *Social Networks, Social Capital and Refugee Integration*. Research report for Nuffield Foundation, Nuffield Foundation.

Chia, J. (2011). *Communicating, connecting and developing social capital for sustainable organisations and their communities*. Australasian Journal of Regional Studies, 17(3), 330.

Coffey, A., & Atkinson, P. (1996). *Making sense of qualitative data: complementary research strategies*. Sage Publications, Inc.

Cohen, A. D. (2014). *Strategies in learning and using a second language*. Routledge.

Coleman, J.S (1990). Rational action, social networks, and the emergence of norms. *Structures of power and constraint*, 91-112.

Colic-Peisker, V., & Tilbury, F. (2007). *Integration into the Australian labour market: The experience of three "visibly different" groups of recently arrived refugees*. International migration, 45(1), 59-85.

Correa-Velez, I., Gifford, S. M., & Barnett, A. G. (2010). *Longing to belong: Social inclusion and wellbeing among youth with refugee backgrounds in the first three years in Melbourne, Australia*. Social science & medicine, 71(8), 1399-1408.

Council of Europe press. (1994). *Vocational Training Projects: Towards Equal Opportunities For Immigrants*. Retrieved from https://www.coe.int/t/dg3/migration/archives/Documentation/Series_Community_Relations/Vocational_training_projects_en.pdf

Crotty, M. (2003). *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspectives in the Research Process*. London: Sage Publications, 3rd edition, 10.

Cullen, F. T. (1994). *Social support as an organizing concept for criminology: Presidential address to the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences*. Justice Quarterly, 11(4), 527-559.

Curtis, V., & Biran, A. (2001). *Dirt, disgust, and disease: Is hygiene in our genes?.* Perspectives in biology and medicine, 44(1), 17-31.

Davey, G. S., Neaton, J. D., Wentworth, D., Stamler, R., & Stamler, J. (1998). *Mortality differences between black and white men in the USA: contribution of income and other risk factors among men screened for the MRFIT*. MRFIT Research Group. Multiple Risk Factor Intervention Trial. Lancet (London, England), 351(9107), 934-939.

Dijkstra, S., Geuijen, K., & De Ruijter, A. (2001). *Multiculturalism and social integration in Europe*. International Political Science Review, 22(1), 55-84.

Dornyei, Z. (2007). *Research methods in applied linguistics: Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Methodologies.* Berkley: OUP Oxford.

Dzamarija, M.T (2016). People with refugee background. Retrieved from https://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/statistikker/flyktninger/aar

Edwards, M. (2004). *Civil Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Elliott, S., & Yusuf, I. (2014). *'Yes, we can; but together': social capital and refugee resettlement*. Kotuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online, 9(2), 101-110.

Fangen, K. (2006). Humiliation experienced by Somali refugees in Norway. Journal of refugee studies, 19(1), 69-93.

Fazel, M., Wheeler, J., & Danesh, J. (2005). *Prevalence of serious mental disorder in 7000 refugees resettled in western countries: a systematic review*. The Lancet, 365(9467), 1309-1314.

Finney, N., & Simpson, L. (2008). *Internal migration and ethnic groups: evidence for Britain from the 2001 Census*. Population, Space and Place, 14(2), 63-83.

Folbre, N. (1983). *Of patriarchy born: The political economy of fertility decisions*. Feminist Studies, 9(2), 261-284.

Folkeuniversitetet. (2018). Retrieved from https://www.folkeuniversitetet.no/

Forrest, R., & Kearns, A. (2001). *Social cohesion, social capital and the neighbourhood*. Urban studies, 38(12), 2125-2143.

Foss A. S. (2013). *Norwegian bible belt resists gender equality*. Retrieved from http://sciencenordic.com/norwegian-bible-belt-resists-gender-equality

Fredricks, J. A., & Eccles, J. S. (2005). *Family socialization, gender, and sport motivation and involvement*. Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 27(1), 3-31.

Fukuyama, F. (1992). By way of an introduction. *The End of History and the Last Man*. Penguin.

Fukuyama, F. (1995). Trust: *The Social Virtues and The Creation of Prosperity* (No. D10 301 c. 1/c. 2). Free Press Paperbacks.

Fukuyama, F. (1999, October). *Social capital and civil society*. In IMF conference on Second Generation reforms (Vol. 1).

Fukuyama, F. (2001). *Social capital, civil society and development*. Third world quarterly, 22(1), 7-20.

Furman, W., & Robbins, P. (1985). *What's the point? Issues in the selection of treatment objectives*. In Children's peer relations: Issues in assessment and intervention (pp. 41-54). Springer US. 95.

Gameledin-Adhami, M., & Cooper, L. Knight. (2002). *Refugee settlement: Can communities cope*. London: Evelyn Oldfield Unit.

Giddens, A. (1990). *Structuration theory and sociological analysis. Anthony Giddens: consensus and controversy*. 297-315. Falmer Press.

Gill, J., & Johnson, P. (2010). *Research methods for managers*. Sage.

Glanville, J. L., Andersson, M. A., & Paxton, P. (2013). *Do social connections create trust? An examination using new longitudinal data*. Social Forces, 92(2), 545-562

Gonzales, A. L., & Hancock, J. T. (2011). *Mirror, mirror on my Facebook wall: Effects of exposure to Facebook on self-esteem*. Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking, 14(1-2), 79-83.

Goodman, S. W. (2010). *Integration requirements for integration's sake? Identifying, categorising and comparing civic integration policies*. Journal of ethnic and migration studies, 36(5), 753-772.

Gopinath, G. (2005). *Impossible desires: Queer diasporas and South Asian public cultures*. Duke University Press.

Gordon, M. M. (1964). *Assimilation in American life: The role of race, religion, and national origins*. Oxford University Press on Demand.

Gorst-Unsworth, C., & Goldenberg, E. (1998). *Psychological sequelae of torture and organised violence suffered by refugees from Iraq. Trauma-related factors compared with social factors in exile*. The British Journal of Psychiatry, 172(1), 90-94.

Graham, M. H. (2016). *Handbook of Federal Evidence*. University of Miami: Thomson Reuters.

Griffiths, D., Sigona, N., & Zetter, R. (2006). *Integrative paradigms, marginal reality: refugee community organisations and dispersal in Britain*. Journal of ethnic and migration studies, 32(5), 881-898.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). *Competing paradigms in qualitative research*. Handbook of qualitative research, 2(163-194), 105.

Guerin, P. B., Diiriye, R. O., Corrigan, C., & Guerin, B. (2003). *Physical activity programs for refugee Somali women: working out in a new country*. Women & Health, 38(1), 83-99.

Guest, G., MacQueen, K. M., & Namey, E. E. (2011). *Applied thematic analysis*. sage.

Haaland, H., Wallevik, H. (2017). *Volunteer sector in Norway*. University of Agder, Norway.

Hamberger, A. (2009). *Thematic Articles – Identity, Integration And Citizenship: Immigrant integration: Acculturation and Social Integration*. Journal of Identity and Migration studies. s, 3(2), 2-21.

Hassen C, Demiralay C, Reimer J. (2008). *Acculturation and mental distress among Russian and Iranian migrants in Germany*. 23(Suppl 1), 10–13.

Helliwell, J. F., & Putnam, R. D. (2004). *The social context of well-being*. Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences, 359(1449), 1435.

Home Office. (2005). «Wars and the vulnerable». Unicef.org. Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/sowc96pk/vulnerab.htm

Hovey, J. D. (2000). *Acculturative stress, depression, and suicidal ideation in Mexican immigrants*. Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 6(2), 134.

Hudson, L. A., & Ozanne, J. L. (1988). *Alternative ways of seeking knowledge in consumer research*. Journal of consumer research, 14(4), 508-521.

Hunt, V., Layton, D., & Prince, S. (2015). *Diversity matters*. McKinsey & Company. 1, 15-29.

Hunter, M. L. (2002). *"If you're light you're alright" light skin color as social capital for women of color*. Gender & society, 16(2), 175-193.

Hwang, W. C. (2006). *Acculturative family distancing: Theory, research, and clinical practice*. Psychotherapy: Theory, research, practice, training, 43(4), 397.

ICMC Europe. (2007). *Welcome to Europe*. Retrieved from https://www.resettlement.eu/sites/icmc.tttp.eu/files/ICMC%20Europe-Welcome%20to%20Europe_0.pdf

ICMC Europe. (2013). *Welcome to Europe, A comprehensive guide to resettlement*. Retrieved from http://www.resettlement.eu/country/norway

Ilmarinen, J. E. (2001). *Aging workers*. Occupational and environmental medicine, 58(8), 546-546.

IMDi. (2017). *IMDis work*. Retrieved from https://www.imdi.no/en/about-imdi/imdis-work/

IOM. (2018). *Key Migration Terms*. Retrieved from https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms.

Isham, J., Kelly, T., & Ramaswamy, S. (Eds.). (2002). *Social capital and economic development: well-being in developing countries*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Jacob, A. G. (1994). *Social integration of Salvadoran refugees*. Social Work, *39*(3), 307-312.

Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. *Scandinavian political studies*. 30(2). 137-174.

Kaladjahi, H. (1997). *Iranians in Sweden: Economic, cultural and social integration*. Doctoral dissertation. Almqvist & Wiksell International.

Kaladjahi, H. (1997). *Iranians in Sweden: Economic, cultural and social integration*. Doctoral dissertation. Almqvist & Wiksell International.

Kanas, A., F. van Tubergen, and T. van der Lippe. (2009). *Immigrant Self-Employment: Testing Hypotheses About the Role of Origin- and Host-Country Human Capital and Bonding and Bridging Social Capital*. Work and Occupations 36(3):181-208.

Kandal, S. (2014). *Sustainable Integration of Refugees in Norway A service design approach*. Retrieved from https://www.ntnu.no/documents/10401/1264435841/Artikkel+Silje+Kandal.pdf/c85b9a96-3dc0-4553-9606-33ce9df3f23f

Kebede, S. S. (2010). *The struggle for belonging*. Retrieved from https://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/files-1/wp70-struggle-for-belonging-2010.pdf

Kelaher, M., Potts, H., & Manderson, L. (2001). *Health issues among Filipino women in remote Queensland*. Australian Journal of Rural Health, 9(4), 150-157.

KIA Organisation. (2017). *What is KIA*. Retrieved from www.kia.no

Kim, J., Suh, W., Kim, S., & Gopalan, H. (2012). *Coping strategies to manage acculturative stress: Meaningful activity participation, social support, and positive emotion among*

Korean immigrant adolescents in the USA. International journal of qualitative studies on health and well-being, 7(1), 18870.

Kim, Y. (2008). *A Reflective Study of Iranian Women's Status in Relation to the Veil*. 대학과 선교, 15, 325-341.

Kirmayer, L. J., Narasiah, L., Munoz, M., Rashid, M., Ryder, A. G., Guzder, J. & Pottie, K. (2011). *Common mental health problems in immigrants and refugees: general approach in primary care*. Canadian Medical Association Journal, 183(12), E959-E967.

Kirmayer, L. J., Narasiah, L., Munoz, M., Rashid, M., Ryder, A. G., Guzder, J., ... & Pottie, K. (2011). *Common mental health problems in immigrants and refugees: general approach in primary care*. Canadian Medical Association Journal, 183(12), E959-E967.

Korac, M. (2003). *Integration and how we facilitate it: A comparative study of the settlement experiences of refugees in Italy and the Netherlands*. Sociology, 37(1), 51-68.

Krahn, H., Derwing, T., Mulder, M., & Wilkinson, L. (2000). *Educated and underemployed: Refugee integration into the Canadian labour market*. Journal of International Migration and Integration, 1(1), 59-84.

Krishnan, A., & Berry, J. W. (1992). *Acculturative Stress and Acculturation Attitudes Among Indian Immigrants to the United States*. Psychology and Developing Societies, 4(2), 187-212.

Kristiansand municipality. (2017). Retrieved from http://urbact.eu/kristiansand

Kristiansen, J. H. (2016). The impact of the European Refugees Crisis in the cities of the Baltic Sea Region? Deputy mayor, city of Kristiansand, Norway. Retrieved from http://www.ubc.net/sites/default/files/jorgen_kristiansen_refugee_summit_rostock_march_2016_jk.pdf

Kristriansand municipality. (2017). Retrieved from http://www.kristiansand.no/

Landecker, W. S. (1951). *Types of integration and their measurement*. American Journal of Sociology, 56(4), 332-340. 98

Lather, P. (1992). *Critical frames in educational research: Feminist and post-structural perspectives*. Theory into practice, 31(2), 87-99.

Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, Appraisal, and Coping*. 282-325. New York: Springer Publishing Company.

Putnam, R. D., Leonardi, R., & Nanetti, R. Y. (1994). Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy. Princeton university press.

Lin, N. (2000). *Inequality in social capital*. Contemporary Sociology, vol. 29, no. 6, pp. 78595

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry* (Vol. 75). Sage.

LOIZOS, P. (2000). *Are refugees social capitalists?.* in S. Baron, J. Field and T. Schuller (eds), Social Capital: Critical Perspectives, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 12441.

Luhmann, N. (1979). *Trust and power Chichester*. United Kingdom: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2014). *Designing qualitative research*. Sage publications.

Marshall., G. (1994). *The Concise Oxford dictionary of Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Martin et al. (2003). *Encyclopedia of Islam & the Muslim World*. Macmillan Reference. ISBN 978-0028656038

McMichael, C., & Manderson, L. (2004). *Somali women and well-being: Social networks and social capital among immigrant women in Australia*. Human organization, 63(1), 88-99.

Mestheneos, E., & Ioannidi, E. (2002). *Obstacles to refugee integration in the European Union member states*. Journal of Refugee Studies, 15(3), 304-320.

Ministry of Justice and public security. (2018). *Settlement of refugees*. Government.no, 2018. Retrieved from: https://www.regjeringen.no/en/topics/immigration/innsikt/busetting-av-flyktningar/.

Moukarbel, N. (2010). *Sri Lankan housemaids in Lebanon: a case of symbolic violence and*

everyday forms of resistance (p. 250). Amsterdam University Press.

Nashwan, A. J. (2014). *Acculturative Stress and Social Support Among Immigrant Arab American Adolescents in East Tennessee*. University of Tennessee

National Research Council. (2000). *How people learn: Brain, mind, experience, and school: Expanded edition*. National Academies Press.

Natteravnene Organisation. (2017). Retrieved from www.natteravnene.no

NESH. (2014). Retrieved from https://www.etikkom.no/globalassets/documents/english publications/60127_fek_guidelines_nesh_digital_corr.pdf

Neuman, W. L. (2000). *Social research method*. University of Wisconsin at Whitewater.

Newland, K., Tanaka, H., & Barker, L. (2007). *Bridging divides: The role of ethnic community-based organizations in refugee integration*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Noh, S., Beiser, M., Kaspar, V., Hou, F., & Rummens, J. (1999). *Perceived racial discrimination, depression, and coping: A study of Southeast Asian refugees in Canada*. Journal of health and social behavior, 193-207.

Nordic migration and integration research: Overview and future prospects. (2016). Retrieved from https://www.nordforsk.org/en/publications/publications_container/nordic-migration-and-integration-research-overview-and-future-prospects/view

Nwadiora, E., & McAdoo, H. (1996). *Acculturative stress among Amerasian refugees: Gender and racial differences*. Adolescence, 31(122), 477-488.

OECD. (2016). *Making Integration Work Refugees and others in need of protect*. Retrieved from https://www.oecd.org/els/mig/Making-Integration-Work-Refugees-and-others-in-need-of-protection-flyer-web.pdf

O'Gorman, K. D., & MacIntosh, R. (2014). *Research methods for business and management*. Goodfellow Publishers Limited.

Olliff, L. (2008). *Playing for the future: the role of sport and recreation in supporting refugee young people to settle well in Australia*. Youth Studies Australia, 27(1), 52

Østby L., (2017). *From asylum seeker to refugee – before and after the crisis of 2015*. Retrieved from https://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/artikler-og-publikasjoner/from-asylum-seeker-to-refugee-before-and-after-the-crisis-of-2015

Ozbay, F., Johnson, D. C., Dimoulas, E., Morgan III, C. A., Charney, D., & Southwick, S. (2007). *Social support and resilience to stress: from neurobiology to clinical practice*. Psychiatry (Edgmont), 4(5), 35.

Ozer, E. J., Best, S. R., Lipsey, T. L., & Weiss, D. S. (2003). *Predictors of posttraumatic stress disorder and symptoms in adults: a meta-analysis*. Psychological bulletin, 129(1), 52.

Paxton, P. (2002). *Social capital and democracy: An interdependent relationship*. American sociological review, 254-277.

Pearlin, L. I. (1989). *The sociological study of stress*. Journal of health and social behavior, 241-256.

Pennix, K. (2003). *A City of All Ages: An Intergenerational View on Local Social Policy*. NIZW, Utrecht, Netherlands.

Phelps, A. F., & Horman, M. J. (2009). *Ethnographic theory-building research in construction*. Journal of Construction Engineering and Management, 136(1), 58-65.

Phillimore, J. (2011). *Refugees, acculturation strategies, stress and integration*. Journal of Social Policy, 40(03), 575-593 100

Phillimore, J., & Goodson, L. (2006). *Problem or opportunity? Asylum seekers, refugees, employment and social exclusion in deprived urban areas*. Urban Studies, 43(10), 1715-1736.

Phillips, B. N., Robison, L. J., & Kosciulek, J. F. (2014). *The influence of social capital on starting wage for people with and without disabilities*. Rehabilitation Counseling Bulletin, 58(1), 37-45.

Phinney, J. S., Horenczyk, G., Liebkind, K., & Vedder, P. (2001). *Ethnic identity, immigration, and well-being: An interactional perspective*. Journal of social issues, 57(3), 493-510.

Poppitt, G., & Frey, R. (2007). *Sudanese adolescent refugees: Acculturation and acculturative stress*. Journal of Psychologists and Counsellors in Schools, 17(2), 160-181.

Putnam, R. D. (1993). *The prosperous community*. The american prospect, 4(13), 35-42.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: America's declining social capital*. In Culture and politics (pp. 223-234). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Putnam, R. D. (2001). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. Simon and Schuster.

Putnam, R. D. (2007). *E pluribus unum: Diversity and community in the twenty-first century the 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture*. Retrieved from https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2007.00176.x

Putnam, R. D., Leonardi, R., & Nanetti, R. Y. (1994). *Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton university press.

Reiss, A. J. (1971). *Systematic observation of natural social phenomena*. Sociological methodology, 3, 3-33.

Ritchie, D. G. (2014). *Natural rights: a criticism of some political and ethical conceptions*. Routledge.

Ritzer, G. (2007). *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, SE-ST, Volume IX. USA: Blackwell Publishing.

Robottom, I., & Hart, P. (1993). *Towards a meta-research agenda in science and enviormental educaion*. International Journal of Science Education, 15(5), 591-605.

Rödin, M., & Ozcan, G. (2010, October). *Ethnic Stereotypes: Discrimination Based on Appearance and Speech*. In Swedish Integration Conference, Rånäs slott and Annual Congress, SULCIS Scientific Advisory Board Meeting.

Rotberg, R. I. (Ed.). (2010). *Creating peace in Sri Lanka: civil war and reconciliation*. Brookings Institution Press.

Rothstein, B. (2005). *Social traps and the problem of trust*. Cambridge University Press.

Rubin, J. (1981). *Study of Cognitive Processes in Second Language Learning*. Applied linguistics, 2(2), 117-131.

Rutter, M. (1989). *Pathways from childhood to adult life*. Journal of child psychology and psychiatry, 30(1), 23-51.

Saetersdal, B., Dalen, M., Altstein, H., & Simon, R. (1991). *Norway: Intercountry adoptions in a homogeneous country*. Intercountry adoption: A multinational perspective, 83-108.

Salgado de Snyder, V. N. (1987). *Mexican immigrant women: The relationship of ethnic loyalty and social support to acculturative stress and depressive symptomatology*. Spanish Speaking Mental Health Research Center Occasional Papers.

Sam, D. L., & Berry, J. W. (1995). *Acculturative stress among young immigrants in Norway*. Scandinavian journal of psychology, 36(1), 10-24.

Sam, D. L., & Berry, J. W. (2010). *Acculturation: When individuals and groups of different cultural backgrounds meet*. Perspectives on Psychological Science, 5(4), 472-481.

Samuel, E. (2009). *Acculturative stress: South Asian immigrant women's experiences in Canada's Atlantic provinces*. Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies, 7(1), 16-34.

Samuel, E. P. (2005). *Integrative antiracism: South Asians in Canadian academe*. University of Toronto Press.

Sanjari, M., Bahramnezhad, F., Fomani, F. K., Shoghi, M., & Cheraghi, M. A. (2014). *Ethical challenges of researchers in qualitative studies: the necessity to develop a specific guideline*. Journal of medical ethics and history of medicine, 7.

Sarrasin, O., Green, E. G., Fasel, N., Christ, O., Staerklé, C., & Clémence, A. (2012). *Opposition to antiracism laws across Swiss municipalities: A multilevel analysis*. Political Psychology, 33(5), 659-681.

Schneider, S. L. (2008). *Anti-immigrant attitudes in Europe: Outgroup size and perceived ethnic threat*. European Sociological Review, 24(1), 53-67.

Segal, U. A., & Mayadas, N. S. (2005). *Assessment of issues facing immigrant and refugee families.* Child welfare, 84(5), 563.

Shagrir, L. (2017). *Journey to Ethnographic Research*. Springer International Publishing.

Sirin, S. R., Ryce, P., Gupta, T., & Rogers-Sirin, L. (2013). *The role of acculturative stress on mental health symptoms for immigrant adolescents*: A longitudinal investigation Developmental Psychology, 49(4), 736.

Skinner, J., Zakus, D. H., & Cowell, J. (2008). *Development through sport: Building social capital in disadvantaged communities*. Sport management review, 11(3), 253-275.

Sodowsky, G. R., & Carey, J. C. (1987). *Asian Indian immigrants in America: Factors related to adjustment*. Journal of multicultural counseling and development, 15(3), 129-141.

Solomon, S., Greenberg, J., & Pyszczynski, T. (1991). *A terror management theory of social behavior: The psychological functions of self-esteem and cultural worldviews*. In Advances in experimental social psychology (Vol. 24, pp. 93-159). Academic Press.

Spaaij, R. (2012). *Beyond the playing field: Experiences of sport, social capital, and integration among Somalis in Australia*. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 35(9), 1519-1538.

Spencer, S. (2006). *Refugees and other new migrants: a review of the evidence on successful approaches to integration*. COMPAS, Oxford.

Spencer, S. (Ed.). (2003). *The politics of migration: Managing opportunity, conflict and change*. Blackwell Publishing.

SSB. (2016a). *Immigrants and Norwegian born to immigrant parents*. Retrieved from https://www.ssb.no/en/innvbef

SSB. (2017a). *Immigrants and Norwegian-born to immigrant parents, 1 January 2017*. Retrieved from https://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/statistikker/innvbef/aar/2017-03-02

SSB. (2017b). *Work – goal and arena for integration*. Retrieved from https://www.ssb.no/en/arbeid-og-lonn/artikler-og-publikasjoner/work-goal-and-arena-for-integration

SSB. (2017c) *Many new Syrian immigrants.* Retrieved from https://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/artikler-og-publikasjoner/many-new-syrian-immigrants

SSB. (2017d). *Bosnians- the integration champions?*. Retrieved from https://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/artikler-og-publikasjoner/bosnians-the-integration-champions

SSB. (2017e). *Persons with refugee background*. Retrieved from https://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/statistikker/flyktninger/aar

SSB. (2018). *Approaching 5.3 million*. Retrieved from https://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/artikler-og-publikasjoner/approaching-5.3-million

Stedman, S. J., & Tanner, F. (Eds.). (2003). *Refugee manipulation: war, politics, and the abuse of human suffering*. Brookings Institution Press.

Strang, A., & Ager, A. (2010). *Refugee integration: Emerging trends and remaining agendas.* Journal of Refugee Studies, 23(4), 589-607.

Suszycki, A. M. (2011). *Polish nationalism in transformation*. ISPI Commentary, Instituto Per Gli Studi Politica Internazionale.

Swing, L., (2010), *Director of general IOM* retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/index.cfm?action=media

Tedeschi, R. G., & Calhoun, L. G. (1996). *The Posttraumatic Growth Inventory: Measuring the positive legacy of trauma*. Journal of traumatic stress, 9(3), 455-471. 103

Tedeschi, R. G., & Calhoun, L. G. (2004). " *Posttraumatic growth: Conceptual foundations and empirical evidence*". Psychological inquiry, 15(1), 1-18.

Teodorescu, D. S., Siqveland, J., Heir, T., Hauff, E., Wentzel-Larsen, T., & Lien, L. (2012). *Posttraumatic growth, depressive symptoms, posttraumatic stress symptoms, post-migration stressors and quality of life in multi-traumatized psychiatric outpatients with a refugee background in Norway.* Health and Quality of Life Outcomes, 10(1), 84.

International Organization For Migration. (2018). *The Global Commission of International Migration.* (2005). Retrieved from https://www.iom.int/global-commission-international-migration

Narayan, D. (1999). The World Bank Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network August. Poverty Division. Retrieved from http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/989601468766526606/pdf/multi-page.pdf

Thomas, M., & Choi, B., J. (2006). *Acculturative stress and social support among Korean and Indian immigrant adolescents in the United States*. J. Soc. & Soc. Welfare, 33, 123.

Thomas, T. N. (1995). *Acculturative stress in the adjustment of immigrant families*. Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless, 4(2), 131-142.

Trooglivssyn.no. (2017). *Samarbeidsrådet for tros- og livssynsamfunn -FORSIDEN*. Retrieved from http://www.trooglivssyn.no/

Trygstad, S. (2016). *Labour market integration of asylams and refugees*. Europeam commission.

UN. (2005). Retrieved from http://www.un.org/webcast/summit2005/MDGBook.pdf

UNHCR Resettlement Handbook. (2013). Norway Country Chapter retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/protection/resettlement/3c5e59835/unhcr-resettlement-handbook-country-chapter-norway.html

UNHCR. (2006). *UNHCR Asylum Trends 2013: Levels and Trends in Industrialized Countries*. Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/5329b15a9.pdf

UNHCR. (2018). *Resettlement Handbook*. Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/3c5e59835.pdf

Union Européenne. Programme pour l'éducation et la formation tout au long de la vie, & Seukwa, L. H. (2013). *Integration of refugees into the European education and labour market: requirements for a target group oriented approach*. Peter Lang Edition. 106.

V. N., & Padilla, A. (1987). *Social support networks: Their availability and effectiveness. Health and Beahavior: Research Agenda for Hispanics*. Gaviria, M., Arana, JD (editors). Chicago: University of Illinois at Chicago.

Valenta, M. (2008). *Finding friends after resettlement: A study of the social integration of immigrants and refugees, their personal networks and self-work in everyday life.* Fakultet for samfunnsvitenskap og teknologiledelse.

Valentine, G., Sporton, D., & Nielsen, K. B. (2009). *Identities and belonging: a study of Somali refugee and asylum seekers living in the UK and Denmark*. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 27(2), 234-250.

Van Tubergen, F., & Kalmijn, M. (2005). *Destination-language proficiency in cross-national perspective: A study of immigrant groups in nine western countries.* American Journal of Sociology, *110*(5), 1412-1457.

Varshney, A. (1991). *India, Pakistan, and Kashmir: Antinomies of Nationalism.* Asian Survey, 31(11), 997-1019.

Walzer, M. (1992). *The Idea of Holy War in Ancient Israel.* The Journal of Religious Ethics, 215-228.

Ward, P. R., Mamerow, L., & Meyer, S. B. (2014). *Interpersonal trust across six Asia-Pacific countries: testing and extending the 'high trust society'and 'low trust society'theory*. PLoS One, 9(4), e95555.

Wei, M., Russell, D. W., Mallinckrodt, B., & Vogel, D. L. (2007). *The Experiences in Close Relationship Scale (ECR)-Short Form: Reliability, validity, and factor structure*. Retrieved from https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/?term=17437384. Journal of Personality Assessment, 88(2), 187-204.

Westerhof, W. (1997). *A few more grains of melanin. International journal of dermatology*. 36, 573-574.

Westerhof, W. (2007*). Evolutionary, biologic, and social aspects of skin color*. Dermatologic clinics, 25(3), 293-302.

Westermeyer, J. (1989*). Nontreatment factors affecting treatment outcome in substance abuse.* The American journal of drug and alcohol abuse, 15(1), 13-29.

Williams, C. L., & Berry, J. W. (1991). *Primary prevention of acculturative stress among refugees: Application of psychological theory and practise.* American psychologist, 46(6), 632.

Woolcock, P. G. (1998). *Power, impartiality and justice*.

Independence.uk. (2018*). The 12 best countries to live in around the world.* Retrieved from https://www.independent.co.uk/travel/twelve-best-countries-united-nations-live-around-world-hong-kong-united-states-canada-iceland-a8129601.html

Yin, R. K. (1981). *The case study as a serious research strategy.* Knowledge, 3(1), 97-114.

Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ziersch, A. M., Baum, F. E., MacDougall, C., & Putland, C. (2005). *Neighbourhood life and social capital: the implications for health. Social science & medicine*, 60(1), 71-86.