SCHOOL OF MISSION AND THEOLOGY (MHS)

CONSTRUCTION 'THE WAY OF LIFE': A CASE OF BHUTANESE REFUGEES IN NORWAY

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For my husband Rishi, for everything

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Norway, having the 1st rank in the human development index from the past several years, has got pride in humanitarian, social welfare and peaceful existence. Enjoying the highest living standards in the world, Norway, remains constantly concerned about the poverty of the southern world also provides economic assistance, technical support, and knowledge sharing to the developing countries. Therefore, it has gained a worldwide reputation. Keeping its reputation in the high respect, Norwegian immigration policy has also given equal status to immigrants like her citizens. Therefore, two basic principles have remained consistent in Norway's immigration policy: one, immigration must be limited; two, all immigrants who are admitted to Norway should have equal legal and practical opportunities in society (Migration Information Source, 2005). By January 2010, Norway has 151,000 people with refugee background. Around 27 percent of total refugee background people live in Oslo and it covers 7 per cent of the city's total population. Iraqis make up the largest group of refugee which consists of around 19,800 persons and second largest group is from Somali background which consists of 17,700. Similarly, the number of immigrants are around 5,52,000 which is 11.4 percent of Norway's total population. Among them around 17,700 immigrants are residing in Trondheim municipality. The majority is of African which is around 21,00 in number. There are 1166 refugees residing in Trondheim who are from Afgansthan, Somalia, Iraq, Burma, Congo, Russia, Eritrea, Ethopia, and Bhutan. Among them 64 are from Bhutan. The Bhutanese refugees are carried out in a group as a quota scheme (Norway Statistics 2010).

Norwegian immigration policy emphasizes on a respect of immigrants' and refugees' language and culture. However, the government has strongly emphasized on the use of Norwegian language as a duty of immigrants' and refugees' to participate and interact. The concept of integration in the Norwegian policy includes partly to achieve a successful multicultural society and partly to improve the welfare state. Therefore, in practice, it appears as the obligation to participate in language training, labor market integration, initiative to prevent racism and xenophobia (Migration Information Source, 2005) and after all Norwegian culture and society.

Integration, in a new society, is itself a learning process for the refugees. Burns (1995) states

that adults having previous experience and knowledge is always aware of the reason and relevance of learning for personal life. On the one hand, migrants as adult persons have their own worldviews about the social reality which has been created in their own environment and social cultural settings and on the other hand they have urge to learn and adopt the new culture and system of the host society. In the process of integration, there is interaction between previous reality and new reality of host country. This interaction constructs 'the way of life'.

Based on the empirical study, I argue that the previous worldviews on the social reality can be reshaped in the process of interaction with the new values, realities and objects. Although interaction does not affect all aspects of Bhutanese way of life, reshaped values guide to evaluate the present reality. Identity based on nationalism and language is very strong among the Bhutanese, which is manifested through 'Nepali Speaking Bhutani' organization in Trondheim. Similarly, similar language and the place of origin are the measurement tools to determine 'us'.

1.2 Bhutanese and Migration of Lhotsampas

1.2.1 Bhutan: An Introductory Outline

Bhutan is independent landlocked mountainous Buddhist kingdom located in the southern slopes of the eastern Himalayas and lies between Tibet (China) to the north and Northeast India to the west, east and south (Figure 1). It covers 38,394 square kilometer area, which is divided into twenty administrative districts called *dzongkhag* and 205 blocks. It consists of 6,34,882 population where male constists 52.5 percent and female 47.5 percent in 2005 (www.nsb.gov). The population growth rate is 1.9 percent per annum and fertility rate is 2.38 percent. It consists of 69.1 percent literacy rate for male and 48.7 percent for female (Bhutan government homepage: www.nsb.no). Thimpu is the capital city of Bhutan. Climate varies with altitude, heavy monsoon rains can be found in the west, temperate in the central and eastern areas, humid and subtropical in the south where as year-round snow in the north.

The establishment of monarchy in 1907 was the watershed event in the history of Bhutan. The first king was Ugyen Wangchuk unanimously chosen by an assembly of imminent representative of the monk body, government officials and people; he moved toward becoming a constitutional monarch in 1953. In 1963, the monarchy title was changed from "His Highness" to "His Majesty the Druk gyalpo" as a distinct Bhutanese identity. The third king,

His Majesty Jjgme Dorgi Wangchuck (from 1972 to 2006), reformed some psedo-feudal systems by abolishing serfdom, redistribution of land, reform in taxation system. He also established power segregation by establishing executive, legislative and judiciary body of the state. The fourth king (present) is Jigme Singye Wangchuck who took a decentralization policy and assigned all the executive powers to a council of ministers elected by the people in 1998.

Figure 1: Location Map of Bhutan

He also introduced Gross National Happiness (GNH) to define the goal of development. GNH is based on the belief that happiness is the ultimate goal and desire of every individual. The Centre for Bhutan Studies (CBS) has defined nine GNH indicators; they are standard of living, health of the population, education, ecosystem vitality and diversity, cultural vitality and diversity, time use and balance, good governance, community vitality and emotional well-being. They are the guiding principles of development programs and activities (Permanent Mission of the Kingdom of Bhutan http://www.un.int/wcm/content/site/bhutan/pid/7869). The king is the head of the state and the parliament elects the government for a five-year term.

Traditionally, Bhutan has been defined both patriarchal and matriarchal, a head held in highest esteem. It has also been described as feudalistic society but without strong social stratification.

In pre-modern times, there were three main classes: the monastic, civil servants, and farmers. Family is understood usually joint units but with the increasing job mobility in recent years, emphasis has been given on nuclear family. Social status is based on an income of a family. There is no caste system except among the Hindu Nepalese in southern Bhutan. Traditionally Bhutanese were endogamous but modern practices and royal decrees are encouraging ethnic integration from the late twentieth century. Primogeniture deserved/dictated the right of inheritance but in some central areas, the eldest daughter was the lawful successor. In contemporary Bhutan, inheritance is equally distributed among all children of a family.

Agriculture is the economic backbone of the country and farming is the main occupation of the people. It contributes about 33 percent of the GDP and about 70 percent people are engaging in the agricultural occupation. Estimated per capita GDP is Nu. 40,598 equivalent to US $ 835. Rice, dairy, meat, and grain are the basic foods of Bhutanese diet (Bhutan.gov.bt http://www.bhutan.gov.bt). Both foreign aid and foreign trade primarily exist with India.

1.2.2 Culture

Bhutan is rich in her Buddhist heritage. The Mahayanan Buddhism is the official religion. Approximately three quarters of the total population believes in Mahayanan denomination and one quarter ethnic Nepali believes in Hinduism, which is second dominant religion, in the southern part. Bhutan is rich in natural environment and cultural heritage by which it has been referred to as *The Last Shangri-la*.

Women's national dress is *Kira*, ankle length dress with long sleeved blouse, which is made of a rectangular piece of cloth held at the shoulders with a clip and closed with wove belt at the waist. The texture, colors, and decorations show one's social status. The national dress for Bhutanese man is the *gho,* a knee-length robe tied in the waist by a cloth belt. The color of scarves or shawls distinguish the official ranking, for example white for commoners, orange for ministers and deputy ministers, blue for national Assembly and Royal Advisory council members, and red or maroon for high religious and civil officials (Bhutan: Library of Congress Studies).

Dzongkha is the official language though local dialects also exist in many places. Bhutan is also known by *Druk-yul,* which means "Land of the Thunder Dragon" represents the stone tools and megaliths (large stones used in prehistoric monuments). 'Bhutan' is the given name

to the country by British, which might be derived from the ancient Indian term "Bhotamia" which means "the land of the Bhots". Comparing to neighboring Asian women, Bhutanese women traditionally had more rights than men. For example, the right of land ownership, property right and household decision rested with women. Traditionally an arranged marriage was in practice but from the late twentieth century that was replaced by marriages of mutual affection. Both polyandry and polygamy were restricted in the mid twentieth century, but the amended law of 1990 has allowed for a man to keep up to three wives by taking previous wife/wives' consensus. Dances with mask and dramas are common traditional activities at festivals (A country Study Bhutan from Library of Congress Country Studies).

1.2.3 Ethnic Conflict

Bhutan consists of broadly three ethono-linguistic groups: the *Ngalongs* of the west, the *Sharchhops* of the east, and *Lhotshampas* (or Nepali Bhutanese) of the extreme south. There are not consistent views on their origin. *Ngalongs* are taken migrated form the Tibetan plains and are credited with being the first to bring Buddhism to the country. *Sharchops* are believed to be ancestors of Indo Mongoloids who migrated into Bhutan in two thousand years ago from Arunchal Pradesh, Nagaland, northern Burma, and Thailand. Their early ancestor may have originated from Burma and northeast India. Another main ethnic group, *Lhotshampas* is believed to be originated from Nepal and migrated to Bhutan at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The *Ngalongs* and *Sharchhops* were supported by the state which are collectively known as *'Drukpas'* or *Druk-yul* and has been perceived the national identification. Intermarriage is common between them. The *Ngalongs*' language called *Dzongkha* and derived form Tibet is promoted as the national language. The *Sharchhop*s' practice, a Tibet style of Buddhism, is supported by the state. (Hutt 1996).

Although Bhutan is considered as a good historical research place, very few studies can be found on the southern part of Bhutan. Sinha (1991) getting problem with authentic information states that Bhutan has been a subject of historical studies; but the history of its southern districts remains unresearched (Sinha 1991). So it is very difficult to get detailed historical information of *Lhotshammpa* to prove who are actually Bhutanese and who are the illegal immigrants even for the Bhutanese government.

In 1958, the *Lhotshampa* population was granted Bhutanese citizenship and tenure of its lands. After that, Bhutanese government pursued integration policy to integrate *Lhotshampa* with

Drukpa. The government trained them for government service. To make integrated with *Drukpa* the government had offered the cash for *Lhotshampa* (Nepali Bhutanese) who had married with Drukpa for some years. Going by that practice, Nepali Bhutanese got benefited and began to play a vital role in national life, occupying few senior positions in the administration.

Until about 1980, there was not much conflict between *Drukpas* and *Lhotshammpa.* In 1980, the total population of Bhutan was stated to be 1,142,200, among them 552,800 were accounted from six southern districts, each of which had a Nepali majority (Hutt 1996:400) which accounts for more than 48 percent of the total population. Nevertheless, unfortunate for *Lhotshampa*, during 1980s the government issued a printed citizen card bearing a photograph to its citizens. In the mean time in 1985, a new citizenship act was made which amended many rules and provisions that became unfavorable to the *Lhotshampa*. Hutt finds that a new citizen act requires both parents should be Bhutanese to get a citizenship of a child instead of father or mother only. It requires evidence of permanent domicile or the registration for citizenship before 31st December 1958 and it also requires the fluency and literacy in the national language, the Tibetan derived *Dzongkha* (Hutt 1996). Naturally, *Lhotshampas* were unable to fulfill all the requirements.

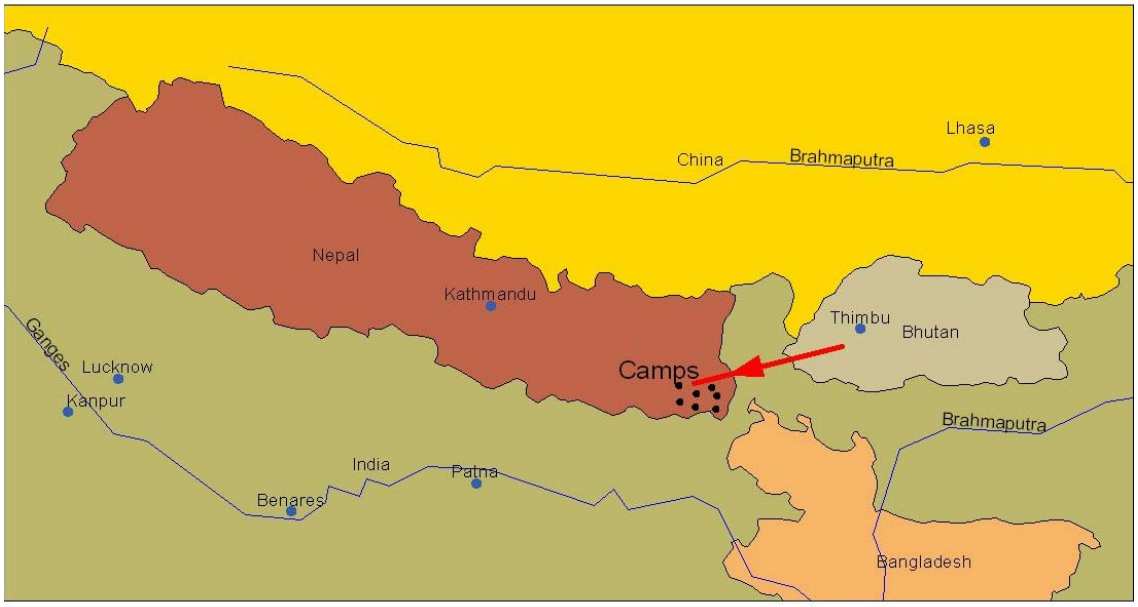
In 1988, a census began to identify Bhutanese nationals' in the southern part, residence of *Lhotshampas*, to guard against illegal immigration from the border of India. It became difficult because, in the event, people who were unable to provide documents that they resided in Bhutan in the specific year of 1958 were categorized as non-nationals whether or not they held citizen cards, land tax receipts etc. *Lhotsampas*, Nepali-speaking Bhutanese were unable to show all those documents (Hutt 1996). Supporting it, Bhutan's sixth Five-Year Plan (1987-92) included a policy of 'one nation one people' by introducing *Driglam Namzhan* (dress code), the dress of *Drukpa* and *Dzongkha* language, a language of *Drukpa* as a symbol of 'one nation one state'. Following it, in 1989, the Bhutanese government enacted national reforms recommending mandatory dress code of the *Driglam Namzha* at the public places, schools, public congregations, official functions and business centers. Later, everyone had to have a national dress everywhere, and initially there was Rs 110 (approximately US$ 3) fine and it quickly rose to Rs 150 (approximately US$ 4) for those who disobeyed the rules (Savada 1993). At that time, Bhutan's per capita income was US$ 440. From 1990, all the schools of Nepali language were discontinued and all the teaching materials disappeared from the

Bhutanese schools. Many of *Lhotshampas* did not know *Dzongkha* (Tibet origin language) at all which created conflict between the government and *Lhotshampa* (Bhutan Country Profile, BBC Asia). Because of growing sense of cultural marginalization among the *Lhotshampa* (Nepali Bhutanese) it created two distinct opposite groups, *Drukpa* and *Lhotshampa*. A serious unrest began after the imprisonment of Nepali Bhutanese councilors, Tek Nath Rizal in 1989. After 1988, government had already started to take censuses annually only in the southern part taking excessively strict standard set of documentation. A survey on the south had detected more than 100,000 were illegal immigrants (Hutt 1996).

Thereafter, a distinct and strong rival appeared between two modes of nationalism, *Drukpas* and *Lotsampas. Lhotsampas* who were more than 25 percent of total population of Bhutan were out of the mainstream of Bhutanese government. Among them one sixth of her total population (around 100,000) was evicted in 1988 making Bhutan one of the highest generators of refugees' per capita income in the world (Bhutanese Refugees: Story of a Forgotten People 2008). Since 1988, those evicted Bhutanese refugees have been made to settle in seven temporary United Nations refugee camps in the eastern part of Nepal (Figure 2), which are administrated by the United Nations High Commission for Refugee (UNHCR 2009).

Even after the series of bilateral diplomatic conversation between two countries, there were not significant actions to repatriate the refugee to Bhutan. In 2006, in the absence of any immediate prospect of repatriation to Bhutan, the US and other governments offered to give homes to Bhutanese refugees. As a result, the resettlement process started since 2008 primarily in the USA and in smaller numbers to Australia, Canada, Norway, the Netherlands, and Denmark under the aim of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, UNHCR. By December 9, 2009, 25,000 refugees have been resettled- 22,060 in the USA, 1006 in Australia, 892 in Canada, 316 in Norway, 305 in Denmark, 299 in New Zealand and 122 in the Netherlands (Bhutanese Refugees: the story of forgotten people, 2010). Among 316 Bhutanese refugees in Norway, 64 have been resettled in Trondheim (Figure 3), (field data, 2010). Some are settled in Alta, Norway and others remain to come. (field data, 2010).

Figure 2: Map Showing Bhutanese Refugee Evicted from Southern Bhutan to Refugee Camps in South Eastern Nepal



Source: ESRI Data (http://www.esri.com/software/arcgis/arcgisonline/standard-maps.html)

1.3 Research Questions and Objectives of the Study

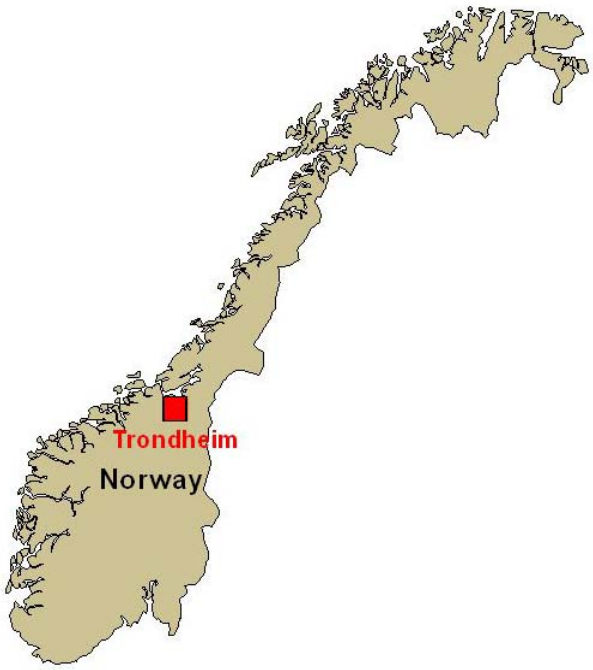
Refugees are the forced migrants. The 1951 convention has formulated refugee law, the minimum rights of refugees within 46 articles. The convention 1951 has mentioned two types of refugee: 'quota' refugees and 'spontaneous' refugees. Quota or program refugees are those who are taken in a group under an organized program and spontaneous refuges are known as asylum seekers. Based on this definition Bhutanese refugees in Norway belong to quota or program refugees who were taken in a group under the UNHCR's resettlement program.

In the anthropological terms, refugees are people who have undergone a violent 'rite' of separation unless or until they are incorporated as citizens into their host state or find themselves in 'transition' (Harrell-Bond and Voutira 1992). Therefore, encoded label 'refugee' is the image of dependency, helplessness and misery.

Moreover, refugees are in the condition of losing everything, like country, community, family, status, property, culture, and even a sense of personal identity. They are not always able to return home safely or to remain in the country of their first asylum. There are situations in which resettlement to a third country is the only safe and viable solution. Therefore, naturally they urge to be integrated in the new society. To adopt globalized world, refugees must also

urge to adapt the radically changing new social and material conditions.

Figure 3: Location Map of Trondheim in Norway where the Study was Carried out



Source: Google Map

Therefore, it is important to keep an account the refugee's way of life in three ways. Firstly, it offers the chance to record how survival becomes a model of social change. Secondly, it provides the context to document how cultural differences facilitate or impede to establish a new social and cultural practices. Thirdly, it offers landscape to account for how those different social and cultural patterns are manifested in the everyday life, which creates a social order.

Moreover, to study the case of Bhutanese refugees in western society appears significant as they are from entirely different eastern collectivist society and not from the western individualist culture. Some of the social and cultural patterns might be strange for them and the others might be inspiring. For example, how do inspiring social and cultural patterns drive to recreate the new social norms and values? How do they judge those things and adopt in their daily life in their own way? What do they value and how do they manifest themselves in their daily life? Responding to all these aspects create a new social reality.

In addition, to study the case of Bhutanese refugees is interesting and enlightening for two reasons. First, they have multi level of refugee experiences, as refugees in Nepal and Norway.

What do they experience as refugees in Nepal and Norway? How do they posit themselves and how are they being posited in different places having different cultural norms and values. Second, they have been resettled in Norway, one of the most developed countries of the world from one of the least developed countries; the highest gap in technology, education, and living status. It is important to know how they are constructing their own social-cultural norms and values in the different social, cultural, and technological phenomena. Therefore, the main purpose of the study is to identity 'the way of life' of Bhutanese refugee in Norway. However, the main focus has been given on their Norwegian- experience.

The specific questions of the research are:

- How are Bhutanese refugees in Norway constructing their way of life?
- What is important for them?
- How are the changed values of Bhanese refugees manifested in 'their way of life'?

Refugees' represent the transitional phase of human being. In the process of adaptation, they interact with new social systems and cultural patterns. They also have an urge to interact and communicate with self world-views, host social and cultural patterns, and different agency around them. In this process, they can get new reality, previous worldviews might not work anymore to fulfill and solve the new demands and problems. To fulfill them, the social reality can be reconstructed or reshaped, the new social and cultural patterns can be recreated, and the new worldviews can be reinvented. The global phenomena could enforce them to do so. The study of refugee's way of life accounts for how all those different realities interact and come up with a new reality, how previous worldviews play role to reshape new worldviews, how all those social and cultural patterns reflect in the new context and how new reality might be manifested in 'the way of life'.

CHAPTER TWO: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL APPROACHES

2.1 Previous Research

The studies and researches on migration have been increasing with the rapid growth of globalization of 1990s. Many studies can be found in all forms of migration: asylum seeker, refugee, and immigrant. Mostly researches are focused on psychological, social, and economical aspects of migration. Some of them cover the areas of psychological problems of an asylum and the byproduct illness of psychological disorders, many studies focus on causes of asylum seekers and immigration, and some focus on effects of immigration, asylum and refugees on children and host countries. For example, Silove et al. (1998); Yearwood et al. (2007); Stewart (2005) concentrate on psychological disorders and their impact on physical health which provides the broader view of cultural shock and the difficulties in acculturation process. Lindstrom (2005); Hatton & Williamson (2004); and many other studies focus on the causes of asylum and immigration from which they become stateless and landless. Cemlyn & Briskman (2003), Thomas et al. (2004), Derluyn et. al. (2008) deal with the problems of refugee/immigrant child.

Relating to the construction of immigrant's identity Karen O'Reilly's *The British on the Costa del So*l (2000) presents how British has constructed their identity in Spain. The migration of British towards Spain tremendously increased during 1980s and early 1990s. In this study, Karen presents historical and geographical reasons of British to move to Spain and examines the lifestyles of migrants. She takes into account how immigrants sense their ethnic identities and how those identities can be expressed and sustained through various kinds of informal activities. It shows how a symbolic ethnic community is constructed from "bad Britain" to "good Spain". British immigrants in Spain do not want to be identified by British as it carries a negative connotation in the Spanish community. She presents how they are able to remove their negative identification, "bad Britain" and establish "good Spain" in the process of integration. This study digs deep into how identity is valued in the immigrants' life and how they construct their own identity.

Similarly, Marianne C.Qvortup Fibiger's *Multireligiousity Meets Theology: The Sri Lankan Tamil in Denmark* explores how a Hindu denominator Srilankan Tamil constructs one's Hinduism in Christian community of Denmark. She finds that both denominators co-exist

peacefully respecting each other like a salad bowl. Nevertheless, this peaceful coexistence gives birth to different identity. Hindu immigrants are successful in maintaining the purity of Hinduism but simultaneously they respect Christianity too. However, in the case of immigrants' children, Hinduism has become blurred. Hinduism is assimilated into Christianity. This study reveals that the Tamil Hindu in Denmark who came as a refugee in 1990s' is able to adopt the Christianity by keeping their Hindu religious identity (Fibiger 2003, 110-111).

The study on "*Exploring Integration: Resettled Refugees in Trondheim, Norway,*" a master thesis of Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) done by Catherine Lloyd-Johnsen (2004) gives an idea on how the integration activities adopted by responsible agency influence highly to create a notion of difference in immigrants, how those activities influence to construct immigrants' identity and images, and how they affect to keep the individual relation with different people. She is also emphasizes agency's role to make immigrants integrated in the new context and argues that the level of integration or the concept of "closeness" and "farness" depends on the activities adopted by the agency. Effective activities can make them close to the host environment and ineffective activities can lead to stay them far from the host social and cultural patterns. The integration of newly arrived refugees with Norwegian society is one of the main aims of Red Cross Refugee Guide Project in Trondheim. Therefore, it is the responsible agency which makes them integrated in Norwegian culture. She has analyzed Red Cross Refugee Guide Project's strengths and weaknesses in integrating the immigrants as a whole. She has highly focused on how institutions' and individual actors' conceptualization of integration influence the immigrants' experiences of integration. This provides insight knowledge on how tiny actions and factors affect to construct the social reality.

Another master thesis on "*Being a Refugee in the Land of Ancestors*" done by Selina Thapa (2009) from the same university (NTNU) is focused on future challenges, hopes, and dilemmas of Bhutanese youth refugees in Nepal. She has tried to distinguish the refugee youth from local youth with reference to their expectation, ambition, and hard work. She has argued, based on her findings, that refugee youths are more anxious, more laborious, and more conscious about their future than their contemporary local youth. This study gives the insight input what the refugee youths give priority, what are their needs and desires, how they are trying to fulfill those needs and desires. All those information facilitate to identity the value of the life and

manifestation of those values.

This study is mainly focused on how Bhutanese refugees construct their way of life in the new context. The refugees have a very short time to be in Trondheim, Norway or they are just starting their way of life. It is curious to know how they recreate their lives, how institutions are formed, how social and cultural values are recreated and reshaped, what keep value for them and how those values are manifested in the daily life. Therefore, the research is based on the anthropological perspective- a way of thinking, how human make sense of their world, how social life can be regular, predictable and a source of security within the fluidity, non-fixity, and multiplicity characters of today's society.

2.2 Construction of Social Reality

Social reality is not an absolute fact, as natural science has to be. It is socially constructed in the process of interaction with other. Berger and Luckmann (1966) explain that knowledge is socially constructed and recognized as knowledge. Our understanding of the social world is shared understanding which is created and maintained through daily social interactions and communications. Socially constructed knowledge appears in the form of beliefs, shared values and social norms. They further mention that man together with other produces a human environment, with totality of its socio-cultural and psychological formations. It is impossible for man to develop as man in isolation, therefore human means itself within the realm of social. Social reality is not only the subjectively meaningful conduct of people's lives, "it is a world that originates in their thoughts and actions, and is maintained as real by these" (Berger and Luckmann 1966:33). Emphasizing the relationship between man and society, they further stat that society is an objective reality which is produced by human vise versa. Social reality must be understood both subjectively and objectively. For that, one should view society in terms of "ongoing dialectical process composed of the three moments of *externalization*, *objectification*, and *internalization*" (ibid: 129). From these three phases, people interact with a social world. Scott (2001) describes, *Externalization* is the production in social interaction, which consists of symbolic structures and its meaning comes to be shared by the people. *Objectification* is the process by which this production is collectively recognized, accepted and used. This is validated as being reliable and valuable. *Internalization* is the process by which the objectivated world is perceived as the facts in the course of socialization. Social reality is constructed through these three institutionalization phases. In another way, the institution is formed through the reciprocal habitualized actions. As a member of a group, a person supposes

to perform actions and follows the rules. Over time, by following the rules or by performing shared habitual actions, an institution is created. When a new member comes to the group, he realizes the existent institution. Thus, the rules are formed together and subjectively brought into practice. This subjective rules form the objective institution.

In the similar way, Gergen (1985) argues that social reality is not automatically driven by the forces of nature. It is constructed in a process of understanding, which is the result of an active, cooperative, enterprise of persons in a relationship and it is construed through the historical and cultural bases. In the process of construction, there would be interaction between and/among two or more persons, there would be an object or event that we engage with, there would be persons or ideas that inform us, there would be power over and power resistance. Therefore, the construction of social reality always requires relations, assumptions about reality, and a voice or an action and reaction or response on one's voice or action. One should attempt to organize others' realities with his own realities. Interactions in everyday life institutionalize in a way that creates a social order.

In Berger and Luckmann's (1966) view, social order is a human product and ongoing human production. It is produced by man in the course of his ongoing externalization. It exists only as a product of human activity. Therefore, today's social order is the result of past human activity and tomorrow's social order would be today's human activity, which is continuously externalized. In another way, knowledge about society is a realization in the double sense, in the sense of apprehending the objectivated social reality and also in the sense of continually producing this reality. Social order is collective norms of human activity. As a member of a society, a person has to obey to follow the norms. Therefore, it guides people's behaviors by classifying what is wrong and what is right, which is needed to function the society properly.

In theoretical usage, "everyday" answers the questions of what; where; when; in which context (political, social, cultural, geographical and so forth); and how. 'What' relates to the behaviour, practices and routine of refugee that they do in their everyday lives? 'Where' refers to the places or specific settings of environment or surrounding where they stay, interact and communicate in their everyday lives. 'When' indicates the time that the refugees relate to. That time may be the present or historical past time. 'How' is related to the way of performing and/or acting and the use of resources in refugee's everyday lives. All these 'wh' questions value to create the everyday life. Refugees' everyday actions are institutionalized in the

process of interaction and communication with others. Therefore, everyday life of the refugee in the host country is concerned with how their daily actions, a subjective knowledge, institutionalize in the new society and become an institution, an objective reality.

Rapidly speeding up media technology, by continuous flows of media products, is compelling to create new social reality both, subjectively and objectively. Berger and Luckmann's analysis of society as a subjective reality describes how our conception of reality originates from our interaction with social structures. Those concepts or inventions become a part of our reality through the process of objectification of the inventions. When these objective realities are institutionalized, they appear as a form of culture (Berger and Luckmann 1966).

2.3 Construction of Identity

Identity keeps the answers of who I am or who we are. In the early days, before 1950s an anthropologist's interest in the person was reflected in the concept of personality. The relationship between culture and personality was the object of research in American anthropology. Erik Erikson's work in 1950 on "Ego Identity" of children and youngsters replaced the concept of personality by identity and entered in anthropology as a key term (Meijl 2008). Erikson examined the psychological conditions that influenced the adjustment of the personality of self to his or her environment. In his view, identity refers primarily to a coherent sense of self or the feeling of being the same and it keeps sense of how one is viewed and identified by the other(s). Thus, identity refers to a well-adjusted personality that emerges from the same, or from the identical, identification of self by self and other (Erikson 1950). As today's society is becoming more complex, the analytical approach of sameness is insufficient to address the identity. So, it also requires the different perspective.

In anthropological perspective, identity is taken from the two opposite angles, uniqueness and sameness. Uniqueness keeps the properties, which make a person distinct from all others. Sameness keeps the qualities that a person is associated with others, with groups or categories on the basis of some salient common features, for example ethnic identity and identity of nationalism. Gillis (1994) says that identities are not things we think about, but things we think with. Social identity refers to the common collective identification that creates a common culture among participants concerned. The self-concept is derived from the membership in social groups. It claims that group processes and inter-group relationships impact significantly on individuals' self perception and behaviors. The group to which a person belongs provides

one's definition of who s/he is and how s/he should behave in the social context as a member of the group. Nowadays, the use of identity is replaced by identification. In the broader way an anthropologist, Eriksen (2004) has categorized identification into the social, cultural, relational and situational, and imperative and chosen. These categories provide insight into theoretical knowledge on how identification formulates and what would be the enforcing factors for that.

Social identification relates to which groups a person belongs to, who he or she identifies with, how people establish and maintain invisible but socially efficient boundaries between *us* and *them*. It gives a sense of belonging to a complex society. Language, locality, kinship, nationality, ethnic membership, family, age, education, political views, sexual orientation class, religion and gender could be more possibilities of group identification. In some society, caste, clan and kinship might be valuable for identification and others might be important for national identity and professional identity. In some cases and situations, gender identification might give a sense of group difference whereas in the other cases and situations, profession might keep value of sameness.

Cultural identification is highly related to ethnic identification, which was entered in anthropology at the end of 1960s (Eriksen 2004). There are many ethnic groups with great cultural variation whose mutual cultural differences are difficult to point out from outside. What kinds of relationship exists between the groups and how they perceive differences between them? It may be important to maintain negative stereotypes of the others about their way of life to identify the differences. For example, some militant radical feminist might hold that all men are against women; militant right-wing Europeans may hold that all immigrants are either welfare parasites or religious imperialists. Before 1960s, it was a common notion among Norwegian that Sami were unclean, excessive dunkers (ibid 2008).

Relational and situational identifications vary on the basis of the relation and situation. In some cases, the relation of husband and wife would be that of colleagues if both are working in the same organization and vice versa. Similarly, outside the classroom, a professor and a student can be friend of each other but in the classroom, their identification becomes as a teacher and a student. Barth's (1966) famous model of ethnicity presents that ethnic identity is both imperative and situational. Imperative and situational identifications are both enforced and chosen which logically seem impossible. One can rarely be entirely free from oneself if one is having imperative or enforced identification. If you are a Sami or Tamil immigrant in Norway

you will always be Sami or Tamil even if you want to be completely Norwegian. Because you cannot prevent yourself from using Tamil language and you cannot prevent many of your Tamil as well as Norwegian friends from perceiving you as a Tamil immigrant for your rest of life. Generally, in societies where politics are strongly ethicized, like Mauritius, ethnic identity may the first thing one notices and one introduces oneself. Here ethnic identity is more imperative than situational. How much of the identity package of ones' is chosen and how much of it is enforced? It is difficult to embark in a modern society. In the common sense group memberships, like kinship, ethnic identity, mother tongue and gender, are imperative or enforced while others are chosen.

Contrasts are important to identify differences from others because without *others*, we cannot be *us*. It holds the answers of how some organizations are different from others, why some are more important while others are not, why one should be group member. All these identifications are relational and situational. In anthropological research, relational identification of group has been identified by examming social situation. A social situation is created both from the outside and the inside at the meeting point of one's own presentation of self and the perceptions of others, for example teacher-student, doctor-patient, co-workers and so forth. Therefore, relational and situational identifications are fluid in nature.

Eriksen in his *What is Anthropology* further gives some analytical strategies to find out the answer how certain identities become more important than others. Why ethnic identity is more important in Fiji, religious identity in Algeria, caste identity in India, class identification in many parts of Britain, national identity in Estonia, which is so weak in England and Italy. How much variations are possible in identifications within a society? The first principle is "the internal cohesion of a group depends on the degree of external pressure" (Eriksen 2004:163) which is initially formulated by German sociologist, Georg Simmel, in early twentieth century. It is very relevant in analysis as it helps to understand why group identity can be strong and weak. Why do people insist for identity? Why Muslim identity is becoming strong globally? Why gender identity is more often associated with women and why small inhabitants Palestine or Israel national identity is stronger than larger country like Germany or Britain? Why 'race' is more concerned with blacks than whites? It is because the members of belonging groups perceive the pressure from outside more strongly and and get convinced as if they are threatened or marginalized. In relation to the Bhutanese refugee, it gives insight into analytical knowledge of why they are firm to create "Nepali Speaking Bhutanese" identity in Norway.

Similarly, Evans-Pritchard's segmentary model of *Nuer Politics* says that when the pressure comes from my brother (parental inheritance) it is him against me; when pressure comes from my nieces it is my brother and me against them and so on (Evans-Pritchard 1956).

Meijl supporting to Eriksen's notion of difference explains that " …in multicultural contexts identity obtains its meaning primarily from the identity of the other with whom self is contrasted" (Meijl 2008:173). The construction of identity is preceded by recognition of difference and by an awareness of what self is not. Therefore, the conception of identity suggests both the difference and sameness of self and other, and both with psychological and sociological connotation. Sameness has been obscured by difference(s) and it is multiple in nature.

In the modernity, construction of identity should be conceptualized through both sameness and difference. The international production and consumption and the global integration of communication and information networks are sparking off large-scale movements of labor, people and cultural meanings. Giddens says it is the effect of modernity. Modernity is accelerated and intensified by the increasingly speeding up media technologies and transportation. Giddens (1990) has described *disembedding* and *reflexivity* to clarify the nature of modernity. *Disembedding* is the process where social relationships are detached from local binding context. *Reflexivity* is the way in which social practices are constantly examined and transformed in the light of intensively increasing flows of information and communication. Therefore, a key issue in social science is to explore how different and changing social and cultural contexts influence people's potential for social action and participation. In modernity, social and cultural processes are not in linear development as evolutionalism's expectation; they are rather a series of discontinuous, breaks, and ups and downs which imply that society has changed, re-organized and transformed with the new principles (Giddens 1990).

2.4 Worldviews

Worldview is a set of assumptions about the human realities. It can be taken as the network of presuppositions through which one can understand, evaluate, and judge the reality. It is a lens through which one can see the world. Our worldview is formed by our education we get, the surroundings we grow in, the culture we live in, the literature we read, the philosophy we are influenced by, media and movies we absorb, and so forth. To provide insight knowledge on worldviews Hiebert (1985, 2008) has mentioned three dimensions of worldviews: the *cognitive,*

affective and *evaluative* or beliefs, feeling and values respectively.

The cognitive or existential assumptions provide a culture the essential cognitive patterns ─ epistemological, hermeneutical, and logical ─ through which people explain reality. In fact, people explain reality on the basis of what they perceive. Perception itself is the process of selection, organization, and interpretation (Jandt 2004). Therefore, there is a high possibility to perceive same thing differently by different people. Fiske (1990) mentions giving Peirce's argument that signs do not point the objective realities. They evoke subjective images in the mind. Both word and contents of the word are arbitrary which may lead to a reality (Fiske 1990). For example, for Indians, a rainbow has two colors *eras* (hot) and *patas* (cold), but, for Americans, it has six colors. Likewise, western people believe in atoms, electrons, and gravity whereas eastern people believe in *rakshasas*, *pretas*, and other spirits.

Similarly, the assumption of "self" provide people to pose themselves within the culture. For example, south Indian tribes do not have their individual self-identity. So, an individual is recognized by the tribal group to which one relates. Likewise, cognitive assumptions provide people with the concept of space, which is sacred, and impure, good fortune and misfortune.

Affective assumptions are about emotions, the mental and psychological state associated with feelings, thoughts, and behaviors. For example, most of Chinese may experience mouth-watering by seeing a hanging dog in front of restaurant, whereas Norwegians may feel pain seeing the same scene. It happens because our psychological stimulations are different. Norwegians take a dog as a pet. Therefore, they cannot imagine a dog as food whereas for Chinese it is meant for meat. Further, for Africans and South Asian saying "dog" to someone is taken as an insult.

Evaluative assumptions provide people a guideline to judge, and determine the truth and error; like and dislike; right and wrong; moral and immoral; cultured and uncultured; gentle and rough; fair and ugly; wise and foolish; and so forth. For example, Americans assume that honesty means telling facts even if that hurts their feelings whereas in some of the Muslim cultures it is better to tell a lie than hurt people's feelings. They also determine the priorities of a culture (Hiebert 1985: 47) by which one shapes the desires, likes, and dislikes. For example, Americans value the usage of high technological products highly, whereas Indian countryside people or Bhutanese refugees place a high value on religious purity so that they respect and

honor the priestly caste. The moral values differ from culture to culture. This helps to analyze how the refugee evaluates new social and cultural patterns and perceives own way.

A culture has different levels from surface to core. On the surface level, visible elements, such as cultural products, the pattern of behavior, signs, rituals, and so forth exist. Below the surface level beliefs, myths, rituals, dramas, and songs exist which give the conscious feelings, beliefs, and values of a culture. These are embedded to the social norms and values. Similarly, below this the unseen structures such as worldview themes, categories, logics, and epistemology exist (Hiebert 2008). The surface level is sensory which we can see and feel where as bottom level is implicit which we cannot identify. In addition, the surface understanding of a culture cannot give the root causes of encounters between different cultures. This necessitates one to reach the inner part. The worldview's functions help us how worldviews of the refugee confront in the new cultural pattern and how they are reshaped in the new context.

One's worldview does a number of functions. Worldview answers our fundamental epistemological questions. For example, where are we from? Where are we going? What is wrong? What is sin? What is righteousness? What is universe? Where are we in universe? And so on. For example, for the Muslim universe is a creation of Allah, we are servants of God and we are here to fulfill His wills, which are reveled in the Quran whereas for many western seculars human life is made of molecules. Our worldview validates and shapes our deepest cultural perceptions (Hiebert 1985). The core of culture gives the knowledge of fundamental questions of human life and universe that are validated by our worldviews. The insight knowledge on worldviews helps to identity what keep value for the refugee.

Similarly, our worldview integrates and organizes ideas, beliefs, norms, and values. Simultaneously, it monitors cultural change (Kraft 1975) as we are confronted with various kinds of new ideas, behaviors, knowledge, and new products. Our worldview helps us to adopt those, which are similar to us and reject those, which are not. When our worldview no longer meets our basic needs, desires, and demands, we adopt new one.

2.5 Concept on Migration

Migration can be defined as the movement of people from one place to another. In the migration study a set of shared questions relate to why people move, who moves and what happens after the move is considered in all disciplines. Political scientists and economists are

largely interested in flows of migrants and how these flows are shaped by policy, labor markets or trade agreement. Sociologists largely focus on the integration. By contrast, as Brettell in his *Anthropology and Migration Essays on Transnationalism, Ethnicity and Identity* states that anthropologists concentrate on the migration process ― beginning in the country of origin what make them to leave their particular communities and then "what happen to them in the destination place including if and how they remain connected to their place of origin" (Brettell 2003:1). In the migration theory, immigration is the result of pull and push factors. Push factors enforce people to move to another place. Causes would be many, for example civil wars, political and religious oppression, lack of job, or simply poverty. Pull factors encourage people to move in the target country or place. Attracting factors would be many, for example peace and safety, a better chance of job, a better social security, a better education, a better living standard and political and religious freedom. The individual's mobility has increased dramatically by technological advances in transportations and communication highly from 1980s. Now, pull and push factors are diverse. The factors may be the cultural kinship, social net or the social capital that anthropologists feel comfortable to take into account. Agreeing with anthropologists' notion Meijl (2008) states that migration can no longer be explained by the laws of demand and supply; it is no longer understood within the framework of costs and benefits, and it no longer be controlled by nation-state governments because of its transnational character.

Though it is common to think that immigrants are pulled to new land by various reasons, refugees are not pulled in, they are pushed out (Kunz 1981). Most of the refugees are not poor, a great many were successful, prominent, well integrated individuals who flee because of the fear of persecution. Based on the refugee's attitude, Kunz has divided refugees into three types: majority, event related, and individual. Those refugees who oppose to political and social events at home and who remain in home areas are called majority identified refugees. Refugees who have left their home areas because of active or latent discrimination against the group to which they belong is event related refuges. Refugees normally decide to leave their home country for a variety of individual reasons. These self-alienated refuges feel alienated from their society not by any active policy of that society, but rather by some personal philosophy. Bhutanese refugees can be categorized in the first group as they were enforced to flee the country for the political reason.

Similarly, he has categorized refugees on the basis of situation and displacement: anticipatory

refugee movements and acute refugee movements. The anticipatory refugee senses the danger early, which superficially could be called as voluntary migrants. The whole family moves, brings resources with them, and has made preparations for a new life. However, acute refugee does not get any symptoms in advance. The difference between the immigrant and the refugee is anticipatory and acute. Immigrants can be categorized as anticipatory and refugee as acute. Acute refugee movements result from an overwhelming push. War of political crisis or government policy enforces the immediate escape. They leave their homeland on a movement's notice. They do not planor preparefor the journey, they do not looktoward their future, they just tryto get out of harm's way. Bhutanese refugees are acute refugees. The government of Bhutan has enforced them to flee the country without prior notice. The houses were fired, people were misbehaved, and imprisoned. In accordance with the 1951 Geneva Convention, a refugee is a person who "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 to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country" (UNHCR handbook: Article 1(A) 2). Though in most of the cases the definition process itself seems itself complex and inconsistency, therefore the number of asylum seekers are increasing world wide who are waiting for the proper decision, UNHCR has proved that Bhutanese refugees are persecuted, and therefore lookfor the safe places.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Methodology

The purpose of the study is to explore the subjectivity of the refugee− attitudes, behaviors, experiences, value of the lives − which requires the qualitative research methodology. It takes in-depth opinion from the target groups. Patton (2002) states that qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomenon in content specific settings where researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon. This refers a research about persons' feelings, lives, emotions, lived experiences, behavior which can be reflected in one's daily life, institutions, organizations and other different clubs. Hence, a research on construction of a life requires recording one's daily actions, reactions, attitudes, behaviors and practices. In other word, it requires ethnography, which focuses on small group to facilitate in-depth study. The primary source of data is participants' observation. In the participants' observation the researcher becomes both, a participant in the life of the setting and an observer to whom someone can describes the experience. A set of open-ended questionnaires based on the research questions could be the tool to collect qualitative data.

Maxwell (2005) views that qualitative and quantitative methods are not simply doing the same things differently, they have different logic and strengths. They are used to address different themes, questions and requirements. Applying inductive approach is the main strength of qualitative method, which focuses on specific situation and people, and its emphasis goes on words rather than numbers. He has mentioned five major purposes to which qualitative studies are suitable. They are suitable to : a) understanding the meaning; b) understanding the particular context; c) identifying unanticipated phenomenon and influences, and generated new-grounded theories; d) understanding the processes by which events and actions take place; and e) developing causal explanation (Maxwell 2005). This study explores the meaning of life of Bhutanese refugees hence, requires qualitative methods.

Qualitative research takes into account the facts that are found in specific content settings. It does not consist of pre assumptions. Limb and Dwyer (2001) emphasizing the importance of qualitative methodologies state that they do not seek what can be measured but see the social world which is constructed through the interaction of cultural, economic, social and political processes. It is a proper way to understand lived experience, interpret the understanding, and

share meaning of people's everyday social worlds and realities rather than statistical description and prediction.

3.2 Justification for Choosing Qualitative Methodology

As mentioned earlier, qualitative methodologies emphasize on subjective phenomenon of human being; attitudes, value, behavior, thoughts, and so forth. It is richness in understanding rather than statistical representation of the phenomenon. The choice of the methodology depends on the purpose of the research, the kinds of questionsto be explored and the sort of information that the researcher wants to generate. It also depends on how the researchers understand social reality with regard to the production of knowledge. It is often stated that qualitative research is sensitive to human situation and involves an empathetic dialogue with the subjects. It is uniquely sensitive and powerful method to record the experiences and lived meanings of the subjects' everyday world. This method allows the subjects to convey to the researcher their experiences from their own perspective and in their own words. In order to understands the subjects properly and to interpret the information correctly, the researcher tries to mix up in the community as if s/he is a member of the community.

Taking all above importance of qualitative methodology into consideration, there are several reasons for using it in this study. I want to understand how the refugees construct their way of life in the entirely different context than their previous homeland. I want to explore what is important for them, how they perceive themselves and are being perceived by the other, what keeps value for them, and how the values are manifested in their lives and so forth questions in their own terms. I also want to explore how their worldviews facilitate or hamper their integration in the new environment, how they change in the process of interaction and communication with the new reality, worldview and the values. All these questions keep the nature of understanding the subjective dimension of the refugee.

Moreover, all above-mentioned questions expect participants' own voices, their own words on what matters to them and why it matters. Qualitative method provides them a forum to express diverse beliefs and experiences to the participants. Therefore, this is the best method to provide opportunity to the refugees to express their experiences of life.

3.3 Research Design

Research design is the arrangement of ideas for collection and analysis of data by using proper and specific methods in a manner that is relevant to the specific research issue. It is the conceptual structure within which the research is conducted. According to Bryman, a research design "provides a framework for the collection and analysis of data" (Bryman 2008.31). A framework of the research design has been attached in appendix 1.

I have already mentioned in the above chapters that the study primarily has been based on the qualitative methods. To get the appropriate data addressing the research questions: 1) how do individuals construct their way of life, 2) what do individuals give value to, and 3) how are values manifested in their daily life? I have applied in-depth interviews and observations as the primary data collection tools. Secondary data has been collected through literature review and websites visit. Applied data collection methods and their justification have been enclosed in appendix 2.

3.4 Data Collection Methods

Qualitative research is based in the assumption that persons construct social reality in the form of meanings and interpretations. These meanings and interpretations tend to be situational and transitory. So that, qualitative methods, for example interviews, context observation, narrations, life history, and so forth are applied to capture what people say about meanings and interpretations. The selection of suitable methods depends on the purpose of the study. Considering the research questions, I have applied open-ended interviews and observation as primary qualitative data collection methods.

3.4.1 Open Ended Interview

Since the research objects are living people, in-depth interviewing allows us to gain knowledge about their lives as its main purpose is to collect the interviewee's point of view. It gives insight on what interviewees see relevant and important. A qualitative research interview attempts to unfold the meaning of experience, to uncover people's lives prior to scientific explanation (Kvale 1996). The interviews are primarily based on the conversations of everyday life. The focus areas and the limits of the conversations have been controlled by the researcher.

In this study, eleven key informants ranging age from 19 to 55 were selected. Thirty plus

respondents were asked about the experience of three phases of their life; their life in Bhutan as a Bhutanese nationality, their life in Nepal as a refugee identity and their life in Norway . However, the age group 19 to 29 who had no experience of Bhutan was asked only about their experience of refugees' life in Nepal and Norway. I have taken seven women and four men for the in-depth interviews. Informants have been coded, and all the names have been changed to keep them anonymous. The detail list of interviewees with coded name has been attached in the appendix 3.

The open-ended interview consists of a set of open-ended questions cautiously worded and prearranged in advance, which can also be recognized as content focused open-ended. The investigator asks the same questions to each respondent following the same words and the sequence. It is useful when it is desirable to get the same information from each interview. It is an effective way to collect qualitative data when there is time constraint for participant observation. An interview guide had been prepared focusing on the research questions which were distributed into four main categories─ background information, life in the country of origin, life in the first place of refugee and the life in Norway. However, the focus was given on the last, the way of life in Norway. Directly or indirectly almost all questions were connected to how they are constructing their way of life and what is important for them. Many related questions, which were already addressed by the respondents during the explanation of an earlier question, were removed out at the time of interviewing. The interview guide was pretested and modified accordingly, which is attached in the appendix 4.

Th time and place of the interviews had been set up at the time of a warm up meeting in most of the cases and the few were appointed through phone calls. The estimated time for the interview was two hours but in some cases, it was taken around four hours. They wanted to explain more about their experiences of life to which researcher did not intend to interrupt.

Informal conversational interviews had also occurred spontaneously in the course of fieldwork. The topics and the wording of questions were not pre-determined. Questions emerged from the immediate context were asked. Kitchin and Tate (2000:215) explain unstructured format allows respondents to talk about a topic of their own “frame of reference”. It provides a greater understanding of the interviewees’ point of view. Usually, the refugees could be met around Asian shops on Saturdays. Researcher had met two late teenager boys and two couples for informal conversational interviews. During these interviews, various topics regarding the

increasing price of grocery, their experiences of daily life, their personal opinion about the experience of Norway, their relationships with other refugee members, their relationships with Norwegian friends, their contact with their relatives etc were covered. Besides this, two Trondheim Commune staffs, one language teacher and one voluntary worker were met for informal interviews to get general information on: activities conducted for integration, interest areas of the refugees, their preference, and other statistical data.

3.4.2 Observation

"Observation is inductive method of data collection" (Kitchin and Tate 2000:220). It involves looking and listening very carefully to discover particular information about the subjects' behavior. It requires that the researcher becomes a participant in the situation, patterns, culture and context being observed. The role of observer as a participant is to collect, note and store the observed data and analyze them. It assumes that the observations are the natural phenomena so that it demands longer time even months and years for intensive work. Observational data usually consists of detailed information about the context and subjects, which provide deeper and richer understanding of the issues. As it allows studying groups of people together, the research can account for the way of interaction between the members of a group. It expects the researcher is well familiar with the means of people's behavior to analyze the data properly.

Kitchin and Tate (2000) differentiate an interview from an observation as interviews are self-reports of experiences, opinions and feelings whereas observations rely on the observer's ability to interpret what is happening and why it is happening. The main advantage of the observation is its directness. The researcher watches what they do and listens to what they say rather than asking about their experiences, feelings and views.

In the participant observation, the researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and the daily events of a group of people as a member of a group or a community. The researcher tries to establish himself or herself as a participant rather than as an outsider. Dewalt and Dewalt (2002) take a participant observation as a tool of gathering data on the explicit and tacit aspects of people's life routines and their culture. Explicit culture is a part of what we know, "a level of knowledge people can communicate about with relative ease" (Spradley 1980 in Dewalt and Dewalt 2002:1). In contrast, tacit aspects of culture are outside of our awareness, knowledge and consciousness. For example, when someone stands too close

or touches us that means s/he is too close. Researcher has got in her field visit that saying "aunty" in refugee's community means very close relation. It is used only for female. They use "aunty" even for a sister to show love.

On the other hand, the direct observation (non-participant) is characterized by disengagement from the event or activity under study. It is just a systematic noting and recording of activities and behaviors as an unobtrusive observer. This method is useful if the participants are not aware that they are being observed.

It is also true that different people see the events differently. What people see and make an idea about events depends on their interests, knowledge, backgrounds and cultural setting. Patton (2002) says that our cultures shape what we see, our socialization patterns form how we look at (perceive) the world, and our value systems tell us how to interpret what is around us. Therefore, as Patton explains, a disciplined training and rigorous preparations on observational methods are needed for the researchers to conduct scientific inquiry. The researcher had conducted practical exercises on observational methods during the research methodology class.

In this study both, participant and non-participant observation methods have been used to collect the qualitative information. At first, a researcher went to the refugees' house as a guest and observed their behavior and activities from outside. Regular meetings made us close to each other. The focus of participant observation was on activities of their life, their preferences and values, and their ways of reflecting the values. Non-participant observation, being unobtrusive observer, was conducted to get information on the issues like how they celebrate their festivals, what they do in different integration programs, how they react with the same groups and other immigrants and so on.

Observing their daily way of life was started from the very beginning of August 2010. However, my interest in the Bhutanese refugee's situation in Norway originates long before my arrival to Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) as an exchange student. I was more attentive to know about them from the beginning of my arrival, January 2010. Their resettlement in Trondheim gave me opportunity to explore more closely.

Moreover, the connection with Bhutanese refugee became easier to me for two reasons; first,

the I have the same mother tongue and second, I was connected to the first place of their refugee life . The same Nepali mother tongue became as a powerful means to be close and familiar with each other. Similarly, the value of place where a person's sentiments attached was also attracting us to be close each other. The refugees spent their first refugee life in their ancestors' place but the researcher's birthplace for 17 years. Although they had stayed as refugees in refugee camps in Nepal, their seventeen years long interaction with local people made them as if they were Nepali nationality. One of the respondents explained to the researcher in her first visit showing empathy as:

> *Our rites and rituals were the same to the Nepali, we used to celebrate our ceremonies together, help them to their agricultural and household works, and they also used to help us in our emergencies which came regularly in refugee camp life.*

3.5 Secondary Data Sources

Secondary data are the data that were developed for other purposes than the particular issue of the researcher. The secondary data can be in both strands: quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative data can be obtained from census, various forms of electronic devices, electronic statistics, social survey, and so on. However, qualitative data obtained through semi-structured and structured interviews, focus on groups transcripts, field notes, observations, life history, photo and pictures and so on. The information derived from the secondary data can be very helpful to conceptualize the issue and then, contextualize the study. Books, journals, periodicals, magazines, newspapers, and published electronic sources, for example e-journals, general websites, web blogs, unpublished personal records, for example diaries, letters, government records, for example census data, population statistics, health records, public sector's records, for example NGO's survey data could be the other sources of secondary data. However, a researcher was always aware of the authenticity of the secondary data at the time of using them.

Therefore, in this study, the governmental websites of Norway, Bhutan and Nepal, related books, and journal papers have been used as secondary data sources to take the additional information on the reasons for their being a stateless present status, and refugees' way of life. The websites of UNHCR, ENN, IOM, etc were visited to get relevant data on their programs and activities. Similarly, previous studies on various cases regarding the issues of integration, identity, and the way of life have been reviewed to gain insights for both methodological and theoretical purposes. For the conceptual, analytical and theoretical base, the literatures on

construction of social reality, construction of identity and its value, concept on worldviews, and migration have been reviewed. Country maps have been taken from the Google map. Journal papers on ethnicity and nationalism, and identity issues have been reviewed to get an insight into knowledge on the refugee's case.

3.6 Sampling

There is no obvious rule of thumb on sampling methods that might be used for the qualitative research. A selection of sampling methods depends on the investigator's purpose of a research. Depending on the situation, he or she can also modify and adjust the methods during the fieldwork. In this study, sampling strategies had been worked out and modified according to the demand and progress of the research. Decisions about persons, time and place had been developed over time after informal warm-up meeting with the refugees.

As the study is based on the qualitative research, a purposive sampling method had been conducted. In this method, the researcher samples those persons who are relevant to the research questions. According to Bryman (2008), there are two general approaches to sampling; snowball sampling and theoretical sampling. Snowball sampling is a purposive or non-probability sampling in which the researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research question then uses these people to contact with others. Theoretical sampling is an essence of grounded theory, which is initially advocated by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and later by Strauss and Corbin (1998). Glaser and Strauss view that "theoretical sampling is done in order to discover categories and their properties and to suggest the interrelationships between theories (Glaser and Strauss 1967 in Bryman 2008:415).

Purposive snowball sampling method had been applied in this study to reach the target groups. As mentioned above, it is a technique for finding research subjects; one subject gives the researcher the contact address of another subject, who in turn provides the name of a third and so on. At first, a voluntary worker of Bhutanese refugee, who was one of the respondents of this study, was contacted to whom the researcher was well familiar with. He gave preliminary information and a phone number of a relatively active another refugee. The second gave the information of the third and so on like a chain. Berg (2006) suggests that this method can be applied for two primary purposes.Firstly, tone reaches a target population very easily. This method is frequently used in qualitative research primarily in conducting interviews. Secondly, it can also be applied in large population when it is difficult to use descending

methods such as household surveys.

3.7 Fieldwork

There are no straight forward rules, and special methods for qualitative fieldwork. Each new researcher must discover himself or herself what is required to fulfill the research objectives. Hammersley and Atkinson state that "ethnographic research cannot be programmed, that its practice is replete with the unexpected" (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 20). This researchis based on the context. It is not a matter to follow methodological rules because not all the problems can be anticipated or its purpose is not to solve all the problems. Further, it neither eliminates the pre-fieldwork preparation nor the haphazard fieldwork. It is just adjusting events by taking the "line of less restriction" (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 21). Therefore, in this study open-ended approach in natural setting has been applied as the best way of data collection.

Fieldwork is the vital and essential method to collect the primary data. To account for the refugee's attitudes, behaviors, actions and reactions in everyday life, the researcher had made fieldwork. Although the fieldwork plan was previously settled down, the researcher made various adjustments during the fieldwork for example, modification in interview guide, readjustment of time and place for the interviews, modification in number of interviewees and so forth. Similarly, conversational interviews in the shopping center was immediately set out which was not previously planned. For various reasons a tape recorder became uselessbecause respondents became more conscious and seemed more scared and thus it affected their fluency of responding severely. It might be because of fear of given information and also because their lack of practice in using this kind of technology. Second, the recorder what I had was unable to record long conversation because of memory limitation. Therefore, all the interviewed data were written on the notebook. Some interesting key points were immediately noted down, which were elaborated including detail of location, involved people, date and time of the day immediately later after the interview.

The secondary data had also been taken during a field visit to take important background information, to tally the field data with government documentation and to take extra information, if any, regarding the respondent's responses. The fieldwork had been held in Trondheim, Norway from the beginning of August to the end of October 2010. In-depth interviews and observations, and data collection tools were applied to collect the data.

3.8 Data Analysis

The purpose of qualitative research is not to generalize across the population. It is rather, to seek the understanding from the respondent's perspective. An analysis of the data engages with the interpretation of the meanings of people's behavior, practices and actions. Hammersley and Atkinson clarify that "analysis of data involves interpretation of meanings, functions, and consequences of human actions and institutional practices, and how these are implicated in local, and perhaps also wider, contexts" (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007:3). It tries to answer what is unique about the targeted people, group, issue or situation. The narrative data provide clarification, understanding and explanation. Therefore, it is challenging to make sense of massive amounts of data, identify important and meaningful patterns, and conclude the essence of what the data reveal.

As already mentioned earlier, qualitative data usually involve people and their activities, signs, symbols, artifacts and other objects having significance. The most common forms of qualitative data are the sayings and doings of the people. So, qualitative research believes in words, expressions, and content analysis when it reaches in the phase of analysis. 'Data analysis' in qualitative research provides ways of examining, comparing and contrasting, discerning, and interpretating meaningful patterns or themes. Hence, it is usually based on the interpretative philosophy. In other words, the same data can be analyzed and synthesized from multiple angles depending on the particular research question. Based on the research purpose, narrative data are coded, categorized, abstracted, compared, dimensionalized, integrated, iterated, refuted, and interpreted.

Data analysis and interpretation are required to convey order and understanding. There is not a single or best way to analyse the qualitative date but whatever the way , it requires creativity, discipline and a systematic approach. The data analysis process is also fluid which always moves back and forth between every step. Taylar-Powell and Renner (2003) have mentioned some basic fundamental steps that every researcher has to consider during the data analysis. Firstly, the researcher should have understood the quality of the data by repeatedly repeating it. Secondly, the researcher has to identify a few key questions that s/he wants her/his analysis to answer. The analysis depends on the purpose of the evaluation and how the researcher uses the results. Therefore, how all individuals or groups responded to each question and how the answers maintained consistencies and differences, are important to focus. Then, it is important to explore the connections and relationships between questions. Thirdly, the researcher has to

categorize the information by identifying themes or patterns, for example ideas, concepts, behaviors, interactions, incidents, phrases or terminologies used then, s/he has to organize the information into coherent categories. Fourthly, after categorization, the researcher has to identify the patterns and connections within and between categories. In this stage, the researcher can create lager categories, relatively important themes, relationships between two or more themes. Questions like how do things relate, how do the data support in interpretation and What other factors might be contributing? These types of questions would be significant in the analysis as well as interpretation of the data. Fifthly, the researcher has to explain his or her findings by connecting the themes, such as interpreting the data and attaching meaning and significance to the data analysis. Questions like what is learnt, what are the major lessens, what is new things that one can learn, why are the other applications to other settings or studies very important and significant to interpret the data.

Keeping all these factors in mind and taking the research questions as centre issues, the researcher has listed out the main categories from the narrations. For example, in case of a research question like "what is value of life", the researcher has found following four main categories: enough money/good job, good education, social work and integration. The patterns and connections within and between categories have been identified. In the same way, the other researcher questions have been analyzed.

3.9 Research Reliability and Validity

In qualitative research, reliability is the assurance that the research is factual enough to be trusted. According to Kirk and Miller, reliability means the degree to which a measurement remains the same in the repeated actions; the stability of a measurement over time; and the similarity of measurements within a given time period (Kirk and Miller 1986: 41-42). Validity refers to whether 'you are observing, identifying, or measuring what you say you are (Mason 1996 in Bryman 2008:376). It is the strength of results, conclusions and inferences. In qualitative research, it indicates that the research is sound enough, well grounded, justifiable and logically ordered. According to Kitchin and Tate (2000), validity concerns about the soundness, legitimacy and relevance of a research theory and its investigation. Lincoln and Guba show interdependency between reliability and validity as "there can be no validity without reliability; a demonstration of the former is sufficient to establish the latter" (Lincoln and Guba 1985:316). Considering interdependency between reliability and validity Bryman (2008) presents alternative criteria for evaluating qualitative research. They are *trustworthiness*

and *authenticity*.

Trustworthiness means the research is carried out according to the canons of good practice and the findings correctly represents the studied world. The latter concept is related to respondent's validation. It is a process whereby researcher provides the people to whom he or she has conducted with an account of his or her findings. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), the researcher should consider about credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability to make the study trustworthy.

Credibility, and internal validity ensure that the researcher has studied what he or she has actually intended. It answers the question of how congruent are the findings with reality? They suggest researchers to apply following provisions to promote confidence that the researcher has accurately recorded the phenomena under scrutiny: the adaptation of well-established research methods both in qualitative investigation in general and in information science in particular; establishment of an early familiarity with the culture of subjects, and triangulation. In this research, in-depth interview and observation have been applied to take the qualitative data. To increase credibility, data have been tested with others findings and secondary data.

Transferability, external validity is concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations. Transferability, in qualitative research, means that the qualitative findings tend to be oriented to the contextual uniqueness and significance of the aspect of the social world being studied. For external validity, this study has explored a detail description of phenomenon and used enough background data.

In addressing the issue of reliability, dependability mean if the work were repeated, in the same context, with the same methods and with the same participants, similar results would be obtained. Dependability can be enriched by applying overlapping methods, for example focus group and individual interview can be applied for the same issue. Dependability entails that findings are consistent and could be repeated. Lincoln and Guba use 'inquiry audit' in which reviewers examine both the process and the product of the research for consistency (Lincon and Guba 1985:317). For the reliability, both observation and in-depth interview have been applied in the same case.

To enrich conformability in the study, the researcher can apply triangulation, which reduce

investigator's bias, recognize of shortcomings in study's methods and their potential effects, and make in-depth methodological description. Conformability is concerned with a degree of neutrality. It invokes that the findings of a study are shaped by the respondents and not the researchers bias, motivation or interest.

Considering all these criteria, I have used a combination of multiple methods to reduce the risk of systematic biases due to a specific method. Theory triangulation, the use of multiple professional perspectives to interpret the data; methodological triangulation, the use of multiple methods to study the same issue; and data triangulation, the use of multiple sources of data for the same research question have been applied to enrich the reliability and validity of the research. For the qualitative data collection interviews, observations, photography, and government websites have been used to support and check one another's validity.

Similarly, I have assured them that the provided information about respondents' personal and other sensitive issues will not be publicized in the future. The closeness with the respondents has also made me to reach the reality. Similarly, the same set of questions was asked to many other sampled respondents that had made the researcher to infer the logic and point out the odd one. Same information was crosschecked with the other literatures.

3.10 Critical Reflexivity and Ethics

Reflexivity is a "process of constant, self conscious, scrutiny of the self as researcher and of the research process" (England 1994 in Dowling 2000:28). Regarding the qualitative data collection, it is a process of reflecting whole research procedure in the field in terms of how relations were established between researcher and the collected information. Dowing (2000) has mentioned ethical issues, power relations, and subjectivity and inter subjectivity as the main factors that the researcher needs to take into consideration.

Ethics are codes and rules that govern the practices of a profession. Kvale (1996) has suggested three ethical issues that the researcher is expected to observe. They are informed consent, privacy and confidentiality, and protection. In this study, the researcher had explained to the participants about the purpose of the research. Unwritten consents were made on voluntary participation from the participants and right to withdraw at any time. To keep privacy and confidentiality the fictitious names were given at the time of transcribing the interviews. Only coded data were kept in the personal computer putting window password. The field notes and

diaries were kept into the locker.

Reciprocal relationship is needed between the researcher and the research participants so that they feel comfortable and free to participate. In this study, a good reciprocal relationship had been established with the respondents through the mode of behaving, eating, and the use of language. Dowling (2000) states that the researcher's subjectivity i.e. the motivations, experiences, expectations determines the kind of knowledge produced. In this study, a good rapport was established with the participants so that the produced knowledge in the process of research is through the interaction with the participants.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION

In this chapter, qualitative data on 'the way of life' of the Bhutanese refugee are presented in descriptive way. As the main purpose of this study is to illuminate their lives through an anthropological perspective, the descriptive way of an anthropological accounts helps us to reach to the native understanding of the world. So, this chapter presents ethnographic data on the people's lives covering a number of related questions like what are their social cultural values, how life is different from their home country, what is important in life, how they are shaping their life, how they perceive host people and other immigrants and so forth.

4.1 Resettlement in Trondheim

Bhutanese refugees who were settled in seven refugee camps in the eastern Nepal since the past 17 years have been carried out in the seven western countries as a resettlement program of UNHCR, among them one is Norway. The details have already been mentioned in chapter one. About one third of the total refugee in Nepal had shown interest to resettle in the third countries at the first resettlement action of UNHCR. In Norway, total 316 refugees have been resettled in which 64 refugees are in Trondheim municipality from August 2009. For the resettlement, the UN refugee agency was responsible for interviewing people and referring names to resettlement countries while the International Organization for Migration (IOM) was responsible to conduct health assessments, organize cultural orientation courses and transport the refugees from the seven camps in Nepal to their countries of resettlement (UNHCR 2008).

Before leaving, all adult had got a four-day training on cultural orientation and children got a two-day package, which was provided by IOM. The purpose of cultural orientation was to reduce the cultural shock after their arrival in the host countries. Usually, culture is conceptualized as skills, perceptions, behaviors, and ways of life of people that are acquired as a member of a society. Therefore, it is acquired and a shared knowledge which includes all aspects of human life for example, food and cooking; signs, symbols and gestures; values and attitudes; music, dance and drama; expressions of grief and love; individual role in a family and society; and so forth. Therefore, culture is different from one society to another. As the refugees are from entirely different cultural background and they have to involve, observe, tolerate, and learn the new culture, cultural orientation had important role to make them able to imagine Norway. It is a transitional phase, often this phase is in crisis because they have to

leave every known things and have to start a new life in a new place with a new language and culture. Similarly, the host people have also challenge to meet with the different refugees' culture.

In my field visit, a widow and mother of 3 children, 42 year old Ganga, who was living in Sanischare camp, Nepal since 1992, said:

> *"We were very confused and frightened about our future when we first applied for resettlement, as there were other political activists who were convincing us not to apply for resettlement.They wanted to repatriate to Bhutan. After getting the cultural orientation I was reassured that we should leave the refugee camp for our betterment".*

Another 21 year's boy responded as:

> *I was worried about my future; I was depressed and frustrated in the refugee camp. At that time, I just wanted to leave the camp. One of my Nepali friends has already been to the USA with his parents, one was in the UK for study….It is my good luck I am resettled in the most developed country,Norway. At initial days, I was somehow worried and felt lonely but when I became familiar with my friends in school, I became happy. Now my future is bright I have already learnt the new language, my study is going well …I am interested to be a dentist because teeth problem is increasing by junk food habit …..*

Trondheim municipality has nearly 17,700 immigrants including Norwegian born with immigrant parents and it receives from two hundred to two hundred fifty refugees annually (Ett menneske: http://www.trondheim.kommune.no/innvandrerarbeid/). The municipality is responsible to resettle new immigrants and refugees in Norwegian culture with governmental financial support. For the first two years, the refugees participate in the mandatory introductory integration program. The main purpose of this program is to make them integrated in Norwegian society, particularly to enable them to have regular education and work. The integration programs for the Bhutanese refugees was started at the end of 2009. In the first three months, they received initial introductory orientation, after that they are participating in different other integration programs which will last by the end of 2011. During this period they will learn Norwegian language, get knowledge of the Norwegian educational system, labor market and Norwegian society. It is equivalent as a full time job. Everyone has got a personal advisor who helps them to solve their everyday problems, helps to make a personal plan, and future work. It is expected that through a two-year induction program they can learn the basic and necessary steps to become active in the Norwegian society and the workplace. These programs are conducted by Trondheim municipality with the partnership of educational institutions, employers, government agencies, and NGOs.

4.2 Arrival in Norway

The first lot of Bhutanese refugees arrived in Trondheim at the end of August 2009. At the initial days after their arrival, almost all refugees felt uncomfortable in the new society. All were resettled in different places in Trondheim municipality. They had no means of communication to stay in touch with each other and they had no idea at all about their daily routine of life. About his first experience after arrival to Norway, one of the respondents in his mid fifties said:

> *At first I thought we are sold- we had no communication with our friends, we had already left most of the relatives and friends in Nepal, mind was totally blank, I just remembered the holy line of Gita*[1]*- 'whatever happens, happens for the best'. After few days, it became true.*

In the essence of the Gita, a holy book of Hindus, it is stated that "whatever happened in the past, happened for the best; whatever is happing, is happening for the best; whatever will happen in future, will happen for the best. Do not repent the past, do not worry for the future, concentrate on your present" (Essence of Bhagvad Gita: http://www.scribd.com/doc/7338093/Geeta-Saar) Although *Drukpa Kagyue,* school of Mahayana Buddhism is the state religion of Bhutan, Hindu faith is dominant in the Southern part of Bhutan; the residence of *Lhotshampas* (Nepali speaking Bhutanese).

But gradually, they became familiar with place, daily routine of life, timing, weather, the systems of daily life and so on. In my first visit to one of the families, a 48-year woman said, *"INN and Red cross offices taught us to use water tap to operate heater; to use bank card to apply bus card; to cross road to reach INN office… everything"*.

4.3 Some Facts about the Refugees

Based on the informal conversation with the refugees, most of the Bhutanese refugees who are plus forty in their age are illiterate. In addition, most of the elder women are illiterate. Most of them are Hindus and some are Buddhists They are with their family members and are scattered

[1] Bhagwat Gita, a holy book of Hindus is also said "Gita" in a short form. As it is quite big that comprises of 18 chapters and 700 verses. It answers two universal questions: Who am I, and how I can live a happy and peaceful life in this world? The essence of the Gita is "whatever happened in the past, happened for the best; whatever is happing, is happening for the best; whatever will happen in future, will happen for the best. What have you lost for which you cry? What did you bring with you, which you have lost? What did you produce, which has destroyed? You did not bring anything when you were born. Whatever you have, you have received from Him". (Bhagavad Gita: The holy Book
http://www.articlesbase.com/self-improvement-articles/bhagavad-gita-the-holy-book-1251247.html)

within Trondheim Municipality. The municipality has provided them houses for living.

4.4 Perception about Norway

The refugees had already heard some facts about Norway before arrival. The cultural orientation program conducted by IOM before coming to Norway became helpful to understand Norway. They imagined Norway as the best place for children, elders, and sick people. During my interview, a 42-year woman said:

> *My husband was already killed by Indian army when he was in India for a job blaming him a terrorist…. At that time there was a Maoist insurgency in Nepal. ….I was sick and felt completely helpless. Nepali doctor already had told me that my case is serious which would take around 4 hundreds thousand Nepali rupee* [around $ 5555] *for my treatment. I was not in a condition to collect that much money therefore; I had no hope of my life. In the mean time, I heard about resettlement program of UNHCR …..… I chose Norway at the time of filling in the form of UNHCR. When I arrived, I was admitted to a hospital for two months.Now I am feeling better, and hope to survive though I am still on medication…I would like to thank Norway and Norwegian government for giving my life back".*

4.5 Daily Routine of Bhutanese Refugee

"*The weekday starts with the Norsk and ends with the Norsk"* one of the respondents said. Language class starts every weekday from 8:15 to 12:00. After lunch, they usually are carried out either to visit different places around Trondheim or engaged in different activities, for example ski, aerobic, swimming, boating, fishing, and so on. During the evening hours, they are engaged to do assignments of language class.

The integration programs have been scheduled systematically to make them familiarize with Norwegian culture. The programs encourage them to adopt new society and empower them to face the challenges, which reduce their anxiety. Similarly, they are also engaged in the social training where Norwegian rules and regulations are taught in their own language. It is conducted through a bio-cultural trainer. The bio-cultural trainer is a person who has an origin or similar background to the refugee group and who has strong background on the living experience of Norway with Norwegian language. Similar ethnic background and ability to speak the same language as the refugees, facilitates to create an environment of trust and greater understanding on the practical issues.

Like other immigrants, they take bread and milk or tea for breakfast besides taking other food

items, like beaten rice, *chowmin*, *puri* and curry. Nepali lunch food are prepared for lunch. They carry their lunch by preparing themselves. Usually rice, vegetable, and *dal* (lentil soup) with pickle are used for dinner. This meal often is taken twice a day─ in the morning and evening ─ in Nepal and Bhutan but they use this meal once a day in Norway. All family members are supposed to be together at the evening meal. Therefore, to be at home on time, generally before a meal is a family norm. All raw materials of grocery are available in Asian shops, which lie in the centre of Trondheim municipality. In their experience, because of increasing number of Asian immigrants, the price is raising. A 46-year woman said " *..at the time of our arrival a 20 kg pack of rice cost 200 NOK but now it costs 400 NOK and quality is getting lower than previous….shop is becoming more crowded by Asian immigrants".*

However, they have been also taught to prepare boll and pizza in their saying '*Norwegian dishes'*, during the integration activities (Figure 4). These foods are prepared for their children's lunch, and their breakfast and snacks. A 44 years' woman said:

> *My children have many Norwegian friends in theirr school so I normally prepare roll and pizza for their lunch. They also like these foods but for us* [she and her husband] *I do prepare Nepali food, we like these food items more than roll and pizza.*

They usually appear around Trondheim Torg, centre of Trondheim municipality in every Saturday. It is not organized and pre-scheduled. They spontaneously go there to shop if any thing is available at a reasonable price or/and it is in a scare quantity at home. However, their prime concern is to meet each other. In that meeting, they mostly talk about their daily activities, possibilities about job, plan, and connection with other refugees who are out of Norway, and shopping items on sale etc.

In Sunday, they usually go to meet their relatives or close ones. There is no need to pre inform the people to whom they are going to meet. One day when I was going to reach to one of the respondents' house with the help of 28 years' another respondent, she had replied me on my question of an appointment, "…..*I am a very close sister of that family like a family member so it is not good to inform…if I do so, I feel myself becoming far from them and they also do not feel good. To pre inform is meant only for a guest. I am not a guest ……".*

Figure 4: Integration Activity: Learning How to Make Bread

Photo: Field Data: August 2010

However, quite hidden problem for the retired refugee is loneliness and isolation. In my informal meeting a65 year old woman said:

> *I sit whole day alone in this sofa, my sons and daughter in laws go for language classes; after that may be for other programs or may be to meet their friends. I have a daughter who goes for her work. I am not able to go to meet other friends and relatives; I don't know how to use busand how to identify the place to get downfrom the bus; I cannot read the bus booklet,…. others rarely come to meet me. I am becoming like a dumb. ….I have already listened 'dohori song' [folk duet song] and 'bhajan' [devotional songs] CDs more than 10 times.*

4.6 Social and Cultural Patterns

Rice, buckwheat, corn rice were the main food in Bhutan. Diary products such as butter and curd were also popular. They also consume similar types of foods in Norway.

Caste system, purity-impurity of people were highly considered in their daily life in Bhutan but

this practice is becoming very weak in Norway. In my query on the caste practice in Trondheim, a 54year old man who was from the highest caste (by birth) said:

> *After our movement from homeland, the notion of caste is not so strong. Though I am from a high caste family, I have already started to eat meat and to also eat in Thapa's home [Thapa belongs to a lower caste]. My mother still does not accept foods offered by them. ….Now, it is very difficult to get pure Brahmin [upper caste]. Brahmin is needed especially for religious rituals. …Here in Norway, we are in need of 'Brahmin'[2] for conducting our religious rituals, festivals and ceremony…*

High caste people are not supposed to drink alcohol and meat. But goat meat is acceptable. Traditionally, caste rules also dictate with whom one can eat and with whom one cannot or from whom one can accept the food and from whom one cannot. But, now it is not in practice. Usually a mother or a daughter in law takes her meal at the end after serving to all other family members.

Similarly, on my query about the gender role a 42-year woman said:

> *Traditionally, women prepared food, took care of children, washed cloths, fetched water and did other household chores. Men often performed agricultural and labor related works, trade and other work outside the village. Woman generally had lower social status than the man but freedom and opportunities varied widely between different groups and caste. Drukpas women were more independent than we [Lhotsampas] were. But here I am not feeling lower than my husband is; we use to go together for the language classes and other programs and are learning in the same way. I have also a spirit to work in future and earn as much as my husband would earn……*

Agricultural works had been performed by both men and women but men are engaged in more physical demanding works. Women had to work more hours than men did as they had also responsibilities of household chores. Now, they have got easier life in Norway, as there is no rush for preparing evening dishes. One of the women to whom I met in the shopping centre around 7 pm responded as: "*we can talk as long as you have time. Here, I have no responsibility for cooking, my sons can cook. Cooking is not hard job here, I just have to switch on. Everything can be cooked within an hour by electricity*".

The way of Norwegian women's life is inspiring and empowering the refugee women. The

[2] There are mainly four castes in Hinduism: Brahman, Kshetris, Baisya, and Sudra. Brahman is supposed to be the highest caste and pure; and Sudra is the lowest caste and impure in caste hierarchy, which is also believed as a result of past karma (Shivananda 1999: 148).

previous image of a woman, weak and dependent, is changing in a positive way. In my field work, a 44-year woman said *"at first I got surprised when I saw a 65+ year woman was driving a car and a bus. I am only 44, I was so desperate about my life but now I am feeling relief. Perhaps I also would drive after being a Norwegian…".*

Marriage was considered a social ties between two families which is also the same in Norway. If their children have no love affair or no partner by the time of marriage age, the elder of the family or the parents are responsible for finding the suitable partner from the appropriate caste, religion, education and social rank. Children also are socialized in that way for choosing their partner. One of the women having six daughters asked me about any Nepali student that would be a suitable bridegroom for her daughter. At my query on suitable criteria she had responded *as "we are Brahmin, we are not much rich so that we cannot offer more dowry. We are looking for a boy who is from Brahmin family, medium class, and who can respect us as we have no sons".* Both families are expected to hold parties during the marriage celebrations. But bride's family has to provide dowry to bridegroom's family so that the cost for marriage is relatively high, particularly for the bride's family.

Parents live with their son and his family. The elder has authority over the younger and men over women. Therefore, daughters are in the lowest position in the household. Children are expected to obey the older members of the family. Mothers have the main responsibility to take care of the children. Other family members are also very important part of their socialization. There are several rituals during the stages of a child's development: *Namakaran*[3], ritual of giving name; *Annaprasan*[4], first feeding of rice; and *Upanayan*[5], eligibility to perform religious works or purification. The date for the ceremony is determined through the horoscope.

A girl becomes impure during the time of menstruation. She is not supposed to cook, to pray

3 Namakaran, religiously ceremony of giving name for the newborn child is held on the eleventh day of the birth. It is based on Hindu raashis (determined by planetary potions of date and time) which is considered auspicious and good fortune to the child (Field data 2010)

4 It is a ceremony to feed a child solid food. It generally held in the sixth month for a baby boy and fifth month for a baby girl (Field data 2010).

5 Upanayan samskar purify the life and gives the spiritual touch with the God. This ceremony is also known as wearing of scared thread. The sacred thread (three threads within one knot) denotes purity in thought, word and deed. These threads also represent the debt that is owed to the guru, parents and society. In the case of girls they enter womanhood at the same time of marriage. (Field data 2010)

God, and to touch the elder men. A woman becomes impure during the time of menstruation and delivery. Basically, four days in menstruation period and eleven days in baby delivery period are supposed to be unclean and impure. During the periods they are also not supposed to worship Gods.

The common way of greeting is to press the palms together in front of the chest with the fingertips to the face and say *Namate*. It is a symbol of respect also. So, it is expected to be done by the younger to the elder. In response, the elder also says *Namaste*. It also determines whether a child is polite and respectful towards elders. An elder is a respected person in a family as well as in a community. Therefore, they are not supposed to be called by their name from the younger. The common terms are dad, mama, sister, brother, uncle, aunt etc to call the elders. These terms are also used by other people who are not own family members.

Guests are always asked for food and it is not accepted to help in cooking and cleaning or washing after a meal. I had always been enforced to take meal during my field work. It is almost impossible to deny the offer. I had taken the evening meal even in the odd time. One of the respondents to whom I had met at 3 pm at her home offered to host me for a evening meal but I tryed to avoid it. She responded to my denial,"*we are from Giri [surname] family of Bhutan, it is our historical culture that a guest should be offered a meal, it is not good that the guest should return without having meal…..you are not Norwegian so you should take the meal"*. To use right hand is a symbol of politeness, so guests are suppose to be served by the right hand. God should be worshipped by the right hand. A left hand is considered as impure and it is used for toilet purposes.

Head is the symbol of pride and virtue. The elder wishes to younger, "may your head be upward always." This wish means makes your life happier and better. Feet are seen as immoral. It is taken insulting to turn shoe or sandal, to sit with shoes in the direction of someone, or to sit by keeping feet on the table. Therefore, shoes should be taken off at the time of worshiping God.

There are many types of festivals based on traditions and special days of worshipping gods and goddesses. But they celebrate *Dashain*, *Tihar*, and *Teej* collectively in Trondheim. Other festivals are celebrated within own family members, close kinships and close friends. The largest festival for Hindus is *Dashain*, and for Buddhists it is *Buddhajayanti*. But, both

denominators celebrate both festivals.

During *Dashain,* the elders bless they youngers with *Tika* in their forehead (Figure 5). *Tika* is a symbol of blessings. Every elder blesses every younger so that the youngest one gets many wishes and blessings from the elders. It is very common to go to relatives' house to get blessings. In *Dashain* festival, anyone can go to the elder person of a community without any pre-information. To go to an elder's house, is taken as a symbol of respect. Usually, the "Nepali Speaking Bhutanese", an organization of the refugee, organizes *Dashain* ceremony. They get together in the ceremony, the eldest person of the community blesses the younger with red *tika* and red powder.

Figure 5: Dashain Ceremony: Younger getting *Tika* during Dashain Festival from the Elders

Source: Field data, October 2010

Tihar, the second greatest festival, is the festival of sisters and brothers. A sister prays for her brother and wishes for his success, prosperity and health. Similarly, the brother gives gift to his sister wishing her success. If the sister does not have her own brother and vice versa, they imagine other boy or girl as sister or brother who becomes like their own sibling forever.

Spontaneously a club is motivated to play *Deusi Bhailo* during *Tihar* festival. *Deusi Bhailo* is a culture where a team of people sings songs and dances in various homes within their community. They collect money and foods from those houses. At last, in return of money and foods the *Deusi Bhailo* team blesses for prosperity to the regarding house. It is believed that those blessings given by the team become true. It (Tihar festival) continues up to three days. The *Nepali Speaking Bhutanese* organization has a plan to organize *Deusi Bhailo* program in a systematic way so that they could collect money for the organization. A member of an organization said, *"Perhaps from the next year we will conduct it in a more systematic way to collect money for the organization, so far some children and adolescents are doing it for their own sake. They collect money and foods and share among themselves"*.

Teej, a festival of women, is celebrated by refugee women who share their happiness and pain of their life with one another. They rotationally call the women and enjoy themselves by singing and dancing. Songs specially carry the women's experiences of their life ─ pleasures and pains. At the same time women fast, without taking even a drop of water, wishing their husband's long life, prosperity and good health. Unmarried girls also take part in fasting to get handsome, intelligent and caring husband in future. But, in my observation on *teej* festival, a 19-year unmarried girl said, *"Though I am not convinced enough that I would get the best husband by my devotion and prayer for my imaginary future husband, I am fasting"*. In my query on fasting without believing, she added *"….I don't know whether it works or not…but my mom believes in it so I am following her"*.

"*Nepali Speaking Bhutanese*" organization facilitates to organize the festivals. The organization has a plan to build a Hindu temple. A 54-year man explained:

> *…I do not know how long it would take, as we are still unfamiliar about many Norwegian rules and regulations regarding building a temple but we are in need of one Hindu temple around us so that we could celebrate our religious festivals in a correct way ...*

Similarly, feasts, for example *Namakaran* (name giving ceremony), *Satya Narayen pooja* (worshipping the truth), *Shradha* (worshipping ancestor) and so on are celebrated among their close kinship members, relatives and friends. In contrast, during *Dashain*, all members of kinship, relatives and close friends are supposed to be called by the host family. To join without an invitation is not a good manner. If the family does not invite someone, it is taken as an issue of relationship. To conduct these religious festivals, they are also in need of a religious pundit

who should be from *Brahmin* caste. One of the women said:

> *…we are looking for a pundit in refugee camps in Nepal. If we notice anyone, we will request him to come to Norway for a resettlement. I have said to my relatives to search a pundit there and convey him about the better quality of life here, so he will get assured of his future and might come here.*

Most of the older people pray to God every morning and evening before taking morning and evening meal. They have portraits, photos and some praying materials in the corner of their bedroom (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Symbols of Hindu God and Goddess

Source: Field Data, August 2010

4.7 Understanding Integration

The refugees also realize that the language is a powerful means of integration. During my field work, they frequently said that language is becoming a barrier for them to be closer to Norwegian. So, they have no Norwegian friends. They explained many stories about Norwegian's reserve nature and their poor language ability creating obstruction in

communicating with them. One of the respondents said: *"I do understand little bit Norsk but cannot speak. I wish we [family] have more Norwegian friends, and I also do wish to have day coffee in weekend with Norwegian neighbor, but … because of poor language skill I am unable to offer ….actually we have no Norwegian friends …..*".

They know that the language is the main requirement for getting job as they have to search job for their survival after certain period of time. Now, they are provided financial assistance each month, including extra costs for rent, heating, and local repayment according to the Norwegian law. Furthermore, 300 hours language classes and 50 hours social integration have been also provided to make them absorb in Norwegian society, rules and regulations.

4.8 Dilemma of Identity

The refugees are very attentive and conscious about their *Nepali Speaking Bhutanese* identity. And they always try to establish this identity within their surroundings. During the fieldwork my friend introduced me to one of the respondents who was a friend of her (in language class) as "*she looks like Nepali, doesn't she*? Before my answer, she immediately responded, "*no, I look like Nepali Speaking Bhutanese*". Their language is Nepali. Most of the social-cultural patterns are similar to Nepali. They do not want to be labelled only Nepali and do not want to be recognized as only Bhutanese either. They are trying to be recognized by both language and nationalism. Why does nationalism and language are so strong with Bhutanese? The answer will be explored by analyzing and interpreting the data in the next chapter.

Similarly, statistics Norway states three categories to define immigrants; 1) Foreign-born with one Norwegian-born parent, 2) Norwegian-born with one foreign-born parent, and 3) Foreign-born to Norwegian-born parents (includes adopted). They deserve none of them. Similarly, it defines refugees as "*persons who, according to the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration's register of refugees, have refugee status and have been granted a residence permit in Norway"* (Statistics Norway 2010, http://www.ssb.no/innvandring_en/). In that sense they are refugee.

Although originally they fled from Bhutan and settled in the refugee camps of Nepal and after internationalizing their problem they were carried out on the resettlement program of UNHCR, so, in practice, they are recognized as*'Nepali refugee'*. One of the integration staffs said:

> *…they were exiled from the home country and were seeking for a shelter. Norway is giving shelter to them therefore we are treating them as a refugee…legally they are Bhutanese refugee. But they speak Nepali and are carried out from Nepal so it seems as if they are Nepali refugee. This is making confusion about their real identity.*

However, in their views, an immigrant's identity is better than a refugee's is. A 44-year woman said: *"… I am recognized by 'flyktning' [refugees] even by Rajat [*Tamil friend of language class*]…I think he is also flyktning but he does not accept it, He says himself 'innvandrer' [immigrant]…. her wife does not look like Norwegian, I don't know how he became 'innvandrer'…and I also don't know how I became flyktning in Norway… I am carried out but not coming myself ".*

4.9 Memories of Past

Agricultural land was the indicator of prosperity. The main economic source was agriculture including some seasonal jobs for men. Mostly married women were housewives. They used to assist their husbands in agricultural works and took care of their children and the older member of a family. Mostly a male would be the head of the family but an important decision was taken in consultation with his family members.

'Family' was generally understood as a joint family only. In my field visit a man who was staying with all his children and wife responded, *"Some of my family members are in America and some are here"* in response to who they are. He replied *"my brother, his wife, my father and mother*". But Skype is making them closer. They used to talk with them at least once a week. *"Though we are far, we are feeling as if we are staying together, this laptop and Skype are making us to forget the distance between us"* he explained.

Most of the respondents explained recalling of their lost property; house, agricultural land was the most painful to which they had spent a lot of money, labor and effort to collect. Similarly, they were missing their Bhutanese friends, relatives, and surroundings where they grown up. In my informal talk with female respondents, a 42 year old woman said *"To leave a holy place is itself very painful". A* 44 year old another woman said. *"I do prefer and perhaps would go to my parents' home at my elderly age… I do not want to die here"* but quite differently a 38 year old another woman said, *"I think now our holy place is already shifted from Bhutan to Norway, perhaps our ancestors had asked us to come here for our and our children's betterment so we are brought here in Norway"*. Another 48 year old woman added, *"I also think so, without an ancestor's will how it would be possible to be here"*.

A 54-year old man recalled his past time in Bhutan as *"Dashain, Tihar, Maghe Sakranti, Teej, were main festivals in Bhutan….. Those days were very cheerful…we used to go to our district chairman to get blessings from him with other friends. He had become so happy with our visit that he asked about our needs in daily life….I always miss my childhood friend 'Duppa' to whom I had many good memories…."*

4.10 Memories of First Refugee Place, Nepal

They entered Nepal in 1992 after the military force created pressure on them to flee Bhutan. The first 5-6 months was very terrible. They used to live along the river bank in the tent without having minimum basic human needs. In my fieldwork, a woman recalled past days and compared with today as:

> *It was really miserable,…one of my daughters passed away because of typhoid though I spent 1.5 hundred thousands Nepali Rupee, by owing lone from my friends and relatives…..still I have not repaid it, hope I will pay soon. After shifting to a refugee camp, life became little bit easier than our previous life, though life of camp was very misearable comparing to life here. Now I realize how life should be….everthing is available, life is secured, no tension about children and our old age*.

Part time and daily wage jobs were economic sources for the survival. Some of them, usually men, used to go to India, boarder country of Nepal for temporary job. The remittance sent by them were big support for their family, which was used to buy regular medicine and cloths.

The refugee basically remembers the social activities done in refugee camps, relatives, and friends. Some of them who have friends in the refugee camps feel still connected to Nepal. Most of them have no connection with friends but they do have net connection with their relatives. Celebrating festivals with all refugees and going to a *mela* (fair) and temple with friends together were the most memorable events to them. Some youths are missing their club activities of Nepal.

Some of them were engaged in social work within a camp to take a demographic record of refugee, some of them were members of a club which used to organize the camp cleaning, the quiz for youth and children and other entertainment programs. Those activities made them still satisfied and gave some good memories.

Kishor had 300 *Charkhas* (making thread from raw cotton) from which he used to earn 10,000 to 12, 000 Nepali rupees per month. He had recruited other employees in his factory. The social status comparing to other refugee was good and had got a kind of respect. He expressed, "*Sometime I think I did really a good job even in refugee life to which I take pride in, I had already 300 Charkhas, I used to go Kathmandu [capital city] frequently to buy woolen 'dhago' (thread), I had connection with the bigger business men of a carpet factory … .*" Simultaneously, somehow he was skeptics about his future "….*but here, systems are totally different, I cannot use my previous experience…let's see what will be the future job… my sir [personal assistant] has assured me to help finding the job"*

4.11 Comparison of Life in Bhutan, Nepal and Norway as a Whole

There was a strong feeling that jealousy of other's progress is not in Norway which is the best thing they felt so far. Everyone can progress as much as one can do in his or her life and they are free to do so. There are a lot of stories about it. But here I have put a 54-year Kishor's saying:

> *People's thought in Nepal even in Bhutan was negative,….at first when I started charkha business in my refugee camp, many of my neighbors and even some of the friends complained against me, they said me as a 'business man of a camp' in a satiric tone but I didn't care about their words as I got success in my business. Here nobody has any jealousy or concern about others' progress or retreat*.

Most of the respondents' responded on my question, "what are differences between your home place or first refugee place and Norway" as:

> *We do miss our old friends and the environment that we had in Nepal and Bhutan where we were brought up, we can't get such environment here but life standard here is far better than in Nepal and Bhutan, behavior and attitude of people is more positive here, educational system is good, our future is bright*.

Life is more comfortable in Norway than Nepal and Bhutan. The narrations like "I had seen computer (desktop) but not laptop", "I had used gas stove for cooking but not electric plate", "..now, mobile has become a friend", "my health is improving", "children are getting better education", "...sometime we go to restaurant for evening dinner", "…I am coming to buy a camera", "electricity bill is around NOK1600 per month" and many other similar narrations indicate that they have got better life in Norway. It is because of Norwegian policy of equality for all. Norway has been spending a huge amount of money in social sectors so has got her reputation for humanitarian spirit and for maintaining her first place in the annual UN Human

Development Index (HDI) which is also illustrated in detail in the first chapter. The refugee also gets same treatment as the host member therefore the life style is definitely better than that of their homeland.

4.12 Expectation in Life

Bhutanese refugees are happy as they are going to be Norwegian in near future, their children are getting better education, they are getting better facilities from the government, and they are experiencing new life. Within their satisfaction they do not forget to recall their past. In my meetings with them, they narrated many incidents happening with them imagining a refugee as 'orphan', 'dependency', 'helplessness' and 'misery'. Some of the respondents expressed to earn money in their life to repay their loan, therefore, to get the better job is an expectation of life. But they always emphasize the secured future of their children. Kishor in his mid fifties expressed his uncertain past and bright future as:

> *Here in Norway, all are equal, no discrimination between the rich and the poor, equal human rights. After a year, we will also become Norwegian nationality. I am happy by seeing my 6 daughters' bright future. The facilities of government and education system are very nice here. I am assured that they will do better in their life.*

In response to my question, "what do you suggest for your friends who are in the refugee camps of Nepal" a 44 year woman expressed:

> *….we spent more than 17 years in the refugee camp …there were more than 15 dialogues between government of Nepal and Bhutan but there was no solution. Therefore, I just want to say don't wait anymore in the camp, just decide to resettle for your children's sake… it is already too late….the life aboard is far better than there…I just say please leave the camp for your children's sake.*

Moreover, most of the elders express that the brighter future of their children is the best satisfaction that they have got in their life. Now they are somehow carefree about the future of their children. A 50-year man said*:*

> *I am feeling like taking a rest after walking a long distance with a heavy load. Now, Norwegian government is talking my load, I am satisfied by seeing my children's future. I never would have given them better education if I had been not resettled.*

The younger is feeling comfortable to be integrated in the new context. They argue that integration would make life easier through which they can get a job in future and the job would give the better life. A 19- year boy said:

> *I can speak Norwegian very well. I am studying now so that I have Norwegian, Pakistani, and Somali friends. I can feel comfortable to spend time with them. I hope after my education I will get better job. I am thinking to do a part time job now for my extra pocket money, I can buy what I need and what I like…*

As they are still in integration programs, it is too early to ask about the future of the life, some of them are skeptical about the future. In my informal conversation, a 34-year man said , *"I don't know in what way my life will go on…but I am thinking to go to the USA after getting red passport from Norway. Most of my friends are there. I will stay some time, if I won't like I will come back"*.

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

In this chapter, the data are analyzed and interpreted to connect them with outer world by using various theoretical approaches. Because of various reasons, a single theoretical approach; a comprehensive overview of 'the way of life' of a people by describing the interrelationship between religion, politics, the economy, kinship and so on used in the previous anthropological field, has become insufficient to address the dynamic nature of today's way of life.

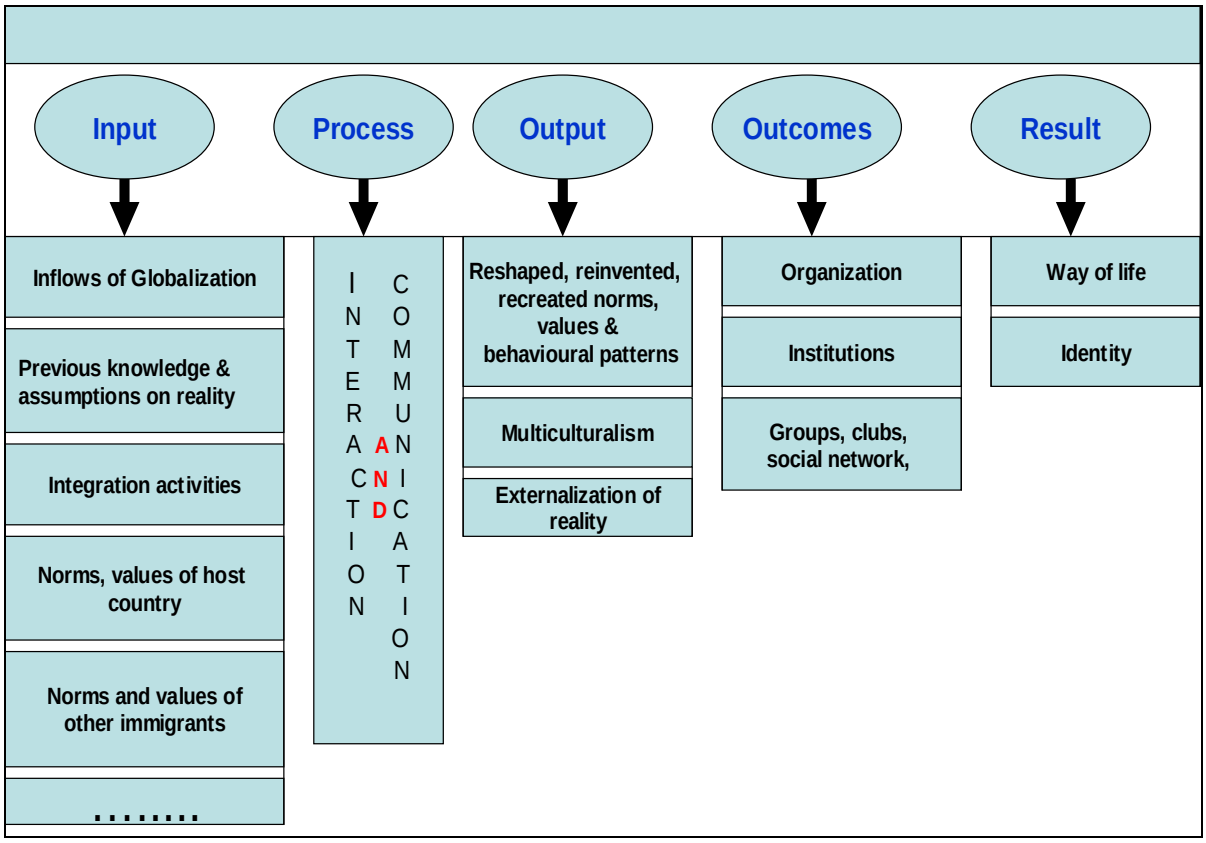
In the modern age, every society has been more or less affected by modernity and becoming more complex. Giddens says modernity is marked by discntinuity from the traditional social order. Today's society has been intensified by interconnection and acceleration of the pace of change. As mentioned in the chapter two, Giddens has described *disembedding* and *reflexive* nature of modernity. *Disembedding* or detachment nature tells that in modernity the social relationships become detached from local binding context. *Reflexivity* is the way in which social practices are constantly examined and transformed in the light of intensively increasing flows of information and communication. These changing social-cultural patterns affect the society and the social actions (Giddens 1990). Therefore, multiple approaches, for example, construction of social reality; construction of identity; and transforming worldviews, which have been already illustrated in the chapter two, have been applied to analyze the data. Similarly, the reflection of globalization theories has also been demanded in the process of analyzing data.

Similarly, a single data collection method, ethnography, has become uncommon to account for the modern way of life. Eriksen gives the reasons why 'village fieldwork as its way of life' model is not common, one obvious reason is that most anthropological studies now take place in the complex large-scale settings, traditional studies of specific sites have shifted towards the movements associated with increasing migration and population flows. The second reason is the growing specialization within the discipline as anthropology is becoming the interdisciplinary subject; and the third related reason is "a wealth of general ethnography has already been carried out on most regions so it is not necessary to begin from scratch" (Eriksen 2001:35). Therefore, data are colleced using multiple methods.

5.1 'The way of life' Framework

Bhutanese way of life can be illustrated through the following model (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Model of 'the way of life' of Bhutanese Refugee in Trondheim



The refugee's way of life is constructed through the interaction among the rapidly increasing global inflows of knowledge; their own previous eastern worldviews; the integration activities provided by the INN and red cross society; the new social cultural patterns of host country; norms and values of other surrounding immigrants; and so on which are considered as the inputs for the process of interaction through which the refugee constructs a social reality. Process means here interaction and communication among the inputs. In this process of mixing different social and cultural patterns, there could be a number of different outcomes from long-term encounters between or among the different groups. Eriksen (2007) says sometimes one group is ultimately absorbed into the other; sometimes it is absorbed culturally but not socially; sometime the groups merge to create a new entity; sometimes the competitive relationship occurs; and sometimes one group completely exterminates.

Having the same background and the same worldviews, Bhutanese refugee encounters the

same kinds of problems, faces the same kind of needs and desires during the interaction process. In the course of solving problems and fulfilling needs and desires in the modern society, the new knowledge is invented, emerged or/and created. The previous knowledge can be reshaped, which is the output of the interaction and communication.

The result of cultural mixing can appear in various forms for example, cultural pluralism; hybridity; diasporic identity; transnationalism; creolization and so forth. Those newly emerged and the reshaped subjective knowledge are shared within the refugee community. This externalization of knowledge creates the social order in the forms of social organization, institutions, social network, objects, pictures, different cultural clubs, groups, and so forth - an objective reality, - which are the outcome of the interaction. It creates social order and identifies the identity, which is recognized by 'the way of life'.

Social order is collective shared norms of human activity, which guides people's behavior. The community reifines those shared knowledge in a way that they are taken as if they are real. In *construction of social reality,* Berger and Luckmann say that the products of human activities are reified by the society in a way that they appear something other than human products such as facts of nature, results of cosmic laws, or manifestation of divine will. "Reification implies that man is capable of forgetting his own authorship of the human world, and, further that the dialectic between men, the producer, and his products is lost to consciousness" (Lukmann and Berger 1966:106). Therefore, reified world is, by definition, a dehumanized world. This shared and reified knowledge is institutionalized in a way that every member of a society is responsible to follow it.

Similarly, the cultural mixing creates the power differences between the groups involved in. Mixing at the cultural level does not exclude strengthened group identification and does not necessarily create cultural homogeneity, but it can also create a new configuration of diversity in the host country.

At the level of social integration, some emphasize the need of similarity within the society, while others stress on diversity and difference. In the case of Bhutanese refugees, we get cultural purity although there are some reshaped values of social reality. There is not any competition among the different cultures. In Trondheim municipality, many immigrants from different cultural and national backgrounds are residing together; and they are taking part in

integration programs together. But, the refugees celebrate their feast and festivals in their own way, they are conscious about their identity, and have their own *Butanese* way of life coexisting in harmonious way with others.

5.2 Transforming Values

The refugees had their own eastern worldviews or the knowledge of social reality. The perception of things, judgment of social norms and values, expression of love, and sorrow or pain were already set through the eastern way of life. Now, they are in Norway, so all social and cultural patterns are constructed through the perception of western worldviews. Hiebert (1985) defines worldviews as the basic assumptions, which lie behind the beliefs and behavior of a culture. For example, most Westerners assume that a real external world is made of lifeless matter. But, people of the South and the Southeast Asia believe that this external world does not really exist. It is an illusion of the mind. According to Hiebert, as I have already mentioned in the chapter two, there are three dimensions of a culture- *existential or cognitive*, *affective* and *evaluative*. Existential assumption is related to the cognitive structures of a culture through which people explain reality. These structures define what are real. For example, in the West, cognitive aspect of culture includes atoms, viruses and gravity. In most of the Asia and Africa, they include spiritual beings. Affective assumptions relate to the notions of beauty, style and aesthetics found in a culture for example, in cultures influenced by Hinduism, life is a result of yesterday's deeds. In the culture influenced by Theravada Buddhism, life is equated with pain and suffering. By contrast, in most of the West and the United States people believe that happiness can be achieved by the hard work and planning. Evaluative assumptions are related to the judgmental criteria for determining truth and error, likes and dislikes, and right and wrong (Hiebert 1985).

Having different cognitive, affective and evaluative assumptions of reality, there is a vast difference between 'the way of lives', social-cultural norms and values, and behaviors of the refugee and the host country. At the same time, the refugees have to interact with rapidly increasing global inflows of knowledge in their daily life. According to Berger and Luckmann these inflows of ideas and knowledge are grasped by the people in an ordinary way. In this connection they add that a social reality initially emerges through the common sense of people as ordinary members of a society (Berger and Luckmann 1966). The refugee, as a member of the new society, takes global inflows and new social and cultural reality of host country in his/her own ordinary way. Here, we have to remember that the initial thinking of the

new knowledge is guided by the worldviews in one way or another.

In the process of interaction, previously established social norms and values are tested and retested with new reality of the life. Those norms and values which were supposed to be real previously are not real in the present context where they have to survive so that, they are enforced to recreate a new one or reshaped in a new way. Examples are illustrated in the following subchapters.

5.2.1 Changing Pattern on Evaluation

Trondhiem Kommune has conducted many integration programs for the refugee to make them integrated in the Norwegian culture, swimming is one of them. Here it may be interesting to mention swimming experience of a 40-year woman who tells us how the woman's perception on evaluation is reformed in a new way.

> *I had never swum before, swimming with swimming costume was seen as an 'uttauli' [bad woman in a society] for a girl and a woman. I never allowed my daughters to swim. ……swimming with swimming costume by woman with guys within the same pool was out of my knowledge…..at the initial time I escaped, but nobody cared of it, I saw many women swimming with swimming costume with guys without any hesitation. At first I tried with my cloths, I became odd in the group….gradually I stated wearing swimming costume. Now, I can swim very well, my body is becoming strong and smart. I don't think that swimming is bad; it is a very good exercise. Now, all my daughters are members of a swimming club.*

The woman interacts in a new context where swimming is taken as a common and a very normal part of a life. When she tries swimming herself to socialize in the new context, she gets it as a very good means of exercise. She gets and feels present reality that she is becoming stronger and smarter. Now, her previous negative perception of women's swimming chnages in a positive way.

5.2.2 Changing Perception of HolyPlace

The perception of holy place is reshaped. The refugee did consider their birth place, the southern part of Bhutan, as a holy place. They believed that that place was blessed by their ancestors as many generations of their ancestors had spent their lives over there. In the refugee's community there is a spiritual belief that if the ancestors are happy with their children they bless them and save at the time of disasters and if they become unhappy they can also destroy their children. When their ancestors became unable to protect them in the same

place or they became unable to make their ancestors happy, they were forced to flee the country. Now, they are residing in different western countries, some of them are in Norway. Norway is giving them shelter within the equal policies of her nationals.

When they got a better life in Norway the concept of 'holy place' was reshaped. Now they consider holy place as a place where they get blessed to resettle, the place which gives them their identity, the place which provides them a shelter in the time of misery, and the place which offers them the better life. Therefore, now, Norway is a holy place for them which has given a state for stateless, a national identity; better education for their children; nicer health care for the old and the better way of life for them. In my field work, one of the respondents explained about his dream before coming to Norway and said "….*perhaps our ancestors had called us in Norway for our and our children's betterment so we are here"*.

5.2.3 Changing Pattern on Beliefs

Most of the refugees are Hindu denominator. Hindu social norms and values are viewed as a reality of life. But, when they find those values unfit in the new context, the perception about some Hindu values and norms are reformed. I had met one refugee couple who had seven daughters but no son. They gave birth to seven daughters in the expectation of a son even in the very hard phase of refugee life in Nepal without any support from state or others. They did believe that a son could purify this life as well as the next life. In Hinduism, people believe that human life is a cycle which is born and reborn. They were convinced that they would go to hell after their death as they had no son. The importance of a son in Hinduism is linked both to his father's spiritual progress in future lives by lighting his funeral pyre and also to continue the patriarchy generation (Sivananda 1999). On the basis of their own voices, *they felt depressed and somehow neglected from the relatives.* They did not see their future without a son. But now, they are in the new world. They have seen the reality of Norwegian women who give lectures in university, manage offices, and drive buses and trains. They see the happy women without a son. They see a woman broadcasting refuges' news in television. They test their previous reality with reference to the new reality of their surrounding. The local reality makes them become happy. Now, they do not run for a son, as all their seven daughters are the images of their sons. In their view, their daughters can do things which a son can do in Hindu belief. They see the truth which is different from the Hindu norms. The changing behaviour patterns on beliefs, social norms and values of the refugee can be best described through the post modernity thought which tells that truth is simply what works for them and what make others

believe the fact of life. Now, Hindu images of women as 'weak' and 'dependent' are transformed into 'bold' and 'independent' images.

5.3 Institutionalization of Identity

5.3.1 Global Net: Hamibhutani.net (We are Bhutani)

The networks, connecting people across continents, are providing an opportunity to the refugee to make their own virtual net community. The previously understood "*Lhotsampas* community" has transformed ironically as *Hamibhutani* (we are Bhutani) through global net. It unites all Bhutani refugees who are spread out in seven different western countries and the refugee camps of Nepal. The entire Bhutanese refugees had similar kind of experience in the recent past who jointly shared their refugee life in the seven refugee camps in Nepal and they have more or less similar kind of problems in integration in the host countries as all the host countries are entirely different place comparing to the place of origin. They have many challenges to construct the way of life in the new places. The mediated globalization is making them connected to each other. They have created *Hamibhutani.net*, the Bhutanese network to share the experiences to other Bhutani refugee. In this network, there are many links of entertaining programs, movies, blogs, news on Bhutanese refugee, refugee related articles, photos and videos, interviews on experience of life. Giddens in his *Consequences of Modernity* argues that in modernity, time and space detach and lift out social relations from local contexts (Giddens 1990). Media coordinates action over time and space therefore the mediated globalization changes our sense of time, place and space hence; they are socially constructed and are not natural and stagnate. The previous concept of community, a common location, mostly same clan, and common aim has been redefined. Now, the entire refugees who are spread out in the different places are connected to a single net community through internet. The boundary of geography is become meaningless. Benedict Anderson in his *Imagined Communities*, states that a nation is a socially constructed community which is imaginary. It is an imagined community which is imaged both inherently limited and sovereign. An imagined community is different from an actual community because it is not based on everyday face to face interaction between its members rather members hold in their minds a mental image of their affinity. Members of the community have similar interests or identity as part of the same nation, the media is facilitating to create imagined communities through targeting a mass audience or generalizing and addressing citizens as the public (Anderson 1991). Bhutanese refugee community is spread all over the seven western countries but, *Hamibhutani.net* is

connecting them as a single community. On the one hand it is evoking nationhood by showing their presence and on the other hand Bhutani refugees share their experiences through this net which is creating 'us' by differntiating 'other' in one way or another.

5.3.2 Organization: Nepali Speaking Bhutanese in Trondheim

Nepali Speaking Bhutanese is an informal organization of Bhutanese refugee in Trondhiem, which is in the initial stage of institutionalization. People informally gather and talk about their problems and plan. Berger and Luckmann state that identity is a key element of subjective reality stands in a dialectical relationship with society. "Once crystallized, it is maintained, modified, and even reshaped by social relations", the social roles are created, norms and values are formulated which later become as a social reality (Berger and Luckmann 1966:194). All the refugees are the member of the organization; they have individual as well as collective roles to play. They are recognized through 'Nepali speaking Bhutanese' as a member of a community. Anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen states that social identification has to do with which group a person belongs to as personal identity does not value. In short, someone is identified through the group one is connected to. How people establish and maintain their identity becomes invisible but it creates efficient boundaries between *us* and *them* (Eriksen 2004).

The *Nepali Speaking Bhutanese* organization conducts various cultural programs and food festival. Last year, the organization participated in a food festival organized by other international organizations where they demonstrated *puri tarkari* (a kind of pancake and vegetable curry), which is also common in the Northern part of India, Nepal and Nepali speaking community in Bhutan. In their own voice "*most of the immigrants and some of the Norwegians liked it*". Doing this made them visible in the larger community; in another word, they introduced themselves as a member of *Nepali Speaking Bhutanese* community, an identification of the refugee and on the other hand, it helped to localize their food culture. Migration, a global phenomenon of human beings makes a Polish immigrant enjoy Bhutanese food in Trondheim! Appadurai, a scholar of indigenization of culture in a disjuncture world, states that in the globalizing process various metropolises are brought into new societies which tend to become indigenized in one way or another (Appudurai 2002). Trondheim municipality also provides some financial support to organize the festivals, in another word to indigenize the cultures.

Although there is a dilemma in Bhutanese identity which is already mentioned in chapter four, they wish to be recognized by the "Nepali Speaking Bhutanese" therefore they do organize different cultural activities, participate in the international events and get connected globally through this identity. The refugee emphasises to be known by both, a language (Nepali) and nationality (Bhutanese), identities at the same time. Why do language and nationality became so important for them? Why do they value both so strongly. Eriksen has given an analytical strategy that "the internal cohesion depends on the degree of external pressure" (Eriksen 2004:163) to analyze why something is important than other. The answer is connected to their past history. *Lhotsampas* (People of the South), Nepali speaking Bhutani were people of the southern part of Bhutan who were immigrated into Bhutan in the late 1800s. As mentioned earlier, there are mainly three ethnic groups in Bhutan they are: *Ngalongs* (Ngalops), *Sharchhops* and *Lhotshampas*. The initial two are Tibetan derived collectively known as *Drukpas* (Druk) and the latter is Nepali derived ethnic group. In the 1980s the Bhutanese government adopted a series of policies to promote *Druk* culture, religion and language in the name of 'one state one nation' policy of Bhutanization. The policies imposed the *Druk* dress code and customs for all the citizens. Nepali language used as a teaching medium in schools of southern Bhutan had been banned, *Dzongkha* has been adopted a compulsory teaching means in the schools. *Lhotsampas* were categorized different from the *Druk*. The 'one state one nation' adopted identity by the Bhutanese government categorized *Lhotsampas* as a 'different' and they were marginalized from the national policy. Woodward says in the identity construction, "differences can be constructed negatively as the exclusion and the marginalization of those who are defined others or as outsiders" (Woodward 1997:35). The *Lhotsampas* felt suppressed by the governmental 'one state one nation' policies. They began to organize politically to protest the strategies adopted by the authorities and to show their presence in the nation state. Because of external pressure (national biased policies) they united strongly internally and established the language and nationhood strongly.

Now, the subjects of *Lhotsampas*, Nepali Speaking Bhutanese and the issue of their nationality have already been internationalized therefore, they are resettled in different seven developed countries. It carries their identity. Kishor a 54-year respondent, recalls past event and stresses on present identity as:

> *….the Bhutanese government treated us [Nepali Speaking Bhutanese] as if we were not the Bhutani national, military threw out our cloths and utensils….warned to leave home, fired out house…our women were raped by military….treated very badly…but why the government did so there were no reasons….just biased to us to promote Druk's language*

and culture,… enforced us to flee the country….but now we are recognized internationally through 'Nepali speaking Bhutanese' and we want to be recognized by it forever….. So that the international level would know what is unfair with us and our grand children would know our history, who we were ….no matter where they would be physically.

The *Nepali Speaking Bhutanese*, an identification of the refugee, represents the meaning of who they are and what they want to be. Woodward says "representations produce meaning through which we can make our sense of our experience and of who we are" (Woodward 1997:14). Now they are resettled in the countries which celebrate multiculturalism as a source of diversity, heterogeneity and hybridity and where the recognition of change and difference is seen as enriching the nation state. That is facilitating them to define 'us' and 'them'.

5.3.3 Sameness and Differences

As mentioned in earlier chapter two, the formation of identity is taken from the two opposite angles, uniqueness and sameness. Uniqueness or difference keeps the properties, which make a person or a group distinct from others. The Bhutanese refugee can be distinguished from other through various ways, for example physical appearance, the dress they wear, place they gather, and feast and festival they celebrate. These salient features are making them different from others whereas the same common features and language are making them same within the group. If a person who has black hair, average height 5.5 feet for man and below 5 feet for woman wearing a comparatively bright color, roaming around Trondheim Torg or Asian shops on Saturdays from afternoon to evening would be hopefully Bhutanese refugee. The distinct feasts and festivals which are already illustrated in the chapter one and four, for example *Dashain*, *Tihar*, *Teej*, *Sakranti* and so forth are making them distinct from the *others* which are important components of their daily life one the one hand and their typical *Bhutani* identity on the other.

Furthermore, sameness means commonalities or in Berger and Luckmann's voice, it signifies the shared values. It is situational. *Us* or *other* is determined through the level of common values shared with concerned group. Higher the shared value indicates the nearer to (the) *us*. In the refugee's case, we get different levels of *us* and *others*. At the first level or the nearest *us* are the Bhutanese refugees who are resettled in Trondheim municipality and in this stage, the rest are *others.* In the second level, they consider the relatives and friends who are spread all over the seven western countries as *us*, in the third level they consider Nepalese Student in Trondheim (NeST) as *us* and in the fourth level they consider Asian refugees or immigrants as

us and the rest are other.

They are taking most and foremost *us* for the Bhutanese refugees as almost all their features, desires, needs, and shared values are common. They use the same language, engage in the same integration activities, have the same background, celebrate the same feast and festivals, and follow the same social and cultural norms in the daily life. In the second level, they consider *us* for the refugees who are scattered in the other countries. They all fled from the same reason, lived together for seventeen years in the refugee camps in Nepal, facing similar kinds of problems. They keep in contact through globalized media, and Hamibhutani.net. In the third level, because of common language; likely similar social and cultural patterns; and the attachment of first refugee place they consider Nepali students as *us* and the rest as *others.* In the fourth level, they consider Tamil and other south Asian immigrants as *us* and the rest as *others*. It is because the shared values are more common with them than the the rest. In another way, the nearer is defined with the commonalities of shared values. Berger and Luckmann (1966) state that commonalities (a shared value) bring closer and the closeness increases the level of interaction which enforces them to institutionalize the common values, an objective reality of the society (Berger and Luckmann 1966). These commonalities make them to interact with the nearer groups, means with *us* than the *others*. Therefore, in the Bhutanese refugee's case, they are more interactive with the refugee community, internationally resettled Bhutanese refugee, Nepalese student in Trondheim (NeST), and the South Asian immigrants respectively. By getting the larger common groups, they do not feel the necessity to interact with the *others* ― Western European Immigrants (WEI), Eastern European Immigrants (EEI) and the other rest immigrants.

Similarly, similar social and cultural patterns and language (Nepali) had made them choose to Nepal at the very first critical time of refugees' life. In fact, they were forced to flee the country and there were no destinations to go. Nobody was concerned with their problems, no assistance had been given from anywhere and they had to survive anyhow. At that critical time, the similar social and cultural patterns and Nepali language brought them nearer to the Nepali people; in another word, commonalities and a shared values attract them to settle in Nepal. Those commonalities and shared values made it easy for them to be integrated into the host country. After seventeen years, international concern arose on their resettlement issue. Therefore, they got an opportunity to choose the countries for their future stay. Now, they are resettled in the seven different western countries. But, globalization in communication

technology and commerce has made them easy to *Bhutanize* their way of life. They do communicate and interact with the refugee of America ten times more than with their adjoining immigrant neighbor. In addition, the globalization in commerce is making them consume the same foods what they had in Nepal or Bhutan. They can get the local foods from the local shopping centre nearby them. Similarly, the same language, objectively available same sign system, is bringing them closeer to the Nepalese Society in Trondhiem (NeST). Sociologists Berger and Luckmann again state that "the common objectivations of everyday life are maintained primarily by linguistic signification... …Understanding language is thus essential for any understanding of the reality of the everyday life" (Berger and Luckmann 1996:51).

Although Trondheim municipality has conducted many integration programmes to make them integrated to Norwegian culture, less commonalities are making them less interactive with Norwegian. So most of the elderly people who are forty plus have no Norwegian as well as other European friends hence, they are unable to interact with their neighbors to have a coffee together.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

This chapter explores whether previous work on similar cases agrees or disagrees to the result of this finding. In another word, it investigates what kind of experience has been experienced in the other studies compared to this study.

6.1 Construction of Social Reality

The uneven impact can be seen in the Bhutanese 'way of life" in Trondheim. Because of the flows of new knowledge and interaction with the new norms and values, some of the previous notion on judgment has been changed. In addition, at the same time social capital acquired in their homeland has been flushed out. But, interestingly, the cultural patterns are celebrated in more organized and collective way than they were done previously. According to Arjun Appudurai it is because of the motion of objects we live in. Objects include knowledge, ideas and ideologies, people, values and norms, goods and images, and messages, technologies and techniques (Appudurai 2001). The more stable object is nation state, but it is also characterized by floating populations, transnational politics within national boarders, and mobile configurations of technology and expertise. But, the flows - of persons, objects, images are not coeval, convergent and spatially consistent. They have different speeds, varieties, and varied relationships to institutional structures and different regions, nations and societies, which can be seen in the Bhutanese community in Trondheim. Appudurai further says this is a disjuctures nature of globalization. As human character is not entirely genetic, it is acquired through learning; this disjuctures affect livelihood, equality, justice, governance and the most of all aspects of human life (Appudurai 2001). The truly human (aspect) is, as Eriksen says, "primarily created through our engagement with the social and cultural world: it is neither exclusively individual nor natural" (Eriksen 2001:40). As Berger and Luckmann's views, all these human activities and behaviors have a social origin: how we dress, how we communicate, what and how we eat, how we behave; all these are acquired and these acquired knowledge are institutionalized in a way that people as members of a society take them as if they are universal truth (Berger and Luckmann 1966).

The development concept of social networks, has facilitating Bhutanese refugees to establish cultural purity in one way or another. They communicate with the Bhutanese refugees who are

spread all over the seven developed countries, discuss their way of life here and there. Uploads their activities in their own web net. Therefore, migration, a component of globalization, does not only entail the production of global uniformity or homogeneity rather, it can also be observed as a way of organizing heterogeneity. 'The way of life' in terms of what and how they eat, what they wear, how they behave, how they greet, how they perceive the guest, how they celebrate feasts and festivals, who are near and dear; appear in the same way in Trondheim what were in Bhutan or their first refugee place (Nepal). These behaviors are already mentioned in the chapter four. But, the younger Bhutanese do handshake with their friends of school and do 'Namaste', a sign of greetings, for the members of Bhutanese community.

A celebrated feature of life in Norway for the refugee is freedom. Many Bhutanese told me that they have freedom and equal opportunity. It does not matter what you were in the past, you can be who you want to be. It depends on how effectively you can learn language and integrate in the Norwegian system. Language is a major requirement to get a job, so one must be fluent in language skill to get a better job. Besides language classes and other integration activities organized by Trondheim municipality, some of them are doing voluntary work in child and elderly people care centers, some are in primary schools, some are in private organizations. Though most of the adults are working hard for their better future, life for some of the adolescent Bhutanese is not only their work. They do get allowance from Norwegian government and they have no responsibility of household expenses as they are living with their parents. For most of the adolescents, life is synonymous with living and enjoying. Alcohol, mostly bear is taken as a means of enjoyment, and drinking and smoking are becoming habitual features. However, alcohol in Norway is much more expensive than their homeland or in their first refugee life (Nepal), however, an increased purchasing power makes them able to consume it. Adolescent Bhutanese life style is highly similar to O'Reilly's observations on British immigrants in Spain. Although many of the British work hard in their own business or volunteering or as members of club communities, life for British in Spain is only fun. Most of the British can be met in the bars, many of the immigrants enjoy eating and drinking socially even in the midday time. It is because alcohol is cheaper than it is in Britain, therefore, life in Spain is more enjoyable (O'Reilly 2000).

Despite all the rhetoric how good life in Norway loosing social capital and feeling an isolation shows the negative impacts of modernity. Social capital is used here to indicate the social recognition, reputation, pride and prestige. It can be said as a vulnerability of globalization. A

traditional past is no more secure. Some of the social theorists say it is an insecure era. Zagmunt Bauman's concept 'liquid modernity' (Bauman 2000) emphasizes the floating, shifting qualities of values and social structure of our era; Ulrich Beck's 'risk society' (Beck 1999) describes objective risks and emphasizes to be aware of risks; and Anthony Gidden's 'post traditional society' (Giddens 1991) mentions a tradition can no longer be granted in a post tradition society. These and many other concepts describing modern era suggest that people's existence and their behavior is not just locally produced, many inflows play significant roles to shape them. O'Reilly (2000) observes similar type of loneliness in British Immigrants in Fuengirola. Spain and Bloch (2002) observes Somali immigrants in Newham, London are also loosing their social capital, she finds it is because of a poor language skill.

Similar to the multiculturalism in the contemporary north Atlantic world, the given example of cultural purity by Eriksen to clarify his model of cultural mixing, Bhutanese refugees are coexisting with the different groups, different values, and customs of host society without enforced contact. The details about how they celebrate their feast and festivals, how they are establishing their Bhutanized way of life, and how they are globally connected with other Bhutanese tell us their cultural purity even in the multiculral society, which have already been mentioned in the chapter four. It is possible because of cultural freedom in Norwegian policy, collective immigration, and more attentive on their identity. This types of cultural purity can also be seen in Caroline Brettle's observation on Portuguese immigrants in the Tornado city of Canada but this contrasts with her another observation on Portuguese immigrants in the Paris city of France. In her comparative study on Portuguese immigrates in the Tornado city of Canada and Paris of France, she finds that Portuguese immigrants in Canada have their own pure "way of life" having with Portuguese church, Portuguese restaurants, and clustered Portugal families, in her voice she has found "Little Portugal". In contrast, in Paris, she has found an influenced life style by newcomers. Community was a geographical basis or based on the situational social network which appropriate in some situations and inappropriate in others. She finds "community" either in a geographical sense or in an ethnic network sense which does not exist for Portuguese immigrants in Paris but it does among Portuguese immigrants in Tornado. Because, in Paris, structural, ideological, and political factors make it difficult to establish a community. But the ethnic institutions were traditionally associated with ethnic communities in Canada. The French policy was also not favorable for foreigners. Social Network among Portuguese immigrants in France is weak because they were not having a strategic purpose (Brettel 2003).

Many immigrants in France, even if they intend to remain abroad for some time retain a homeland orientation but this type of orientation can partially be found in the Bhutanese in Trondheim. Some of the elderly people do want to visit their homeland at least once, and some of them are only interested to meet the relatives. The younger generation has no intention to go back to homeland even if they get opportunity.

In contrast to Portugal community in Canada, Bhutanese relation with the other Bhutanese aboard is sustained through the global network of communication. But in the case of Portugal community in Canada, as Brettels's observation, the social network is sustained through the personal contacts and local newspaper. News of their home villages reaches them through village newspapers sent by the parish priest or fellow villagers who come to visit or to find work. Immigrants often help fellow villagers during their initial periods of immigration, but after the new comers are settled, social ties are frequently dissolved. But, it would be surprising that Bhutanese refugees have no contact with other Bhutanese who are in other municipalities in Norway. They give value for close relatives and kinships. The relatives and near kinships who are in Norway have been resettled within the same municipalities. Therefore, there is no need and time to contact them as they are not from close relatives or kinship ties and they are not acquaintance with different geographical places of Norway because of short experience of resettlement. As the UNHCR has given priority to keep family members in the same place, they have no idea at all who are based where except their close relatives and friends. But within the municipality, main feasts and festivals make them tie and contact each other. Asian shops have been providing their own taste and Hamibhutani.net connects them who are resettled in all over the seven western countries. Therefore, Bhutanese refugees have their Butanized way of life even if they are in Norway.

Bhutanese are organized both locally and globally. They are organized locally through 'Nepali speaking Bhutanese' and globally through web net 'Hamibhutani.net'. This experiences differ from Alice Bloch's case study on refugee community organizations of Congolese community in Newham, a borough in East London. It shows that community groups tend to have a local rather than a national or international remit and tend to be orientated towards host society settlement. Similarly, there are many Somali organizations within the Refugee Organization in Newham, Newham South Somali Association, Somali Elderly and disabled project, Somali Women's Development Project, and the Somali Irur Organization. In the similar way, there are

many organizations within the Tamil's main refugee organization (Bloch 2002). She has found that community and community based activities play an important role in the lives of refugee people in Newham which also can be found in 'Nepali Speaking Bhutanese' an organization of Bhutani refugee in Trondheim which is playing a vital role to Bhutanize 'the way of life' and to establish the Nepali Speaking Bhutani identity.

But, in her observation on three different communities─ Tamil, Somali and Congoli ─ she finds differences among the communities in terms of their participation in cultural, social, religious and political activities. Members of the Tamil community were most involved with the community for social and cultural activities, while Somalis were the least involved. Congolese were more involved in political activities than they were in others and this is an indicator of their level of identification with their homeland. Bloch indicates it is because of political nature of their exile in Britain and their relatively recent migration. Compared to Tamil and Somali, Congolese have short time of immigration (Bloch 2002). Considering Alice's finding on above three case studies, Bhutanese case is similar to Congolese case in term of nationalism, similar to Tamil's case in terms of ethnic identification and similar to Somali in term of integration problem because of poor language skills. Similar to Congolese case in Newhem, Bhutanese refugees are more attentive and active to formulate their Nepali Speaking Bhutanese identification in Trondheim because they were politically exiled by Bhutanese government, therefore they feel suppressed. Like Congolese, they are also very new in Trondheim so they are more conscious and attentive on their Nepali Speaking Bhutani identification.

From the ethnic perspective, Bhutanese case is very likely to Tamil's case in Newham. Alice has found that Tamils were most involved in community-based activities, exclusively contained within the ethnic commune. Bhutanese' activities in Trondheim are mostly concerned with the feasts and festivals within the same community. The ethnic nature between them seems similar. Both, the Tamil in Newham and Bhutanese in Trondheim value for the cultural patterns rather than other social or political activities. It indicates that both are guided by the collective worldviews.

Similarly, because of difficulties in English language, Somali refugees are getting more difficulties in integration with Newham societies, which are also found in the Bhutanese elderly people in Trondheim. Elderly refugees are feeling loneliness because of poor

Norwegian language skill. But unlike Somali women in Newham, Bhutanese women are inspired by the activities done by Norwegian women. Alice Bloch observes that because of poor Spanish language skill Somali women are feeling marginalized from the mainstream in Newhem (Bloch 2002).

6.2 Construction of Identity

Ethnic identity has been defined in terms of associational relationship, in terms of 'closeness' and 'farness' or in another words, it evokes symbols of 'us' and 'them'. If ethnicity can be defined, Sandra Wallman (1986) suggests, in terms of who does what with whom or, as Yancey et.el. (1976) argue, in terms of frequent patterns of association with a common origin, then ethnicity does appear to be strong among Bhutanese refugee in Trondheim. Furthermore, the association patterns of feasts and festivals and externalized common values are the ethnic identity of Bhutanese refugee. We see Bhutanese spend more time with their Bhutanese friends, relatives and kinships. They do celebrate their happiness and pain through the various means of feasts and festivals collectively. They have informal Saturday gathering around the city centre and Sunday meetings with relatives. Even in the language class they go together to take a language class and come back at home together. They share their lunch with each other.

Moreover, they had spent 17 years in Nepal sharing the similar sign of language and similar social cultural patterns. All these sharing push them close to Nepali people in Trondheim. Therefore, even in Trondheim, if they meet a Nepali student, for the first time, they speak endlessly about where they are based in Nepal, what is their surname, what does their fathers do, where do they live in Trondheim, why did they come to Norway and so forth. If the refugee's surname is the same with the Nepali student or they are from the same area of their refugee camps in Nepal they feel delighted in exchanging memories of people and place. They ask for further meeting and invite for immediate weekend dinner. During dinnertime, they confirm Norwegian as 'other'. They do both, remark Norwegian and make fun of their reserve nature. As Karen O'Reilly (2000) finds in Britons in Spain, and Alice Bloch (2002) finds in Somali refugee in Britain, stereotyped or homogenized images of 'them' or the 'other' are constructed and applied to maintain the symbolic boundaries between 'us' and 'them'. Though Bhutanese case seems very typical it is very close to Eriksen's (2002) definition of ethnicity, a shared origin, language, religion or race; Bauman's (1992), a shared blood and soil; and Anderson's (1991), a membership of an imagined political community.

Although it is only a year of their arrival, they have already formulated a 'Nepali Speaking Bhutanese' organization through which they do organize their main festivals. Now, they are in need of a Hindu temple and a Hindu pundit to celebrate religious festivals collectively in a more organized way. As Vaughan Robinson (1984) discovers in the South Asians in Britain that they are considerably associated and strengthened by religious dedication. Bhutanese refugees in Trondheim are also associated through the fervor of feasts and festivals. Unlike the South Asians in Britain who are strong and hope to come back home, the Bhutanese have no hope to return home permanently.

The ethnicity of Bhutanese refugees in Trondheim is also very likely similar to Britons' in Fuengirola, Spain. Karen O'Reilly (2000) observes that British have a strong ethnicity among Britons at Fuengirola in Spain. They seem to share a sense of solidarity, an attitude that we are together. The Britons spend more time within their clubs and organization. British bars become full of British costumers, British club is full of British members and there are over hundred British-run bars, over fifty British clubs in the Fuengirola area. In the construction of symbolic ethnicity, Britons are cooking and eating traditional British meal in modern times. They celebrate St George's day each year; and there is huge community meeting in the British theatre. Social club committees organize the favorite trips. Bhutanese are only 64 in number and have only one year of arrival in comparison to British in Spain (numbering 259) having 12 years of arrival in 2000. British ethnic identity in Spain is constructed through various kinds of organizations, which is similar to Bhutani in Trondhiem Norway. Despite short time, they have already formulated 'Nepali Speaking Bhutanese' in Trondheim, Norway through which they celebrate *Dashain*, *Tihar* and other festivals every year.

But the nationalism of Bhutani in Trondheim is not so polaralized and dichotomized between Bhutani and Norwegian as Sandra Wallman has found between Bow and local British in East London. Bhutanese do pride to be Norwegians with distinct Bhutani identity. But it is not that much open and relaxed ethnic boundary like Battersea in South London that Wallman found. In the comparative study of two-polyethnic neighborhood in London, Sandra Wallman (1986) has found important differences in the relationships between two groups; Bow in East London and Battersea in South London. Bow was characterized by a strong polarization and dichotomization between people born in Britain and immigrants whereas ethnic relationships in Battersea were much more comfortable and not so much socially important. She has described Bow as a closed homogeneous system and Battersea as an open heterogeneous

system. In Battersea, unlike in Bow, one becomes a member of the local community the moment one moves in but in the closed environment of Bow, people have to live their entire lives there in order to be accepted by the community.

Similar to Castles and Davidson's (2000) finding on identity formation of immigrants in Western Europe, Bhutanese in Trondheim are collectively affording to build a Hindu temple. Castles and Davidson find that the first collective action of a new immigrant group is often to set up a place of worship. Bhutanese are looking for a source of financial support, trying to explore rules and regulations of Norwegian government regarding building a temple, and looking for a Hindu pundit in the refugee camps of Nepal to call him in Trondheim. On the one hand, building a temple or mosque or church is itself a symbol of constructing 'otherness' for the majority population who are not related to the concerned religion and it plays a vital role in formulating community on the other.

6.3 Value in Life

As I have already mentioned above, to be integrated in Norwegian society is the foremost value of a life for the Bhutanese. Language skill is considered a prime barrier to be integrated in Norwegian system. They take pride in having a Norwegian friend. In my meeting, a woman was expressing happily about her daughter's Norwegian friend who had come in her home for a dinner and stayed over night. She was so excited in expressing her interest in Bhutani dress and Nepali language. She showed me a 'sari', a dress of woman worn by her, how interestingly she had taken a food, and how excellently the woman talked in broken Norsk to her.

Getting a job is also of prime value as they have to survive themselves after a certain time period. There was an awareness of a lack of pre-migration skills on whatever they had; however, it is not suitable in Norwegian context. This kind of experience is also observed in most of the refugee cases in London (Bloch 2002). Most have no formal education to fulfill the job requirements. Therefore, they do not hope to get educational job like teaching, engineering, accounting, financing. Therefore, those who were looking for a job were looking for low skill and often manual work, mostly cleaning, renovation, security, washing and so forth. Similar to Congolese case in London observed by Bloch, Bhutanese informal contact is the main source of getting job except that, the personal advisor also guides to search a job. The talking topic in informal meeting mostly concerns a job. As most of the Bhutanese are unskilled some are doing voluntary jobs only for future reference, some are doing training of cooking and driving.

Those who have high level of Norwegian language skills were more confident to get a job. Similarly, they were cheerful to express ongoing comfortable life in Trondheim, no tension of fuel or drinking water that had been happening regularly in homeland.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

This study is concerned with 'the way of life' of Bhutanese refugees resettled in Trondheim, Norway under the UN provision and Norwegian policy of refugee resettlement. 'The way of life' here is concentrated on how they are spending their daily life, what is social and cultural patterns they have, how worldviews are changing, who is near and who is far, what keeps value and how values are manifested in daily life that are making social order in one way or another. Therefore, it consists of anthropological perspective. Qualitative data collection methods, in-depth interview and observation have been used as the tools of collecting data. Similarly, the theoretical and conceptual approaches like construction of social reality, transforming worldviews, construction of identity and theories of globalization have been applied to analyze the data.

The refugee's way of life is influenced by the new norms and values of host country, norms and values of other immigrants, and inflows of new knowledge but their impact is uneven. The cultural patterns can be seen even in stronger way than they had in their homeland, Bhutan. Some of the social norms and values can be seen changed.The changes can be seen mostly in evaluation sector than cognitive and affective aspects of worldviews, which are guiding to set the social norms and values rather than cultural patterns. Women are more encouraged, inspired and empowered by the interaction with Norwegian women's way of life.

The informal gathering, Nepali Speaking Bhutanese' community, global net of 'Hami Bhutani', the typical types of cultural patterns are constructing Bhutani identity in one hand and externalizing these knowledge are creating social reality on the other. Similarly, the Bhutani people carried out in a group for resettlement is facilitating to Bhutanize 'the way of life' even in Trondheim, Norway. Asian shops by providing typical Bhutani foods are assisting them to continue their own food culture. Globalization in communication is helping to construct Bhutani identity globally by increasing interaction with 'us', which also reinforces maintaining the cultural purity. However, at the same time it is facilitates to decrease the interaction with 'others or them'.

For the refugee, the nationality and language are the foremost recognition of 'us'. The fear of disappearing their identity is making them strong and attentive on nationalism and language

identity. The second level ‘us’ is geographical location of their first refugee life that is Nepal, the third level ‘us’ is religious denomination so they do take ‘us’ for Tamil refugee rather than Irani.

To be integrated in the Norwegian society is the main aim of Bhutanis’ life. They are satisfied with their present life and feel more satisfaction in finding a secure future of their children. They understand getting jobs is the security of life so they are worried about their future job. Now, they are in need of a Hindu temple and a religious pundit around them to conduct religious festival in a more systematic and organized way.

This study does not focus on the consequences of different norms of the ‘stranger’ to the host society. How the host country perceive strangers and how those new norms and values are influential in the host society is remained for future study.

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APPENDICES

1 Tentative Field Study Plan

		Week (2010)													
	Description	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47
1	Secondary Data Collection														
2	Observation														
3	In-depth face to face Interview														
4	Telephone Interview									…….	….				
5	Draft Field Report Submission														
6	Final Field Report Submission														

2 Data Collection Methods and Justification

Research Question	Data Sources and Methods	Justification
How do individuals construct their daily way of life?	Literature review including some theories for example construction of social reality, constriction of identity, concepts on worldviews, and migration Secondary data analysis of others findings Observation In-depth interview	Literature review on construction of knowledge, social reality, social order and identity gives insight theoretical understanding on construction of the way of life. Those theories provide analytical input of the qualitative data. Secondary data analysis of others' findings provides information and knowledge on how and why an individual interacts and communicates, what enforce to do so, what could be the most influential factors in daily life, why an individual prefer one action rather than another and so forth. It opens up the most important factors that could be influential to construct new social order which might be similar to Bhutanese immigrant's case in Norway. Observation and in-depth interviews develop an insight understanding on people's interaction and communication with others, their daily actions and reactions, their perception on surrounding, their understanding of integration and so forth. They are the most effective and strong methods of the qualitative data collection
What do individuals give value?	Observation In-depth interview, Pictures	Both observation and in-depth interview reveal the insight understanding of refugee's priorities and values. Both reveal the influential factors that could play a role to manifest the social behaviors and so on.
How are values manifested in the construction of the life?	Observation In-depth interview Literature review	Observation opens up the refugee's way of life where one can get reflection of their values and priorities. In-depth interview gives an understanding of importance of their life. Some ethnographic literature gives an understanding of ways of manifestation of beliefs, values and norms. It also validates the findings on the refugee's value of life.

3 The List of Respondents with Anonymous Names

Code.	Anonimized Name	Age	Sex	Address (State/Commune)
BR1	Krishna Bahadur Gurung	40	Male	Sør Trondelag, Trondheim
BR2	Mira Kumari Bhattrai	19	Female	Sør Trondelag, Trondheim
BR3	Nirmal Prashad Dulal	19	Male	Sør Trondelag, Trondheim
BR4	Tilak Bahadur Gurung	24	Male	Sør Trondelag, Trondheim
BR5	Thin Maya Bhandari	19	Female	Sør Trondelag, Trondheim
BR6	Navin Prashad Kadel	52	Male	Sør Trondelag, Trondheim
BR7	Yamuna Kumari Khatiwada	44	Female	Sør Trondelag, Trondheim
BR8	Mandira Prashain	42	Female	Sør Trondelag, Trondheim
BR9	Devika Kurari Giri	55	Female	Sør Trondelag, Trondheim
BR10	Kamala Devi Guragain	46	Female	Sør Trondelag, Trondheim
BR11	Chamila Nepal	30	Female	Sør Trondelag, Trondheim

4 Interview Guide

Contact Number:

Reference Code:

Residence in Trondheim:

Background Information

Name

Age

Religion

Sex

Place of Living in Trondheim

Arrival date in Norway

Period of time being a stateles

Number of children

Life in country of origin (Bhutan)

Tell me about your daily life that you had have in your home country

Level of Education

Did you have vocational skills?

What was your profession in back home?

What was main income source of a family?

Can you describe memorable events that you had in your home country?

What do you miss most if you look back in your home country?

Tell me about your childhood?

Tell me about your friendship?

Tell me about your neighbors and relatives?

What were main cultural events and how they were celebrated?

Had you had participate in any social activities?

Had you engaged in any social organization/s?

How many family members did you have?

Are all family members with you now?

How do you take your life that you spent in Bhutan as a whole?

Life in Nepal

When did you arrive in Nepal?

How many members were in your family?

Why did you decide to leave a country of your own?

Why did you decide to go to Nepal?

Tell me about daily life in Nepal?

How do you take your life that you spent in Nepal as a whole?

What was most difficult part in your refugee life in Nepal?

What was/were most memorable event/s in Nepal?

Did you have friends there?

Did you have relatives there?

How had you spent your spare time?

What was main economic source?

What do you miss of Nepal?

Did you engage in any social organization in Nepal?

What did you feel to be a refugee there?

How did you celebrate your cultural ceremonies in your camp in Nepal?

Were there any differences in celebrating cultural activities in Nepal with that of your home country?

Life in Norway

When did you arrive Norway?

How did you arrive?

Why did you choose/motivate Norway?

Tell me about your first day in Norway?

Tell me about your daily routine in Norway

What was your expectation in Norway and how do you get?

How do you compare life in Bhutan, Nepal, and Norway?

Do you communicate friends, relatives, neighbors in Neapl and Bhutan?

How do you take life as a whole?

Do you have all your family members with you?

What do you do here in Norway?

What is economic source here?

Do you have any network that you have involved?

How do you feel about living Norway? Please give examples?

How is Norway similar/different to your home country?

Do you miss your home country? Why?

Do you miss Nepal? why?

Do you think this has affected your settlement in Norway?

Do you feel still connected to your home country?

Do you feel still connected to Nepal?

Do you have Norwegian friends?

How did you get to know them?

Have you have any difficulties with Norwegians? Describe your experience?

Please describe what challenges you have faced living in Norway?

What do you recommend to your friend in Nepal?

What are your hopes in future?

What do you think about your future?

What do you get different from Nepal and Norway as a refugee and an immigrant respectively?

What is your feeling about Norway?

When was the happiest movement now and then?

Do you have special ceremony for woman now and then (only for woman)

What do you want to achieve in your life?

What is your favorite past time?

Tell me about your daily life here in Norway?

Do you believe God?

How do you worship God? is it different from your previous practice?

How do you celebrate ceremonies here? Is it different from your previous practices?

How life is different from your own previous life?

Do you go to language classes?

What is your expectation after learning language?

What is your optimum goal in your life?

Are you engaged any social organization?

Do you have Norwegian friends?

Is there anything that makes you to stay in Norway? Any attracting factor.

Are you happy being a Norwegian?

What are the problems and prospects of integration?

What would make you feel comfortable like home here?

Are there any inconvenient factors for integration?

What is your opinion about integration?
Do you like to go back to Bhutan if Bhutanese Government asks to come?
How do you take your life as a whole?

Tentative Interview Guide for UNHCR Official
Name:
Sex:
Contact Number:
Reference Code:
Residence in Trondheim:

What are your activities here?
How many Bhutanese are here?
What are the selection criteria?
What are integration policy, plan, and activities?
What are challenges for integration?
What are special programs for woman? if any
Are men and women equally participating in integration activities?
What are their problems?
What is behavior of immigrants and what are their expectations?
Who is the most vulnerable group?
What are challenges for women?
Explain about UNHCR relating to Bhutanese immigrants in Norway.
How many staffs are working particularly in Bhutanese Immigrants?
Is there any challenges faced by UNHCR on implementing the programs