My stomach is full, but my heart is hungry

Understanding the processes of acculturation and remote enculturation in the diasporic Kurdish families in Norway

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Abstract

This empirical research addresses two important issues related to the life of the diasporic Kurdish families having young children born in Norway. Considering the family here is meant the first-generation immigrants and the second one. To this end, three different concepts have been utilized to facilitate the research on the phenomena under study. The first is acculturation, how those parents maintain their own original culture's values and norms while approaching the host land culture and adapting to its cultural norms and behaviours. In other words, how this dual-functionality is characterized and carried out. While, the second concept is enculturation. It is referred to as a process of individuals' learning about their group culture. However, those targeted families' second-generation children were born in a varied context, not their original one. As a result, the 'remote enculturation' term has been employed as more inclusive of tackling the issue. Remote enculturation is a new concept that has been suggested to address the issue of children's learning about their heritage culture from afar, utilizing modern communication and technological advances as modern avenues of learning. The third term is the 'diaspora' which has been used purposely to describe and categorize those families' immigration experience, among other novelty patterns of immigration such as transnationalism

Key words: immigrant, acculturation, enculturation, remote enculturation, diaspora, Kurd, parent

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My adorable children, this work is actually dedicated to you and the souls of your both grandfathers and your grandmother!

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1. Introduction

In modern times, the mass movement of people has been more intense and more common than in the ancient periods of the world. Transportation and communication technologies play a significant role in facilitating international movements and reinforcing the ties. Furthermore, the restructuring of the global economic systems that permits greater connectivity and socio-political structure, warfare, and conflict patterns have all resulted in a particular instability that, consequently, created a large flux of refugees and exiles worldwide. To a great extent, all these aspects have helped transform the world (Butler, 2001). In this context, Butler responded: "fewer and fewer people are today living in the land of their ancestors. […] in this present stage of human history, it is increasingly rare to live and die on the land of our ancient forebears". (Butler, 2001, pp. 190-214). And this reality conforms adequately with the subject group under our research study, Kurdish migrants.

1.1 Emerging and evolving the research intention

When talking about immigration, many questions are popped out in the midst of its processes. For instance, do the immigrants usually/should shed off or maintain their original culture for the new one? Moreover, this question ramifies to many other questions revolving around the second and subsequent immigrants' generations. Despite the fact that immigration and cultural contact are not fashionable phenomena, the pace might have escalated in recent years due to the increasing underlying reasons mentioned above. Consequently, the nature of those questions has also been varied accordingly.

As a migrant who has children and fled from the war and its devastating consequences, like any others who asked/will ask the former question. Thus, what next? What will happen to our children and even their children? Do we remain as we were, or we will change! If we change, then to what extent? Which original and host land cultural aspects should be prioritised and condoned, and a blind eye should be turned to. More profoundly, how do we deal with the cultural variation in this variant environment? What stress could be eventual by living between two cultures? Which space do you occupy in the new culture, and is it concrete or just a fragile peripheral?

All these preceding questions I have personally asked myself before discussing with others. Before any study plans, I thought of these questions and read some relevant research. Subsequently, I have been thankfully granted as a master's student to take up this subject in depth. In my final semester, I have chosen the topic of my thesis to precisely reflect some aspects of these above-posted questions.

Migration forms the centre of this study. Before settling on the core concepts of the study, I attempted to search for theories and concepts relevant to the issues of immigrants in the new societies. During the course of my master's study, many theories, concepts and perspectives have been dealt with, which helped pave the road to be introduced to important concepts, such as multiculturalism, transnationalism, interculturalism, globalization, etc. I concentrated on two issues in the process of building my research question; the first is related to immigrants' accommodation in the receiving societies, while the other is the immigrants' relation to their heritage culture. Moreover, I cared about the second-generation children's status between this two-dimensionality.

In contemporary times, several concepts have been used to express the idea of adaptation, accommodation and inclusion of immigrants in the receiving societies, such as multiculturalism, biculturalism, assimilation, and integration (Sam & Berry, 2010). The last-mentioned term is more used and dealt with in Norway–especially in the institutional networks interested in dealing with immigrants and their issues, e.g. (government.no)[1]–and may in other European countries.

The immigrants, especially refugees who have been granted to reside in Norway right after the asylum-seeking process, are required to undergo the process of integration. It is referred to as the introduction programme. It is a process of learning the Norwegian language, introducing the community life and the nature of the labour market in Norway. See the Migration and Integration report from the Ministry of Labour and Social Inclusion (2020-2021)[2]. The range of period of each person varies, depending on the language

[1] https://www.regjeringen.no/en/historical-archive/solbergs-government/kd/mal-for-integrering/id2343467/ - https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/a15355e81b7a44f38f981337fe9a44f1/eng_integreringendaen-nyversjon.pdf . Accessed date 15.05.2022.

[2] https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/3c0df107ab2b428a9f69c17c3730610f/migration-and-integration-2020-2021-report-for-norway-to-the-oecd.pdf. Accessed in 15.05.2022

capacity obtained and work professions, and age considerations of the participants. However, the laws and regulations pertaining to the introduction programme are subjected to constant changes and amendments due to the waves of immigration, especially in recent years. The nature of these formerly mentioned concepts will be encountered during the chapters of this study, as the space does not allow to go through them here.

1.2 Main concepts of the study

Acculturation as a concept has multiple inclusive meanings. It is referred to as the process of change, whether based on cultural groups or individuals when they are in constant contact. The resulting change due to this contact and interaction can be cultural and psychological–behavioural–in the groups and their members (Sam & Berry, 2010). This term has a considerable evolving capacity, where it went through many prominent changes and connotations in the past until it reached its current meanings. Further, when talking about its resilience and capacity, the term has succeeded in penetrating different disciplines from anthropology to cross-cultural psychology and sociology; we will review all these aspects in chapter 3. regarding its inclusiveness and the multi-dimensionality that is inherent in the concept, Berry considers this concept as an overarching, where it contains four strategies from which the migrants have the possibility to choose. The modes of Berry's acculturation are assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization (Berry & Sam, 2016b).

For instance, I have chosen acculturation over integration due to its power and multifunctionality, the space it provides the enculturing individuals to behave and act and choose, especially in multicultural societies. Another reason for having this concept is that change and adaptation processes are not limited to one group but both groups in contact. This has refuted the conventional assimilation accounts that considered assimilation as an eventual outcome for small enculturating groups, as we will see in chapter 3 of this study. However, as Berry argues, most changes occur in the acculturating individual and groups, not in the receiving societies(Berry & Sam, 2016b).

Insofar acculturation is referred to as the dual functioning of immigrants in maintaining their cultural norms and values while adapting to the host land's cultural norms and behaviours, then how about their children who were born and raised in a culture that is

not their original context, that is in a “variable environment”? This means that the concept of acculturation is lacking as the aspect of ‘cultural maintenance’ is unapplicable to the children (Kim & Alamilla, 2019). Therefore, we employed the concept of enculturation to imply their situation.

The term ‘enculturation’ is referred to as the process of individuals’ learning the norms, values, and traditions of their culture. The learning process of one’s group culture usually takes place through experience, observation and interaction (Gavelek & Kong, 2012). Its meanings intersect to a great extent with the term socialization; we will demonstrate their sameness and differences in chapter 3.

However, some conditions of ‘learning one’s culture’ inherent in enculturation are not fulfilled when the recipient or enculturating individuals receive and experience aspects of [an]other culture in the immigration space. The whole system, e.g. Kindergarten, schools, peers, etc., is host land-related. Therefore, another term has been employed to substitute or replace it, termed ‘remote enculturation’. Ferguson et al. have introduced this new concept to describe its applicability to immigrants’ children and others born and raised in other cultural contexts than their original ones. Due to the telecommunication and technological advances that the globalized world has witnessed in recent years, the authors suggest that the children are inclined to learn about their mother culture remotely by utilizing the modern means of social media and having intermittent visits to the homeland (Ferguson et al., 2016). The authors associate remote enculturation with the phenomenon of youth identity development, which is why they believe that the process of learning is likely self-initiated by the youth.

Diaspora is an ancient and modern term. It has historical and religious connotations. Its roots are traced back to the Jewish Diaspora. It implies a bitter experience due to the exile of the Jews from their original homeland and being dispersed through many lands (Safran, 2011). To transcend its conventional and religious connotation, some authors suggested a list of categories (prescription) to apply to new ethnic and national immigrant groups e.g. (Brubaker, 2005; Clifford, 1994; Cohen, 2008; Shain, 1994; Sheffer, 2003). An important feature associated with the diasporas is that the sense of belonging of its

members to their homeland is prevalent, as has been described in the International Organization of Migration (IOM) glossary (Sironi et al., 2019). The authors put:

> Migrants or descendants of migrants whose identity and sense of belonging, either real or symbolic, have been shaped by their migration experience and background. They maintain links with their homelands, and to each other, based on a shared sense of history, identity, or mutual experiences in the destination country (P. 49)

These three concepts are relevant to the reality of the Kurds living in Norway. They raise the question of how Kurdish parents in Norway enculturate their children and transmit their own ethnic values, beliefs, and norms. At the same time, how they approach the culture of the host land, their new land, and the extent of resilience they pursued how to adapt to its cultural aspects in order to survive. Choosing the term diaspora precisely reflects the nature of this ethnonational group, many examples in chapter 2. will be presented to highlight this point.

1.3 Research questions and objectives

The study aims to discern and understand how both remote enculturation and acculturation phenomena are in tandem carried out in the diasporic Kurdish families in Norway. Toward that end, the following question is set as a roadmap to fulfilling the study's goals:

> What characterizes remote enculturation processes in diasporic Kurdish families in Norway, and to what extent is acculturation part of these processes?

The study has two sub-questions that will be answered in the following chapters. These questions will be addressed in chapters two and three:

a) how can the Kurdish diaspora be characterised?
b) what are the enculturation, remote enculturation and acculturation notions?

1.4 Chapters overview

Chapter one has presented the underlying reasons behind the research idea. The main research concepts have been introduced and how I find them essential in relation to the purpose of the research. Also, the RQ, aims and objectives have been presented.

Chapter two will be the study background. It will give an inclusive statistical picture of the Kurds, their geographical distribution and population, culture, etc. Further, multiple perspectives will be presented to help grasp the concept of diaspora. One sub-section will be exclusive to the Kurdish diaspora, its historical and current status, and how it has been built, organized and developed to play a salient lobbying role.

Chapter three is dedicated to reviewing the theories and concepts. The historical trajectory of acculturation and enculturation concepts will be examined. Remote enculturation as a new term will be thoroughly presented.

Chapter four is specified for my selected methodological choices, e.g., a qualitative inductive approach, data collection method, and sampling. The philosophical and theoretical method for data analysis. Also, challenges are associated before and during the journey. Before heading to the following chapter, the data transcription process will be reviewed as well.

Chapter Five is for data presentation. But before this, the coding and categorization style I followed will be briefly demonstrated. A special chart will be designed to display the emerging themes.

Chapter six will be allocated for data interpretation. There will be a space to interfere with my opinions.

Chapter seven is the study's conclusion. There will be a space to remind the reader of the study findings and methodological choices. Also, some specific study limitations will be given, and future research suggestions will be highlighted as well.

2. Study Background

In this chapter, as the subject deals with the term diaspora, I will review the development of the term and its definitions in an abbreviated form. I will first introduce the concept for more understanding before turning to our research subject group, the Kurdish diaspora; I will present some facts about the Kurds, their demographics and history in the middle east, and their diasporic trajectory to Europe.

2.1 Understanding diaspora as a general concept

There is no single accepted definition of the term diaspora, the matter that has given rise to many interpretations and meanings(Brubaker, 2005; Ionescu, 2006; Sheffer, 2003). Searching for the International Organization for Migration (IOM), Dina Ionescu has proposed a broad definition of "diasporas". The author underscores that she purposely, in her research, writes the term diaspora without capital in the first letter to avoid mixing it with the historical term that is associated with and connoted by Jewish or Greek diaspora; she put:

> "members of ethnic and national communities, who have left, but maintain links with, their homeland […] The term "diasporas" conveys the idea of transnational populations, living in one place, while still maintaining relations with their homelands, being both "here" and "there.'' (Ionescu, 2006, p. 13).

Brubaker (2005) suggests that diaspora and its cognates appeared once or twice a year as keywords of the dissertations in the 1970s. In contrast, it has witnessed an extensive interest in the research agenda in the 1980s. Moreover, the term has not left to be limited in the field of academic writing, but "'Diaspora' yields a million Google hits; a sampling suggests that the large majority are not academic" (P.1). In attribution to the proliferation of the term that has come to integrate the various intellectual, cultural and political agendas, The author uniquely calls the situation of this dispersion in its meanings "'diaspora' diaspora" (Brubaker, 2005, p. 1).

The term diaspora's actual meaning in Greek means: speiro = to sow-scatter-, dia = over. (Sheffer, 2003) In clarifying its origin, which led to the authors' misapplication and

misunderstanding from various disciplines, Sheffer argues that the term diaspora had not been mentioned in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences until the 1960s and claims that:

> "Among those who are aware of the origin of the term, it is widely believed that the term first appeared in the Greek translation of the book of Deuteronomy in the Old Testament, with reference to the situation of the Jewish people…[…] Thus, already at a very early period, the term had been applied to two of the oldest ethno-national diasporas – the Jewish and the Greek – that had been established outside of their homelands as a result of both voluntary and forced migrations." (Sheffer, 2003, p. 9).

Diaspora had a special meaning, implying a bitter experience that resulted in the exile of the Jews from their original homeland and being dispersed through many lands. This experience featured oppression and moral degradation (Safran, 2011, p. 83)[3].

While in recent years, the term diaspora has witnessed several extensions and stretched to include other immigrant groups, reference to the paradigmatic cases (Jewish and other historical diasporas like Africans, Armenians, and Greek) has eventually been lessened (Brubaker, 2005). The new migrant groups have been regarded as diasporas due to their involvement in their homeland's politics, as Brubaker uses Anderson's concept of "long-distance nationalists". The groups included are Albanians, Hindu Indians, Irish, Kashmiri, Kurds, Palestinians, Tamils, and others (Brubaker, 2005, p. 2).

To conceptualize the term diaspora, especially amid the applicability and conformity of this historical and religious-connoted term to the modern immigrant community's context, some authors, for instance (Brubaker, 2005; Clifford, 1994; Cohen, 2008; Safran, 2011; Sheffer, 2003), have provided a list of defining features of diasporas that help transcend the prototypic historical diasporas. In other words, if any immigrant group or community is construed as diaspora, it should meet the pre-conditional characteristics prepared by diaspora scholars. Among them, we will present here two prominent perspectives which have a considerable status in the literature.

[3] The diplaying year of publishing 2011 is not correct year as the reference being cited from ' Researche Gate' website. If one checkes the reference in the reference list section, one could realize the actual year, which is 1991. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/236767341_Diaspora_in_Modern_Societies_Myths_of_Homeland_and_Return

Safran suggests that the members of any expatriate minority community should share some of the following characteristics to be regarded as diaspora: 1) dispersal to two or more foreign locations from their original one; 2) the member retain a collective memory, vision, and mythology about their homeland- geographical and historical information; 3) alienation from and believing not entirely accepted by the societies of their host lands; 4) the ancestral homeland is their genuine and ideal land, where they and their descendants shall eventually return when the pertinent conditions exist; 5) the members adopt collective views towards, and dedicated efforts, maintenance or restoration of their homeland; 6) ongoing relationships with their ancestral homeland. (Safran, 2011, pp. 83-84).

Similarly, Brubaker has identified three core elements in characterizing and categorizing diasporas: 1) dispersion, whether throughout crossing borders or within the state border, can be both forced and traumatic dispersion; 2) homeland orientation, either real homeland or imagined; 3) boundary maintenance, involving the preservation of identity vis-a`-vis a host society (Brubaker, 2005, p. 5&6).

In this sense, we can consider the Kurdish migrant communities in the host lands are diaspora as they fit almost the criteria and definitions mentioned above. Furthermore, Shain Yossi's suggested definition of political diaspora might underpin my claim even better:

> "people with common national origin who reside outside a claimed or an independent home territory''. They regard themselves or regarded by others as members or potential members of their country of origin (claimed or already existing) a status held regardless of their geographical location and citizen status outside their home country" (Shain, 1994, p. 814).

As we read in the following subsection on Kurds and their historical and geographical realities, we will meet those criteria.

In this regard, Clifford considers diasporas are not immigrant communities, as the latter could be temporary. However, he noticed that the immigrant process of Africans to the New World never worked adequately, and non-European new immigrations of colour obstructed the assimilation narratives (Clifford, 1994, p. 11). Bahar Başer, in a similar vein, suggests that a diaspora is not a natural result of mass migration and that diaspora

communities are not synonymous with migrant groups. The author also underscores that " Diasporas are composed of certain members of immigrant communities who maintain their ties to the homeland and possess a strong sense of belonging towards it, regardless of whether it is an existing country, an imaginary one, or 'one in need of being saved'"(Baser, 2013, p. 6).

So, to conclude the discussion of diaspora, we can say that it is an ancient notion designated for particular social groups exposed to forced displacement. Subsequently, the term became fashionable and received considerable interest from authors in re-naming and restructuring to an extent to accommodate other ethnonational immigrant communities, so to speak, to conceptualize and apply analytical constructs to their studies on communities or networks living outside their original homelands. Bearing in mind that each diaspora could be seen as unique in some characteristics and are not always normative for all diasporas.

2.2 The largest stateless nation: Kurdistan

While defining the notions of nation, nationalism, and minority is debatable in academia, there is no, nevertheless, doubt that Kurds are a nation in the theoretical sense more than any other minorities in the middle east (Gunter, 2005, p. 263). Kurdistan, which literally means the land of Kurds, has never been an independent state (Bruinessen, 1992), straddles the northern mountainous areas of the middle east (Izady, 2015). As regarded by Kurds as their homeland, it is a region that cuts across the borders of states Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria (Eliassi, 2013, p. 21). The Kurds are the fourth largest ethnic group in the middle east, after Arabs, Persians, and Turks (Hassanpour & Mojab, 2005). The Kurds constitute the largest stateless nation in the world under the national jurisdiction of four sovereign states of Iran, Turkey, Iraq, and Syria (Eliassi, 2013; Gunter, 2005; Sheyholislami, 2011; Vali, 1998).

There are different sources of Kurds origin. Nearly most of these resources agree on the idea that they are an old nation living in the Middle East. It is uncertain that ethnically they form a coherent whole based on a common origin; the majority, however, probably are descended from waves of Indo-European tribes that crossed Iran westward (McDowall,

2021b, pp. 25-26)[4]. Map 1. below displays the areas of intensified settlement of Kurds in the Middle East. There is also a sizeable Kurdish enclave located outside Kurdistan geography in the northeastern province of Khorasan in Iran—with several hundreds of thousands of inhabitants—and some enclaves in states Azerbaijan, Armenia, and western Turkey (Bruinessen, 1992, p. 11), see the bellow map 1. Hence, in this study, I will use 'Kurdistan' 'Kurds' preceded by the state name, Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Turkey to identify, whenever needed, that specific portion to avoid any ambiguity[5].

Based on the Kurdish nationalist thinking, Edmonds describes the history as follows:

> "The Kurds constitute a single nation which has occupied its present habitat for at least three thousand years. They have outlived the rise and fall of many imperial races: Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Mongols, Turks. They have their own history, language, and culture. Their country has been unjustly partitioned. But they are the original owners, not strangers to be tolerated as minorities with limited concessions granted at the whim of the usurpers." (Edmonds, 1971, p. 88).

Map1. Kurdish settlement in southwestern Asia [6]

[4]. It should be noted this reference is an electronic version, likewise alomost most of references. At times the page number for electronic versions are not similar in print ones. Even some book apps are providing the actual page numbers.

5. Internally, the Kurds call following disignations to identify each part: Bakur /Northern Kurdistan refers to Turkish part of Kurdistan; Rojava/Western Kurdistan refers to Syrian. Başûr/Southern Kurdistan corresponds to Iraqi proportion; and Rojhilat/ Eastern Kurdistan points to Iranian proportion.

[6] . Kurd. Encyclopedia Britannica. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Kurd. Accessed date 19.10.2021.

There is no official census representing the number of Kurds as the authorities are reluctant to quantify people based on ethnicity. However, Kurds are probably more than 30 million in the middle east and diaspora (Table no.1). The table displays the population distribution in these four countries and diaspora and Caucasus. The distribution of the population is estimated as follows: 15 located in Turkey, some 18% of the total of Turkey's population; Iran 8 million, 10%; Iraq 7.2 million, 20%; Syria 1.8 million, 9%; diaspora and Caucasus 2 million, the total is 34 million (McDowall, 2021b, p. 21)[7].

Turkey	18%	15 million
Iran	10%	8 million
Iraq	18%	7.2 million
Syria	9%	1.8 million
Diaspora and Caucasus	-	2 million
Total	-	34 million

Table 1. A Modern History of the Kurds. David McDowall (McDowall, 2021b)

When we talk about the Kurds, in essence, the aspects of multiplicity, diversity, division, or partition have to be implied, both internally within the Kurds themselves and externally with contiguous international borders. The Kurdish nation is internally divided into class, gender, dialect, alphabet, and religion, attributed to the mountainous nature of their homeland on one side and the divide-to-control tactic of controlling powers that have governed them on the other side. While, externally, as mentioned, the Kurdish domains intersect four different countries, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria (Gunter, 2005; Hassanpour & Mojab, 2005, p. 204).

Kurdistan is located in an area that is replete with religions and faiths. The majority of Kurds are Muslims —Shiites, Sunnis, and other denominations. There also are followers of other religions like Christianity and Judaism among Kurds (Maglaughlin, 2001, p. 8). The sizable Kurdish native religions, Cult of Angels—Yazdani in Kurdish—such as Yezidism, Zoroastrianism, Yarsanism, Alevism, and others are followed in Kurdistan (Izady, 2015).

[7] David McDowall is a British author of several editions of ''A Modern History of the Kurds''.

Two major dialects are spoken in Kurdistan. Kurmanji and Sorani. The northern Kurds speak Kurmanji, and the southern speak Sorani (McDowall, 2021b, pp. 26-27). That is to say, Kurds speak the Kurmanji dialect in Syria, the vast majority in Turkey, and a portion of Iraq. In contrast, Sorani is spoken in a part of Iraqi and a part of Irani Kurdistan. In Kurdistan, there are also three sizable other dialects spoken by minorities, one in the southeast from Sanandaj to Kermanshah—located in Iranian Kurdistan. This dialect is closer to modern Persian than Sorani. The last two dialects are 'Zazaki,' spoken in northwestern Kurdistan—a minor part of Turkey's part of Kurdistan, and 'Gurani' in particular mountain enclaves in the south—the Iraqi part of Kurdistan (McDowall, 2021b).

McDowall attributes the multi-linguistic aspect of the origin of these dialects to that of multi originality. He refers to both dialects, Kurmanji and Sorani, belonging to the Iranian languages' south-western group. In comparison, both Zazaki and Gurani belong to the north-western group of Iranian languages. Moreover, even the current geographical distance between the two, both Gurani and Zazaki could have common descent; whereas speakers of these two dialects could be genuinely from the Zagrus region, and Kurmanji and Sorani speakers moved thereafter to the area. The subsequent development probably pushed the Zazaki towards the West, while the Gurani were enveloped to be maintained distinctly. Nevertheless, the recent DNA tests show that Zazaki and Gurani speakers are genetically very close to Kurmanji and Sorani speakers (McDowall, 2021b).

Martin Van Bruinessen describes the geographical nature conditions of Kurdistan and how it was impervious. The reasons that resulted in witnessing the first partition in Kurdistan's history: "The heart of Kurdistan consists of forbidding mountains that have always deterred invading armies and provided a refuge to the persecuted and to the bandit" (Bruinessen, 1992, p. 11). Such harsh mountainous and plateaus nature made Kurdistan inaccessible and naturally delineated its frontiers in the face of surrounding emerged Empires. Therefore, the borderline of each empire, Ottoman and Safavids, was blocked at the boundary of Kurdistan and could not maintain its sovereignty over more than one part (Bruinessen, 1992, p. 11).

With the emergence of both Safavids and Ottoman empires, Kurdistan and Armenia, for decades, turned into their butterfield. This constant warfare lasted until both empires

reached the Treaty of 1639. Accordingly, Kurdistan was partitioned between Safavids in the east and Ottomans in the West of Kurdistan (Van Bruinessen, 2000). A part of it remained within the border of Safavids, Iran, until now, and the other part was left within the Ottoman Empire until World War 1 (Hassanpour & Mojab, 2005, p. 215).

Notwithstanding this treaty, wars and conflicts over the Kurdistan border never stopped between these powers, consequently leading to the deterioration, displacement, and the destruction of the entire population, villages, and towns (Hassanpour & Mojab, 2005). There were dozens of semi-independent Kurdish emirates and principalities around the Kurdistan geography under these two empires until the early nineteenth century (Bruinessen, 1992; Hassanpour & Mojab, 2005; Izady, 2015; Sheyholislami, 2011; Van Bruinessen, 2000). Nevertheless, they did not manage to unite themselves under one united entity or even under a united confederation. A few centuries later, after the 1639 Treaty, particularly after winning the Ottoman Empire in World War One, the victorious Western Allies dismantled the Ottoman Empire; as a result, three new states have been built on its ruins, Turkey, Syria, and Iraq. By these new conditions, again, Kurdistan witnessed a new division, now under three emerged states.

In 1919, Kurds' representatives and Armenians, Zionists, and Arabs attended The Peace Conference held in France. The delegations claimed their territories under the former Ottoman Empire. In 1920, the so-called Treaty of Sèvres that resulted from the Peace Conference ratified the Sykes-Picot Agreement. Accordingly, Syria, Lebanon, and Cilicia were given to France, and Iraq and Palestine were given to Britain. Further, they provided an explicit provision for establishing an independent Kurdistan through Articles no. 62-64 (Bruinessen, 1992, p. 272). However, this treaty remained unsigned due to the new developments in Turkey, whereas Mostafa Kemal managed to restore most territories under the Allies' control.

In 1923, a new treaty named Lausanne Treaty replaced the Treaty of Sèvres, recognizing current Turkey's borders. Consequently, Kurds left as a minority within Turkey. However, the results of the Lausanne Treaty 1923 and the Sykes-Picot Agreement will never be the end to this extent. On the contrary, the region will witness all forms of destruction, devastating wars, instability, and violent conflicts. As we will see in the following sub-

section, they will be the reasons for the displacement and dispersion, causing the flux of refugees and spreading worldwide.

2.3 Kurdish diaspora

In responding to the divisions resulting from World War 1, the Kurd's attempts have been brutally confronted. Suppression of their rebellions has generated the large Kurdish dispersion, internally within other parts of Kurdistan and through deportation and displacement within borders of these states to capitals and big cities, or spreading externally worldwide (Candan & Hunger, 2008).

There have been various patterns of Kurdish migration that have taken place through several periodical phases in history. Kurdish history has witnessed the plight of dispersion and deportation in the distant past, based not only on political disputes or humanitarian refugees but also, at times, on economic and environmental disaster patterns. However, the Kurdish diasporic experience has been, to an extent, distinctive. We will review these events by specifically presenting the historical immigration forms to Europe.

The 1950s and 1960s of the last century witnessed a growing number of young Kurdish intellectuals in Europe coming for their education (Baser, 2013; McDowall, 2021a). In Wiesbaden city, Germany, in 1956, around 3000 Kurdish students established an association. The representatives were from four parts of Kurdistan. The step paved the route to building more associations to extend the collective work that, to an extent, would increase the Kurdish national consciousness (McDowall, 2021a). In comparison, Kurdish refugee migration to Europe started in the 80s of the last century due to a change in the political situation in Iraq, Iran, and Turkey (Alinia & Eliassi, 2014).

The primary factor contributed to the uprooting and resettlement of the Kurdish people both in the region and internationally. The first was due to the ongoing coercive assimilation that caused the increasing Kurdish resistance and, at times, armed conflicts. In Iraq, it started from 1961 until 2003 intermittent. While In Iran, it intensified following the1979 to the present time due to the armed conflicts between Kurds and the Islamic State (Hassanpour & Mojab, 2005). The autonomist movement of the Kurds in Iraq from 1961 to 1975 resulted in about 200,000 Kurds moving to Iran and several thousand to Europe and

North America. However, the atrocities against Kurds continued in Iraq from 1975 to 1991; the destruction of thousands of Kurdish villages, The genocide of 1988 known as 'Anfal'(''spoils of the war''), use of chemical weapons. Until 1991, the allies of the Gulf War imposed what so-called "safe zone" in northern Iraq, which in 2003 became officially the Regional Government of Kurdistan (Hassanpour & Mojab, 2005, p. 218).

As for the Kurds in Turkey, Başer refers to three categories of Kurdish migration to Europe; environmental, political, and economical. The environmental category was taken place when a series of earthquakes struck Turkey, Muş in 1966, and Muradiye-Van in 1976, resulting in many of the affected Kurds migrating to Europe. Economic or labour migration occurred in responding to the demands of the European market to the labour force—at this juncture, according to McDowell, these labourers at first were Turks. Still, in the 1970s, significant numbers of Kurds started to take this form of migration "not only attracted by the prospect of gainful employment but also pushed by the growing disorder and repression in eastern Turkey". Their wives and children reunited with them later (McDowall, 2021a, p. 643). The third form, according to Baser, occurred when the political crisis ravaged Turkey; for instance, the state's repression of the ethnic and religious minorities—Alevi Kurds, the 1971 military intervention, the 1980 coup d'état, clashes between the Turkish army and the PKK, and forced mass migration. (Baser, 2013, p. 7).

Data on the Kurdish diasporic population and their spread in Europe countries and Norway is explicitly too limited. What is available is not precise and only estimations. The main reason for this shortage in data is that Kurds have been lumped in with Turkish, Iranian, Iraqi, and Syrian migrants; most of them hold these nationalities; therefore, no official figures display that (Alinia & Eliassi, 2014; Baser, 2013). Yet, estimations given by some authors and some sources on the Kurdish population in West Europe are over 1 million Kurds (Ayata, 2008; Hassanpour & Mojab, 2005).

Regarding diaspora visibility and activism, the Kurdish diaspora has been considered in many studies as the "best-organized diasporic community in Europe"(Baser, 2013, p. 4). The role of diasporas is highlighted in retaining the relationship with their original homeland.

McDowall highlights the historical status of the Kurdish diaspora and its influence on Kurdish reality (2021a). He states that the Kurdish diaspora has played a significant role in reinforcing the Kurdish political thinking; to an extent, all the great Kurdish leaders, without exception, spent many years in exile. Diaspora has been considered an influential factor in the progression of the Kurdish identity in the political, cultural, and social domains (p. 642).

The status of the diaspora, specifically in the case of the stateless Kurds, is prominent and is pivotally significant. In addition to the political mobilization, identity formation, and/or national awareness aspects, the diaspora has offered conditions and materials that assisted them in working and improving the linguistic and cultural fields. In this regard, Van Bruinessen states that "The Kurdish institutes, Kurdish print media and Kurdish language courses that operate in western Europe, largely impervious to control by the Turkish state, have provided the Kurdish movement with instruments of nation building comparable to those traditionally employed by states." (1998, P. 10). Furthermore, the first Kurdish newspaper named 'Kurdistan' was published in the diaspora, specifically in Cairo; it had to be moved to Europe due to the Ottoman government pressure (Hassanpour & Mojab, 2005, p. 217).

As we have seen in this chapter, the worth of diaspora in the case of the stateless Kurdish nation is immense and evident. It offered sanctuary to the suppressed Kurds. Still, it, virtually, has become an arena of intellectuality that impacted the Kurdish cause in the middle east. To the extent that Van Bruinessen (1998,2000) and McDowell (2021a) suggest that the Kurdish question is no longer an internal question solely for states of Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Syria but has increasingly become a European and international question due to the Kurdish Diaspora.

3. Presenting the key concepts in the thesis

This section will provide a formal definition of our concepts; Acculturation, enculturation, and remote enculturation. Both acculturation and enculturation developments and their diverse perspectives have been addressed to give the readers a broader understanding of our focus concepts; Berry's acculturation strategy and Ferguson et al.'s remote enculturation will be taken up profoundly.

3.1 Presenting the concept of acculturation

3.1.1 Acculturation, a broader perspective

Insofar the Kurdish migrants within the migration arena are concerned, I find it is essential to identify "migrant" and "migration", as it is believed that both concepts are often employed without explanation, presuming that the readers will perceive the meaning they entail (Frederiks, 2015). The International Organization for Migration provides a general description of international migration: " migration involves a definitive physical move from one location to another. For international migration, the locations involved are clearly two distinct countries"(IOM, 2003, p. 295)[8]. Relative to this context, the United Nations defines a long-term international migrant as " a person who has moved to a country other than his/her country of usual residence for at least a year, so that the country of destination effectively becomes the new country of residence" citing in (Frederiks, 2015, p. 183).

The contact between cultural groups and their individuals is not a new phenomenon. Rather, it is a deep-rooted trend. Historically people from different geographical places used to encounter for various reasons: trading, conquering, colonizing, wars, religious missionaries, and studies, to mention a few (Rudmin, 2009). Yet, the pace and extent have been intense in the increasingly globalized world following the significant advances in modern communication and transportation means as well as the increasing migration, with its various categories and patterns, voluntarily and involuntarily; ranging from the economic difference between countries and political instability where several regions have witnessed

[8] - https://publications.iom.int/books/world-migration-report-2003-managing-migration . Accessed date 10.08.2021.

ethnic and religious conflicts that, consequently, have made people seek for refuge in other countries, to natural catastrophe. All these preceding factors make intercultural contact among different cultural groups and their individual members inevitable and eventually have given rise to acculturation as a salient topic for applied research in cross-cultural psychology(Berry & Sam, 2016a; Rudmin, 2009). The process of adapting to a new culture different from which one has been raised is called acculturation. In the following paragraphs, I will go into detail about this process, review some models, and specifically focus on John.W. Berry's theory (Berry & Sam, 2016a, 2016b; Sam & Berry, 2016).

Acculturation is referred to cultural and psychological—behavioural—changes of the groups and individuals due to the contact and interaction of two or more culturally different groups (Berry, 2019; Sam & Berry, 2010). Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits described the concept of acculturation as "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals sharing different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups (Redfield et al., 1936, p. 149). Redfield, Linton's formulation of acculturation is one of the most quoted definitions and is thought to be the foundation of the acculturation for the subsequent accounts (Berry, 2019)[9].

In distinguishing between the concepts of acculturation and enculturation, especially in the context of migration, Kim and colleagues described the former as a process of adapting to the norms of the host societies, whereas the latter is seen as maintaining the norms of one's original cultural heritage of the sending societies of immigrants (Kim & Abreu, 2001; Kim & Omizo, 2006). However, under the increasing trend of global migration, new terms are used at times interchangeably or as an alternative to the concept of acculturation, such as *integration*, *biculturalism*, *multiculturalism, globalization, and assimilation* (Sam & Berry, 2010, p. 473).

In preferring the use of acculturation over assimilation, Sam and Berry argue that acculturation is a more overarching term in which the cultural groups and individuals have reciprocal or mutual influences on each other. In contrast, assimilation, on the other hand, is one of the different ways and aspects by which cultural groups and individuals deal with

[9] Berry (2019) is e-book from Amazon Kindle.

acculturation experiences. This means that assimilation is one part of acculturation, as the latter encompasses a set of outcomes and processes (p. 473).

Before becoming the point of interest in anthropology and psychology fields, social scientists, through sociologists at the Chicago University at the beginning of the 20th century, theorized the process by which newcomers incorporate into American society (Padilla & Perez, 2003)—starting from Robert Park's ecological model (Persons, 1987): contact – accommodation-and assimilation. According to this model, contact between people will lead to accommodation that, in turn, eventually assimilation will ensue. Hence, the nature of acculturation is advanced and permanent, which is an irreversible process. Therefore, the assimilation of immigrants into the mainstream is inevitable. Despite significant changes that have taken place in the arena of acculturation in modern times; however, Park's model remains substantial in explaining the phenomena of how different cultural and linguistic groups come into contact (Padilla & Perez, 2003).

In 1954, the Social Science Research Council elaborated an advanced definition of acculturation. It included psychological components, including the value system, personality factors, roles contributing to how individuals accommodate when they come in contact with each other, and cultural features that are prone to change in intergroup relations. Further, the importance of choices was confirmed in this edition, where the immigrants had a choice about which cultural components of the new culture they wished to adopt and which they wanted to retain from their own culture (Padilla & Perez, 2003).

Graves created the term psychological acculturation to describe acculturation at the individual level. Thus, acculturation includes changes that the individuals experience due to exposure to other cultures, and these changes could involve attitudes, values, beliefs, and identity (Graves, 1967).

Traditionally, acculturation was considered to be a one-way linear movement or unidirectional process that is based on the premise that all immigrants or acculturing people move from and give up their traditional and heritage culture to acquire and adopt the characteristics and values of the culture of the mainstream society (Choney et al., 1995; Jain & Belsky, 1997; Van de Vijver et al., 2016). Hence, it is called unilinear (unidimensional). Thus, it describes one outcome of acculturation—assimilation, meaning that changes in

persons' values, behaviours, and attitudes occur in a single continuum (Flannery et al., 2001). However, current models of acculturation are much broader where they are bidirectional, bilinear, or multidirectional (Arends-Toth & van de Vijver, 2006; Choney et al., 1995; Miller, 2007).

Examples of bidirectional (bidimensional) models of acculturation can be found in Oetting and Beauvais. The authors presented their orthogonal cultural identification theory (Oetting & Beauvais, 1991), suggesting that people in pluralistic environments can be highly bicultural or unicultural; one could also identify positively with one culture and moderately with another or even have low identification with both cultures; which means that the identification with any culture is independent of the identification with another; where it occurs without giving up one culture identification for the sake of [an]other - see also (Zhang & Tsai, 2014). Similarly, the (Mendoza & Martínez, 1981) four strategies model involves cultural resistance, cultural shift, cultural incorporation, and cultural transmutation. To effectively adapt to the host society, immigrants either resist or adopt the new language, values, beliefs, and norms of social interaction. In this sense, the bidirectional accounts are in tandem with Berry's theory, which we shall discuss below, at least in the idea of the variety of acculturation outcomes.

In multidirectional or bidirectional acculturation, many possibilities and outcomes are perceived. Choney et al. believe that the authors usually do not view acculturation as dichotomous in its nature, meaning that the immigrants or acculturating individuals either assimilate, surrender their heritage culture for the mainstream culture or retain their original culture. On the contrary, they allow for different cultural positions and associated fluidity as persons move between these two cultures (Choney et al., 1995). In reviewing the linear or unidirectional approaches of researchers' studies on Indian Americans, Choney and colleagues criticize their dichotomous methods (either Indian or White) as well as their unilinear way (moving from Indian culture to the White culture, and nothing in between). They suggest that all these approaches avoid the complexities relevant to the study of acculturation (p.83-84).

In the past models, acculturation was seen as an immersion of immigrant culture in the new culture (Jain & Belsky, 1997). Nevertheless, the immigrants do not shed off their old

cultural values to take on the culture of the host societies; they usually shift, choose and modify to cope with the new environment (Buriel, 1993), as cited in (Jain & Belsky, 1997, p. 874). However, one of the exciting issues pertaining to the acculturation phenomena is its capacity to demonstrate and define whether the immigrants retain their native culture in the countries of settlement or discard it by adopting the host countries' or incorporating both cultures (Arends-Toth & van de Vijver, 2006). Through these options, one can notice that the acculturation refutes the actuality assumed that immigration is unidimensional, where immigrants move from their traditional culture towards the dominant.

Acculturation has its influence on the ethnic identity of immigrants; the changes in values, behaviours, attitudes, and beliefs are significantly influencing the immigrant's identity due to the process of acculturation (Schwartz et al., 2006). On this basis, it is worth framing the concept of ethnic identity here in the current study as the term will often be mentioned. Ethnic groups and ethnicity have been defined differently e.g. (Hamer et al., 2020). In this context, Ross describes that the ethnic groups "are social and political, but also cultural, groupings" (Ross, 1997, p. 300). Phinney et al. define ethnic identity as: '' […] embracing various aspects, such as self-identification, feelings of belongingness and commitment to a group, a sense of shared values, and attitudes toward one's own ethnic group." (Phinney et al., 2001, p. 496).

Bornstein's specificity principles of acculturation (Marc H. Bornstein, 2017) assert that "specific setting conditions of specific people at specific times moderate specific domains in acculturation by specific processes " p.1. Accordingly, the acculturation researchers about immigrant children and families are needed to go further by deeply highlighting five significant factors of acculturation that include: (a) the setting condition (e.g., reason to migrate, place of migration, experience, status), (b) person (e.g., gender, personality, individual-difference characteristics), (c) time (e.g., age, penetration that is period spent in a county, adjustment history), (d) process (e.g., socialization, learning, instruction, opportunity, transaction), and (e) domain (e.g., multidimensionality, dynamic adaptability) (Marc H Bornstein, 2017, p. 6). Bornstein points out that these different acculturation pillars of specificity principles generate variations in the development of immigrant children. In this regard, the model underscores the role of various socio-cultural, psychological, and biological factors in the process of acculturation.

In this subsection, we have presented several perspectives on acculturation from conventional to contemporary accounts. The evolution trajectory of acculturation and its penetration into several disciplines is extremely well remarkable and unique. We will turn now to Berry's acculturation strategies theory in the following section.

3.1.2 Berry's Acculturation Model

I have reviewed many perspectives of Berry's acculturation model in different historical courses in various sources. This is due to his contribution to the f evolution of the concept. He is considered to be one of the prominent authors in acculturation. Accordingly, due to the space constraints in the analysis chapter, I will attempt to use the following source co-authored with Sam (Berry & Sam, 2016a, 2016b).

The importance of the acculturation model of J.W Berry (Berry & Sam, 2016b) lies in its comprehensiveness and ability to define most aspects involving the process of cultural contact in the context of immigration, especially in multicultural societies. Another reason this model is noteworthy is differentiating the concept of assimilation from acculturation. Rather, he considers the former as one form of the latter along with other ways or forms (Berry, 2005).

Acculturation consists of several forms that the acculturating groups and their individuals can choose, especially in open and multiculturally oriented societies, and sociocultural and psychological outcomes result from each individual's acculturation process. Berry believes that his model of acculturation helps avoid conflict between groups with various cultural backgrounds due to the emerging adaptation of contact and interaction (Berry, 2005). It demonstrates how groups and their individuals with diverse cultural backgrounds can live together in culturally diverse societies where heterogeneity of cultures and the divergence of worldviews are present. Furthermore, Berry stresses that acculturation can not only be seen as acquisition and loss; but rather as a creative process where new societies emerge (Berry, 2014).

The acculturation model (Berry & Sam, 2016b; Berry, 1997; Berry, 2005) involves several components: contact where the cultural groups and their members meet; this contact drives cultural or psychological change. These changes resulting from contact will lead to different types of adaptation. Acculturative changes on the group level are not only

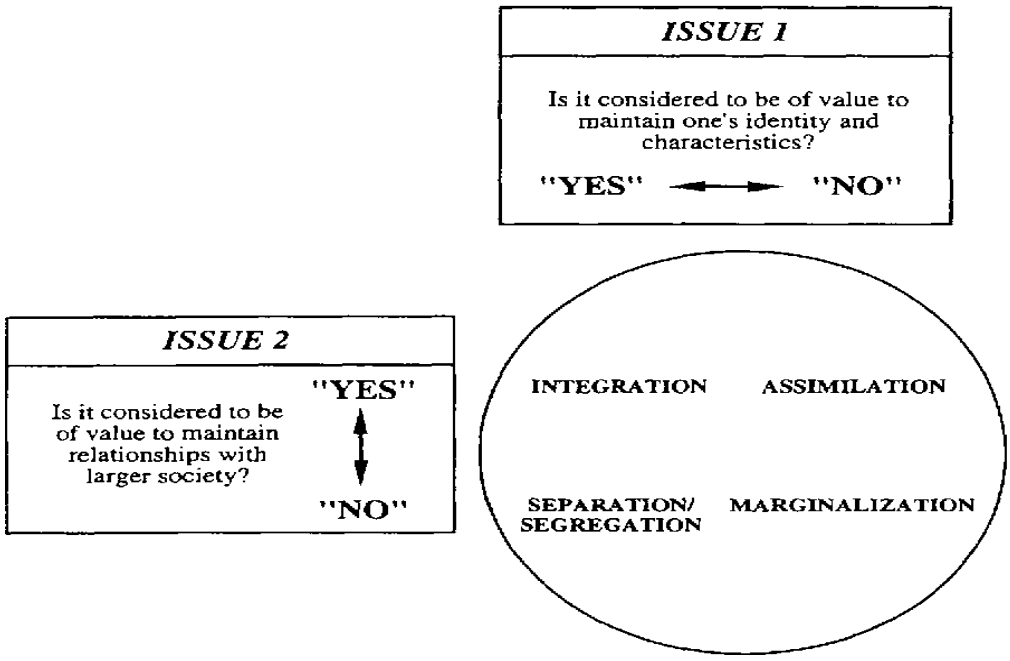
limited to culture but also extend to cover other social, political, economic, and biological areas (Berry, 1991). The changes on the individual level—psychological acculturation—can be behavioural changes that involve both surface changes in the individuals who are engaged in the process of acculturation (way of dressing, food habits, and language knowledge and use) (Berry & Sam, 2016b, p. 15), as well as profound changes, for example, cultural identity (Liebkind et al., 2016). Furthermore, it makes immigrants question their ethnic identity (Schwartz et al., 2006). However, although changes are implied in both groups, Berry described that most acculturation changes occur in the non-dominant group (migrating groups) due to the influence of the dominant group, the society of settlement (Berry, 1992).

Generally, there are varying levels of undergoing the process of acculturation at the level of groups and their individual members as the people are not acculturating in the same way; they hold different views about how to live following intercultural contact (Berry, 2005). Berry has termed these distinct variations in participants' engaging in intercultural contact as acculturation strategies (Berry, 1980, 1997). The discrepancy of acculturation strategies is based on the people's orientation towards three issues: orientation toward one's own group (having to maintain heritage culture and identity); orientation towards the other groups in the larger society (relations and interaction with other groups than their own group); the third issue is the power of people to choosing and pursuing the favourable way to acculturate (Berry & Sam, 2016b, p. 22). Hence, these strategies or categories are consequences of intersecting these dimensions.

The given strategies encompass two interrelated dimensions: attitudinal, which is related to an individual's preference about 'how' to acculturate, whereas behaviour-related one concerns persons' daily life participation and sharing activities with the dominant group or mainstream. The acculturation strategies represent a core component of psychological acculturation (Berry & Sam, 2016b).

The acculturation process involves four distinct profiles or forms by which people choose their sort of acculturation (see figure 1). When individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with the dominant society, whereby they spend more time with mainstream society's culture, assimilation occurs. In contrast, when

people place a value on holding on to their original culture and at the same time avoid interaction with the dominant culture, then separation alternative occurs. When having an interest in both maintaining their own original cultural values and at the same time having daily interaction with other groups, integration is happening. In this strategy, Berry and Sam believe that "there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained, while at the same time the individual seeks, as a member of an ethnocultural group, to participate as an integral part of the larger social network." (2016b, p. 22). Finally, the marginalization strategy is when there is little interest in maintaining one's own culture and rejecting relations with others (for exclusion and discrimination reasons) (Berry et al., 1992).



. Figure 1. Acculturation strategies by J.W. Berry[10]

To synthesize Berry's acculturation orientation, we comprehend that assimilation also seems here as the immigrant relinquish their original cultivated culture and willingly acquires and adopts the host societies' culture. However, Berry considered assimilation an aspect of the acculturation process along with the other three modes. The immigrant could have lost his identity in marginalization mode due to the immigration process, so they neither feel as belonging to their ethnic or cultural group nor a host community member. In

[10] Source: "Lead Article Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation" (Berry, 1997, p. 10).

the integration orientation, both cultures are appreciated, which means 'biculturalism,' as we have seen also proposed and elaborated in (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). In separation, the immigrant primarily identifies with their ethnocultural group. In Berry's proposed model of acculturation, the state of acquiring the receiving culture and maintaining the heritage culture takes place as independent dimensions. Significantly, this two-dimensionality approach allows for multiculturalism, implying that many cultures can coexist in a society without giving up one's own culture.

The importance of the Berry model in relation to the context of my study lies in its openness to various possibilities, not dichotomous. The most remarkable in the process, as Berry highlighted, is the great role of these three orientations that the acculturating individuals have in deciding which mode or strategy to take on. Also, what is interesting in Berry's model is the supposition that the emerging adaptation resulting from contact and interaction between different cultural groups helps avoid the conflict resulting from the different conceptions and worldviews.

3.2 Presenting the concept of enculturation

3.2.1 The development of the concept

A related concept to acculturation is the concept of enculturation. As we have reviewed the concept of acculturation above and have gone through some models, especially Berry's acculturation model, we will introduce our other concept, enculturation. We comprehended from Berry's model of acculturation that it entails, to some extent, maintaining one's own heritage culture while adopting some norms, values, and behaviours of the host culture, that is, dual functioning through retaining the former and adapting to the latter.

As our focus in this study is the context of immigration, this definition, dual functioning, applies to migrants themselves. However, when it comes to migrants' children born in other cultures than their original ones, the acculturation aspect of the ''culture maintenance'' process may be seen as insufficient (Kim & Alamilla, 2019). Therefore, Kim and Alamilla suggest using the concept of enculturation to be used instead (p.4-5). From this perspective, I find this concept, enculturation, interesting and has intrigued me. Here, I will

attempt to present some definitions explaining the process of enculturation before embarking on our third concept, termed remote enculturation, which can be applied to my research context.

The typical and traditional way to learn a culture is through enculturation, as it has been defined as the process by which the individuals learn their home culture (Soldier, 1985). Individuals acquire necessary values, behaviours, beliefs, and norms of their own culture through the process of learning and teaching; Schönpflug and Bilz describe enculturation as "aims at developing persons into competent members of a culture including identity, language, rituals, and values" (Schönpflug & Bilz, 2009, p. 213). In the same vein, Gonzales et al. elaborate on the meaning of enculturation as "the process of acquiring knowledge, behavioral expectations, attitudes, and values associated with their ethnic culture." (Gonzales et al., 2004, p. 287).

It is said that in 1948, Herskovits first defined the concept of enculturation with the discipline of cultural anthropology, referring to it as a process of socialization to the significant norms of an individual's heritage culture (e.g., ideas, values, and concepts) (Berry et al., 1992; Kim & Omizo, 2006). Nevertheless, the process of enculturation may occur without teaching; there could be learning of the salient norms of culture by its members without even being deliberate or didactic education by its socializers (Berry, 2014). It thus may be a more or less explicit teaching strategy (Schönpflug & Bilz, 2009).

Parents, other adults, peers, and others can influence limiting, directing, and shaping the development of an individual. As an outcome of this process, we could have a competent person in the culture, rituals, values, etc. (Berry et al., 1992). Eventually, all these processes occur when an enculturating individual is within their own culture, living in the same culture (Berry et al., 1992). Otherwise, the term 'socialization', which is used in sociology and developmental psychology, should be used if the person has undergone the deliberate teaching of their culture. As such, the result of both processes—enculturation and socialization—is the development of similarities within a culture and differences between cultures (Berry et al., 1992).

In their study of cultural transmission (Schönpflug & Bilz, 2009), the authors believe that both 'socialization' and 'enculturation' are global processes used to transmit values. In

this regard, they identify socialization as: “involves the deliberate shaping of individuals to become adapted to the social environment. The common means of transmission by socialization are concrete child-rearing or child-training practices by parents and other educators or mentors”. They continue by saying, “Socializers aim at educating the offspring generation to become functioning and adaptive members of the social community.”(p. 213). Citing Campbell, the authors state that the content of the transmission process is selective, that most moral beliefs are altruistic formed by group selection, and the authors posit that collectivistic values that are likely shaped by group selection are more rapidly transmitted than individualistic ones (p. 213).

However, the authors (Schönpflug & Bilz, 2009) suggest that the effectiveness of the parent-to-child transmission is low in the migration context, that is, “in variable environments”, which means that the transmission of the original culture of the migrated groups in the host countries “dysfunctional”(p. 215). Regardless of the children’s resistance to that transmission, the parents themselves may also be reluctant because they realize the potential impact of that kind of transmission on adaptive purposes for their children in the host cultures. The authors suggest that the outcomes of effective transmission will necessarily entail the segregation of migrant generations from the dominant culture in the host countries if there is a big difference between both cultures. Fundamentally, they suggest that

“Migrant parents oriented toward maintenance of the culture of origin in the host country emphasize the transmission of culture of origin, whereas parents oriented toward adaptation in the host society withhold cultural transmission in order to let their children adapt functional behaviour patterns from other sources of transmission.” ((Schönpflug & Bilz, 2009, p. 215).

In their study on reviewing the studies on ethnic or racial socialization, Hughes et al. have proposed the concept of cultural socialization to share other social science constructs such as enculturation (Hughes et al., 2006). The concept of cultural socialization is one of four elements of parental practices to socialize their children on the norms, values, beliefs and other salient components of their ethnic culture. The other three components include ‘preparation for bias’, ‘promotion of mistrust’, and ‘egalitarianism’. Regarding the parents’

practices that are represented as social socialization, they are implied to teach children about their racial or ethnic heritage and history, promoting cultural traditions and customs that will eventually foster children's cultural and ethnic pride. These practices may be carried out either deliberately or implicitly. Examples of these actions given by authors include: ''talking about important historical or cultural figures; exposing children to culturally relevant books, artifacts, music, and stories; celebrating cultural holidays; eating ethnic foods; and encouraging children to use their family's native language'' (Hughes et al., 2006, p. 749).

The role of the family or parents is highly emphasized in socialization or enculturation; they are a substantial source of information about ethnicity to their youth (Knight et al., 2011; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013). Enculturation takes place in various avenues of cultural transmission, that is, vertical (from parents to their children), oblique (from other adults and institutions), and horizontal (from peer children) (Berry, 2014).

Gonzales et al. (2004) point out that more attention to research and policy discussion has been paid to acculturation without considering the importance of enculturation. They stress the positive outcomes of enculturation and strong ethnic identity for ethnic minority individuals as they serve as protective factors (Gonzales et al., 2004, pp. 287-288). The benefits for individuals who feel pride in their heritage culture and have a strong cultural identification may include "greater self-esteem, improved psychological well-being, and greater resilience against stressful life circumstances" because of the nature of support they obtain from their extended families and their ethnic communities (p.291).

However, the joint processes of acculturation and enculturation do not refute the actuality of mental health and academic outcomes challenges experienced by ethnic minority youths. In their research on American youths of Latino descent, Gonzales et al. (2004) draw on the issue of cultural incompatibility of the Latino family that is predominately collectivistic in terms of cooperation with school authorities rather than individualistic demands—of the dominant society's institutions—that urge the competitive and independent behaviours in schools. The matter that creates a sort of internal conflict for the youth; here they put: "These incompatible values may lead to internal conflict for

youths, who must make decisions about how to behave across contexts and how to cope with a variety of potentially ambiguous situations''. (Gonzales et al., 2004, p. 289).

Immigrant parents bring with them their conceptual models of successful socialization relating to childrearing from their heritage culture. However, they also find other socialization agents (e.g., other parents, teachers, professionals) in destination societies, which prompts them to use new and different strategies for child upbringing (Bornstein et al., 2020)[11].

So, it can be perceived that enculturation is the process of learning one's culture. There is a great intersection between it and the concept of socialization. Enculturation can be both deliberate and didactic by the socializer but also could be implicit or indirect.

3.2.2 The concept of remote enculturation

Ferguson et al. (2016) have introduced a new concept named Remote Enculturation to describe the enculturation process of migrant children or others who are born in a context than their original one. As we have reviewed some aspects of the enculturation process and presented some definitions from the literature, remote enculturation is also relevant for understanding the acculturation process of diasporic Kurdish families in Norway.

In the traditional ways of enculturation, immigrant parents are used to exposing children to the heritage culture to instil and perpetuate their children's attachment to the original culture, as we have seen in the case of culture socialization presented by (Hughes et al., 2006). However, due to advanced means of telecommunications in the modern era, reaching out to the sources and information about heritage culture has become much more accessible (Ferguson et al., 2016). The authors stipulate that the first generation immigrants usually maintain 'cultural bonds' and second and later generations learn about their original culture via the internet, satellite television, and music (p. 169).

[11] Accessed August 21, 2021. https://www.child-encyclopedia.com/immigration/according-experts/immigration-acculturation-and-parenting

Parallel to the concept of remote acculturation (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012), whereby the authors describe how adolescents of Jamaican islanders became oriented to the American culture, values, behaviours, and language from afar due to the process of globalization and flux of cultural products and media, remote enculturation highlights the way in which people also learn their heritage culture from the destination ones. In comparison, remote acculturation may be associated with a lack of satisfaction in adolescents with their social living conditions (Ferguson et al., 2017). Enculturation of individuals into their original culture remotely increases the attachment to the family roots, and "remote enculturation is expected to fortify cultural identity and family interactions, thereby fostering well-being" (Ferguson et al., 2016, p. 167).

In comparing traditional and remote enculturation (Ferguson et al., 2016), the authors present a list of dimensions in which both enculturations occur. As for immigrant children who lack direct contact with heritage culture, their parents usually arrange contact with heritage culture and prepare visits in summer to get to know more about their original customs and traditions; see also (Levitt, 2007) who describes how immigrants and diasporic organizations usually organize planned visits for their children to attend summer courses in their original countries. Remote enculturation can be youth-initiated rather than parents; it is 'self-initiated, and the relatives who live in the original culture have a positive role in remote enculturation.

Ferguson et al. (2016) contemplate that the process of remote enculturation for youth may be self-initiated because it is associated with the idea of identity. Hence, they state: "Adolescents' need to construct identity and achieve autonomy couples with greater technological skills and access, so these emerging adults are more likely to be the agents of remote enculturation" (p.168). In addition, there are some motivational and cognitive processes engaged in the remote enculturation process. Citing identity construction motivations form (Vignoles et al., 2006), the authors believe that both traditional and remote enculturation share most of the identity construction motivations, which involve: "the need for meaning, continuity, belongingness, distinctiveness, efficacy, and self-esteem" (p. 168).

According to Ferguson et al.'s concept, remote enculturation can increasingly exist in media and communications literature. Consistent with this theorizing; actually we have extended examples highlighting the role and effect of media and communications on migrant generations; for instance, Candan and his colleague's paper (Candan & Hunger, 2008) explains and gives evidence of how Kurdish migrants are using the internet to create virtual nationalism, and how this technology helps increase awareness and attachment among diaspora networks worldwide Kurdish socio-cultural and political issues. Moreover, how these migrants construct virtual institutions and polarize support for Kurdish claims. Similarly, in this context, the study on second-generation Korean American adolescents elaborates on the influence of receiving Korean media from afar on their ethnic identity formation by learning the language and viewing transnational Korean films (Oh, 2011).

In light of the above, the increasing diasporic communications with their cultural content due to modern media and advanced communication technologies in recent years has opened up new approaches for acculturation and enculturation. We have seen that the migrants have many 'channels and choices to draw on at the level of acculturation towards the dominant culture, receiving society, and enculturation in retaining the migrants' heritage culture, and, not forgetting, the existence of challenges and opportunities and choices in between-such as biculturalism.

Here we comprehend that acculturation is referred to as the adaptation and adjusting of the acculturing groups and their members to the host culture. in this chapter, several acculturation accounts and models have been presented. The historical trajectory has been highlighted, showing how this concept evolved and penetrated different disciplines. It changed from its classical meaning to more multidirectional. In contrast, enculturation is the process of individuals learning of norms, values and behaviours of their home culture. Due to the technological and communicational advances in the modern era, Ferguson et al. (2016) have presented the term remote enculturation to describe the process of learning the individuals of their own home culture utilizing the internet and the accessibility to the cultural materials and other modern avenues from afar.

4. Theoretical scientific and methodological choices

As demonstrated in the introduction, this study aims to discern and understand how both remote enculturation and acculturation phenomena are in parallel carried out in the diasporic Kurdish families in Norway. Identifying my aims here is to remind my readers of the structure of the research methodology I am commencing to discuss in this chapter.

Social and human scientists use different approaches in dealing with people's situations, life experiences, and depositions that are not subjected to objective and context-free options. On the contrary, their lives are personally experienced, subjective, and contextualized (Higgs et al., 2012). According to hermeneutic thought, understanding transcends what we nowadays conceive as knowledge; it is more than passing and receiving facts. It is a sort of art which cannot be structured in a rule-governed science. Whereas "[u]nderstanding is knowledge in the deeper sense of grasping not just facts but their integration into a meaningful whole" (Zimmermann, 2015, p. 2). Applying this insight to my current research, hermeneutics is a practical approach that fits my methodological endeavour. In addition to the hermeneutic foundations presented in the chapter's section about scientific theories, I will discuss the qualitative approach, specifically the data collection method (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Silverman, 2014), and the interview guide in the succeeding parts of the chapter.

4.1 Hermeneutical foundation of science for the research project

In qualitative inquiry, hermeneutic thought has been viewed as an important tool in offering researchers a good source for ideas (Kinsella, 2006). Insofar as the centre of qualitative research is understanding and interpretation, which contrasts the principle of verification and explanation, Kinsella (2006) suggests that the connection between the qualitative research and hermeneutic thought is evident; citing in Gadamer's account that suggests "understanding (verstehen) is the universal link to all interpretation of any kind" (p.1).

Writers and thinkers have presented several approaches to rejecting the positivism doctrine in applying the natural science traditions to social reality, and hermeneutic tradition is one of these approaches. As a term, hermeneutics has been imported into the

social science, drawn from theology (Koch, 1996; Schwandt, 2000; Zimmermann, 2015); It refers to the art or science of interpretation (Smythe & Spence, 2012) and is concerned with the theory and method of interpreting human actions (Bryman, 2012, p. 28). However, Gadamer's hermeneutics philosophy rejects the interpretivist view, the classic epistemological picture of the interpreter's task, the kind of understanding they produce, and the idea of being art or a technique of understanding. Rather, it is a very condition of being human, and, thus, "understanding is interpretation", it is not " an isolated activity of human being but a basic structure of our experience of life" (Schwandt, 2000, p. 194).

Moreover, regardless of its ontological meaning associated with human existence, as we realized through Gadamer's view of understanding mentioned above, it has been seen as influential in formulating interpretivism as an epistemology (Schwandt, 2000). Where bringing out the meanings of a text by the analyst from the perspective of the text author is the essence of hermeneutics where, thus, a great emphasis should be placed on the context—social and historical—in which the text, data, social actions, or other non-documentary data have been produced. As such, the importance of the hermeneutic approach for qualitative researchers is that it draws explicitly on two central principles of qualitative inquiry strategy: the first is the analysis of text from the author's point of view; the second is sensitivity to the context (Bryman, 2012, pp. 560,561).

The notion of the hermeneutic circle is the most resonant in the theory of hermeneutics; most hermeneutic writers and thinkers have addressed it; it is about the dynamic relationships between the part and the whole, with a series of levels (Smith et al., 2009). In order to understand any given part (specific sentence, act, utterance), you need to understand the whole (the complex of intentions, desires, beliefs, practice, forms of life, language game, and so on.); in turn, to understand the whole, you need to understand the parts (Schwandt, 2000, p. 193). The circle of the hermeneutic phenomenological approach to analysis is a continuous process; the themes emerge, and the researcher returns to the data and starts to re-read it (Dibley et al., 2020). As a result of the hermeneutic circle, the process of analysis is iterative, where the researcher may move forth and back in variant ways of thinking about the data, which contrasts the other qualitative approaches to research analysis that are more in linear and step by step form (Smith et al., 2009).

Indeed, through the hermeneutic circle perspective, I realized how it is working through my research facets. While I was transcribing the informants' statements, the goal of my study was more apparent to me; in contrast, sometimes, I needed to go back to read my research question and the objective of my research to understand the interview statements. This iterative back and forth during the whole project process, and even between chapters, and the interviews, were a fundamental style I followed to help increase my understanding. Another example is when reviewing the literature about acculturation and enculturation; I realized how my knowledge of these two topics was shaped. Notably, within all these processes, I found my pre-understandings, whether my past orientation as a Kurd who is acquainted with the context and/or present experience as a migrant, during the project, enhanced my interpretation and, thus, understanding of the phenomena under study as suggested by the hermeneutic circle, where I could not relinquish my pre-understanding—"bracketing of pre-understandings".

4.2 Research methods and justification

The qualitative method has been chosen for conducting this research. In its simple form, qualitative research involves the verbal description of real-life/ situations; it differs from the quantitative approach by its quest to understand, describe the phenomena and interpret the process and meaning (Silverman, 2014, pp. 4-5). The purpose is to confirm that each human conceives the world in a particular way, where ''qualitative research was born out of a recognition that each individual experiences the world in fundamentally idiosyncratic ways''(Peck & Mummery, 2018, p. 389). Creswell and Poth's definition of qualitative research provides a greater emphasis on the research design and the use of distinct approaches of inquiry; they suggest that: "[q]ualitative research begins with assumptions and the use of interpretive/theoretical frameworks that inform the study of research problems addressing the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem" (Creswell & Poth, 2016, p. 8).[12]

The underlying reasons for choosing the qualitative research method for this study are due to the nature of my research question being posed and the aim to carry out this

[12] Creswell, John W.; Poth, Cheryl N.. Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design (p. 8). SAGE Publications. Kindle Edition.

research, where the essence is based on the idea of interpreting the meaning of the participants' lived experiences and own practices. I was in great doubt of the capacity of the quantitative approach to help illuminate and accurately, so to speak, highlight the unique aspects of experience, knowledge sharing, thoughts, feelings, reflections and interpretation of the participants. In contrast, through the qualitative method, the respondents may acquire the possibility of interpreting their lifeworld by themselves through the interviews. Likewise, as mentioned above, the nature of my research question requires a hermeneutic approach that rejects bipolar questions but suggests open-ended questions. But more importantly, as an insider who may use his "fore- structure," preconception or preknowledge, I thought of the matter of language and dialectical variations issues within the diasporic Kurdish community in Norway, actually not only in Norway but in other places could impede conducting the quantitative research method.

As a researcher, I share some particular characteristics of the group under study, such as similar immigration background and ethnonational affiliation, and having children born in Norway; all these, to a specific extent, entailed choosing the scope and topic of this current study. Indeed, how acculturation and enculturation matters are going on or pursued in tandem, and what sort of familial socialization practices are carried out within the diasporic Kurdish families? In addition to these queries, other complex ideas—to borrow from my "fore-structure"—related to the particularities of a stateless population who embrace thoughts and feelings and memories of their people or their homelands and the specific political conditions peculiar to these people.

Before embarking on the topic chosen for this study, I watched a dialogue on popular social media. In that program, the host asked the guest her opinion on a video showing that some Kurdish children with the same age group were born and grew up in one of the settlement countries and related to that county while the other children related to their parents' homeland–Kurdistan. The guest strongly criticized the parents whose children did not relate to Kurdistan and attributed familial socialization practices. Of course, this is not a new debate or a novel discussion among the diasporic Kurdish people. As such, the debate had drawn my attention to be one of the choices of my research topic with changing some of its aspects.

In the light of positionality, or insider/outsider perspective, and insofar as the methodological issues are concerned, my linguistic, ethnic and/or cultural aptitude and, to a great extent, my migratory background facilitated access to the realm of the participants' experience and interactions. I grasped their reflections on the phenomena under examination. Indeed, I perceived in many situations what they mean when reflecting on their experiences and practices. As a researcher who shares the ethnic and cultural background of the participants, I also realized at the outset that this would help me to an extent throughout the whole research process. From choosing RQ or topic, data collection method to the knowledge of the context of the study. Which eventually would assist in finding meaning and extracting knowledge through grasping of interpretation that is, in turn, considered a hallmark of the entire study and its primary objective.

Understanding the informants' languages in interviews is vital for the researcher while collecting and interpreting data, especially when grasping and distinguishing between the metaphors and other figures of speeches or even sayings and aphorisms usually used by informants. An example of the metaphor used by the participant Aram was using the word 'left route' several times as a metaphor for the phrase 'wrong route/track'; 'left', here, equates to or means 'wrong' in the language context spoken in Kurmanji dialect, the participant used while discussing the potentiality of taking the wrong way by the youth if left unmonitored by their parents.

But undeniably, the challenges associated with being an insider are also imminent. Where I realized from the first interview the matter of being taken for granted was evident in some situations; therefore, I had to intervene to reassure my role and status as the researcher only came to listen and was interested in what the participant said. After the first interview, I stated before any interview that I was the interviewer who "listens but could talk little" so that the matter of anticipation and taking for granted be mitigated.

In this regard, Carling et al. (2014), in their article, suggest a third position notion by enlisting five subcategories under which the researchers in the migration field could be classified regarding insider-outsider categories. As for insiders, the authors point out issues rather than common ethnonational characteristics between the researcher and the informants; they anticipate:

> "In fact, when researcher and informants share ethno-national origins, differences in, for instance, class, education or migration history can be accentuated. Taking these differences seriously is an ethical and methodological duty that should not be veiled by ethno-national 'insider' status."(Carling et al., 2014, p. 52).

On the other side, the minority and indigenous scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith on outsiders researching indigenous communities; in her introduction, she puts: "[i]n other words, research is not an innocent or distant academic exercise but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions" (Smith, 1999, p. 5).

The place for in-between is not easy; however, I can say that the research eventually should be "for the good of informers and society", and a major focus I pay is on how my research should seek to be transparent and impartial in all research phases following the guidelines of the Norwegian National Committee for Research Ethics in Social Sciences and Humanities, NESH, (NESH, 2016)[13].

4.3 Constructing the Interview Guide

In order to understand and discern the nature of remote enculturation and acculturation features in the Kurdish immigrant families, I created a set of questions (14 extended questions, the first two questions are introductory), see appendix 1, that will help examine the phenomena under study. I constructed the questionnaire list so that it would be understandable and flexible, covering both concepts separately. Even some questions in the remote enculturation part of questions are stretched to contain some aspects of acculturation, such as language spoken at home and identity-related questions (see questions 2 and 7 in the interview schedule in the appendix). As a result, I did not repeat any acculturation-related questions again if the respondents had already given their accounts on acculturation issues. This would help manage the time of the interview and avoid any repetition that could, consequently, create a sort of monotony and/or boredom.

[13] This link will guide to the NESH guidance: https://www.forskningsetikk.no/en/guidelines/social-sciences-humanities-law-and-theology/guidelines-for-research-ethics-in-the-social-sciences-humanities-law-and-theology/

Initially, the research was designed to be about only the concept of remote enculturation, and two interviews were conducted on that basis. However, two reasons yielded to the extension of the main research question; the first, due to the initial data of these two interviews as the participants presented some accounts on the host culture automatically, which caught my attention, and the second is during the work on the theoretical chapter of this study (chapter 2), I did an extensive search in reviewing literature and found that the concept of acculturation could be coupled with remote enculturation, for instance (Berry & Sam, 2016b; Ferguson et al., 2016; Kim & Alamilla, 2017; Padilla & Perez, 2003). Following this change, I made up my research question to reflect these two terms; the last two interviews included both concepts (14 extended questions). However, the majority of the questions are first concept-related.

The interview questions focus on the parents' practices, the spoken language within the family, and discussions and topics to stimulate children's attention towards the heritage culture, assimilation concerns, etc. (8 extended questions). Then, on the other axis, the practices and experiences of these families towards the receiving culture (4 extended questions). These questions cover cultural, linguistic, and relational aspects and probe the nature of approaching the mainstream community.

Technically, a semi-structured interview was used (Bryman, 2012; Smith & Osborn, 2003). It creates a kind of space where the participant can reflect and elaborate his account freely, and the researcher also has a leeway where he or she can probe and intervene while necessary. It is open-ended questions that refute the idea of the closed, bipolar, or wrong-right questions.

4.4 Data collection

This empirical study is based on the qualitative method of research. The criteria did not stipulate that the participants had to be only male, but I did not manage to find female informers falling under the research criteria requirement. As a result, four Kurdish male immigrants with young children born in Norway were interviewed. The criteria entailed having participants who experienced acculturation and enculturation phenomena. Due to

the nature of the Kurdish diaspora in Norway, and to protect my participants from any harm that they could be recognizable, I will not identify their actual place of residence, the time spent in Norway and their original homeland (NESH, 2016), I am masking their names to assure the anonymity.

During my master's study, I was introduced to the diasporic Kurds in Rogaland province. After one year, I sought their help to find some people who fit the sampling category of the study. As a result, I managed to get contact information with one of the participants; he accepted to participate in the subsequent scheduled interview. I have checked through the social media using different keywords concerning the Kurds and their organizations in Norway; then, I found some particular accounts belonging to the Kurdish diaspora in Norway. I could make contacts with organizations. There was a meeting with them. They offered me the contact information of two persons accordingly.

Although in the prima facia, I thought the fieldwork would be undergone smoothly and in a short time due to having access to the diasporic organizations that would facilitate the process of reaching the needed sample. However, the fieldwork is by no means without challenges. First, the category required by the study is demanding, a Kurd and migrant parent with young children born in Norway; this means that the person should have lived in the host country, Norway, for a relatively long time. The number seemed to me to be somehow limited compared to Sweden, the neighbouring Scandinavian country to Norway, and people I could reach through the cooperation of the Kurdish organizations mostly did not fall under the requirement of this intended study. The ones I came to contact with were unencouraged to participate; the obstruction was due to time limit, personal, family, and work reasons, and Corona repercussions as well. At the same time, those who were unencouraged to participate tended to offer contact numbers of others who could participate, stressing that they were not reluctant but due to the causes mentioned above. Second, the novel pandemic, Covid 19- Corona, that outbroken the world and strict measures imposed by state and local municipalities had impeded the full implementation of the scheduled face-to-face interviews. Hence, I had to wait until the situation allowed us to resume our program in a comfortable environment.

Another critical challenge during the journey of data collection is due to change in the research question. As a result, much time was consumed redirecting the research track, including rewriting the theoretical chapter and interview guide broadening. The plan had

been changed, and the focus or scope of the study had been stretched to include the second current part of the study, that is, the acculturation experiences of Kurdish diasporic families. As mentioned before, the underlying reason for having the 'acculturation' concept accompany 'remote enculturation' is the data of the first two interviews; where it came out automatically some intriguing data in relation to the host culture, the matter that did arouse my curiosity to pursue a concept that could simulate the participants' experiences towards mainstream culture. Integration was one of the choices, but after, I chose acculturation as a comprehensive concept that carries integration along with other aspects, as we had seen in the theoretical chapter (2) of this study.

Despite the existence of an online style for conducting interviews in qualitative research as a method for collecting data, I was concerned about gathering my data in the same way to avoid, eventually, any mixing data collection. Therefore, I just intended and continue the verbal face-to-face interviews. The reason, again, was also to get the whole picture of the context under study. I conducted two pilot interviews with friends prior to interviews to learn more about my schedule and the consuming time needed for each interview. This helped me actually to formulate one of the questions, identity-related questions, as it was unclear to the receiver.

Semi-structured interview technic formed the frame of the study. In this context, this form of interview is characterized as: "It facilitates rapport/empathy, allows a greater flexibility of coverage and allows the interview to go into novel areas, and it tends to produce richer data"(Smith & Osborn, 2003, p. 59). It is formulated based on a set of questions that the researcher has prepared in advance, going from generic information to particular. Four interviews were conducted intermittent, and the interviews were recorded via a voice-recording device. Interviews were taken place in the form of verbal face-to-face; the time consumed from each interview ranged from 35-50 minutes. The language of communication for all interviews was Kurdish.

As the research language is English, I translated the participants' responses from Kurdish to English. A great emphasis had been placed on the translation process while transcribing the data; I did my best to be transparent in order not to miss any single perspective relevant and viable to the aim of this study.

Since the line between the researcher and the participant in qualitative research is usually blurred, ethical issues need to be considered; the researcher should receive consent

and protect the confidentiality of data. Inasmuch as the value and beliefs system of both the researcher and the participant could be different, participants should be treated with dignity, and their time should be respected. The purpose is to collect data but not make judgments (Corbin & Strauss, 2014, p. 13).

Accordingly, I was aware that these instructions were followed during my interviews for ethical considerations. I got a signed consent letter from the respondent following the Norwegian Center for Research Data NSD[14]. Following the participants' desires, three interviews were conducted in the participants' homes, in a quiet environment and interruption-free. The fourth was in a location appointed by the participant, which was more comfortable for him. Prior to any interview, I notified the participants of their right to leave any questions unanswered while necessary, the study's aim, the interview style, and a short introduction to my interview schedule. I exchanged contact information with my participants to stay in touch during the research period to omit or add any necessary information while needed. I experienced from the first interview that identity-related question (question 7 in the questionnaire list) was difficult for the participant to grasp. As such, I managed to intervene and help the participant by simplifying it better, which led me to bear in mind in every interview afterwards.

Confidentiality is the essence of processing my research group data; I gave my informants pseudonyms at all research stages to increase the participants' personal data privacy, following the guidelines of NESH (2016). Further, due to the nature of the diasporic Kurdish communities and families and their in-group relations, I am aware the participants could be recognizable if their information had been released in this study regarding the dates, name of cities, their current residence places, and even by the gender of their children. As such, I blocked all relevant information; only the aliases would be called while needed. Also, I had covered the gender of their children when having to mention them throughout their discussions by using both subjects, "he and she," together whenever needed.

4.5 Transcription process

The transcription process started right after each interview, where I converted these voice recordings into transcript text and transcribed my field notes to extract themes across

[14] . A copy of the NSD information letter is attached in the Appendix section.

the interviews. During the transcription process, it was essential for me to remove all identifying information, whether names or places or any other markers that could uncover the privacy and confidentiality of my informants, following the guidelines of the Norwegian National Research Ethics Community (NESH, 2016). The transcription style I followed was to transcribe word by word. I was aware of including the emotional tones, especially laughter, humour, sarcasm, and nostalgic moments, if any, by inserting notations in square brackets. As the interviews were in the Kurdish language, I translated them into English accurately.

The answers were sometimes contented with aphorisms, metaphors, and sayings. Through transcription and interview translation, I realised how important it is for a researcher to be fluent in the informants' language in order to deeply understand the informant's statements while starting the analysis and interpretation of the interviews. In the same context, at times, the interviewees were saying some Norwegian words and sayings, which I was actually able to comprehend and translate and transcribe correctly.

4.6 Chapter summary

This chapter was the most challenging part of my research journey. Initially, it was merely a chapter to me, but it was not. Indeed, much time and effort were dedicated to being completed. The reason behind this experience is that to embark on a specific research methodology for your research project is to study and compare the research methods and then reflect on the suitable one with your research question to check its practicality. Also, this chapter could be considered a backbone of the project in which all operations should be conducted and then evaluated.

As presented here in the section, hermeneutics forms the philosophical and theoretical underpinning of the chosen methodology. The chapter also addressed the research approach, which is qualitative, and I attempted to justify the underlying reasons to have this approach, which is due to the nature of RQ, the objective of the study and using my 'fore structure' as an insider. Other parts of the section addressed the semi-structured interview technique and the associated details, field notes, and challenges encountered during the process. The last parts were about the interview guide and the transcription process as well. We turn now to a new section, which will be allocated for presenting data (chapter 5), which will pave the way for the discussion part (chapter 6).

5. Data presentation

5.1 The encoding process

As discussed in the earlier chapter, the qualitative approach has been chosen as the research method, and the interviews are the method for collecting data. This chapter will present the data collected from four individual interviews conducted with Kurdish parents having young children born in Norway and some of my fieldwork notes. However, before I present the concrete data findings, I will discuss the analysis process, including coding, categorizing and thematic labels. In this process of interpretation, it is important to remember that "For Schleiermacher, interpretation is not a matter of following mechanical rules. Rather it is a craft or art, involving the combination of a range of skills, including intuition"(Smith et al., 2009, p. 22).

Seeking to grasp the genuine content of each interview, I started reading the interview entirely several times. By doing so, I attempted to comprehend the context of the specific statements and the whole text of the interview, which is one primary aspect of the hermeneutic circle and starting the coding process. After that stage, I started to mark some particular comments (words/ phrases). Such a process is defined as coding, as a code " is most often a word or a short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data." (Saldaña, 2021, p. 5). The markers or codes had "meanings". I then drew an overview of the interview codes.

To this end, I used the word document. First, for each interview, I drew a table with two columns; the one on the left side was big enough, in which a copy of the interview was pasted in, and on the other column on the right side, I left it for the codes, comments and descriptions which identified or summarized the passages or statements or even the words. "Be aware that a code can sometimes summarize, distill, or condense data, not simply reduce them (Saldaña, 2021, p. 7), a remark that I was deeply aware of. I marked these codes with a particular colour code. Whenever a new meaning emerged, I colour-coded it and its associated statement in the interview column with the same colour. After completing all interviews' coding process, I created a new document and drew a new table with four columns this time. I identified each column with the fictive name I used to identify

my informants. Then I pasted all those codes of each interview in their proper place, maintaining their original colour code.

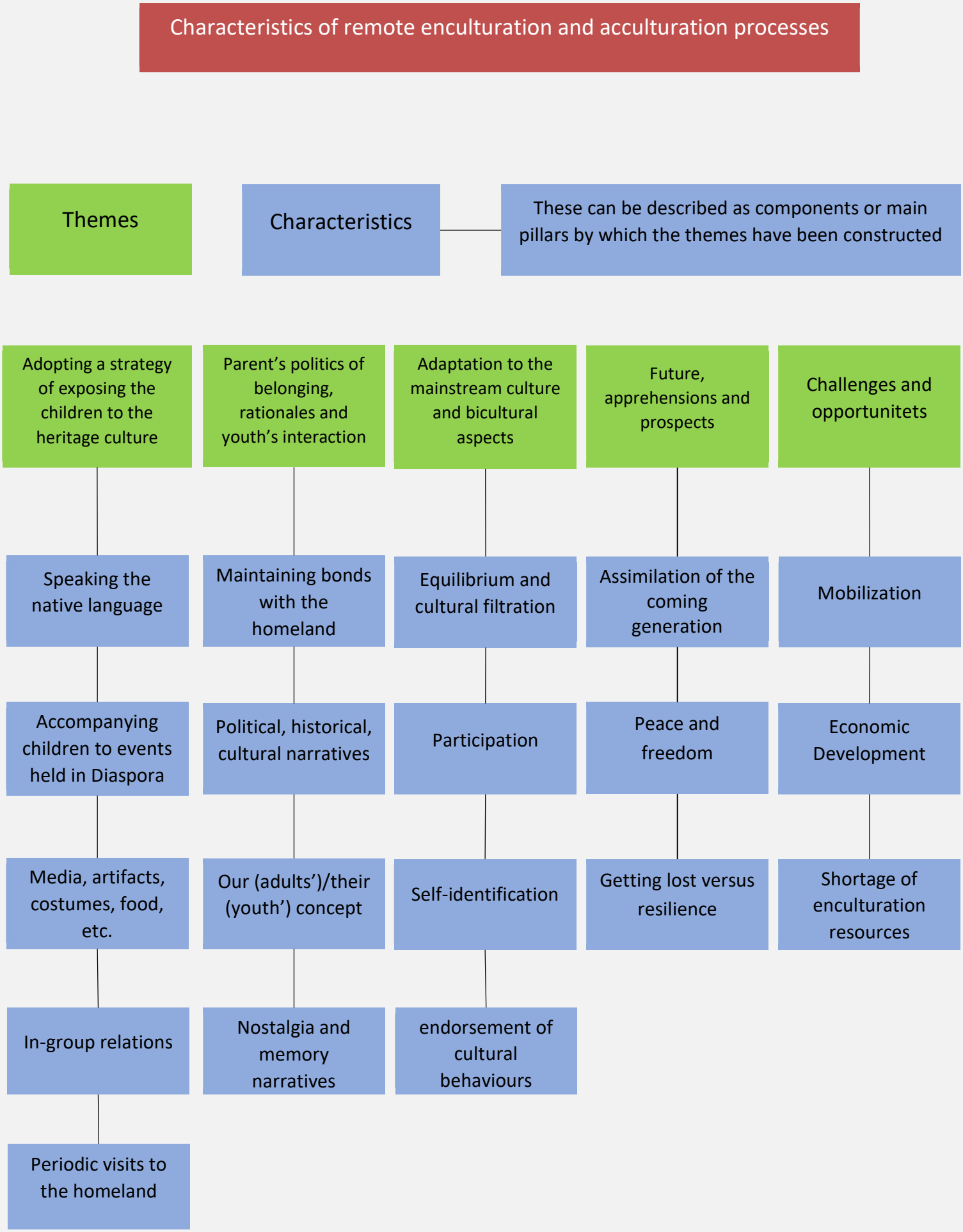
The next step was to group these codes under specific categories or “families” on which the thematic labels were constructed. In describing the nature of thematic labels, I “[i]dentified on the basis of the "forestructure of understanding" developed through the ongoing review of existing literature/research; the research goals, questions, and themes used to develop the interview guide” (Patterson & Williams, 2002, p. 48). The same authors also considered, “In other words, the thematic labels are interpretive.” (p. 47).

So, I clustered these codes into categories with their actual colour code after removing the similarly repeated codes. For instance, the code “linguistic capability of children” that was blue-coloured in all four interviews had been founded several times for each interview. So, I removed all and kept only one, no matter under which interview, because the colour would guide me to its actual place in the interview texts. This expedited my work when I needed to find the respondent’s statement to quote it in the data presentation process.

It is worth mentioning that some codes could be subsumed under different categories which do not necessarily follow only one category, the matter that can be unique with hermeneutics analysis, as Patterson and Willams (2001) underscore. Further, “categories are not always discretely bounded but oftentimes overlap” Bazeley, 2013, cited in (Saldaña, 2021, p. 15).

5.2 Interviews and fieldwork results: an overall picture

The results shown here are in the form of five themes that emerged from the collected data through the interviews and my field notes registered during the interviews. Chart 1 lists the themes and their main components on which the main themes were constructed. My informers were given the pseudonymous names: Aram, Hewa, Serhed and Zana. Each has a different life experience, making the interviews rich and relevant. Also, in some cases, I hid the gender of their children by positioning two genders together into brackets so as not to be identifiable.


Characteristics of remote enculturation and acculturation processes
Themes
Characteristics
These can be described as components or main pillars by which the themes have been constructed
Adopting a strategy of exposing the children to the heritage culture
Parent's politics of belonging, rationales and youth's interaction
Adaptation to the mainstream culture and bicultural aspects
Future, apprehensions and prospects
Challenges and opportunitets
Speaking the native language
Maintaining bonds with the homeland
Equilibrium and cultural filtration
Assimilation of the coming generation
Mobilization
Accompanying children to events held in Diaspora
Political, historical, cultural narratives
Participation
Peace and freedom
Economic Development
Media, artifacts, costumes, food, etc.
Our (adults')/their (youth') concept
Self-identification
Getting lost versus resilience
Shortage of enculturation resources
In-group relations
Nostalgia and memory narratives
endorsement of cultural behaviours
Periodic visits to the homeland

5.3 Exposing the children to the heritage culture

The participants realize that the home is the place to teach the children the Kurdish culture and traditions as the schools, kindergartens, and the whole system is in Norwegian, through which the children learn the Norwegian culture and language. These parents reported that they follow a particular approach to teaching and exposing their children to learning, whether in the home or through Kurdish events held in the diasporic space. It could be by speaking the Kurdish language in the home, following the Kurdish media, such as songs, videos, news, etc. While outside the home, the matter is related to accompanying the children to the various activities and events held by the Kurdish communities in Norway or private activities by Kurdish migrants.

Pertaining to the language spoken in the home, Aram stated: " We do not speak a single Norwegian word […]. My eldest [son/daughter's] Kurdish is better than mine. Our children are top at both Kurdish and Norwegian languages". On other aspects related to the education of children on the heritage culture, Aram said:

" I always go to the Kurdish gatherings, join events, and take them with me; I am doing so to help them not deviate from the line. In the whole […] region what events and activities take place, I take them with me always to remember and not forget ". He also added: " I buy Kurdish clothes for them. I teach them everything."

Also, Zana has mentioned the same tactic for getting their children to know about their heritage culture. He considers the strategies as in-group relations, visiting the homeland, and special events: " We have our Kurdish Tv, and we have our many Kurdish events, for example, Nowroz days, Kurdish weddings, and others. Here, the people visit each other, and our children see how we speak our Kurdish language.". Zana believes that it is a school-like way for children to learn about their culture by visiting the homeland. In this respect, he asserted: "Almost every year, our children may travel to Kurdistan. […]. So it can be considered a considerable school for them to understand where they originally came from and how to get to know the Kurdish culture and life! And this is an excellent way." (Zana). While regarding the language spoken in the home, he said: "We often talk Kurdish with each other, but we speak Norwegian also. I can say that their language is very well." (Zana).

Hewa's strategy is to speak only the Kurdish language to children while they are at an early age and pursue some other relevant approaches. In this context, he stated: "We attempted to speak only Kurdish with them at home …, especially at the early ages. We tried too much to teach them; we brought with us Kurdish books. … especially for the eldest ones; we taught them how to read and write the Kurdish language." (Hewa)

His response corresponds with other informers concerning the parental strategic actions to expose the children born in Norway to the original Kurdish culture; periodic visits to the homeland, regular use of Kurdish media from afar via the internet and frequent interactions with Kurdish diasporic families. "We watch Kurdish TV and newspapers via the internet; if there is a Kurdish activity in the area, we attend it. There are exchange visits among Kurdish families" (Hewa).

Concerning the importance of teaching children, the parents' native language, Hewa placed a huge responsibility for the parents' actions: "|We have some children here who cannot speak with their relatives in Kurdistan […] this is unfavourable if you cannot communicate in Kurdish. So, it is their parents' fault […] if your own child cannot talk with your mother in your language" (Hewa). Thus, visiting the homeland almost every year, when the situation allows for it, is considered important, although challenged during the pandemics. "Our children regularly visit Kurdistan, but these years they could not travel due to Corona; otherwise, they used to travel almost every year" (Hewa).

For his part, Serhed, who comes from a background where speaking the Kurdish native language is/was prohibited in the country he came from, believes that such practices as mentioned above also are beneficial working strategies to teach children the basic Kurdish traditions and culture; he expressed as follows: "all that you can do is to do it at home; like you can learn the Kurdish language, make Kurdish food, wear Kurdish clothes in front of them, and if there is a Kurdish event you can participate, e.g. we are celebrating and going to Newroz celebration. If not possible all these, you can at least use Kurdish Music, videos, Tv […]." (Serhed)

But when it comes to the spoken language in the home, Serhed responded that Norwegian is the language they speak with children, and the reason was: "We began to

speak Kurdish late with them; that is why we tried to send them the home to learn Kurdish." (Serhed)

We have seen here that the theme of heritage transmission is constructed on five fundamental pillars: speaking the Kurdish language at home, accompanying the children in the activities outside the home, establishing in-group relations with other Kurds, following the Kurdish media, literature, costumes, etc. and having periodic visits to their homeland.

5.4 Parents' politics of belonging, rationales, and youth's interaction

5.4.1 Learning to belong

Apart from the strategy of teaching and exposing the children to their heritage culture, the interviews showed that parents pursue particular practices to transmit and instil the Kurdish values, norms and/or principles adopted by those parents to their children; what could be called the '*Kurdishness'*. The methods and practices could be in the form of narratives, e.g. political and historical events and cultural and political symbols and markers, and it could also be through maintaining and strengthening the bonds with their families in the homeland. The other essential practices also followed are narratives that may distinguish them from others, whether from other Kurds or even from the receiving culture. These practices usually target the older children, not the children at an early age. Otherwise, the first theme of heritage transmission is mainly approached.

In this regard, Zana highlights that the children sometimes ask him about the unique event in his life; he responds to them: "The happiest event was the 91st popular insurrection. As we were refugees in the neighbouring country, a dictator used to rule our country so that we could go back home; we got liberated, and the freedom emerged as a result." (Zana)

For his part, Aram points out that he talks to his children about the Kurdish revolutions, the symbolic national leaders and their autobiographies; he narrates: "We talk about the historical events, Mala Mustafa and Masoud Barzani's autobiography and struggle. We talk about the Kurdish revolutions […], revolutions in the eras of Sheikh Seid, Qadi Mohammad, Abdulrahman Qasimlo, Sharaf Kandi". (Aram)

He added in this context: “I used to bring Kurdish books, but they were in Arabic; they could not read them, but I tried to talk to them about what books are about.” (Aram)

Aram also stressed the importance of raising the children in the love of their Kurdishness; he says: “ [t] hey have to grow up according to Kurdish customs and traditions. How we were educated on Kurdishness by our ancestors, we should also educate our children in the same way.” He thus continues in the same sense: “They must be Kurds; they must be Kurdistani”— a person who should be passionate about and support other Kurds from other parts.

Aram tries to teach his children the same way he had been raised; he says: “For over 20 years, I struggled for Kurdishness. As I learned Kurdishness from others, I try to teach my children to the bone.” (Aram).

As a part of the parental teaching process for the children, Aram suggested that one should make a comparison between the Kurdish and the Norwegian traditions and customs:

“ […] one should teach children how Kurdishness is, telling and teaching the Kurdish traditions, customs and stories; one should talk about ours and theirs.” (Aram)

In furtherance of the above, Hewa stated that the parents ought to touch a sympathetic chord to enhance their children’s consciousness. He alleged the following: “One should work on the passion side of his children as we were one part and divided us into four parts; they dispersed us and made us refugees” (Hewa).

In responding to whether there is any contact with their families, all respondents confirmed that they are in ongoing contact with their families in the motherland; for instance, but not limited, Hewa stated: “ today, we have Viber, messenger, and talk in video calls; we talk together, and they want to speak with our children” (Hewa).

At the same point, Aram also claimed that: “ In order not to sever from each other, I want my children to maintain their ties with my relatives; otherwise, they will break up from each other” (Aram).

In the context of political and historical narratives, Hewa expressed that his family sit together a time at least to eat an afternoon meal; usually, they simultaneously exchange

some talks about what is happening in the homeland, “as you know, we are coming from a land full of events [with smiling]” (Hewa). He added: “today, for instance, [day of the interview conducted] elections are taking place in Iraq and Kurdistan; we will exchange talks about it”, and he concluded his statement by saying, “at times we talk about Anfal campaigns and chemical strikes against Kurds; one day is about Newroz. So, we have many occasions to talk about” (Hewa).

In the same sense, Zana emphasizes the idea of adapting to the age of the children. He affirmed that the nature of topics of discussion and dialogue with their children is varied. For small children, they specifically talk and teach them the basic cultural principles as demonstrated through the first theme. In contrast, there is a particular discussion and dialogue for those of the elder ages. By this distinction, they want to avoid any psychological repercussions on their children, as the magnitude of tragedies the Kurds have experienced is immense, according to him. He narrated here:

> “I mean, the children should not encounter any psychological state resulting from deep thinking about the disasters that may affect them psychologically. But when they grow up to 15/16/17 years old, we gradually tell them about the Kurdish tragedies.” (Zana)

He said that they purposely do not talk about some issues due to their psychological influence: “If I talk about the Anfal campaigns and the Halabcha, where I could tell them more than five thousand children and women were killed in moments, this might negatively influence them one day” (Zana),

Further to the political and historical narratives, maintaining bonds to the original land and clinging to the national markers and symbols, there is another component pursued by the parents to instil and consolidate the sense of belonging and Kurdish identity in their young children. That is homesickness mixed with feelings of nostalgia and the narratives of returning home one day; such narratives should not be glossed over. Hewa’s happier event in his life was at the 91st uprising when they could return to their homeland from the refuge in the neighbouring land. Here Serhed also expressed:

> "I have something I always say when comparing here and the homeland. Really, my stomach is full, but my heart is hungry. Why? Because I am homesick, I miss my mountains, stones, soil, language, and relatives" (Serhed)

He continued with a proverb, "The Turks say: 'The place in which your stomach is full is your homeland', which means your birthplace is not your homeland but the one that makes your stomach full. But we have to say right, Norway is like a paradise; for human life, for human rights" (Serhed). Sarhad added another proverb to express the climax of his feelings: "'the nightingale always asks for its land even its cage is made of gold. Although Norway is gold, I am always saying my homeland. … I tell my family to let me be buried in my land if I die!" (Sarhad).

The approach is rather than merely a teaching. It is meant to instil and consolidate the children's sense of belonging to *Kurdishness*. The process of teaching the children is not only limited to traditions and customs. Still, it exceeds at times to tackle the issues related to comparisons between the cultures, i.e., the Kurdish and Norwegian cultures. We perceive that keeping the bonds with the homeland is purposeful, so I clustered it under the politics of belonging.

5.4.2 Rationales of the parental politics

On the rationales or driving motives for these politics of belonging approached by the respondents, Hewa explained:

" Each country or nation wants their children not to go lost and try to preserve their lands. When it comes to the Kurds, our situation is very different. We are stateless that have many enemies" (Hewa).

He continued explaining the reason for instilling the Kurdishness by saying:

> we are, as a nation, among four countries attempting to obliterate us by all means. Therefore, we have to, in turn, struggle by all means not to be shrinking; we have to be increased, not in the form of violence but democratically and peacefully. (Hewa)

On the same basis, Aram stated:

> If we do not instil these things in our children, they will melt. Many are already melted here! They have abandoned and do not know two Kurdish words. So there is fear. … If we do not care for ourselves, we will leave [the Kurdishness]; be lost, not to mention the children! […], they [children] could join other society's groups and be dispersed. (Aram)

Furthermore, Hewa explained the purpose of such parental practices and actions in orienting their children to the original culture. He summarized it as follows:

> Our primary purposes are that our children do not forget their history and not lose themselves in this society. Let them mix, communicate, and integrate into this society and become a part of it. …At the same time, let them know who they are, their origins, why their parents came here, not originally from this country, and why they live here. Let them realize that their appearance is also different from other children around, so all these are necessary for them to apprehend (Hewa).

We perceive two reasons for the parental politics of belonging. The impact of the political context is deep-rooted in these parents' lives, even though they do not live in the homeland context. The other is the resistance against the imminent assimilation tide. As a result, Kurdishness has been represented as a way to survive.

5.4.3 Children's Interaction to parents' politics of belonging

This can be reflected in the form of participation, engagement, activism, etc., of the children to their parents' original culture due to the politics initiated by the parents. However, in particular cases, the children exhibit no interaction; we will realize that in Serhed's children's situation.

Concerning his children's interaction following raising on Kurdishnes, Aram stated that:

> They interact well; now, my eldest [Son/daughter, university student] can write in Kurdish, and [he/she] writes Kurdish poetry. They get influenced. Many of our [Kurdish boys/girls] went on the left route [metaphor for a wrong way], those are not ours,

> these[his children] are not those. In what life track we are at, our children also follow us. (Aram)

Further, Aram reaffirmed: “Sometimes we forget some occasions or essential things like Newroz days and Mother’s Day they remind us […]. If there is an activity or a party taking place here, they say we will go; I say ok, let us go. They watch Tv; they know everything.” (Aram)

While Zana described his young children’s reaction to the disastrous stories of the Kurds, such as Halabcha, he says: “They really get shocked! And say why all these, because they grow up here and have not experienced these things, you know!” (Zana). He described further:

> Our young children, not just mine, are proud of their Kurdishness. You can find many of these young people have tattooed on their shoulders the Kurdish map and our flag posted on their cars, wearing the Kurdish clothes, they can perform the Kurdish dances. (Zana)

He continued describing the interaction:

> The young come with us to marching, seminars, Kurdish meetings, gatherings, and other events related to the Kurdish question […].” He concludes his account on this point: “ Generally, I can say the young who heard about the Kurdish tragedy; their enthusiasm is really evoked, they want to be more active. (Zana)

However, the process of orienting the children to their original culture is not without difficulties: “Frankly, we cannot say that all young ideally think about Kurdish problems in a Kurdish-like way. Everywhere not just in our context, we call them the youth, where everybody is interested in youth issues” (Zana).

Meanwhile, Serhed has not promoted any form of political engagement. He attributed this due to the fact they are still young:

> Until now, they do not know who I am, why my family came here, and where they came from? They have not come to me a day saying: father, who are we, who are

> Kurds? They have not yet asked these questions […]. So I do not know if this is our fault or theirs. (Serhed)

He continued his talking in this regard: " It is possible, like when the bird by themselves try to fly. if they have faced any problem outside, they say ha ha, we are originally not Norwegians, and then they may search for their identity!" (seherd).

When it comes to Hewa's account in this regard, he highlights his young children's reaction, mainly the eldest [university student], by saying:

> "As our eldest [son/daughter] is around 19 years old. [he/she] takes the initiative to know by [her/him] self, checks Instagram, Facebook. […] follows most things related to the homeland through social media; for instance, follows Kurdish politicians. Sometimes informs me that this has happened in Kurdistan. […] asks too much about why the Kurds have dispersed, deported, and become refugees; why we do not have our own country. (Hewa)

In addition to the interviewees' accounts regarding politics of belonging, I registered some comments during the interviews. I had seen the Kurdish flag hung in the dining room of Zana's house. Hewa and Aram's TVs were set on the Kurdish channels. In contrast, I interviewed Serhed outside of his house. Another important point to mention here is that the eldest children of Aram, Zana, and Hewa are higher education students.

5.5 Adaptation to the Norwegian culture and promoting bicultural aspects of identity

The theme discusses some specific practices that serve the idea of adapting to the Norwegian. The respondents give their perceptions about the status of Norwegian culture in their daily life. The main components or characteristics of the theme include cultural filtration, cultural identification, participation, and endorsement of cultural behaviours. The idea of equilibrium between the Kurdish and the mainstream cultures is highly suggested throughout the data.

For instance, the idea of self-identification with both cultures is evident in Aram's statement that his children are Kurds *and* Norwegian. He described it like this: " Now, our children are both Kurds and Norwegians. There is no day passing without having my [daughter/son]'s one or two friends at our home […] some of their friends are also sleeping here" (Aram).

Zana underscores the importance of the conjunction between both cultures:

> We are trying to teach our children that we are Kurds. We teach them something about the Kurdish culture. On the other side, they must learn the Norwegian culture, language, and Norwegian system; it is an important country, and they have to realize that [….] this is their country too. (Zana)

Moreover, Hewa discusses the importance of engaging with the cultural aspects of Norway and gives some practices supporting his views in this regard. He stated: " I find it significant to participate; otherwise, you isolate yourself from this community and build obstacles between you and Norwegian society" (Hewa). He continued his statement: "There is no way to live here without knowing the history of this country and not participating in their events and occasions and what is considered values in their society; it is crucial!" (Hewa). Some examples of practices they embrace in their family, He described:

> Sometimes, at home, we speak Norwegian. We talk with our neighbours; we have a good relationship with them. We have many friends. We have lived here in the neighbourhood for around 15 years; we keep exchanging visits and invite each other for food. (Hewa)

He also claimed that the neighbourhood's climate is positive where one helps each other "if you need something and you can not be bothered to drive to the market, it happens you knock on your neighbour's door to ask for a stuff like sugar, tomato paste, lemon ". (Hewa). Further, their relationship with neighbours is inclusive based on cultural and religious variations: "We go together to the 'hytte' (cottage) to the ski. We have a good understanding of each other; although possibly, we have different cultures or religions" (Hewa). He cites a Kurdish saying in this sense: "This kind of balance has been created; this is the meaning of life; as our Kurds say: life is a treatment!" (Hewa).

Self-identification with Norway also is explicit in Serhed's statement. He expressed his feelings about Norway in a sense of appreciation: "Now Norway is my country too; it is right I had not been born here, but my life is the life that I spent in Norway, as I like Kurdistan I like Norway" (Serhed). He continued his account: " We might not have come here if our county was good or even had a county for us; […] there is war, you have blood, hungriness in your country, you have everything deteriorating in your country." (Serhed) As a result, he reciprocates with these words: "So if someone protected you, I think one should sacrifice by your blood for this country". (Seherd).

Additional to the appreciation and self-identification, Serhed stated that they almost speak Norwegian with the children as they have quit speaking Turkish: "We speak Norwegian with our children; except for the youngest, the children do not know the Kurdish well, and we dislike them talking Turkish at home, so we speak the Norwegians" (Serhed). Watching Norwegian TV is done by the children, not by himself personally. "You can say the Norwegian life is found to some extent in our home, and it must be!" (Serhed).

Regarding the question of participation in the central societal and cultural events in Norway, respect is shown, although full participation is not always taken place. "We celebrate the new year. We actually do not celebrate Christmas; they are different from each other … they [children] tell us if we celebrate Christmas, we say no, we do not celebrate, but we must respect them. We participate on 17th May" (Seherd).

Regarding Norwegian lifestyle practices, Hewa described the family practices as

> We cook Norwegian food at home sometimes. We watch Norwegian TV; every evening, following the NRK news, we must hear the news about the country. I set my radio on Norwegian news, debates, and songs every day at work. We read Norwegian newspapers" (Hewa)

He justified his response because one cannot be ignorant of what is happening in the Norwegian context.

Concerning the question of the possibility of adopting both Kurdish and Norwegian identities in parallel or one of them, Aram highlighted the role of the family: "If you teach your children well and care about the matters of Kurdishness inside the family, and there is

an understanding, if you do not neglect their needs and no conflict, the child can be both a Kurd and a Norwegian; why not?" (Aram).

However, despite this sort of self-identification with both cultures, Aram delineated the variations when he compared their children and the Norwegian children:

> The Norwegian are free; ours [children] are free also, but not absolutely. So let them be Norwegian and Kurds. First, let them be Kurds and then be Norwegians too […] They are free to do whatever they do, but they must not forget or abandon their Kurdishness. (Aram)

He gave the example of the discotheque; although many Kurds might go to the discotheque, his children are not permitted.

In this context, Aram described how his parental style varied from other Kurds being in Norway and complained about others"I always stress that I am like this; our line is quite straightforward, where we come from, my family, and the whole line. I am not like other people" (Aram).

Hewa also assures that not just children but anybody [with another background than the Norwegian] who lives in this society should be bicultural. Isolation is considered to be negative, and interaction with the host country, here Norway, must be well performed. He explicitly highlights the idea of the equilibrium between both cultures: " It is essential to make a kind of blending, a balance, where you should not be just a Kurd or typical Norwegian" (Hewa).

While Serhed initially stated that his children could choose the Norwegian identity as the Kurdish one is stricter compared to the Norwegian one, he deepened his response by saying later: "Because our culture is a bit hard, but this country's culture is soft; they [the children] will choose the easy or the soft one, I think. I do not know; maybe I am wrong" (Serhed). He furthermore advocates for a kind of blending:

> If someone among the cultures can take the good things and remove the bad stuff, a good culture will emerge after that! From this, something colourful and rich will come out. I can't say the Norwegian culture is better than ours or vice versa; every culture has its wrong and good, white and black stuff. (Serhed)

Zana gives balanced statements. He seems to be a politician; he generally speaks about the reality of the Kurds in the diaspora and has broad insights into Kurdish diasporic reality; he was cautious in all his statements. Aram is more inclined to the Kurdish traditions and customs. He insists that Kurdishness must be preserved in the migration domain. He symbolizes the voice of patriarchy that almost has surrendered some aspects of parental/ patriarchal powers in the immigration arena. While Hewa is best to be distinguished with is his insights on having a ground for mutual interactions between the cultures. He is one of the most integrated respondents and interculturally competent; he espouses the idea that "you should not be just a Kurd or a typical Norwegian". Serhed also believes in the opinion of balancing between the cultures. He is also as interculturally competent as Hewa, he capitalized on the democratic climate in Norway, and he overtly recognizes this. He has changed many cultural aspects to internalize into the receiving culture, like Hewa and Zana.

5.6 Prospects and apprehensions regarding the future

The theme addresses the issues related to the children's future in the migrating context and the parents' various perceptions of their children's future in Norway. Some are optimistic (Zana and Serhed) under specific conditions (Hewa), while Aram has his own concerns about the future. Eventually, almost all agreed on the idea of assimilation of the coming generations.

Relying on some practical examples, Aram believes that the children will assimilate in the future; his grandchildren may remain Kurds, but the later generation could be assimilated. He stated: "When my [daughter/son] has children, [her/his] children might remain [Kurds], but their children will not stay and might not even recognize [Kurdishness]" (Aram). It happens not only to Kurds but all minority groups; he claimed:" the same situation reflects on other minorities also, not just Kurds." (Aram)

In turn, Serhed predicts that his children's future in Norway is 'promising' compared to his original land.

> I see my children's future in Norway as promising; there is not a dark future; it is light compared to the future in our homeland that is dark. I have no concerns about that. No, I haven't for my children, but yes, for my children's children, yes, a little. (Seherd)

Regarding Hewa's children: "under one condition, if they continue their education and do not pursue other things, their parents also care for them, their future will be happier and illuminated" (Hewa). On the idea of the assimilation process of the next generations into the mainstream culture, he highlights the behavioural role of the parents in protecting and developing the Kurdish culture. He summed up his point in this regard by saying:

> The first [second] generation is my children, and it is my responsibility. Yes, there is concern that the second and third become faded; I do not say towards disappearance or loss, but this depends on the efforts and intelligence of the first [second] generation in dealing with the other generations. (Hewa)

Zana reflects on the situation of the Kurds in their original countries and the countries of the settlement. He believes that Kurdish rights are preserved in these countries. He stated:

> We, as Kurds, have many enemies that used all forms of illegal and prohibited weapons to annihilate the Kurds but have failed. Thus, as long as the Kurds have never disappeared or melted away under the dictatorships, in these democratic countries, the Kurds will 100% live long. I am very optimistic; We have every right, we have our language and cultural communities, and we can teach our children who we are. It is not easy to get lost. (Zana)

Despite the illuminated future for the children in Norway, assimilation is the outcome these parents have anticipated, not for their children but for the coming generations.

5.7 Challenges and opportunities for Kurdish parents

Living and upbringing children in a context that is not their original one is not an easy experience for the respondents as it carries challenges and stress factors for them. However, they also perceive good opportunities in a diasporic situation. Here, I will review some facets of the data, which form the fifth and last theme.

As far as opportunities are concerned, it is not only for children but also for the first-generation migrants, as in the case of Serhed, who has learned and improved his Kurdish language capability in Norway by interacting with Kurds from other parts of Kurdistan residing in Norway. On this basis, Serhed admitted such an advantage; he stated:

> Believe it or not, since […] years, when I came to Norway, my Kurdish language capacity increased around 75%, and it has become better because I have communications with Kurds of Rojava, for example, also I can speak Sorani as I have a friend for four years. Almost I can speak all Kurdish dialects. Yes, I learned here three Kurdish dialects! (Serhed)

Additional to Serhed's background where the Kurdish language was banned, he had lived in a context that was already not his original one, in a region where the majority were Turks. Therefore, he changed some behaviours in Norway as he expressed that:

> Yes, before doing anything, the enemy suppressed our language first! So, it is said that if you want to make a nation get lost itself, try first to disrupt and destroy their language! If you tear the language apart, that man also is dead!

He continued: "… Therefore, we initially spoke Turkish with them [children]. Later on, ha ha, I said to the wife: 'we were doing something wrong! We should speak Kurdish with our children! No matter how small it is, but they should know Kurdish!'" (Serhed)

Hewa also recognizes the kind of opportunity in Norway and how he economically developed himself. He summarizes as follows, with a sense of appreciation:

> This country built me up; I always say when I came to this country, I had nothing, I only had 100 dollars in my pocket, and I worked here, and now I have this house that I could manage to buy. I was alone when I came here; now, I am married with three children. (Hewa)

Hewa highlighted the point of opportunities for children as he affirmed that:

> The possibilities here are so open wide for them [children]; schools, kindergartens, and education here is free of charge; people can loan money to continue their studies. So, I see the future of children in this country is bright only if choosing the right way, and

> the parents should not be careless, and they [children] do not have to join a destructive environment. (Hewa)

For his part, Aram believes that there are no challenges in this country as "it is a free country; the obstacles are the parents; it depends on the parents" (Aram). He continued his account at this point:

> Now, some people here have no Norwegian friends; they are introverted until they become psychologically affected; they are always at home and know nothing. But the open ones can go everywhere. There is no any problem, but only on the right road. (Aram)

However, contrary to other statements, Zana finds that there are many challenges to raising your children in another cultural context. He demonstrates these challenges, such as parents' lack of time due to parental work and weaker opportunities to promote Kurdish culture and Kurdishness. He also mentioned the shortage of economic resources:

All we do culturally and politically as per our available resources. And there is a limited capacity; we have people who can not afford transport to go to for an activity. Political parties [Kurdish] do not provide the financial support for such activities; we do that on our own. (Zana).

He added other challenges at last: "you cannot press your children to learn every Kurdish aspect. You can not force them to be Kurdish one time and Norwegian the other time" (Zana). Although the challenges are real, we face these challenges in order "to avoid getting lost ourselves" (Zana).

The challenge of learning Kurdish and the parental responsibility is also something that Aram mentions, and this, for him, is a challenge with grave consequences "If they do not learn Kurdish, they will go the wrong way, and you cannot also prevent them; indeed, you can not prevent anything in these countries; you can not prevent them at all, you can not 100%." (Aram).

The emerging results of the study are in the form of five main themes and some specific components, categories and/or characteristics upon which the main themes have been constructed. Thus, the findings can be summed up as follows: first, adopting a strategy

of exposing the children to the heritage culture, which involves speaking the native language within the family, accompanying children to the events held by the diasporic movement and private events, in-group relations; having relations with other Kurdish families, following the Kurdish media, literature, food, costumes, etc., and periodic visits to the homeland. Second, parents' politics of belonging, rationales and youth's interaction. The main characteristics of these politics are: a) maintaining bonds with their families in the homeland, b) political and historical narratives, c) our/their concept, and d) homesickness and nostalgic and memories narratives. This theme includes two sub-themes; rationales of parental politics and children's interactions with such politics. Third, adaptation to the receiving culture and bicultural aspects; throughout: a) the equilibrium and cultural filtration, b) participation, c) self-identification, and d) endorsement of cultural behaviours. Fourth, the prospects and apprehensions regarding the future; i.e. a) fear of assimilation, b) peace and freedom, and c) getting lost versus resilience. And the fifth is challenges and opportunities; this involves a) mobilization, b) economic development, and c) shortage of enculturation resources.

6. Discussion

The core research question in the project is: “what characterizes remote enculturation processes in diasporic Kurdish families in Norway, and to what extent is acculturation part of these processes?” The study aims to discern and understand how both remote enculturation and acculturation phenomena are in tandem carried out in the diasporic Kurdish families in Norway. As mentioned in chapter 4, the concept of remote enculturation was the main focus of the first two interviews. The acculturation data had emerged simultaneously from the interviews, where the participants reflected on the matter on their own, and I have given them the space and time to reflect freely. Thus, I have included the concept of acculturation in the research project and developed it to be the central part along with the concept of remote enculturation. On this basis, the rest of the interviews were conducted with both concepts were the focus. As a result, one could realize that the status of data presentation and discussion relating to the concept of enculturation has been broader than acculturation.

6.1 Enculturation strategies and sense of belonging

Related to ‘adopting a strategy of exposing the children to the heritage culture’, the parents find it an indispensable approach to remotely enculturing their children with the basic principles of their original culture. The children learn the Norwegian culture and language through schools, peers, kindergarten etc. But when it comes to their parents’ culture, enculturation and/or socialization is carried out domestically and with other aspects. Hence, these parents' enculturing strategy strongly supports the concept of cultural socialization presented by (Hughes et al., 2006), which involves transmitting the ethnic information from the parent to the children. And this process intersects with the enculturation concept also presented by (Schönpflug & Bilz, 2009) as it “aims at developing persons into competent members of a culture including identity, language, rituals, and values” (p. 213).

The study results indicate that the primary avenues for promoting Kurdish culture may be unable to instill and create a harmonious sense of belonging in the youth, whereas it depends on the age factor. Almost all parents in the study (Aram, Zana, Serhed and Hewa) use historical and political narratives, clinging to the national markers and symbols, nostalgia

and homesickness feelings, and the narratives on calamities—transmission of traumatic events; (Volkan, 2001). However, how does it fuel or nurture youth's feelings of attachment toward their "original" Kurdish culture?

To illustrate my interpretation, Hewa stated: "One should work on the passion side of his children as we were one part and divided us into four parts; they dispersed us and made us refugees." Thus, it shows that belonging to the Kurdish part is made difficult by political factors outside Norway but still deepens the situation for the Kurdish diasporic enculturation process. However, youth care for the Kurdish cause. "Generally, I can say that the young who heard about the Kurdish tragedy; their enthusiasm is really evoked, they want to be more active" (Zana).

Serhed's monologue about his nostalgic feelings and memories can also be vital to promoting the children's attachment to their original culture and, subsequently, identity-forming actors. I cannot say it is a deliberate approach, but this may be indirect and likely heard by youth. As "my stomach is full, but my heart is hungry" …"the nightingale always asks for its land even its cage is made of gold" (Seherd), it thus might make the enculturation process more difficult for the children.

Another characteristic that has been agglomerated under the parents' politics of belonging is the Us-Them aspect. It is embedded in parental practices. It shows that the politics of belonging is not only of that relating to the demarcation with the mainstream Norwegian but also within the group itself. Several statements have been recorded revolving around this point, which implied, in a way, disassociating themselves from those who have abandoned their Kurdishness. Such behaviours were viewed as bringing a kind of embarrassment to the group, if not to the group, then to their families.

This delineation entails language learning, activities outside the home, being a good Kurd, or being lost. Among other statements, the respondents have used, e.g., other's (Kurdish parents') children cannot speak their native language with their mothers, or our children dislike to go to discotheques (while other Kurds' children like to go), or other's children (other Kurds' children) had 'melted' and got lost, went on the 'left route' or even when said that our children (diasporic Kurdish children generally) are proud of their Kurdishness. The term *Kurdishness* can be described as the Kurdish ethnonational fabric, a

form of Kurdish lifestyle; it is, in other words, a Kurdish identity. This term will be touched upon in the coming paragraphs. Aram's statement explains the accurate picture of the aspect of Us/Them clearly; he said: "I always stress that I am like this; our line is quite straightforward, where we come from, my family, and the whole line. I am not like other people" (Aram).

Regarding the nature of the intertwining relationship between the parents' strategies and politics of belonging themes, I suggest that the process has a range of exposure to the heritage culture. In other words, exposing children to the heritage culture should not last until early adulthood or late adolescence, at least within this study's context of Kurdish families. Therefore, I found the second theme, 'politics of belonging,' as a continuum to the first one, teaching strategy, where the latter is meant to prepare the ground rules, main principles, and norms of the original culture, while the former is to deepen and foster children's sense of attachment to the parents' original culture, which subsequently will lead to forming the youth's ethnic/national identity.

The self-initiation principle of remote enculturation also is present (Ferguson et al., 2016). The respondents stated that the children initiate to learn and question more about their original culture and situation. The families visit the Kurdish motherland, follow Kurdish media and engage in diasporic activities; the respondents state that the youth urge their parents to let them participate; all can be referred to as factors or indications in searching for the identity of the youth living in a context other than their original one. Thus, the result is consistent with the remote enculturation concept suggested by (Ferguson et al., 2016). However, in the context of this study, this is due to the familial socialization in the form of enculturation received by the parents. Indeed, the study shows that almost all self-initiated children were at their higher education stage, e.g., Aram, Zana, and Hewa's eldest children were university students. Serhed commented on this point that his children could still have not reached that degree of sensitivity to search for their identity. Most importantly, he attributed that when they encounter a 'difficult situation', i.e., a discrimination state in practical life, they will realize they are not originally a full Norwegian.

6.2 Biculturality and in-between position

As for 'adaptation to the host land culture', the equilibrium or balancing aspect is well remarkable throughout the participants' accounts (Aram, Zana, Hewa, and Serhed). They are inclined to adapt to the receiving culture in a way that does not surrender their heritage culture. Hence, establishing this balancing/blending between two cultures means glossing over some particular cultural aspects to endorse the others; this can be through cultural modification or, as I termed, cultural filtration to help accommodate or cope with the mainstream culture. We have seen examples warranting such an interpretation, e.g. Hewa goes against self-isolation and promotes bicultural blending. However, some limits are drawn, as there is no infinite freedom; "They are free to do whatever they do, but they must not forget or abandon their Kurdishness" (Aram). Thus, an in-between position is favourable, taking the best from the two cultures, as "something colourful and rich will come out" (Seherd). These examples show that the cultural filtration aspect is highly consistent with several acculturation accounts presented in chapter 3; such as Buriel (1993), who suggested that the immigrants do not shed their native values for the new ones; they usually shift and select and modify to cope with the new environment as it cited in (Jain & Belsky, 1997, p. 874).

When it comes to self-identification, these respondents overtly identify with the receiving country and recognize its importance for them and their children. Indeed, although there could be a variation in the extent of self-identification, it is an undisputed issue for them. I have no data at my disposal to measure the pace and extent of self-identification when it comes to their children's self-identification, but almost all agree on the idea of being a Kurd *and* a Norwegian. And this is ideally consistent with the theory of orthogonal cultural identification (Oetting & Beauvais, 1991), which suggests that people in a pluralistic environment can be highly bicultural. Identifying with one culture occurs independently, which does not entail necessarily surrendering one culture identification for the [a]other culture. In the same context, the acculturation model proposed by John Berry highlighted that the state of maintaining the original cultural heritage while acquiring the receiving culture takes place in independent dimensions. This two-dimensionality paves the road for multiculturalism (Berry & Sam, 2016b). By these findings, we can perceive that these immigrants or acculturing individuals have different cultural positions, which allow the

fluidity to move between cultures, the idea that corresponds with (Choney et al., 1995), who described the multidirectional or bidirectional acculturation accounts that refute the dichotomous principle through which the immigrants or acculturing individuals either assimilate in the mainstream culture or retain their original culture.

However, Padilla suggests that "The multiple labels and their associated meanings are often confusing."(Padilla, 2009, pp. 191-192). Relying on Erikson's identity formation account, the author believes that adolescents tend to define themselves in line with peers and away from the influence of adults. Further, the author continues, "For adolescents from a bicultural family, the search for an identity free from their immediate family (i.e., grandparents and parents) creates challenges not experienced by unicultural adolescents" (P.192).

Through the lens of the data, bicultural manifestations are prominent within these families. Biculturality or dual-functionality–being able to function in two cultures, their original one and the Norwegian–in this study can be discerned through the bilingual capabilities of the families due to using the Kurdish and Norwegian languages in the family, Norwegian food, following the mainstream media, having Norwegian friends, establishing relations with neighbours, and attending national and societal events. One may perceive these behavioural changes that have occurred on the individual level—psychological acculturation—are due to acculturation processes that Berry and Sam have suggested, i.e. way of dressing, food habits, and language knowledge and use (Berry & Sam, 2016b, p. 15).

However, biculturalism is not a novel phenomenon for these first-generation Kurdish immigrants. They, as a minority, are already familiarized with its processes as they originally come from the countries where the Kurdish culture is not the dominant–the dominant cultures are Arabic, Turkish and Persian. These cultures were imposed on them to embrace; it was/is compulsory to learn the language, celebrate the national events, and adopt the cultural frameworks of these three cultures. Even it was/is forbidden for Kurds, to a great extent, to name their newborn children with Kurdish names but the traditional names of these cultures. As a result, it is more rightly to identify these families as multicultural rather than bicultural. In addition to this, we have to consider that biculturalism or multiculturalism has been a prevalent trend amid globalization processes and technological advances.

Similarly, to the principle of imposing the biculturalism mentioned above, but in a different approach and context, one could feel that some bicultural processes, at times, have also been imposed on some parents in the migration space. We initially conceive that power is relational; it permeates everything, whether positive or negative. Several responses have mentioned that they cannot do anything 'here'(Norway). One perceives that the extent of the parents' power has been changed or shifted 'here' that is transferred to the children due to the country's institutional laws. From my point of view, the parents might have felt powerless, and the children have received power. Therefore, I incorporated the idea of the power relation to biculturalism in two entirely different contexts. One is compulsory, while the other is voluntary. As a result, it is a power-related issue in both cases. Although we have seen on some occasions that the parents show the insinuations of power over their children, at the same time, however, elsewhere, they state the contrary, exhibiting the powerlessness, for instance, but not limited, "… and you cannot also prevent them; indeed, you cannot prevent anything in these countries; you cannot prevent them at all, you can not 100%." (Aram).

Further, regarding the impact of biculturalism on second-generation immigrants, what implications have been ensued on the children due to this biculturality? Do they really belong to the two cultures, as their parents stated? This question led me to a quote from a Korean female in the Kim and colleagues study, where she said: "It is hard trying to fit into both worlds and cultures…my parents viewed some of my "American" behaviour as not so good… there are [a] lot of benefits of being bicultural, but it also means that you don't totally belong in one culture."(Kim et al., 2003, p. 164).

From the standpoint of the acculturation model presented by John Berry and Sam (2016), which encompasses four modes of acculturation, i.e., assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization, we may discern through the study results that the approach or strategy these families are pursuing can be characterized as integration. That is, having an interest in both maintaining the original cultural heritage values and having, at the same time, the daily interaction with the larger social group. The strategy through which Berry and Sam suggest that a sort of "cultural integrity is maintained as the members of the ethnocultural group seek to participate as an integral part of the larger social network."

(Berry & Sam, 2016b, p. 22). Nevertheless, there is a variation in such strategy's degree based on the individuals' statements.

6.3 The specification of the Kurdish Diaspora

Concerning whether these strategies and politics are premediated or not, I believe that the significant part could be deliberate and explicit, supporting the authors Schönpflug and Bilz's (2009) account in this regard. Or, in some cases, indirect or implicit through the parents' narratives and remembrances of the past, as we perceived in the respondents' accounts (Serhed and Zana and Aram). However, whether it is explicit or implied, it is essential to take into consideration that the nature of these immigrant families differs from other patterns of immigration—as diasporas are not immigrant communities when the latter is temporary (Clifford, 1994). Accordingly, the concept of a sense of belonging, as Baser underscores (2013), to the ancestral land is strongly associated with diasporic members rather than other types, "regardless of whether it is an existing country, an imaginary one, or 'one in need of being saved' " (Baser, 2013, p. 6). Indeed, the sense of belonging is very salient in the respondents' accounts (Aram. Zana, Hewa and Serhed).

Despite the plight of dispersion and deportation that the Kurdish history has witnessed, it is believed that the Kurdish diasporic experience is distinctive, as exposed in chapter 2. The Kurdish diaspora in Norway has capitalized on the democratic climate and the stability provided in this country to organize and mobilize itself in the form of communities and organizations to promote its agendas and remotely support the Kurdish question in the middle east. Regardless of economic development, which is important, mobilization can also be an essential characteristic embedded in this diaspora. Events and activities held in the diasporic space, e.g., Kurdish national events, gatherings, seminars, protests, etc., organized by the Kurdish diasporic movements in Norway, as highlighted by the study participants, show this clearly. After years of speaking the Turkish language with children, Serhed and his wife decided to stop talking Turkish but Kurdish, no matter how small it was. Also, his linguistic capacity has improved in the diaspora, and he learned other Kurdish dialects. All this can be discerned that the diasporic experience is indeed advantageous for those stateless people; in this sense, McDowall puts: "Diaspora has been considered an influential

factor in the progression of the Kurdish identity in the political, cultural, and social domains." (2021, p. 642).

However, these diasporic organizations ought to also serve the principles of multiculturality, whether in this country or the other countries of settlement. Many other crucial and fundamental Kurds-related societal and individual issues need to be the hallmarks of these Kurdish communities and organizations in the diasporic arena. Thus, they are invited to promote the culture of coexistence and civil peace and orient its members to more involvement in the issues related to education, intercultural relations, and egalitarianism, i.e. personal freedom, gender equality, social equity etc., within their group in the diasporic domain and the Kurdish societies in the homeland as well as in the host societies, as they are citizens of these countries.

6.4 Fear of assimilation– "getting lost"

Along with other rationales, fear of assimilation can be one of the driving motives behind the parents' politics of belonging and strategy of children's socialization in the migratory context. It was observed in the respondent's statements. They attempt optimally to instil Kurdishness in their children in order not to 'get lost, 'assimilate', 'melt.' All these apprehensions are recognizable by these parents. However, these obsessions are unmanageable when it comes to the coming generations. All agree that their descendants will be assimilated into the larger social group.

In fact, the first-generation immigrants' misgivings and apprehensions regarding assimilation are, in a way, perceivable (is it, however, justifiable?) when studying the magnitude of policies of assimilation, coercion and cultural appropriation such an ethnonational group have experienced at the hand of regimes ruled/ruling the countries Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Turkey. This can be perceived in group psychology. As I indicated elsewhere in this chapter, Volkan (2001), who re-examined or reformulated some aspects of Freud's theory on group psychology, considers the large-group identity (whether ethnic, national or religious) as the tent's canvas. Besides the individual identity, which is "the basis of the inner sense of sustained sameness", the individuals also have another loose covering garment made of the tent's canvas; the tent here is depicted as a large group. The author

continues by saying that at times of collective stress or threat, such as economic crisis, drastic political change or wars, the garment made of tent canvas (the large group identity) may be more important. The individuals may seek protection and even defend their larger group–tent(pp. 83-84)

The respondents frequently used terms such as 'getting lost', 'melt' or 'assimilate', or others worth tackling in this regard. Indeed, they have meanings; that can be traced back to two dimensions. The first is due to persistent political conflict in their original motherland for decades. Its deep-rooted implications have not been confined to narrow territorial boundaries; it rather considerably crossed the border to be transnational, accompanying and occupying its members wherever they go, even not living physically within that circle of conflict. At the same time, the other dimension is related to the imminent threat of assimilation tide into the receiving society's culture. Transnationalism is here due to technological advances and the development of communication means in the modern time of the globalized world. This has been well prevalent in the nature of the communication between these respondents and their families and their homeland, "we are coming from a country full of events" (Hewa).

Consequently, these parents have perceived that *Kurdishness* as a canvas (the large-group identity) is to take on as it is a way of protecting their tent (ethnic/national group); it is a surviving means. In other words, any group's historical and political context should be not overlooked while studying the acculturation and enculturation processes in the migratory context, and this is very compatible with Bornsteins's specificity principles of the acculturation, as we presented in chapter 3. (Marc H. Bornstein, 2017), where it emphasizes that "specific setting conditions of specific people at specific times moderate specific domains in acculturation by specific processes" (p.1).

However, as far as Volkan's account of intergenerational transmission of traumatic experience and chosen trauma is concerned, to what extent have these respondents' children been influenced by parental's politics of belonging and their fear of assimilation? Again, the answer to this question is beyond the scope of this study. But regarding the question I have posted above on the viability of the parents' fears or apprehensions about assimilation; whether it is justifiable or not, Zana's response was remarkable in this regard.

He suggested that there is no need to fear assimilation as they live in a different context which is a democratic country; their rights are preserved, and their children can learn their original culture and language.

6.5 A final word

Finally, the challenges involved in the process of enculturation highlighted by Zana are worthy of being directed towards the responsible local authorities and policymakers in the multicultural county he lives in for allocating better logistical and financial support. This support can be in the form of establishing cultural centres interested in providing linguistic and cultural avenues and tools to these diasporic minor groups. To my knowledge, the transnational religious groups receive such sort of support, whether financially or logistically, i.e., venues for assembling and worship. At the same time, this privilege does not include the diasporic communities addressing cultural issues. Even if it exists, it could be located in the big cities.

So, to conclude the chapter, dual-functioning is considered to be the best picture to describe these families' experiences. These diasporic Kurdish families have not discarded their original cultural heritage values and beliefs throughout their migration years. They modified and filtered some cultural behaviours to adapt to the larger social group. The acculturation strategy they pursue is almost integration if John Berry's modes of acculturation are concerned. However, at the same time, there is a variation in the extent of such integration if the four modes of Berry's theory have been measured.

7. Conclusion

This chapter will summarize the study's key findings in relation to my study's research question and goals. Other axes of the chapter will be allocated to reviewing the research structures as well as addressing the study's important contributions in the field and limitations, and future research will also be proposed.

My study aimed to discern and understand how both remote enculturation and acculturation phenomena are in tandem carried out in the diasporic Kurdish families in Norway. This study had focused on two concepts; enculturation and acculturation processes within the diasporic Kurdish families residing in Norway. The term remote enculturation meant the second generation of the Kurdish migrants were born and grew up in a context that was not their original one, while acculturation covered all the family; practices, acts, and behaviours those families pursue to adapt to the host land culture.

Thus, this study's findings indicated that the Kurdish families follow a particular strategy to expose their children to their original culture to carry out the process of enculturation. As the context of this enculturation is variant from the original one, the avenues of teaching vary. Further, these families endorse particular practices, which I termed politics of belonging, to foster the children's sense of belonging and attachment to the ancestral land. Concerning the acculturation concept, these immigrant families have modified and filtered some of their cultural behaviours to help them accommodate and cope with the host land culture. As a result of this adaptation, those immigrant families have transformed into integrated and bicultural ones where the original cultural values and norms were maintained, on the one hand, while inclining toward the daily interaction with the mainstream Norwegian, on the other hand. The characteristics of this adaptation can be, e.g., endorsing some cultural behaviours, such as language Norwegian language proficiency, having Norwegian food, following the Norwegian media, participating in mainstream societal events, establishing relationships with the dominant social group members, and self-identifying with the host land. The data also showed there is a variation in the extent of apprehension about the future of their descendants when it comes to the issue of assimilation. Regardless of the economic development, the diasporic experience of those families had been discerned as mobilizing as well.

The study had taken qualitative inductive research as its primary approach, as meaning, knowledge, and interpretation are the centre of this research purpose. To this end, four Kurdish migrants having young children born and raised in Norway were recruited for face-to-face semi-structured interviews. This method for collecting data is remarkable in giving a space for the participants to provide their reflections on the phenomena under examination. To gather relevant data, I prepared a list of a questionnaire to follow during the interviews; see the interview guide in appendix 1. All research stages have been based on the hermeneutical methodology, i.e., the philosophy and theory. Starting from the research topic, the interview guide, transcription, coding, categorizing and the final stage, the interpretation of the data. Two important aspects of hermeneutic that were closely followed were the ''fore structure'' or foreknowledge and the hermeneutic circle.

The challenges associated before and during the journey had been highlighted through the chapters of this study. The issue of positionality, as an insider, from the outset to the end had closely been illustrated in chapter 4. All stages related to processing the respondents' personal data, voice recordings, privacy, and ethical issues had been followed as per the NESH requirements.

7.1 Study limitations

Like any study, this research is not without limitations and shortages. Most of the constraints and shortages are those with the scope and methodological-related considerations.

The scope of the study covered four important concepts, Acculturation, enculturation, remote enculturation and diaspora in the framework of immigration. For this reason, I think the scope of the study was a bit wide for a master's student.

Even though the data collected was rich and relevant in relation to the study's questions, the account of interviews, to my thinking, was not enough for the scope that had been designed. As mentioned in chapter 3, it took too much time to find and reach the

study's respondents due to the Coronavirus outbreak in the country. As a result, we could manage to conduct only four face to face interviews.

7.2 Positives and strengths of this contribution

The study covered three crucial dimensions of enculturation processes: parental remote enculturation practices, the rationales or triggers for such enculturation from the parents' point of view, and the developmental outcomes, to some extents, also have been displayed. Attention should be paid to the last dimension as some significant developmental outcomes of the youth have been explored, even was not under the study scope. Also, it touched upon the nature of acculturation and its characteristics experienced and practised within the Kurdish families. Incorporating these two important concepts with the diaspora as a concept can be considered significant.

To our knowledge, studying the acculturation and enculturation phenomena could be, per se, the first study conducted on the Kurdish migrants in Norway or even in Europe. We have redundant research on general Kurdish diaspora experiences and issues, such as activism, nationalism, identity, etc. But as for the concepts that had been addressed in this study, this research could be a very positive contribution to the relevant disciplines.

7.3 Recommendations and suggestions

Most of my respondents geographically come from areas where the Kurdish diaspora could be considered active, which was evident from the responses and statements of the participants. As per the data, their communities and organizations are well organised to conduct Kurdish activities and events. However, how could the data have been shown when it comes to other areas where the members' number and the nature of activeness of those diasporic communities are lacking? As a result, I suggest that the following research consider such issues while approaching the matters of enculturation and diasporic studies.

The scope of the current study covered the enculturation process within the family, parental enculturation efforts as the parents were interviewed and gave their accounts in this regard, and the youth's interaction with these practices. As such, it would be interesting to conduct research directly on the second-generation Kurdish immigrants themselves;

assess their developmental outcomes and the driving or underlying factors for such a remote/enculturation.

Also importantly, the researchers are invited to study the aspects of biculturalism among the second-generation Kurdish immigrants and the status of stress experienced in living between two different cultures. Further, the principle of remote enculturation is also a matter of interest to be studied among the Kurdish youth.

Most of the Kurdish studies are in qualitative approaches. I suggest that the quantitative method should find its space in the Kurdish diaspora-related topics.

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Appendix

Interview Guide

This interview guide has been prepared to help answer the main research question. The guide is mainly divided into two parts, where each part contains some questions that have been formulated before to answer the main research question. These questions revolve around the two axes of the study or the two main concepts, i.e. remote enculturation and acculturations. Each part has its questions to be posed during the interviews. However, if any question has been answered during the interview simultaneously and no matter in which part, there will be no need to ask again, which means the order of the questions will not be stuck.

Some practical information about the nature of the questions and the routine of the interviews:

a) The respondents can gloss over any question and leave it unanswered when needed.
b) The time anticipated for each interview is around 45 minutes.
c) The first two questions of the first part were purposely have been asked. Both will not be accounted for in data processing and analysis. This introduction will create a ground for the dialogue for the rest of the questions to follow. By this, the respondent will be able to talk, and for me, it is more understanding of the historical context of my participants.
d) The questions are not dichotomous but more open-ended in nature. I could interfere, while needed, to ask: 'why', 'how', etc., or more in a particular situation. This is if I found good information has started to emerge.

List of questionnaires

A. Remote enculturation

- Can you talk about your background, your migratory history?
- How old are your children, are they born in Norway?

1. How do you spur your children's attention toward Kurdish issues? In your opinion, what particular practices are working best towards this end?
2. Which language do you speak with your young children at home, and how do you weigh their Kurdish linguistic capabilities?
3. As children get younger, do they take the initiative to search for their background?
4. What topics or subjects do you often talk about to stimulate their attention towards Kurdishness? What other sources of information do they follow or seek to know more about their background rather than their family?
5. Do you maintain any relationship with your relatives or family in your homeland? Do they talk with your children? If yes, in what ways?
6. What is the main purpose of instilling the Kurdish identity in your children?
7. How do you discern the future of your children in Norway? Do you have any concerns about assimilation in the Norwegian culture/identity? Or do you think that they will be able to maintain a kind of double identity?
8. Do you have any intention to return to the homeland when the situation allows? How about your children?

B. Acculturation Focused part; participants were asked to elaborate on their responses.

9. How often do you speak the Norwegian language? How about the home?
10. Do you participate or celebrate in Norwegian cultural tradition? How and why is it necessary to participate?
11. Do you and your family members have Norwegian friends? Do you visit each other on occasions? How about neighbours)
12. How often do you eat Norwegian food, watch TV, listening music at home?

NSD information Letter

Are you interested in taking part in the research project?

What characterizes remote enculturation processes in diasporic Kurdish families in Norway, and to what extent is acculturation part of these processes?

This is an inquiry about participation in a research project where the main purpose is to discern and understand how both remote enculturation and acculturation phenomena are in parallel carried out in the diasporic Kurdish families in Norway. In this letter, we will give you information about the project's purpose and what your participation will involve.

Purpose of the project

The research is concerned with how the Kurdish diasporic families in Norway carry out the process of teaching their children, born in a context that is not their original one, the primary cultural principles and the ground rules, and what avenues are used to help parents with this end. Another axis of the study will be allocated related to the acculturation process, i.e. how the aspects of the Norwegian culture exist and adapted within the Kurdish familes despite the cultural variations.

The research project is a master's thesis.

The collected personal data will only be used for the purposes of the project

Who is responsible for the research project?

VID Vitenskapelige Høgskole /Fakultet for Teologi, Diakoni og lederskap Stavanger is the institution responsible for the project.

Why are you being asked to participate?

The research requires recruiting four adult persons, migrants, and parents who have children born and growing up in Norway.

I have received the contact details for you from the Kurdish diasporic communities and got approval to conduct the interview with you.

What does participation involve for you?

If you choose to take part in the project, you will be interviewed, and it will take max. 75 minutes. It will be information about how both enculturation, that is hhow to teach your children the priciples and values of your original culture from afar since you are not living in the your homeland. Also there are some questions about how the process of acculturation is going on within your families, that is the the Norwegian culture. I will record the interview and will take notes.

Participation is voluntary

Participation in the project is voluntary. If you choose to participate, you can withdraw your consent at any time without giving a reason. All information about you will then be made anonymous. There will be no negative consequences if you choose not to participate or later decide to withdraw.

Your personal privacy – how we will store and use your personal data

We will only use your personal data for this information letter's purpose(s). We will process your personal data confidentially and in accordance with data protection legislation (the General Data Protection Regulation and Personal Data Act).

- *Only two persons will have access to the personal data*
  The master's student Rafaa Arfo

  The supervisor: Prof. Frederique Brossard Børhaug, VID Specialized University

- The data will be kept in separated folders on the student's private laptop, and each folder will be coded. The laptop is locked with a password, where no one can access it.

All participants will be anonymised and cannot be recognized in the publications.

What will happen to your personal data at the end of the research project?

The project is scheduled to end before 15.6.2022. All personal data, *including any digital recordings,* will be safely deleted *at the end of the project*.

Your rights

So long as you can be identified in the collected data, you have the right to:

- access the personal data that is being processed about you
- request that your personal data be deleted
- request that incorrect personal data about you be corrected/rectified
- receive a copy of your personal data (data portability), and
- send a complaint to the Data Protection Officer or The Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding the processing of your personal data

What gives us the right to process your personal data?

We will process your personal data based on your consent.

Based on an agreement with VID Vitenskapelige Høgskole /Fakultet for Teologi, Diakoni og Lederskap Stavanger, NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with data protection legislation.

Where can I find out more?

If you have questions about the project, or want to exercise your rights, contact:

- *[*VID Vitenskapelige Høgskole /Fakultet for Teologi, Diakoni og lederskap Stavanger*]* via
  Rafaa Arfo and Prof. Frédérique Brossard Børhaug, 91595620/ frederiquebrossard.borhaug@vid.no
- Our Data Protection Officer: Nancy Yue Lui*, VID Specialized University*
- NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS, by email: (personverntjenester@nsd.no) or by telephone: +47 55 58 21 17.

Yours sincerely,

Project Leader :
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91595620
(Researcher/supervisor)

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Consent form

I have received and understood information about the project *[*What characterizes remote enculturation processes in diasporic Kurdish families in Norway, and to what extent is acculturation part of these processes? *]* and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give consent: to participate in *an interview*

I give consent for my personal data to be processed until the end of the project before 15.06.2022.

(Signed by participant, date)